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2011

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

The Diurnal Path of the Sun: Ideology and Interregional Interaction in
Ancient Northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

by

Michael Dean Mathiowetz

August 2011

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Karl A. Taube, Chairperson
Dr. Wendy Ashmore
Dr. Frances F. Berdan
Dr. Philip J. Wilke

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The Dissertation of Michael Dean Mathiowetz is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although this dissertation is the product of a single person, it remains in essence only a small addition to the cumulative work of many generations of scholars, past and present. This work is particularly indebted to Charles C. Di Peso and J. Charles Kelley, two scholars who sought the bigger picture. The insight, encouragement, assistance, and inspiration provided by a number of colleagues, individuals at various institutions, and friends and family members also find their place in these pages. I offer sincere thanks to my committee members, including Dr. Karl Taube, Dr. Wendy Ashmore, Dr. Frances Berdan, and Dr. Philip Wilke. In particular, this dissertation would never have come to fruition without the generosity and kindness of Dr. Taube in teaching me how to properly study iconography, in sharing his unpublished research and line drawings, as well as by providing encouragement, humor, and advice. Thanks for everything, Karl!

Family and friends have been eternally supportive, even if not quite understanding of what exactly it is I've been doing. I thank them all. Thanks Mom, Dad, Kris and Bjorn, Becky and Bob, and Annika, Jonas, Jack, and Luke. Thanks also to Scott Swift, who lent me money to travel to the Chihuahua/Sonora border region for my first volunteer field project as an undergraduate student, an experience that furthered my academic career at a crucial point and led to one door opening after another. Finally, I am deeply indebted in many regards to Lucia Gudiel, an expert fact-finder, problem-solver, sounding board, computer repairwoman, motivational speaker, and all-around lifesaver, who time and again, and on so many levels, provided an abundance of support, advice, kindness,

generosity, humor, love, and patience, all of which has given me a brightened path to follow in life . . . oo xx oo Xo XX x.

I offer sincere gratitude to Tom Patterson, the UCR Anthropology Department Chair, for his patience. I also thank the UC Riverside Anthropology department administration in the past and present, including Lilia-Liderbach, Becky Campbell, and Jessica Jones. In addition, the UC Riverside Rivera Library staff at the Circulation Desk and Interlibrary Loans office was wonderfully helpful. As well, Karen Smith and Kara Oswood in Graduate Division always provided great assistance.

Field and museum research, conference travel, and other expenses were graciously funded by a UC MEXUS Dissertation Grant, the UCR Graduate Dean's Dissertation Research Grant, the UCR Graduate Student Association, the UCR Humanities Graduate Student Research Grant, the SAA Fred Plog Memorial Fellowship, the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society Research and Travel Grants, and the Barricelli Memorial Grant.

A number of museums, institutions, and individuals were integral in facilitating my field research in photographing collections of Aztatlán, Casas Grandes, and Puebloan material culture and contemporary ethnographic objects, including the following: Wendy Teeter at the Fowler Museum at the University of California, Los Angeles; David Phillips, Catherine Baudoin, and Kathryn Klein at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico; John Montgomery and Sabrina Lenge at the Miles Museum of Anthropology at Eastern New Mexico University; Melissa Powell and David McNeece at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe; Laura Elliff and Jennifer

Day at the Indian Arts Research Center in Santa Fe; Heather Young at the Pecos National Historical Park, Chris Toya from Jemez Pueblo, and Bonnie Sousa at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology; and John Ware and Eric Kaldahl at the Amerind Foundation.

In addition, I thank: Patrick Lyons at the Arizona State Museum; Marc Thompson, Jason Jurgena, and Marilyn Guida at the El Paso Museum of Archaeology; Scott Cutler at the Centennial Museum at the University of Texas, El Paso; Paul Stavast at the Museum of Peoples and Culture at Brigham Young University; Cynthia Bettison at the Western New Mexico University Museum; Steve Lekson and Christina Cain at the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History; Margaret Young-Sánchez at the Denver Art Museum; David Rosenthal in the Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution; Leanda Gahegan in the National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution; Janet Pasiuk, Linda Greateorex, and Patricia Nietfeld at the National Museum of the American Indian at the Smithsonian Institution; Elise Maragliano at the American Museum of Natural History; Rebecca Fifield at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dee Schroth at the San Bernardino County Museum; Miguel Angel Delgado Ruíz and Geylu Valderrama at the Museo Regional de Nayarit; and Vladimir Cora and family at the Casa-Museo Vladimir Cora. I also thank Michele Hegmon and Steven LeBlanc for providing access to the Mimbres Pottery Image Digital Database (MimPIDD).

A collective of individuals has offered tangible and intangible support either during my time as an undergraduate or in graduate school, some who offered advice for my dissertation project research, some who commented upon early drafts of chapters or ideas, others whose conversations helped to sharpen the focus of my work, and those who helped in so many others ways. In alphabetical order, I offer a simple collective thank you to the following: Shuji Araki, Beth Bagwell, Jose Carlos Beltrán and Lourdes González, Wesley Bernardini, Jeremy Coltman, John Douglas, Kata Faust, Scott Fedick, T.J. Ferguson, Theodore Frisbie, Juan Federico García Fernandez (“Juan Bananas”) and family, Mauricio Garduño Ambriz and María Luisa Mendoza Gutiérrez, Janine Gasco, Christina Halperin, Robert Hard, Kelley Hays-Gilpin, Taisuke Inoue, Reiko Ishihara-Brito, Arthur Joyce, Jane Kelley, Cecelia Klein, Steve Lekson, Natalia Martínez Tagüeña, Tim Maxwell, Laurette McGuire, Randall McGuire, Jerry Moore, Sue Needham, Ben Nelson, Michael Ohnersorgen, Scott Ortman, Robert Perez, Todd Pitezal, Stephen Plog, John Pohl, José Luis Punzo Díaz, Leslie Quintero, Nora Rodríguez Zariñán, Francisco Samaniega, Curtis and Polly Schaafsma, Lauren Schwartz, Michael Searcy, Andrew Turner, Christine VanPool, John Ware, Phil Weigand, Laurie Webster, David Wilcox, Mark Wright, Matt Yacubic, and Bridget Zavala.

I offer gratitude to the people of the *ejido* of Chacalilla for their hospitality. I thank my cohort at UCR and so many of the other students, too many to name, who offered support and commiseration during the shared experiences in graduate school. If any people have been inadvertently omitted, then know that I am deeply thankful for any help, advice, or criticism provided. The study of the religion of any cultural group always

risks offending people or potentially causing undue emotional pain or sorrow. I truly am aware of this dilemma and I strived to treat these sensitive subjects with the care, caution, and respect that they deserve. If I have failed in this respect, then I offer my profound and humble apologies. Any mistakes in the interpretations within this dissertation are burdens that are solely mine to bear.

This dissertation is dedicated to indigenous people of the
American Southwest and Mesoamerica . . . past, present, and future.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Diurnal Path of the Sun: Ideology and Interregional Interaction in
Ancient Northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

by

Michael Dean Mathiowetz

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Anthropology
University of California, Riverside, August 2011
Dr. Karl A. Taube, Chairperson

The Postclassic period (AD 900-1521) in Mesoamerica marked an era of significant social change. During this period of time in the American Southwest, Puebloan cultures also engaged in their own major social transformations. A central concern of archaeologists has been to seek connections between these two broad regions and these social changes, whether in material culture or ideology, that help to clarify the nature and extent of long-distance interaction and integration of people in the past.

This dissertation primarily examines the rise of two major cultural traditions in Northwest Mexico: the Casas Grandes and Aztatlán cultures. To understand these cultures, and the nature of their social, political, economic, and religious organization, is to enable scholars to understand how social change on a continental scale was intertwined and interrelated. This work argues that the rise of the Aztatlán and Casas Grandes

cultures was primarily due to the expansion of a new worldview and an entire system of beliefs and socio-political organization, with local manifestations, that was centered upon the Flower World complex, a cosmological framework that penetrated to the core of every aspect of the life of an individual and the community. The adoption of this religious complex, a veritable world religion centered upon the sun and a floral paradisaal realm, was at the heart of nearly every major social change in Northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest after AD 900. This belief system continues to play a significant role in social change to the present day.

Drawing from the spectrum of academic disciplines, this work reflects a broadly humanistic approach in the comparative study and synthesis of data from archaeology, ancient and contemporary religion and symbolism, literature, arts, and native oral histories. Thus, it is uniquely suited for the goal of reconstructing a balanced social history of past and present culture change in the American Southwest and Mesoamerica. The goal of this research is to construct a new conceptual framework for scholars to obtain a better understanding of the mechanisms by which religious beliefs were transmitted and transformed in the past in local and regional cultural contexts across time and space.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

“ . . . [T]here needs to be a way that Indian traditions can contribute to the understanding of scientific beliefs at enough specific points so that the Indian traditions will be taken seriously as valid bodies of knowledge.”

-Vine Deloria, Jr. (1995: 60)

Across the landscape of far Northwest Mexico, the remnants and ruins of the Casas Grandes culture sit in repose. Long ago, the adobe walls of the paramount site of Paquimé collapsed upon themselves. These remains, and the material culture long obscured, hold clues to the answers to many questions being asked of the distant past. Seemingly parallel stories have long been told about this place and related sites in the region. Explorers, historians, and archaeologists marveled at the ruins of Paquimé and long dreamed of its rise and demise. In turn, indigenous people in the larger region and their memories and traditions, often unwritten, place this land and its people into the context of their ancestors and their past migrations.

Need these histories be divergent? Might we find common historical ground in indigenous and scientific ways of knowing the past? To answer “no” to the latter question unfortunately follows an all-to-common intellectual route, a safe road taken by many an archaeologist in the past. To answer “yes” to this question is to understand that complementary ways of knowing the past and an inclusive dialogue between archaeologists and Native Americans are key components in the future of the discipline of archaeology. In the field of U.S. Southwest and Northwest Mexican archaeology, the possibilities for combining scientific and indigenous perspectives fruitfully converge at

the site of Paquimé, the capital center of the Casas Grandes culture and a main focus of the present research. To understand the history of the Casas Grandes culture is to understand the nature and connectivity of culture change across vast regions of northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest over the last millennium.

The story of Paquimé's rise and fall is a shrouded enigma. Early speculations on the historical development of Pueblo cultures in the American Southwest gave rise to such Mesoamerican-derived site names as Aztec Ruin. Similarly, the collective gaze of Southwest and Northwest Mexican scholars intrigued by the nature of Paquimé's rise and its role in social change in the Southwest also occasionally turned southward towards Mesoamerica. But the ever-shifting debate among archaeologists over origins and influence has been wrought with tension and division. Many esteemed Southwestern and Northwest Mexican scholars, while acknowledging some limited form of Mesoamerican influence, have distanced themselves from arguments that seek to draw direct connections to then-contemporaneous social developments in Mesoamerica. This position is not too difficult to understand, particularly as the intensity of archaeological research in northwestern Mesoamerica has been comparatively mild. The nature of interaction and integration between Paquimé and Mesoamerican societies is situated within a larger dialogue, also touching upon the Hohokam, Mimbres, and Chaco Canyon cultures, that seeks to resolve the central question of how Mesoamerican cultural developments impacted Southwestern societies, and vice-versa.

The present inquiry seeks to address two essential questions: (1) How can scientific knowledge and native histories of the archaeological record be combined

fruitfully to yield a complementary interpretation of past religious, political, and social change in northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest?, and (2) How did specific Mesoamerican societies and historical processes impact the dramatic development of the Casas Grandes culture and Pueblo societies in the American Southwest? As will be seen, the answers to these two questions are inextricably intertwined.

The Great Debate: The Nature of Interregional Interaction in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

Since archaeologists and ethnographers began work in the American Southwest in the late nineteenth century, the topic of Mesoamerican influence on Southwestern social and religious change has been a subject of long-standing interest, an interest that has spawned debate, discussion, and dissension until the present day (**Fig. 1.1**). A number of articles and edited volumes have addressed or summarized these various arguments, a few of which are cited here¹. In recent decades, scholars have traced and summarized the historical development of this great debate (e.g., Phillips 2002; Wilcox 1986a; Wilcox et al. 2008: 103-124). One of the problems in discussing the topic of Mesoamerican and Southwestern interaction is that researchers have tended to treat Mesoamerica as a

¹ e.g., Beals 1944; Bradley 2000; Brand 1944; Braniff 1993; Brew 1944; Di Peso 1974, 1983; Di Peso et al. 1974; Dutton 1964; Ferdon 1955; Fewkes 1893a, 1904b; Foster 1989, 1999; Foster and Gorenstein 2000; Frisbie 1980; Haury 1944, 1945; Hedrick et al. 1971, 1974; Jennings 1956; Kelley and Villalpando C. 1996; Kelley 1966, 1986, 1995, 2000; Kelley and Kelley 1975; Kelly 1944; Lister 1978; Mathien and McGuire 1986; McGuire 1980, 1989, 1993, 2002; Meighan 1999; Nelson 2000, 2006; Pailles and Whitecotton 1979; Parsons 1933a; Phillips 2002; Plog 1986; Plog et al. 1982; Reyman 1971, 1978; Riley 2005; Riley and Hedrick 1978; Saville 1894; Schaafsma 1999, 2001; Schaafsma and Riley 1999a, 1999b, 1999c; Schaafsma and Taube 2006; Schroeder 1965, 1966; Stanislawski 1966; Taube 1986, 2000b, 2001, 2006a, 2010c; Upham 1986; VanPool et al. 2008; Webster and McBrinn 2008; Weigand 2008a; Weigand and Weigand 2001; Whalen and Minnis 2001b, 2003; Wilcox 1986a, 1986b; Wilcox et al. 2008; Woosley and Ravesloot 1993; Young 2000, and others.

homogenized cultural region without acknowledging differences and internal variation in religious, political, and social organization (McGuire and Villalpando 2007: 59). While the geographic boundaries for the northern extent of Mesoamerican cultural traditions have long been drawn and re-drawn (Adams 2005; Coe and Koontz 2008: 10; Kirchoff 1943, 1952; Searcy 2010: fig. 3.1; Weaver 1981), so too has the proposed terminology for describing the vast terrain encompassing the American Southwest and northern Mexico been ever-changing. Names such as the Gran Chichimeca, the Chichimec Sea, the Greater Southwest, Greater Mesoamerica, Greater Aztlán, and the more recent Southwest/Northwest (or SW/NW) are sprinkled throughout this dialogue.

Models of interaction have fluctuated between models (1) that early on simply identified the cultural traits that appeared during generalized “waves of influence”, (2) that were based upon the concept of foreign merchant traders or *pochteca*, (3) that proposed the migration of people, (4) that were reliant upon world systems approaches, and lastly, (5) models that focused upon peer-polity mechanisms of elite interaction and prestige economies (see Phillips 2002; Wilcox 1986a). As these differing arguments have long been extensively analyzed, summarized, and critiqued, it is beyond the scope of the present study to recount them in any great detail save for a discussion of models specifically oriented towards explaining the rise of the Casas Grandes culture. The varying positions of scholars who have staked their intellectual positions are addressed throughout the course of the present work.

Introduction to the Casas Grandes Culture

A recent study that focused upon the nature of the Casas Grandes culture and the central site of Paquimé began with the following assertion: “Northwest Chihuahua, Mexico contains the southern extremity of the ancient Puebloan world” (Whalen et al. 2010: 527). This seemingly simple introductory statement is not accepted wisdom by all scholars, however. Others who study the Casas Grandes culture may prefer to characterize this site and region differently, perhaps restating this sentence in the following manner: “Northwest Chihuahua, Mexico, contains the northern extremity of the ancient Mesoamerican world.” The accuracy of these positions lies somewhere in the middle. While some scholars consider the Casas Grandes culture to have been a largely local phenomenon (e.g., Whalen and Minnis 2001b), others see strong outside influence either from the north (e.g., Lekson 1999a, 1999b) or from the south (e.g., Foster 1999; Kelly 1993, 2000).

The excavation of the archaeological site of Paquimé, Chihuahua (AD 1200-1450) by the Joint Casas Grandes Project headed by Charles C. Di Peso revealed this site to be a major Pre-Columbian center with material culture and symbolism exhibiting both Southwestern and Mesoamerican influence. Since then, scholars sought to understand sociopolitical organization and cosmology at Paquimé and have explored how this site influenced the significant changes in religion, art, architecture, population migration, and social organization that were the hallmark of the Pueblo IV period (AD 1300-1600) in the American Southwest (**Fig. 1.2**).

Di Peso's interpretations of the rise of Paquimé were bold and iconoclastic, as he squarely placed the fortunes of Paquimé and the motivators of social change in the American Southwest within the context of Mesoamerican historical events. His main thesis positioned the Casas Grandes culture as a key centerpiece of direct Mesoamerican incursion by highland Central Mexican Toltec merchants, akin to the Aztec *pochteca*, and priestly retinues with knowledge of specific Mesoamerican deities, foreign figures whose presence in the region also shaped the rise of the Chaco Canyon culture. This framework sought to link Paquimé directly to Mesoamerican societies.

While this characterization was criticized immediately by Southwestern scholars on a number of fronts, one of the main points of contention centered upon Di Peso's dating of the beginning of Paquime's florescence to the eleventh century, a date that has now been more accurately revised to the mid-thirteenth century (Dean and Ravesloot 1993), or *after* the demise of the Chacoan, Mimbres, and Toltec cultures. The criticisms of Di Peso's model have been varied and persistent, with a number of scholars now demoting many of his original interpretations. His interpretations, and the subsequent critiques, are well documented, and it is beyond the scope of the present study to rehash these arguments. Still, the main thrust of his argument was centered upon the notion that the rise of Paquimé was predicated upon the direct, external influence of foreign populations from Mesoamerica. Though scholars have long derided arguments of diffusionism and long-distance migration as primary means of explaining social change, the subject of interregional interaction in general remains a subject of concern in archaeological analyses (e.g., Schortman 1989).

Following the excavation and interpretation of Paquimé, a number of dissertations, theses, and research reports in recent decades have built upon and revised the data and interpretations derived from the field work of Di Peso and colleagues². Subsequent work by scholars following the completion of the Joint Casas Grandes Project have at times sought to dismantle or revise the intellectual framework constructed by Di Peso that has long provided the guidelines by which to understand the development and demise of Paquimé.

Perhaps most prominent of those scholars to confront Di Peso's conclusions are Michael Whalen and Paul Minnis (2001b, 2009), archaeologists whose survey and excavation work over the past two decades sought to document the antiquity, extent, and nature of cultural development in the larger Casas Grandes region, a task that added greatly to our knowledge of Northwest Mexican archaeology. Their work in part sought to document evidence to support their arguments for a more substantial presence of cultural groups in the Casas Gandes region during the Viejo-period, the era preceding the great development of Paquimé, than previously realized. They postulated that much of the Viejo-period component underlies, and remains hidden beneath, the subsequent Medio-period construction of Paquimé.

According to Lekson (2001), the presence of a substantial population during this earlier era is a necessary component of their argument that the Casas Grandes phenomenon represented an *in situ* outgrowth, or a sequential “gradualism” of local

² e.g., Bagwell 2006; Bradley 1996; Burgett 2006; Casserino 2009; De Atley 1980; Douglas 1990; Hale 2004; Harmon 2005; Hendrickson 2003; Hughes 2005; Larkin 2006; Rakita 2001; Ravesloot 1984; Searcy 2010; Sprehn 2003; VanPool 2003b; Whalen et al. 2010, and others.

incremental development, as opposed to being a consequence of any incursions or outside stimuli by Mesoamerican people and societies. Among the main critiques of their proposition that Viejo-period social formations led to the evolutionary development of Medio-period social formations is that evidence for substantial Viejo components across the region are relatively sparse.

Lekson (2001: 220) noted the scarcity of evidence for significant population density or habitation during the Viejo period that was sufficient to suggest cultural continuity from Viejo to Medio, despite over ten years of survey and research (but see Whalen and Minnis 2003, 2009: 261-265). Some of the population base of the Casas Grandes culture appears to have been derived from both the earlier Mimbres culture of southern New Mexico and local Chihuahuan populations. However, the historical factors, both local and distant, that kick-started the Medio-period rise of Paquimé remain obscure.

Casas Grandes and the Aztatlán Tradition

While some scholars argue for a strictly local Southwestern and Northwest Mexican origin and development of the Casas Grandes phenomenon, others look towards distant cultures as the probable direct source of influence in the dramatic development of Paquimé. The most influential of these arguments contends that interaction with Aztatlán societies located along the Pacific coast of West Mexico (Sinaloa, Nayarit, Jalisco) stimulated this florescence (**Fig. 1.3**). Knowledge of and access to Mesoamerican religious beliefs and material culture is thought to have been used as a means for elite legitimization at Paquimé.

The Aztatlán tradition (AD 900-1450) was a widespread material-culture complex dating from the Early to Middle Postclassic period. Largely centered in Sinaloa and Nayarit, but stretching across much of West and Northwest Mexico, the Aztatlán tradition involved socioeconomic and information networks that linked this larger region to both highland Central Mexico and the American Southwest, but particularly to the enigmatic site of Paquimé, Chihuahua (Di Peso 1974; Ekholm 1942; Kelley 2000; Publ 1986; Sauer and Brand 1932). Along with the development of extensive trade networks, the onset of the Aztatlán tradition marked a significant change in material culture, with the widespread occurrence of spindle whorls, obsidian blades, urn burials, copper ornaments such as bells (crotals) and tools, shell jewelry, and a newly developed polychrome ceramic tradition with complex symbolism that reflects a disjunction in cosmology.

Scholars have long looked towards West Mexico for clues to the nature of social change in northern Mexico and the American Southwest. As J. Charles Kelley (2000: 151) succinctly noted, “The only probable Mesoamerican source for the conversion of Paquimé into the center . . . of a major interaction sphere lies in the Mixteca-Puebla and Late Aztatlán development west and east of the Sierra Madre Occidental.” This statement is partly substantiated by the fact that a number of commodities such as copper and shell were imported to Paquimé from the Pacific coast of West Mexico (Bradley 1996; Vargas 1995, 2001).

During the Postclassic period, Aztatlán civic and ceremonial centers were located along major coastal river valleys and routes of communication in the highlands stretching from northern Sinaloa to northern Jalisco (Mountjoy 2000: 95). At contact in the AD

1520s, the Aztatlán provinces contained a high degree of cultural complexity with market towns, large armies, merchants, fishing industries, extensive trade systems, densely populated settlements, caciques, and the payment of tribute. These are all attributes that Publ (1986) considered to have developed in the region long before the arrival of the Spanish. Despite assertions by Aztatlán scholars over the past decade or more that the archaeology of West Mexico is crucial to our understanding of social change in the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico, this region essentially remains *terra incognita*.

The Aztatlán Tradition and Highland Central Mexico

While scholars have debated the role of the Aztatlán tradition in cultural developments in northern Mexico and the American Southwest, a second but interrelated line of debate has focused upon the long-distance links between Aztatlán and highland Central Mexican societies. Some scholars link the rise and spread of the Aztatlán tradition with historical events and ideas in Central and Southern Mexico. For example, those who have worked with Aztatlán material culture and iconography, such as Ekholm (1942) and Meighan (1976), noted striking similarities in depictions of deities and symbols commonly associated with highland Central Mexico and the region southeast of the Valley of Mexico, particularly from the modern states of Puebla and Oaxaca. Likewise, other scholars have noted that Late Postclassic polychrome ceramics from Nayarit display a West Mexican variant of the Postclassic International Style, a widespread artistic style during this era (Boone and Smith 2003: 188; Von Winning

1977). That this variant in West Mexico has received so little attention is reflected in its virtual exclusion from discussions that detail the four other substyles of the Postclassic International Style.

The present research builds upon these initial observations and explores the highly developed though poorly understood Aztatlán religious and symbolic systems, a complex with a number of detailed renderings of deities and motifs of highland Central Mexican origin (see Chapters 6-8). While it is clear that this time period saw increased West and Northwest Mexican integration into widespread Postclassic-period information and exchange networks, there remain few significant studies that examine how religion and symbolism is manifested locally in Postclassic West Mexico (Bojórquez Diego 2009) or explore how religious beliefs articulate with social, political, and economic organization at Aztatlán sites and in the macro-region during this period.

Conceptual Metaphors and the Archaeological Record

Recent approaches in the study of Mesoamerican and Southwestern relationships seek to connect shared religious iconography, religious beliefs, and ritual practices between the two geographic and cultural regions. Since written texts were not used in many regions during this time period, the study of iconographic motifs on material culture, such as ceramic vessels, in conjunction with archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic data lends itself towards a reconstruction of fundamental principles of Aztatlán, Casas Grandes, and Puebloan cosmologies. While scholars in recent years identified evidence of integration and long-distance trade of exotic material goods in

northwest Mesoamerica, there remains no systematic examination of symbolism sufficient to draw comparisons of fundamental religious beliefs and sociopolitical organization between then-contemporaneous Casas Grandes and Aztatlán-tradition peoples.

As such, the present research facilitates a much-needed comparison of conceptual metaphors expressed in highland Central Mexican, Aztatlán, Casas Grandes, and Puebloan symbolism, cosmology, and ideology. By incorporating metaphor theory into studies of ritual behaviors and material culture, a comparative analysis of conceptual metaphors expressed in the symbolism of ancient cultures in the American Southwest and Mesoamerica allows for the identification of shared or pan-regional religious beliefs and ritual practices. The identification of shared ideas and material culture, coupled with an inclusive discussion of native oral histories, then allows one to trace the movement of these ideas upon the landscape through time and space.

Students of ancient religion, art, and symbolism at times have the benefit of analyzing systems of beliefs encoded in written texts including ancient and contemporary religious scriptures, manuscripts, poems, and novels. Scholars of Western histories and cultural traditions often privilege the study of the written word above nonwritten forms of communication such as those found among many non-Western cultures. When seeking to reconstruct the cosmology of ancient cultures that have no written or literary traditions, including those in many parts of ancient Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, scholars draw upon knowledge derived from visual formats such as murals, sculptures, and symbolism on pottery, along with religious information drawn from the oral

traditions of descendant indigenous communities, sacred narratives, poetry, and song lyrics.

Much as written texts and spoken communication rely on literary devices such as metaphors and metonymy, nonliterate societies use conceptual metaphors embedded in visual mediums rather than written texts as a means to transmit information (Black 1984; Ortman 2000, 2010; Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2004, 2006, 2010; Tilley 1999). In nonliterate societies, conceptual metaphors and more poetic forms of expression are also embedded in a number of forms including speech, ritual, prayers, sacred narratives, and in the production, form, and use of artifacts. Visually expressed metaphors, such as those found in murals or symbolism painted on ceramics, are essentially mnemonic devices for conveying cultural knowledge and memories. Thus, the use of literary theory in the study of metaphor in texts, language, material culture, and art gives archaeologists and art historians the theoretical tools to engage in an approach rooted in the humanities for interpreting and reconstructing the cultural meaning of archaeological and ethnographic material culture, artifacts, and symbolism. The reconstruction of ancient meaning in art and symbolism then allows for a comparative analysis of ancient religious beliefs among disparate cultural traditions.

The present research engages in a comparative study of conceptual metaphors expressed in the material culture, art, and symbolism of ancient societies in the American Southwest, Northwest Mexico, and Mesoamerica proper in order to discern the presence of shared religious beliefs and ritual practices beginning around AD 900, but particularly

after AD 1200. Discerning shared metaphors in the material culture and symbolism essentially allows one to map the movement of ideas upon the landscape through time.

Science and History in the Field of Archaeology

The field of archaeology as a scientific discipline has long maintained a tumultuous relationship with indigenous oral histories, a continued estrangement that exists within the field to the present day. For some scholars, scientific (or hypothetico-deductive) archaeology and indigenous oral traditions and histories do not hold equal footing in explanations of past social phenomena. All too often, oral traditions have been dismissed by archaeologists as being myths that are untestable or incompatible with the rigors of scientific analysis. However, others argue that indigenous oral histories and religious beliefs hold great value and contend that their inclusion is essential for enhancing archaeological interpretations.

Early-nineteenth-century archaeologists in the American Southwest, such as Jesse Walter Fewkes (1893b, 1900b) and Victor Mindeleff (1891) among others, sought to include historical perspectives by incorporating native migration accounts and oral traditions into archaeological interpretations of specific ruins. This procedure did not escape criticism, and a number of notable anthropologists stated their clear opposition to the idea that native oral traditions are infused with knowledge of sufficient value for the historical reconstruction of social formations or events in the past (e.g., Kroeber 1917; Lowie 1915, 1917; Mason 2000, 2006; Radcliffe-Brown 1952).

With regard to the validity of native oral histories, in his study of the sixteenth century Spanish incursions into the Southwest, F.W. Hodge (1895: 145) indicated, “It is my purpose to show that . . . Zuni traditional accounts of events which occurred over three centuries ago are not worthy of consideration as historical or scientific evidence.”

In describing Zuni, Kroeber (1917) stated:

The habitual attitude of the Zuni, then, is unhistorical . . . That now and then he may preserve fragments of a knowledge of the past that approximate what we consider history, is not to be doubted. But it is equally certain that such recollection is casual and contrary to the usual temper of his mind.

Lowie (1915: 598) firmly proclaimed similar conclusions regarding the validity of oral histories: “. . . I cannot attach to oral traditions any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever.” His comments two years later further reaffirmed this position: “I held then, as I do now, that those who attach an historical value to oral traditions are in the position of the circle-squarers and inventors of perpetual-motion machines, who are still found besieging the portals of learned institutions” (Lowie 1917: 161).

Despite these proclamations, Lowie (1917: 161) recognized that some shared traditions among different cultural groups, such as shared material culture and religious beliefs, can suggest a historical relationship:

Traditions share with archaeological specimens, social usages, religious phenomena, and what not, the characteristic that likeness in distinct tribes calls for interpretation. Such interpretation may in many instances reveal . . . an historical nexus otherwise unsuspected; and in such cases we are justified in speaking of an historical value of traditions, not in the sense that the traditions themselves embody truths which the ethnologist or folklorist must accept, but in the sense in which the same type of divination ritual, the same type of age-society, the same type of stone axe, in different regions, may have an historical bearing.

Lowie's use of the word *tradition* in this context seems to apply more towards shared material culture traits or objects and shared religious beliefs and rituals that are found among distinct cultural groups, but not towards the validity of historical sensibilities embedded in oral traditions/histories that tell of past events.

As Lowie (1917: 165) later stated, "The general conclusion is obvious: Indian tradition is historically worthless, because the occurrences, possibly real, which it retains, are of no historical significance; and because it fails to record, or to record accurately, the most momentous happenings." According to Trigger (1989: 312-319), the devaluation of native histories continued with the rise of the New Archaeology in the 1960s that brought with it an "anti-historical" bias. More recently, despite discouraging the use of oral tradition in archaeological interpretations, Mason (2000: 262) provided some circumstances in which oral traditions may be carefully used. These instances, summarized by Lyons (2003: 86), include:

(1) the fact that oral traditions may be a useful source of hypotheses in archaeology . . . (2) that analogical relationships might be posited when strong evidence of cultural continuity is present; and (3) the responsible researcher seeks out multiple independent sources of information bearing on a given problem.

By and large, archaeologists in the American Southwest have in the past largely rejected the proposition that native oral traditions contain valid bodies of historically based knowledge.

In my estimation, the separation of scientific archaeological interpretations from the ethnography and indigenous oral traditions has been detrimental to Southwestern archaeology and the discipline as a whole. In Mesoamerican archaeology, this separation

has not been as severe, and ethnographic data and oral traditions have been more commonly incorporated into archaeological interpretations. In contrast, in the American Southwest the near exclusion of indigenous perspectives from archaeological narratives has until recent years been conspicuous.

This absence has placed tremendous strain on the relationship between archaeologists and native people, particularly when considering that the material and physical remains that Southwestern archaeologists study are those of the ancestors of contemporary native people living in these same areas of study. As Trigger (1989: 316) noted:

. . . most native people have been repelled by the negative attitudes toward them that traditionally have been reflected in interpretations of archaeological data and in particular by the refusal of archaeologists to study the past as a record of native American history and culture.

The near wholesale devaluation of native perspectives, memories, and oral histories of the material remains and cultural history of the larger Southwestern region has left a glaring void in the practice of archaeology in the American Southwest and beyond (ibid.).

Recent developments in Southwestern archaeology included efforts to find common ground in integrating traditional indigenous perspectives of the past with interpretations derived from scientific archaeology. This turn in the discipline, partly spurred by the adoption of NAGPRA, represents a call for the revitalization of a more vigorous humanities-oriented archaeology and the restoration of a historical sensibility in

recognizing oral traditions in our narratives of past social change³. As noted above, this approach is not new in the American Southwest, as early twentieth century scholars long ago sought to tie indigenous migration traditions to the archaeological record, oftentimes linking oral histories to specifically named ruins. These migration traditions are often embedded in ceremonial performances that reinforce and memorialize accepted social histories and, when performed, are effectively akin to reciting historical texts or narratives (Whiteley 2002a: 411). A desired middle-ground between scientific and humanistic interpretations is one “. . . that retains epistemological rigor and the capacity for analytical judgement, while being open to enhancement by legitimate oral tradition, considered as a fund of additional evidence and explanation” (ibid.: 406). When combined in a discerning manner, scientific archaeology and indigenous oral histories are complementary ways of knowing the past.

In the American Southwest and Northern Mexico, oral traditions and clan histories provide keen insight into a number of issues, including the migrations of clans upon the social and geographic landscape, the transmission of religious beliefs through space and time, and past social organization. A number of these traditions and beliefs are integral for the interpretation of Casas Grandes cosmology, socioreligious organization, and ancient population movement that is discussed in this dissertation. For example, Hopi oral traditions explicitly describe a place or region located “far to the south” named Palatkwapi, thought to be located deep in Mesoamerica. From this place came a number

³ e.g., Anyon et al. 1997, 2006; Bernardini 2005; Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Deloria, Jr. 1992, 1995; Echo-Hawk 2000; Lekson 2008; Lyons 2003: 82-99; Swidler et al. 1997; Vansina 1985; Whiteley 2002a, 2004a

of clans, deities, and religious practices relatively recently in time. These clans, who joined with clans already living in the Southwest, are said to have brought a new form of worship focused upon the sun and rain (Fewkes 1898d: 106). Zuni people share similar stories and describe how they learned a new form of solar worship from “strangers” who thereafter lived cooperatively among the Zuni. Though mentioned only briefly here, these intriguing examples are discussed in much greater depth and detail in the following chapters.

Oral traditions and ethnohistoric accounts from northern Mexico also speak directly to our understanding of Casas Grandes sociopolitical organization and social complexity. For example, widespread oral traditions tell of a ruler, today known as Montezuma, who came from outside of the immediate region, established himself at Paquimé and used the labor of local people to expand the site. The examination of oral traditions that tell of the long-distance migration of people who brought new forms of religious beliefs into the Southwest coupled with stories that describe a prominent ruler who arrived into northern Mexico from outside the region has the potential to yield significant insight into past historical events.

Clearly, these examples, which are discussed more fully below, demonstrate that the intersection of data from scientific archaeology and indigenous oral traditions and religious beliefs can yield more robust and academically rigorous interpretations in the field of archaeological research. The present research seeks to articulate archaeological data with native oral histories and religious beliefs in order to offer a more balanced interpretation of past social formations and change. This approach highlights the

importance and value of bringing long-ignored native voices, religious beliefs, and historical perspectives to the forefront. Furthermore, it underscores the academic strength of using this research strategy in studies focused upon reconstructing the ancient history of not just northwest Mexico and the American Southwest, but many other geographic and cultural regions as well.

The use of the direct historical approach, which integrates ethnohistoric and ethnographic data from probable descendent cultures, is a useful analytical tool for identifying and interpreting analogies in symbolism of pre-Contact cultures (Steward 1942). Keeping in mind the different historical contexts, the comparative analysis of symbolism and religion among ancient and contemporary cultures in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest enables the reconstruction of similarities and differences in fundamental cosmological principles. This comparison provides a critical step towards understanding both the mechanisms of transmitting cosmologies and the ways in which cosmological principles can be transformed as they are transferred over long distances. The desire for a more humanistic and historically oriented archaeology in the American Southwest has become more prominent in recent years. As Lekson (2008: 3, emphasis in original) stressed, “An *eventful* history, a history in which *things happened*. We don’t currently have that kind of history of the ancient Southwest. We have phase sequences, chronologies, and population graphs.” The present work, in some small way, helps contribute towards the construction of an indigenous history of the American Southwest and Northwest Mesoamerica.

Casas Grandes and Charles C. Di Peso's "Archaeohistory"

The reconstruction and interpretation of the rise and fall of the Casas Grandes culture and Paquimé by Charles C. Di Peso (1974) was heavily influenced by the application of historically based analytical procedures. That is, Di Peso (1983) advocated an interpretive framework shaped by what he called "archaeohistory" (Whalen and Minnis 2001b: 47-51). This approach sought to understand, and provide a narrative to, the development of Casas Grandes and the attendant cultural change in almost ethnographic detail by incorporating ethnohistoric and ethnographic data and analogy. Di Peso's strategy of constructing historically informed archaeological modeling also involved a manner of writing that took on the form of historical narrative (ibid.: 48).

Whalen and Minnis (2001b: 47-51) critiqued Di Peso's interpretations and methods, rightly noting that his interpretations often were directly and almost solely derived from Late Postclassic highland Central Mexican data and analogy. Among their main concerns was that Di Peso's approach led him to "overinterpret" and put forth arguments that were "frequently insufficiently supported by the archaeological data on which it should be based" (ibid.: 49). Lekson (2001), in a review of Whalen and Minnis's (2001b) volume and these comments in particular, pointed out that the aversion of some scholars to the types of historically based approaches used by scholars such as Di Peso springs from an analytical background in more scientifically oriented, and less humanistic, processualist Americanist archaeology.

It is anticipated that similar critiques may be leveled at the present work, which, much like Di Peso's work, relies heavily upon ethnohistoric and ethnographic data, is

written in a historical narrative style, and which looks to Central and West Mexican archaeological and historic data for inspiration and interpretative frameworks. When positing interpretations of archaeological data based on ethnographic analogy, a prominent concern in the present work is the close and careful adherence to the archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic data.

One of the main differences between the present work and Di Peso's, particularly in his discussions of the northward movement of religious beliefs from highland Central Mexico, is that the present work places great emphasis on tracing the movement of these ideas through intervening areas via then-contemporaneous cultures with clear evidence of interaction between the two cultural regions. This strategy tempers any problems in explaining the means of transmission that may arise when only drawing similarities between noncontemporaneous cultures located at great distance from one another with little to no evidence of direct interaction. Great care is taken in the present work to ensure that interpretations of material culture and social change also fit both the scientifically derived data and indigenous histories from multiple regions. In every possible instance, multiple independent lines of evidence were marshalled to substantiate the interpretations put forth in the present work.

The Flower World Complex

In the last two decades, scholars have identified a religious complex shared between indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest. This ideological complex, known as Flower World, spans more than 2,000 years in

Mesoamerica and is evident over a great geographic and temporal span. Important elements of Flower World include a focus upon the birth of the sun and maize gods. This flowery spiritual realm is closely identified with the east, dawn, flowers, fertility, birds and butterflies, music, ancestors, the rebirth of the maize plant, and the human soul. Flower World is intimately affiliated with those who follow religious parameters of the straight moral and ethical path in life.

In the American Southwest, aspects of the Flower World complex first began to appear in Chaco and Mimbres material culture around AD 1000, though the culmination of this complex becomes most clear in the art of the Pueblo IV period (AD 1300-1600). This latter era roughly coincided with the florescence of Medio-period Paquimé in the modern state of Chihuahua, Mexico. The present research positions the Casas Grandes culture as a major node in the transmission of a highly refined version of the Mesoamerican Flower World ritual complex to the American Southwest, a system of beliefs that was acquired or brought from then-contemporaneous Aztatlán societies in West Mexico. In my estimation, this transmission followed the earlier acquisition of the Flower World complex in Aztatlán societies from the Oaxaca-Puebla region at the onset of the Postclassic period.

This analysis sheds new light on Casas Grandes elite ceremonial life, firmly establishes links between the Mesoamerican Flower World complex and high-status individuals, and further explores how differential positions in the social hierarchy have roots in the control of ritual knowledge. Evidence of the Flower World complex in Postclassic West Mexico is identified in the present work not just through a systematic

evaluation of symbolism on then-contemporaneous Aztatlán-tradition ceramics, but also in descriptions of indigenous beliefs in ethnohistoric documents from the Contact period and ethnographic texts focused on contemporary indigenous Cora and Huichol people and ceremonialism in the region. This research seeks to partly reconstruct, and draw correlations between, the core religious traditions of the Casas Grandes, Aztatlán, and Puebloan societies of Northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest.

Organization of the Dissertation

By traversing a vast geographical and thematic expanse, the present work casts a wide net and explores a variety of interrelated topics of interest for scholars of ancient and contemporary indigenous cultures of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest. The intent of this work is to offer one small step toward a new approach, a new holistic intellectual framework, for reconstructing and interpreting the cultural history of a large portion of northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest after AD 900. This approach heeds the call for a continental-scale perspective that breaks down intellectual and modern cultural and national barriers in the discipline of archaeology that have served to divide adjacent geographic and cultural regions into isolated study areas, or isolated “natural laboratories”, that were perceived to be only peripherally connected. Because of the broad range of topics discussed below, it is necessary to subdivide the chapters into a number of broad themes, which often overlap. These themes focus on key aspects of Southwestern and Northwest Mesoamerican social change and cultural reorganization.

At this point, it is useful to note the main premise of the present work. That is, it is proposed here that the expansion of the Postclassic-period West Mexican Aztatlán tradition, and the correlative expansion of a new religious ideology centered upon the Flower World from Mesoamerica into the American Southwest, was the key social, political, religious, and economic development in the larger regional history that helped to drive social change in northwest Mexico and the American Southwest after AD 900. The pinnacle of this social change culminated in the rise of the site of Paquimé in the Casas Grandes region of northwest Mexico.

At a minimum, this newly adopted and fully formed politico-religious complex was centered upon three specific and interrelated Mesoamerican deities, the Sun Youth (Xochipilli), the Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl), and Venus as the Morning Star (Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli), though these beings were likely not known by these specific names in the far northern regions. The transmission of this politico-religious complex is thought to have been partly effected by the physical interactions and movement of people across great geographic distances, a conclusion that is supported by indigenous oral histories from the relevant regions. This new politico-religious complex irrevocably reshaped Southwestern and northwest Mesoamerican societies on many different levels and to a certain extent is responsible for nearly every major social change proposed by Southwestern scholars for the Pueblo IV period after AD 1300.

These social changes are diverse but closely interrelated. Among the topics to be discussed is (1) the depopulation of the Four-Corners region of the American Southwest, (2) the subsequent migration and social reorganization of Pueblo communities across the

Southwest, (3) the unique and recently discovered evidence of cacao use at Chaco Canyon, (4) the varied social changes that occurred during the Pueblo IV period, including the development of plaza-oriented pueblos following migration from the Four Corners, (5) the widespread appearance of notched musical rasps in the archaeological record, (6) the change in location and ritual significance of corn-grinding ceremonialism, (7) the development of widespread feasting networks, (8) the development of new polychrome ceramic horizon styles, (9) the florescence of elaborate kiva mural paintings, (10) the development of katsina, clown, medicine, and war society ceremonialism, (11) the appearance of ritual warfare imagery in rock art and kiva murals, (12) the development of dual-social organization, and (13) the formation of the ritual basis of social inequality and political power among Puebloan and Casas Grandes communities.

Aside from the above-described topics, this work also examines the archaeology and symbolism of the core coastal and highland Aztatlán region of the states of Nayarit and Sinaloa in West Mexico, a key cultural zone in the transfer of Mesoamerican ideas northward. The examination of the Aztatlán tradition focuses upon two main themes, (1) the evidence for Postclassic-period highland Central Mexican and Oaxacan influence and interaction in the archaeology and symbolism of Aztatlán material culture and (2) the evidence for Aztatlán influence and interaction with the Casas Grandes culture, particularly with the paramount site of Paquimé. This work concludes that the threads of past social change in the American Southwest, Northwest Mexico, West Mexico, and Central Mexico were tightly interwoven and that culture change should not be considered in each region individually, but as a whole.

Furthermore, I assert that the holistic archaeological and cultural history of these regions will never be fully understood or made lucid until scientific and indigenous perspectives of historical social change in all of these geographic areas converge in a manner such that they are equally considered in our analyses henceforth. Then, and only then, will the history of ancient northwest Mexico and the American Southwest spring to life, freed from the constraints of rigid scientific analytical procedures and cultural evolutionary perspectives that tie social change to the environment and largely removes the social actions of people from archaeologists' interpretations of the past.

The present work is organized in the following manner. In summarizing the present introductory chapter, I provided a brief survey of the long-standing debate over the nature of Southwest/Mesoamerican interaction. This discussion briefly explained the numerous types of social changes that occurred in the Southwest during the Pueblo IV period. In addition, this introduction described past research and explanations of earlier scholars on the significance of Paquimé as well as recent scholarly interpretations of the nature and significance of the Aztatlán tradition. The perceived manner in which these cultures are considered to be important is set within the context of a discussion of the Flower World complex. The nature of the past disjunction of scientific and humanistic aspects of archaeological analyses was explored and calls for a union of these two perspectives and the reincorporation of native oral histories into more humanistic archaeological interpretations of the past was emphasized.

A review of the arguments of scholars in the past who proposed the presence of Mesoamerican religious beliefs in northern Mexico and the American Southwest begins

Chapter Two. This chapter builds the case for the presence of a new form of Mesoamerican-style solar worship at Paquimé and explains the nature of the young solar deity Xochipilli who is at the heart of this complex, including a detailed discussion of his individual character attributes and his central role in the Flower World in Postclassic Mesoamerica. Following this initial discussion, the chapter explores the analogous Sun Youth in the Southwest and in the Casas Grandes region and explains his central role in the Flower World complex in the Southwest. This chapter explores how the adoption of Sun Youth ceremonialism influenced such events as the depopulation of the Four Corners region. It details how the adoption of the Sun Youth via Paquimé played a role in the transition to plaza-oriented villages and the related change in corn-grinding facilities during the Pueblo IV period. And it explores how Sun Youth ceremonialism impacted the seventeenth century Pueblo Revolt and related revitalization movements, among other cultural changes in the region.

Chapter Three considers the appearance of the plumed (and horned) serpent in the Mimbres and Casas Grandes regions and in the American Southwest later in time. This chapter explores past arguments from scholars who considered this figure to relate to Quetzalcoatl and then compares this prominent deity to the known Southwestern ethnographic examples of the Plumed Serpent. In this chapter, I argue in support of the Quetzalcoatl link and provide evidence for the close relationship between the Sun and the Plumed Serpent in Mesoamerica. This chapter then briefly details recent research on the relationship of Venus as the Morning Star to both the Sun and the Plumed Serpent. In essence, this chapter sets the stage for the argument for an influx of a religious complex

centered upon three conceptually intertwined and personified or anthropomorphized Mesoamerican deities: The Sun Youth, the Plumed Serpent, and a Morning Star deity related to the planet Venus. Evidence for this complex indicates that these personified deities arrived into the Southwest in its most refined form at roughly the same time and entailed a set of ideas that was first thoroughly present at the site of Paquimé. Knowledge of these deities is thought to have been obtained via the Aztatlán tradition of West Mexico.

The symbolism of the notched musical rasp as a representation of the “ladder of the sun”, both in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, is examined in Chapter Four. The appearance of notched musical rasps in the archaeological record of the Southwest is tied to the appearance of the Flower World complex and to an ideology of rain-making that is closely related to solar worship. This chapter also discusses the significance of the Mesoamerican-style interment of a notched human long-bone rasp in the burial compound of the highest-status elites at Paquimé and explores how the interment of this object relates to political organization at the site. Chapter Five identifies the depiction of flowers in the symbolism on Casas Grandes ceramics. This chapter also identifies the representation of “Flower Road”, the floral road of the sun, on these ceramics and discusses the significance of the appearance of these symbols on the funerary urns used in the burial compound of the highest-status elites at Paquime.

Chapter Six discusses leadership and hierarchy at Paquimé and concludes that the representation of the Sun Youth on Casas Grandes ceramics is related to the concept of a Casas Grandes ruler as a personified young Sun God or “Sun King.” This chapter

discusses how this concept relates to similar forms of political organization and leadership strategies in Mesoamerica. In this chapter, I argue that this form of hierarchical political organization centered upon the Sun was imported or brought from Aztatlán sites along the coast of West Mexico. This chapter examines archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic evidence for the development of this new form of solar worship during the Postclassic in West Mexico and explores how this solar complex continues to be manifest in contemporary religious traditions of the Cora (*Náyari*) and Huichol (*Wixarika*), the likely descendants of Aztatlán people. This analysis sets the stage for understanding the nature of leadership in the Casas Grandes region via analogy with similar forms of political organization in the Aztatlán region.

This section also includes a detailed discussion of Plumed Serpent and Morning Star ceremonialism among the Huichol and Cora and further traces these concepts to the onset of the Aztatlán tradition during the Postclassic period. Finally, this chapter examines the onset of a new form of maize agricultural ceremonialism that served to mark the onset of mitote-style ritualism known today among contemporary indigenous people of West Mexico. In essence, these arguments conclude that Aztatlán cosmology was centered upon a new form of religion centered upon the Sun, the Plumed Serpent, and Venus as the Morning Star.

Chapter Seven seeks to understand the nature of the Mesoamerican ballgame in the Casas Grandes region by taking into account the ideology of the ballgame in relation to the Flower World and the Sun in Mesoamerica. This chapter explores the distribution of the ballgame in Postclassic Northwest Mesoamerica and concludes that the Casas

Grandes ballgame and its related ideology has its roots in ballgame traditions in the Aztatlán region.

Chapter Eight details the material culture evidence for contact between Casas Grandes and Aztatlán societies of West Mexico. This discussion focuses upon Aztatlán iconography, archaeological sites, and ethnohistoric and ethnographic data from this region. This chapter identifies the core Pacific coastal region of the Aztatlán tradition as the place, the key intermediary region, from where Casas Grandes elites obtained or brought the Mesoamerican intellectual and cosmological framework that comprised their new political and religious complex. This discussion seeks to demonstrate that most, if not all, of the ideas that underlie Sun Youth, Plumed Serpent, Morning Star, and katsina ceremonialism in the Southwest, as components of the larger Flower World complex, is first evident in West Mexico after AD 900. This chapter determines that evidence for this shared belief system is centered in the southern coastal area of the Aztatlán zone, mainly in Nayarit, beginning in the Early Postclassic and it is the region from where these ideas in the Southwest ultimately originate.

Topics in this chapter include a discussion of the Aztatlán region at contact in the early sixteenth century that seeks to provide a better understanding of sociopolitical organization in this region during the Postclassic period. Other topics include a discussion of cacao cultivation, ritual use, and trade in this region in antiquity and the modern use of chocolate in solar ceremonialism among contemporary indigenous groups. This sections seeks to identify the Mesoamerican source region for evidence of cacao recently found at Chaco Canyon.

In addition, this chapter examines the symbolism of weaving and cotton in contemporary West Mexico and the Aztatlán region in relation to the sun, the rains, and the annual ceremonial and seasonal cycle centered upon maize agriculture. In doing so, the discussion provides clues towards the understanding of the rise of katsina ceremonialism and a new ideology of cotton, ancestors, and the rains that took form during the Pueblo IV period in the American Southwest in conjunction with Sun Youth ceremonialism. This chapter also examines the ideology of copper in the Aztatlán region, in the Casas Grandes region, and in the American Southwest in relation to solar worship and the Flower World complex. Finally, this chapter discusses the nature of Pacific coastal routes of long-distance interaction.

The sacred landscape around Paquimé is explored in Chapter Nine. Drawing from a discussion of Flower Mountain in Mesoamerica and its close association with rulers, elites, and ancestors, I argue that Cerro de Moctezuma was the symbolic Flower Mountain of the Casas Grandes world. This mountain was the highest peak in the Casas Grandes valley and a unique domestic and ritual complex was built atop this hill overlooking Paquimé. This complex likely was the home of some Casas Grandes elites and the Sun King.

The relationship of the Sun Youth to feasting both in Mesoamerica (the Eastern Nahua-Zapotec-Mixteca region), the Casas Grandes region, and the American Southwest is detailed in Chapter Ten. I argue that the Xochipilli-oriented feasting complex of the larger Eastern Nahua-Mixteca-Zapotec region, and the desire to acquire Southwestern turquoise and other exotica, was a key social mechanism that helped facilitate the spread

of the Flower World ritual complex northward during the Postclassic period. In these northern regions, feasting was also a strategy that high-status individuals maintained to solidify the hierarchical political structure. Sub-sections within this chapter discuss the horizon styles of new Southwestern ceramic traditions during the Pueblo IV period and explores how these new traditions relate to a Flower World feasting complex that originates at Paquimé and ultimately in Mesoamerica.

Chapter Eleven explores how the Sun Youth and the Casas Grandes culture was related to the Pueblo IV appearance of socioreligious ceremonialism such as the katsina complex, medicine and clown societies, war societies, and dual-social organization (moieties). This discussion centers upon the role of the sun in the Puebloan ceremonial cycle during the dualistic warm and cold halves of the year. Chapter Twelve examines the association between the Flower World and ritual/symbolic warfare both in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest. This discussion explores how the Sun Youth, the Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star all form an intertwined complex related to symbolic warfare within the Flower World complex. Within this chapter I discuss these three deities in relation to the unique Hopi tradition of Palatkwapi, which describes how these three deities were specifically brought by migrating clans from far to the south in Mesoamerica. Finally, as the Casas Grandes culture appears to be closely related to Palatkwapi traditions, I examine Hopi histories detailing the purposeful ritual destruction of sites in an effort to find analogues to the final demise of the Casas Grandes culture and the paramount site of Paquimé.

A narrative-style summary and conclusion of the arguments put forth in the present work characterizes Chapter Thirteen. This chapter explores the larger perspective of the expansion of Postclassic-period economic and information networks from Mesoamerica to the Southwest, the development of the Aztatlán tradition in West Mexico, the development and demise of Paquimé, the movement of religious beliefs through these regions, and the impact of their adoption in the Southwest up until the present day. Finally, the concluding Chapter Fourteen consists of an afterword and an identification of avenues for future research. This chapter offers a brief summary of the importance of the Sun Youth in the lives of indigenous Puebloan and West Mexican people in the past, present, and future.

Significance of the Dissertation

At different scales of perspective, the present research and analysis aims toward a number of diverse goals. This work contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the role of religion in the sociopolitical organization of ancient polities. It explores the importance of religion in social change and transformation and it examines how religion factors into elite strategies of legitimization. On a larger scale, this study advances our understanding of the long-distance interaction and social, political, economic and religious integration of ancient polities over a large and poorly understood cultural and geographic expanse of ancient Northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest.

Individual chapters advance important themes in religious studies by (1) focusing upon the interrelationship between cosmology and the cultural and natural

landscape, (2) integrating indigenous histories and religious beliefs with scientific archaeology, (3) reconstructing the fundamental religious beliefs and worldview of largely contemporaneous ancient cultural traditions in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest, (4) exploring the ritually oriented aspects of violence in ancient and contemporary indigenous cosmology, and (5) examining various strategies by which elites use religion, symbolism, and ritual drama to define and secure their position in the social hierarchy. This work also examines (6) the use of art, symbolism, and metaphor among nonliterate societies in the conveyance of ideas, values, and cosmology, (7) the relationship of moral codes to aesthetics of beauty, virtuosity, and the sacred, (8) the role of pilgrimage in prehispanic religious traditions, (9) the importance of religion and the public performance of rituals and plaza dances in the integration of multi-ethnic communities in the diaspora of the fourteenth-century American Southwest, (10) the role of religion in revitalization movements and revolts against colonial oppressors, and (11) it examines the intersection of and negotiation between Contact-period European and indigenous religions and the resultant Christianization of native deities, among many other subjects of note.

The systematic documentation of symbolism on ceramic vessels from material culture collections housed in museums and institutions across Mexico and the United States comprised a portion of this dissertation research. On a practical level, this work will ultimately result in the compilation of a corpus of imagery from Casas Grandes and Aztatlan ceramics into a comprehensive online-accessible database for future studies of religion and cosmology by scholars of ancient North and West Mexico.

This research seeks to offer a new, continental-scale narrative of the origin, development, and profound impact of the West Mexican Aztatlán culture and cosmology on social transformations that occurred in the North American Southwest and northern Mexico after AD 900, but particularly after AD 1200 with the rise of the Casas Grandes culture. To at least partly accomplish this task requires a holistic approach to local, regional, and macro-regional social change both in the archaeological record and among contemporary indigenous societies today. As Trigger (1989: 340) rightly noted, “Ideally, parts of society are always studied in relation to the whole and individual social systems in terms of broader networks of intersocietal relations.” In sum, the present research continues and contributes toward the century-long dialogue between scholars focused upon the nature of Mesoamerican-Southwestern interaction and integration, a dialogue that is finally beginning to include the voices of native people.

Chapter 2:

The Sun Youth of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest: Mesoamerican Religion and Cosmology at Paquimé, Chihuahua

“ . . . [M]ost Southwestern archaeologists have virtually abandoned culture-history for hypothetico-deductive approaches that ignore the oral historical accounts and ethnographic analogs of contemporary Pueblo cultures. This seems to me very shortsighted . . . Southwestern anthropology remains vexed by functionalist or materialist models of Pueblo social structures that obscure historical consciousness and transformative agency from the picture.”

-Peter Whiteley (2002b: 148)

“We may have to live through a period of righteous sequence building in Chihuahua, reliving the slow phylogeny of southwestern archaeology, before we can once again come to grips with real history, à la Di Peso. But perhaps we needn't wait that long. We know enough about Paquimé and more than enough about the larger picture to integrate Casas Grandes into the larger Southwest and North America.”

-Stephen Lekson (2008: 318, fn. 168)

“We should know more about the kastotcoma.”

-Leslie White (1942: 345)

Introduction

For scholars studying the archaeology of the North American Southwest, one of the most pressing debates concerns the role played by the archaeological site of Paquimé, located in the Casas Grandes region of Chihuahua in northwest Mexico, in the significant political and ideological changes and in the community reorganization that occurred across the Greater Southwest region after AD 1200 (Schaafsma and Riley 1999a; see map of Paquimé in Ravesloot 1988: 4, fig. 1.2). Perhaps of equal concern for scholars is clarifying the role and impact, if any, of Mesoamerican peoples and ideas at this

important site and in the American Southwest (see regional maps of northwest Mexico and the American Southwest in Adams 2000b: 36, fig. 5.1 and Gorenstein and Foster 2000: 9, fig. 1.2). A number of recent studies have emphasized the importance of the analysis of iconographic motifs on Casas Grandes vessels as a means towards better understanding the fundamental cosmological principles of people at Paquimé⁴. However, few studies have drawn links between motifs in Casas Grandes iconography and specific ritual practices evident among ancient and contemporary Puebloan people in the American Southwest.

In this chapter, I present a qualitative examination of a specific motif, namely the macaw-headed anthropomorphic figure in Casas Grandes iconography, with the argument that this motif represents the widespread mythological Sun Youth evident among many Pueblo peoples today. Furthermore, I argue that the Sun Youth at Paquimé and in the American Southwest is closely linked to the very widespread and ancient Flower World complex recently described by a number of scholars focused upon the study of cultures in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest⁵. More specifically, I argue that the concept and character traits of the macaw-headed Sun Youth in the Greater Southwest, first at Paquimé and later in the American Southwest, is directly derived from the Mesoamerican Sun Youth Xochipilli, the solar deity with ancient roots at Classic period Teotihuacan. This deity is preeminently affiliated with the Flower World complex in highland Central Mexico and Oaxaca and in West Mexico during the Postclassic. A key component of this

⁴ e.g., Harmon 2006; VanPool 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b; VanPool and VanPool 2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; VanPool et al. 2006.

⁵ e.g., Burkhart 1992; Hays-Gilpin 2006; Hays-Gilpin and Hill 1999, 2000; Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006; Hill 1992; Taube 2002, 2004b, 2006a, 2005b, 2006b, 2010a, 2010c, 2011a, 2011b.

religious complex in Mesoamerica is the perception that the youthful sun is reborn in the east each day at dawn from Flower Mountain, a sacred paradisaal mountain ornamented with flowers that serves as the abode of deceased esteemed ancestors (Taube 2004b, 2006b).

The identification of religious beliefs and ritual practices at Paquimé, and later in the American Southwest, linked to a particular Mesoamerican deity and specific ancient Mesoamerican cosmological principles, strongly suggests that the dramatic florescence of Paquimé at around AD 1200 in part involved a significant ideological disjunction between the Viejo and Medio-periods. This disjunction implies that after AD 1200 the adoption of a new symbolic system in the Greater Southwest and northern Mexico, which focused upon specific aspects of the Mesoamerican Flower World complex, was not simply the result of ecological adaptation, independent invention, selective borrowing, or the pressures of population increase and aggregation, as scholars have proposed for other major social changes in the Southwest. More likely, the dramatic shift in cosmology was the result of historical factors related to direct interaction with people and the transfer of a complex of ideas from locations further south in Mesoamerica via the site of Paquimé (Schaafsma and Riley 1999a).

The striking degree of similarity in the characterization of the Sun Youth across such vast distances strengthens the argument that people at Paquimé were intimately familiar with and knowledgeable about specific Mesoamerican deities and ritual practices. This raises the intriguing question of how this knowledge came into being at Paquimé. In this study, I argue that this knowledge is less likely to have been transferred as a result of

a down-the-line transmission of ideas. Rather, the dramatic disjunction in cosmology and the florescence of Medio-period (AD 1200-1450) Paquimé may very well have been a result of the presence of Mesoamerican, or more specifically West Mexican, people at this important site.

In the following sections, I first discuss in more detail the nature of the Flower World complex in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest as identified by scholars over the last two decades, but particularly in more recent years. To understand the role of Mesoamerican ideological influences in the American Southwest, one must understand this ritual complex and its core components. I then discuss the role and character attributes of the important solar deity Xochipilli within the widespread and ancient Flower World complex in Mesoamerica. Thereafter, I examine the strikingly similar character traits of the widespread youthful solar deity Payatamu in the American Southwest and draw comparisons between these two deities and conclude that these beings are historically related. Following this, I examine the Medio-period Casas Grandes iconography in order to demonstrate how Paquimé, in northwest Mexico, played a linking role in the transmission of an ideology concerning the Sun Youth. I then briefly review recent scholarship concerning the transition to plaza-oriented communities and the related shifts in corn-grinding symbolism after AD 1200 in the American Southwest and relate these transformations to my discussion of the Sun Youth. Finally, I situate my arguments within the context of native oral traditions in an effort to articulate changes in the archaeological record with the oral traditions and perspectives on the past of contemporary indigenous peoples in the American Southwest.

The Flower World Complex in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

Since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, anthropologists recognized cultural similarities between the American Southwest and Mesoamerica, two of the most studied cultural regions in the New World. One of the more important and longstanding debates in Southwestern archaeology concerns the extent to which Mesoamerican cultures influenced the political and socioreligious organization of people in the Southwest. Scholars have recently noted a significant ideological shift in northern Mexico and the American Southwest around AD 1200-1300, preceding the florescence of katsina ceremonialism (Riley 2005; Schaafsma 2000b; VanPool 2003b).

The archaeological site of Paquimé, Chihuahua, which has both Southwestern and Mesoamerican characteristics, is believed to have played a significant role in this transformation. A number of scholars in recent years have reemphasized the position of Paquimé as a nexus between Mesoamerica and the American Southwest and have underlined the critical need to understand the religious beliefs and practices of people at Paquimé as a gateway towards understanding the highly stratified political and socioreligious organization at the site (Phillips 2002; Schaafsma and Riley 1999a, 1999b, 1999c; VanPool 2003b).

Phillips (2002: 184) noted that a recently emerging approach in the study of Mesoamerican and Southwestern relationships concerns research that draws links in shared religious iconography, religious beliefs, and ritual practices between the two geographic and cultural regions. Of these studies, one of the most important is Jane Hill's (1992) examination of verbal media, which drew attention to a widespread and ancient

spiritual complex, termed Flower World, that is evident among ancient and contemporary peoples of the Uto-Aztecan language family in Central and West Mexico and the American Southwest, including among the Aztec, Huichol, Cora, Yaqui, Hopi, and O'odham. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that Flower World symbolism crosscuts linguistic boundaries both in Mesoamerica and in the American Southwest.

The Flower World complex relates to a flowery, paradisaical realm of origin and return that is closely related to the east, the soul and life-essence, colorful tropical birds and butterflies, chromatic colors, floral aroma and incense, music and song, and the breath soul. Described by linguist Jane Hill (1992), Patricia Crown (1994), Kelley Hays-Gilpin (Hays-Gilpin and Hill 1999, 2000), Karl Taube (2002, 2004b, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b, 2010a, 2010c, 2011a), and in recent collaborative efforts between archaeologists and native scholars (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006; Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2004, 2006, 2010), the Flower World complex is symbolically associated with the young, eastern dawning sun and, as such, is considered a place of light, fertility, warmth and moisture, rebirth, and spiritual power.

In a series of recent studies, Karl Taube (2004b, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b, 2010a, 2010c, 2011a) demonstrated the great antiquity of the Flower World complex in Mesoamerica, dating to the Middle Formative Olmec, Early Classic Teotihuacan, Late Preclassic and Classic Maya, the Postclassic Toltecs, Chichén Itzá, Aztec, and Mixtec, among others. Furthermore, the Flower World is a central component in the widespread Postclassic International Style artistic tradition (Taube 2010a). It should be noted, however, that the Flower World complex is not a set of ideas that has existed or been

expressed in the material culture in all regions and cultural groups of Mesoamerica in perpetuity. For example, although the Flower World forms a major component of Classic-period Teotihuacan symbolism, there is very little evidence that the Flower World existed among the Classic Zapotec of nearby Monte Alban in Oaxaca during this same era (Karl Taube, pers. comm. 2011). The absence of the Flower World in the Valley of Oaxaca appears to change dramatically during the Postclassic period. In other words, the Flower World appears to have been a readily transmissible body of ideas or political ideology at different points of time, and according to changing historical circumstances, in Mesoamerica.

Similarly, scholars recently noted that evidence of Flower World in the material culture of the prehispanic American Southwest prior to AD 1300 “is weak to nonexistent” in the Anasazi and Mogollon region with the exception of flower and bird imagery in Classic Mimbres pottery and Chaco Canyon and Mimbres painted wooden ritual objects dating no earlier than AD 1000 (Hays-Gilpin and Hill 1999: 5). Following this period, a florescence of Flower World imagery was noted to have occurred over a widespread region in the American Southwest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as evidenced in elaborate and naturalistic kiva murals and in the development of katsina ceremonialism (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006).

While a number of recent studies have examined the development of the Flower World complex and katsina ceremonialism in the American Southwest, few of these have focused upon interpreting the iconography of Medio-period (AD 1200-1450) Casas Grandes ceramics, or Chihuahuan polychromes, in an effort to determine how religious

beliefs and ritual practices at this site influenced the cosmology and socioreligious organization of Puebloan societies beginning in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries and continuing among contemporary Puebloan peoples today.

In this regard, Adams (2000b: 45) acknowledged that “there is almost total consensus that iconographic influence from northern Mexico affected the expression of the katsina cult in the 1300’s.” In light of this assessment, the focus of the current chapter involves a qualitative examination of iconographic motifs on Chihuahuan polychromes coupled with a comparative study of archaeological and ethnographic examples of Flower World imagery from ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica and the American Southwest. This work reflects an effort to clarify the role of Paquimé and the Casas Grandes culture in the significant architectural, iconographic, and ideological changes that occurred across the Pueblo world after AD 1300.

Flower Mountain: the Birthplace of the Sun and Maize

A central component of the Flower World ritual complex is the sacred, eastern Flower Mountain, “a hill laden with flowers that provides access from the watery underworld into the heavens” and served as a mythic place of emergence and abode of gods and ancestors (Taube 2006b: 154). Flower Mountain is closely associated with the cyclical rebirth of the sun, the rebirth of the soul, and is also considered as the means of ascent into the celestial solar realm (Taube 2005b).

The concept of Flower Mountain is quite ancient in Mesoamerica, as scenes from the North Wall mural at the Late Preclassic Maya site of San Bartolo, Guatemala, attest

(**Fig. 2.1a**). These murals clearly depict the close association of Flower Mountain with rebirth and sustenance, as the Maize God is depicted retrieving maize and water from the cave-like maw of Flower Mountain (Taube 2006b: 156-157, fig. 2). According to Taube (ibid.: 154), among the Classic Maya, “Flower Mountain concerned both the maize god and the sun god, beings that expressed two basic metaphors of burial and rebirth, the daily descent and subsequent dawning of the sun, and the annual planting and sprouting of the maize seed” (**Figs. 2.1b-2.1c**). Furthermore, in Classic Maya art, royal ancestors, as individuals who are apotheosized as the sun or maize god, are closely linked to Flower Mountain (Taube 2005b). In this regard, Taube (ibid.) drew attention to Carlsen and Prechtel’s (1991: 27) account of Flowering Mountain Earth among the contemporary Tz’utujil Maya of Santiago Atitlan whereby the central world axis of origin and return of all things is characterized by a manifestation of the ancestral maize plant or tree.

The concept of Flower Mountain as the birthplace of the Sun is also present among prehispanic and contact-period Central Mexican cultures. Sixteenth-century Aztec accounts of the sacrifice and rebirth of the Fifth Sun are set at the cosmological center of the Teotihuacan world (Taube 2000a: 309-310). Among the ancient Teotihuacanos, the Temple of Quetzalcoatl in the Ciudadela compound at Teotihuacan represented the symbolic Flower Mountain of emergence from which the sun was reborn (ibid.: 310-311; 2004b: 161). Along with symbolism clearly marking this pyramid as a floral mountain, Colonial-period illustrations of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl depict the Sun positioned directly above this pyramid, clearly marking it as the place from which the sun arises

(ibid.: 311-312, fig. 10.23; **Figs. 2.2a-2.2b**). In the art of Teotihuacan, numerous depictions of Flower Mountain exist (Taube 2010c: figs. 5.20a-5.20c; **Figs. 2.2c-2.2f**).

As Burkhardt (1992) and Taube (2005b; 2006b: 158-159) noted for the later Aztec, Flower Mountain is also closely identified as the dwelling place of the solar deity Tonatiuh. For example, one sixteenth-century *Psalmodia Christiania* song recorded in highland Central Mexico by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún concerns the concept of the eastern flowery solar paradise of the Aztec Sun god Tonatiuh, here conflated with Christ: “There our lord’s flowering mountain lies visible, lies giving off warmth, lies dawning. Its fragrance, its emanation, its scent lies far reaching, lies spreading over the land” (Burkhardt 1992: 27). Taube (2005b) drew attention to accounts in the sixteenth-century *Florentine Codex* that describe the Aztec solar paradise at the place of the eastern dawning sun. For example, one passage states, “the brave warriors, the eagle-ocelot warriors, those who died in war, went there to the house of the sun. And they lived there in the east, where the sun arose” (Sahagún 1950-82, bk. 6: 162). Though only briefly discussed, it is clear that Flower World and Flower Mountain are closely linked to the rebirth of both the dawning sun and maize in ancient and contemporary Mesoamerican thought.

Rulers, Esteemed Ancestors, and Flower Mountain in Mesoamerica

While many examples of the flowery spirit world occur in the art of ancient Mesoamerica, a number of these images document the close association between high-status individuals, the floral solar realm, and Flower Mountain. This sacred mountain, a

symbolic *axis mundi*, is closely linked to esteemed individuals, heroic warriors, and ancestors who adhere to a strict and morally virtuous code of ethics in life (Taube 2004b). For example, in an early portrayal of this concept in the Middle Formative period, an esteemed figure seated inside a four-lobed mountain cave is depicted on Monument 1 at Chalcatzingo, Morelos (**Fig. 2.3a**). As Taube (2004b: 90) suggested, in this portrayal a probable female figure holds a ceremonial bar while seated within a quatrefoil cave marked with bromeliads and surrounded by falling rain and precious jade disks.

Royal ancestors in Classic Maya art, who often are the apotheosis of the solar or maize god, are closely identified with Flower Mountain and the celestial floral paradise (Taube 2005b: 36). Notably, as Flower Mountain is the means of celestial ascent into the solar realm, it is unsurprising to find portrayals of Flower Mountain in the context of royal burials (Taube 2006b: 156). For example, in the Maya region, the eastern wall of Early Classic Tomb 1 at Rio Azul featured a Flower Mountain and an image of the head of the sun god atop the crocodile earth (ibid.; Taube 2004b: 83). At Balamk'u, frogs situated atop Flower Mountain belch or exhale images of enthroned kings and the sun god (Saturno et al. 2005: 21). Stucco masks of Flower Mountain occur on the façade of Structure 5d-33-2nd at Tikal, the building housing the temple and tomb of the ruler Siyaj Chan K'awil (ibid.), the interior walls of which contained imagery of a precious rain of floral jewels representing the floral solar realm (Taube 2004b: 79). David Stuart pointed out that inscribed texts on bone fragments from Burial 116 in Tikal Temple 1 referred to conjuring at Flower Mountain (in Taube 2006b: 161).

On Lintel 2 of Tikal Temple 1, the Late Classic ruler Jasaw Chan K'awiil sits atop a Teotihuacan version of Flower Mountain (Taube 2004b: 88; **Figs. 2.3c-2.3d**). Notably, on many Classic Maya monuments, royal ancestors are depicted in the upper registers of scenes, likely denoting a celestial solar realm (Taube 2004b: 79). Lintel 1 at El Chicozapote depicts an ancestral figure portrayed as the sun seated atop Flower Mountain (**Fig. 2.3b**). On Yaxchilan Stela 3, a solar cartouche describes the ancestor as being of "Five-Flower Mountain" (Saturno et al. 2005: 21). Taube (2004b.: 83) also pointed out that on a number of monuments at Caracol, an image of Flower Mountain serves as a toponymic support for rulers. Noble warriors are portrayed at Early Postclassic-period Chichén Itzá standing atop mountains with prominent blossoms on their forehead (**Fig. 2.3e**). Similar concepts were evident among the Late Postclassic Aztec, as deceased rulers went to the celestial solar paradise at death (Sahagún 1950-82, bk. III: 49, bk. VI: 163; Taube 2004b: 87). Notably, Taube (2010a) argued that temple pyramids at Late Postclassic Tulum in Yucatán represent symbolic Flower Mountains. In ancient Mesoamerica, Flower Mountain is an *axis mundi* and paradisaal mountain of abundance that serves as the point of emergence of the dawning sun and the maize plant and is closely identified as the realm of elites and deceased, noble ancestors.

Flower Mound in the American Southwest

The florescence of the Flower World complex during the Pueblo IV period in the American Southwest reveals strikingly similar concepts associated with Flower Mountain. This eastern mountain, also known as Flower Mound, is particularly prevalent in the

belief systems of contemporary Hopi peoples of Arizona (Taube 2010c; see Geertz 1987: pl. XIa). For example, Fewkes (1896: 245-246, fn. 2) noted that a number of Hopi priestly societies, individuals with highly esoteric ritual knowledge, are said to have their origin at Flower Mound (see Chapter 12).

Following Watson Smith (1952: 230-231), Taube (2010c: 111, 115) identified a number of examples of Flower Mound in Pueblo IV kiva murals from Awat'ovi and Kawaika'a on the Hopi Mesas (**Figs. 2.4a-2.4d**). Furthermore, these examples appear as hills covered with flowers and can contain depictions of either fully developed maize ears or a central stalk of maize (ibid.). With regard to the image from Kawaika'a that portrays Flower Mound coupled with a series of mature maize ears in five different colors, Hays-Gilpin and Hegmon (2005: 100) noted that the depiction of many colors of corn in these murals "clearly refers to directional symbolism" (**Fig. 2.4c**). Thus, this directionality likely delineates Flower Mound as a symbolic axis of centrality.

A nineteenth-century Hopi account by Alexander Stephen indicated that Flower Mound is situated at the nadir and is closely associated with the *axis mundi* and the god of corn and germination, Müy'ingwa: "Below sits Mü'inyiñwû on Sihchomo, Flower Mound. He wears a mask of clouds of these five colors, and before it flutter all the sacred birds and all the butterflies" (Stephen 1936: 333; see Taube 2004b: 90). Taube (pers. comm. 2006) and Parsons (1933b: 26, fn. 102) also noted that the name of the Hopi village Sichomovi is a locative term for the place name Sihchomo, or "Flower Hill". Among the Keresans, the sacred directional mountain of the southeast, called *Póvi-pí* or

“Flower Mountain”, is home to the eastern cloud and war gods (Curtis 1907-1930, vol. 17: 45).

The location of Flower Mountain at the southeast corner in this instance may well refer to the place of the newly born sun at the southeast corner at the winter solstice point. At the Tewa pueblo of San Ildefonso, Flower Mountain is called *Powipin* (Parsons 1929: 25). Harrington (1920: 356) identified Santa Fe Baldy, among the highest and most conspicuous peaks in the Santa Fe range, as being named Flower Mountain (*Powipin*) among the Tewa. One Zuni Rain Dance song recorded by Densmore (1957: 103) mentions the association of dawn and Flower Mountain:

On the flower-mountain the clouds will be seen at sunrise, and by noon they will be on our crops, says the sun priest.

At Acoma, the Warrior Brothers Ma’sewi and Oyoyewi are said to reside in their underground abode at Flower Mound (Parsons 1939: 966). While not directly related, this Acoma concept is strikingly similar to Late Classic Maya portrayals of the Hero Twins at Flower Mountain (see Taube 2004b: fig. 12d).

In Santa Ana Pueblo (Tamaya) cosmology, the directional mountain of the east is called *Yastyá* (“Beginning of day”) *Kot* (“mountain”) (White 1942: 84). This mountain is also known as Dawn Mountain, and it is the place from where the sun rises (see image in White 1942: 81, fig. 5). Adjacent to Dawn Mountain, but just to the south, is the place called *Koaiikutc*, or “Sunrise Place” (ibid.). Importantly, the realm of Sunrise Place, directly adjacent to Dawn Mountain, is the abode of the Sun Youth Payatamu. This culture hero lies at the crux of the present dissertation, and he will be discussed in great detail in the present chapter.

In one story, briefly excerpted here, the east is the setting for a speech given by Payatamu: “. . . there in the east at *Koaik’atc* (sic), the Sun Youth spoke . . .” (Boas 1928: 76; *ibid*: 85). Furthermore, the Sun Youth of Santa Ana Pueblo lives with the sun: “At the sun’s house live Sun-Youth and his mother” (*ibid*: 276). In a Keresan story recorded in 1920, the Sun Youth persistently misleads Yellow Woman (likely Kochinako, the general name of the female Pueblo protagonist) as to the exact location of his house, yet indicated that it is in a flowery eastern realm: “‘Behold, here is my house’ — ‘Where do you live?’—‘There in the east across the hill, at the east corner. Flowers are very beautiful there’ . . . They went to the east but he lived very far away. He just lied to them. Away off at Sunrise he lived” (*ibid.*: 90). In the same story, the Sun Youth indicated where he lives:

‘Up the hill, below it, in the east is where I live’—‘Let us go,’ said the Yellow-Women. ‘When we get eastward up the hill below in the east are many flowers.’ But his house was still far away. Only with his supernatural powers he made it that way. They went down eastward. When they came to the top in the east their house was visible (Boas 1928: 90).

As is evident from these oral traditions, in Santa Ana cosmology the east relates to a flowery realm, the mountain of dawn from which the sun arises, and to the closely adjacent place of sunrise, the abode of the Sun Youth. The importance of this deity in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest is described in more detail below.

The flowery realm of the sun is evident in Pueblo IV rock art in the Galisteo Basin in the Southern Tewa region where an anthropomorphic sun shield is portrayed with a large central flower design (see Schaafsma 2000a: 115, fig. 4.7). This might suggest the perception of the sun as a blooming flower. A similar concept is evident

among the contemporary Yaqui of Sonora, as songs that evoke the eastern flowery spiritual realm describe the sun as laden with flowers and accompanied by butterflies (Evers and Molina 1987: 175):

Over there, I, where the flower-covered
sun comes out,
they [butterflies] are emerging,
all through the wilderness world,
in a row they are flying.
White butterflies, they say,
in a row they are flying

These perceptions of the sun draw remarkably similar parallels to a Colonial-period Aztec illustration of a *manta* (or textile) design in the *Codex Magliabecchiano* that portrays the Sun as a multi-colored flower (see image in Nuttall 1903: 8), a shared association that reflects not direct transmission of ideas but a common worldview. The association of the Sun with or as a flower is widespread in the Flower World complex.

The Pueblo IV-period Awat'ovi mural examples of Flower Mound with a central stalk of maize closely resembles imagery on Hopi Flute Ceremony tiles from Walpi. This scene, depicting cicada blowing a flute before a reed-like element, likely portrays the mythic reed of emergence projecting from a hillock (Taube 2010c: 113, figs. 5.27a-5.27c; see image in Stephen 1936: pl. XXII). This suggests that the hillock with the central reed of emergence is conceptually similar to the microcosm of the flowery mound from which emerges the corn plant in the maize field. Taube (2010c: 113, fig. 5.27c) recently proposed that a scene of cicada before a reed also occurs on one Mimbres vessel. Considering that Hopi is a composite society with multiple origin histories, I am inclined to consider the flute-playing cicada emergence traditions to be a distinct origin story that

may have been merged with later Sun Youth ceremonialism. This is a topic that deserves further attention.

That the birth and growth of the corn plant can be considered as conceptually akin to the birth and rising of the Sun at dawn might be reflected in one Zuni tradition. In a story recorded by Cushing (1896: 394) that explains how Zuni people acquired knowledge of the macaw-headed Sun Youth Payatamu, a brief passage suggests comparisons between the corn plant and the macaw. Cushing (ibid.) described the rituals of the Sun Youth Payatamu and the seven Corn Maidens and the growth of the corn plants whereby a youth and a maiden danced beside the corn plants, holding the plants and pulling them upwards in order to grow:

So also did the youth and each maiden in turn grasp the the other [corn] plants in their turn, until all had grown to the tallness of themselves and were jointed where they had grasped them; yea, and leaved as with waving plumes of the macaw himself.

This passage indicates that the growing corn plants with their newly fluttering leaves is akin to the fluttering feathers of the macaw, a bird closely linked to the newly born dawning Sun. Thus, it is possible that the “macaw-feathered” corn plant itself, and its probable birth from a flower-covered earthen mound that supports the roots of the corn stalk, might well be conceptually identified with the macaw feathered Sun Youth Payatamu and his birth from Flower Mound. The close association of corn with the eastern solar realm is a recurrent theme in the Flower World complex.

Much as ancient Mesoamerican conceptions of the east describe this region as an important locus of fertility and creation, other indigenous traditions in the Southwestern United States link the dawning sun and the east with the growth of corn (Hill 1992: 124).

For example, a Tohono O’odham Corn Song recorded by Saxton and Saxton (1973; cited in Hill 1992: 124) concerns the importance of the east in the creation of corn. This song is sung by Corn Man in a bid for a fertile garden:

Over there beneath the sunrise,
the corner of the earth is my garden,
In it flower songs go forth in every direction . . .

Densmore (1938: 80) recorded a similar song from Santo Domingo Pueblo entitled “Prayer for Rain”, that emphasizes the east as an important realm of fertility and rain:

East, east, in the east is the place where a spirit has sent for many things
for his people.
We must ask him to bring us good crops this coming year.

Clearly, within the Flower World complex and the lore of Native American peoples of the American Southwest, the east is closely associated with centrality and the emergence of the sun, maize, and fertility.

An example of Flower Mound that dates from the eleventh- to mid-twelfth century is evident on one Classic Mimbres ceramic vessel (Taube 2010c: 115; **Fig. 2.4e**). In this example, a mountain with a central line extending from the base to the peak is topped by a prominent floral blossom. This central line likely represents the “ceremonial line break”, or “spirit path”, that serves as the emergence pathway (ibid.). As Geertz (1987: 18) indicated, the spirit road or meal path “. . . is the road travelled upon by the gods and spirits.” Spirit roads take form in portrayals of stepped mountain or cloud elements and also appear radiating from some floral depictions in Mimbres ceramics (Taube 2010c: 115; **Figs. 2.4e-2.4g**). As such, in Puebloan thought, the concept of flowers, the *sipapu* emergence hole, and the kiva are symbolically equivalent as they all

represent “cave-like conduits for the life-giving breath spirit” (ibid.: 118). Thus, “with their radial symmetry, the plans of many circular kivas resemble the form of a petalled flower” (ibid.). In essence, spirit roads and the breath spirit are closely related to emergence pathways.

The first evidence of Flower Mound, with its emergent floral spirit path, in the symbolism of the Mimbres culture suggests that we are here beginning to see material culture evidence, albeit on a very small scale, that some Southwestern cultural traditions in concentrated regions were seeking to adopt Mesoamerican Flower World ritual concepts into their belief systems by AD 1000. However, a key point to note is that the very specific Mesoamerican concept of the macaw-headed sun god along with depictions of the plumed serpent as the embodiment of the solar floral road (discussed below) is not evident in the material culture and symbolism of the American Southwest or northern Mexico until the rise of the Casas Grandes culture around AD 1200. The key ideological conception of the plumed (or horned) serpent as the Flower Road, the floral road of the sun, is elaborated upon in the following discussion.

Flower Road: The Road of the Sun

Aside from Flower Mountain, an equally important component of the Flower World complex is the concept of the Flower Road, the celestial floral pathway of the sun, gods, and ancestors (Taube 2010a, 2010c). As Hill (1992: 215) noted, “The image of the flowery road, with its prototype in the path of the sun across the heavens, is one of the most widely diffused Flower World metaphors.” In Mesoamerica and the American

Southwest, the plumed serpent is widely identified as the embodiment of the flowery solar road and, in Mesoamerican art, is often adorned with flowers on the body and tail (Taube 2010a: 173). In this regard, Taube (2006a, 2010a, 2010c) drew attention to a number of depictions of plumed serpents in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest that serve as pathways or vehicles for supernatural beings.

For example, Mesoamerican examples of the plumed serpent as a floral vehicle in Mesoamerican art date as early as the Late Preclassic Maya murals of San Bartolo, Guatemala (see image in Taube 2010c: fig. 5.14). An incised bone from the Late Classic Maya site of Aguateca, Guatemala depicts an image of a plumed serpent or breath serpent emerging from a flower and carrying an ancestral figure in its maw, much as if the ancestral figure was the personified aroma of the flower (**Fig. 2.5a**). A Teotihuacan-style incised conch shell bears an image of a plumed serpent serving as a groundline or vehicle for anthropomorphic figures standing or running upon its back, much as if the plumed serpent is the symbolic wind that carries the ancestral figures (**Fig. 2.5b**). Examples of the plumed serpent body adorned with flowers are evident in the Early Classic Techinantitla murals at Teotihuacan (**Fig. 2.5c**).

An Early Classic incised vase from Tikal portrays entwined plumed serpents, with water streaming from their mouths, cavorting against a background of falling flowers (**Fig. 2.5d**). In the Epiclassic site of Xochicalco in Morelos, Maya-style nobles portrayed on the Temple of the Feathered Serpent are seated within undulating plumed serpents whose bodies are lined with conch shells, a motif that evokes the conveyance of gods and ancestors upon the wind (**Fig. 2.5e**). A carved wooden Late Postclassic Aztec

spearthrower portrays a scene in which the plumed serpent rises from the watery underworld carrying the sun up into the sky at dawn along with the souls of deceased warriors, here portrayed as a chain of hummingbirds sipping flowers (**Fig. 2.5f**). According to Taube (2010a: 176), this scene reflects the emergence of the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl and Venus as the Morning Star Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli rising out of the eastern seas with the sun at dawn.

In the American Southwest, among the earliest examples of plumed serpents in association with floral imagery on its body are those evident in Pueblo IV kiva murals at Awat'ovi in northern Arizona and Pottery Mound in central New Mexico. A mural in Kiva 7 at Pottery Mound, New Mexico portrays a Casas Grandes-style horned and plumed serpent with an undulating body lined with circular medallions (probable floral medallions) in the process of conveying a Morning Star warrior upon its body (**Fig. 2.6a**). Imagery of the plumed serpent as a vehicle for supernatural beings is also found in Zuni sand-paintings recorded by Stevenson (1887: pl. 22) and late nineteenth-century Hopi kiva screens (Taube 2010c: fig. 5.22b; **Figs. 2.6b-2.6c**). Taube (2006a; 2010c: 107-108) recently pointed out that a late-nineteenth-century kiva screen used during Hopi Paaloloqangw rites depicts human figures standing atop plumed serpent bodies that are emerging from flowers (see image in Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 231).

In sum, the preceding discussion serves as a baseline by which to understand social and ideological change in the American Southwest; ideological change that has roots in Mesoamerican cosmological systems. This cosmology, the Flower World complex, is comprised of a number of key elements including Flower Mountain (or

Flower Mound) and Flower Road. The former is the sacred eastern mountain where the Sun is born into a perpetual floral realm while the latter is the floral strewn pathway, the body of the plumed serpent, upon which the Sun travels. These concepts, and related symbolism, are of great antiquity in Mesoamerica but only begin to become more widely evident in northern Mexico by AD 1200 and in the American Southwest after AD 1300, though related symbolism in this complex has some antecedents in the earlier Mimbres and Chacoan cultures. To discern a more clear understanding of these key aspects of the Flower World naturally must begin with a discussion of perhaps *the* major figure at the center of this religious complex, the young eastern Sun God.

Xochipilli: The Sun Youth in Mesoamerica

Scholars who addressed the question of Mesoamerican influence in the American Southwest and northern Mexico have long sought to draw comparisons between Central Mexican deities, particularly those of the Aztec, and Southwestern deities or katsina rain spirits in the hopes of demonstrating, or disproving, that some form of cultural interaction or interchange of ideas occurred in the past (Ellis 1976; Griffith 1990; James 2000; McKusick 2001; Parsons 1933a; Phillips et al. 2006; Schaafsma 1999, 2001; Young 1989, 2000). Perhaps most notable among these attempts was Di Peso's (1968a; 1974: 3: 292, 548-575) initial argument that the Casas Grandes pantheon included a priesthood centered upon such Mesoamerican deities as the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl (with his wind aspect Ehecatl), the turquoise lord Xiuhtecuhtli, the god of spring and regeneration Xipe Totec, the rain god Tlaloc, and the warfare-related deities Tezcatlipoca and

Huitzilopochtli. Other scholars (Riley 2005: 141; Young 2000: table 10.1) variously suggested Southwestern analogues for such Central Mexican deities as the water goddess Chalchihuitlicue, the old fire god Huehuetéotl, and the sun god Tonatiuh, among others.

Along with many of these analyses came one overriding issue. As Stephen Plog (1993: 291) noted:

One of the problems of the current debate over Mesoamerican-Southwestern interaction is that few Southwesternists know the archaeological literature of central and northern Mexico, and few Mesoamericanists accurately represent the archaeological literature of the Southwest.

But for a few exceptions (e.g., Mathiowetz et al. 2008; Schaafsma 1999, 2001; Schaafsma and Taube 2006; Taube 2001), rarely have comprehensive, point-by-point analyses by scholars actively versed in the details of Mesoamerican religion and symbolism taken on the task of addressing the validity of these previous arguments. Few scholars have convincingly argued for or against the presence of specific Mesoamerican deities in the American Southwest along with the attendant set of conceptual metaphors and belief systems affiliated with these deities (e.g., Taube 1983, 1986, 2000b, 2001, 2006a, 2010c).

With regard to the long-proposed northward movement of ideological complexes and deities from Mexico, these sentiments also hold true for the analysis of the possible southward movement of religious beliefs and symbolism of prehispanic and contemporary Southwestern peoples and their contributions to the development of Mesoamerican religious traditions. Few Mesoamerican and Southwestern archaeologists retain a thorough archaeological and ethnological grounding in the study of the religion,

symbolism, and indigenous oral histories of each region to offer a holistic appraisal of the similarities and dissimilarities of religion, ritual, and ideology within and between cultural groups in these disparate geographic and cultural regions.

Much as Plog (1993: 291) inferred, to adequately assess this topic one must minimally have temporal, geographic, and spatial control of a range of data from archaeology, ethnohistory, ethnography, and oral traditions concerning religious beliefs, ritual practices, and symbolism from cultural groups past and present in multiple regions in order to draw the necessary comparisons. Few scholars attempt to familiarize themselves with data that spans the American Southwest, Northwest Mexico, West Mexico, highland Central Mexico, and beyond. To make an argument for or against the influence of Mesoamerican societies on Southwestern societies and vice versa, with a smattering of knowledge of data from only one of these geographic regions, is akin to constructing an argument using only one small portion of the relevant data set available.

The perspectives of Southwestern and Mesoamerican archaeologists who primarily consider data from their own regions of study thereby, more often than not, reflect *a priori* conclusions that Mesoamerican influence on Southwestern societies was either negligible or substantial. Thus, it is in employing a truly continental-scale approach (Lekson and Peregrine 2004) that the present chapter seeks to analyze the archaeological record, symbolism, and ritual of the ancient and contemporary American Southwest, Northwest Mexico, and Mesoamerica proper for evidence of shared religious beliefs centered upon a particular Mesoamerican deity, the young solar deity Xochipilli.

Perhaps the most important deity in the Postclassic highland Central Mexican manifestation of the Flower World complex was the solar deity Xochipilli, “a youthful being identified with flowers, music and the sun” (Taube 2005b: 35). Some studies conclude that an early form of the solar deity Xochipilli has ancient roots that date to the Early Classic (AD 300-600) sites of Teotihuacan and Copán, in highland Central Mexico and Honduras, respectively (Sejourne 1959; Taube 2005b). In order to understand the fundamental principles of Casas Grandes cosmology, particularly the meaning of the uniquely portrayed macaw-headed men, one can gain insight from examining the symbolism of similar figures in various Mesoamerican cultural traditions.

These anthropomorphic beings have ancient roots in Mesoamerica dating to at least the early fifth century with perhaps the earliest manifestation of this figure appearing at the Classic Maya site of Copán, Honduras. In one particularly elaborate example, the founder of the Copán dynasty, K’inich Yax K’uk’ Mo, is portrayed in a stucco sculpture as a large scarlet macaw positioned astride a Teotihuacan-style plumed serpent while a number of macaw heads emerge from his wings (**Fig. 2.7a**). Taube (2005b) identified this figure as the Copán ruler symbolically portrayed as the living embodiment of the eastern dawning sun. In other words, this portrayal depicts the Copán ruler assuming the role of a personified macaw-headed Sun God, or Sun King. This figure is also evident in Classic-period Teotihuacan-style theater censers from the Escuintla region of Guatemala (ibid.; **Fig. 2.7c**).

In a mural from Teotihuacan (AD 300-600), Taube (2005b) identified a diving human-bird as the analogue of the Copán deity and further suggested that these beings

likely were early manifestations of the Postclassic highland Central Mexican solar deity Xochipilli (see discussion below). This mural at Teotihuacan portrays a male with facial markings of the Sun God wearing a bird headdress with macaw and quetzal attributes (**Fig. 2.7d**). Like the Copán example, from the wings (and feet and tail) emerge a number of scarlet macaw heads. A similar solar figure occurs in a sculptural scene at the site of El Tajín, a Terminal Classic site in Veracruz (AD 600-900). This solar deity also wears a scarlet macaw headdress with a number of macaws emerging from the deities' wings (*ibid.*) (**Fig. 2.7b**).

The eminent Mesoamerican scholar Eduard Seler (1990-1998: 4: 297) described Xochipilli as “the god of dawn, the young god of generation and provisions.” Likewise, Carmen Aguilera (1998: 67) drew attention to Garibay’s (1958: 12) interpretation of the Hymn to Xochipilli recorded in the sixteenth-century *Primeros Memoriales* by Bernardino de Sahagún. In his work, Garibay (*ibid.*) described Xochipilli as the “sun as a beautiful young man.” Laurette Sejourné (1976:146) also noted that for the Aztec, Xochipilli is closely identified with the soul: “As the bird, the butterfly, and the flower are the symbols for one particular divinity, it is clear that the Lord of Flowers, Xochipilli, must be the personification of the soul.” Miller and Taube (1993: 190) noted that Xochipilli, whose name means “Flower Prince”, is a god of “positive creative energies, and as such is a patron of flowers, dancing, feasting, painting, and game-playing [and] because of his generative powers, he is also closely linked to Cinteotl, the young maize god.” Given his close link to sexuality and excess he is also identified with the cause and cure of venereal diseases (*ibid.*: 190).

In a recent study, Taube (2004a: 175) noted that Xochipilli is the god of music who plays an integral role in the scene of the birth of music portrayed on pages 35-38 of the *Codex Borgia*. Following the opening of the sacred bundle at the house of the Sun, a great stream of wind containing many items related to dance and music, including drums, flutes, dance staffs, and precious birds and flowers, emerges from a red flute at the center of the bundle (ibid.). Taube (ibid.) further noted that on page 37 this sacred flute is played by Xochipilli in the solar “House of Flowers”, or *xochicalco* (Figs. 2.8a-2.8b). The placement of the flute-playing God of Dawn in the solar house of flowers suggests a strong affinity to the music-filled floral realm of dawn. Being the god of music, images of Xochipilli are also at times depicted on the sides of Aztec ceramic drums (ibid.). Taube (2005b: 37) also noted that Xochipilli is a solar being who often appears in the *Codex Borgia* with attributes of the sun god, Tonatiuh. However, while their attributes often thematically overlap, Tonatiuh is the preeminent sun god in Late Postclassic Central Mexico (ibid.: 44). Given that their attributes overlap in highland Central Mexican codices, it seems accurate to state that Xochipilli is likely a largely invisible aspect or force of life closely linked to Tonatiuh, who himself is the visible aspect of the Sun in the sky.

For the Aztecs, Xochipilli was celebrated on two important feasts, early in the maize-growing season in the feast of Tecuilhuitontli and also at the feast of Xochilhuitl (Pohl 1994a: 9). As Taube (2005b) recently noted, page 23r of the *Codex Magliabecchiano*, a sixteenth-century document that portrays images of Aztec rites and deities, depicts Xochipilli wearing a large, red avian headdress during the feast of

Tecuilhuitontli (**Fig. 2.9a**). In this scene, Xochipilli's close relationship with the growth of maize is evident as he is "borne on a litter composed of flowering maize plants" (Seler 1990-1998: 3: 262). In more recent studies, Carmen Aguilera (1998: 64-67; 2004: 71) noted that the red color and shape of the beak in this scene indicates that this red avian headdress represents a scarlet macaw. This headdress identifies Xochipilli as a solar deity: "Si Xochipilli porta el yelmo de guacamaya esto indica que está convertido en el ave, él es el señor guacamaya, él es el sol" [If Xochipilli wears the helmet of the scarlet macaw this indicates that he is converted into the bird, he is the lord scarlet macaw, he is the sun] (Aguilera 2004: 72, my translation). Similarly, Pohl (1994a: 9; 2001: 97) identified this being as Xochipilli dressed as a scarlet macaw.

According to Pohl (2003b: fn. 8), the Mixtec deity named Sahuaco was akin to the calendrically named deity Seven Flower (Xochipilli). Boone and Smith (2003: fn. 2) pointed out that the symbol for the Mixtec day name "flower" was *huaco*, a word that translates as "macaw". In the *Codex Tudela*, a cognate of the *Codex Magliabecchiano*, a similar procession depicts the bright red plumage and sharply recurving beak typical of scarlet macaws (**Fig. 2.9b**). A strikingly similar avian figure, with the name Xochipilli prominently labeled above the head, appears in the portrayal of the feast of Xochihuitl in the *Codex Tudela*, a ceremony associated with Xochipilli (**Fig. 2.9c**). Though only portrayed in a few overlapping examples, this identification establishes an aspect of Xochipilli as the Sun Youth wearing a macaw-feather headdress.

For the Colonial-period Aztec, the Sun was metaphorically identified with Christ (Burkhart 1988), while the macaw was closely linked to the colorful and flowery eastern

realm of the Christ/Sun. For example, a song from the *Cantares Mexicanos* (Bierhorst 1985a: 308, folio 51v, lines 17-18, 20-21, emphasis in original), a sixteenth-century collection of Aztec “ghost songs” that evoke the flowery solar paradise clearly illustrates this idea:

I open out songlike picture colors, I a *song-flower* scarlet macaw, chattering in the House of Paintings, ah!
And these that I utter shall someday live. I’m chattering in the House of Paintings, ah!
And the one to depart shall be I, unfolding a mist of plumes, I, a *song-flower* scarlet macaw, off to the home of Jesucristo.

The “home of Jesucristo” in this excerpt may reflect a conflation of Christ and the Sun by indigenous people.

In these association, it is understandable that Aztec singers or poets affiliated themselves with the celestial paradisaal realm, since songs and words instantly evoke the Flower World (Hill 1992). As one song from the Aztec *Cantares Mexicanos* (Bierhorst 1985a: 141) related:

A flower incense, flaming all around, spreads sky aroma, filled with sunshot mist, as I, the singer, in the gentle rain of flowers sing before the Ever Present, the Ever Near.

Furthermore, in Aztec thought, some rulers apparently identified themselves as a macaw-headed being. For instance, Nezahualcoyotl, the famous poet/lord of Tezcoco, identified himself with the macaw (in León-Portilla 1992: 92):

I am Nezahualcoyotl,
I am a singer,
head of macaw.

While Xochipilli was most widely worshipped during the Postclassic period, Taube (2006b) demonstrated that the concept of a macaw-headed solar deity, the probable

predecessor of Xochipilli, has quite ancient roots during the Early Classic period at Teotihuacan and Copán.

Xochipilli and the Corn Maidens in Highland Central Mexico

In Postclassic highland Central Mexico, the Xochipilli complex was closely related to the growth of maize. Nicholson (1971: 416) pointed out that the Centeotl-Xochipilli complex “revolved around the cultivation of the staple food plant, maize, [that] greatly overlapped, as would be expected, with the Tlaloc cult.” Along with the maize and solar deities Centeotl-Xochipilli, this complex also involved female maize goddesses. In the Valley of Mexico, the fundamental maize goddess was a beautiful young woman known variously as Chicomecoatl (“Seven Serpent”) or Xilonen in her “special guise as goddess of the young maize plant which produced the *xilotl*, the tender green maize ear” (ibid.: 417). Taube (2000b) thoroughly documented the striking similarities in maize symbolism between ancient and contemporary societies in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, including a discussion of the symbolism of the Postclassic Aztec young corn goddess Chicomecoatl. Rose (2007) also drew strong comparisons between Corn Maidens in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest.

The Hymn to the Maize Goddess recorded by Sahagún (in Seler 1990-1998: 3: 287-288) for the Aztecs refers to Chicomecoatl as the “(Goddess of the) seven ears”, referring to the seven maize cob bundles used in her ceremony. This deity likely is of some antiquity in Central Mexico. In one sculpture from the Epiclassic site of Xochicalco, Seler (ibid.: 2: 85-86, fig. 62a-62b) identified the central female figure, who is seated

atop a field of flowers and young maize ears (*xilote*), as a representation of Xilonen or Chicomecoatl. Sculptures depicting Chicomecoatl are known from the Late Postclassic site of Castillo de Teayo, Veracruz (Pasztory 1983: pl. 182). Depictions of Chicomecoatl in the Late Postclassic sculptural art and in early historic portrayals of the Ochpanitzli ceremony in page 30 of the *Codex Borbonicus* portray her carrying pairs of maize ears (*cen-maitl*) and wearing a distinctive tall, rectangular paper headdress (see Nicholson 1971: figs. 20-21). Sahagún's (in Seler 1990-1998: 2: 234) description of Chicomecoatl is as follows:

The paper crown rests on her head. She has a collar of precious green beads. She has put on her spring flower over-garment, and the spring flower coat. There are little bells on her foot. Her shield has the summer flower on its field. She carries her couple of maize ears in her hand.

Her summer-flower shield is also described as a “sun shield” or *tonallochimalli* (ibid.: 234-235). Seler (ibid.: 234) pointed out that the verb *mani* used by Sahagún to describe the headdress (*amacalli*) indicates that it was a tall, flat, and wide object, an object that was adorned with large paper rosettes (ibid.).

The young maize goddess Xilonen was honored during the feast of Ueitecuilhuitl (Seler 1990-1998: 2: 250), a feast whose patron deity was the young sun god Xochipilli (ibid.: 3: 280). During the feast of Tecuilhuitl as portrayed in the *Codex Magliabecchiano*, Xochipilli made his appearance wearing a scarlet macaw headdress while seated on a litter of maize plants (see Nuttall 1903: 23). As noted above, Chicomecoatl is present in the harvest ceremony of Ochpanitzli, where she appears partly conflated with Toci or Teotinnan (the “mother of the gods”) (Couch 1985: 70). The goddess who plays the central role in portrayals of this rite is Chicomecoatl (ibid.: 71). The central figure in

Codex Borbonicus page 30 depicts a priest standing atop a platform and wearing the skin and regalia of an earlier sacrificed Chicomcoatl impersonator seen on page 29, now including a newly present, tall and wide tablet headdress replete with two large ears of corn on top (ibid.: 71-72; Klein and Lona 2009: 342). Four Tlaloc priests, wearing regalia colored blue, white, yellow, or red, flank the maize goddess (ibid.). These priests likely are dressed to represent the various colors of directional rain gods that water the central corn (ibid.: 72). Nearly surrounding the platform is a procession of eight phallic dancers grasping their enlarged members, a clear reference to fertility (ibid.).

In other festivals in which the maize goddess was celebrated, including the third and fourth veintena ceremonies Tozoztontli and Ueitozoztli, young maize plants (actual or symbolic) were brought in a procession to the temple of the maize goddess (Seler 1990-1998: 3: 288). Along with these maize plants were carried bundles of seven cobs of corn upon the backs of maidens (ibid.). These cobs, called Cinteotl or “Maize god” (ibid.), clearly refer to Xochipilli in his guise as a maize deity. Songs called “waking songs” (*toçozcuicatl*) that were sung during this festival were intended to arouse the slumbering maize plants to arise and sprout (ibid.). Planting songs also described the disappearance of the maize seeds at the time of planting, where the maize disappears from the gaze of man to her domain under the earth where an abundance of fresh young plants spring up to life with the influence of the rains (ibid.: 289). In essence, highland Central Mexican traditions indicate that an aspect of the Xochipilli-Centeotl complex involved a young maize maiden who wore a tall headdress and who was affiliated with the multiple directional colors of corn.

The preceding discussion sought to illuminate some of the basic character traits of the Late Postclassic Central Mexican solar deity Xochipilli and his attendant religious complex as described by a number of scholars. In this discussion, I noted that Xochipilli is intimately affiliated with the Flower World complex in his role as the young, eastern dawning sun. In this regard he is characterized as the god of generation and provisions, sexuality and fertility, and he is closely related to music, dancing, feasting, painting, song, games, flowers, butterflies, and the human soul. In addition, he is also closely linked to the young maize god Cinteotl. In his role as the god of music, he is also portrayed as a flute-player in the flowery eastern house of the Sun in scenes from the *Codex Borgia* portraying the origin of music. Perhaps most compelling for this study is his portrayal in the *Codex Magliabecchiano* and in the *Codex Tudela* wearing a macaw-feathered headdress while seated on a litter of young maize plants. This depiction illustrates his role as the macaw-headed Sun Youth and alludes to his role in ensuring the growth and regeneration of maize.

Coupled with the Xochipilli-Centeotl solar and maize complex was the maize goddess Chicomecoatl or Xilonen, the personification of the young maize who wore a tablet headdress and arrived with the warmth of the sun and the fertilizing rains. As it will come to be understood in the ensuing discussion, the complex involving the young macaw-headed solar deity and tablet-adorned young maize goddess of highland Central Mexico forms a striking parallel to the young macaw-headed solar deity and tablet-adorned young maize goddesses (Corn Maidens) of the American Southwest. In the

following section, I draw a comparison between the Sun Youth Xochipilli and the Sun Youth deity of the American Southwest.

The Sun Youth in the American Southwest

In the ritual and ceremony of a number of contemporary Puebloan peoples, the youthful solar deity Payatamu bears remarkable similarity to Xochipilli, the young sun god of Postclassic highland Central Mexico. In her comparisons of Mesoamerican and Puebloan deities, M. Jane Young (1989: 176; 2000: 118, Table 10.1) was the first to point out the striking cognates in character attributes between these two deities. As Young (2000: 118) aptly pointed out, “Xochipilli seems to be a prototype for the Zuni Paiyatamu, the gay and youthful fluteplayer associated with music, poetry, flowers, and butterflies, who is also described as the Sun’s deputy.” In her study, she also noted other shared attributes including his being the patron of games, dances, and love (ibid.: 109, table 10.1). In the following section, I expand upon Young’s initial observations and draw further comparisons between these two deities. Foremost among these shared attributes is that both deities are described and depicted as wearing a macaw-feathered headdress, both are associated with a mist-filled floral realm, both are closely linked to the multi-colored Corn Maidens, and both are clearly linked with the eastern dawn.

Payatamu: The Sun Youth in the American Southwest

In his study of Puebloan culture heroes, Parmentier (1979: 615) drew attention to variants in ethnographic accounts of the mythological figure Payatamu, who is also

known as the Sun Youth (see Denman 1932). According to Parmentier (1979: 615), “Since the Zuni name *payatamu* is a borrowed form of Keresan . . . , it is likely that the mythological character had his origins among the Keresans.” Parsons (1939: vol. 1, table 2) indicated that the Sun Youth culture hero is the Zuni *paiyetemu*, Hopi *t’aiowa*, Keresan (Acoma) *paiyatamo*, Jemez *patyabo*, and Tewa *tamuyowa enu*. Laguna people also recognize the Sun Youth (Parsons 1929: 273). For the Hopi, Stevenson (1904: 413, fn. a) suggested that the deity Le’lentu is the same as the Zuni Payatamu in that both are the flute-playing gods of music, flowers, and butterflies. For the Zuni, Bunzel (1932a: 530, fn. 79) noted that,

Paiyatamu is the Keresan word *payatyamu*, ‘youth’. He is associated with all things gay and youthful. He is another romantic adventurer in folklore. His prayer stick, significantly, is double, and is painted blue and yellow, the colors associated with sex. The flutes of Payatamu are played at the phallic ritual of O’lollowickya. They are important in the Corn Dance.

Being the god of love and sexuality, the Sun Youth Payatamu, much like Xochipilli, is also closely linked to venereal disease. For example, during the Zuni Ololowishkya ceremony, prayer meal is sprinkled on the immense gourd penis of Ololo, a probable impersonator of Paiyatamu (Parsons 1939: 381). The sprinkling of prayer meal on his phallus is performed in order to cure venereal disease (ibid.).

Bunzel (1932a: 530) further noted that the Zuni Payatamu is the god of music, poetry, flowers, and butterflies. As such, he wears a crown of flowers and with his flute “he causes flowers to bloom and draws the butterflies of the world to him” (Stevenson 1904: 48, fn. b). Benedict (1930: 67) also pointed out that “the Paiyatamos lived in the east at the sunrise and were referred to . . . as Sun Blossoms.” For the Zuni, Payatamu is

also considered as the God of Dawn and morning moisture or Dew (Cushing 1896: 435). Parsons (1939: vol. 1, 380) also pointed out that, among the Hopi, “In the early world T’aiowa or Paiyatemu, the Sun Youth, played his flute as the young men sang and the Corn Maidens ground. The songs were prayers for the return of warmth and vegetation.” Stephen (1936, vol. 1: 153, fn. 1) further indicated that Payatamu, who is equated with the Hopi T’aiowa, is “the patron spirit of the Koshare and of their Zuni homologues, the Ne’wekwe”, the clown societies.

Parmentier (1979: 615) pointed out that the Zuni Paiyatamu “comes from the east playing the flute (a male fertility symbol), teaches the people proper rituals for growing corn, and then departs into the mist.” In one Zia story described below, Payatamu appears to be conflated with the first man created, the Ko’shairi (koshare):

The first man created was called Ko’shairi, he not only acts as courier between the sun and Ka’tsuna [katsina], but he is the companion, the jester and musician (the flute being his instrument) of the sun; he is also mediator between the people of the earth and the sun; when acting as the sun and the Ka’tsuna and vice versa and as mediator between the people of the earth and the sun he is chief for the sun; when accompanying the sun in his daily travels he furnishes him with music and amusement; he is the servant of the sun (Stevenson 1894a: 33).

Though the Koshare clowning societies as a group are under the patronage of Payatamu, Tyler (1964: 144) suggests that this particular account of the Koshare as a single being likely is referring to Payatamu.

While there are a number of spellings of the name Payatamu, the Sun Youth is also apparently conflated with other mythological figures as well. For example, Benedict (1935: 1: 271) and Dutton (1963: 62-64, fn. 217) noted that Ne’paiyatamu, or Ne’paiyatam’a, is also manifested as Bitsitsi in his role in finding the lost Corn Maidens.

In addition, Parmentier (1979: 615) pointed out that the role of Payatamu is strikingly similar to oral traditions of the culture hero named Poseyemu, a widespread culture hero found among many of the individual Pueblos who is consistently identified with the Mexican figure Montezuma and at times with the Christian deity Jesus Christ. These similarities with Poseyemu and Montezuma and their significance is addressed in more detail below.

In the early twentieth century, Cushing (1920: 38-54) recorded an extended version of the Zuni Payatamu story which links the Sun Youth to the return of the Corn Maidens. In the account recorded by Cushing (1896; 1920), after the Corn Maidens departed from Zuni, the priests and warriors sought out Payatamu's help in locating and leading the Corn Maidens back to Zuni from the Land of Everlasting Summer. Cushing's (1896: 435) account from Zuni draws to mind clear analogies between the Central Mexican Xochipilli and the widespread Puebloan Sun Youth, including characteristics of the dawn, music, clouds, mist and moisture, and the return of the young maize maidens.

In the following discussion of the Zuni story of Payatamu, I present three extended excerpts of the Zuni story entitled "The Origin of Corn", which draws clear links between the roles of Payatamu and Xochipilli as the young Sun of the east, the god of music, and as an important deity of regeneration responsible for the return and growth of corn. The third excerpt illustrates the point that the emergence of Payatamu and the Corn Maidens from the Cavern of the Rainbow may well be equated with the *axis mundi* where the sun emerges from the symbolic cave-like center of the kiva, medicine bowl, and sipapu. As Cushing's (1896: 395) account relates:

Whilst the people still gazed at these [young maize plants], wondering, out from the East-land came Paíyatuma and Ténatsali of the All-colored flowers (God of the Seasons), followed by Kwélele with his flame-potent fire-wand. Paíyatuma touched the plants with the refreshing breath of his flute . . . Then, as Paíyatuma waved his flute, lo! Following Tenatsali, the maidens and the attendant Kwélele went forth and disappeared in the mist of the morning. As they vanished, Paíyatuma turned to where, full in the light of the rising sun, stood the seven plants. Lithe and tall he stood there beside them like a far journeyer . . .

Payatamu then said to the awed observers (ibid. [emphasis in original]):

Lo! Ye children of men and the Mother,
ye Brothers of Seed,
Elder, younger,
behold the *seed plants of all seeds* [corn]!

This excerpt establishes Payatamu as an eastern-dwelling being, a preeminent flute-player, and as a generative being associated with the fertility of the young maize plants.

Cushing's (1896: 391-398, 430-447; 1920: 17-54) elegant accounts also describe the arrival of the Dew Maidens and Flute People as well as the departure and ultimate retrieval of the Corn Maidens by Payatamu from the mist-enshrouded Cavern of the Rainbow:

Ere long, the sound of music was heard, coming up from the river, and soon came Paíyatuma followed by his Flute people and singers and maidens of the Flute Dance. Uprose the fathers and all the watching people, greeting the God of Dawn with outstretched hands and offerings of prayer meal, and words of thanks and welcome. Then the singers took their places and sounded their drum, flutes, and song of clear waters, while the maidens of the Dew danced their custom of the Flute Dance. Greatly marveled the people when from the wands they bore forth came white clouds, and fine cool mists descended . . . Now when the dance was ended and the Dew Maidens, with Paíyatuma, had retired within the bower, forth came the beautiful and ever young Mothers of Corn (Cushing 1896: 435).

This second account draws attention to Payatamu's role as the young God of Dawn, the God of Music, and reveals his association with a realm of mist, clouds, and dew.

One final excerpt from Cushing describes the Cavern of the Rainbow where Paiyatamu and the Corn Maidens dwell:

He [Payatamu] lifted his flute, then took his place in the line of the dancers, as the ya'poto does in the line of the Corn dance. The drum sounded until the cavern shook as with thunder. The flutes sang and sighed as the wind in a wooded canyon whilst still the storm is distant. White mists floated up from the wands of the maidens and mingled with the breath of the flutes over the terraced world-bowl, above which sported the butterflies of Summerland, about the dress of the Rainbow in the strange blue light of the night (Cushing 1896: 434).

This account draws a close connection between Payatamu and the Cavern of the Rainbow and may well indicate an equivalency between it and the terraced world or medicine bowl. Notably, Dutton (1963: 63, fn. 218) suggested that the retrieval of the Corn Maidens takes place in the east: “. . . the Newekwe . . . could see far to the east, where there were always clouds and rain, and where it was known that the Corn Maidens had gone.” These accounts together suggest that the episode involving the retrieval of the Corn Maidens is linked to the eastern realm of the dawning sun whereby the young Corn Maidens are retrieved by the macaw-headed Sun Youth from a cavern-like place of emergence, the Cavern of the Rainbow.

According to Rina Swentzell (1990), the terraced medicine bowl is a small-scale cosmological model of the world, the community, and the kiva. Following this conclusion, Taube (2010c: 108) suggested that “the medicine bowl becomes a miniature, kiva-like chamber through which supernatural life forces emerge.” Likewise, as Geertz (1987: 19) noted for the Hopi, “the medicine bowl is the gateway through which the denizens of the spirit world can pass into the dimensions of physical reality.” This concept is similar to the worldview common among the Pueblos:

The place of emergen[c]e is the center of the universe, both the horizontal and vertical reference point for the Pueblo worldview. It is the point of contact between the natural world, where the house of the Sun and the Earth Goddess is, where the kachinas live, and where the dead return (Parmentier 1979: 611).

Thus, the mist-enshrouded and music-filled aspects of the kiva-like Cavern of the Rainbow, coupled with the mingling butterflies and rainbow, strongly suggest a solar cave of emergence from which the Sun Youth Payatamu and the Corn Maidens emerge.

Cushing's (1896: 442-443) account of the arrival of the Corn Maidens indicates that they were retrieved from Summerland in the south. Given that Payatamu is said to bring the Corn Maidens northward to the Zuni, I suspect that the reference to the south in this particular Zuni account might more specifically be referring to the "south corner" of the world. The "south corner" would be considered the point where the Sun is at his most southern location on the eastern horizon, or the winter solstice point, the place where the new year begins. This perception might help to explain why the great meetings of Zuni society members at the winter solstice involve making prayersticks for Payatamu (Bunzel 1932a: 530). Among the Zuni, the winter solstice is the beginning point for the annual ceremonial cycle (*ibid.*: 534), the beginning of the new year.

The perception that the sun is newly born at the winter solstice may well be the reason that New Fire ceremonies centered upon fire-drilling take place at or near the winter solstice among Puebloan people such as the Zuni (Bunzel 1932a: 638; Stevenson 1904: 114-115) and Hopi (Fewkes 1900a; Stephen 1936: 964-965). Historically, New Fire ceremonies were also known to be practiced at Pecos Pueblo (Parmentier 1979: 619).

Notably, Payatamu has affinities with these ceremonial fire-making events. For example, in the Zuni tradition, it is Payatamu's attendants, Shútsuk'ya (Shits'ukĭa) and his brother Kwe'lele the fire-keeper, who are participants (Bunzel 1932a: 637-638) in the fire-drilling ceremony. On the morning of the fifth day of the Zuni winter solstice ceremony, the day after the new year fire-maker collects wood for the new fire, members of the order of Payatamu ascend Zuni Corn Mountain (Dowa Yalanne) and deposit offerings at a shrine to Payatamu (Stevenson 1904: 118) on the west side of this mountain. Notably, the Zuni winter solstice ceremonies begin when sun watchers note the sun arising over the southwest edge of Corn Mountain (ibid.: 108). Thus, it may be feasible to suggest that observations of the sun and offerings at the Zuni shrine to Payatamu coincided with, and perhaps in-part marked the winter solstice, the time period when the sun is newly born.

Among the Hopi, Payatamu is the patron of the Wuwuchim ceremonies (Wright 2004: 63), during which New Fire drilling occurs about one month prior to the winter solstice. The drilling of new fire prior to the winter solstice may have enabled the fire-drillers to claim that their fire-drilling actions successfully resulted in the rebirth of the sun on the date of the actual winter solstice. In one Hopi origin story concerning the creation of birds, animals, and plants of the world from which there was first nothing, it is said that the Sun kindled the first fire at the east side of the pile of the animals and birds yet to be animated (Voth 1905: 6). At Pecos, where numerous images of the Sun Youth appear in Pueblo IV-period glazeware ceramics (see below and Chapter 10), the historic New Fire ceremonies are closely linked to the traditions of the culture hero Montezuma,

who I suggest is another name or aspect of Payatamu melded with Hispanicized indigenous traditions. New Fire ceremonies among some Puebloan people in the Southwest may well be performed as a symbolic representation of the fiery rebirth of the Sun Youth Payatamu at the beginning of the annual ceremonial cycle at the winter solstice. The connection of the Sun Youth and the new year is evident at Cochiti, where Lange (1959: 323) reported that, aside from its appearance during the summer Feast day, the tall Sun Youth standard also made an appearance at the January 1st dance on New Year's Day, a day that occurs just after the winter solstice.

The position of the southern winter solstice on the eastern horizon as being an important locale for the newly born sun may well be the reason Cushing (1896: 446) described the return of Payatamu with the Corn Maidens as having its start at “the beginning of the newly come sun.” This phrase may well refer to the newly born sun at the winter solstice that signals the end of the symbolic cold half of the year and the beginning of the warm half of the year. Thus, as the Sun symbolically moves northward on the eastern horizon towards the summer solstice point, and grows in increasing strength and vigor from his weakest southern point at the winter solstice, he is also symbolically bringing northward with him the increasingly warmer weather and the newly growing corn plants, vegetation, and the butterflies, flowers, and birds that accompany the oncoming spring and summer and the agricultural season.

It is likely for this reason that the newly discovered Corn Maidens, upon hearing the sacred flute and seeing Payatamu advancing through the fields to meet them, then “over all [the land] spread broidered mantles—broidered in all bright colors and with the

creature signs of Summerland” (ibid.: 443). As the Sun Youth moves northward along the eastern horizon during the warm half of the year, he is perceived as symbolically helping to spread an embroidered blanket of flowers and vegetation over the surface of the Earth, a task that is undoubtedly accomplished with the help of the ancestral rain spirits.

Elsewhere, Cushing (1920: 96) clarified that in the idyllic Land of Everlasting Summer (Summerland), “[t]here were green trees everywhere; everywhere flowers were blooming and fruits always ripening . . . Birds and butterflies lived there . . .” In other words, the cotton and embroidered clothing worn by the Corn Maidens that consists of designs of bright colors, flowers, and creatures such as butterflies or birds, is likely also symbolically perceived as referencing the newly brightened and “clothed” earthen landscape of the floral realm brought into being by the Sun Youth during the warm, agricultural half of the year. Following this perception, it is logical to suggest that the Sun Youth’s southward movement along the eastern horizon during the cold half of the year after turning back at the summer solstice would alternately result in the spreading of a blanket of snow and ice across the Earth’s surface. The role of the Sun in the dual halves of the year undoubtedly allows for the Sun Youth to be associated with both warm and cold activities during each respective season.

The brightened solar realm of the Sun Youth and Corn Maidens may well be depicted on a dramatic Pottery Mound kiva mural. Kiva 7, Layer 30 at Pottery Mound depicts women, one of which was illustrated by Hibben (1975: fig. 38) beside ear-laden maize plants and surrounded by macaws, butterflies, and dragonflies in a Sikyatki style. According to Hays-Gilpin and Hegmon (2005: 101), the women’s bodies, arms, and face

are ornamented with black dots similar to those depicted on maize cobs portrayed in Antelope Mesa murals near the Hopi villages in Arizona. Round-edged objects with these same dots depicted on these women's dresses likely portray a pair of rounded cobs of maize, thus closely linking these women to maize.

Hays-Gilpin and Hegmon identified these figures as probable Corn Maidens (ibid.: 104) and further suggested that “[t]he markings on their faces and bodies suggest that these figures are corn personified” (ibid.: 101). If this interpretation is correct, these Pottery Mound portrayals appear to represent the earliest clear depictions of young females as personified corn set within clear contexts of the solar realm of the Sun Youth. Given that these murals were painted in the Pueblo IV period, it is probable that the ideas that underlie these symbols have roots in the solar Flower World of the Sun Youth and Corn Maidens that was primarily established in the Casas Grandes region, as will be described below. In the traditions of many Puebloan peoples, the Sun Youth Payatamu, much like Xochipilli, is a widespread culture hero who is closely related to the eastern dawning sun, the morning dew and mist, music, games, dance, poetry, sex and sensuality, flowers, butterflies, centrality and the point of emergence, and the cyclical return of maize.

Standards used in Plaza Dances in the American Southwest

Among contemporary Puebloan peoples, a very widespread and shared ritual practice associated with plaza dances involves the use of a very tall standard or banner topped with macaw feathers (**Fig. 2.10a**). These dance standards were observed in the

very widespread Corn Dance, known among many Pueblo people, and were depicted in contemporary art painted by a number of indigenous artists, particularly in Anglo-sponsored watercolors or paintings associated with the Santa Fe school that arose in the early to middle part of the twentieth century. Examples of this dance standard are evident in portrayals of dances at Santo Ana (White 1942: 344, fig. 52), Santo Domingo (Mails 1983: 2: 453), Zia (ibid.), Santa Clara (Tanner 1973: 174, fig. 5.78), San Ildefonso (ibid.: 130, fig. 5.35), Cochiti (ibid.: 135, fig. 5.39), Jemez (Dunn 1968: 346, fig. 121), Hopi (Fewkes 1903: pl. LVII), and Zuni (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 475, fig. 1, bottom; Eggan and Pandey 1979: 475, fig. 1. [top left]), among others (**Fig. 2.10a**).

As Lange (1957: 59) noted, “Of ceremonies seen by the general public in various villages, western or eastern, the Tablita Dance (*Baile de la Tabla*, Corn Dance, Green Corn Dance, Harvest Dance, or Feast Day Dance) is probably the one most frequently observed.” The importance of the Green Corn Dance in Puebloan ceremonial life has not gone unnoticed, as Bandelier and Hewett (1937: 49) noted, “A thorough understanding of this [Green Corn Dance] will make clear almost every one of the summer ceremonies of the Pueblos. It is the most nearly perfect survival of the ancient religious ceremonies of the Pueblos.” Such standards as are used in the Corn or Tablita Dances are thought to be most prominent among Eastern Keresan villages and are evident at a number of pueblos including Santa Ana (Parsons 1923a; White 1942), Santo Domingo (Lange 1957: 71), Tesuque (Parsons 1929: 193-194), Zia (White 1962), San Felipe (Lange 1957: 71), Cochiti (Lange 1957: 71), Santa Clara (Tanner 1973: 174, fig. 5.68), San Ildefonso (Parsons 1929: pl. 24), Jemez (Parsons 1939: 682), Acoma (White 1932b: 104), Zuni

(Eggan and Pandey 1979: 475, fig. 1), and also on the Hopi Mesas (Fewkes 1903: 177-178, pl. LVII; Tanner 1973: 222, fig. 6.2; Tyler 1979: 34), among others.

Bandelier and Hewett (1937: 53) noted that the Corn Dance “in some form or other is still performed in every Rio Grande Pueblo.” White (1942: 343-345) was among the first to point out that the tall standard was among the most conspicuous sacred objects among the eastern pueblos which white observers were allowed to see. Among the earliest documentation of these standards by Anglo-Americans occurred at Zuni in the early 1850s during the Sitgreaves survey expedition (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 475, fn. 1; *ibid.*: fig. 1 [top left and bottom]).

In his brief study of the widespread distribution of and variations in the Tablita Dance, Lange (1957: 72) noted that the common attributes of this dance among many Puebloan peoples likely indicate a shift away from an “original common prototype.” In the following discussion I likewise suggest that the tall standard, which represents the Sun Youth Payatamu, that is used during these dances (or at least the ideas that underlie this object) also originated from a common ideological prototype in similar rites first manifest in the Greater Southwest at the site of Paquimé, Chihuahua.

In spite of the prevalence of these standards, their significance has been little understood by anthropologists. White (1942: 344) noted that various names have been associated with the tall standard including “turtle-top pole” or “sun youth”. Other individuals have identified the pole as the spruce tree upon which people climbed up at the emergence from the lower world (*ibid.*). In addition, the pole may also represent a symbolic corn plant (Lange 1957: 70). For example, Lange (*ibid.*: 70-71) noted that in the

1950s at Santo Domingo a large sash on the standard was embroidered with a corn plant over most of its length.

Though the pole at times may be referred to as “turtle-top”, for example in Corn Dances at Santo Domingo, Corn Dance song lyrics clearly link these ceremonies to the dawning sun. For example, as the dancers and the tall standard bearer proceed, the following lyrics are sung: “The sun is rising in the east” (Densmore 1938: 95). This song lyric likely refers to the Corn Maidens’ anticipation, or arrival with, the Sun Youth. As one Tewa tradition indicated, the directional Corn Maidens “danced in a double file facing east that they might behold the coming of their Sun Father” (Stevenson n.d.: Box 1). Lummis (1928: 257-270) described the Cochiti standard as “the Holy Flag of the Sun”. In the 1950s at Cochiti, the pole, and specifically the ovoid sphere at the top of the pole, were called by several names including Paiyatama, or “Sun Youth” (Lange 1959: 348-349).

It is important to note that the tops of the poles are ornamented with macaw feathers, which likely denotes the “headdress” of the Sun Youth as being a macaw-feathered headdress. In his study of the standard at Santa Ana, White (1942: 344) noted that at “the top of the ‘head’ is a cluster of brilliant hued parrot tail feathers.”⁶ In Puebloan cosmology, scarlet macaw feathers are closely related to the Sun (Rizo 1998; Thompson and Brown 2006; Tyler 1979: 16-45).

White (1942: 344) further indicated that because the tall standard, in its role as a symbolic spruce tree, served as the means by which people emerged from the lower

⁶ In the early Southwestern ethnographic literature, the terms “parrot” or “parrot tail feathers” are often used as an alternate way of referencing the feathers of the scarlet macaw.

world, it was rewarded “with a headdress of parrot [or macaw] feathers.” As the nearly 12-foot-long pole used to construct this standard was made of spruce at Zia, this choice of wood may partly reflect the link between the Sun Youth and the spruce tree (White 1962: 313) upon which people climbed at the emergence. As noted elsewhere (Taube 2010c), the kiva, sipapu, and flower are all symbolically equivalent in that they all serve as a central place of emergence. Thus, ethnographic descriptions and depictions of the macaw-headed Sun Youth standard lingering and emerging from the hatchway of the kiva may allude to the symbolic rising of the sun from the central cave of emergence, the Cavern of the Rainbow (see images in Lange 1957: 65, fig. 3, top; Parsons 1929: 193, and pl. 26).

The clothing of performers in plaza dances appear to mimic the regalia of the dance standard. In his study at Acoma, White (1932b: 104) described the dressed pole:

At the head of the line of dancers is a man carrying a long pole which is ‘dressed just like the dancers.’ It is called *ocatc paiyatyamo* (sun youth). At the top of the pole is a bunch of colored parrot feathers like the headdress of the men dancers. Then there is usually a bulb of wood... painted green with a band of white and black. Then comes a ceremonial sash, made of cotton and embroidered with colored yarn, which is also worn by the dancers. A fox skin hangs down from the point where the sash is fastened (just as a fox skin hangs down from the waist of the men dancers, in the back).

Clearly the dancers are dressed as, or in imitation of, the Sun Youth standard (Bandelier and Hewett 1937: 51-53; White 1962: 313). Similarly, White (1942: 344) noted that at Santa Ana Pueblo, “the dress of the male dancer in the *backo* [Corn Dance] is quite like that of the *kastotcoma* [standard]: parrot feathers upon the head, a dance kilt and fox skin, and even sleigh bells.”

Aside from these attributes, Parsons (1939: 682; 1923a: 182) noted the common ornamentation of red fringes of horsehair that adorned the top of the standard at Jemez and at Santa Ana. Fewkes (1903: 177-178) noted that a strikingly similar standard is used among the Hopi during the Butterfly dance, akin to the Tablita or Corn dances, which was said to have been introduced from the Rio Grande pueblos. An early twentieth-century photo of the Hopi Butterfly Dance by Emry Kopta also depicts the tall standard (Wright 1979: 39).

There appears to be a close connection between the Sun Youth standard and katsina ceremonialism. Parsons (1929: 194) suggested that the Corn or Tablita Dances in which these standards are displayed should be considered as a maskless katsina dance. Furthermore, White (1942: 344-345) indicated that the standard at Santa Ana is considered as a *shiwanna* (rain spirit) and that, when dressed, it is considered as a living being. These observations, which suggest that the tall dance standard is likely closely related to katsina ceremonialism, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 11.

The identification of the tall dance standard with the Sun Youth is reflected in a tradition from Zia Pueblo. In describing the dance standard, one individual from Zia (in White 1962: 313) indicated:

In the beginning Actitcomi [the Sun Youth standard] was a man-spirit in the fourth, or yellow, world below. This was his costume. He became displeased with the bad behavior of the people at White House so he changed himself into a stick, like it is today.

Not only does this remarkable tradition indicate that the “stick” or dance standard represents the Sun Youth, but it also explicitly indicates that the Sun Youth might have been an actual person, perhaps a divine ritual leader, at one time in the distant past.

In the preceding section, I drew attention to the widespread use of tall standards used in public plaza dances of many Pueblo peoples in the American Southwest. In his discussion of these standards (*kastotcoma*) at Santa Ana, White (1942: 345) aptly concluded, “We should know more about the *kastotcoma*.” These standards, with their elaborate ornamentation, represent the Sun Youth wearing a macaw-feathered headdress and clearly relate to traditions concerned with the eastern dawning sun in his ascent from the kiva, the symbolic central cave-like place of emergence.

The Sun Youth Confers His Blessings of Rain

As the warm and cold seasons involve dual aspects of moisture in both warm and cold forms, a discussion of one aspect of Sun Youth ceremonialism in the American Southwest will help to reiterate the powerful rain-making abilities of the Sun Youth. As I have noted elsewhere, the Sun Youth is closely linked to the cloud and rain spirits in that he awakens “his children”, the directional clouds, at dawn. Furthermore, his daily journey along his stepped pathway across the sky, as replicated in grinding corn on a metate and in playing notched musical rasps, symbolically produces the build-up of clouds and falling rain. In addition, the warmth of his presence begins the process of convection which draws the katsina cloud and rain spirits up into the sky from the watery underworld. Furthermore, the symbolic copulation of the Sun Youth’s phallic flutes with the bowl-like womb of the Earth also produces clouds. However, one of the most explicit ritual acts that exemplifies his role in rain-making is related to his status as the god of music and takes form most publicly during the widespread Corn or Tablita dance.

Elsewhere, I pointed out that as the god of music, the Sun Youth is closely related to such musical instruments as flutes, drums, and notched musical rasps. Aside from these instruments, the use of certain rattles also bears connections to the Sun Youth and to rain-making. As noted above, during the course of the widespread Corn Dance, the Sun Youth makes a prominent appearance as a tall dance standard that is paraded around the plaza. Bandelier and Hewett (1937: 51-52) concluded that the Santo Domingo standard was a potent symbol for rain-making in that it is carried by the rain priest, while the paraphernalia that ornaments the standard all point towards signifying symbolism of rain. This ornamentation includes the headdress of macaw feathers that tops the standard. While macaw tail feathers have clear associations with the rising sun and heat, they also have affinities as rain-making objects. As one free translation of a Santo Domingo katsina song text indicates, the parrot [macaw?] “spreads out his tail and makes clouds that come out and cover him. Today it is going to rain from the north, west, south, and east. The plants sprout in two and four shoots, and grow and ripen quickly” (White 1935: 97).

That feathers of the macaw and other birds are rain-making objects is evident in the use of feathers on Zuni katsina masks, as Bunzel (1932b: 1012) noted for one mask, “On top yellow parrot feathers, three downy eagle feathers hanging down the back. ‘These are to make the clouds come.’” The link between feathers and moisture is apparent in Zuni Kokokci song lyrics for rain and growth where each directional rain priest sits with “[h]is head feathered with cumulus clouds” or with “[h]is head feathered with mist” (ibid.: 891). A similar concept linking certain feathers to moisture and fertility is evident in one Hopi account in which “[t]he duck feather was used because ducks

swim in ponds of water through the land after rain. The yellow bird is used because this yellow bird constantly scatters the fructifying pollen . . .” (Stephen 1936: 782). Thus, like all feathers, the macaw feathers of the Sun Youth’s headdress likely also mimic certain climatic phenomena and have close affiliations not just with the dawning sun but with rain-making and the subsequent growth of vegetation.

One of the more curious aspects of the Corn Dance involves the act of lowering and waving the Sun Youth banner over the ritual participants. As Lange (1957: 70) noted, “the long pole, decorated with sash, bells, carved and painted ball, foxskin, and feathers . . . is waved over the dancers’ heads by the specially chosen carriers.” For Santa Ana, Parsons (1923a: 183) indicated that “[a]t one time the standard bearer leaves the choir to manipulate his standard with a quivering motion over the head of the mid-line dancer”, the leader of the dance. Parsons (1929: 193) also indicated that the standard at San Ildefonso was shaken over the dancers “in the manner characteristic of this dance.” At Santo Domingo, “[t]he wand bearer stands to one side of the line of dancers, waving the sacred emblem over them during the entire ceremony. Theoretically, all the people in the course of the day pass under it for purification” (Bandelier and Hewett 1937: 52).

Similarly, Bahti (1970: 20) suggested that “the weaving of the sun symbol over the corn dancers constitutes both a blessing and a purification and a request to the Shiwana—the rain cloud people—to bless the pueblo with moisture.” This interpretation is similar to Parsons’s (1925: 82, fn. 2) conclusion that the Jemez standard (called *höyöfoh*, or “high rope”) was inferably meant to “to pull down the rain”, much as certain Jemez crook prayer sticks with a similar etymology are said to symbolically pull down

the rain (ibid.: 102). Recalling the act of shaking the Sun Youth standard, Zia Pueblo traditions indicate that people can not view the sun itself “when it moves and shakes”, but they only see his fiery mask that is ornamented with certain colors such as yellow that are evocative of rain (Stevenson 1894a: 34).

Historic period photos from a number of pueblos during the early to middle twentieth century, such as at Santo Domingo (White 1935: pl. 5; Zubin and Pearlstone 1989: fig. 62) and San Ildefonso (Eggan 1979: 230, fig. 8; Parsons 1929: pl. 25a) depict the lowering and waving of the Sun Youth standard over the ceremonial participants. Early to middle twentieth century indigenous paintings of Corn Dances at various unidentified pueblos also depict the Sun Youth standard being tilted and waved above the crowd (Brody 1997: pls. 11, 22, 66; Gray 1990: 47; Kabotie 1977: 88, 119; Sweet 2004: fig. 5; Tanner 1973: fig. 5.39).

Further insight into understanding the act of moving and shaking the standard over the crowd of dancers can be garnered through a discussion of a particular component of the standard, the decorated gourd or wood “head” of the Sun Youth (**Figs. 2.11a-2.11e**). Bourke’s (1884: 25) brief description of the Hopi Sun Youth standard reported “a small gourd encrusted with blue beads and filled, as my informants asserted, with kernels of corn.” The illustration of the standard also included a black and white block pattern that encircles the gourd (ibid.: pl. 4.1). White (1942: 343-344) described the Sun Youth standard:

It consists of a long, slender pole at the top of which is an egg-shaped object made of wood. This object is hollow and contains within it seeds of various (but unspecified) kinds. This ‘head’ is painted a dark turquoise-green. On the top of the ‘head’ is a cluster of brilliant-hued parrot-tail

feathers; a thick fringe of goat, or sheep, wool dyed red surrounds the parrot feathers where they are inserted in the head.

For Acoma, White (1932b: 104) indicated that “[a]t the top of the pole is a bunch of colored parrot feathers like the headdress of the men dancers. Then there is usually a bulb of wood . . . painted green with a band of white and black.” At Jemez, Parsons (1925: 82) indicated that “[a]t the top of the standard is a gourd, painted turquoise with an encircling block pattern of white and black . . . [and] on the very top a bunch of parrot feathers, to one of them fastened a downy eagle feather.”

For Santa Ana Pueblo, Parsons (1923a: 182) noted that “the head of the standard is a gourd painted green with an encircling block pattern of white and black.” For Zia Pueblo, White (1962: 313) described “an egg-shaped ‘head’ at the upper end as the pole is carried . . . At the crown of the egg-shaped head is a bunch of parrot tail feathers . . . The head is painted a dark blue-green with a black-and-white band running around its ‘equator’.” In some instances, the black-and-white band around the gourd “head” is outlined in red (see Kabotie 1977: 119).

In sum, in contemporary Puebloan ceremonies spanning the last one hundred years, the painted “head” of the Sun Youth is consistently and redundantly portrayed as a blue-green (turquoise) gourd painted with a black-and-white block design around its circumference. Notably, this design is not known for the Sun Youth at Paquimé. Among the Tewa, the design consisting of blocks of black and white designates the houses of the clouds (Stevenson n.d.: Box 2). Among the Zuni, the black and white block pattern denotes the “house of clouds” (Stevenson 1904: 432). In the Zuni Newekwe altar, of whom Payatamu is the patron, a turquoise sun disk is depicted surrounded by a band of

black and white clouds (ibid.: 432, pl. CIV). That the head of the Sun Youth is surrounded by clouds recalls Cushing's (1896: 443) description of the Sun Youth at Zuni as being "tall and beautiful, and banded in his own mists." Stevenson (1904: 56) also noted that Payatamu is said to live "in the midst of fog and cloud". The perception that clouds begin to form at dawn is reflected in certain Zuni painted designs on a Pautiwa katsina mask, designs that are said to be "like the fine clouds that appear just before the sun rises." (Bunzel 1932b: 908). The significance of the black-and-white banded cloud design will be discussed further below.

On a related note, in general, rattles have strong affinities with mimetic rituals of rain-making. For example, Stevenson (n.d.: Box 1) reported that during a Zuni dance performed at San Ildefonso, hand-held rattles used during the dance:

. . . are waved to indicate the gathering of the clouds, the falling of the rains, not only upon the Tewa land but upon the fields of all the world, the early growth of corn and all other crops, the development and finally the rich harvest of the vegetation of the world.

Likewise, during a Tablita Dance at Santa Clara Pueblo, "the rattle is shook constantly, and it is motioned toward the ground representing the falling of rain, with prayers to the rain makers to water the earth" (ibid.). A Tewa man noted that the sound of gourd rattles was "like the sound of summer showers" (Sweet 2004: 25). The rattle used by male performers in the Green Corn Dance at Santo Domingo were described as a "rain rattle" (Bandelier and Hewett 1937: 53).

Elsewhere in Puebloan material culture, the turquoise colored gourd and black-and-white cloud design commonly found on the Sun Youth standard also makes its appearance on other ceremonial objects such as hand-held rattles. In contemporary

Puebloan art, primarily modern paintings, rattles with the Sun Youth-like design have been depicted as being carried by a flute player (likely a Payatamu flute player) ascending from a pool of water (see Tanner 1973: 117, fig. 5.24), by Flute Katsinam (ibid.: 258, fig. 6.26), by male dancers (likely ritual clowns) in a Tablita dance that features the Sun Youth standard (Brody 1997: 127, pl. 55), and by a Hopi Bear Dancer and White Buffalo Dancer (David et al. 1993: pls. 36, 44). In the latter two examples, the black and white band design is outlined in red, much like the painted design on the gourd head of the Sun Youth standard, as described above.

While rattles, such as among the Hopi, are often named after the person or being who uses them, such as the Powamu Katsina rattle or the Koyemsi rattle (Wright 1979: 83), the design painted on the rattle probably is also intended to represent the being or the quality related to that being that the user is trying to call forth or evoke. That certain hand-held rattles are painted with the design of the head of the Sun Youth suggests that these rattles likely are intended to represent the Sun Youth. One Hopi ethnographic example of this probable Sun Youth rattle exists in the collections of the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (**Fig. 2.11f**).

Much as hand-held rattles are often filled with small pebbles or corn kernels to make a resonant noise that represents rain, so too is the head on the Sun Youth standard filled with corn kernels, as described above. Thus, the use of rattles with the Sun Youth design is likely intended to evoke the material and weather-related benefits that his presence brings forth. As the smaller hand-held Sun Youth rattles likely are intended to convey the blessings of rain, sunshine, and life, so too might the tall standard be

perceived on a larger scale as a giant personified rain rattle that, when swayed and shaken above the dancers, calls forth the blessings of rain and life upon the people, plants, animals, and the surface of the earth. In addition, as mentioned above, both the macaw feathers and the band of rain-filled clouds that surround his head and face on the standard likely also allude not just to the fiery sun but to the powerful rain-making abilities of the Sun Youth.

To depart for a moment from the present discussion, one intriguing yet puzzling point worth noting is that the color pattern and design most commonly associated with the round gourd head of the Sun Youth, namely a blue-green (turquoise) base color with an encircling band of alternating black-and-white squares at times outlined in red, predates the arrival of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth at Paquimé. A flat, fan-shaped slatted wood object with this precise design was recovered from Room 93 at Chetro Ketl in Chaco Canyon (Vivian et al. 1978: figs. 2.8, 2.10; **Fig. 2.11g**). The reverse side of this object bears a dot-in-a-square design motif that some scholars have identified as a mark representing corn (ibid.: fig. A.32; see Webster et al. 2006 for a discussion of the dot-in-a-square motif). Room 93 is thought to have been constructed around AD 1036-1040 but the cache itself may well have been deposited as late as AD 1120 when occupation of Chetro Ketl ceased (Vivian et al. 1978.: 4).

Considering that other slatted and similarly decorated fragments of this object form were recovered in the cache (see Vivian et al. 1978: fig. 2.10), the identification of this object as fan-shaped might need to be revised as the object may well have originally be circular (ibid.: 14, 101-102, fig. A.32). Notably, this artifact was recovered along with

other wooden objects representing birds, flowers, lightning lattice, and prayersticks among other artifacts (*ibid.*). Hays-Gilpin and Hill (1999: 9; 2000: 413) suggested that this ceremonial cache is the first firmly dated imagery reflective of the Flower World complex in the American Southwest.

The presence of an object with decoration suggestive of the much later Sun Youth designs, though different in medium and form, along with other objects with connotations of the Flower World is striking, although the significance is yet to be clearly understood. It is worth noting that this design motif at Chaco Canyon is the single and earliest example that I have found in the archaeological record with the next clear example of this design appearing only in late nineteenth-century ethnographic accounts describing the “head” of the Sun Youth standard, a time gap of over 700 years. Thus, with no intervening examples, it is clearly difficult to discern continuity in the meaning and association of this design and these colors specifically with the Sun Youth from the Chacoan era to the present.

It may simply be the case that the blue-green or turquoise color and its meaningful associations (see Plog 2003) and the black-and-white block pattern (perhaps long associated with clouds) have deep meanings related to the sun, vegetation, and clouds that predate Paquimé and Pueblo IV communities. For instance, when it comes to color associations for contemporary Hopi, Stephen (1898: 265) indicated that, “[a]ll ordinary pá-ho are painted of this copper-ore pigment a blue-green, because, they say, that is the color of the vegetation.” Perhaps this color and the block pattern for clouds has long existed in the Southwest but were later transferred and re-purposed, with these vegetal

and moisture associations intact, when used to depict the head (gourd) and face of the newly adopted Sun Youth deity following the initial creation of the standard a number of centuries later.

The Sun Youth as Corn Plant

Much as the Sun Youth standard in the American Southwest is layered in metaphors that suggest he is an ascendant macaw-headed solar deity at dawn as well as a giant rain-making rattle, he may well also be perceived of as a pollinating corn plant. As noted elsewhere, within the context of the Flower World complex in Mesoamerica the rising of the sun from Flower Mountain is identical to the growing corn plant that rises from the flower covered mound of soil at its base. In some instances, the cotton banner on the tall standard that represents the dance kilt of the Sun Youth is ornamented with a full-scale version of a corn plant (Lange 1957: 70-71). The presence of this design suggests that the Sun Youth himself may well be a symbolic corn plant. One of the key stages in the germination of corn plants involves the cross pollination of a number of corn plants, with the stalks of the corn plants often shaken by the force of wind. Thus, the weaving of the symbolic corn plant (i.e., the Sun Youth standard) over the dancing young corn maidens may well represent a symbolic pollinating act.

The close relation between the dawning sun and the pollination of corn plants is reflected in a Zuni song recorded by Bunzel (1932b: 891):

“The beautiful world germinates.
The sun, the yellow dawn germinate.”
Thus the corn plants say to one another.
They are covered with dew.

“The beautiful world germinates.
The sun, the yellow dawn germinate.”
Thus the corn plants say to one another.
They bring forth their young.

Aha ehe
Aha ehe

“The beautiful world germinates.
The sun, the yellow dawn germinate.”
Thus the corn plants say to one another.
They are shaken by the wind.
Aha ehe
Aha ehe

This song clarifies that the dawning sun is an instrumental force in the process of the pollination and germination of corn plants. Because of this role, I suggest that one of the many forms taken by the Sun Youth is as a giant corn plant that shakes his fertilizing blessings of pollination across the land, perhaps in the form of the light of dawn as symbolic pollen. Hopi descriptions tying pollen with the new light of the rising sun are clear. In the first three phases of dawn (i.e., white dawn, yellow dawn, and sunrise), according to Stephen (1936: 1042), “The houses, land, people, all [are] painted with the beautiful light of morning, of *tala’si* (pollen) day flower, cast, *ho’moyă*, by Sun, Ta’wa.” Thus, in Hopi thought, the landscape is symbolically painted in beautiful colors by the emerging rays of light as symbolic pollen cast by the dawning sun.

The conflation of the upward growing corn plant and the ascendant macaw-headed Sun Youth might well be evident in the Zuni Corn Dance involving Payatamu, where a growing corn plant is described as being “leaved as with waving plumes of the macaw himself” (Cushing 1896: 394). Thus, the leaves of the corn plant are likened to the feathers of the macaw, much as the growth of corn is tied to the return of the rising

sun. The main inflorescence or tassel on the top of the corn plant, which contains millions of pollen grains (Fussell 1992: 61), could be likened to the main cluster of macaw feathers atop the head of the Sun Youth. In fact, Fred Kabotie indicated that a cluster of parrot feathers tied together is akin to a blooming cluster of flowers (in LeBlanc 2004: 78).

Thus, just as the shaking of the corn tassel disperses millions of particles of floral pollen on the corn plants in the fields across the landscape, so too would the shaking of the macaw-feathered head of the Sun Youth standard, much like a blooming flower, disperse countless particles of pollen-like dew and sunlight to settle upon the maize field, upon human beings as symbolic corn plants (see Black 1984), and upon all of the animate and inanimate beings of the earth. In one Zuni tale, the Sun explained: “Tomorrow morning, when I come up in the east, I will ‘make the road’ for you with my prayer meal” (Benedict 1935: 2: 65-66). Benedict (*ibid.*: fn. 1) clarified that this “road” of meal is the path of sunlight. Thus, as the Sun Youth dances out of the underworld and across the sky, he symbolically makes his road of daylight and spreads his blessings of daylight pollen across the world and upon his children, the human embodiments of corn, who thrive in the maize field of the world and who are nourished by the waters of the ancestral rain spirits.

This perception of the dawning Sun as a pollinating corn plant is perhaps reflected in contemporary native paintings that depict the act of collecting pollen from the flowering tassels of corn plants, with the stalk slightly bent by the collector (**Figs. 2.12a-**

2.12b). Stephen (1936: 1299) described the Hopi word (*tala'si*) for the pollen collected from corn tassels in the following manner:

[C]orn pollen, but pollen and petals of other plants are also used; gathered by men, women and maids in August and September by holding a basket tray under the blossom and tapping upon the stalk; pollen is sprinkled in various ritual connections as an offering instead of meal.

As noted earlier, the Hopi word *tala'si* appears to simultaneously equate the pollen of corn and the pollen of dawn or daylight. In other words, parallel conceptual metaphors are evident in the pollen of corn (and meal) and the symbolic pollen of the dawning sun.

One Zuni account of the decapitation of the head of the Sun Youth in his guise as a Newkwe clown sounds conspicuously like the harvesting process for the removal of a corn cob from a corn plant, a symbolic decapitation in itself. Bunzel's (1933: 248-262) account describes the Sun Youth as wearing a bundle of parrot (macaw?) feathers upon his head, though still in his guise as Newekwe Topknot (a name that refers to his hair being pulled forward into a bunch atop the head). This account describes the Sun Youth engaged in a game of hide and seek with two girls in which he is found, is subsequently decapitated, has his head taken home by the girls, and is later resurrected. Upon being discovered hiding behind the sun and subsequently brought down into a field, the girls proceed to behead him, "She seized him by his top-knot and pulled his head backwards. The younger sister held Ne'wekwe by the legs and they beheaded Ne'wekwe. The younger sister held the body by the legs, the elder held it by the arms, and they carried the body away to bury it" among the brush and shrubs (ibid.: 254-255). The dripping blood from his head and body, and the place where his body was buried, left a profusion of flowers upon the land (ibid.: 258).

The process of holding the body (cornstalk), pulling back the head by the top-knot (corn tassels), cutting off the head (cob), disposing of the body (stalk), and taking home the head (maize ear) embodies comparable metaphors with the harvesting of cobs from the corn plant. Might the dripping blood of the Sun Youth also refer to the dripping sap/juice from the severed corn cob from the stalk? If this analogy is correct, it holds remarkable similarity to widespread metaphors of the decapitation of the personified maize deity in Mesoamerica dating back to the Olmecs (Taube 1996, 2000b). Such metaphors may well have been disseminated into the Southwest along with the adoption of the Sun Youth and his new rituals and instructions for the growth of corn.

The perception that the human life cycle mirrors the life cycle of the corn plant is notable in that, for the Zuni, it was Payatamu who taught that the planting and subsequent sprouting of the corn seed into the daylight is parallel to the idea that the soul is resurrected into the spirit world after the deceased human body is interred, or “planted”, into the soil (Cushing 1896: 446). In one Zuni tale of the Corn Dance, Yellow Corn woman describes how Newekwe Youth (an analogue of Payatamu) leads the Corn Maidens back to the pueblo and how the life cycle of corn is akin to the life cycle of humans:

Yellow Corn said to the priests, “At the end of the year send for us and we will come to Itiwana. Ne’wekwe Youth will always lead us...My flesh is your flesh. When you put my flesh in the ground it sprouts and does not die. It is like your bodies. When they are buried in the ground they do not die. Our flesh is like your flesh” (Benedict 1935: 1: 24).

That the Sun Youth is perceived of as a powerful fertilizing being is consistent with Ortiz’s (1969: 154) observation among the Tewa that “the east is the most important

direction in daily life because of its identification with the sun, which is believed to be the source of all life, as the primary fertilizing agent in nature.” This observation is consistent with the characterization of the Hopi Sun Youth Taiowa (Payatamu) as “the Creator” (Waters 1963: 409), the source of all life and a powerful being of fertility.

The preceding discussion sought to highlight the importance of the Sun Youth as a powerful rainmaker and creative being who is an integral factor in bringing about the katsina rain spirits who water the earth. Whether he be perceived as a brilliant ascending scarlet macaw, as a giant dancing rain rattle, or as a tall and elegant corn plant, it is clear that the blessings and breath of the Sun and the fertilizing rains of his cloud children yield an idyllic landscape of flowers, bountiful vegetation, health, and life.

Ritual Accoutrements of the Dawning Sun

In the following section, I briefly examine native oral traditions from the Southwest that describe the dawning sun and the ritual accoutrements and objects necessary for the newly emergent Sun to lighten the sky. This discussion serves as a prelude to the ensuing section, which draws comparisons between (1) the important accoutrements and ceremonial dress of the young sun as described in oral traditions, (2) the regalia of the tall Sun Youth standards, and (3) the ornamentation of the ritually related Hopi Flute standards. I argue that these Flute standards represent microcosms of the fundamental cosmological principle of the sun rising from the flowery mountain of emergence.

Certain accoutrements of the above-mentioned Sun Youth standard, including macaw feathers and a fox skin, are common among some Puebloan oral traditions concerning the dawning of the Sun. For example, Benedict (1935: 2: 64) recorded a Zuni story concerned with the travels of the Sun and the Sun's son, which states that "[a]fter they had eaten the Sun took the long yellow macaw feathers and held them to his head. All the sky was made yellow. He took his fox skin and made the light white. The sun came out in the underworld. They traveled together." Hopi share a similar tradition: "Well, when the moon came out and went down, at the time daylight would first come, out came the fox skin for daylight, next came the parrot tail, making it yellow. Then the sun came out . . ." (Parsons 1939: 240). These oral traditions make it clear that macaw feathers and fox skins are important elements in accounts concerning the dawning of the sun. Importantly, the accoutrements of the dawning sun in these oral traditions are also clearly related to the ceremonial dress of the Sun Youth standard that is widely used in plaza dances across the Pueblo world. In the following section, I relate the tall Sun Youth standard to Hopi flute standards with the suggestion that these miniature standards represent a small-scale cosmological model of the creation and emergence of the Sun Youth at dawn from the sacred, eastern Flower Mountain.

Contemporary Hopi Flute Standards as Models of the Sun Rising from Flower Mountain

In his extensive study of Hopi ceremonial life, Alexander Stephen (1936: 791) described the component parts of a Hopi Flute standard used in the Flute Society rites on First Mesa that bear similarities in meaning to the tall Sun Youth standard:

The Flute standard (*Len na'chi*): The lower third is black, typifying night; the blue, daylight; the gray foxskin, dawn- that is, the lower part of the skin, gray and black, is the first glimpse of dawn; the upper part, yellow round throat, the broader dawn; the red hair fringe, rays of the sun just as it emerges; eagle feathers, the broad sun rays. The six prayer-sticks inverted in the pedestal (*sichomo*, flower mound) are, *cho'ro paho*, the bluebird prayer-sticks, because bluebird is a rain bird, his cry is heard when the rains come.

It should be noted that the six prayer sticks (*paahos*) in the base likely have directional significance in that they frame the *axis mundi* (see image in Stephen 1936: 791, fig. 427)⁷.

As the base of the standard from which the six directional prayer feathers and central pole emerges is explicitly called *sichomo*, or “Flower Mound”, it is undoubtedly clear that these standards are related to traditions that are concerned with the dawn emergence of the sun from Flower Mound. Stephen (1936: 798) described a similar Flute standard surrounded by four tiles with imagery suggesting directional rain clouds (see image in Stephen 1936: 798-799, figs. 432 and 433) framing the center place. In describing this standard, Stephen (*ibid.*: 798) noted that the ornamentation represented elements related to the dawning sun: “On the standard the gray fox (*le'taiyo*) represents gray dawn (*kuyañnuptu*); the red hair (*pala'humu*), the red light immediately preceding sunrise (*ta'waya'makto pala'tala*), sunrise (*ta'waya'ma*).” A similar standard (*na'tsi*) as that described above, minus the fox skin, is used by the Aa'alt during the Wuwutsim ceremony at Oraibi (see Geertz 1987: pl. IIa).

It is important to note that Flute standards, with important components such as the fox skin associated with the young sun at daybreak, share a key element with the

⁷ Due to the sensitivity of portraying altar objects, I have chosen not to depict images that appear on altars. These objects have been recorded and published by anthropologists in the past and are cited here appropriately .

previously noted Zuni and Hopi oral traditions concerning the dawning sun. In addition, the use of the fox skin and the red-fringed horsehair on these standards recalls the ornamentation of the tall Sun Youth standards. In her discussion of society standards, Parsons (1939: 328) indicated that “the coyote pelt and red-hair standard of the Flute Society . . . appears to refer to the creation of the sun.” While Parsons (ibid.) mentioned Flute Society standards composed of coyote pelts and red-fringed hair, it is probable that she was referring to the Flute standards observed by Stephen and described above which are partly comprised of fox pelts and red-fringed hair, which clearly relate to oral traditions describing the dawning sun from Flower Mound. The absence of macaw feathers on the top of Flute standards deserves further attention, though this absence may simply relate to the difficulty in obtaining scarlet macaw feathers not native to the region.

As the central pole that projects from Hopi Flute standards, ostensibly representing the Sun Youth, is perceived to represent the *axis mundi*, so too do other accounts indicate that the Sun Youth himself is akin to a personified *axis mundi*. As Williams (2008: 153-154) recently noted for the Tewa, “The moiety standard [i.e., the Sun Youth standard] is the long pole that symbolizes the *axis mundi* of the cosmos. It leads the clan members out of their kivas at their annual harvest dance, as it originally lead them out of the underworld.” Likewise, Ortiz (1972: 144) indicated that the *axis mundi* is equally represented on a grand scale in the great pole dances of certain Rio Grande pueblos and on a smaller scale in the Sun Youth standard and in the spruce tree often placed in the plaza during dances. He (ibid.) noted,

We have, finally, the *axis mundi* symbolism brought to life in Taos and Isleta during the period of the autumnal equinox. At Taos it is the cosmic

pole erected by the clowns in the dance plaza during the San Geronimo's Day celebrations. At Isleta it is the whole spruce tree the clowns erect in the plaza during the *Pinitu* drama. In both cases, the clowns climb the cosmic pole and the tree of life after it is set in place. The Pueblos which do not have such grand symbols to represent the *axis mundi*—symbols which attempt to bridge the gap between the cosmic levels—have the pole or standard which they bring out during corn dances and/or relay races. It means very much the same thing.

Thus, the representation of the *axis mundi* takes form on a variety of scales ranging from the small Hopi flute standards, to the spruce tree of emergence erected for plaza dances, to the tall Sun Youth dance standard in the widespread Corn Dance, to the great poles erected in the plaza ceremonies of certain pueblos.

In the preceding brief discussion of Hopi Flute Society standards, I argued that these standards likely represent small-scale cosmological models of the tall Sun Youth standard used in plaza dances among many Pueblo communities. I suggested that the above-described Flute standards represent fundamental emergence traditions concerned with the *axis mundi* and the creation and emergence of the youthful dawning sun at Flower Mound. This concept is clearly related to the Flower World complex that is of great antiquity in Mesoamerica. As described below, the connection of the Sun Youth to Flower Mound, and the Flower World in general, is reiterated in the use of certain color combinations painted upon dancers, prayer sticks, musical instrument, other objects, and representations of Flower Mound themselves.

Blue and Yellow Color Symbolism and Flower World in the American Southwest

In the American Southwest and Mesoamerica, as in many parts of the world, certain colors are used to mark directions, to evoke a state of being, to evoke certain

deities, to convey social status, or to convey metaphorical associations, among other roles (Dixon 1899; Gill 1975; Hosler 1994; Houston et al. 2009; Plog 2003; Riley 1963; Weightman 1996). In the American Southwest, the close connection of Flower Mound to the young eastern solar deity Payatamu is reiterated in the contemporary color symbolism of blue and yellow, often used to ornament objects, altars, and dancers, among other instances. In a number of examples, this color combination evokes a variety of themes including warmth, summer, music, sexuality, fertility, and the dawning sun, all of which are linked to the Flower World complex of the Sun Youth.

For instance, this color combination is used to decorate both halves of the conical base of the Hopi Flute standard that represents Flower Mound (see image in Stephen 1936: fig. 427). This color scheme is also evident in Hopi Flute Society altars in the form of one blue and one yellow Flower Mound placed on each side of the altar (see image in Stephen 1936: fig. 426). Notably, many if not all of the Hopi societies that describe their mythical origins at Flower Mound have Payatamu (Taiowa) as their patron. These societies include the Tataukyamû, Wüwütcimtû, Mamzrautû, and Flute societies (Fewkes 1900b: 595). These societies are described in Hopi traditions as being of southern origin, having migrated from a distant place or region, perhaps in Mesoamerica, known as Palatkwapi (see Reyman 1995). Male participants in the Wuwtsim society, which has Payatamu as its patron, also paint their bodies blue and yellow in certain rites, as Fewkes (1900a: 30) noted:

. . . The [Wuwtsim] participants wore variegated paroquet feathers attached to the crown of their heads and their hair hung loosely over their backs; the left shoulder was painted yellow, the right blue; a double blue and yellow line extended from each shoulder to the waist in front and on

the back; the right arm had two blue lines or bands drawn along the outside over the shoulder to the elbow, and the arm from the elbow to the wrist was painted yellow, with the same colors reversed on the left arm. The right leg from a hand's breadth above the knee over that joint was colored yellow; from below the knee over the foot, blue; and a blue band the width of the thumb girt the leg above the knee.

A mid-twentieth-century painting of the Hopi Flute ceremony, a rite in which Taiowa (Payatamu) is closely identified, similarly depicts the legs, arms, and shoulders of Flute ceremonialists as alternately painted blue and yellow (see Kabotie 1977: 177).

Another painting by Fred Kabotie that portrays Pueblo dances involving the Sun Youth standard also depicts the bodies of some male dancers, probably ritual clowns, as half yellow and half blue (see Brody 1997: 127, pl. 55). At Zuni, the prayer stick of Payatamu “significantly, is double, and is painted blue and yellow, the colors associated with sex” (Bunzel 1932a: 530, fn. 79; see image in Stevenson 1904: pl. cxxviii). Blue and yellow feathers are also used on Santo Domingo prayer sticks dedicated to the sun: “Each feather is yellow, shading up to blue, colors said to suggest the colors of the morning sky” (Densmore 1938: 28). Likewise, prayer sticks for the Hopi Marau society, whose patron is Payatamu, are painted blue and yellow (see Stephen 1936: pl. xxiv). Prayer sticks at Jemez are painted yellow and blue in the summer (Parsons 1925: 102). The pairing of blue and yellow colors appears to be related to the pairing of male and female aspects, as evident in the moiety system of the two kiva groups. For example, at Santo Domingo, White (1935: 140) noted: “The bodies of the men of the Turquoise kiva group are painted a bluish color; those of the Squash kiva, a sort of reddish yellow.”

The association of blue and yellow color combinations with warmth and fertility is evident at San Juan Pueblo where blue and yellow are the colors of the Summer moiety

(Parsons 1929: 259). A harvest song from Acoma recorded by Densmore (1957: 58) links these colors to butterflies, corn plants, and flowers, a decidedly fertile solar realm:

Is it not you, young man, is it not you, young man.
That sort of yellow butterfly you painted,
That flies in among the corn plants.
Is it not you, young man, is it not you, young man,
That sort of blue butterfly you painted,
That flies in among the corn plants.

The last line of the song mentions the butterflies flying among the flowers (ibid.). A Hopi He-Hea Katsina song (Cronyn 1934: 148) evokes similar themes:

Now behold!
Through bright clusters of flowers
Yellow butterflies
Are chasing at play,
And through the blossoming beans
Blue butterflies
Are chasing at play.

The flowery spiritual realm evoked by these colors is further evident in a Hopi Korosta Katsina song (ibid.: 147):

Yellow butterflies,
Over the blossoming virgin corn,
With pollen-painted faces
Chase one another in brilliant throng.
Blue butterflies, Over the blossoming virgin beans,
With pollen-painted faces
Chase one another in brilliant streams.
Over the blossoming corn,
over the virgin corn
Wild bees hum!

The blue and yellow color combination clearly evokes the warm Flower World realm.

These colors associated with a flowery fertile realm are also present on musical instruments. Bourke (1884: 34-35) indicated that dance drums painted blue and yellow

were used in performances at Santo Domingo that also featured the Sun Youth standard. This coloring may link these drums to the Sun Youth Payatamu, much as dance drums at Cochiti (Lange 1959: 349) and Santo Domingo (Curtis 1907-1930 vol. 16: 168) were named “Paiyatama”. This color combination, with its inherent link to Payatamu, is also represented on Hopi wooden ritual objects that represent “sun ladders” (**Figs. 4.6d-4.6e**), the ladder by which the sun emerges in the east at dawn (see Chapter 4).

Essentially, the point of this discussion on blue and yellow color symbolism in the contemporary Pueblo world is the emphasis that these colors tie together many themes in the Flower World complex that are intimately linked to the Sun Youth Payatamu. These themes include butterflies, flowers, the ladder of the dawning sun, music, sexuality, warmth, fertility, and of course, Flower Mound. In contrast, in the ethnography the colors red and white often are paired together quite frequently as well and likely allude to the opposed cold, winter part of the year. For example, though red is not mentioned in this particular example, a consultant to Bunzel (1929: 259) noted: “Everything of Winter people is white; everything of Summer people is yellow or blue.” The use of these colors (blue-green, yellow, red, and white), often paired, appears to be closely related to the counterclockwise ritual circuit and the directional colors, as is known among the Tewa (*ibid.*) and at Acoma (White 1932b: 132), among others.

In sum, it seems probable that much if not all of the Flower World complex evident today in the American Southwest is ultimately tied to the Sun Youth and Flower World complex of Mesoamerica. Clearly, in the American Southwest, Flower Mound is the locus for the creation or birth of the Sun Youth Payatamu who ascends into the sky at

dawn. Given that the site of Paquimé was the earliest and central proponent of Sun Youth rituals and ideology, as is described below, it remains to be clarified whether or not the idea of an actual central mountain identified with high-status individuals and the young Sun God is evident on the sacred landscape in the Casas Grandes region of northwest Mexico. This question is the central focus of Chapter 9. In the following section, however, I examine the archaeological record of the American Southwest for ancient depictions of the tall dance standard (the Sun Youth Payatamu) in order to assess the antiquity of this being in the larger Southwestern region.

The Sun Youth Standard in the Archaeological Record of the American Southwest

In the ceramic assemblages of the Pueblo IV period, depictions of the top of the Sun Youth standard, commonly called a *capitan* figure, occur on the central interior and along the exterior rims of certain glaze-decorated bowls among the Eastern Pueblos in the Rio Grande region (**Figs. 2.13a-2.13f**). An extended discussion of the appearance and disappearance of this figure in the symbolic corpus of Pueblo IV-period ceramics of the Rio Grande region enables scholars to consider the role of the Sun Youth in historical events in the prehispanic and historic periods.

The *capitan* designs, always painted red and positioned in the central interior or along the exterior rim of bowls, are remarkably consistent in being comprised of a “rectangular body and a triangular, quadrilateral, or round head with three long, blunt-ended projections” (Kidder and Shepard 1936: 134, 181) that in many cases are clearly anthropomorphic in nature. As Kidder and Shepard (*ibid.*: 200) noted, decorations on the

“head” bear the “unmistakable” representation of a human face, including eyes, mouth, and the occasional nose (**Fig. 2.13a-2.13c**). Kidder (1915: 445) earlier likened this motif to a “plumed head”. While initially labeling these images as the “three finger” motif (Kidder 1915: 443-445; Kidder and Kidder 1917: 336), in their work at Pecos Pueblo, Kidder and Shepard (1936: 177) later noted that this motif in no way represented a hand and thereafter designated this design as a *capitan*, the Spanish word for “captain or chief”, after the Mexican workers noted the common occurrence of anthropomorphic facial features and plume-like appendages⁸.

With its red coloring, human face with red feather-like protuberances above the head, and a remarkable resemblance to contemporary depictions of the tops of Sun Youth dance standards, these images likely represent the gourd “head” of the Sun Youth with the prominent feathers probably representing his scarlet macaw feather headdress. One image from Pecos that portrays this depiction of the Sun Youth has possible feathered wings (ibid.: 225, fig. 192g) while another unillustrated rectangular “body” of this figure was described as exhibiting a “typical bird tail” (ibid.: 237). In my estimation, these anthropomorphic figures with red, avian (likely scarlet macaw feather) attributes are one manner of representing the widespread Sun Youth Payatamu, in this form as his manifestation of the tall Sun Youth dance standard. These figures are distinct from, and should not be mistaken for, other images in the rock art thought to represent Apache *ga’an* dancers (see image in Nelson and Hegmon 2010: pl. 15).

⁸ See examples in Kidder and Shepard 1936: figs. 117f, 134g, 142b, 143d, 153a-153h, 155a-155e, 169a-169d, 170a-170g, 177a, 187a, 192a, 192d-192e, 192g-192h, 202a-202d, 203a-203f, 204a-204p.

Kidder and Shepard's (1936) classic study of Pecos pottery indicated that at Pecos, perhaps the earliest graphic depiction of this image occurs on Glaze C (AD 1430-1600+) wares, which served as the prototype for, and then was contemporary with, the more common and abundant appearance of these designs on Glaze D (AD 1460-1550+) and E (AD 1480-1630+) bowls (ibid.: 133, fig. 117f and 155, fig. 134g). In fact, the depiction of the *capitan* represented perhaps the most common exterior decoration on Glaze E bowls at Pecos (ibid.: 228, 233), appearing on over two hundred Glaze E sherds alone (ibid.: 237).

Examples of the Sun Youth motif also occur on an unprovenienced Rio Grande Glaze D vessel (**Fig. 2.13e**) while a similar depiction occurs on the interior of a separate vessel of uncertain type excavated from Kuaua Pueblo (**Fig. 2.13f**). Notably, the image from the Kuaua vessel also contains two abstract depictions of probable downward-facing macaws positioned just below the gourd "head", while one Sun Youth "head" from Pecos is surrounded by two dragonflies in flight (see image in Kidder and Shepard 1936: 179, fig. 153g). Other examples of the Sun Youth motif, though the specific ceramic type is not described, appear on bowls from Ojo Caliente, Tsirege, Puyé, and Tyuonyi in north-central New Mexico (Kidder 1915: 445).

Hewett (1906: pl. 32f) illustrated one bowl with a Sun Youth motif from an unknown provenience on the Jemez Plateau. Fenn (2004: 98, figs. 32 and 34; see Harlow and Lanmon 2004: 288, bowl 21) excavated at least three glaze ware bowls with similar depictions of the Sun Youth motif at San Lazaro Pueblo in the Galisteo Basin. At least

one Glaze E ware (AD 1480-1630) was found at the site of Quarai in the Salinas province south of Albuquerque (Peckham 1990: fig. 91).

Thus far, I have found no clear examples of Sun Youth motifs in the archaeological record from the Northern Tiwa region around Taos and Picuris. This apparent absence conforms to other scholars' observations that Taos and Picuris appear to have developed *in situ* without having formed as part of the collapse and migrations from the Colorado Plateau. This perspective indicates that people in these far northern regions appear to have never, or to any great extent, adopted katsina and Sun Youth ceremonialism or social organizational structures such as Keresan-style medicine sodalities as did much of the rest of the Rio Grande Pueblos (see Ware and Blinman 2000: 402).

At present, I am as yet unconvinced that the so-called *Avanyu* motif (Wilson 1918) that occurs in black-and-white biscuit wares of the northern Rio Grande is a representation of the Sun Youth, as no examples of the *avanyu* that I observed bear anthropomorphic features. Firmer conclusions should be reserved until after this motif has been further studied, a task that is beyond the scope of the present work. To date, as I have found examples of the specific Sun Youth motif only on glaze wares from across the Rio Grande region, a comprehensive examination of glaze ware design motifs in the anthropological literature and in museum collections is yet to be undertaken to determine both the temporal and geographic extent of this motif in the wider region.

The apparent lack of representations of the Sun Youth standard in Southwestern symbolism predating AD 1430 is notable. I suspect that the development of the standard

as a representation of the Sun Youth is a Rio Grande region phenomenon that may have taken place at this time, in part due to the decline of Paquimé and an interruption of the abundant supply of scarlet macaw feathers. I further suspect that, prior to this time period, the personification of Payatamu in Puebloan ritual, much as was likely the case in the Casas Grandes region, might well have involved an actual person dressed in ceremonial regalia representing the Sun Youth, perhaps laden in a plethora of scarlet macaw feathers.

This general idea is supported in the instruction of Payatamu himself to the Zuni shortly after the performance of the Corn Dance and just before his departure. Said Payatamu, “Amongst my followers . . . some shall represent me . . . and they shall choose maidens for the flute custom, and after, shall lead Maidens of the Seed [Corn] . . . as we have this day led the Mother-maidens themselves unto thy presence . . .” (Cushing 1896: 445-446). Whatever the reason for the initial depiction of the Sun Youth in symbolism on ceramics, it is noteworthy that the prevalence of Sun Youth motifs and related Flower World symbolism on these glazewares is roughly coeval with the florescence of masked katsina symbolism in the rock art of the Rio Grande region between AD 1325-1600 (see Schaafsma 2000b), unlikely a mere coincidence.

The Sun Youth at Pecos Pueblo and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680

Depictions of the Sun Youth motif on glaze wares at Pecos Pueblo are notable and warrant a further extended discussion, as the timing and subsequent preponderance of the first overt expressions of Sun Youth ceremonialism at this site is conspicuous. Sun Youth

(and katsina) ceremonialism is argued in the present dissertation to have become manifest in the Rio Grande region around the beginning of the fourteenth century if not slightly earlier in the mid-thirteenth century, as evidenced in the shift to plaza-oriented pueblos and the change in location and ritual significance of corn-grinding facilities. However, the first graphic evidence of the Sun Youth at Pecos Pueblo only begins to appear on Glaze C, D, and E wares roughly by AD 1430. Though Sun Youth rituals were undoubtedly known and practiced in the larger region by the early fourteenth century, it is notable that the increasingly intensive and overt evidence of Sun Youth worship at Pecos is roughly aligned with the waning years of the Casas Grandes culture (ca. AD 1450). This coincidence implies that, at this time, Pecos may have been attempting to position or legitimize itself as a succeeding ritual and political center or heir apparent of Sun Youth worship in the larger Rio Grande region.

It is conceivable that after the fall of Paquimé, some Casas Grandes people may well have dispersed northward to join communities across the Southwest. For instance, Riley (2005: 118) pointed out that, in the AD 1560s, nomadic Indians in the vicinity of Paquimé told General Francisco de Ibarra, the new governor of Nueva Vizcaya, that the final inhabitants of Paquimé had been driven northward by attacks from people in the sierra to the west. As scholars (Lekson et al. 2004: 61) have noted that the demise of Paquimé coincided with a dramatic population decline in the Chihuahuan desert, perhaps the northward flight of some Casas Grandes people involved re-settling in various Puebloan villages in the Southwest, perhaps even at Pecos.

Just as the timing of the overt display of Sun Youth motifs at Pecos is telling, the cessation of overt Sun Youth symbolism on Glaze E wares by AD 1630 at Pecos is equally revealing in that it coincides with intensive Spanish-era missionization efforts. For example, the period between AD 1610-1639, almost precisely at the time Glaze E wares and Sun Youth motifs disappeared from the archaeological record of Pecos, represents the period during which the mission system in New Mexico had reached its peak with conversion and Christianization of the Pueblos becoming complete during this era (Schaafsma 2000b: 131), at least on the exterior (Suina 2002).

The establishment of Santa Fe in AD 1610 as the capital of New Mexico brought the Franciscans closer to the heavily populated Eastern Pueblos (Kessell 1979: 99) and, as Pecos was the crossroads of Plains-Pueblo interaction and a central hub of trading fairs with Apaches, the prospect of the conversion of souls brought Pecos to their attention (ibid: 99, 134-138). The construction of the monumental Pecos mission church between 1621 and 1625 only solidified the missionization and conversion efforts designed to quash native religion and cultural life (Kessell 1979: 121-129). Clearly, the cessation of the public expression of Sun Youth worship, as evidenced by the lack of these motifs on Rio Grande glazewares after AD 1630, is tied to the suppression of native religious practices by Spanish missionaries while the cessation of glaze-painted pottery as a whole in this region by AD 1700 is tied to Spanish control of mineral sources used in glazeware production (Eckert 2006: 56). The Glaze F type, which terminated by AD 1700 and which bears no examples of the Sun Youth motif, was considered by Kidder and Shepard

(1936: 254) to be “the last and the worst” of the glaze wares, so much so that they derided it as “Degenerative Glaze”.

Conversely, while the cessation of Sun Youth symbolism is tied to conversion efforts, it is entirely likely that the subsequent revitalization movement in traditional religious and cultural practices expressed in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Liebmann 2002, 2006) probably is intimately associated with a resurgence of not only katsina ceremonialism by AD 1660 (see C. Schaafsma 2000), but Sun Youth ceremonialism as well, which I have elsewhere argued are inextricably intertwined. The link between the Sun Youth and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 is further reflected in a contemporary drawing marking the 300th anniversary of the revolt entitled “August 10, 1680: The New Dawn”, by San Ildefonso artist Aubrey Sanchez. This drawing depicts a scene of rebellion and destruction of Christian influences in the foreground flanked by two large depictions of the Sun Youth standard overlooking the scene in the upper register (detail in Agoyo 1980: 27). It appears increasingly likely that the Sun Youth Payatamu played an important role in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

To illustrate this point further, it is useful to briefly discuss leadership during the Pueblo Revolt. In offering a native perspective of the organizers of the revolt, Alfonso Ortiz (1980: 20) described Popé, the recognized leader of the rebellion, as a revered Tewa ritual leader who behaved by doing “a very wise and very traditional Pueblo thing: invoking sacred culture heroes as his ultimate rational and guides for the rebellion he was planning.” According to Ortiz (*ibid.*: 21), among those culture heroes invoked was one universal to Pueblo people, though known by different names depending upon the

linguistic group. When questioning three captive Pueblo people, each speaking a different language, about the leaders of the revolt a Tewa captive asserted that the leader was “Pohe-yemu”, a Keresan captive said the leader was “Payastimo”, while a Towa man said that the leader was “Payatiabo” (ibid.). The latter two names correspond to Parsons’s (1939: table 2) observation that Payatamu was known as “Paiyatamo” among Keresans and “Patyabo” among the Towa pueblo of Jemez. Clearly, not only did Ortiz clarify that Poseyemu and the Sun Youth Payatamu are one and the same, but he indicated that Pueblo leaders often invoke or associate themselves with the Sun Youth Payatamu/Poseyemu to justify political actions.

Much like Ortiz, Chavez (1967: 92) argued that Poseyemu and Payatamu are the same figure known by many different names among the different linguistic groups of the Southwest. Immediately after the Revolt, Governor Otermín’s interviews of 47 Pueblo captives revealed statements to the effect that the leader of the revolt was a lieutenant of Poheyemu (Poseyemu) (ibid.: 88). Liebmann (2006: 104) suggested that this lieutenant of Poseyemu was Popé himself. Though identifying the ritual leader as the mulatto Naranjo rather than Popé, Chavez (1967: 93) and (Beninato 1990: 421) concluded that this *teniente* or “representative” of Poseyemu was likely a real human being assuming the person of Poseyemu, in other words, a ritual leader as a personified Poseyemu.

Ortiz (1980: 20) indicated that for Popé to invoke the most potent ritual being he surely must have been a major ritual leader, for those who undertake such a task must first earn the right to do so. This strategy appears to have been evident even in the early twentieth century, for when Parsons (1925: 59) conducted her ethnographic fieldwork at

Jemez Pueblo, the current Jemez cacique was named Pohdyabö (Batyabohobö), which is simply another name for Payatamu (ibid.: 39). Similarly, the chief of the Jemez Flute Society, a Pecos immigrant, was known as Peyatyambo, a name that is likely synonymous with the name “Paiyadyabo”, another spelling of the name Payatamu (ibid.: 39, 68). This information suggests that ritual and political leaders with an elevated status in Pueblo communities in the American Southwest at times are closely linked to the Sun Youth Payatamu.

Thus, as I have argued elsewhere in this dissertation (see Chapters 6 and 9), the concept of a revered founding ruler, ritual leader, or priest as a personified Sun Youth is a longstanding tradition and strategy for political and religious legitimization. This strategy was evident for leaders in the American Southwest, in northern Mexico at Paquimé, among Mesoamerican societies such as the Aztatlán tradition in West Mexico, the Mixteca region of Oaxaca, and extended in temporal and geographical space to at least the fifth century at Copán, Honduras.

The Sun Youth and Montezuma/Poseyemu Traditions in the Eastern Pueblos

On a related note, with regards to Pecos Pueblo, the prominence of Sun Youth worship and his overt depiction on Rio Grande glaze wares at this site may help to explain the link between this site and the widespread culture-hero traditions of Montezuma/Poseyemu in the Southwest and northern Mexico. This conclusion deserves a detailed discussion.

In Tewa traditions, Poseyemu is said to be the preeminent ritual leader, as he himself stated:

Today I have become Po-say-yay-moo [Poseyemu]. Hence from this day forward I am your way of life. I am now your protector, and your savior. You are now my people . . . Today you have all become my children and as children I shall lead you. Hand in hand, step by step we shall see eternal life . . . You are now on the eve of redemption (Ortiz 1963-1968: 50-51, cited in Parmentier 1979: 612).

It is notable that Sun Youth symbolism has been found on glazeware ceramics from such sites as Ojo Caliente and Pecos Pueblo in the Rio Grande region and from Paquimé in northwest Mexico, all sites where Poseyemu/Montezuma is said to have been born or from where he is said to originate (see Parmentier 1979: 618). The presence of this imagery suggests that the Poseyemu/Montezuma traditions are probably conflated with those of the Sun Youth. It is clear then that the dominant presence of the Sun Youth Payatamu in practically every aspect of the political, ritual, and social life of most Puebloan peoples today suggests that these accounts of Poseyemu and Montezuma are most likely variants of traditions of the solar deity and culture hero Payatamu.

In Chapter 9, I argue that the closely related Montezuma (Poseyemu) traditions and the Sun Youth Payatamu traditions, perhaps identified with an actual historical figure, appear intimately intertwined. The earliest evidence of both figures in the ethnohistoric literature and the archaeology suggests an ultimate origin in the Casas Grandes region. For the Eastern Rio Grande Pueblo region, a number of traditions indicate that Montezuma is usually thought to have been born at Pecos Pueblo (*ibid.*: 618). What is notable about the florescence of Sun Youth ceremonialism at Pecos in the years leading up to and after the demise of Paquimé is that the Montezuma/Poseyemu

traditions also appear to be closely linked to the rise in political power of Pecos (see Applegate 1929: 174-175). For instance, some stories indicate that Boshayanyi (or Poshayanki, another name for Poseyemu) is a “Christ-like culture hero who is born of a virgin at Pecos. He performs miracles, teaches hunting, and vies for the rule of the Pueblo” (Parmentier 1979: 615). Furthermore, many references to the legend of the sacred fire of Montezuma, which was kept lit and annually renewed to mark his eventual return as protector of native religion and as herald of the subsequent restoration of Pueblo culture from its oppressors, are linked to Pecos Pueblo (Applegate 1929: 177; Kessell 1979: 460-463, 471-473; Parmentier 1979: 619).

The connection of the Sun Youth to new-fire ceremonialism at other Pueblos suggests an affinity with the Montezuma tradition at Pecos Pueblo. While the above described new-fire ceremonialism at Pecos is often linked to Montezuma, it is also notable and relevant that new-fire ceremonies occur among the Hopi of First Mesa during Wuwuchim, a ceremony closely linked to Payatamu, the patron of the Wuwuchim society (Wright 2004: 63). Perhaps a veiled allusion to the God of Flowers Payatamu in these Hopi New Fire rites is evident in Stephen’s (in Parsons 1923d: 185-186, fn. 69) statement that pollen, rather than sand, must be used on the fire drill to assist with friction. Parsons (ibid.) indicated that this requirement probably has a ritual basis. This basis may reside in the association of flowers with the newly born Sun Youth.

Aside from there being a connection between Payatamu and Montezuma/Poseyemu, Chavez (1967: 92) further indicated that the Jemez culture hero Pestya-sode is simply another name for Payatamu and Poseyemu. In other words, the

culture hero traditions of the Sun Youth Payatamu appear to take form under a variety of names including Poseyemu, Montezuma, and Pestya-sode, depending upon the pueblo. Jemez traditions indicate that when needed, Pest-ya-sode was placed among the Pueblo people by the Sun after receiving prayers from the people (Reagan 1917: 48), an action that suggests that the culture hero was at one time a living man.

Before departing, Pest-ya-sode defeated the Pueblo enemies, instructed people to build their houses in a horse-shoe shape with continuous outer walls to serve as both a residence and as a fortress (likely plaza-oriented pueblos), taught the people all of their rites and ceremonies, instituted the sacred hunt, taught them to paint their house of worship (kivas?) with representative figures of their gods, gave the clown, medicine, and sun priests their powers, and taught them to erect houses of worship dedicated to the sun (ibid.: 49). This account is remarkable in that all of these changes that are affiliated with the culture hero Pest-ya-sode are those that occurred at the onset of the Pueblo IV period, precisely at the time that Sun Youth ceremonialism was in the process of being adopted. It is quite evident that the Montezuma/Poseyemu/Pest-ya-sode and Payatamu traditions are conflated.

Significantly, much like in the above-noted Montezuma traditions, Jemez prophetic accounts indicate that when native ceremonialism is suppressed by foreigners and neglected by indigenous peoples to an unbearable point, Pestya-sode would return “in the chariot of the sun” at dawn to restore the land, the indigenous possessions, and the ancient ways to its former glory (Reagan 1917: 49). At Jemez, much as the return of Montezuma is sought on the horizon (see image in Kessell 1977: 466), an equivalent

Jemez tradition detailed by Reagan (1917: 49) indicated that “each morning at early dawn we send a man to the top of the mesa yonder to see if the great Pest-ya-sode is coming on the wings of the morning to expel this [Anglo-American] race from our land and restore us our ancient possessions.”

A strikingly similar tradition that involves the return of Poseyemu is also known for the Tewa (Parsons 1926: 108-113). It is probable that indigenous traditions prophesying the eventual return of Montezuma/Poseyemu/Pest-ya-sode, all variants of the Sun Youth Payatamu, on the eastern horizon at dawn are akin to the anticipation of a forthcoming revolutionary period heralding the return, restoration, and reinvigoration of the Flower World of the Sun Youth and an expansive revitalization of native cultural practices.

Recognizing that these culture heroes are all conceptually intertwined, it becomes easier to see that the cessation of Sun Youth symbolism on glaze wares, and the fact that native ceremonialism was driven underground into the kivas, may well relate to the divine instruction of Montezuma/Poseyemu to perform their ceremonies in the kiva until his eventual prophetic return. Parmentier (1979: 613) pointed out that one “religious activity that Poseyemu performs in Tewa mythology is ordering the kachina dances to be held in underground kivas. This was the principal tactic that the Pueblos used to prevent the Franciscans from detecting their native religious practices.” In one Tewa tradition, Poseyemu visited the village of Yungeowinge expecting a public feast, only to find no ceremonies taking place. Upon his arrival to the plaza,

He saw nothing. He said, ‘You have this kind of *oxuwahhi* [danced on the outside], but you do not want it. If you want to dance below [i.e., in the

kiva], that same way you are going to follow all your life. You have to keep on this way until I come back. Now I am going to leave you who are living here . . . He said that some time he was going to come back, and when he comes back all the White people and the Mexicans will have to go away from here. I do not know when that time will be. That will be our rich time (Parsons 1926: 113).

In another account, upon approaching the village of Yunque (San Gabriel), an early historic San Juan village, Poseyemu arrived to find the people scattering to hide their religious paraphernalia and dances being performed in the plaza:

When Poseyemu arrived and saw what they had done he asked, “Why have they hidden from me?” They answered that they thought he was an alien, and he became angry. He said to them, “Very well, from now on you shall continue to carry these ways on only in the inside” (Ortiz 1963-1968 [cited in Parmentier 1979: 613-614]).

One Tesuque tradition indicates that the arrival of Spanish religion centered upon Jesus led to the subsequent disappearance of Montezuma/Poseyemu, “When I spoke of Montezuma to my Tesuque informant, Poseyuma was at once mentioned by him. He said, ‘Poseyuma came and helped the Indians and Americans . . . When Jesus came down he took Poseyuma away’” (Parsons 1926: 108, fn. 3). These accounts cumulatively suggest that the arrival of Spanish religion and oppression resulted in the diminishment of overt public worship of the culture hero Poseyemu/Montezuma (i.e., Payatamu) in public ceremonies and in the termination of his symbolic representation on glaze-ware ceramics.

The link between Montezuma and Payatamu extends further. At Jemez Pueblo during the J.H. Simpson expedition in 1849 (Simpson 1850), R.H. Kern documented a kiva mural (**Fig. 2.14b**) that depicted two flute players standing beneath a rainbow and described them as the “adjutants of Montezuma, who are sounding a call to him for rain.” Similar rainbow motifs, minus the fluteplayers, are portrayed on Acoma katsina kilts (see

Stirling 1942: pl. 12). It is noteworthy that an early twentieth-century Jemez flute bears incised images of clouds, a flute player (**Fig. 2.14c**), and a strikingly similar rainbow motif, above which floats a butterfly (**Figs. 2.14d**). These scenes and their thematic elements strongly recall the solar realm of the Sun Youth as portrayed in earlier Pottery Mound kiva murals (**Fig. 2.14a**).

The collector of this flute, Stewart Culin, along with his Jemez companion José Reyes Toya, noted that the incised flute player played “a cane flute with a gourd bell shaped like a squash blossom” (Culin 1907: 9, 17, 21-22). Importantly, this Jemez flute was illustrated in Parsons (1925: 81-87) study of a Flute Dance performed at Jemez in 1921. During this ceremony, a flute-playing member of the Sun society led a dance procession in the plaza comprised partly of a choir, the tall Payatamu dance standard, and *tabö'sh* clowns (of whom Payatamu is the patron) draped in flowers. The point of this discussion is that, clearly, these Jemez flutes are the floral flutes of Payatamu while the incised decoration of the rainbow with fluttering butterfly and the accompanying flute player is equivalent to the scene of the flute-playing “adjutants of Montezuma” depicted beneath a rainbow on the earlier Jemez kiva. Thus, it may be equally accurate to characterize the flute-playing “adjutants of Montezuma” in the Jemez kiva scene as the flute-playing adjutants of the Sun Youth Payatamu.

In fact, Reagan (1917: 48) depicted an early twentieth-century Jemez kiva wall and described a similar rainbow motif with the “God of Flowers” emerging as heat-flash lightning from water jars beneath the rainbow arch. This concept is likely related to the image of the “flower lightning”, or lightning terminating in a prominent blossom, that is

depicted on the flute of Payatamu at Jemez (Parsons 1925:122, 125, fig. 8). Clearly, the “God of Flowers” emerging beneath the rainbow arch is the patron of flowers, the Sun Youth Payatamu. Furthermore, Bandelier’s (1890: 146) historical novel “The Delight Makers”, a story rooted in his ethnographic and archaeological fieldwork, characterized one kiva painting as containing an image of a human being intended to represent “the Sun Father” Payatamu painted above a solar disk and below a rainbow arch. Furthermore, with this conclusion in mind, that Jemez kivas were described to Simpson (1850: 68) as “the churches of Montezuma” only strengthens my argument that kivas (and their murals) are closely related to the realm of Payatamu and his mist-filled Cavern of the Rainbow (see Cushing 1920: 38-39; see also Schaafsma 2009). Thus, these kivas, the “churches of Montezuma”, could equally be labeled as “the churches of Payatamu”.

It is worth noting here that at the end of the occupation of Pecos Pueblo, the final small group of Pecos inhabitants had abandoned the site in AD 1838 and joined with Jemez Pueblo. Importantly, as Parsons (1925: 68 [emphasis in original]) noted, the above-described early twentieth-century Jemez Flute Society centered upon the Sun Youth Payatamu is “accounted *the* Pecos society, *the* ceremonial organization of the Pecos people in Jemez”, a fact that clearly links Payatamu worship to Pecos Pueblo. This identification strengthens my argument that the *capitan* imagery on Pecos glazewares represents the Sun Youth Payatamu and it bolsters my earlier suggestion that the chief (Peyatyambo) of the Jemez Flute Society, a migrant from Pecos, is likely closely linked to Payatamu. Here I again contend that the traditions of Montezuma/Poseyemu and the

traditions of the Sun Youth Payatamu are intimately interrelated as to be practically inseparable.

That Pecos Pueblo became a central locus for Sun Youth rituals (as reflected in Sun Youth motifs on glazewares) both during and after the final years of the Casas Grandes culture and an important locus for oral and historical traditions centered upon Montezuma probably reflects the idea that, perhaps in an act seeking politico-religious legitimization, Pecos began to emphasize the interrelated Montezuma/Poseyemu and Payatamu traditions that have their earliest manifestations at Paquimé in the Casas Grandes region. Much like at Paquimé, perhaps there also existed a ritual leader or *cacique* at Pecos identified with or as a personified Sun Youth Payatamu. Applegate (1929: 174) recorded a Tewa tradition whereby Poseyemu arrived at Pecos Pueblo, assumed the name Montezuma, and became a great cacique and ruler of Pecos.

Finally, it is notable that in some stories, Poseyemu (or Poshayanki) is said to have led the original people from the “City of Mist” and taught them everything about their religious and cultural life before disappearing to live with the Sun (Parmentier 1979: 614). While this place of mist may well refer to the *sipapu*, it is notable that the Southern Tiwa word for “mist” at Isleta Pueblo is *paki’mu* or *pakimu* (Parsons 1932: 209, 258). As the Poseyemu and Payatamu traditions are intimately related, and as both are closely linked to the mist-filled realm of dawn, might this word (being remarkably homophonous with the name Paquimé) suggest that the site of Paquimé could well have been likened to a mythical place of mist?

Scholars have long debated the origin of the name *Paquimé* (Di Peso 1974: 2: 295, 653-654; Riley 2005: 118). However, the nomadic indigenous people who originally provided this name to the first Spaniards in the Casas Grandes region in the mid-sixteenth century may well have been providing the name by which it was known among some linguistic groups in various parts of the Southwest. It may well be the case that Paquimé was considered “the City of Mist”, the original home of Payatamu, the center of the Flower World complex, and the main force behind the profound intellectual, ideological, and cultural changes that swept across the American Southwest after AD 1200.

Sun Youth Standards in the Rock Art of the American Southwest

Aside from Sun Youth imagery in symbolism on glazewares, similar tall standards, though rare, are evident in the rock art of the Piro region along the Rio Grande of south-central New Mexico. In her study of rock art in the Pueblo Southwest, Schaafsma (2000a: 36) drew attention to two painted figures carrying elaborately feathered staffs that she dated between AD 1325 and AD 1600. One of these figures plays a flute and appears to have long feathers upon the head (**Fig. 2.10b**). As I noted in preceding sections, the Sun Youth is considered the preeminent flute-player. Thus, this image from the Piro region may represent the earliest known and perhaps the only depiction of the Sun Youth standard in rock art of the American Southwest. The location of this figure in the Piro zone, and in the larger Rio Grande region during the Pueblo IV period, is significant in that it provides important new evidence for discussions

concerning the developmental trajectory of important aspects of religion and ritual in the American Southwest (see Adams 1991a; Schaafsma 2000b).

Schaafsma (2000b: 64, 68, 70) recently argued that the large numbers and diversity of katsina masks in the rock art of the Piro region along the Rio Grande are among the earliest representations of katsina iconography in the American Southwest:

The large numbers of masks present in the rock art of Cerro Indio, a fourteenth century Piro site north of Socorro and the diversity that these figures exhibit, indicate that katsina ideology is more complex and well developed early in the Rio Grande than it appears in Little Colorado sites (ibid.: 64).

Thus, during the Pueblo IV period in the American Southwest, the most highly developed rock art depicting katsina imagery is located in the regions encompassing the Piro, Tompiro, Southern and Eastern Tiwa and Southern Tewa linguistic zones among the Eastern Pueblos (ibid.: 70, 75).

The identification of the Sun Youth motif, along with the earliest evidence of numerous and diverse katsina mask symbolism in the rock art of the Piro region of south-central New Mexico and the larger Rio Grande region, offers support to Schaafsma's (ibid.: 79) assertion that "Pueblo receptivity to new ideas from the Mogollon contributed to a dynamic Pueblo religious development and accompanying artistic florescence beginning early in the fourteenth century." In my estimation, however, the lack of such elaborate portrayals in the rock art and ceramics in the Western Pueblos during this same era does not mean that these beliefs were present only among the Eastern Pueblos.

The Sun Youth of the Casas Grandes Culture

In the preceding sections, I established that the Classic and Postclassic-period highland Central Mexican Sun Youth, known as Xochipilli in the latter era, and the ancient and contemporary Sun Youth of the American Southwest, generally known as Payatamu, are essentially cognate beings in that they are historically related and share remarkably consistent character attributes. Given that the Sun Youth of Mesoamerica is of greater antiquity with roots at the great Classic period highland Central Mexican site of Teotihuacan and the Classic Maya site of Copán, the degree to which these deities in such disparate regions and time periods share common qualities is so strong that it would be impractical to suggest that the Sun Youth of the American Southwest is of independent or isolated origin. Given this observation, and the timing in which this deity appears in the Southwest by AD 1300, it is apparent that the only probable intermediate site which could have played a major role in the transmission of these ideas related to this deity is the site of Paquimé, Chihuahua, in the Casas Grandes region of northwestern Mexico.

In the following section, I examine Casas Grandes iconography for evidence of the Sun Youth deity in this region. I argue that the Sun Youth is indeed evident in Casas Grandes iconography and is a central deity in Casas Grandes cosmology. This finding suggests that it is entirely probable that Mesoamerican peoples, who would have detailed knowledge of the numerous and specific character traits of this particular deity, may very well have been present at the important site of Paquimé.

The Macaw-Headed Sun Youth in Casas Grandes Symbolism

Of the most enigmatic portrayals in the Medio period (AD 1200-1450) Casas Grandes symbolic system are anthropomorphic figures depicted with a macaw head or wearing a macaw-feather headdress (**Figs. 2.15a-2.15f, 2.16a-2.16b**). While scholars (e.g., Schaafsma 2001: 144) noted that Casas Grandes iconography primarily was focused upon the theme of macaws and horned and plumed serpents, only a few studies offered interpretations of the macaw-headed anthropomorphic beings (e.g., VanPool 2002, 2003a, 2003b; VanPool and VanPool 2007). In her analysis of these figures, Christine VanPool argued that these human-avian figures represent shamans in various stages of transformation on journeys to and from the spirit world.

However, as noted above, in the following discussion I make the argument that these macaw-headed anthropomorphic figures likely represent the earliest version of the macaw-headed Sun Youth in the Greater Southwest that is presently evident among many contemporary Puebloan peoples. It is important to note that the analysis and interpretation of Casas Grandes iconography must be done without the benefit of detailed comparative textual information and ethnographic analogies drawn from the immediate region, as the descendant communities of Casas Grandes people are largely unknown and detailed ethnographic data from this region are not comparable with that of Puebloan people of the Southwest. Thus, any potential comparisons and ethnographic analogies must be drawn from studies of ancient and contemporary peoples and cultures from both the American Southwest and cultures to the south in Mesoamerica. Following the ensuing discussion, I argue that ritualism at Paquimé, which focused upon the Sun Youth deity

and a particularly salient form of the Mesoamerican Flower World complex, played a significant role in the dramatic transformations in architecture and cosmology across the Pueblo world beginning in the mid- to late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries.

On a limited number of Casas Grandes vessels, a human figure with a macaw head or headdress is depicted in various figural positions, at times accompanied by a horned and plumed serpent. In their volume on the Casas Grandes regional system, Whalen and Minnis (2001b: 188) recognized this figure, which they described as a “bird-man”, as representing part of a locally developed “regional cult”. While I agree with their assessment that this figure is the center of a regional ritual and symbolic complex centered at Paquimé, I depart from their viewpoint that this supernatural figure and regional complex developed *in situ*. Instead, I assert that this macaw-headed deity is of a decidedly nonlocal origin.

From Paquimé, it is probable that the ritual complex encoded in symbolism on Casas Grandes ceramics was spread to other areas in northern Mexico along with the distribution of such wares as Ramos Polychrome, thought to be the most widely disseminated type of polychrome in all of northwest Mexico (see Whalen and Minnis 2001b: 189; Woosley and Olinger 1993: 110). Other manners of disseminating this ritual knowledge likely included both the migration of Casas Grandes people to different parts of the Southwest and the probable long and short-term immigration of Southwestern peoples to Paquimé, perhaps as a destination of regional pilgrimages (Fish and Fish 1999: 40; Pitezal 2010) or even as a place of tutelage for ritual leaders from across the Southwest.

As I identify the above-described figure as the young dawning sun, in the following discussion I refer to these figures as the Casas Grandes Sun Youth. On one of the vessels in question, a standing male is depicted wearing a headdress with a large macaw head (**Fig. 2.15a**). A separate example, which serves as the logo for the El Paso Museum of Archaeology at Wilderness Park, also depicts a standing human figure with a macaw head and tail feathers (**Fig. 2.15b**). Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 4: 534-535) illustrated a vessel depicting two nearly identical macaw-headed men in a horizontal position with one arm outstretched, a position that VanPool (2003a: 706) suggested likely indicates supernatural flight (**Figs. 2.15e**). As is discussed momentarily, it is noteworthy that these two figures, here identified as the Sun Youth, are positioned with a horned serpent head tucked underneath the arm. A similar “flying” figure appears on a separate Chihuahuan polychrome (**Fig. 2.15f**).

A more elaborate version of this motif, bearing a similar theme of the Sun Youth coupled with a horned and plumed serpent, is evident in a rollout photograph of a Ramos Polychrome jar taken by Justin Kerr (**Fig. 2.16a**). In this scene, the Sun Youth is depicted with a macaw head and long tail feathers, and he is situated in a figural position strongly suggestive of dance and movement with both arms outstretched and one leg rising above the ground. Again, in this scene, the Sun Youth is accompanied by the horned and plumed serpent. Finally, a vessel in the Dallas Museum of Fine Art depicts a similar macaw-headed figure(**Figs. 2.15c, 2.16b**). It is clearly evident that this human figure with a plumed macaw head is portrayed in a probable dance position while standing atop the undulating body of a horned and plumed serpent.

These portrayals likely represent the macaw-headed Sun Youth dancing out of the underworld in the east and rising along the body or pathway of the horned and plumed serpent. The two circular floral medallions decorating the horned and plumed serpent tail likely allude to the Casas Grandes plumed serpent in its role as the symbolic “Flower Road”, the floral pathway of the sun, a widespread motif in ancient Mesoamerica. The artistic rendering of the Sun Youth in a dance-like position may also allude to the Casas Grandes Sun Youth as the God of Dance, a characteristic shared among the Sun Youth of the American Southwest and Central Mexico.

The pairing of the macaw-headed Sun Youth with the horned and plumed serpent on these vessels is highly significant. As Taube (2006a; 2010c) recently argued, in ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, the plumed serpent is considered a “flowery road” and represents both the pathway of the sun and a vehicle for gods and ancestors (see Chapters 3 and 5). In a study of Casas Grandes symbolism in Chapter 5, I argue that cosmology at Paquimé was primarily focused upon the emergence and daily passage of the sun along the flowery pathway of the horned and plumed serpent. Following these observations, I note that this concept first appears in the Greater Southwest in Medio-period Casas Grandes iconography.

The symbolism of Flower Road remains an important concept in contemporary native cosmology and art in the American Southwest. For example, a mid-twentieth-century painting entitled “Dancers Coming from the Hills” by the Zia artist Waka depicts a number of dancers traveling upon a winding pathway of blossoming plants (see Dunn

1968: frontispiece). It is probable that such Puebloan dances take place in, and symbolically help to create, a flowering solar landscape.

In the preceding section, I drew attention to a number of depictions of the Sun Youth in Casas Grandes art. In doing so, I demonstrated that this figure shares characteristics with both the Sun Youth of Mesoamerica and the Sun Youth of the American Southwest. These shared attributes include the scarlet macaw headdress and the status as the god of dance. Furthermore, I reiterated my contention that Casas Grandes cosmology was primarily centered upon a particularly salient form of the Mesoamerican Flower World complex and a concern with the diurnal emergence and passage of the sun across the sky. In Casas Grandes symbolism, the pairing of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth with the horned and plumed serpent represents the youthful dawning sun rising in the east while traveling on the body of the horned and plumed serpent, a concept undoubtedly derived from more ancient Mesoamerican cosmologies.

While it has become increasingly clear that the Sun Youth of the Casas Grandes culture and the American Southwest are ultimately cognate beings with the Sun Youth Xochipilli of highland Central Mexico, there remain other important but related issues that need to be addressed that concern how the adoption of this Sun Youth ritual complex impacted or instigated some of the significant social changes that marked the onset of the Pueblo IV period. More specifically, one central question is how does this religious complex relate to the shift to plaza-oriented villages across the Southwest in the thirteenth century? In the following section, I briefly examine the transition to plaza architecture and discuss recent research by scholars concerned with the various

explanations for why this shift occurred. In this regard, I incorporate the findings of the present study into recent research suggesting that significant changes in ritual ideology in the region during the thirteenth century likely played an important role in the depopulation of the Four-Corners region, the shift to plaza-oriented pueblos across the American Southwest (see Ruscavage-Barz and Bagwell 2006), and the shift in ideology associated with corn-grinding facilities.

The Sun Youth and Culture Change during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV Transition

The Culture Hero and the Period of Great Migrations in the American Southwest

Elsewhere within this dissertation, I argue that traditions which conflate the culture heroes Montezuma, Poseyemu, and Payatamu, likely centered upon a powerful ritual leader closely linked to the dawning Sun, originated in the Casas Grandes region. Importantly, Parsons (1939: 202) noted that many accounts of this culture hero in the American Southwest indicate that Poseyemu/Montezuma travelled throughout the Southwest to different communities across the region and taught them basic cultural and ritual information before departing. As one Cochiti tradition indicates, Montezuma was a miracle worker who:

. . . spoke all languages. He spent his time in making known his divine mission by working miracles in the different tribes. Within a short space he assigned to the peoples—at that time all were nomads—the places where they were to build towns and he gave them the form of government they have today (Dumarest 1919: 229).

This era, characterized by great movements of people and the widespread adoption of the teachings of the culture hero Montezuma might well be accurately characterized as the

time period of the great migrations of the Pueblo IV period and the widespread adoption of the teachings of the Sun Youth. A similar Zia tradition detailing the movements of the culture hero indicates that the “quasi-messiah” Po’shaiyänne, who is equivalent to Montezuma, “made a tour of the pueblos before going into Mexico” (Stevenson 1894a: 59). In one Zia account, Po’shaiyänne visited all of the pueblos and then travelled to a village in Chihuahua, Mexico, where he married the chief’s daughter (ibid.: 66).

The teachings and leadership of Montezuma were so respected and progressive that people across the Pueblo world flocked to him to learn more (Applegate 1929: 175). One Tewa tradition recorded by Applegate (ibid.: 171-176) indicated that in founding many new Pueblos, a sacred eagle “flew ahead of Montezuma, and his people, and wherever the eagle alighted a pueblo was built. In this way nearly all of the later pueblos in New Mexico were built, and they were populated by the many people who followed Montezuma.” This tradition suggests that the Montezuma figure, ostensibly the Sun Youth Payatamu, may well be akin to an oracular figure, a supernatural guide whose new teachings were so influential for crowds of Puebloan people, that he directed people to move to and establish new Puebloan communities for the new converts to his teachings.

This concept is similar to Hopi traditions of Palatkwapi, whereby it was the sacred parrot (scarlet macaw), a bird closely linked to the dawning Sun Payatamu, who spoke to the Hopi people and guided the northward migrations and construction of new villages by Palatkwapi clans on their migrations from far to the south to the Hopi Mesas around the thirteenth century (Applegate 1929: 163-167). In Chapter 12 and elsewhere (Mathiowetz

2010a), I demonstrate that the Palatkwapi clans are intimately associated with Sun Youth ceremonialism.

As noted earlier in this dissertation, oral traditions similarly relate that Zuni people were taught new knowledge of the Sun Youth by Payatamu himself and his People of the Dew who, after a ritual battle with the Zuni, demonstrated the effectiveness of their new ritual knowledge and commanded that the Zuni join together with Payatamu's followers and perform the new Sun Youth rituals forever thereafter (Cushing 1896: 390-398). A Tewa tradition indicates that it is the ritual leader Poseyemu who guided the Tewa in finding their Middle Place:

The Tewa built themselves a village. . . They had not been many years at this place when Poseyemu appeared to them and told them that they were not at the middle place; he said "You must cross the river," and he gave the people instructions as to where they would find the middle place . . . Obeying . . . the people built a village" (Harrington n.d. [cited in Swentzell 1990: 26]).

Another Tewa account further indicates that Poseyemu was a guiding force and decision-maker for the Tewa community in their migrations: "He [Poseyemu] just talked hard, good words. How they could move from that place, what they were to do, how they could live" (Parsons 1926: 112. In a recent dissertation, Scott Ortman (2010: 602-607) argued that it was Poseyemu who led the Tewa people to migrate from the Mesa Verde region to the Tewa Basin in the thirteenth century.

As I have argued that Poseyemu and Payatamu are likely one and the same, it is entirely possible that the rapid depopulation of the Four Corners region is linked to the widespread and rapid adoption of a new, revolutionary religious movement centered upon the Sun Youth. As an oracular figure, the Sun Youth may have divinely commanded his

new followers to leave the northern regions and re-settle elsewhere to the south. In other words, these indigenous traditions offer insight into the mechanisms by which to understand the movement and migration of people and the establishment of new Pueblo communities during the tumultuous Pueblo IV period.

Furthermore, these accounts partly explain how the widespread adoption of rituals ostensibly associated with the Sun Youth Payatamu could have rapidly occurred across the Southwest. Rather than simply being strictly dictated by environmental factors, as is the commonly accepted explanation, many of the major social changes such as the depopulation of the Four Corners region, the subsequent period of migrations, and the spread of a new belief system in the Pueblo IV period centered upon the Flower World and the Sun Youth may have partly been the result of direct prophesy and command from Payatamu/Poseyemu himself, or a variety of ritual leaders or priests inspired by him, to leave the old, diminished social order of the Colorado Plateau behind.

The Sun Youth Defeats the Gambler and the Rain Clouds are Set Free

A measure of support for the proposition that the Sun Youth played a role in the end of the politico-religious organization and the tumultuous events in the Four Corners region can be found in an indigenous oral tradition concerning a ritual competition between the Sun Youth and a despotic figure known as the Gambler. In recent publications, Stephen Lekson (1999a: 143-150, 2008: 198-200) drew attention to Puebloan and Navajo traditional stories concerned with a place called White House, generally thought by Lekson to refer to Chaco, Aztec, and the wider Four Corners region.

Related stories concern a person known as the Great Gambler, a figure who in some stories is often considered as a foreigner, perhaps a Mexican Indian, rather than a Pueblo person (Lekson 1999a: 149-150. Lekson (ibid.: 149) characterizes the Gambler cycle of stories, thought to relate to the rise and fall of Chacoan society, as describing a dominant ruler who mistreated people and, by winning gambling matches, subjugated them to help him build some of the Chacoan Great Houses.

In a number of these tales, the Gambler is usually overthrown and expelled from the land by the gods or by the people (Lekson 1999a: 149-150). Likewise, tales of White House tell of a growing discontent among the people due to improper behavior, violence, gambling, or inappropriate accumulation of wealth and power. This discontentment and strife led to the abandonment of White House and the dissemination of Pueblo people to the south to form the modern pueblos (Lekson 2008: 200). The abandonment of the Four Corners region beginning roughly between AD 1200 and AD 1300 involved the movement of tens of thousands of people from the region with very little archaeological evidence that significant numbers of people stayed (ibid.: 162; Cameron 1995). While the environment, particularly the fluctuation in precipitation, surely played some role in the abandonment or social re-organization, Lekson (2008: 163) argued that the breakdown in society was the result of a failed political system, stating that “the totality and finality of the evacuations suggest to me political rather than environmental processes.” These political processes may well have involved the newly adopted traditions of the Sun Youth across the region.

One Keresan tale that involves both the Gambler and the Sun Youth is particularly insightful and may shed some light on these events. In the version recorded by Boas (1928: 76-82, 253-254), the Gambler continually won gambling matches against the Storm Clouds, whom he subsequently incarcerated in four rooms at his house. As a result, there was a drought and it did not rain for three years. The Sun Youth, who usually awakened the clouds at dawn, noticed their absence and the long-term lack of rain. From his home in the east the Sun Youth spoke,

“I wonder why it is never raining,” said the Sun-Youth. “In general every morning I awaken the storm clouds. From here I go to the north top of the west mountain and also to the west top of the south mountain and also to the south top of the east mountain and from here to the east top of the north mountain. There I always wake up the storm clouds”, said the Sun-Youth...”Let me look after my children, the storm clouds,” said the Sun-Youth (Boas 1928: 76-77).

Upon noticing the absence of the clouds and rain, the Sun Youth embarked on a trip to the Gambler’s house where he engaged in a series of gambling matches in order to secure the release of the clouds. After outwitting the Gambler, with lightning and flint the Sun Youth “opens the doors of the rooms and liberates the Storm Clouds. It begins to rain” (Boas 1928: 253).

Upon losing the competition, the Gambler was expelled by the Sun Youth and his clouds. On his way southward, the Gambler set fire to the grasses and the land. The Storm Clouds discovered this act and raced to extinguish the fires but not before allowing the Gambler to become trapped and perish in the flames (Boas 1928: 82). This story is remarkable in that it may well be a parable that recounts how the new ideology of the Sun Youth and his rain clouds came to be victorious over the old ideology and social order of

the Gambler and the failed Chacoan politico-religious system which he represented. This victory of the new ideology appears to correspond with the turmoil associated with the prolonged Great Drought in the northern regions of the American Southwest. In other words, this story may well reflect the tremendous appeal of the power of the new ritual leader Payatamu with his proficient rain-making abilities that were emanating from the Casas Grandes region after AD 1200.

Another Keresan tale recorded in the early twentieth century also involves White House, a drought, and the new teachings of the Puebloan culture hero P'a'cayan^yi, also known as Poshayanki (Boas 1928: 222-223). Elsewhere in the present chapter I suggested that the culture hero Poshayanki at times appears to be conflated with Payatamu. In this Keresan tale, P'a'cayan^yi arrives to White House after the people had been living there for a time. After P'a'cayan^yi performed certain exploits, the people and the shamans were asked if they would continue to follow their current religious practices or if they would now follow the new teachings of P'a'cayan^yi. All of the shamans agreed to accept the new teachings of P'a'cayan^yi. Because of this, and because they disobeyed their earlier teachings, there was then a long-lasting drought with nothing to eat (ibid.). These two native traditions, though containing very esoteric information, nonetheless are highly suggestive and may well indicate that very significant social change in the Southwest was due to a dramatic shift in religious beliefs and worldview centered upon acceptance of the new teachings of the widespread Puebloan culture hero, whom I suggest is ultimately identified as the Casas Grandes Sun Youth.

Migration and Push/Pull Factors in the Depopulation of the Four-Corners Region

In considering models of migration and the explanation of abandonments, scholars have argued that “push factors” such as extensive drought, overpopulation, and exhaustion of resources cannot be the sole causal agents in prompting peoples to move. It is essential to also consider “pull factors” at the destination in models of the movement and integration of migrating peoples into new communities or geographic regions. As Lekson and Cameron (1995: 192) indicated, ideological factors have been included as a factor in discussing the movement of peoples from the Mesa Verde region to the Northern Rio Grande region.

Notably, the region around the International Four Corners, particularly surrounding the site of Paquimé, also increased dramatically in population size at around the same time period of the abandonment of the Four Corners region. It is during this era that scholars argued for the greatest Mesoamerican influence in ideology and sociopolitical organization at Paquimé during the Medio period (AD 1200-1450). The perception that a changed ideology played a role in the tumultuous abandonment of the Four-Corners region has been noted in the suggestion by Schaafsma (2000a: 177) that:

. . . the pueblos after A.D. 1300 became participants in a wider ideological sphere centered in Mesoamerica . . . [and that] cultural crisis, such as that indicated by the abandonment of the San Juan drainage by the end of the thirteenth century, resulted in a receptivity to ideological change and the development of new paradigms.

Similarly, McGuire (1989: 57) argued that the environmental, social and ideological crises of the late thirteenth century undermined the existing sustaining ideology in the

Pueblo III period and set in motion, during the Pueblo IV period, a new social and ideological transformation embodied by new religious beliefs by AD 1300.

It is suggested here that complex cultural factors involving social, political, ideological, and environmental uncertainty, such as migration, drought, and political instability in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries resulted in the unique coalescence and amalgamation of diverse peoples and ideas from the Greater Southwest and northwest Mesoamerica at Paquimé. While Paquimé likely was a very important pilgrimage center that attracted many Southwestern people interested in acquiring knowledge of Sun Youth rituals, it is equally possible that high-status Casas Grandes ritual leaders made forays, perhaps as cultural ambassadors in a sense, to various Pueblos (local communities and local authorities) across the region to demonstrate their knowledge of Flower World rituals that legitimized their rulership and ritual power at Paquimé.

The Sun Youth and the Transition to Plaza-Oriented Pueblos in the American Southwest

The adoption of rituals focused upon the Sun Youth appears to have played an important role in the widespread transition to plaza-oriented villages, a shift that occurred across the American Southwest beginning in the middle to late thirteenth century. While a detailed examination of this transition is beyond the scope of this chapter, the following discussion focuses upon a brief review of differing explanations of previous scholars for this phenomenon. This discussion further also explores the way in which the adoption of

new religious ideas centered at the site of Paquimé likely influenced the later and widespread creation of village plazas (see Ruscavage-Barz and Bagwell 2006).

It is widely acknowledged by scholars that beginning around the middle to late thirteenth century, dramatic changes in architecture occurred across the American Southwest, specifically in the orientation of villages around a central plaza (see map in Adams 1991a: 102, fig. 5.5). In the western Pueblo region at this time, great kivas were replaced by enclosed plazas as *the* ritually integrative structures (Adams 2000b: 43).

According to Adams (*ibid.*: 42-43), in the Western Pueblo region:

Between 1275 and 1300 there is a significant and universal shift in village size and layout . . . Apparently as early as 1250-1275, enclosed plaza layouts for large pueblos began to appear . . . During the 1275-1300 period, this layout became dominant, regular, and characterized all large pueblos in the western Pueblo area, and apparently in Eastern Pueblos as well.

Similarly, in their study of the Pajarito plateau of the Eastern Pueblos, Ruscavage-Barz and Bagwell (2006: 82) pointed out that “[t]he Late Coalition period (A.D. 1250-1325) saw changes on the Pajarito plateau, and in the northern Rio Grande region in general. During this time, U-shaped and plaza pueblos appeared.” While the dramatic changes in architecture at this time are clear, the causes and effects of this change have been vigorously debated by scholars.

The creation of plaza-oriented villages and the aggregation of populations in the American Southwest have been widely explained by scholars as having resulted from a number of processes. Foremost among these explanations for aggregation are those that suggest a strategy to mitigate environmental stress as a result of drought, a population increase as the result of migration, or cooperative subsistence-related causes for the

development of plaza pueblos (Rusgrave-Barz and Bagwell 2006: 81, 85). However, recent studies demonstrated that populations on the Pajarito plateau were declining prior to and during the period when large plaza pueblos became most prominent (ibid.: 86). While these new data contradict some of the environmental or population-driven models, some scholars have also sought different explanations for the transformation to plaza architecture. As Adams (1988: 156) earlier argued, the processes underlying these changes in architectural form and use are social rather than environmental or subsistence-related.

A number of studies have begun to examine the role of religion in shaping the settlement reorganization in the Puebloan Southwest (Adams 1989a, 1991a, 2000b; Adams and Lamotta 2006; Rusgrave-Barz and Bagwell 2006). For example, in his study of ritual in the Little Colorado River region, Adams (1989a: 157) argued that the appearance of katsina ceremonialism in this area coincided with the development of the rectangular kiva-plaza ritual complex. Adams (1989a: 157) concluded, “Thus, the development of enclosed plazas with village aggregation in the late A.D. 1200’s seems most likely tied to the ritual needs of the community rather than to defense, more efficient energy use, or other needs.”

In a recent study, Adams and Lamotta (2006: 61) pointed out that the appearance of katsina ceremonialism and the transition to plaza-oriented architecture in the Homol’ovi region of north-central Arizona was accompanied by an influx of a suite of objects, icons, and ritual behavior from northern Mexico, including sacrificed macaws, copper bells (crotals), *Nassarius* shell jewelry, and Hopi-made macaw effigy vessels. As

they (ibid.) further noted, “. . . a complex of iconography, behavior, and ritual technology of ultimately northern Mexican origin is associated with kachina ritual, and . . . this signature intensifies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Pueblo World.” These arguments reiterate Adams’s (1991a: 132) earlier assertion that “Mexican beliefs, however filtered through Casas Grandes, did contribute to what eventually evolved into the kachina cult.”

Schaafsma (2000a: 79) also asserted that “certain of the ideological concepts embodied by the kachina cult may be traceable to Mexico.” McGuire (1989: 58) likewise acknowledged that “[t]he Anasazi katsina religion incorporates a number of existing ritual features combined with innovations derived ultimately from Mesoamerica.” Similarly, Hays (2000: 54) noted that some of the earlier and more geographically distant images from the Mimbres and Casas Grandes region perhaps inspired the forms and symbolic meanings of Pueblo katsinam. She (ibid.) further suggested the possibility that “an entire complex of religious practice was imported to the Pueblo region and adapted to local needs.” Thus, the point that I am emphasizing is that the widespread transition to plaza-oriented villages and the simultaneous and rapid development of important aspects of ceremonialism in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest likely resulted, in part, from an influx of well-developed religious beliefs and practices from northern Mexico oriented at the important yet enigmatic site of Paquimé.

In the preceding discussion, I drew attention to recent research by scholars concerned with the widespread and rapid transition to plaza-oriented pueblos in the American Southwest beginning in the middle to late thirteenth century. Among the more

prominent explanations for this transition are those that emphasize environmental stress, population increase, or cooperative agricultural strategies as the driving force behind these dramatic changes. Recent studies suggested that scholars must also incorporate important cosmological or ideological change in considering the factors for plaza-pueblo development at this time.

It is especially important for this discussion that some scholars concede that an influx of religious and symbolic influences from the Casas Grandes region of northern Mexico must be considered in the development of very important aspects of ceremonialism in the American Southwest. In this regard, I argue here that the transition to plaza-oriented villages in the American Southwest was significantly impacted and hastened not only for the accommodation of masked katsina dances, but by the adoption of specific religious beliefs focused upon the Sun Youth that were first evident and predominant at Paquimé. The shift to plaza architecture in the American Southwest would be necessary and practical for the accommodation of large-scale public rituals that involved the parading of the tall Sun Youth standard, or the performance of a Sun Youth impersonator, along with the numerous accompanying ritual participants who at times number in the many hundreds, as is known for the Corn Dance today (see Lange 1979: 385, fig. 9). These Corn Dance dramas can involve perhaps up to one thousand dancers and singers, such as the massive Feast Day dances at present-day Santo Domingo Pueblo.

The Sun Youth and the Shift in Corn-Grinding Ceremonialism in the American Southwest

Supporting evidence for the proposition that Sun Youth rituals are linked to the transition to plaza-oriented villages can be found in research that examines the near simultaneous shift in setting of corn-grinding facilities. Scott Ortman (1998) proposed that, along with other major social and organizational changes during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV transition period, a new emphasis was placed on the public visibility of corn grinding and an increased frequency in the construction of mealing bins in open-air contexts adjacent to public plazas, in ramadas, and on rooftops. These new contexts were thought to reflect a comparable shift in community organization and fundamental changes in worldview and ritual metaphors that characterized this era (ibid.). Ortman (ibid.: 165) noted that changes in corn grinding practices were as widespread as the architectural and ceramic changes that occurred across the Southwest during this period. Notably, Anschuetz (1998: 467) also pointed out that grinding slicks and cupules on boulders became very characteristic of Pueblo IV Tewa sites in the Eastern Pueblo region, a pattern that is also apparent in the northern Tiwa region where boulders with grinding slicks and cupules become associated with directional shrines in the thirteenth century at the site of T'aitöna (Fowles 2009).

The shift away from specialized mealing rooms and interior domestic rooms during the Pueblo III period to more public outdoor settings in the Pueblo IV period involved not just practical concerns, but “. . . there also appears to be aspects of modern Pueblo worldviews, which I suggest first developed during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV transition, that motivated this increased public emphasis on food preparation” (Ortman

1998: 182). In other words, the common occurrence of plaza-oriented pueblos and outdoor corn-grinding facilities during the Pueblo IV period likely involved the adoption of modern Pueblo worldview at this time period (ibid. 183). This observation is significant and, much like the adoption of public plazas as suggested above, the change in corn-grinding facilities likely involved the adoption of rituals dedicated to the Casas Grandes Sun Youth. A discussion of symbolism and conceptual metaphors involved in corn grinding and in the use of notched musical rasps in the Greater Southwest will help to clarify this proposition.

In Chapter 4, I argue that the symbolism of notched musical rasps in ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest is steeped in very widespread and well-documented ritual metaphors associated with the Sun. The body of the notched rasp is identified as the symbolic pathway or road of the Sun across the sky, while the notches represent the steps or ladder by which the sun ascends in the east at dawn and travels on his daily celestial route. Significantly, the act of rasping as replicating or encouraging the movement of the Sun along his stepped pathway is parallel to the symbolic metaphors associated with grinding on a metate. An extended account of this concept among groups in northern Mexico, evident in contemporary Tarahumara peyote ceremonies in Chihuahua (Deimel 2000), is worth considering as a prelude to a larger discussion of this concept in the Southwest.

At around one o'clock in the morning during the Tarahumara peyote ceremony, while the peyote healer is rasping upon a notched stick, the wife of the peyote healer begins to rub a peyote cactus (*hikuri*) on a metate placed at the eastern edge of the

ceremonial circle (Deimel 2000). Like many indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, the significance of the east is important for the Tarahumara as it is the place of birth for the Sun each morning. Notably, the peyote cactus is imbued with multiple meanings linked to blooming flowers and the rising Sun. While Tarahumara consultants described rasps as representing “the road of Tata Dios,” Lumholtz (1902: 1: 366) noted that some Tarahumara rasps also have slanted lines on the sides that signify falling rain. Thus, Tarahumara rasps are affiliated with falling rain and with the road of the Sun (ibid.). These dual concepts are important for the discussion at hand.

During the Tarahumara peyote ceremony, while the healer’s wife grinds the peyote into liquid, an assistant placed a small bowl at the front of the metate and in order to catch the peyote liquid into the vessel. Deimel (2000:179: note 4) indicated that this bowl is reminiscent of containers that are set before metates in order to catch the falling corn granules. These falling corn granules may in fact relate to a mimetic act of replicating falling rain. This suggests a comparable metaphor between grinding corn on metates and replicating the road of the sun by rasping. In fact, Deimel (ibid.: 176) suggested this exact comparison by noting that “the rubbing of the *hikuri* [peyote] on the metate now corresponds with the rubbing of the *hikuri* on the *sípira* [rasp].” Thus, the rubbing of the peyote, a symbolic sun or flower, on the rasp also likely replicates the movement of the sun along the stepped ladder or pathway across the sky. In effect, the travel of the sun upon his stepped pathway in the sky symbolically creates the clouds and falling rain, metaphorically equated with falling corn granules. Clearly, these ritual acts are linked to the return of the sun, rains, corn, and fertility.

Parallel concepts are found in the ethnography of Pueblo people in the American Southwest. Black (1984: 287) related a Hopi song by Clarence Honani whereby “the association of katsinas with cornmeal in Hopi ceremonies is elaborated by the use of metaphor likening raindrops which the katsinas help to bring with the cornmeal that maidens help to grind.” This song (ibid.) begins:

In due time
along the four directions, in the cloud
houses
the cloud maidens are growing full.
They prepare raindrops just as if they
had ground corn to bring along their way
that is how they will make it rain along
your plants
as you have prayed and wished for it.

In another Hopi song recorded by Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2006: 32), the Tsa’kwayna katsinam equate the Cumulus Cloud Maidens preparing rain in the clouds to the process of Hopi maidens grinding corn meal into trays:

For their part, for their part
Throughout the dwelling places of the clouds
The Cumulus Cloud Maidens have their rain as
corn flour mounded on a tray prepared for here
Because they are going to make that as rain
along your planted fields.

Parsons (1939: 383) indicated that notched rasps are usually played by women and men or boys impersonating women, since the act of rasping is symbolically associated with grinding on a metate. This concept is remarkably depicted on a rasp from San Juan Pueblo that portrays a woman grinding on a metate while positioned at the end of the notched wooden rasp, a portrayal that clearly conflates the two activities (**Fig. 2.17a**).

In the Puebloan ethnographic record from the American Southwest, conceptually parallel rituals associated with corn-grinding and notched musical rasps are also intimately affiliated with the Sun Youth and a concern for the rising and movement of the sun across the sky. Hopi musical grinding parties, said to be borrowed from the Zuni, were explained in origin stories:

In the Underworld, before the Zuni came up at their si'papü in Great Cañon, the Corn Maidens, yellow, blue, red, black, and sweet, ground corn upon the mealing stones and Tai'owa [or Payatamu], brother of the Sun, sat before them, playing the flute, and many young men sat beside him singing, and the maidens kept time to the music with their rubbing stones (Stephen 1936: 153-154).

These songs and grinding activities were performed in winter and were prayers for the return of warmth and vegetation (ibid.).

Katsina dramatizations of musical grinding parties also occur during the phallic rites of the Zuni Ololowishkya. The acts of grinding and rasping likely are also steeped in sexual metaphors. Notably, during this ceremony, the phallic flutes of Payatamu are prominent (Parsons 1939: 381). This concept is also evident at Santo Domingo Pueblo. For example, Densmore (1938: 112-118) indicated that in corn-grinding ceremonies, the playing of flutes and drums and the accompaniment by singers are all essential elements of these rites (see image in Densmore 1938, fig. 14). The flutes in these ceremonies, with the distinctive half-gourd at the end, likely are the flutes of Payatamu. For the Zuni, Cushing (1920: 387) described musical grinding parties whereby the music:

seemed to endow the girls at the meal trough with new life, making them absolutely one in every motion. Not only did they move their *molinas* [grinding stones] up and down in exact time, but at certain periods in the song . . . passed the meal from trough to trough in perfect unison.

The flute-playing and singing while grinding, likely directed towards Payatamu, has great time depth in ethnohistoric data from the region. In a discussion of Tiguex (Southern Tiwa), Castañeda in the mid-sixteenth century wrote of a grinding room where three women ground maize to the accompaniment of singing and flute-playing (in Hammond and Rey 1940: 255). That the Sun Youth Payatamu is closely linked to Hopi corn grinding ceremonies, called Ka'shailila'lauwâ, is reflected in the name of these ceremonies (Stephen 1936: 153). The word Ka'shaili is another spelling for Koshare, the clown societies whose patron spirit is Payatamu (ibid.).

In a Hopi dance performed at Jemez that was said to be equivalent to the Tablita Dance, the association of rasping and grinding with the road of the sun and supernatural spirits is evident. In this example, Parsons (1925: 87-88) indicated that the chief of the *tabö'sh* clown society is charged with being the "road maker" of the dancers. His principal role is to clear a pathway for the dancers, call out instructions, and also to lay down a blanket for the women who play the notched rasps that accompany the dance. Parsons (ibid.) explicitly described these rasp-playing women as "grinders", which suggests a metaphorical link to grinding corn and, thus, the replication of the road of the sun. Essentially, these dancers may well be symbolically following the road of the Sun Youth Payatamu laid out by the *tabö'sh* clown. Notably, Patyabo (another name for Payatamu) is the patron of the Tabö'sh clowning society (ibid.: 126).

One corn-grinding song from Cochiti reported by Densmore (1957: 93) also indicates a link between the sun and grinding:

Great sun, great sun, look down on us children and on the mothers and young maidens while they toil grinding our sacred blue corn.

Jeançcon (1926: 133-137, fig. 1) described and illustrated the layout of a rectangular kiva at Santa Clara. Upon the east wall of the kiva was the painted image of a yellow sun beneath which, on the floor, were two metates and grinding stones, objects clearly related to grinding for the Sun in the east. Thus, the concept of rasping and grinding as mimetic acts are interrelated ritual activities linked to the east, the production and return of rain, and the road of the sun.

Fewkes (1903: 126-127) indicated that Hopi corn-grinding ceremonies can take place in kivas or in public plazas. He (*ibid.*) described and illustrated one corn-grinding ceremony involving Hopi Añya Kacina Manas, Hehea Kacinas and a Paiakyamû clown (see image in Fewkes 1903: pl. XXXII). In this ceremony, the Hehea Kacinas carry two metates into a kiva or plaza and set up the slabs for two masked girls. Notably, the name of this kacina likely evokes the act of corn grinding, as the vocables “Hehe Hee” that are sung in grinding songs are said to represent the sounds of grinding (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2004: 483). Surrounded by over 30 Anya Kacinas, with the Paiakyamû sitting directly in front, the girls grind maize to songs, dancing, and the clapping of hands. Afterwards, the corn meal is given to the kiva chief, the gluttonous clown, or the spectators. The presence of the Paiakyamû clown in grinding ceremonies is noteworthy in that the Sun Youth Payatamu is the patron of the Paiakyamû clowns (Wright 2004: 37).

Corn grinding is also linked to the dawning sun at other pueblos. At Isleta, women sing songs and grind corn at dawn. During the act of grinding, “As the women look at the rising sun they think of what may come to their people in the new day” (Densmore 1957: 60). One corn-grinding song at Isleta that is entitled “The coming of the sun” describes

the dawning of the sun and the important ritual role of singing during grinding at this time. One stanza (ibid.) begins:

Early this morning the coming of the sun,
For what purpose is it coming?
Perhaps for the cornmeal it is coming.
Yonder in the west at Shiawibat [Isleta]
All Isleta maidens, what do you think?
What do you say? Shall we sit and sing?

A second corn-grinding song is entitled “The sun and the yellow corn”. This latter song more explicitly refers to the return of the dawning Sun Youth with the yellow Corn Maiden from the east, the tradition reenacted in the widespread Corn or Tablita Dance (ibid.: 64):

Over in the east, in the lake of the rising sun (ocean)
Over straight in the east,
The sun and the yellow corn are coming to us.

The grinding of corn is clearly a replicative act that signifies the return of the Sun Youth and maize.

In a story from Cochiti Pueblo, Payatamu is related to the grinding of corn by Yellow Woman. For example, in each instance that Payatamu returns from the hunt with deer or other game, Yellow Woman is instructed to grind different colors of corn for mush, wafer bread, and atole to feed Payatamu upon his arrival (Benedict 1931: 253). In two Keresan stories, the mother of Sun Youth promises girls that whoever grinds all of their corn or fills their basket first will be able to marry the Sun Youth (Boas 1928: 255-256). In one of these stories, the girls are told to grind for the arrival of Sun Youth at dawn: “Now go on, four times push (the muller) [mano] up and down. When right in the east it is beginning to be daylight, ‘said she’, probably Sun-Youth will come here” (ibid.:

100). While the girls grind, they sing the following (ibid.): “In the east at sunrise at Sun Youth’s house the Yellow-Women are grinding” (ibid.). Grinding songs from Cochiti also reference the precious eastern realm: “Over there in the East they are making metates of turquoise” (Dumarest 1919: 161, fn. 1). In one Tewa story, Taiowa (Payatamu) seduces or steals women and takes them to his house where they spend their time grinding corn (Parsons 1926: 217-222).

In a Keresan story, the Sun Youth, disguised as an old man, takes Yellow Women to his flowery abode in the east, removes his mask to reveal a handsome young man wearing turquoise earrings and tells them: “Here around this room is my corn of all colors. There are four rooms for you. Whenever a woman grinds everything around the room, then I let her go” (Boas 1928: 89-91). In a Hopi ceremony celebrating the coming of age of a young girl, “she [the girl] is aroused . . . at the first streaks of yellow dawn . . . , and she at once begins grinding a part of the corn which the women shelled on the previous night . . .” (Stephen 1936: 142). Clearly, a number of examples of stories and corn-grinding songs in the American Southwest demonstrate the very close link between corn-grinding, rasping, the Sun Youth, and the return of warmth, rains, and fertility.

It is important to note that there is also the implicit connection to katsina ritual in these mimetic acts of producing corn granules/rain since the katsina rain spirits distinctively “*are* rain, they properly arrive *as* rain; they cannot and do not *bring* rain” (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2004: 470 [emphasis in original]). Notably, late-nineteenth-century Hopi katsina songs indicate that certain katsinam, such as the

Sivu'ikwiwtaqa katsina, embody the important task of grinding that all Hopi maidens must do in daily life: "The katsinas emphasize the repetitive nature of this work in the combined phrase *ngungumyakyangwhaahaaninya*, 'pushing the flour up and down while grinding'" (ibid. 481-482). Similarly, an Angaktsina song from the mid-twentieth century instructs young Hopi girls (as symbolic butterfly maidens) to learn the grinding songs properly (ibid.: 482).

Stevenson (n.d.) noted that songs sung at Tewa musical grinding parties are related to the Sun and "are invocations to the rain makers to water the earth mother." As one song lyric related,

Give her of your waters to drink that she may be refreshed and yield
bountifully of the fruits of her being. Sun father, let your light and warmth
embrace our earth mother that she may be made fruitful (ibid.).

The fact that rituals of the Sun Youth involving corn grinding and rasping are closely connected to the return of the katsina rain spirits indicates that this co-relationship may reflect an intimate connection that can shed light on the near simultaneous development of Sun Youth and katsina ceremonialism across the Southwest after AD 1300. These ritual complexes appear to be mutually inextricable.

Evidence for the adoption of grinding rituals for the Sun Youth at dawn can be found in the sacred landscape of newly formed thirteenth-century plaza-pueblos in the archaeological record of the Galisteo Basin of north-central New Mexico, south of modern Santa Fe. James Snead's (2008) observation of a puzzling archaeological feature at Burnt Corn Pueblo, a grinding slick present on an obliquely slanted portion of a jagged bit of bedrock, can shed light as a case study on both the timing and the various types of

material culture evidence for the manifestation of the Sun Youth complex in the larger region. Burnt Corn Pueblo, tree-ring dated to AD 1290-1302, contained a plaza-oriented pueblo, built early in the Pueblo IV sequence, that was placed as a central focus of activity on a prominent ridge overlooking the landscape (ibid.: 161).

As the angle of the grinding slick on the nearby bedrock outcrop was observed to have been too difficult to serve a purely functional role in corn grinding, Snead (2008: 155, 163-166) argued that the sweeping view of the eastern horizon and of the prominent eastern-aligned hill (Petroglyph Hill) covered in nearly 2,000 petroglyphs, some with fourteenth-century Rio Grande-style katsina imagery, likely was a primary reason for the unique location of the grinding slick. The placement of a largely nonfunctional grinding slick in a location with a clear view of the eastern horizon is strongly suggestive of a ritual function centered upon newly adopted grinding rituals dedicated to the Sun Youth. It is entirely conceivable that this slick played an important ritual role for a Burnt Corn Pueblo woman who symbolically “ground” meal while gazing at the eastern horizon in anticipation of the arrival of the Sun at dawn, much as is done during grinding in contemporary Pueblo villages. For example, Jeançon (1923: 70) was informed by Santa Clara resident in the early twentieth century that “at certain times of the year, and during certain ceremonies, it was and still is the custom for women to go at daybreak and pound on the rocks to attract the attention of the ‘Sun god.’ The same rocks were always used, and that accounted for the holes.”

In essence, the establishment of Burnt Corn Pueblo with characteristics including a plaza-oriented village, a grinding slick oriented towards a view of the eastern horizon,

and an eastern hill covered in petroglyphs with incipient katsina imagery strongly suggests that the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV period transition (circa AD 1250-1300) marked the onset of newly adopted Sun Youth and katsina ceremonialism in the Rio Grande region. Furthermore, it may well be the case that the prominent eastern hill at this site represents the symbolic Dawn Mountain, the eastern hill from which the sun is born each morning, much as is known in the Western and Eastern Pueblos, such as among contemporary Hopi (Stephen 1936: 791) and Santa Ana (White 1942: 84) people. Because of these associations, it is instructive for Southwestern archaeologists to realize that, when interpreted within its proper context, a simple grinding slick located within the social landscape can be layered with immense cultural meaning and, when linked to contemporary native traditions and beliefs, can reveal profound amounts of information about the past and about ritual behavior and cosmology.

As the nineteenth century English poet William Blake, astutely observed in the opening lines of his poem “Auguries of Innocence” (in Erdman 2008),

To see the world in a grain of sand,
And a heaven in a wildflower,
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,
And eternity in an hour.

The interpretation of these lines as meaning that the smallest, simplest detail can yield extraordinary insights can equally apply to the example of how a single grinding slick on the Puebloan landscape can hold profound insights regarding the structure of the Puebloan cosmological universe, the evidence for the adoption of Sun Youth ceremonialism, and the nature of social change during the Pueblo IV period. Thus, in a play of ideas, the Puebloan analogue of this poem excerpt might well begin with the

words “To see the world in a grinding slick . . .” The grinding slick, when in use, is a microcosm of the world that encapsulates ideas and metaphors centered around the cyclical return of the Sun and rains. Attention to what might otherwise be considered an insignificant relic at other newly developed plaza-pueblos may help to provide expansive insight into a variety of material-culture manifestations that reflect the adoption of Sun Youth rituals in the Rio Grande region and in the larger Puebloan world.

The interpretation of the metaphorical equivalence of corn grinding and the playing of musical rasps for the production of clouds and falling rain as corn granules, along with their close link to the Sun Youth, may also have implications for our understanding of a scene in later fifteenth-century kiva murals from Awat’ovi on the Hopi Mesas. As noted by Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2004, 2006), a portion of a large mural in Room 788 (**Fig. 2.17b**) portrays two pairs of seated women holding bowls that are receiving falling red particulate matter that likely represents falling cornmeal/rain. The yellow stream inside the cornmeal likely represents the pollen pathway by which the katsina rain spirits come to the Hopi villages (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2006: 476-477). Notably, the women are seated upon a band containing yellow circular medallions identified at Awat’ovi by Smith (1952: 227, fig. 18jj-qq), and in the Casas Grandes region by the present author (see Chapter 5), as probable flower blossoms. These presence of these flowers indicates that this ritual scene is evocative of the flowery spirit world of the Sun Youth, the patron of flowers. Between the seated pairs of women is a larger figure, identified as a Cumulus Cloud Maiden, emerging from a stepped cloud and

dispensing the rain/cornmeal that falls into the bowls held by the paired women below (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2006).

The use of bowls or baskets as catchment basins for ground cornmeal remains evident today (see image in Densmore 1938: 118, fig. 15). It is worth noting that the gradual build-up of cumulus cloud thunderheads in the sky is likened to the piling up of falling corn granules into a mound of ground cornmeal upon a tray, much as if the Cloud Maidens are both personified mounds of ground cornmeal and clouds pregnant with rain. These “stacked” clouds are also reflected in the stepped tablitas worn on the heads of contemporary dancers (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2004: 481). The equation of the concepts of piled cornmeal mounds and moisture-laden clouds is reflected in the compound Hopi word *paayoynguman'iniy*, “their rain water mound” (ibid.: 32).

In many Hopi songs, the clouds and katsina rain spirits are said to come from all four directions spiraling toward Tuuwanasavi, the center of the Hopi world (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2004: 479). As one song reported by Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2006: 37) notes:

If, by good fortune, their resolve comes together
as one, the clouds, from all directions,
will come here in rain.

Keeping this concept in mind, a Keresan story that relates the Sun Youth’s role in awakening the directional clouds may help to further illuminate the meaning of symbolism present in the above-described Awat’ovi mural scene.

This Keresan story, recorded in 1919 (Boas 1928: 76-77), describes how the Sun Youth brought the directional rain clouds after a period of drought:

Then for three years never clouds came up and also it never rained. Then, therefore the earth and the whole ground cracked. Then there in the east at Koaik'^atc', the Sun-Youth spoke thus, "I wonder why it is never raining," said the Sun-Youth. "In general every morning I awaken the storm clouds. From here I go to the north top of the west mountain and also to the west top of the south mountain and also to the south top of the east mountain and from here to the east top of the north mountain. There I always wake up the storm clouds. . . 'Let me look after my children, the storm clouds," said the Sun-Youth.

Kurath (1960: 315) paraphrased song texts among the Keresans which relay similar themes of the coming of the dawning sun and clouds with rain:

Early today at dawn in the home of the rain gods, the mother of the rain makers is preparing her children to come forth to bring clouds, on over the outside world, which is the earth, into the cornfields, at the same time singing a beautiful song . . . The song tells of the beginnings, has to do with the rising of the sun, tells about the spirits or rain makers, which the people pray to with singing and dancing.

The concept of the directional clouds arriving at dawn is further reflected among the Hopi. For example, one Hopi tradition indicates that directional cloud katsinam arise with the dawning sun. As Stephen (1936: 442) indicated, "The Shoyo'him kachina dwell at four terrestrial places in the directions of the four world quarters . . . Thus the Shoyo'him are associated with the cardinal directions . . . The Shoyo'him as the sun rises become kachina . . ." Dorsey and Voth (1902: 176) recorded another tradition whereby the Hopi Crier Chief announced the approaching start of a ceremony by sprinkling cornmeal to the rising sun and saying, "Then you clouds from the different world quarters arise and come drawing this way. Having come over our homes come and rain (on us)."

Similarly, a Hopi consultant to Stephen (1936: 780) pointed out that during the Hopi Flute ceremony (of which the Sun Youth Payatamu is the patron), the Hopi Sand chief travels in a ritual circuit to the four corners to awaken the directional Cloud Chiefs

and channels them back to the Hopi Mesas by repeating this circuit on successive days in a continually decreasing circle or spiral. He noted:

. . . the Sand chief . . . runs swiftly, that the clouds may come swiftly, that his prayers might be quickly answered. He loosens his hair and lets it hang over his shoulders, for thus the Cloud chiefs carry the rain clouds. He makes a far circuit on the first day, because the Cloud chiefs live far away. He goes to the northwest, southwest, southeast, and northeast, to call the attention of all the Cloud chiefs. We hope . . . that they have seen him and have come a little nearer, have begun to come towards us, hence on each succeeding day he travels in a shorter radius (in Stephen 1936: 780).

As the Hopi consultant to Stephen (*ibid.*) concluded, the spiraling circuit of the runner serves to draw the rain clouds back to nourish the pueblo lands:

It is thus we want the rain-clouds to come, nearer and nearer, until on the concluding day of the ceremony they shall have come over head and poured down the heavy rain upon ourselves, our houses and all the surrounding lands, and we may see the arroyo full of running water and listen to its sweet sound.

For the present discussion, it is important to recall that it is the Sun Youth Payatamu who is said to awaken the directional cloud spirits in order to bring rain.

This fact suggests that the building up of the Cumulus Cloud Maiden in the Awat'ovi mural scene, and the subsequent falling rain/cornmeal, may have been initiated at the behest of the Sun Youth who awakens the rain clouds. In other words, the Cumulus Cloud Maiden portrayed in this scene may have just been awoken by the Sun Youth at dawn. This concept may in fact partly reflect observations of natural weather phenomena whereby the increasing heat of the rising sun begins the process of convection whereby clouds, laden with moisture, rise vertically in the atmosphere due to heated air.

That grinding and rasping are linked to the production of clouds and falling rain/cornmeal is also illustrated in the placement of stepped cloud designs at the ends of

some Puebloan notched rasps. This concept may be replicated on a larger scale in other material culture as well. For example, one photograph taken by Kate Cory that depicts a ladder emerging from the entrance of Chief Kiva at Walpi is especially noteworthy (Wright et al. 1986: fig. 44). Surrounding the square kiva entrance and the ladder are markings of cloud terraces and lines indicating falling rain, likely made of cornmeal.

Much as cloud and rain spirits emerge along the pathway of a notched stick or as falling corn granules from a metate, it may well be the case that these ideas are present on a larger scale as katsina rain spirits emerge as rain and clouds from the underworld upon the stepped pathway of the kiva ladder, a probable symbolic cloud and sun ladder. This point is noteworthy, as Taube (2010c: 115) recently noted that in contemporary Isleta kivas, an adobe cloud terrace forms the base of a kiva ladder. Much as katsina rain spirits rise upon the pathway of the rasps on their symbolic cloud or sun ladder, so too do katsina rain spirits rise upon the kiva ladder from the symbolic underworld. Taube (*ibid.*) noted a similar relationship between kiva ladders and cloud ladders embedded in stepped cloud terrace symbolism that lined the exterior stairway of a kiva at San Ildefonso (see images in Nabokov and Easton 1989: 376-377; Smith 1952: fig. 36b).

Thus, in a complex set of interrelated metaphors, these concepts suggest that the rising and movement of the Sun Youth on his stepped pathway (replicated in notched musical rasps and corn grinding on a metate) across the sky is closely linked to the increasing warmth of day and the consequent build-up or production of directional Cloud Maidens (cornmeal mounds/thunderheads) and subsequent falling rain (katsina rain spirits) through the process of convection. This concept may be evident in the lyrics of a

Cochiti dance song recorded by Lange (1959: 551) whereby the katsinsa (shiwana) arrive as rain at dawn from their home at Wenima,

Early this morning from we'nima from a beautiful lake arise the shiwana,
shiwana. Their mother is preparing her offspring
Cochiti to visit; [she] lures [them] so it will rain.
It is being prepared.

The rest of the song lyrics describe the shiwana arriving from the four directions (ibid.: 551-553).

In essence, the act of grinding or rasping metaphorically “pushes” the sun along his stepped pathway across the sky, which inevitably results in the formation or production of clouds and the subsequent falling rain upon the land. This process yields a natural and cosmological landscape glistening with flowers, fructifying rain, life-giving crops, and a fertile solar realm that is evoked in the Hopi term “Siitálpuva”, or “through the land brightened with flowers” (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006).

Though the Sun Youth is not graphically portrayed in this Awat'ovi kiva mural scene, the allusions to his presence are manifold and suggest that he may be conceived of as a largely invisible life-giving force who resides within or behind the Sun and who awakens the directional clouds at dawn. These concepts exemplify the interrelationship between the sun, the rains, and the realm of the Flower World brought to life not just in the daily occurrence of natural phenomena but in the symbolic replication of this flowery spirit world in the art, ritual, and everyday activities of Pueblo people. In other words, the Flower World of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth is a perpetual lived experience, both now and in the ancient past, that is embedded and replicated metaphorically in both ritual and

ritually infused mundane or domestic actions and activities of many Pueblo people each day.

Indeed, these concepts embedded within contemporary Puebloan ritual metaphors suggest an inextricable link between the Sun Youth and katsina ceremonialism likely of considerable time-depth. Despite the vigorous reservations of some scholars (e.g., Mason 2006: 186-191) regarding the interpretation of kiva murals by analyzing the conceptual metaphors in the songs, rituals, and beliefs of descendant indigenous communities, the present analysis provides further support to Sekaquaptewa and Washburn's (2004) argument that certain kiva murals are closely related to the Flower World complex. The present work asserts that this spiritual realm is the preeminent domain of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth in northern Mexico by AD 1200 and in the American Southwest thereafter.

In light of the analysis above, it is important to ponder whether such conceptual metaphors that are related to corn grinding existed at Paquimé and in the Casas Grandes region. There are a number of reasons that suggest such beliefs and practices may have existed during the Medio period in northern Chihuahua. Given that the Sun Youth is first and preeminently evident at Paquimé, that notched musical rasps (and the attendant beliefs related to the path of the sun) simultaneously become pronounced at this site though with a few antecedents in the Mimbres region (see Chapters 4 and 5), and in light of evidence that demonstrates that there existed a highly specialized metate-production industry at Paquimé beyond compare (VanPool and Leonard 2002), it is reasonable to suggest that corn-grinding (and rasping) songs at this site likely were very important

traditions dedicated to the Sun Youth and the return of fertilizing rain. These ideas appear to have begun in the Casas Grandes region at the onset of the Medio period.

Thereafter, these traditions became manifest during the Pueblo IV period in the Southwest as evidenced by the transition to public plazas for the newly adopted Sun Youth dances, the widespread occurrence of notched musical rasps in Southwestern sites, the simultaneous shift in location of corn-grinding facilities, and the appearance of Flower World-related conceptual metaphors in kiva murals. The placement of grinding facilities in or near public plazas, in outdoor ramadas, or on rooftops during the Pueblo IV period in the Southwest may have enabled women to time their grinding to the cadence and rhythm of public songs and dances or to time their grinding and singing to observances of the rising sun Payatamu at dawn. This assessment thus provides support to Ortman's (1998) conclusion that the change in grinding facilities coincided with the appearance of modern Pueblo worldview. As I argue in this study, this worldview is preeminently centered upon the Casas Grandes Sun Youth. While some scholars vehemently reject the incorporation of indigenous beliefs and traditions into archaeological analyses, it is becoming clear that there is indeed remarkable cultural continuity in religious beliefs focused upon the Sun Youth that spans over eight hundred years in the wider region.

Indigenous Puebloan Origin Traditions and the Casas Grandes Sun Youth

Archaeological, ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and iconographic evidence strongly suggests that Xochipilli, the Mesoamerican Sun Youth, served as the prototype for the

Casas Grandes Sun Youth who, in turn, served as the model for the Sun Youth Payatamu in the American Southwest. If it is correct to conclude that a version of the Mesoamerican Sun Youth is first evident in the Greater Southwest at Paquimé, it is then important to examine Southwestern indigenous oral traditions of those people whose ancestors we study in order to provide insight into the processes by which knowledge of this Mesoamerican deity was acquired in the American Southwest.

In order to help understand how the Casas Grandes Sun Youth fits into origin histories, the following section explores some indigenous Zuni and Acoma oral traditions recently pointed out by Stephen Lekson (1999a: 143-150, 1999b: 90-91) that likely allude to Paquimé. Along with these stories, the ensuing discussion also explores Hopi oral traditions which suggest that a new form of solar worship was introduced relatively recently by certain clans that came from a region far to the south. These traditions may well provide greater insight to the present interpretation of cosmology at Paquimé, and its central focus upon the Sun Youth, and may also have important implications for understanding the development of particular aspects of religious ideology in the Greater Southwest. It is in this regard that I attempt to articulate shared Puebloan oral traditions with evidence discussed above from the archaeological record in order to generate a more balanced (i.e., both indigenous and archaeological) perspective in characterizing the multitude of social and religious changes that swept across the Greater Southwest beginning around AD 1200.

In a series of recent studies, Lekson (1999a, 1999b) drew attention to traditional histories in the American Southwest that likely refer to Paquimé. Drawing from a number

of narratives (e.g., Bunzel 1932a; Stirling 1942; White 1932b; Cushing 1896) as well as from conversations with native scholars, Lekson (1999a: 146-148) synthesized an origin tradition common to Acoma, Zuni, Zia and perhaps Laguna related to the movement of people far southward to raise parrots (macaws) after departing from White House, thought to be the Chaco Canyon region. This episode likely refers to the depopulation of the Four Corners region where the Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico borders join.

In these stories, the people departed from White House southward carrying one macaw egg and one crow egg. As White (1932b: 145) noted, “They decided to go to the south, where lay a place called Ako [Acoma]. They wished to go there and raise parrots [macaws].” Upon reaching this destination, the people divided into two groups, with one choosing the blue egg and the other choosing the white egg. Those who chose the blue egg, which contained the crows, stayed at Acoma while those who chose the white macaw egg continued far southward. As the story goes, “The rest must journey on to Kuyapukauwak [Paquimé?] and take the other egg with them . . . This was a very sad time for both groups. The parrot group left toward the south and it is not known how far they went” (Stirling 1942: 83). The Zuni story shares many of the same elements. However, Ed Ladd of Zuni noted that after the people established their homes in the south in “the land of eternal summer” some returned to trade macaws, parrots, and their feathers, and shells (Lekson 1999a: 147). These traditions offer considerable support to the idea that a number of people from across the American Southwest were attracted southward, perhaps to the developing site of Paquimé.

It should be noted, however, that Cushing (1896: 384) characterized the story of the raven (crow) and macaw eggs as being related to the first division of the seasons:

Thus first was our nation divided into the People of Winter and the People of Summer. Of the Winter those who chose the raven, who were many and strong; and of the Summer those who cherished the macaw, who were fewer and less lusty, yet of prudent understanding because more deliberate.

For these two groups, Yanáuluha was the pekwin (the earliest Priest of the Sun), the speaker to and of the Sun Father and keeper of the sacred knowledge. His role was as caretaker of the people, who “. . . became among men as the Sun-father is among the little moons of the sky . . .” (ibid.: 386). This tradition suggests that the division of Zuni people into Winter (north) and Summer (south) people in this tradition is quite similar in a sense to the moiety divisions in the Eastern Pueblos that are based upon the winter and summer seasons (see Chapter 11). The Sun priest, the intermediary of the Sun, appears to be the caretaker of the people in winter and summer during the dual-halves of the year.

However, other oral traditions, such as those of the Hopi, suggest that people were also moving northward from points further south, perhaps from deep within Mesoamerica. In these Hopi traditions, there is the implicit suggestion that the physical movement of certain clans brought important ceremonies from a place or region far to the south called Palatkwapi (Reyman 1995). Bernardini (2005: 36-37) recently noted that Hopi people distinguish between two categories of *Hisatsinom*, or “ancient people”, the *Motisinom* were the “first people” that have always lived on the Colorado Plateau while the *Niutungqwsinom* (“the later clans”) were southern migrants who came to the Hopi Mesas from Palatkwapi. As Bernardini (ibid.: 177) noted, “Many of the Palatkwapi

people were highly esoteric and ritually oriented, while the *Motisinom* dealt primarily with agriculture and basic social governance.” In Hopi traditions, upon arrival at the Hopi Mesas, these southern clans petitioned the founding clans of the villages for acceptance and entrance by demonstrating that they possessed desirable ceremonies, ritual knowledge, or skills (ibid.: 178).

Where the place or region of Palatkwapi is located remains unclear, though Fewkes (1894a) suggested that the ultimate origin of these southern peoples may lie deep in Mesoamerica. In a recent article, Hopi Rattlesnake Clan elder and former Hopi Tribal Chairman Ferrell Secakuku (2006: 55) suggested that Palatkwapi may even ultimately refer to the great Mesoamerican city of Teotihuacan located near present day Mexico City. As Fewkes (1898c: 192) noted for the Hopi:

The Patki and related societies thus brought to Walpi a higher form of learning than that preexisting . . . Up to the advent of this family, beast-god worship had been predominant; a dominant factor in the religion of the Patki people was a form of the Solar and Plumed Serpent worship.

As the Sun Youth Payatamu is known to the Hopi as *t'aiowa* (Parsons 1939: table 2), might these Hopi oral traditions of a recently introduced “higher form of learning” concerned with solar worship refer to the Casas Grandes Sun Youth and ultimately to Xochipilli? A more detailed analysis of the Palatkwapi traditions indeed strongly suggests that the Flower World complex, and especially the Casas Grandes Sun Youth, is intimately affiliated with many of the Palatkwapi clans and ceremonies (see Chapter 12; Mathiowetz 2010a).

Zuni oral traditions also shed light on how and from where some Zuni people acquired the ritual knowledge of the Sun Youth Payatamu and the Corn Maidens. Their

accounts of the merging of older traditions with newer traditions of the Sun Youth are remarkably similar to the above-described Hopi oral traditions. In a very intriguing migration account, Frank Hamilton Cushing (1896: 390-398) described an encounter between some Zuni ancestors and a large settlement of strangers, people known both as The People of Dew or The People of Seed (Corn). As the Sun Youth Payatamu is known as the God of Dew (ibid.: 393), it is likely that these strangers closely identified themselves with this solar deity. In this account, Zuni people, drawn by the smoke of hearth-fires, came upon a village called Shípololon K'yaía (Ci'pololon kaia) that was comprised of a "great assemblage of houses scattered over the hills" (ibid.: 390). Referencing Zuni traditional history, T.J. Ferguson (2008: 391; 386, table 19.1) argued that this village was located in a drainage of the Little Colorado River of east-central Arizona. The meeting of these two groups was tense at first, with the People of the Dew claiming to possess extraordinary ritual knowledge beyond that of the Zuni ancestors. Following this confrontation, a nonviolent ritual competition was issued in order to determine which group possessed the most effective ritual knowledge for the creation of rain, soil, and food plants.

While acknowledging that the Zuni ceremonies performed first were successful in producing water, new soil and grasses, the strangers felt that the knowledge that they possessed was still more exceptional, and they suggested that their ceremonies could still be fruitfully combined and perfected in conjunction with the Zuni knowledge. After eight days of preparation, the strangers revealed, to the wondering gaze of the Zuni, a ritual performance that was centered around the return of the Sun Youth Payatamu and his

children, the Seven Corn Maidens. To the awed observers, Payatamu implored both the Zuni and the strangers from this point onward to work together in labor and in sacred thought to ensure that the corn was taken care of and cherished (Cushing 1896: 395-397). From this moment forward, the Zuni people joined together with the People of the Dew and each year continued to perform the customs of the Sun Youth and Corn Maidens.

The above-described Zuni tradition is remarkable in that it explicitly suggests that, at one point in time, older traditions were combined with newer traditions focused upon the Sun Youth. As I have argued in this chapter, rituals focused upon the Sun Youth are first prominently evident at Paquimé. This leads to the question of who were the “strangers”, the People of the Dew, and from where did they come? Might this account suggest that some people from Paquimé or other Casas Grandes sites, with knowledge of rituals especially dedicated to the Sun Youth, were present at the site of Ci’pololon kaia in the Little Colorado River drainage where the Zuni ancestors first encountered them? Notably, other geographic landmarks and sites in the Little Colorado River drainage are linked in Zuni oral traditions to the Sun Youth Payatamu.

For instance, the place-name Denatsali Im’a (see Ferguson 2008: 394, fig. 19.7), located along the Little Colorado River south of the Puerco River junction, likely is associated with the *tenatsali*, the mythical medicine of Payatamu. Likewise, the southern route of some Zuni migrations involved the Newekwe (“the Ancient Brotherhood of Paiyatuma”) leading some clans peacefully up the Little Colorado River valley while “building towns of beauty and greatness and leaving petroglyphs depicting their rituals” (Cushing 1896). Associated with this migration is the place name Shohk’onan Im’a or

Shohk'onan: Yalane (Escudilla Peak); variously translated as "Home of the Flute-canes" or "Flute Mountain" (Ferguson 2008: 388, table 19.1; 397, fig. 19.9). This name probably is closely related to the name Sho'ko'we, the Zuni name for the flute of Payatamu (see Stevenson 1904: 569).

The influence of ritual knowledge in the Little Colorado region likely stemming from northwestern Mexico recalls Adams and Lamotta's (2006: 61) argument that the simultaneous appearance of katsina ceremonialism and the transition to plaza-pueblos in the Homol'ovi region in the Little Colorado drainage coincided with an influx of a suite of objects, icons, and ritual behavior from northern Mexico. Notably, Bernardini (2005: 177) pointed out that, in Hopi traditions, the residents of the Homol'ovi villages were migrants that came from the south from Palatkwapi and who likely joined with people who already resided in the area. The merging of these two groups may have occurred in the late 1200s and early 1300s when "waves of southern migrants began arriving" (ibid.: 177).

The extent of this influx of southern people from Palatkwapi appears to have been significant. Of the fifty-two Hopi clans listed by Lyons (2003, table 5.1), thirty-six clans have geographical associations with Palatkwapi. This suggests that major demographic and ritual influences came to the Hopi Mesas from far to the south. Might these observations and the above described oral tradition suggest that some people from northern Mexico, with knowledge of the Sun Youth, may have been present in the Little Colorado River drainage at this time? This suggestion is given more gravity with Webster's (2007a: 316) assessment that both the Hopi and Zuni regions were strongly

influenced by perishable material culture traditions originating south of the Mogollon Rim around AD 1300. She (ibid.) noted,

I believe the presence of these southern influences and technologies is best explained by an emigration of people from a number of different regions, including the Mogollon Highlands, into the upper and middle Colorado River and the Zuni and Hopi regions during the Pueblo IV.

These issues concerned with the movement of southern people into the Southwest undoubtedly deserve much more attention.

Though the topic has been partly addressed earlier in this chapter, a separate question that arises is how does the Sun Youth Payatamu relate to the extraordinarily widespread “Poseyemu, Montezuma, and Jesus” oral traditions shared among many Puebloan peoples? These culture heroes are often fused into a syncretic figure imbued with both indigenous and Spanish and Catholic religious elements. The Tewa Poseyemu is also known as Poshayanki (Zuni), Piankettacholla (Taos), Pusayani (Zia), Pusaya ni or Boshayanyi (Santa Ana), among others (Parmentier 1979: 609).

Tessie Naranjo (2008: 259, 260), a scholar of Santa Clara Pueblo descent, noted that today Poseyemu embodies characteristics of both Montezuma and Jesus and is “a perfect example of the hero with a thousand faces who makes himself known in the most dire times of trouble: he is a savior, a prophet, a go-between for religious leaders and townsfolk, an overall culture hero.” Naranjo (ibid.: 260) further indicated that:

[Poseyemu] is a central figure that helps shape worldviews and our overall belief system. He is never materialized in statuary form or otherwise. No pictures exist of him. Yet, we who believe in the old traditions do not doubt his existence. It’s just a question of *when* he was around.

The very complex and innumerable traditions of Poseyemu, that are most prevalent among the Rio Grande Tewa, were explored in-depth by Parmentier (1979) and reveal that the culture hero Poseyemu was an important ritual leader who “may be a god, a demigod, or a powerful mortal deified by tradition” (ibid: 609) who instructed peoples by prophecy or by teaching ritual knowledge. Parmentier (ibid.: 615) noted that among the Zuni, the role of Payatamu is very similar to the role attributed to Poseyemu. The name Poseyemu, which means “dew falling” or “he who strews the morning dew” (ibid: 611), suggests an affinity with Payatamu in that each is affiliated with a dew-filled realm of the dawn. Parsons (1939: 1078) also briefly drew links between Payatamu and Poseyemu. Notably Shútsuk’ya (Shits’uk’ia) and his brother Kwe’lele, who are two important assistants of the Zuni Sun Youth Payatamu, are said to live in the east at Shi’papolima near the home of the Zuni culture hero Po’shaiyänki (Cushing 1896: 395, 443; Stevenson 1904: 487). This clue suggests that Payatamu and Po’shaiyänki (also known as Poseyemu) may well be the same or closely-related beings.

An account by a San Ildefonso consultant recorded in Stevenson’s (n.d.) unpublished Tewa ethnographic material reveals a close link between Poseyemu and Payatamu. In an excerpt detailing San Ildefonso cosmology, the first man created was named Poseyemu, whose name is said to mean Flute (Po) Summer Showers and Rain (seyemu) (ibid.). After his creation he was given a flute, “telling him [t]hat he could with the music of his flute bring rains, the flowers of the world would bloom at his playing and he could bring the butterflies of the world to him with his flute” (ibid.). This account that concerns a person whose flute brings about the rain, butterflies, and flowers is

remarkably similar to an account of the power of the flute of the Sun Youth Payatamu among the Zuni (Stevenson 1904: 48, fn. b). In fact, the San Ildefonso account explicitly states that the flutes of Poseyemu “are the long Payatamu flutes” (Stevenson n.d.). Among the Zia, Pos’shaiyänne, another name for Poseyemu, is described as playing his flute to the four directions (Stevenson 1894a: 64). Similarly, traditions from Cochiti indicate that Montezuma is also a flute player (Dumarest 1919: 228).

According to Cochiti tradition, the food of Montezuma was different from that of men, “[i]t was corn pollen and wild honey mixed together” (Dumarest 1919: 229). Similarly, Zuni traditions indicate that a bowl of the “dew of honey and sacred honey-dust of corn-pollen” was prepared in anticipation of the arrival of the Sun Youth Payatamu (Cushing 1896: 434). A.F. Bandelier noted that the tall Sun Youth standard used in the Cochiti Corn Dance in 1882 was called “la mera bandera de Montezuma”, or *the flag of Montezuma* (in Lange 1959: 337). This suggests a strong conceptual link between the Sun Youth Payatamu and the traditions of Montezuma and Poseyemu.

According to Alfonso Ortiz (1980: 21), a scholar of Tewa descent, historical documents of the Pueblo Revolt that mention the various names of the culture heroes Po-he-yemu, Payastimo, and Payatiabo “all . . . were referring to the same deity.” This deity is undoubtedly the Sun Youth Payatamu. In fact, Beninato (1990: 432), in her study of Poseyemu and the Pueblo Revolt, noted that Poseyemu was a popular religious figure and culture hero that was known as “sun youth”. Edward Curtis (1907-1930: 17: 46) even suggested that Poseyemu may be a deified persona of “an outstanding leader who had actual, historical existence.” In my estimation, it is most probable that there do not exist

two separate beings (Poseyemu and Payatamu) that are powerful central figures in Puebloan social life, culture, cosmology, and religion. That is, it is most likely that the culture heroes Poseyemu (Pos'shaiyänne, Po'shaiyänki, etc.), Montezuma, and Payatamu are just different names that are used to describe the same singular culture hero, the Sun Youth.

Might these references to an outstanding historical figure in the Greater Southwest, who shares characteristics with the intertwined figures Poseyemu, Montezuma, and the Sun Youth Payatamu, specifically refer to a paramount ritual leader who identified himself with the Sun Youth? In other words, might these traditions even ultimately refer to a paramount priest or leader at Paquimé who identified himself as a personified Sun God or the living representation of Payatamu? If so, perhaps the macaw-headed figures in Casas Grandes iconography refer not only to the Sun Youth as a deity alone, but perhaps they are various representations of a high-status individual or ritual leader dressed as a personified Sun Youth. This topic is discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

It is highly relevant to note that Hopi migration traditions indicate that Vwëntisomah (Montezuma) came to the Hopi Mesas with his brother Machito from the Land of the Red (Stephen 1936: 1177, fn.1 and 1180), presumably Palatkwapi, the Red Land of the South. Notably, Machito (Matsito) is the legendary founder of Oraibi on Third Mesa who brought a sacred stone tablet carved with esoteric information that is integral to Hopi prophecy (Geertz 1994: 181-18; Titiev 1972: 68-69). The illustrations on the stone are said to depict the *wimmongwit*, the heads of the ritual sodalities comprised

of the village chief and chiefs from the Agave, Horn, Singers, Wuwtsim, and Warriors (Geertz 1994: 184). That the Agave, Horn, Singers, and Wuwtsim collectively form the Wuwtsim or “Manhood Initiation” sodalities that comprise the Hopi government (Whiteley 1987: 701) is important because these sodalities have important connections to Palatkwapi, the place or region of origin of Hopi southern clans. Importantly, the patron of the Wuwtsim is the Sun Youth Payatamu. This fact strongly suggests ties between the ritually powerful Palatkwapi clans and sodalities and the Casas Grandes region.

As the culture heroes Poseyemu and Montezuma are closely identified in the Southwest and as both have links to Payatamu, it is important to note that some Sonoran legends identify Paquimé as the residence of Montezuma. Interestingly enough, among the Zia, Po’shaiyänne (another name of Poseyemu) is said to have visited all of the pueblos before he travelled on to Chihuahua, Mexico (Stevenson 1894a: 66). While some Puebloan legends suggest that the culture hero Montezuma was born at Pecos Pueblo or even Ojo Caliente (north of San Juan pueblo), Pima and Papago legends recorded in the 1750s suggest that he came from the west and mobilized the local population to build Paquimé (Parmentier 1979: 618). Ives (1950: 324) noted:

Tales and legends in the vicinity of Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, indicate that Primer Montezuma came there from the west as an invader, made his home in that area for a long period of time, enslaved the local population to make the ‘fortaleza’ (now the Casas Grandes ruins) larger, and then departed to the south with all of his people. During his stay near Casas Grandes, Primer Montezuma was continually at war with everyone, and killed most of his prisoners, making sure that they ‘took a long time to die’.

Though I am not here arguing for a dramatic militaristic invasion of the Casas Grandes region by Mesoamerican peoples, I am drawing attention to oral traditions that suggest

that foreign populations, perhaps with knowledge of the Mesoamerican Sun Youth Xochipilli, may well have been present at this site.

While the variabilities in the oral traditions surrounding Poseyemu and Montezuma are exceedingly complex, these stories hold great value for archaeologists and a critical analysis of these traditions must be considered in any interpretation of Southwestern history. In considering how archaeologists can deal with such a central figure in Puebloan cosmology and in the daily memories of Pueblo people, Naranjo (2008: 260) cautioned:

an archaeologist who is trying to interpret aspects of our material culture that are used in the honoring of Posejemu (e.g., feathers, rattles, turtle shells, drums, kivas, etc.) needs to listen carefully to our stories and our songs in order to find him . . . Posejemu only materializes when we tell stories, sing, or pray about him.

In my estimation, and keeping in mind Naranjo's (2008: 260) question of when Poseyemu existed, it is clear that Puebloan oral traditions, stories, songs, and material culture related to his worship indicate that Poseyemu (as the Sun Youth Payatamu) first existed in the Greater Southwest at Paquimé around AD 1200.

The above-described oral traditions make clear two very important points. The first point indicates the strong possibility that there likely was some population movement southward to Paquimé after the depopulation of the Four Corners region of the upper Southwest. Presuming that Hopi and Zuni stories refer to this same time frame, the second point brings to the forefront the equally plausible suggestion that people from points unknown farther south in Mesoamerica may very well have moved northward to

Paquimé, bringing along with them specific ritual knowledge of the Sun Youth not seen previously in the archaeological record of the Greater Southwest.

The suggestion that the population of Paquimé was comprised of both Southwestern and Mesoamerican peoples (however small or large in number) harkens back to Lekson's (2004: 60) assertion that "Paquimé was almost certainly the most cosmopolitan, most spectacular city in the long history of the Southwest." However, it is imperative to concede the point that the cosmopolitan nature of Paquimé may well have involved the presence of residents from unspecified locations in Mesoamerica, likely West Mexico. Indeed, it is becoming increasingly clear that some people, likely elites or ritual leaders, at Paquimé had extraordinarily detailed and specific knowledge of the Central Mexican deity Xochipilli and ritual practices, perhaps an entire religious complex, associated with the Mesoamerican Flower World complex not seen before in the Greater Southwest. In this regard, it is entirely plausible that the degree of specificity of this knowledge at Paquimé could not have been transferred and acquired through simple down-the-line interaction.

Discussion

The dramatic Medio-period florescence of Paquimé represented a major, Mesoamerican-inspired manifestation of the Flower World complex that incorporated specific Mesoamerican ritual practices and a specific Mesoamerican deity affiliated with this complex. This ritual complex is closely associated with the east as a flowery place of origin and return and is tied to the promotion of fertility, life, and the cyclical birth of the

sun and maize. Two important components of this complex of Mesoamerican origin are Flower Mountain and Flower Road. Flower Mountain is the residence of gods and ancestors and it represents the means of ascent into the paradisaal realm of the sun. The concept of Flower Road is related to the celestial floral pathway of the sun, gods, and ancestors. In both Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest, Flower Road is often represented by the flower-ornamented body of the plumed serpent, a topic that is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

While the roots of this ritual complex span over 2,000 years in Mesoamerica, the earliest evidence of Flower World in the art and iconography of the American Southwest dates to limited examples from the Mimbres Mogollon and a cache of ritual objects from Chetro Ketl in Chaco Canyon dating to no earlier than AD 1000 (Hays-Gilpin and Hill 2000: 413). To date, most scholars have considered the Pueblo IV period (AD 1300-1540) in the American Southwest as having evidence of the most prominent manifestation of Flower World. However, I have suggested that the site of Paquimé, Chihuahua, was the earlier locus for a major Mesoamerican manifestation of the Flower World during the Medio period (AD 1200-1450) involving very specific Mesoamerican ritual practices and a specific Mesoamerican deity, the Sun Youth Xochipilli. While recognizing that there is evidence of a small degree of Flower World and Flower Road imagery and ritual present in the American Southwest prior to the florescence of Paquimé, it is apparent that something dramatically different happened at Paquimé beginning around AD 1200 that may well have involved the presence of Mesoamerican people, likely from West Mexico.

The present chapter strongly supports the argument that cosmology at Paquimé was centered upon the emergence of the Sun in the east from Flower Mound, a very ancient Mesoamerican conception. The traditions of Flower Mound in the Southwest are manifested and make their most prominent occurrence in the ritual practices and oral histories of the Hopi, particularly in those traditions associated with clans said to originate in the south, deep in Mesoamerica. In this chapter, I drew comparisons between Xochipilli, the Sun Youth of Central Mexico, and Payatamu, the Sun Youth of the American Southwest. These two figures share extraordinarily similar character attributes. Among these are a shared identification as the God of Dawn or the young sun god of the east, an affiliation with flowers, music, poetry, and butterflies, and a role as patron of games, dances, and love. Each is also affiliated with flute-playing. Being solar deities, both of these figures have a role in ensuring the cyclical return and growth of maize and both are closely associated with a mist and rainbow-filled paradisaal realm. Finally, and perhaps most significantly for this study, both deities wear a macaw-feathered headdress, thus establishing their role as the macaw-headed Sun Youth.

Among many contemporary indigenous Puebloan peoples of the American Southwest, a very tall standard topped with macaw feathers that represents the Sun Youth is paraded around during certain public ceremonies held in dance plazas. In this chapter, I examined the widespread and rapid transition to plaza-oriented pueblos across the Southwest beginning in the middle to late thirteenth century. Recent studies have emphasized the role of religion and ideology in these architectural transformations. In this light, I argued that the adoption of worship centered upon the Sun Youth helps to

explain why the transition to public plazas occurred. Simply put, a large amount of plaza space would be necessary in order to accommodate not only masked katsina dancing, but also rituals that involved the tall Sun Youth dance standard, or an impersonator, and the many ritual participants involved in these processions. Furthermore, I noted that episodes during these processions, whereby the Sun Youth standard is left projecting from the center of the kiva hatchway, may allude to a symbolic representation of the Sun Youth emerging from the central mist-filled solar cave of emergence, the symbolic Cavern of the Rainbow.

While it is evident that the Sun Youth of the American Southwest and Mesoamerica are cognate beings, the question remains: How did knowledge of this deity come to be established in the Southwest? Clearly, the answer to this question lies in the ritual and cosmology of the important and enigmatic site of Paquimé, Chihuahua. For it is at this site that symbolism of the macaw-headed solar deity first appears. In addition, it is likely that Paquimé was the preeminent breeder and supplier of scarlet macaws during the Pueblo IV period. Thus, not only were ritually significant macaw feathers disseminated from this site but some of the important rituals of the Sun Youth associated with these feathers likely were disseminated as well. Thus, I argued that the Casas Grandes Sun Youth, derived from knowledge of the Mesoamerican deity Xochipilli, represents the original common prototype for the widespread Sun Youth of the American Southwest.

In light of this argument, I also examined indigenous oral traditions in an effort to include native voices in the interpretation of the Southwestern archaeological record. As Lekson (1999b: 90) aptly questioned, “What do the people say?” In oral traditions of

various peoples of the American Southwest two themes have emerged that likely concern Paquimé. The first theme involves accounts from Zuni, Acoma, Zia, and possibly Laguna which suggest that peoples moved southward, perhaps after the depopulation of the Four-Corners region, to a specific place (Paquimé?) in order to raise macaws. Zuni consultants suggest that some of these people later returned from the south as traders of macaws, their feathers, and shells. The second theme drawn from Hopi oral traditions clearly stated that certain clans came from a place or region called Palatkwapi located very far to the south. These clans brought with them a new and “higher” form of Solar worship relatively recently in time. Some Hopi suggest that these clans came from deep within Mesoamerica. Zuni traditions also shed light on the origin of their Sun Youth rituals. These intriguing accounts suggest that “strangers” with knowledge of the Sun Youth, perhaps people migrating from the Casas Grandes region, may have helped to disseminate this ritual knowledge. Thus, indigenous oral traditions indicate that people likely moved over considerable distances both northward and southward across the landscape during this tumultuous era.

Other oral traditions concerned with the widespread culture heroes Poseyemu, Montezuma, and Jesus are considered briefly in this study. While these accounts are admittedly complex and at times contradictory, critical analyses of these traditions are valuable for interpretations of the archaeological record of the Greater Southwest. Some of these accounts of Poseyemu demonstrate similar roles between this figure and the Sun Youth Payatamu. Notably, some scholars have also suggested that the Poseyemu and Montezuma traditions may very well have been based upon the persona of an actual,

outstanding leader. While it is clear that the name Montezuma refers to either fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Aztec figures, might the name Montezuma have been grafted onto earlier Southwestern traditions of an actual prominent historical figure in the Greater Southwest, perhaps at Paquimé? In light of this suggestion, it is noteworthy that Pima and Papago legends of the mid-eighteenth century suggest that the leader Montezuma came from the west and mobilized the local population in order to build Paquimé. This leader may well have come from the Pacific coast of West Mexico.

Clearly there is historical value to these oral traditions that need further examination. It is evident that the oral traditions of indigenous people of the Greater Southwest are crucial and valuable repositories of information that provide insight into the cultural history of this region. Over a decade ago, Vine DeLoria, Jr. (1995: 60) stated that “there needs to be a way that Indian traditions can contribute to the understanding of scientific beliefs at enough specific points so that the Indian traditions will be taken seriously as valid bodies of knowledge.” The incorporation of these traditions into archaeological reports and analyses should be done in a manner that is meaningful and readily understandable to descendant communities. For example, as Tessie Naranjo (2008: 261), a Tewa scholar from Santa Clara Pueblo, recently lamented, “Must archaeological reports be so depersonalized that when we read them, we cannot find ourselves?”

It is hoped that the present study is a step towards reconciling and uniting scientific and indigenous bodies of knowledge in order to bring about archaeological interpretations that are more in line with our understanding of indigenous histories,

memories, communities, and identities (ibid.). In doing so, it is clear then that archaeologists must begin and sustain an inclusive dialogue with native peoples and make an earnest attempt to learn indigenous perspectives in order to provide a more balanced interpretation of the archaeological record.

The presence of a specific Mesoamerican deity and unique ritual practices at Paquimé and in the Casas Grandes region not seen previously in the Greater Southwest confirms that a significant disjunction in cosmology separates the Casas Grandes Viejo and Medio periods. The significant degree to which this disjunction involved the incorporation of ritual practices of undoubted Mesoamerican origin suggests that some people at Paquimé had access to specific foreign ritual knowledge originating from a very distant region. While the precise location of origin for this ritual knowledge remains unidentified at this point, the timing for its adoption (ca. AD 1200), along with the consideration of archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic information among the Cora and Huichol, suggests that the origin lies in the then-contemporaneous Aztatlán area of coastal West Mexico, probably in the larger region of modern Nayarit and southern Sinaloa (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

Nevertheless, it is becoming clear that the transmission of what is likely an entire Mesoamerican ritual complex over vast distances cannot be explained by a simple down-the-line transmission of ideas. Perhaps Charles Di Peso's (1974) general argument for the role of Mesoamerican people in the development of Paquimé during the Medio period was not as far-fetched as some would currently like to believe. Only further collaborative

research between Mesoamerican and Southwestern scholars, coupled with an inclusive dialogue with indigenous peoples, will yield critical new data.

Conclusion

In recent years, Schaafsma and Riley (1999b: 3-4) pointed out two broad themes, forged in the 1930s and 1940s, that have helped to shape the conceptual framework by which Southwestern archaeologists understand the cultural history of this region (e.g., Kidder et al. 1949; Morris 1939). These themes are (1) the adherence to A.V. Kidder's "San Juan Hypothesis" and (2) the perception that all 'significant' culture changes can be explained as resulting from ecological adaptation (Schaafsma and Riley 1999b: 3). Briefly, these two themes revolve around the idea that the American Southwest is an isolated or closed system and that "all Southwestern developments, under the hypothesis, were believed to be derived from the San Juan nucleus [or parent center] . . . [without] the effects of impingement by extraneous cultures" (Kidder et al. 1949: 115-116). As Schaafsma and Riley (1999b: 4) noted, "Central to this view is the belief that [S]outhwestern cultural developments continued in isolation with little outside interference from early agricultural times to the historic period." To date, frameworks for explaining patterned variability and change in the Southwestern archaeological record have been predominantly shaped by explanations focused upon ecological adaptation. These perspectives tend to eschew "external influence" and the role of historical actors, trade, and migration in effecting the significant changes that occurred across the Greater Southwest.

In the present chapter, I demonstrated that increasing evidence points to a very specific manifestation of the Mesoamerican Flower World complex, focused upon the Sun Youth, at the important site of Paquimé, Chihuahua. It is also becoming apparent that elites at Paquimé sought to associate themselves with specific ritual knowledge from Mesoamerica in an effort to legitimize or justify their social positions or actions. Paquimé was undoubtedly a very important ritual center across a large region of the Greater Southwest and northern Mexico whose major influence is clearly evident today in the religious beliefs and practices of many indigenous peoples of the American Southwest.

As Lekson (2004: 60) succinctly noted, “Whatever Paquimé was or was not, [we] should not consider Pueblo IV, anywhere, without contemplating Paquimé, its causes, and its effects. Those effects may have been major.” In order to more fully understand the importance and impact of Paquimé in Southwestern history, scholars must be willing to engage in an inclusive discussion with native peoples in order to gain further insight from oral histories and traditions. Furthermore, it is clearly apparent that in studying the cultural history of the American Southwest, particularly after AD 1200, archaeologists must continue to work within a holistic framework that considers the complex cultural dynamics both in the Southwest and in Mesoamerica in order to understand long-distance links (Plog 1996: 137). In this regard, it is clear that the isolationist perspective of Southwestern cultural history is no longer tenable.

Chapter 3:

On the Pollen Trail of Dawn: The Sun and Plumed Serpent in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

“As an eastern being, the plumed serpent is both the bringer of rain and the vehicle or path for the dawning sun.”

-Karl Taube (2010a: 176)

“At dawn the sun rises in the east preceded by Venus, the Morning Star, a large plumed serpent . . .”

-Evan Vogt (1969: 89)

Introduction

The plumed serpent has long been a subject of interest for Southwestern scholars, particularly as it has engendered a vigorous debate concerning the possibility of its relationship with the Mesoamerican Quetzalcoatl complex⁹. Indeed, many of the cosmological qualities associated with the horned and plumed serpent of the American Southwest find analogues with the plumed serpent of Mesoamerica. As the initial appearance of horned and plumed serpent symbolism initially dates to a handful of examples in the Mimbres region of southern New Mexico followed by a virtual explosion of imagery from the Casas Grandes region, it is clear that this being and the related cosmology has not existed in perpetuity in both the northern and southern regions of the Southwest and northern Mexico. Rather, the plumed serpent of the American Southwest only begins to become more widely evident around the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV period transition, precisely during the time period of the florescence of the Casas Grandes

⁹ e.g., Di Peso 1974: 2: 548-549; Fewkes 1893b; Phillips et al. 2006; Saville 1894; Schaafsma 2001; Schaafsma and Taube 2006; C. VanPool et al. 2008; T. Vanpool et al. 2008

culture. This fact suggests that there are historical explanations that can account for the development and spread of these ideas and this deity.

While this being first becomes evident in a few examples on Mimbres ceramics between AD 1000 and AD 1150, the site with far and away the greatest number of horned and plumed serpent images in Northern Mexico and the American Southwest is Paquimé, the paramount site of the Casas Grandes culture and the home of the young solar deity known in Mesoamerica as Xochipilli, a deity I argue is not known (at least graphically) in the Classic Mimbres culture. Perhaps most obviously then, one question that must be addressed is how the Casas Grandes Sun Youth, a solar deity known at this site and across large areas of the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period, relates to the widespread horned and plumed serpent.

Might a new form of solar and plumed serpent worship centered upon the Mesoamerican deities Xochipilli and Quetzalcoatl become manifest at Paquimé during the Medio Period? If so, this proposition would be in accord with Fewkes's (1898c:192) documentation of Hopi oral traditions of Palatkwapi that expressly indicated that clans from far to the south brought to the Hopi Mesas a new form of solar and plumed serpent worship. As evidence indicates that Paquimé was the first site to exhibit a dominant central religious focus upon the theme of both the Sun Youth and the Plumed Serpent, the nature of this relationship to the Hopi oral tradition cannot be overlooked. Thus, the present chapter recounts and reexamines the arguments both for and against the presence of a Quetzalcoatl-related complex at Paquimé and in the Southwest and explores how such a religious complex emphasizing these Mesoamerican solar and plumed serpent

deities might help to explain the appearance of some of the other more distinctive Mesoamerican elements at Paquimé.

The Horned and Plumed Serpent in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

In indigenous cosmologies, both in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, the earth and dry land are surrounded by or lie atop a great underworld sea (Taube 2010b). It is from this sea that the underworld waters are drawn into the sky to fertilize the earth. In a recent study, Taube (*ibid.*: 214) noted that "...plumed and horned serpents are among the most prevalent supernatural beings of the seas in native Mesoamerican belief." For example, at Epiclassic Teotenango and Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá, the plumed serpent can have one or two horns (Schaafsma and Taube 2006: 269). In a Late Postclassic carved bone from Tomb 7 at Monte Alban, feather-crested serpents are portrayed with a forward-curling horn atop their heads (Taube 2010b: 217, fig. 30). A Late Postclassic Aztec turquoise mosaic disk depicts an undulating horned serpent with a feathered tail that is carrying a solar disk upwards into the sky upon its body (see Witmore 1998: fig. 7).

Ethnographically, the horned water serpents of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest hold remarkably similar cosmological meaning across vast distances. Among the Ch'orti Maya, four directional bodies of water are inhabited by powerful horned and feathered serpents called Chicchans: "The four sky Chicchans live in lakes, each inhabiting one in his own direction" (Wisdom 1940: 425; cited in Taube 2010b: 212).

Among the Tepehuan of northern Jalisco are the horned water serpents called *chanes*, who are known to carry containers of water:

The *chanes* are malevolent water-serpents which inhabit the springs and streams. They are horned and of many colors. They always travel in pairs, male and female, and love to stretch themselves through the clouds in rainy weather, head in one spring and tail in another, visiting. In this form they appear as rainbows. They are called the “winds of the waters” (Mason 1918: 126, 128-129; see Schaafsma and Taube 2006: 250-251).

In a similar early twentieth-century Zuni account recently noted by Taube (2010b: 213-214),

The earth is circular in shape and is surrounded on all sides by ocean. Under the earth is a system of covered waterways all connecting ultimately with the surrounding oceans. Springs and lakes, which are always regarded as sacred, are the openings to this system. On the shores of the encircling earth live the Uwanami, or rain makers. They have villages in the four world quarters. The underground waters are the homes of Kolowisi, the horned serpent (Bunzel 1932a: 487).

The remarkable similarity in cosmological attributes of these beings across such great temporal and geographical distances and among different ethnic and cultural groups suggests that these beings are historically related figures. In order to better understand how these beings came to be known in the American Southwest it is best to begin with a more fine-grained analysis of these beings in order to understand their character attributes, their place in the cosmological realm, and the context in which they first begin to appear in the art of the far north.

The Plumed Serpent: Breath, Wind, and Water

Conch Shells and the Plumed Serpent in Mesoamerica

While the symbolism of rain and maize has been a prominent focus in studies of fertility in Mesoamerica and the Southwest, it is the wind that ultimately forms the undercurrent of life: “But, although invisible, wind constitutes the ultimate source from which rain, maize, and human life are derived” (Taube 2001: 102). Of particular importance in this wind complex is the warm breath winds that emanate from the floral solar realm of the sun and bring about rain and life (ibid.: 103). In Mesoamerica, the deity most prominently identified with wind is Quetzalcoatl (Graulich 1992), as Nicholson (1979: 35) described him: “This god clearly expressed, above all, the fundamental fertility theme with particular emphasis on the fructifying-vivifying aspect of the wind.”

Among the earliest signifiers of breath in the symbolism of ancient Mesoamerica is the conch shell. The earliest symbol of breath as a conch shell dates to 500 BC at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala where Stela 9 portrays an individual exhaling a cross-sectioned conch shell breath volute (Saturno et al. 2005: 7-8, fig. 8b), an early version of the cross-sectioned conch “wind-jewel” (*ehcailacacozcatl*) of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl, the Late Postclassic wind god of highland Central Mexico. In recently discovered Late Preclassic Maya murals at San Bartolo that date to the first century BC, the Maya maize god, who is standing upon the body of a flower-ornamented plumed serpent being exhaled from Flower Mountain, has a breath element before the mouth that takes the form of a cross-sectioned conch (ibid.: 7, fig. 8a).

The conch has long been associated with the plumed serpent, itself a being of breath and wind. Saturno and colleagues (2005: 25, fig. 18d) illustrated an actual conch shell, the embodiment of spiraling wind, inscribed with a Teotihuacan-style scene of a plumed serpent carrying a pair of individuals upon its back (**Fig. 3.1a**). This scene denotes the plumed serpent as a wind-blown road of travel for supernatural beings. Among the Classic Maya, conch shells are often portrayed emitting small serpents, at times feathered and clearly related to the Central Mexican plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl, that serve as graphic exemplars of the breath-wind of the conch shell (Houston and Taube 2010). One Early Classic Maya conch trumpet displays an incised feathered-serpent body ornamented with a pair of breath scrolls (Taube 2002: 428-429, fig. 17a). Another Classic Maya vessel scene portrays a small figure blowing a conch trumpet while above him streams a plumed serpent carrying a solar disc in its mouth as it arises out of the earth as symbolic breath and wind (ibid.: 427-428, fig. 16c).

In Central Mexico during the Early Classic (AD 250-600), the plumed serpent was a dominant motif at Teotihuacan, one that continued for the Toltec and Aztec during the Postclassic (Taube 2001: 110). Teotihuacan plumed serpents are rain bringers often portrayed with water spewing from their mouths (Taube 2010c: figs. 5.16b-5.16d). In another instance that reflects the idea of the plumed serpent as rain-bringer, one Teotihuacan plumed serpent is portrayed carrying the rain-god Tlaloc in his mouth (Taube 2001: 110, figs. 91-92). This latter example recalls a depiction of the plumed serpent at Uxmal carrying the Maya rain god Chaak, the analogue of Tlaloc, in its mouth (ibid.: 111, fig. 93). Likewise, page 13 of the *Codex Madrid* depicts a plumed serpent

with the rain god Chaak astride its back as he holds an upturned jar, from which pours streams of water (Schaafsma and Taube 2006: fig. 250). These motifs are related to the conception of Quetzalcoatl as rain-bringing wind. As noted by Taube (2001: 110), early historic period accounts in highland Central Mexico recorded by Bernardino de Sahagún state this point clearly: “The wind that is called Quetzalcoatl, we say, sweeps the road for the Tlalocs” (Sahagún 1997: 156). Thus, the carrying of the personified rain god in the mouth of the plumed serpent clearly relates to natural phenomena where winds often usher in the arriving rains at the onset of a storm.

In one Early Classic Maya-style image from the murals at Tetitla in Teotihuacan, a plumed serpent carrying a probable wind god in its mouth is portrayed with a series of cut-conch shells lining the body of the serpent (Taube 2001: 111, figs. 94, 95a). Similar depictions of conches on the bodies of feathered serpents occur at the Epiclassic site of Xochicalco and the Early Postclassic site of Tula (ibid.: figs. 95b-95c). At Xochicalco, the plumed serpent as wind carries the conjured souls of Maya nobles upon its body (Houston and Taube 2010; **Fig. 3.1c**). At Tula, the heel of one of the “Atlantean” warrior columns portrays a feathered serpent with two cross-sectioned conch shells positioned above the serpent body (**Fig. 3.1b**). At Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá, a gold mask recovered from the Cenote of Sacrifice portrays a pair of plumed serpents ornamented with breath feathers upon the body, signifying its embodiment of the breath-wind of life (Taube 2005a: 43, fig. 19d).

Among the earliest depictions of Quetzalcoatl as a man is that from a Late Classic period El Tajín-style *palma* from Veracruz that depicts him, ornamented with a cross-

sectioned conch breast piece, with outstretched hands that terminate in quetzal bird heads and a prominent volute and a stalk of maize that emanates from the mouth (Taube 1986: 59, fig. 6).

In the Late Postclassic period, the anthropomorphic/zoomorphic Central Mexican and Mixtec duck-billed wind god Ehecatl-Quetzlcoatl, or Nine-Wind, wears the diagnostic pendants of the central spire of a conch shell, the cut-conch ornament (*ehcailacacozcatl*), or a whole conch shell, such as those images in the *Codex Magliabecchiano* pg. 61r or *Codex Vindobonensis* pg. 47 (Taube 2001: 112, figs. 97a, 97c). Taube (2001: 112, fig. 98) further noted that a Mixtec wind temple portrayed on page 48 of the *Codex Vindobonensis* depicts a conch shell upon the roof. The blowing of the conch in Mesoamerica symbolized the opening of a wind-blown “road” for the arrival of deities and deceased ancestors (Taube 2007). For example, during the feast of Tecuilhuitl, as portrayed in the *Codex Magliabecchiano* (see Nuttall 1903: 23), the macaw-headed solar deity Xochipilli arrives on a litter of flowering maize plants preceded by a musician blowing upon a conch (Taube 2007). These examples are but a few of many that permeate the Mesoamerican symbolic corpus across time and space and demonstrate that conch shells and the plumed serpent conjure and herald the return of the wind-blown rain, clouds, ancestors, and deities.

The point of this discussion is to emphasize that the symbolism of conch shells, as representative of the life-giving breath and wind, is of great antiquity in Mesoamerica. Likewise, the association between plumed serpents and conches is of great time-depth. Both of these religious motifs permeate Flower World symbolism and rituals in many

different cultures and time periods in Mesoamerica. These associations form the basis by which we can analyze the interrelated symbolism of conch shells, plumed serpents, and rain-making in the American Southwest, particularly after AD 1200.

Conch Shells and the Plumed Serpent in the Ethnography of the American Southwest

In a study comparing Mesoamerican and Southwestern symbolism and ritual, Taube (1986: 73) noted early on that conch shell and plumed serpent symbolism in the American Southwest was strikingly similar to that of the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl in Mesoamerica. More recently, Mills and Ferguson (2008) documented the importance of ritualism involving conch shell trumpets in the American Southwest for over a millennium. Their work indicates that, in the ethnographic literature, the use of shell trumpets is closely related to the Plumed Serpent and water-related rites (ibid.: 341-343). While they (ibid.: 343-345) argued that two distinct but not mutually exclusive traditions are associated with conches in the Southwest, namely rain-related symbolism and war-related symbolism, I similarly argue in the present chapter and in Chapter 12 that the plumed serpent in the Southwest has similar dual-associations with the rains and warfare, much like in Mesoamerica.

Among the Zuni, a nearly six-foot-long effigy of the plumed serpent Kolowisi is an integral figure in the involuntary initiation of young boys into the *ko'tikili*, the *kokko* or katsina religion (Mills and Ferguson 2008: 342; see Stevenson 1904: pl. XIII). In this ceremony, the effigy is carried into the village accompanied by a phalanx of gods and a specially selected group of young men who each carry jugs of water collected from the

sacred spring of To'seluna that are later deposited at an altar (Stevenson 1904: 94-95). In this processional entrance into the village, the voice of the plumed serpent is replicated by blowing upon a conch shell. According to Stevenson (ibid.: 95):

The tail of the fetish, which is held by the left hand of the priest, or keeper, and the *tsu'thlan'na* (great shell), on which he constantly blows, are hidden from view by the trees . . . [The priest] constantly blows the shell, making it appear that the serpent is keeping up a continuous roaring.

In the course of the ceremony, water from a sacred spring and kernels of corn are passed through the mouth of the effigy into bowls and baskets (ibid.: 94-102), much as if the plumed serpent is the bearer of seeds and water to the community. While the water is drunk by the initiates, the corn is saved for special planting (ibid.).

Among the Hopi, the plumed serpent Paalölöqangw is closely related to the return of clouds and moisture and often is looked to for the cause or cessation of destructive floods or beneficent rains. Much as the Zuni plumed serpent dispenses seeds, the large “mother” plumed serpent effigy used in Hopi kiva ceremonials has “teats . . . [that are] filled with cotton, melon, watermelon, gourd, sweetcorn, and other maize seeds” (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 218). Stephen (1936: 306) described one Hopi rite where men smoked over a Paalölöqangw puppet while praying “for rain to fall on the Hopi land and for Pálülüköñüh to ask Cloud (O'mauwu) to send lightning.” Furthermore, Paalölöqangw is considered to be the “pet” animal of Cloud (ibid.). The close connection between the Plumed Serpent and clouds is evident in a portion of the song of Pálülüköñüh, sung by elders around the fire and partly transcribed by Stephen (1936: 297):

To all the colour clouds in succession, send, bring, assemble, with rain on the plants, come the lightning, etc.

Hopi traditions indicate that the horned serpent Paalölöqangw occupies springs and all bodies of water (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 177-179). When these serpents are disturbed, angered, or stolen, the spring will dry up (ibid.; Malotki 1993: 1-18). Similar tales of water serpents that inhabit springs, though not described as having a horn, are known from the Pimeria Alta (Griffith 1990).

In Hopi ceremonials held in February, the Paalölöqangw rites involve the use of elaborate kiva screens from which project large effigies of the plumed serpent dancing and swaying vigorously and rhythmically to the sound of a gourd trumpet played from behind the screen, a sound said to replicate the peculiar roar or “water talk” of the serpent (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 219-220). Illustrations of kiva screens depict these plumed serpents emerging from solar disks and flowers (see ibid.: 229, 231). Taube (2010c) likened these scenes to earlier Mesoamerican iconographic examples of plumed serpents passing through petalled flowers, an act that symbolically equates the plumed serpent with the life-bringing breath, wind, and rains.

Metaphorically, as beings associated with wind and water, the emergence of plumed serpents from flowers is conceptually identified with or akin to the emergence of wind-like aroma and nectar from flowers. Similar plumed serpent effigies are used in the Soyal altars at Walpi where the serpent projects from the center of a large screen covered in hundreds of artificial flowers (Fewkes 1898b: 77-78). Notably, the plumed serpent effigies in the Soyal and the Plumed Serpent drama (Pälülüköñti), and the ceremonies themselves, are thought to be closely related and were brought to the Hopi Mesas by clans that had migrated from far to the south at Palatkwapi (ibid.: 78, fn. 1). Fewkes

(1899a: 268) noted that the Winter Solstice ceremony at Hano involved construction of an altar with the placement of a conch shell (earlier given as a gift by Fewkes) next to a water vase beside a prominent central horned serpent effigy (with a single feather in the tail) that was known by the name Avaiyo (Avanyu), the Tewa name of the plumed serpent Paalölöqangw.

One Hopi consultant described the rites of blowing water-vase trumpets for Paalölöqangw: “There are evidently four people who blow on these water-vases making thunder for them. It really explodes when they do it right. They are the ones making the thunder” (Geertz and Lomatuway’ma 1987: 234). Taube (2001: 117, fig. 110g) noted that the gourd trumpets illustrated by Stephen (1936: fig. 172) were ornamented with the same markings as those seen on the body of the plumed serpent, much as if this wind instrument was a small-scale version of the serpent. While gourd trumpets are used today to represent the voice of the plumed serpent, Hopi priests indicated to Fewkes (1898b: 83; see Taube 2001: 117) that in former times the voice was represented by a conch shell. The use of gourd trumpets as substitutes for conch shells likely arose following the disruption of Pacific Coastal trade routes after AD 1450 but especially following the onset of Spanish colonialism (Mills and Ferguson 2008: 352). As wind instruments, these gourd trumpets and conch shells represent the breath wind of the plumed serpent, “the vocalized breath of life” (ibid.: 343).

In contrast to the blowing of gourd trumpets, Titiev (1944: 123) indicated that the Paalölöqangw rites at Oraibi involved members of the Blue Flute Society blowing flutes across the water at the main spring, called Flute Spring. These rites that involve the Flute

Society suggest some affinity to the Sun Youth, the patron of the Flute Societies (see Chapters 2 and 12). Interestingly enough, in the Winter Solstice ceremony at Walpi, the imitative roar of the plumed serpent via the gourd trumpet was followed by the sound of rasping across a notched stick. As is noted elsewhere (see Chapters 2 and 4), the notched stick is used as a means to replicate both the return of the rains and the return of the Sun along his stepped pathway across the sky. Thus, in this particular instance, the roar of the plumed serpent may well signify the metaphorical arrival of the sun along his stepped celestial pathway along with the returning clouds, thunder, and rains brought by the plumed serpent.

The close connection between the plumed serpent, the return of the rains, and the return of the sun is evident in another Hopi puppet dance said to bear a number of resemblances to the Plumed Serpent kiva drama. In association with the Paalölöqangw puppet dance was the performance of a puppet drama involving Shalako Maidens both at Oraibi (Titiev 1944: 123-124) and Walpi (Stephen 1936: 333-337). The close relationship between these two beings, the Plumed Serpent and Shalako Maiden, is reflected in the fact that Stephen (*ibid.*) described the ceremonial paraphernalia of the Shalako maidens in conjunction with the Paalölöqangw paraphernalia.

Geertz and Lomatuway'ma (1987: 19-112) provide an extended account of the Shalako (Sa'lakwmanawyat) performance at Hotevilla and described and depicted a kiva screen where a Paalölöqangw puppet emerged from a sun disk to attack a cornfield. Beside the plumed serpent puppet is a Shalako maiden positioned in front of a corn-grinding box (*ibid.*: 225-227). Titiev (1944: 124, fn. 89) noted that the Shalako maidens

are closely interchangeable with the Palhik manas, both of whom are known as Corn Maidens. During the course of the kiva performance, the Shalako maiden marionettes at Oraibi, each with terraced cloud headdresses, stand about two feet tall in front of a kiva screen. In front of the maidens lies a field of corn plants and behind the screen looms an impersonator of the stellar warrior Sotuqnangu carrying a lightning lattice (ibid.: 124). In the Walpi version, an image of Sotuqnangu is painted upon a board that is fastened to the curtain or framework (Stephen 1936: 336, fn. 1).

A Hopi drawing (in Fewkes 1903: 114-115, pl. XXVII) illustrates two Corn Maiden marionettes in front of a framework, a scene said to represent the girls kneeling before grinding stones. In the course of the performance,

. . . the marionettes are made to bend over little mealing stones at a forty-five degree angle. They remain in this posture while a second song is sung, and as they move their arms up and down they appear to be grinding corn. At the close of this episode, the father of the Katsinas . . . places tiny brooms in the hands of the puppets, and they seem to sweep the newly-ground meal into little plaques (Titiev 1944: 124).

Titiev (ibid.: 124, fn. 90) noted that these rites closely resemble real life corn-grinding parties where frequently the girls are referred to as Palhik maidens. As the grinding of meal into mounds on plaques symbolically relates to the build-up of clouds and the production of falling rain, much as is known in kiva mural scenes from Awat'ovi (see Chapter 2), it is probable that the Shalako Corn Maidens engaged in grinding are symbolically producing rains to water the cornfield, rains that are brought by the plumed serpent. The presence of Sotuqnangu with his lightning in this scene probably relates to his role in shooting lightning to impregnate the maize and the maize field at the base of the kiva screen (Parsons 1939: 708; Schaafsma 2000a: 147-148; Taube 1986: 74), scenes

that are also known from Pueblo-IV kiva murals at Awat'ovi (Smith 1952: figs. 60a, 62a, 81b). One Awat'ovi scene portrays lightning striking the ground adjacent to a Flower Mound comprised of multi-colored corn ears (ibid.: fig. 76a).

The potentially destructive element of the rains brought by the plumed serpent in these Hopi rites includes one episode where the plumed serpent effigies knock down a field of corn placed upon the floor in front of the kiva screen (see image in Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 220, 239; Fewkes 1920: pl. 3). Fewkes (1902: 29) indicated that the plumed serpent effigies in this drama “represent the lightning and the rains and winds which accompany it.” This passage demonstrates a clear relationship between the Hopi plumed serpent and the wind and rain.

This episode led some scholars to conclude that this ritual drama was a reenactment of the destructive floods at Palatkwapi in the far south (Fewkes 1920: 507-509; see Mills and Ferguson 2008: 342). However, Third Mesa consultants indicated that “the entire ritual stood for the approach of summer and the coming of heavy rains; and it concluded with a symbolic harvesting” (Titiev 1944: 123, fn. 90). Similarly, Stephen (1936: 322) suggested that “knocking the corn stalks flat on the floor typifies ripeness, abundance, a field of corn with ears so heavy as to break down the stalks.” Whether or not this rite reenacts the destruction of Palatkwapi, it is clear that many aspects of these Plumed Serpent rituals indicate a southern locus of origin.

As for the origin of the Plumed Serpent itself in relation to the Palatkwapi clans, Fewkes (1898b: 83) was clear in his assessment: “There is a probable interpretation of the existence of the Great Snake in *Pátiki* mythology and ritual, viz, that he was borrowed

from some foreign source . . . He came to the *Pátki* people from a foreign stock, and that source may have been Old Mexico.” The connection between First Mesa Hopi Patki and Pikyás clans that are said to originate in the south [at Palatkwapi] is so close that they use the horned serpent as a clan totem (Malotki 1993: 7; Schaafsma 1998: 41). In fact, many of the deities that appear on the Paalölöqangw and Sa’lakwmanawyat (Shalako) kiva screens are identified as coming from Palatkwapi, including the Plumed Serpent, the sun Tawa, the mountain sheep deity Alósaka, the corn-grinding Shalako maiden, and the morning star deity Sotuqnangu (Ferguson and Chanthaphonh 2006: 105-106).

The fact that the Shalako maiden is described as originating with southern clans from Palatkwapi is notable, as it closely parallels my argument that corn grinding for the return of the Sun Youth and rains was an integral part of ritualism first at Paquimé in the larger region (see Chapter 2). Elsewhere in this dissertation (see Chapters 2 and 12; Mathiowetz et al. 2008) I examine each of these deities and their related rituals and conclude that all signs point to the Casas Grandes region, and particularly to Paquimé, as the closest probable source of origin for these rites and these beings.

Conch Shells in the Archaeology of the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico

In order to better understand the antiquity of the relationship between plumed serpents and conch shells in the American Southwest, it is integral to consider the appearance and distribution of conches in the archaeological record. In their study of this topic, Mills and Ferguson (2008: 345-353) noted the rare presence of conches in the Southwest. Two prominent genera of conch shells that occur are *Strombus* and *Murex*

(ibid.: 345), the distribution of which can be categorized according to four main regions: (1) the Hohokam region of southern Arizona, (2) Western Pueblo sites along the Mogollon Rim and Little Colorado River region, (3) Chaco Canyon, and (4) Casas Grandes (ibid.: 346; see distribution map in Vokes and Gregory 2007: fig. 17.8).

While one conch shell is known from the Mimbres Wind Mountain site, prior to AD 1150 there are no conch shells outside of the Chaco Canyon region and Preclassic Hohokam sites, most of which were found in caches, ritual contexts, or with higher status burials in these two general areas (Mills and Ferguson 2008: 346). In the Chaco Canyon region, fifteen of the seventeen conch shells were recovered from different contexts at Pueblo Bonito, including one from perhaps the richest burial at the site in Room 33 (ibid.). Four conch trumpets or trumpet fragments were recovered from Room 38 along with copper, pipes, “parrot” skulls (macaw?), painted wood, grinding slabs, and dozens of fragments of ground stone. This assemblage suggests affinities with Flower World ceremonialism.

In the Hohokam region, between AD 900/1000 and no later than AD 1250, usually no more than one or two conch shells were present at such sites as Snaketown, La Ciudad, and other smaller sites (Mills and Ferguson 2008: 351). Of all Hohokam sites, the Grewe site yielded 42 *Strombus* specimens, an anomaly during this era (ibid.). What is notable about the distribution of conch shells at this time, particularly in regard to the present discussion of their relation to the horned and plumed serpent, is that portrayals of plumed serpents in the symbolic corpus of the Southwest are unknown in any region during this era. Prior to AD 1300, portrayals of horned and feathered serpents with cloud

symbolism are absent on the Colorado Plateau (Schaafsma 2001: 142) and are also unknown in the Hohokam region.

In fact, Mills and Ferguson (2008: 353) “. . . do not see much evidence for the association with trumpets and serpents in the Southwest before the fourteenth century.” They further concluded: “Based on the absence of feathered serpent imagery at Chaco or at Preclassic Hohokam sites we do not think that these trumpets were used within the ceremonial tradition associated with the Plumed Serpent” (ibid.: 355). In other words, the absence of feathered serpent imagery suggests that the use of conch shells prior to the Pueblo IV period reflects a different ideology than that of the plumed serpent as expressed in the Puebloan ethnographic record, one that has its origin after AD 1250. As will be noted in the following discussion, the only probable source for the development of this new ideology is the Casas Grandes culture.

Between AD 1250 and 1450, almost precisely the era bracketing the florescence of Paquimé in northern Mexico, the use of trumpets becomes more prevalent, particularly in the region of east-central Arizona and at Paquimé (Mills and Ferguson 2008: 352; see distribution map in Vokes and Gregory 2007: fig. 17.9). At Paquimé alone, over 181 *Strombus galeatus* trumpets were recovered, most in only a couple of storage rooms packed with shell (ibid.: 352; Vokes and Gregory 2007: table 17.7). Notably, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: 452, fig. 549-6) drew attention to the presence of a cross-sectioned conch (*Strombus galeatus*) pendant excavated at Paquimé and pointed out its significance as an analogue to the cross-sectioned conch ornament (*ehcailacacozcatl*) often worn by the wind aspect of the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl. Indeed, given our understanding of

the meaning of conches in relation to the plumed serpent and wind in the Southwest and in many different Mesoamerican cultures, this spiraled conch symbol at Paquimé likely held similar ideological connotations.

In their survey and excavation work at subsidiary sites surrounding Paquimé, Whalen and Minnis (2009) do not report the presence of conch trumpets. This suggests that the paramount center at Paquimé tightly controlled the ritual knowledge associated with these objects. Notably, the distribution of conch shells in the Southwest after AD 1250 almost precisely overlaps or clusters with the distribution of macaws and copper bells in the western region, a distribution that differs sharply from the Eastern Pueblo region (see distribution map in Vokes and Gregory 2007: fig. 17.12).

These distributions “indicate a strong exchange structure into the populous Pueblo IV settlements northwest of Paquimé and a weaker one into the less populous areas to the northeast” (Vokes and Gregory 2007: 351). This bilobed distribution corresponds to the distribution of Salado polychromes to the northwest and to a lesser degree the distribution of El Paso Polychromes to the northeast (*ibid.*), much as Wilcox (1991a; 2007: 237) noted for the Casas Grandes macro-regional interaction sphere. Notably, aside from Paquimé, the site with the next largest number of *Strombus* shell trumpets (12 total) is Casa Grande in the Salado region of southeastern Arizona, a site some scholars have suggested has strong parallels with Paquimé, architectural and otherwise (Lekson 2000).

The florescence of the ritual importance of conch shells at Paquimé is conspicuously aligned with the dominant appearance of plumed and horned serpents in the symbolic corpus on Medio period Chihuahuan Polychromes and in rock art around

Paquimé. In fact, plumed and horned serpents on Casas Grandes-related wares represent the most ubiquitous presence of these beings in the entire prehispanic American Southwest. In all probability, the use of shell trumpets at Paquimé signified the voice of the Casas Grandes Plumed Serpent, the bearer of the returning clouds and rain. The combined preeminence of conch shell trumpets and plumed and horned serpent imagery at Paquimé far in excess of any other site in the American Southwest before or since suggests that the ideology of rain, wind, and breath most commonly associated with the Plumed Serpent Quetzalcoatl in Mesoamerica was indeed present at Paquimé, though this deity was likely known by a local name.

While the anthropomorphic figure of the duck-billed wind deity, an aspect of the plumed serpent known to the Aztecs and Mixtecs as Ehecatl or Nine Wind, is not graphically portrayed at Paquimé, the conceptually equivalent ideology of wind in relation to the plumed serpent and conch shells appears to be present. This ideology in the Casas Grandes world formed the basis of plumed serpent worship across the Southwest during the Pueblo IV period. This assessment is in accord with that of Mills and Ferguson (2008: 353), who noted: “The association between the Plumed Serpent and Quetzalcoatl has been suggested by many people . . . and we, too, see a strong relationship between the two traditions.” Moreover, if we are to consider Hopi traditions that indicate that Plumed Serpent ceremonialism, with its attendant conch and wind symbolism, originates with clans that migrated from far to the south, it is nearly inescapable to conclude that these clans have origins in the Casas Grandes region and beyond, much as a number of other Palatkwapi migration traditions suggest for other gods and rites (see Chapter 12).

Plumed Serpents in the Archaeology of the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico

In contrast to the great antiquity of these beings in Mesoamerica, the graphic depiction of feathered, plumed, or horned serpents in Northern Mexico and the American Southwest is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Some scholars contend that the horned serpent of the Southwest may have origins in the southeastern United States, specifically among the Caddoans of eastern Oklahoma (Phillips et al. 2006: 21). Others have argued that a shared belief system between Mesoamerica and the American Southwest that involved a “crested” serpent akin to Quetzalcoatl has existed perhaps as early as 1500 BC in the Barrier Canyon Rock Art Style of southeast Utah (Farmer 2001). I find these arguments unconvincing. Instead, the first archaeological appearance of horned or plumed serpents that are comparable to ethnographically known plumed serpents in the greater American Southwest occurs in the symbolism of the Mimbres culture (AD 1000-1150) in limited numbers in a very small region of southwest New Mexico (Schaafsma 2001: 142).

T. VanPool and colleagues (2008: 85) noted that there exist roughly a half dozen clear examples of horned serpent imagery on Classic Mimbres ceramics. Schaafsma (2001:142) described these figures as already displaying a “bewilderingly complex personality” from the outset. One example has fish-like tail, fins, and apparent legs (see Brody 1977: fig. 160). The fish-like attributes along with stepped and swirled elements on the body led Schaafsma (2001: 142) to suggest the possibility of an affiliation with water. In three examples, a human figure wearing a horned serpent headdress engages in the decapitation of a human male (Brody 1977: pl. 11; Schaafsma 2007a: 155). In another

example, a striped clown wears a horned serpent headdress (Brody 1977: fig. 18). While an affinity with water is probable in these cases, the evidence is not as clear-cut as later examples where horned serpents have cloud-terraced tails.

If we recall that only one conch trumpet was found within the entire Mimbres region we can more accurately conclude that the Mimbres horned serpent examples do not represent the much more Mesoamericanized version of this plumed serpent/conch complex that occurs after AD 1200 in the Casas Grandes region, though there undoubtedly are historical connections. Much like the initial appearance of a limited extent of Flower World imagery in the Mimbres region, the Mimbres horned serpents may also represent the initial attempts to incorporate aspects of an ideology from the south into the local cosmological framework of Mimbres people.

Following the handful of Mimbres examples, between AD 1200 and 1450, images of horned and feathered serpents occur in the rock art and ceramics of the Casas Grandes and Jornada Mogollon regions, as well as in the kiva murals and rock art of the Rio Grande region (Schaafsma 2001: 143). These examples display a much closer affinity to water and cloud symbolism akin to those affiliations known ethnographically. Curiously, this being rarely if ever occurs in the prehispanic rock art of the Western Pueblos (Schaafsma 2007a: 152). In the upper Rio Grande region of New Mexico, the horned serpent appears in the rock art after AD 1325 along with masks of katsinam (Schaafsma 2001: 143).

In the Casas Grandes region, “[t]he horned serpent is one of the most important elements in Paquimé rock art and is prevalent on ceramics, where it is commonly

misconstrued as a macaw” (Schaafsma 1998: 36). One anthropomorphic figure at the site of Anchondo in Chihuahua wears a horned serpent headdress, much like earlier Mimbres examples (ibid.: 36, fig. 13). Several depictions of horned serpents occur at Arroyo de los Monos, a large spring located a few kilometers south of Paquimé (ibid.: 36). In fact, three of the six rock art sites with horned serpents surveyed by Schaafsma (ibid.: 41) were located at springs. As discussed in more detail below, in contemporary indigenous traditions in the Southwest, horned serpents are described as being the inhabitants of every spring, pool, puddle, or body of water.

At the primary site of Paquimé, a 113.3 meter-long platform mound effigy of a horned serpent was constructed directly adjacent and to the west of Unit 11 (Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 475-478). The head of the effigy serpent contained an incised stone at the eye that depicted a feathered serpent (ibid.: 478, fig. 3-5). In Chapter 7, I suggest that Unit 11 was a high-status residence, located away from the main part of the village, where elites likely stayed full-time or when visiting from their normal residence at the village of El Pueblito located atop the nearby Cerro de Moctezuma. Recently, Lekson (2008: 211) suggested that a long mound atop Cerro de Moctezuma, a mound with no apparent defensive functions, may well have represented a similar serpentine north-south-oriented effigy mound (see Pitezal 2007).

Notably, the tip of the tail of the horned serpent effigy mound at Paquimé that is adjacent to Unit 11 lies in the course of the Arroyo de Mimbres that runs eastward along the southern portion of the site down to the nearby main river (see map in Di Peso et al. 1974: 4: fig. 121.4). The location of the tail of the effigy mound is so close to the arroyo

that the water flow eventually washed away a portion of the tail (Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: fig. 2-5). The placement of the tail at the edge of the arroyo may have led to the perception that when it was teeming with water, the horned serpent may have symbolically sprung from, or been embodied in, the running body of water.

In some Hopi stories, the horned and plumed serpent transforms into a stream of water (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 180). Similarly, in Tewa stories, offerings to the horned serpent Avanyu are made to the ditches where irrigation water runs (Parsons 1929: 274). In other instances, the Avanyu controls the flowing waters of the rivers (ibid.). It is likely that the meandering body of running water in the Casas Grandes arroyo was likened to the meandering body of the serpent in motion.

Considering that horned and plumed serpents are beings that convey the returning rain and cloud spirits, and considering that the size of the effigy mound is sufficiently wide and low enough (55-80 cm. in height) to accommodate a line of people standing upon it, it may well be the case that ritualists at Paquimé, perhaps those that resided in Unit 11, may have engaged in water-bringing rites by physically traversing the body of the horned serpent effigy mound. This procession would give the impression that the rain-spirits, impersonated by individuals in ceremonial regalia, were conveyed back to the community on the body of the horned serpent, a concept that has great antiquity in Mesoamerica.

In addition to the rock art, horned and plumed serpents are one of the most prevalent figures portrayed in the ceramic inventory of the Casas Grandes culture after AD 1200, particularly on Ramos Polychrome (Schaafsma 1998: 41). A number of horned

and plumed serpents on Chihuahuan Polychromes are portrayed in Townsend (2005a: pls. 21b, 57b, 111a, 112, 113a-113b, 114, 115).

Following the appearance of the horned and feathered serpent in Casas Grandes and Jornada rock art, this being appears in the rock art and kiva murals of the upper Rio Grande River valley after AD 1325 (see distribution map in Schaafsma 2007a: fig. 8.20). In the kiva murals at Pottery Mound, the horned serpent is depicted as a human impersonator with a horned serpent headdress (ibid.: fig. 8.21b), as a lightning puppet (ibid.: 152), as a cloud serpent (ibid.), and as an undulating serpent flanked by a flower, wearing an eagle and macaw feathered headdress, and conveying a morning star warrior who also wears an eagle and macaw feathered headdress (ibid.: fig. 8.21a). In Chapter 11, I argue that this paired eagle-macaw feather symbolism in Puebloan ritual is a shorthand graphic signifier of the sun and the dawn.

While most of these examples at Pottery Mound display a forward-pointed horn, one horned and feathered serpent with a backwards-pointed horn, a probable rainbow-colored body, and wearing a probable eagle-macaw feathered headdress, is also portrayed at Pottery Mound beside two dragonflies (Hibben 1975: fig. 42). In my estimation, the presence of serpents with either backward- or forward-pointing horns at the same site does not necessarily reflect the presence of two entirely separate horned and plumed serpent complexes at Pottery Mound. Rather, these differences simply reflect the decision-making flexibility with which people chose to depict this supernatural figure. A portion of a horned or plumed serpent body lined with cloud terraces is also depicted in these murals (Crotty 2007: fig. 6.14). The horned serpent examples from Pottery Mound

strongly resemble those depicted in Casas Grandes art (Schaafsma 2007a: 155), a fact that suggests a close connection between these regions.

In the rock art of the Rio Grande region, horned serpents are often depicted with cloud-terraced tails and droplets of water or feathers emanating from the mouth (see Schaafsma 2000a: fig. 4.11; Schaafsma 2007a: fig. 8.22). Horned and feathered serpents with droplets of water at the mouth are also known from Hopi petroglyphs, although the date on these examples is uncertain (Taube 2001: 110f). Together, the Casas Grandes, Jornada Mogollon, and Rio Grande rock art styles:

comprise a visual art tradition that documents a similar cosmology and belief system. This conceptual system, possibly combines with ancient belief systems from the Colorado Plateau, figures prominently today as an underlying element of Pueblo religion in the twentieth century (Schaafsma 1998: 42).

As Schaafsma (*ibid.*) pointed out when discussing the Paquimé rock art style and horned serpents:

Although the earliest appearance of many of the elements of this notable tradition . . . occur on Mimbres pottery in New Mexico, the Mesoamerican ideological relationships expressed in these styles . . . suggest that the Mimbres Valley is not the source of the ideas behind these images.

The strong associations between the horned and plumed serpent as a rain, wind, and cloud-bringing being with close associations to the conch shell trumpet and to the Morning Star and warfare (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008), first in the Casas Grandes region, indicates striking analogues with the Mesoamerican plumed serpent known in highland Central Mexico as Quetzalcoatl.

Along with other scholars (e.g., Schaafsma 2001; Taube 2001) and Hopi oral traditions, I also conclude that the horned and plumed serpent of the American Southwest

and its attendant ideological complex has its origin in the horned and plumed serpent complex far to the south in Mesoamerica. The specific southern location of origin for this being in the Casas Grandes world is discussed in Chapter 6.

The Horned and Plumed Serpent: Morphological Qualities vs. Cosmological Qualities

One of the complicating factors in analyzing the horned and plumed serpent tradition in the archaeology of the American Southwest has been the multiple interpretations and origin histories ascribed to this being by archaeologists. In considering the debate over the origin history of the horned and plumed serpents of the Southwest, scholars who tend towards the denial of a Mesoamerican genesis for this being often rely on superficial morphological traits rather than the underlying detailed cosmological qualities. For example, Crotty (1995: 346) stated: “The Plumed Serpent of Mexico lacks a horn, and the horned serpent of the Southwest lacks feathers: it is difficult to see why they should be confused except for the fascination with Southwest-Mexican parallels that pervades the literature . . .” Other scholars suggest significantly divergent differences in the cosmological meaning of horned and plumed serpents based upon such external qualities as the color of the serpent or the direction in which a horn is oriented upon the serpent head (T. VanPool et al. 2006: 240). However, the analysis of this being should be much more complex than a singular focus upon the differences in external morphological traits.

In Mesoamerica, there are innumerable manners in which to depict the plumed serpent. Cross-regionally, aside from perhaps the presence of feathers in various locations

upon the body, there are no single standardized forms or character attributes that are consistently portrayed or duplicated in every example of plumed serpent imagery. In other words, each cultural tradition within and between many different regions in Mesoamerica had its own artistic license in how they chose to depict the plumed serpent.

For example, the early forms of the quetzal-plumed celestial serpent among the Olmec, such as in Chalcatzingo Monument 5, had a feather-crested brow, beak, and wings (Taube 2001: 110, fig. 78). The plumed serpent of Classic and Postclassic Central Mesoamerica often, but not always, is a rattlesnake covered in quetzal plumes (ibid.: 110). While Early Classic portrayals of the plumed serpent at Teotihuacan do not have a feather crest upon the head (ibid.: 110: fig. 91), examples of the Classic Maya feathered serpents at Uxmal are portrayed with a prominent crest (ibid.: fig. 93).

As well, the color of the plumed serpent does not seem to have been an overriding issue between regions or cultural groups in conveying similar meanings. For example, at Tulum, plumed serpents as flower-laden “roads” are composed (with few visible feathers) in the “blue and black” style of the Late Postclassic Yucatan Peninsula (Miller 1982: pl. 28) while quetzal-plumed serpents in the murals of the Lower Temple of the Jaguars at Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá were painted in brilliant green colors (e.g., Ringle 2009: fig. 13d). While these are but few examples, the point of this brief discussion is to emphasize the idea that the portrayal of similar cosmological phenomena or beings is highly flexible between ethnic and cultural groups without losing the shared underlying meanings. The recognition that feathered serpents of Mesoamerica take many different forms without losing their shared cosmological significance and symbolic meanings is an

important point that will inform the following discussion of the manner in which plumed and horned serpents were depicted in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest.

In recent years, some scholars contended that there was not one but multiple horned and plumed serpent traditions present in the American Southwest and Northern Mexico (e.g., Phillips et al. 2006: 19-20). In their (*ibid.*) view, the Mimbres horned serpent complex was replaced by two regional complexes, one in the Casas Grandes and Jornada Mogollon region and one in the Salado region. These scholars suggested that the horned serpent tradition in the Mimbres-Jornada-Casas Grandes regions could have developed as the result of a transmission of ideas from Caddoans of Oklahoma via the southern plains, while the proposed Salado horned serpent tradition could have developed via transmission from northern Mesoamerica (*ibid.*: 22). These origin histories differ sharply from those proposed by Schaafsma (1998, 2001, 2007a), who argued for a Mimbres-Jornada-Casas Grandes and Rio Grande continuum with a decidedly Mesoamerican genesis.

To be clear, not all scholars agree on the distribution of the horned and plumed serpent traditions in the Southwest. For example, the interpretation of certain Salado spade-like symbols as horned serpents was first proposed by Crown (1994). This interpretation seems to have been accepted by some scholars (Mills and Ferguson 2008; Searcy 2010; T. VanPool et al. 2006; T. VanPool 2008) but not necessarily by others who also study horned serpent symbolism (Schaafsma, pers. comm. 2010).

The position of scholars who do not find plumed or horned symbolism in the Salado region is evidenced by the lack of inclusion of the Salado iconographic examples

when discussing the symbolism and ceremonialism of this being in the Southwest (e.g., Schaafsma 1998; 2001; 2007a; pers. comm. 2010). The identified horned serpent head on Salado wares at times does bear some resemblance to certain isolated Casas Grandes horned serpent heads or related abstract motifs (e.g., the “spade” motif). Reiterating the position of other scholars, Searcy (2010: 46-56, 121) recently summarized arguments indicating that the highly abstract nature of “spade” motifs on Chihuahuan polychromes is such that they seem to represent a cross between or conflation of macaws and horned and plumed serpents. To my eyes, a number of the Salado symbols originally identified as horned serpents (e.g., Crown 1994: figs. 9.10, 9.13, 9.14, 9.15, 9.17, 9.24) are so remarkably abstract and difficult to discern that it is necessary to read the author’s image caption in order to discern the proposed serpent motif on the vessel design.

A complicating factor in these analyses is that the vast majority of proposed Salado horned serpents have no body, no facial features except a proposed eye (although sometimes without), never occur as isolated or full-bodied entities like the Casas Grandes examples, and only occur as abstract motifs interlinked in a field of abstract designs (see Crown 1994; T. VanPool et al. 2006; VanPool and Vanpool 2007: 116, fig. 7.10). Salado motifs identified as plumed and horned serpents are often so abstract as to be simply described as having a triangular head and a hooked appendage thought to represent either a feather or a horn (Searcy 2010: 113). Clearly, the distinctive portrayals of full-bodied horned and plumed serpents in Casas Grandes symbolism find no analogues in the proposed Salado horned and plumed serpents. Although these highly abstracted characterizations, widely recognized by Salado scholars, certainly do not mean that

horned and plumed serpents did not exist in the ideology and pantheon of the people in the Salado region, this level of abstraction in these particular Salado images has led to varying interpretations of meaning among Southwestern archaeologists with some scholars still unreceptive to the idea of a Salado horned serpent complex.

Whatever the case, the identification of a cultural divergence of horned serpent imagery between the Casas Grandes and Salado cultural regions by Phillips and colleagues (2006: 20) was based partly upon the perception that the horn on Casas Grandes serpents pointed forward while the horn on the proposed Salado serpent heads pointed backward. This difference was considered in conjunction with other noted differences in economic networks and architecture between the two regions (see T. VanPool et al. 2006: 237-239). Elsewhere, Todd VanPool and colleagues (2008: 87) argued that this divergence was the result of the transmission of a Salado “backward-curling horn” tradition and a Casas Grandes “forward-curling horn” tradition through genetically distinct ancestor lineages and the movement of people. In other words, they proposed that a certain lineage owned a forward-pointing horned serpent tradition while another lineage owned a backward-pointing horned serpent tradition. Aside from these proposed divergent complexes, it was postulated that a third horned serpent complex also arose later in the upper Rio Grande region of New Mexico (Phillips et al. 2006: 20).

Complicating matters, some researchers incorporate elaborate phylogenetic analyses and cladograms to analyze morphological characteristics while other scholars eschew these methods. In an effort to discern purported differences in plumed serpent worship, these studies included a focus on factors such as whether the serpent has an

open mouth or a closed mouth, or whether an eye was present or absent, or whether a tongue was portrayed as one line or three lines (C. VanPool et al. 2008: table 5.1). Other distinctions that have been drawn include whether a serpent head was white or red (ibid.).

In their (C. VanPool et al. 2008: 53) interpretation of the development of the horned and plumed serpent tradition in the Southwest, these analyses concluded that a criss-crossing influence occurred during the Pueblo IV period whereby the Casas Grandes horned and plumed serpent tradition influenced the development of historic Western Pueblo (Hopi and Zuni) horned and plumed serpent traditions while the Salado horned and plumed serpent tradition influenced the development of those traditions in the Eastern Pueblos, perhaps partly due to the movement of Southwestern populations following the depopulation of the Four Corners region. In any case, one of the main conclusions reached was that these authors (C. VanPool et al. 2008: 53) saw no evidence that new traits were introduced from Mesoamerican groups after the initial appearance of the horned serpent in the Mimbres region. As is the nature of making interpretations, by no means are these conclusions accepted by all Southwestern scholars who have studied plumed serpent symbolism.

The present research addresses at least two major complicating issues with this conclusion that new traits were not introduced from Mesoamerica. A counter-argument to the above-noted assessments can be found in the fact that, in Casas Grandes symbolism, two profoundly new traits were in fact introduced. These are: (1) the portrayal of the macaw-headed Sun Youth traversing the body of the horned and plumed serpent, and (2)

the portrayal of the plumed serpent body laden with blossoms as a symbolic “Flower Road”, the floral bedecked road of the sun (see Chapter 5 and discussion below).

In addition to the conclusion regarding the purportedly divergent nature of plumed serpent worship, T. VanPool and colleagues (2006: 241-242) argued that Casas Grandes religion was centered upon transforming shamans while Salado religion was separately centered upon katsinam. However, in the present dissertation (see Chapters 2, 10, 11) I argue that Casas Grandes religion was centered upon the Sun Youth, ancestral katsina rain spirits, and a related feasting complex while Salado symbolism also reveals some katsina mask symbolism and other motifs related to the solar Flower World of the Sun Youth as well as an attendant feasting complex tied to Casas Grandes social networks.

The presence of conch shell trumpets in the Salado region, likely related to horned and plumed serpent ceremonialism, also stands in contrast to the assertion of T. VanPool and colleagues (2006: 241) that there is no evidence for horned serpent ritual paraphernalia in the Salado region. Finally, the conclusion that Salado and Casas Grandes cosmology was sharply, and almost entirely, different should be questioned, particularly as Flower World imagery seems to be a shared component in both symbolic traditions, to a lesser extent in the Salado region but preeminent in the Casas Grandes culture.

While much emphasis has been placed on detecting divergent cosmologies in such differences as the orientation of the horn or other morphological elements, it may well be the case that these elements in actuality do not form such a crucial component in maintaining the core underlying cosmological and weather-related affiliations of the

horned and plumed serpent after all. Much variation in perceiving horned and feathered serpents can exist even within one contemporary cultural group.

For example, among the Hopi, Stephen (1936: figs. 169-171, 178) illustrated an effigy of the plumed serpent Paalölöqangw with a horn variously projecting either forward or backward. Fewkes and Stephen (1893: pl. 2) portrayed the Hopi plumed serpent with a forward-pointing horn. A Hopi kiva screen collected by H.R. Voth in 1898 portrays the plumed serpent Paalölöqangw with a crest of feathers upon the head but no horn (in Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 231-232). A drawing of a Paalölöqangw drama by Warren Namingha (ibid.: 239) depicts the Hopi plumed serpent emerging from the kiva screen with no horn and no feathered crest, but only a pendant feather around the neck. Namingha (ibid.: 249) also depicted a similar Paalölöqangw serpent with no horn or feather crest that is emerging from a water vase during the Hopi Kuysiplölöqangw performance.

Likewise, in some Hopi stories the Paalölöqangw can be the size of a worm (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 178) while in others he can stand over two and a half meters tall with a head the size of a mountain lion (ibid.). Likewise, Stephen (1936: 333) noted that Paalölöqangw was observed in one spring and was colored white, while he was observed at another time in a different spring and was colored black. These accounts indicate that physical traits such as color, horn orientation, and size are not highly relevant markers by which to develop separate categories to distinguish purportedly divergent horned and plumed serpent traditions.

Similarly, among the contemporary Mixtec community of Santiago Nuyoo in Oaxaca, the appearance of the feathered serpent or *koo savi* differs even among people within the same village (Monaghan 1989). For example, in some instances the *koo savi* can range from 6 to 20 meters in length (ibid.: 14). At times, plumes sprout only from the head of the serpent while in other instances it has feathered wings like a bird (ibid.: 14, figs. 4, 6). While these external physical differences are evident within individual cultural groups, these differently depicted figures are not classified as separate beings. Much like the plumed serpent of the Southwest, this being in the Mixtec region is a creature of pools of water or of the sky, a being who is associated with destructive or beneficial rain, a being who carries seeds and clouds upon its body, a creature that “cause[s] the clouds to rise”, and a creature who causes new flowers, fruits, and vegetation to flourish (Monaghan 1989).

The point of this discussion is that there are a multitude of ways to depict the horned and feathered water serpent in one cultural group, such as among the Hopi or in Mixtec communities, without the serpent having lost or changed any symbolic meaning. This fact obviates the need to conclude that each of these horned and plumed serpent examples came into existence at Hopi from a multitude of origin points via the ownership and migration of kin-based lineages with control of distinct forward-pointing or backward-pointing horned water serpent rites. The diversity in form, but similarity in meaning, of these serpents likely was the case in the archaeological examples as well. As Mills and Ferguson (2008: 354) pointed out, any perceived differences in religious traditions between the two regions (Casas Grandes and Salado) may simply be similar to

ethnographically known differences between the Water Serpents of Hopi and Zuni, “clearly related, but reproduced within different networks of ritual practice.”

In sum, interpretations of meaning that are based upon the identification of minute morphological differences are impressively, but needlessly, convoluted. To my mind, it is improbable that Pueblo people in the past were so rigidly computational in choosing the pattern in which to depict the water serpent. In turn, it stands to reason that our analyses of these symbols likewise need not be so rigidly computational. Religion, ideas, symbols, and meanings make strange bedfellows when combined with the mathematical precision of quantitative analytical techniques that are derived from evolutionary biology.

This form of analysis would be akin to trying to understand the origin and diversity of figures in Western religious traditions such as the Christian Jesus by quantifying the instances in which Jesus is portrayed barefoot or with sandals, or analyzing the color of his robe or breech-cloth, or calculating the number of instances in which he is portrayed with fair skin or an olive-toned complexion. The same point can be made for the analysis of the Sun Youth standard in the Pueblo region and the Sun Youth as depicted in the Casas Grandes region. In other words, though the portrayals of the Sun Youth among Pueblos and in the Casas Grandes region may differ in the details, they still refer to the same religious figure with the same character attributes and cosmological significance, albeit one who is portrayed differently among different ethnic groups.

Rather than relying upon analytical techniques derived from evolutionary biology to understand religion, symbolism, and cosmology in the past, one need only turn to a comprehensive analysis of the ethnography and indigenous oral traditions for clarity in

discerning similarities and differences, particularly considering the richness of the ethnographic record available in the American Southwest and Mesoamerica and the demonstrated continuity of many ideas over centuries if not millennia. It should be noted, however, that this critique does not necessarily indicate doubt that Salado people had some conception of the plumed and horned water serpent, particularly as the widespread presence of conch trumpets in the Salado region suggests otherwise.

However, it remains to be more clearly understood why the transmission of the horned and plumed serpent in the symbolism of the Eastern Pueblo region was not accompanied by the widespread use of conch shells. For this eastern region, it may well be the case that gourd trumpets were used at this time rather than conches, as trade patterns described above suggest. Likewise, it is unclear why depictions of the horned and plumed water serpent in the Western Pueblo region were absent at this time (Schaafsma 2007a: 152-154) while the use of conch shells, presumably in horned and plumed serpent rites, were more widespread, particularly in the Salado region to the northwest of Paquimé.

The lack of horned and plumed serpent depictions in the Western Pueblo region during the Pueblo IV period is even more puzzling when we consider the plethora of Hopi and Zuni oral traditions that indicate an origin of clans and strong influence from the south (see Chapter 12; Mathiowetz 2010a), particularly those traditions among the Hopi that indicate that southern clans brought a new form of solar and plumed serpent worship to the Hopi Mesas most likely during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. In fact, it is curious to note that in the Western Pueblos during the Pueblo IV period,

depictions of the Sun Youth and the plumed or horned serpent (and the related Venus as Morning Star) are all but nonexistent in the art, though plumed serpents as groundlines do occur in Awat'ovi kiva murals (see Taube 2010c: 5.22b). It is doubtful that Sun Youth, horned and plumed serpent, and Morning Star worship only came to the Western Pueblo region in recent centuries while flourishing in the Eastern Pueblos centuries earlier.

Despite the absence of graphic portrayals of the plumed and horned serpent in the rock art and symbolism on ceramics, I suspect that the worship of these beings in the Western region, all linked to the Hopi Palatkwapi clans said to have arrived in the AD 1200s and 1300s, likewise dates to the onset of the Pueblo IV period following the dissemination of religious beliefs from the Casas Grandes region. It may be the case that the absence of these beings in the rock art and ceramics of the Western Pueblos during the Pueblo IV period, in contrast to the Eastern Pueblo region, was a conscious decision.

The Plumed Serpent as the Road of the Sun

As described above, the horned and plumed serpents of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, as conveyors of breath, wind, clouds, and rain, clearly are historically related. The close connection between the plumed serpent and Venus as the Morning Star in both regions provides even greater evidence for a historical relationship (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008). While this evidence for shared belief systems is compelling, the plumed serpents of these disparate regions also share a close relationship in their connection to the dawning sun. While this subject will be explored here only briefly, this topic is described in greater detail throughout this dissertation.

Among the key attributes of the plumed serpent in the Flower World complex in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest is its role as the symbolic road, vehicle, or pathway of the dawning sun in his journey across the sky (Taube 2006a). In the art of Mesoamerica, plumed serpents are portrayed with solar disks or a large flower set upon the body or carry solar disks or solar deities in their maw (e.g., **Figs. 2.7a, 3.2a-3.2c, 3.3, 3.4a-3.4b**). In many instances, plumed serpents are marked with flowers upon their bodies and tails, or emerging from flowers, or cavorting in a field of flowers and moisture, or rising from a pool of water along with the sun (Taube 2010a: figs. 25a-25f, 26a-26b, 30b). These instances are almost innumerable in Mesoamerican art and serve to demonstrate the idea that the plumed serpent is the means by which the sun ascends into the eastern sky from the watery underworld at dawn.

The flowers on plumed serpent bodies mark the floral strewn pathway of the sun (**Figs. 2.5c, 2.5f, 3.4a-3.4b**). This concept, the plumed serpent as a symbolic “Flower Road”, is a diagnostic feature of the Flower World complex and has been thoroughly documented by Karl Taube (2002, 2004b, 2006a, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c) in Mesoamerican art and in examples from kiva murals and symbolism in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest. In the archaeology and symbolism of the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico, the first appearance of imagery depicting the dawning sun traveling upon the body of a plumed serpent or a plumed serpent portrayed as a symbolic Flower Road is found in Casas Grandes symbolism (**Figs. 2.16a-2.16b**). This specific subject is addressed in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

Human Sacrifice in Hopi Solar and Plumed Serpent Worship

The topic of human sacrifice in the ancient American Southwest has long been a sensitive subject among anthropologists and indigenous people, likely because of the present-day social stigmas attached to these types of ritual acts. Much of the reaction has been in response to Turner and Turner's (1999) inflammatory proposal of mass human sacrifice and cannibalism in the Southwest (see McGuire and VanDyke 2008; Whiteley 2008). Without delving into a discussion of the topic of cannibalism, it is worth noting that Hopi traditions explicitly state that human sacrifice is specifically mentioned in rituals of their sun and plumed serpent deities, both of which are said to have originated far to the south.

For example, as Ekkehart Malotki (1993: 7) noted, "The Hopi Paalölöqangw, on the other hand, is notoriously associated with human sacrifice. It is the god's overt connection with human sacrifice, however, which makes him a plausible candidate for an offspring of a Maya-type Water Serpent." The Hopi artist and scholar Fred Kabotie (1982: 75-76) suggested that in the past, sacrifice of a human life was considered as a legitimate means to end a drought as a supplication for the arrival of moisture. Furthermore, "In the pantheon of the Kachinas of the Zuni and the Hopi peoples there is a certain class of Kachinas who, by their potent power to make rain, require a human sacrifice. The offering to the Rain Deities is interpreted in terms of the white corn meal" (ibid.). A number of instances of sacrifice to the Water Serpent are evident in Hopi texts recorded by Malotki (1993: 1-18).

One Hopi text describes how corruption in the standards of life and living (*koyaanisqatsi*) led to the sacrifice of a villager perceived to be an evildoer in order to appease the Water Serpent and to restore balance to life:

Once in a while, a village leader somewhere becomes so disgusted with his children [the villagers], that he has to draw up a scheme against them. In order to purify their hearts, he usually resorts to sacrificing one of his own children. In return, the Water Serpent will shake the earth [causing an earthquake]. At other times, it will start raining without cessation. As the water fills the land, the village gets flooded. This is what people say (Malotki 1993: 11).

Much like for the plumed serpent, Hopi traditions also contain memories that indicate that human sacrifice was important to maintain the sun (Schaafsma 2000a: 116). In one extended Hopi account, a girl is sacrificed and her fat is used to nourish the sun:

So they grabbed the girl and killed her with their own hands. Old Spider Woman, in her skillful way, somehow applied the girl's fat to the sun. As a result, the sun began to spin again and it became daylight once more . . . Thereupon Old Spider Woman said, 'All right, it will have to be this way now. The fat of the Hopi will ensure that the sun keeps spinning. Then it will shine its light for you. Therefore, whenever a Hopi dies, the sun will grease itself from the fat of the deceased. In this fashion it will maintain its rotation (Malotki 1993: 20-21).

Furthermore,

This is the reason the sun desires the fat of everybody. Thus, as long as a Hopi dies, the sun will provide its light from the dead person's fat . . . This is why a Hopi must die. For it is because of his death that the sun can travel. This is how things were decided after the people emerged from the underworld. And this is the reason we Hopi have the sun (ibid.).

This account suggests that both natural and sacrificial death is important to maintaining the continual movement of the sun, although this account does not specifically describe this rite as including heart sacrifice as in Mesoamerica.

What is important about these traditions is not a sensationalized emphasis on human sacrifice, rather, the importance of these accounts lies in the determination that solar and plumed serpent worship, in which rites of Mesoamerican-style human sacrifice are apparent, have their origins with clans that came from the far south. Human sacrifice is an integral component of plumed serpent stories associated with Palatkwapi (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 179). These clans, as I argue in Chapter 12, are closely related to the Casas Grandes culture where solar and plumed serpent worship flourished there first in the larger region. The recognition of the practice of human sacrifice for the Hopi solar deity is important and will inform discussions in Chapter 6 on the topic of human sacrifice for the sun in Mesoamerica. This evidence will help in the identification of the specific southern region from where Hopi Palatkwapi clans likely originated prior to their arrival at Paquimé (see Chapter 8).

Plumed Serpents and the Symbolism of Solar Mirrors in the Casas Grandes Culture

Among the objects or symbols from Paquimé that demonstrate a more clear-cut connection to Mesoamerican cosmology is the back shield, known in Mesoamerica by the term *tezcacuitlapilli*. A discussion of the symbolism associated with these objects will help to clarify their significance and place within Casas Grandes worldview and religion, particularly in relation to plumed serpent and solar ceremonialism.

Copper objects were recovered from Paquimé in a variety of forms including copper sheets, beads, tinklers, pendants, tesserae, plaques, skewers, bezels, crotals, needles, awls, armlets, and back shields (Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: 503; Vargas 1995, 2001).

These objects are thought to have been imported from West Mexico, long a hearth of copper metallurgy (Hosler 1994; Vargas 1995, 2001). In the excavations at Paquimé, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 7: 517-521) recovered one complete copper back shield and six neatly cut back shield panel fragments (**Fig. 3.5a**). These objects were accurately identified as *tezcacuitlapilli* and all were from Medio-period contexts (ibid.).

The whole back shield recovered was divided into eight panels, four of which alternated with portrayals of directional *xiuhcoatl*, or turquoise fire serpents (see Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: fig. 656-7). Two of the remaining panels contained turquoise tesserae mosaics and the final two panels contained a specular hematite mosaic (ibid.). Along with the interpretations of Di Peso and colleagues (ibid.), other scholars (Taube 1994: 233) recognized that *tezcacuitlapilli* are common but highly diagnostic devices worn at the small of the back by Toltec warriors, such as those on the Atlantean warrior columns at Tula. Depictions of these circular objects, considered as petalled disks and symbolic mirrors, are widespread in the iconography of Tula and Chichén Itzá (ibid.: 233). In many instances, ballplayers dressed as warriors wear these objects on their backs, much as if the players in the ballgame were symbolic warriors (see Tozzer 1957: fig. 474). In some examples, warriors that wear back shields stand upon or are ensconced within a plumed serpent body, much as if the warrior was being conveyed by or conjured with the plumed serpent (see Tozzer 1957: figs. 132a, 273). Like the examples from Paquimé, back shields at both of these earlier sites also bear depictions of the four directional *xiuhcoatl*, or fire serpents (ibid.: 233, fig. 31a; **Fig. 3.5b**).

In a series of studies that considered the symbolic meaning of the *tezcacuitlapilli*, Taube (1983; 1992a: 79-82; 1992b; 1994: 234) concluded that these objects are heavily imbued with solar symbolism along with a variety of related meanings. In his study of symbolism at Chichén Itzá, Tozzer (1957: 120) noted that *tezcacuitlapilli*, with their four directional *xiuhcoatl* serpents, are very similar to representations of the solar disk in murals at the site (**Fig. 3.5c**). In reaching the same conclusion, Taube (1992b: 192-194) described a number of examples from the Early Classic Maya and in contemporary indigenous beliefs where mirrors are portrayed or described as representing the sun.

On the Atlantean warrior columns at Early Postclassic Tula, all of the *tezcacuitlapilli* worn by these figures have central faces (Taube 1992b: 183, fig. 12c). It was proposed that these faces represent the deified personification of the mirror (ibid.: 183). Considering that the *tezcacuitlapilli* are identified as representations of solar mirrors, and considering that the souls of warriors precede the arrival of the dawning sun, it remains entirely possible that these faces represent the face of the sun when reflected in the back mirrors of the warriors who precede the solar deity each morning.

Taube (1994: 234, figs. 31d-31e) further noted that the connection between the sun and mirrors is of great antiquity in the Maya region, where Early and Late Classic depictions of solar disks are found on the rims of mirrors marked with the solar *kin* sign. Likewise, circular shields worn on the small of the back are evident in Classic Maya and Teotihuacan art (Taube 1992b: 172-177). These concepts continued into the art of the Late Postclassic Aztec where the renowned Aztec Calendar Stone depicts a solar disc

encircled by two *xiuhcoatl* and a ring of turquoise quincunx symbols, an idea thought to be antecedent to the Toltec turquoise and pyrite mirror (Taube 1994: 234, fig. 31c).

Back shields can also take the form of a flower in Teotihuacan and Classic Maya art (Taube 1992b: 184), a concept that probably reflects the perception of the dawning sun as a blooming flower. The perception of mirrors as symbolic flowers also continued in Postclassic art (ibid.: 184, fn. 7-9). Taube (1994: 234) concluded his analysis of the *tezcacuitlapilli* by stating: “The turquoise back mirror of Chichén and Tula probably also represents the sun. I suspect that by donning the turquoise and pyrite mirror, the Toltec warrior supported the burden or office of the sun.” Thus, individuals who wore this device became symbolic warriors of the sun (Taube 1992a: 82). These warriors would have been symbolically conveyed upon the body or pathway of the plumed serpent.

The Creation of the Sun and New Fire in Tezcacuitlapilli Symbolism

In the Postclassic period, mirrors were closely connected to the creation of the sun. In a study of symbolism at Chichén Itzá, Coggins (1987) argued that mirrors are important objects in new fire ceremonies that are small-scale replications of the creation of the sun. Following this study, Taube (1992a: 79-80) pointed out several examples in the *Codex Borgia* that portray the creation of new fire on a mirror. Directly above a scene of new fire drilling on a disk on page 46 of the *Codex Borgia* appears a scene that depicts a square structure with four directional *xiuhcoatl* surrounding a central image of a burning hearth, here represented as a burning turquoise *tezcacuitlapilli* (ibid.: 80-81). The presence of directional *xiuhcoatl* in this scene, much as on *tezcacuitlapilli*, is related to

the affiliation between *xiuhcoatl* and smoke and flame (Taube 1992b: 172, 186). In other words, much like in fire-drilling upon a mirror, the four *xiuhcoatl* represent the emergent smoke and flames to the four directions at the time of the fiery creation of the sun. This scene likely refers to the fiery creation of the sun in the “turquoise enclosure” during new fire ceremonies that occurred every 52 years (Taube 1992a: 81).

The creation of the sun from the turquoise enclosure is also depicted on page 17-18 of the Mixtec *Codex Nuttall* (Taube 2000a: 314). Among other deities observing this rite in the *Codex Nuttall* are the Mixtec deities Seven Flower (Xochipilli) and Nine Wind (Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl). The turquoise enclosure and these solar creation stories are replicas of a rite that has similar expressions in Aztec traditions ascribed to Teotihuacan where the self-sacrifice of the pustuled Nanahuatzin, preceding his re-creation as the dawning sun on the hearth of the “turquoise enclosure” at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, the symbolic Flower Mountain of the Teotihuacan world (Taube 1983: 125-126; 1992a: 81; 2000a: 309-311, 323).

Notably, a version of this solar creation story was recorded by Lumholtz (in Seler 1990-1998: 4: 187) among the contemporary Huichol of West Mexico. In this version, a young boy, the son of the maize goddess, was arrayed in full priestly attire and thrown into the fiery hearth to be reborn in the east as the sun at Cerro Quemado, an eastern mountain identified as the symbolic Flower Mountain of the Huichol world (Taube 2010a: 183). Considering that a new form of ceremonialism centered upon the dawning sun becomes evident in this region of West Mexico in the Early Postclassic (see Chapters 6, 7, 8), it is probable that this solar tradition was transmitted to this area at this time

rather than during the later Colonial period. Other sacrificial imagery involving solar mirrors from Late Postclassic highland Central Mexican codices, such as page 84 of the *Codex Nuttall* and page 10 of the *Codex Becker I*, include depictions of ceremonies for Xipe Totec, the god of spring and regeneration, in which the blood of the sacrificed victim pours down, as symbolic falling rain, onto a petalled *tezcacuitlapilli* (Taube 1988: 332, figs. 12.1a, 12.1c). These scenes may well represent an allusion to the role of blood in bringing the rains and the sun (as a symbolic mirror) to nourish the earth for the production of agricultural abundance.

In a recent study, Faust (2009) demonstrated that fire-drilling rites in the context of creation and renewal ceremonies are also important symbolic elements in Late Postclassic Huastec art from the Gulf Coast. Taube (1983: 124) drew attention to a creation account in the Yucatec Maya *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* where the son of the Creator was borne upon a mirror, “the light from that which lighted the heavens” (Roy 1964: 110). Taube (1983: 124, fig. 33a) noted that an illustration in this manuscript, said to represent a diagram of the sun’s path across the heavens, is comprised of a disk that strongly resembles a Toltec-style *tezcacuitlapilli*. In this story, it is probable that the turquoise back shield is identified with the ascent of the sun into the sky at dawn (ibid.: 125).

At Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá, a turquoise inlaid *tezcacuitlapilli* was recovered in a cache from beneath the royal seat of the Chacmool Temple (Kowalski 2007: 289, fig. 22). Considering that some scholars (e.g., Ringle 2004: 170) perceive leadership at Chichén Itzá to have been centered upon a central office of divine kingship

combining the Sun and the Plumed Serpent, it may well be accurate to suggest that the seating of the Priest-King (with his combined solar and plumed serpent attributes) upon the royal seat and the *tezcacuitlapilli* symbolized the fiery rebirth of the living Sun God atop the solar mirror and his ascent into the sky via his celestial road along the pathway of the Plumed Serpent.

In Chapter 12, the remarkable similarities and close relationship between Plumed Serpent and Morning Star warfare symbolism in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest is described in greater detail (also see Mathiowetz et al. 2008). This complex first became evident in the American Southwest at the onset of the Pueblo IV period following the rise of Paquimé. While some scholars may point out the lack of overt star imagery in Casas Grandes symbolism as evidence for the nonexistence of Morning Star ceremonialism, to my mind this is not an overriding issue. This argument would be akin to stating that Casas Grandes people did not practice maize agriculture simply because cob-laden maize plants are not depicted on their ceramics or in their rock art, an obviously incorrect conclusion. Instead, the presence of ritual warfare symbolism in the form of *tezcacuitlapilli* alone, among other evidence such as the depiction of a dart-headed warrior, reveals close ties to symbolic stellar and cosmic warfare at Paquimé, a complex that is of greater antiquity in Mesoamerica (ibid.).

In a number of instances in Mesoamerican symbolism, the solar *tezcacuitlapilli* is depicted in close conjunction with plumed serpent imagery. As noted above, Toltec-style warriors wearing back mirrors at Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá are portrayed upon the body of plumed serpents. Taube (1992a: 82) pointed out that the solar disk worn on the

back of the famous Aztec Stuttgart statuette is a symbolic solar back mirror. This statuette, recently identified as a portrayal of the Morning Star warrior Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli (Coltman 2007), wears the solar disk upon his back, which itself overlies the body of a feathered serpent. This motif represents Venus as the Morning Star leading the newly born sun as solar back mirror out of the underworld on the path of the plumed serpent (ibid.). The image of the sun as a back mirror in this example may well allude to the creation of the sun at the new fire ceremony.

The perception that the plumed serpent is the conveyor of the sun as a solar mirror is explicit in the iconography of Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá, where representations of entwined plumed serpents carry *tezcacuitlapilli* upon their bodies. Examples of this motif are evident in the Northeast Colonnade (Tozzer 1957: fig. 89; **Fig. 3.5d**), the Upper Temple of the Jaguars (ibid.: figs. 85, 129; **Figs. 3.5e-3.5f**), and a version of this motif occurs on the Castillo substructure (ibid.: fig. 86). The examples from the Upper Temple of the Jaguars occur in the context of imagery of Toltec-style warriors standing atop Flower Mountain, thus indicating a clear link between this motif and the dawning sun. While the entwined plumed serpent with *tezcacuitlapilli* motif is a Toltec-style design, examples of this specific motif in the art of Tula are yet to be identified.

Remarkably parallel solar back shields are known among some Pueblo people in the American Southwest. Taube (1983: 135) rightly pointed out that the solar disk worn on the small of the back of Hopi Flute ceremonialists is strikingly similar to the *tezcacuitlapilli* of Classic and Postclassic highland Central Mexico. Voth (1912b: pl. XLVIII) illustrated one scene where roughly two-dozen Hopi Flute ceremonialists wear

large solar disks upon their backs. One Hopi account recorded by Voth (1905: 20; see Taube 1983: 135) described the turquoise-colored shield created to represent the sun, where the face of the sun was painted upon the shield with turquoise-colored copper oxide and ringed with eagle feathers and red-fringed horse-hair (see Fewkes 1900c: 998, pl. LX). The bearers of these solar disks, Gray Flute Society members, played flutes during their processions (*ibid.*), perhaps an allusion to the flute-playing Sun Youth. Similar sun shields are carried on the back of the primary maiden in the more widespread Buffalo Dance and other Pueblo dances (see Tanner 1973: figs. 4.7, 5.73, 5.75; Wright 1973: 124-126, pl. XXXI).

In wearing the solar disk upon the back, the Hopi Flute player is the bearer of the sun who announces his arrival at dawn with the music of his flute. While this role might appear slightly different from the Mesoamerican conception of the warrior as the bearer of the sun, it is worth recalling that warriors are closely connected with scenes of music and dance in the art of Mesoamerica and in the context of Flower World rituals. Considering that solar back shields are prominent in Hopi Flute rites, it is important to note that Hopi Flute ceremonies are intimately associated with the Mesoamerican story of the creation of the Sun Youth at Flower Mound while the clans that own these ceremonies are said to have come northward to the Hopi Mesas from Palatkwapi and ultimately deep within Mesoamerica (see Chapters 2 and 12). Multiple lines of evidence indicate that the site of Paquimé is strongly linked to the Hopi Palatkwapi traditions.

In all probability, Hopi Flute rituals that signify the bearing of the sun upon the back have their direct origin in symbolism and rituals of both the Casas Grandes Sun

Youth and the *tezcacuitlapilli* present at the site of Paquimé, an object that represented the symbolic rising sun carried upon on the back by Casas Grandes ritualists. As these rites clearly do not originate first in the Casas Grandes region, it is most probable that they were introduced there along with rituals of the Flower World by migrants from Mesoamerica, likely from the Aztatlán region of West Mexico. While solar back shields are yet to be recovered in Aztatlán core zone contexts, portrayals of highland Central Mexican-style solar disks with A-shaped solar rays are known in Aztatlán symbolism on ceramics from Amapa (Meighan 1976: 468, pl. 162) and also on a copper disk from Ciudad Guzmán (Schöndube 1974: fig. 9), located south of the Sayula Basin in Jalisco.

The appearance of the solar-oriented *tezcacuitlapilli* back mirror in the Casas Grandes region did not occur in a context disassociated from its symbolic meanings in Mesoamerica. These ritual objects likely were not imported simply as status markers with little religious meaning for Casas Grandes elites. Instead, as this detailed and largely intact knowledge is clearly derived from elsewhere in Mesoamerica, it is most probable that owners and practitioners of esoteric solar rituals at Paquimé centered upon the Sun Youth knew precisely how to use these objects and had a clear understanding of the underlying religious significance evoked in the symbolism of these objects.

Much like in Mesoamerica, these objects at Paquimé likely were worn in the context of symbolic conflict, such as in the Mesoamerican ballgame. Players, perhaps ornamented in warrior garb, might symbolically have been identified with Morning Star-related advancing warriors that preceded the sun in ballgame “battles” tied to the changing seasons (see Chapters 7 and 11). These mirrored solar objects, and perhaps

more perishable versions such as those known ethnographically among the Hopi, also were worn at Paquimé to perhaps demonstrate the markings of officeholders in their role as burden bearers of the sun. Furthermore, these objects probably signified the creation of the newly born sun on the turquoise hearth during new fire ceremonies.

Considering that Puebloan new fire ceremonies and rituals have ties to the Sun Youth, the related figure Montezuma, and the newly created sun at the winter solstice point, it is possible that the *tezcacuitlapilli* at Paquimé represent the earliest symbolic examples of new fire rites for the creation of the Sun in northern Mexico and the American Southwest. Furthermore, these rites at Paquimé also represent the earliest examples of the role of burden-bearer of the sun in the larger region.

Finally, in recent studies, Taube (2006a; 2010a) drew remarkably similar parallels between the depictions of solar disks or cartouches in Mesoamerica and the specific portrayal of the solar disk in the art and ritual of the contemporary Hopi in the American Southwest. In Mesoamerica, while the sun disk can be portrayed as a solar mirror, the solar cartouche can also be portrayed with four directional flowers. The sun in Mesoamerica has long been identified with flowers (Taube 2010b). Postclassic-period solar signs surrounded by four directional flowers have been identified on Early Postclassic pottery from Cholula, in Late Postclassic pottery from Veracruz, and in the *Maya Codex Dresden* to name a few examples (see Taube 2010b: 161-167, figs. 15d, 17a, 17b, 17e). As Taube (2006a) rightly noted, strikingly similar concepts are reflected in an early-twentieth-century Hopi Powamu sandpainting from Oraibi that contains a large image of a solar disk, encircled by five directional colors representing the “house of

the sun”, and flanked by four directional flower blossoms, also described as the “house of the sun” (see Voth 1901: 75-76, pl. XLII).

Another Hopi example that reflects similar concepts is evident on a Hopi shield housed in the American Museum of Natural History, where the shield depicting the face of the sun is flanked by floral blossoms and surrounded by a black-and-white block pattern likely representing clouds (see American Museum of Natural History, Catalog # 502.4564). In concept, these ideas are identical to those in highland Central Mexico. The idea of a floral house of the sun among the Hopi draws striking parallels to the concept of the floral house of the sun, or *xochicalco*, of the Mesoamerican solar deities Xochipilli and Tonatiuh. Though this particular motif is not represented in the highly geometric symbolism of the Casas Grandes culture, given the primary focus on solar and floral symbolism in this region it is highly probable that the idea of the floral house of the sun reflected in the Hopi sand painting of the sun disk originates in Sun Youth ceremonialism at Paquimé and with Palatkwapi clans who came to the Hopi Mesas from far to the south.

In sum, the appearance of solar mirrors, or *tezcacuitlapilli*, in Medio-period Casas Grandes material culture appears to have been closely connected with the onset of a heightened form of Mesoamerican-style plumed serpent and solar ceremonialism. Mirrors embody a number of metaphors that demonstrate a close relationship to the sun, with the solar disk in the sky being considered as a giant mirror. In Mesoamerica, burden-bearers of the sun often are portrayed wearing these solar mirrors upon their back. In some instances, warriors who wear these mirrors are portrayed ensconced within the undulations of a plumed serpent, a depiction that suggests that the plumed serpent is the

means by which these solar mirror-bearers travel. In other examples in the symbolism of Mesoamerica, such as at Chichén Itzá and in Aztlán symbolism, the plumed serpent is the direct bearer of the solar mirror (see Chapter 6). These ideas appear to have been at the heart of back-mirror symbolism in the solar and plumed serpent ceremonial complex of Medio-period Paquimé.

The Sun Youth and Plumed Serpent and the Characteristics of Rulership at Paquimé

The present argument that at least two major Mesoamerican deities, the Sun Youth and the Plumed Serpent, were present at Paquimé enables a more fine-grained discussion on the nature of rulership at this site. As described above, Mesoamerican scholars have commented upon the depictions of two important figures in the symbolism of Chichén Itzá, the figure with the solar disk (“Captain Sun Disk”) and the figure with the plumed serpent (“Captain Serpent”) (see Seler 1990-1998: 6: 80, figs. 121a-121c; **Fig. 3.3**). These figures were identified with the solar deity Tonatiuh and the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl. In terms of the nature of the offices of rulership at the site, some scholars have considered these figures as being antagonistic (Miller 1977). In contrast, other scholars (Lincoln 1994; Taube 1994) consider these beings to represent complementary aspects of rulership or a form of “dual-kingship” in a system involving two power-sharing lineages.

More recently, Ringle (2004: 170) argued that these paired beings do not represent two co-equal rulers, but rather the image of the living ruler with an aspect of Quetzalcoatl whose power is bestowed by the solar deity. Kowalski (2007: 282) found

support for this interpretation in suggesting that some sculptural reliefs seemed to focus on the accession of a single ruler. It may well be the case that the paired solar and plumed serpent figures represent complementary aspects of rulership endowed within a single ruler. This concept would be akin to rulership at Copán where the lineage founder and paramount ruler K'inich Yax K'uk Mo' was depicted in some instances as a young macaw-headed solar deity astride the body of the plumed serpent (see **Fig. 2.7a**). In other words, these two deities were combined in a singular ruler who was intimately related to the dawning sun and the plumed serpent as the pathway of the sun.

This conception can shed light on the nature of rulership at Paquimé where the dominant symbolic theme on Medio-period ceramics is that of solar-related macaws coupled with cloud- and rain-related horned and plumed serpents. In two instances on Chihuahuan Polychromes, the young macaw-headed solar deity is depicted astride or dancing beside plumed serpents (**Figs. 2.16a-2.16b**). In all probability, this imagery in the Casas Grandes world refers to a single paramount ruler, perhaps a lineage founder, at Paquimé with complementary attributes of both the young macaw-headed sun god and the plumed serpent, a being that serves as the road of the sun and the vehicle for the returning clouds, rain, and wind. These two elements were singularly united for the purpose of contributing to the growth of maize, the conjuring of life and fertility upon the flowering landscape, and signified the personified representation of eternal balance and stability in the diurnal pathway of the sun across the sky.

Chronology and the Origins of Casas Grandes Rulership

An analysis of the florescence of solar and plumed serpent worship in the Casas Grandes region, set within a discussion of the nature of Casas Grandes rulership, also contributes to the ongoing debate over the chronological span of the Viejo and Medio periods. In contrast to Charles Di Peso's (1974) original interpretation of the rise of the Casas Grandes culture during the Medio period as resulting from an influx of Mesoamerican ideas and people, recent scholarship has proposed cultural continuity in the Viejo and Medio periods and an evolutionary and sequential cultural development arising from competitive elites supplementing their power base through the use of borrowed foreign symbols. In opposition to Di Peso's view, Whalen and Minnis (2001c: 356) stated:

In contrast, we see Medio period Casas Grandes as developing from the antecedent Viejo culture, which already showed a number of the attributes of the succeeding Medio period. In addition, and together with other scholars, we discount the arrival of Mesoamericans as the initial kick which launched Casas Grandes on the road to prominence. Instead, we perceive this development as a pueblo-style phenomenon which grew out of the preceding pit house cultures, the particular trajectory of which was the product of successes and failures in the struggle for power among the community's elite groups and the factions which formed around them. In short we prefer an endogenic model for the rise of Casas Grandes.

Much of the debate surrounding the origins of Paquimé and the Casas Grandes culture rests on interpretations of the chronology (for summary see Lekson 2008: 316, fn. 161).

In line with his misconstrued tree-ring chronology, Di Peso (1974) preferred to see the Casas Grandes Medio period, originally conceived as dating between AD 1060 and 1340, as a contemporary of Chaco Canyon. Dean and Ravesloot's (1993) study corrected these dates and placed the Medio period between AD 1200 and 1450. Recent

studies have proposed that the Viejo period, the period preceding the Medio florescence, ended by AD 1150 while the site of Paquimé itself was thought to date to the late AD 1200s or perhaps after AD 1300 (Lekson 1999a; 2008: 316-317, fn. 161; see Whalen and Minnis 2009: 259-260). More recently, Lekson (2008: 316-317, fn. 161) considered that Paquimé (the site) dates mainly to the early fourteenth century, though the Medio period likely began before the primary site, perhaps around AD 1250. In other words, some scholars have recently proposed that the major construction phase at Paquimé need not correspond to the beginning of the Medio period (*ibid.*).

Whalen and Minnis (2003; 2009: 259-260) dated the beginning of the Medio period to the mid-thirteenth century and placed much of the construction of Paquimé after AD 1300 during their late Medio period. In a more recent study, they (*ibid.* 2009: 68, 118) contended that the Medio period itself may actually have begun as early as the late AD 1100s. As a result of work in the far southern Casas Grandes region, other scholars (Stewart et al. 2004, 2005) argued for a mid-thirteenth-century beginning of the Medio period. The end date of the Viejo period and the beginning date for the Medio period seems to be a point of contention, with Lekson (2008: 316-317, fn.161) noting that some Chihuahuan scholars have sought cultural continuity rather than disjunction between the two periods by either pushing back the dates of the beginning of the Medio period or pushing forward the end date of the Viejo period so that there is a more seamless transition.

In a recent study, Whalen and Minnis (2009: 251-258) proposed that there is a division between early Medio-period and late Medio-period ritual behavior, with late

Medio ritual assemblages suggested to represent a post AD 1300 elaboration of new ceremonialism that spread across the region. This new ritual system, they contended, is represented in Ramos Polychrome, a type that they suggest does not date to the early Medio period (ibid.:117). They (ibid.: 255-256) envisioned ritualism during the late Viejo and early Medio periods as reflecting substantial continuity in being decentralized, unstandardized, and relatively unelaborated.

In effect, Whalen and Minnis's proposition argued for continuity between the Viejo and early Medio ritual systems with a new and more powerful system of beliefs, or at least imported elements and symbols of a belief system imported from the south by local Casas Grandes elites, at least partly overriding the earlier belief systems somewhat later in the Medio period. One of the problems with Whalen and Minnis's assessment that pre-AD 1300 ritualism in the Casas Grandes region was more closely tied to Viejo-period belief systems is that this assessment does not conform to arguments made herein that the Casas Grandes Flower World religion that began in the early Medio period was quite different from religion in the Viejo period.

The present conclusion of an earlier Medio genesis of new Flower World rites is based upon a number of observations noted throughout this work, including but not limited to the following: (1) Flower World symbolism and katsina ideology (as evident in effigy wares) are evident in early Medio ceramic types (see Chapter 11), (2) Casas Grandes early Medio-period ideology centered on the Sun Youth influenced the thirteenth century depopulation of the Four Corners region (see Chapter 2), (3) Casas Grandes and Sun Youth influence was evident in the Western and Eastern Pueblos in the

shift to plaza-oriented communities by AD 1250 (see Chapter 2), (4) Hopi migration traditions indicate that southern clans (likely from the Casas Grandes region) migrated northward, perhaps as early as the mid-AD 1200s, with new forms of Flower World worship (see Chapter 12), and (5) Flower World rituals that swept across the Southwest by the early AD 1300s indicate that an earlier presence of this political and religious system in the Casas Grandes region must have been present, and fully formed, at least sometime in the AD 1200s.

In other words, early Medio rituals appear to have been much the same as late-Medio rituals (only simpler in graphic portrayal), but early Medio-period rituals differ substantially from Viejo-period rituals. These differences are sufficient to suggest a disjunction in cosmology between the Viejo period and early Medio period. For social changes to have occurred in Southwestern architecture (e.g., plaza-oriented pueblos) and religion beginning by AD 1250, as scholars generally agree, changes that I argue are based upon the adoption of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth, it is reasonable to conclude that these ideas must predate AD 1250 in the Casas Grandes region. In all probability, the Casas Grandes Flower World religion during the Medio period did not arise through a process of accretion, but likely arrived in the region as a substantial and well-formed complex of ideas at the beginning of the Medio period.

Given the argument that Casas Grandes ritualism was based on a lineage of Sun Kings (see Chapter 6), the apparent explosion of ceremonialism that scholars (e.g., Whalen and Minnis 2009) have proposed for the late Medio period (ca. AD 1300), as reflected in Ramos Polychromes may have been the result of a ritual intensification or

revitalization by the community or by a Casas Grandes Sun King or other ritual leader, perhaps even one of the succeeding rulers as acclaimed heir to the lineage. If this timing is accurate, this intensification may have taken form a generation or more after these ideas were initially brought into the region by forebears. It is notable that Ramos Polychrome appears to contain much of the overt plumed serpent, macaw, and flower imagery in a more standardized form as opposed to earlier ceramic types.

If it is correct that a heightened intensification or revitalization of this religious complex took form around AD 1300, with more graphic forms of these deities and ideas some decades after the complex was first introduced, it may well be the case that this intensification commemorated the deceased Casas Grandes lineage founder who became apotheosized as the Sun God after his death, a process which rendered his association with the sun complete. This proposal of a form of commemorative movement memorialized in Ramos Polychromes, though conjectural, would be somewhat analogous in scope to that which Taube (2005b: 43) proposed for the Classic Maya macaw-headed Sun King at Copán. Here the identification of the ruler with the macaw-headed sun god became complete at death such that posthumous portrayals of this lineage founder on sculptures suggest that he was apotheosized after death as the Sun God (*ibid.*).

Thus, as a matter of conjecture, the proposed intensification of Flower World symbolism on Ramos Polychrome, which Whalen and Minnis (2009) date to roughly AD 1300, could well have been a form of revitalization movement within the site and in the region commemorating the original lineage founder who had arrived in the region some decades earlier and now, in death, became thoroughly identified with and apotheosized as

the Sun who returns each day at dawn. It would then have been this phase of the religious movement, perhaps an almost messianic revitalization movement, that spread in its most intensive and elaborated form like wildfire across the Southwest after AD 1300.

Discussion

Recent research that has sought a sequential chronological and cultural development from the Viejo period to Medio period at Paquimé and among related Casas Grandes sites in effect represents an effort to tie the Viejo and Medio period into an unbroken chain of cultural continuity and in-situ development in the Casas Grandes region. Presumably, this cultural continuity is thought by some scholars to extend between the Mimbres and Casas Grandes traditions in the southern Southwest and northern Mexico. While there are some clear historical connections between the time periods and the regions, evidence for cultural continuity between the Viejo and Medio periods and between the Mimbres region and the Casas Grandes region, particularly in the realm of religious, political, and social organization, is far less convincing.

Instead of arising through processes of cultural evolution with a smattering of cherry-picked southern influence, the Casas Grandes Medio period represented something entirely new that did not exist in the larger region beforehand and did not develop *in situ*. In reality, efforts to push back the chronology in search of continuity will find very little evidence in the Viejo period for the seeds of the evolution of a new and fully formed political, religious, and social organization. This new form of social organization was centered upon the Flower World, the Sun Youth, Plumed Serpent,

Morning Star, and Tlaloc-related (i.e., katsina) rain ritualism. In all probability, this ritual complex was brought from the West Mexican Aztlán region to Paquimé (see Chapters 6, 7, 8), a religious tradition and form of sociopolitical organization that largely supplanted but also merged with some of the ideas that existed in the region beforehand.

In my estimation, the plumed and horned serpent traditions of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest are historically related. Though scholars have often focused upon morphological differences, or focused upon variations in their role in local traditions, the underlying cosmological qualities of these beings in disparate regions are remarkably similar. These include a connection of these beings to conch shells and the returning winds, clouds, and rain, a role as the conveyor of the dawning Sun and warriors, a link to solar back mirrors or solar disks, an affiliation with sacrifice (especially among the Hopi), and a close connection to rulership (particularly at Paquimé), among others (see Chapter 7).

Conclusion

One of the problems in the long-running debate over the nature of Mesoamerican religious and sociopolitical influence in the Southwest is that those who deny any substantive similarities often fail to truly understand the shared underlying meanings and metaphors that characterize both Puebloan and Mesoamerican beliefs systems. These shared beliefs were not part of a substratum of ideas that have existed in these regions in perpetuity but largely came into being after AD 1200. Likewise, scholars often fail to realize exactly how profoundly different Pueblo IV ceremonialism was from earlier

cosmology and ritualism in the Southwest. Others may not fully recognize how similar this new cosmology was to a core framework of ideas and a system of beliefs that had long been present in parts of Mesoamerica. This misperception, though understandable, likely stems from an inadequate familiarity of many Southwestern scholars with the literature of Mesoamerican archaeology, symbolism, and religion. The same critique can be given for many Mesoamerican archaeologists when it comes to analyzing Southwestern archaeology and religion.

When it comes time to discuss the possible presence of Mesoamerican deities such as Tlaloc or Quetzalcoatl in the American Southwest, one of the more common reactions by Southwestern archaeologists is to immediately focus upon external morphological characteristics without a clear understanding of the ideas that these deities represent. Thus, the proposed possibility of Mesoamerican intellectual influence in Southwestern ideas or imagery has often been dismissed by Southwestern scholars because, for example, a rain spirit does not have the characteristic goggle-shaped eyes and fangs as does Tlaloc, or Southwestern plumed serpents are not covered in quetzal plumes or a rattlesnake tail as is Quetzalcoatl in some instances. Simply put, “It doesn’t look the same” is a commonly heard refrain among those with dissenting perspectives.

If this logic were extended, we should then need to conclude that the Sun Youth standard of the American Southwest, which looks nothing like the humanistic portrayals of the Sun Youth at Paquimé or the Sun Youth Xochipilli in certain Central Mexican codex depictions, is unrelated to these deities. But this is not the case, as the ethnographic record makes perfectly clear that these figures are, for all intents and purposes, nearly

exactly the same in character attributes and are clearly historically related. The point is that shared deities or religious ideas from different cultural or geographic regions do not always need to look exactly the same or have the same external features to be historically related across space and time. Oftentimes, the link between two historically related but differently depicted deities, ideas, or conceptual metaphors in various regions often linger just below the surface and can only be discovered in the comparative study of the ethnographic and ethnohistoric records and oral histories that necessarily serve as the primary basis from which interpretation of meaning should be drawn when analyzing symbolism from the archaeological record.

In sum, the present chapter examined the remarkable parallels in the horned and plumed serpent traditions of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest. The presence of this being in northern Mexico and the American Southwest is the result of the historical transmission of these ideas northward as part of a larger ideological complex known as the Flower World that first began to become evident in the Southwest by AD 1000. While there are antecedents to this complex at this early date, the greatest manifestation of this feathered and horned creature in the larger Casas Grandes region coincided with the introduction of a heightened and highly Mesoamericanized version of the Flower World complex that was centered upon the the young solar deity and a personified deity indentified with Venus as the Morning Star (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008). Ultimately, these ideas stem from the Aztatlán culture of West Mexico.

Chapter 4:

The Ladder of the Sun: The Symbolism of Notched Musical Rasps in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

*“There, far off, my Sun Father arises, ascends the ladder, comes forth
from his place.
May all complete the road of life, may all grow old.”*

-Zuni prayer, in Matilda C. Stevenson (1904: 177)

Introduction

The use of notched rasps as musical instruments is a shared ritual practice among ancient and contemporary indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest. While rasps found in the archaeological record of Mesoamerica date to over 2,000 years ago, rasps in the American Southwest only begin to appear in limited numbers no earlier than AD 1000 first in the Mimbres region of the American Southwest and later, and more prominently, at the important site of Paquimé, Chihuahua. Thereafter, rasps are evident after AD 1300 across the Pueblo world in the American Southwest in conjunction with the florescence of katsina ceremonialism. Thus, the appearance of notched rasps in the Greater Southwest coincides with significant political, social, and ideological changes across the region at this time.

The present chapter examines the use and symbolic meaning of notched musical rasps among ancient and contemporary peoples of Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest in an effort to discern shared ceremonial significance. In this discussion I note that notched rasps are conflated with the concept of the stepped solar ladder and Flower Road, the means by which the Sun and esteemed ancestors ascend and travel along the celestial floral pathway. Furthermore, the interment of notched rasps with high-status

elites in ancient Mesoamerica and at the site of Paquimé suggests shared cosmological principles focused upon symbolic affiliations with Flower Road. This analysis concludes that political ideology at the important and enigmatic site of Paquimé, Chihuahua, was centered upon elites that used specific Mesoamerican-inspired ritual practices as a means to legitimize their social position.

The Ladder of the Sun: The Stepped Solar Pathway

Within the Flower World complex in Mesoamerica, Flower Mountain, as a stepped pyramid, may also represent a symbolic stairway as a means of ascent into the heavens (Taube 2004b; 2006b). The symbolic significance of the stairways on these stepped pyramids appear to be conflated with a number of concepts related to the sun's path, particularly the idea that the plumed serpent is a floral road and vehicle for supernatural beings. For instance, Taube (2010c: 96) noted that the concept of the plumed serpent as a floral road is embodied in Mesoamerican monumental architecture as pairs of plumed serpent balustrades that flank the stairways of pyramids, such as those at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl at Teotihuacan and the Pyramid of Kukulcan at Chichén Itzá. Thus, "individuals ascending or descending these stairways follow the paths of the serpents" (ibid.).

Scholars have long noted that stepped Central Mexican pyramids likely represented the stepped pathway of the Sun across the sky (Heyden 1972). In an account recorded in the sixteenth century, Spanish chronicler Fray Diego Durán (1971: 186-193) described the Aztec Festival of the Sun (*Nahui Ollin*), in which a captive and soon-to-be

sacrificial victim was made to ascend the steps of a tall pyramid, said to represent the steps that the Sun followed in his ascent in the sky. As Durán (*ibid.*: 188-189) noted:

. . . the victim began his ascent up the steps of the temple, little by little, pausing at each step. He lingered for a while, and, after going up to the next step, he tarried again. He did this according to instructions he had received regarding the time he was to spend on each step. He was supposed to illustrate the movement of the sun by going up little by little, imitating (the Sun's) course here upon the earth. Thus it took him a long time to ascend the steps.

This account indicates that the movement of ritualists upon the pyramid steps is akin to mimicking the traversal of the Sun along its stepped pathway.

The perception that the sun ascends and descends upon a stepped pathway is known among contemporary people in Mesoamerica. For instance, Tzotzil Maya conceptualize the sun as traveling throughout the day along a thirteen-tiered stepped pathway similar in nature to stepped-pyramidal structures (see image in Holland 1989: 70, fig.5). Significantly, Holland (1964: 14-15) noted that “the sun ascends the thirteen layers of the heavens, which form a path ornamented with flowers . . .” (translated in Sharon 2003: 4). Furst and Scott (1975) drew attention to a similar concept of the sun ascending and descending along stepped pyramidal elements at Palacio IV at Mitla, Oaxaca (**Fig. 4.1a**). This imagery strongly suggests an ancient and widespread conception of the movement of the sun across the sky as being along both a stepped pathway and a flowery road.

In this chapter, I examine a specific class of artifact, the notched musical rasp, and its use by ancient and contemporary peoples in highland Central Mexico, West Mexico, and the Greater Southwest. Preliminary research suggests that ancient and contemporary

peoples of these regions conflated the notched rasp and its ritual significance with the celestial flowery road and solar ladder, the means by which the sun ascends in the east. This concept is closely related to the Flower World complex described above. Furthermore, this interpretation offers significant insight into the nature of the Mesoamerican-inspired cosmology and political and socioreligious organization of peoples at the archaeological site of Paquimé, Chihuahua.

Notched Musical Rasps as the Ladder of the Sun in Mesoamerica

Indigenous people in ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica and the American Southwest share a fundamental concept of a solar ladder or staircase as both the means by which the eastern dawning sun emerges from the underworld and travels across the sky and the means by which ancestral beings ascend to the celestial floral paradise of the dawning sun. Notched musical rasps, which I argue are small-scale cosmological models of the solar ladder, are also of significant antiquity in Mesoamerica, dating to the Middle Formative in Central Mexico, the Preclassic period in West Mexico, and the Classic period in the Maya region. Due to space constraints, I confine the present study primarily to ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and archaeological examples of solar ladders and notched rasps from ancient and contemporary highland Central Mexico, West Mexico, Northwest Mexico, and the Greater Southwest.

The Symbolism of Notched Musical Rasps in Highland Central Mexico

Only a few examples of complex symbolism inscribed on notched musical rasps have been recovered in the archaeological record of Mesoamerica, primarily in examples that date to the Postclassic period in highland Central Mexico. Nevertheless, an analysis of this iconography is highly instructive for discerning the cosmological significance of these objects. Hasso Von Winning (1959) offered an interpretation of a Late Postclassic Aztec notched rasp that was manufactured from a human femur, upon which a remarkably well-preserved and detailed scene was inscribed in antiquity (**Fig 4.1b**). The layout of the incised imagery suggests a scene of blood sacrifice whereby an eagle-feather clad warrior slays a victim whose blood nourishes the solar deity Tonatiuh in his diurnal path across the sky, clearly aligned symbolically with the notches of the rasp.

As Von Winning (1959: 88) noted, the starry skyband (*cicitlallotl*) in the notched bone rasp iconography represents the souls of warriors who died on the battlefield or in captivity. These deceased warriors were given the name *tonatiuh ilhuicac yauh*, or “he who goes to the heaven of the sun” (ibid.: 88). Furthermore, “for the Aztec, souls of warriors slain in battle or by sacrifice became birds and butterflies that would suck the nectar of flowers in the heavenly realm of the sun” (Taube 2004b: 87). The incorporation of imagery of the souls of dead warriors and the placement of the rasp notches along the path of the sun is strongly evocative of the Flower World and alludes to the significance of the solar path as the dwelling place of ancestral beings.

Two figures on the femur rasp, the sun god Tonatiuh and the earth goddess Tlaltecuhтли, are of central importance to this discussion. The placement of the rasp

notches along the bloody stream connecting Tonatiuh and Tlaltecuhli, in other words along the diurnal path of the sun, suggests that the ritual use of the rasp, the music thus created, and the motion of the instrument used in conjunction with the rasp, served as a symbolic reenactment and ritual invigoration of the path of the sun across the sky. This imagery likely depicts the Earth as both devouring and giving birth to the Sun in the daily cycle of sunrise and sunset. Another highland Central Mexican notched musical rasp with similar inscriptions depicts the sun as descending along the “path” of the notched rasp (**Fig. 4.c**).

As noted earlier, the path of the Sun is often equated with the flowery road, and the plumed serpent rattlesnake body is often analogous to this flowery road. In an early study of notched bone rasps (*omichicahuaztli*) in highland Central Mexico, Hermann Beyer (1934: 321-349) reported numerous notched bone rasps that, in form and in attendant iconography, neatly correlate to the themes of the serpent as the flowery road or path of the Sun. In his study, Beyer (1934) noted examples whereby the Aztec rasp itself bears the ornamentation of rattlesnakes with depictions of both the head and the rattles (see Beyer 1934: 330-331, figs. 1a-1b). One serpentine rasp fragment depicts the bodies of entwined serpents with “S”-shaped scrolls on the body suggestive of clouds scrolls, a concept that suggests that the playing of musical rasps might have an affinity with cloud or rain-making (**Fig. 4.2a**). Solís (2004: 56, fig. 250) depicted another notched musical rasp in the form of a serpent, much like that depicted by Seler (1990-1998: 3: 66, fig. 7).

The rattlesnake heads on these latter two notched rasps appear strikingly similar to serpent heads on the balustrades flanking the stairs of temples at Chichén Itzá (see

Seler 1990-1998: 6: 122, fig. 231). These steps with plumed serpent balustrades likely served as monumental-scale versions of the ideology embodied in the serpent rasps, the symbolic stepped road of the sun. Other examples of rasps clearly depict incised flower images aligned with the notches of the rasp (**Fig. 4.2b**). Beyer (1934: 344-345) noted that two separate notched musical rasps bear depictions of flowering spiny plants that are incised into the edge of the musical rasp (**Fig. 4.2c-4.2d**). Several notched musical rasps also bear incised images of the deity Mixcoatl, the representative of the souls of dead warriors (Beyer 1934: 344; Seler 1990-1998: 3: 66, figs. 9a-9b) whose souls accompany the rising sun at dawn.

Ethnohistoric descriptions of the use of rasps among the Aztec indicate a strong affiliation with the Flower World. For example, a song recorded in the sixteenth century *Cantares Mexicanos* indicates that rasps were instruments affiliated with precious jades, flowers, and songs, elements which evoke the flowery spirit world. As the song lyrics state: “Our hearts desire these multicolored flowers and these songs, these, Your jade rasps . . .” (Bierhorst 1985a: 383). For the Aztec, notched bone rasps were used, along with other instruments, within the inner courtyard of the king’s palace or the house of a nobleman during performances of “ghost songs” that evoked the ancestors in the flowery solar realm of the sun (ibid.: 70). Though only a brief discussion, it is clear that highland Central Mexican rasps in the Late Postclassic and Historic era were closely affiliated with Flower World. It is probable that there is some historic depth to these cosmological affiliations.

Notched Bone Rasps in Funerary Rites and Interments in Mesoamerica

Notched rasps are of considerable antiquity in Mesoamerica and have been identified in elite burial contexts dating to the Middle Formative at the Olmec site of Chalcatzingo, Morelos (Grove 1987: 291, fig. 16.24). However, notched rasps, often made of human long bones, are more prominent in the archaeological record of Postclassic Central Mexico and served as important ritual objects in some burial rites for warriors and rulers. Scholars have noted that rasps in the early Historic period were important instruments restricted for use at Aztec funeral ceremonies of dead warriors as accompaniment for the soul's travel to the solar paradise (Beyer 1934; Seler 1990-1998: 3: 62-73). A passage by sixteenth-century chronicler Diego Durán (1967: 2: 154 [translation mine]) noted the use of notched bones in funerary ceremonies for Aztec warriors who perished in the battle of Chalco:

In finishing the song, they would all clap to the sound of the drum, and then they would take some bones that have teeth [notches] in the style of a ladder and they danced and they danced to the sound of those bones, rasping those notches with other bones . . .

The chronicler Hernando Alvarado Tezozomoc related a similar account of a four-day mourning period whereby, after a particularly bloody war, funeral rites ordered by Moctezuma I (reigned AD 1440-1469) involved youths scraping dried striated deer bones. Using a smaller bone piece for a scraper, they made very doleful music for the dressed mummy bundles (Tezozomoc 1944 [1598]: 95).

In light of these accounts, Seler (1990-1998: 3: 66, 69, figs. 9a-9b) noted that depictions of Mixcoatl, the patron of the souls of the dead warriors, are inscribed on notched highland Central Mexican rasps. Beyer (1934: 336) pointed out a scene on page

24 of the Mixtec *Codex Vindobonensis* in which the deity Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl, accompanied by the solar deity Xochipilli, is depicted rasping a notched femur and a deer scapula above the image of a burning funerary bundle (**Fig 4.2e-4.2f**). This scene is especially important in that it likely concerns the soul of the deceased as ascending to the eastern solar paradisaal realm occupied by Xochipilli and Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl. This scene also firmly associates these two deities with notched musical rasps, an association that strengthens the association of these deities with notched musical rasps elsewhere in parts of Postclassic Mesoamerica.

Aside from the use of notched musical rasps in funerary ceremonies for deceased warriors whose souls were said to ascend to the floral solar paradise, a remarkable ethnohistoric account indicates that notched musical rasps were also important objects for interments in high-status elite burials. Noguera (1937: figs. 9, 13d, plano 2) recorded a burial in a miniature altar in the Patio of the Carved Skulls at Cholula, located on the northeast platform of the Great Pyramid, that contained two skeletons interred with a notched bone musical rasp. It is unclear if this is a sacrificial burial.

Among the Aztec, the *omichicahuaztli* was reported to have been an important accoutrement in the funeral ceremony for the Aztec ruler Axayacatl. Tezozomoc (1944: 241) reported that “the body [of Axayacatl] was covered with four garments one over the other . . . in the hand a deer’s bone notched such as is employed in certain dances for making noise, called *humichicahuaz* [sic], and in the other hand a staff with timbrels . . .” (translated in Starr 1899: 104). The use of the notched rasp as a funerary accoutrement for the Aztec king likely alludes to the ruler as maintaining a close affinity with, and

perhaps a responsibility or symbolic governance over, the flowery paradisaal realm and flowery road as embodied in the rasp.

Tezozomoc (1944: 388-389; see Nicholson 1961: 382) also reported that the Aztec king Ahuizotl (ruled AD 1486-1502), upon recognizing his approaching death, ordered his portrait carved into stone at Chapultepec in which he was to be portrayed as the deity of spring Xipe Totec holding a notched musical rasp or *omichicahuaztli*. Ahuizotl was to be dressed as “la figura del dios llamado Totec... que ha de estar parado en pie, con una rodela y en la mano una navaja [sic, sonaja] de hueso que llamaban Omichicahuaz . . .” (Tezozomoc 1944: 388-389). Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin (ruled AD 1502-1520), the successor to Ahuizotl, also commissioned his portrait to be carved into the rocks at Chapultepec on the eve of the arrival of the Spaniards, a portrait also reported to include the depiction of an *omichicahuaztli* (ibid.: 408-409). The depiction of the Aztec king in a state portrait with a notched musical rasp clearly reflects the high symbolic importance placed upon these objects.

In Postclassic highland Central Mexico, effigies of notched bone musical rasps were also deposited in offerings to the solar deity Xochipilli, the god of music. A cache of offerings to Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl that consisted of ceramic effigies of notched bone rasps was excavated in the Templo Mayor along with numerous effigy musical instruments such as turtle shell drums, *teponaztlis*, rattles, and floral-shaped flutes (see image in Solís 2004: 21, fig. 77). This deposition is significant as Xochipilli has recently been identified as the youthful eastern solar deity, the god of spring, and the personification of the soul, and he is closely linked to the Flower World complex in

Postclassic Central Mexico (Taube 2005b; see Chapter 2). A votive offering of a notched bone rasp crafted in stone was also excavated from Offering 78 at the Templo Rojo, south of the Aztec Templo Mayor (see image in Solís 2004: 19, fig. 72).

During the Late Postclassic period, it is apparent that Tarascans in West Mexico used notched rasps in contexts with similar symbolic meanings as those evident in Central Mexico. In the ceremonial precinct at the Tarascan site of El Palacio near Zacápu, Michoacan, Lumholtz and Hrdlička (1898; see plates vi-viii; Lumholtz 1902: 2: 428-430) excavated a large burial site of sacrificial victims that contained 26 notched human femurs (11), humeri (3), tibia (11), and fibula (1). In a recent reevaluation of these data, Pereira (2005) corroborated the interpretation that the notched human bones, being similar to Aztec *omichicahuaztli*, were used as musical instruments in the Tarascan funerary complex excavated by Lumholtz.

In the preceding discussion, I argued that the use of notched musical rasps as funerary objects is of considerable antiquity in highland Central Mexico. During the Postclassic period, the use of rasps became much more important in funerary rites for elites, noble ancestors, warriors, and rulers. I argued that these objects are small-scale cosmological models of the flowery solar road that serve as the symbolic means of ascent to the solar paradisaic realm. During the Late Postclassic period in highland Central Mexico, notched rasps are closely linked to the deities Xochipilli and Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl, the wind aspect of the plumed serpent. Both of these deities are important in the widespread Flower World complex, particularly during the Postclassic period.

The Ladder of the Sun in the Archaeology and Ethnography of West Mexico

The concept of the sun ascending and descending upon a ladder is of considerable antiquity in West Mexico. Mountjoy (1987: 169) argued that the concept of the solar ladder may date to as early as AD 200-600 in West Mexico as evident in the Los Cocos-phase petroglyph site in modern San Blas, Nayarit (**Fig. 4.3a**). He suggested that a solitary pit at the apex of three ladder-like elements may relate to the ancient and widespread belief in the ascent and descent of the sun along a stairway or ladder (*ibid.*). Though rock art is notoriously difficult to date, and this particular interpretation is subject to debate, firm evidence of an unequivocal solar ladder in the rock art of the Postclassic period in this region makes it graphically clear that this concept was important in parts of the core southern zone of the Aztatlán region. Furst and Scott (1975: 15) described and depicted a prominent anthropomorphic solar symbol with a pendant ladder element at the Postclassic rock art site of Los Monos in northern Nayarit, located somewhat north of the modern town of Acaponeta along the Río Acaponeta (see map in Furst and Scott (1975: 14; **Fig 4.3b**).

The concept of the notched rasp as a conjurer for probable ancestral figures is of considerable antiquity in Nayarit, Mexico. Karl Taube (*pers. comm.* 2007) drew my attention to a number of Ixtlán del Río-style ceramic figures of the shaft-tomb tradition of west Mexico that depict rasps with human figures or human heads on the end of the rasp (see Anawalt 1998: 237, fig.8; Von Winning 1974: 66-67, figs. 278-280, 285). One of the problems in associating these examples specifically with the Flower World complex of the Sun Youth Xochipilli is that this deity did not exist in the region until the Postclassic

period (see Chapter 6). In fact, in examining published imagery of shaft-tomb art from the larger region of Jalisco, Colima, and Nayarit, I found not a single depiction of a flower, a clear signifier of the absence of the Flower World complex among Shaft-Tomb cultures. However, facial paint on some tomb sculptures resembles *uxa* face paint used by Huichol today (Karl Taube, pers. comm. 2011), a topic that deserves further attention. Thus, these notched musical rasps in shaft tomb art may have held similar associations earlier in time but, in my opinion, should be considered as distinct from the later Postclassic examples of Flower World art in the Aztatlán culture that is affiliated with the Sun Youth Xochipilli (see Chapters 6 and 8).

Later examples of possible notched musical rasps in the archaeology of Postclassic-period West Mexico include a notched antler at Culiacan, Sinaloa (Kelly 1945: 141-142, fig. 71a) and a notched dog mandible at Amapa, Nayarit (Meighan 1976: 124, 418, fig. 112t). Notably, two notched human bone musical rasps were excavated from the Aztatlán site of Tizapan el Alto, Jalisco (Meighan and Foote 1968, plate 23 j-k). In addition, a notched bone musical rasp was excavated at the Early Postclassic Aztatlán-horizon site of La Peña, Jalisco (Ramírez de Swartz et al. 2005: 316). It should be noted that the identification of the distribution of notched rasps in West and Northwest Mexico has been complicated by the relative lack of archaeological investigation and the under-reporting of data from archaeological sites in this large geographic region. Preservation issues for bone artifacts at Aztatlán sites along the coast may also complicate our understanding of the distribution of these artifacts in antiquity.

The concept and form of a stepped solar pathway occurs in other media and in rituals of contemporary indigenous people of the larger region, likely Aztlán descendants. For contemporary Huichol in the states of Nayarit and Jalisco, the yearly journey of the peyote pilgrims to the flowery paradisaal land of Wirikuta in San Luis Potosí, Mexico, replicates the first journey of the ancestors to Paritecua or “Dawn Mountain” (also known as Reunar or Cerro Quemado), the mountain where the sun was first born. A portion of a song recited by peyote pilgrims explicitly describes this journey along a floral road: “The way of the flowers/ Leads here, through Wirikuta” (Benitez 1975: 74).

Representations of this journey are found in miniature staircases that are hung on prayer arrows and carried by peyote hunters to Paritecua, these items being made “so that they can climb that long trail or ‘ladder’ that leads to that sacred country” (Zingg 1977: 595-596). Zingg (ibid.: 595) observed that miniature staircases (*imumui*) were often left on Huichol altars as they represented the ladder on which the Sun-Father came out of the sea when he was born (**Fig. 4.3c**). Preuss (in Furst and Scott 1975: 19, fig. 4; Valdovinos and Neurath 2007: 51) collected a miniature stepped wooden pyramid from the Huichol community of Te’akata, Jalisco, that was left as an offering, a version of the *imumui*, to help the sun ascend into the sky at dawn. Furst and Scott (1975: 15) noted one example of a contemporary Huichol yarn painting created by Ramón Medina Silva that depicts the Sun positioned above a ladder (**Fig. 4.3d**).

These conceptual metaphors are embedded in other material culture items, including the loom. Schaefer (2002: 225) indicated that, for the Huichol weaver, the

backstrap loom is a miniature symbolic world which, when hung from a tree, “. . . mirrors in its vertical perspective the ladder that marks the daily path of the sun” (**Fig. 4.4**). Just as travel of the human life and the soul is associated with the birth of the sun and its diurnal path, the loom replicates the appearance of the sun in the east (top loom bar) at Paritecua in Wirikuta and its setting in the ocean in the west at Haramaratsie (bottom loom bar):

The arrival of the soul of an individual at birth is like the sun rising in Wirikuta in the east. Following the sun, the soul travels down the warp of the loom along its life path, and at death it reaches the west, the Pacific Ocean. It then goes on to the sky above Wirikuta, completing the cycle of the sun, the warp, and life in the Wixárika [Huichol] world (ibid.: 230).

Schaefer (2002: 216) argued that the loom components (e.g., shed stick, heddle stick, pickup stick, warp spacer) represent sacred geographical landmarks that the sun passes on its daily journey: “These form a kind of ladder, extending from the ocean in the west to the sky in the east.” The progression of the weaving symbolically replicates the peyote pilgrims on the journey to the eastern flowery solar realm (ibid.: 194).

In this regard, the widespread presence of the notched rasp (*kalatsi'ki*) motif along Huichol textile and pouch borders, as noted by Lumholtz (1904: 297), coupled with Flower World imagery such as birds and flowers, alludes to the ascent and metaphorical progression of ancestral spirits toward the eastern solar realm along the flowery “path” of the rasp (**Fig. 4.5b-4.5d**). Some textile bags collected by Carl Lumholtz portray pairs of hummingbirds sipping the nectar of flowers (**Fig. 4.5a**), some of which also occur on textiles with a notched rasp-motif border (see Lumholtz 1904: 297, fig. 407).

Much as the act of weaving draws close connections to the eastern realm of the sun, so too is this realm evoked in the Huichol deer hunt, a journey that is a symbolic reenactment of the original peyote pilgrimage to the east made by the gods (Schaefer 2002: 203). The notched rasp accompanies the Huichol hunting song during the entire night before the hunt and for one night following the return of the hunters (Lumholtz 1900: 205-206). Examples of Huichol notched musical rasps were illustrated in Berrin (1978: 179, fig. 47) and Lumholtz (1900: 205-206, figs. 285, 286a-286b). A miniature notched wooden object, said to represent the notched deer bone rasp, was also constructed and attached to a prayer arrow that contained another object with an image of a deer, the object of the hunt (**Fig. 4.5e**).

The use of rasps, the symbolic ladder of the sun, during pilgrimages that involve ascending to and descending from the sacred lands of the east suggests that the peyote pilgrimage of the ancestors to and from the solar paradisaal realm in Wirikuta is closely affiliated with the notched rasp and the road of the sun. This pilgrimage, and the metaphor of the stepped solar road, is symbolized by the deer hunt and is embodied in the Huichol loom. The florescence of weaving and loom implements such as spindle whorls in the Aztatlán region suggests that this ideology first became widespread during the Postclassic period (see Chapter 8).

Notched Musical Rasps and Solar Ladders in the Greater Southwest

Archaeological Examples of Musical Rasps in the American Southwest

The appearance of notched musical rasps in the American Southwest and northern Mexican archaeological record is a comparatively recent phenomenon. For instance, excavations at Chaco Canyon did not reveal the presence of any notched rasps. The earliest occurrence of probable notched rasps is in Classic Mimbres (AD 1000-1150) sites such as Galaz (Anyon and LeBlanc 1984: 292, fig. 19.6b & 19.6m), NAN Ranch Ruin (Shafer 2003: 203), Swarts Ruin (Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: plate 67a-g), TJ Ruin (Brown 2005: 446), and Wind Mountain (Woosley and McIntyre 1996: 253-254) and their distribution appears to be largely restricted to a very small portion of southwest New Mexico. Brown (2005: 446) suggested that the rasps from the Galaz site and from T J Ruin in southern New Mexico may be associated with Pueblo IV components.

Brown (1967: 77; 1971: 375) and Brown (2005: 446) concluded that, by and large, rasps in the Southwest are a post-AD 1200 phenomenon. The dates for the appearance of rasps in the archaeological record are correlated with the development of katsina ceremonialism (Brown 1971: 375) and “may have some connection to the changes in community size and religious beliefs that occurred at that time” (Brown 2005: 448). Following the Mimbres era, notched rasps are important ritual objects primarily at the site of Paquimé, Chihuahua, during the Medio period (AD 1200-1450). A probable rasp is evident at the related site of Joyce Well (Skibo et al. 2002: 33) in southwest New Mexico and at Pendleton Ruin (Kidder and Cosgrove 1949: 141), a site with some Casas Grandes cultural affiliations as evidenced by the presence of Chihuahuan polychromes.

For the Little Colorado region, Jones (2001: 289) did not mention the presence of any notched musical rasps from Homol'ovi III but indicated that notched artiodactyl ribs found at the site likely functioned as weaving tools for separating and tamping down threads. Szuter (1991) also did not mention the presence of any notched rasps at the site of Homol'ovi II nor did Fewkes (1898a, 1904a) mention the presence of rasps in his investigations at Homol'ovi I, II, III and Chevelon Ruins. However, Wheeler (1978: 61) noted that seventeen rasps were recovered from Awat'ovi on the Hopi Mesas while others were recovered from the Zuni site of Hawikuh (Hodge 1920: 137-141).

Though it may seem that the ideology of the solar ladder that is embedded in notched musical rasps was not widely present in the Western Pueblos at this time, it is instructive to recall that these metaphors can be embedded in a variety of material culture objects. If we recall that the idea of the solar ladder is embedded in the Huichol loom and weaving, it is worth noting that the Homol'ovi region in the late AD 1200s to 1300s experienced a dramatic florescence in the presence of cotton in the archaeological record (Adams 1991a: 179-183). It may well be accurate to state that an affinity between the new ideology of the dawning sun and cotton-like clouds became more evident in this region of the Western Pueblos in the symbolism of the loom and weaving at this time, much as is known in West Mexico (see Chapter 8).

To the northeast of Paquimé, in the upper Rio Grande region in New Mexico, notched rasps appeared in the archaeological record at such sites as Pecos Pueblo (Kidder 1932: fig. 212a-f, 213 fig. a-c), Unshagi (Reiter 1938: plate XXIIIb), Kuaua (Dutton 1963: 200), Sapawe (Charlotte Frisbie, pers. comm. 2007), a single possible rasp at

Arroyo Hondo Pueblo (Lange and Harris 1984: 211), and others were noted by Brown (2005: 446) at Abó, Gran Quivira, Puye, Rainbow House, San Lazaro, San Cristobal, and Tonque. The distribution of notched musical rasps in this region deserves more attention.

Individual examples of notched rasps also appear at sites in east-central and southeast Arizona, including at Grasshopper Pueblo (Frisbie 1978: 220-221), in the Point of Pines region at sites including W:10:51 (Wendorf 1950: 80-81, plate XIVj-k) and one possible notched wooden rasp excavated from Red Bow Cliff Dwelling (Gifford 1980: 90), while a number of rasps were excavated from Babocomari Village (Di Peso 1951: 97-99). Johnson and Thompson (1963: 475) noted that two bone rasps were recovered from the Ringo site of southeastern Arizona. Brown (2005: 446) noted examples from Kinishba and the Bailey Ruin on the Mogollon Rim. Gillespie (1989) indicated that one scapula rasp was recovered from Puerco Ruin in east-central Arizona while Brown (2005: 446) noted examples from Hawikuh and the Stone Ax Ruin. Unfortunately, very little provenience information from within the sites are available for most of these examples (Brown 2005: 447).

Significantly, the appearance of notched rasps in the archaeological record in the broader Southwest largely represents a roughly bi-lobed distribution among the Eastern and Western Pueblos. Importantly, the distribution that follows a roughly Mimbres-Paquimé-Rio Grande Pueblos continuum coincides with Schaafsma's (2000a) argument for the developmental continuum of katsina ceremonialism as evident in rock art of the Mogollon area 150-200 years prior to the florescence of katsina ceremonialism in the north-central Rio Grande region of the American Southwest. However, further research

on the distribution and timing of appearance of notched rasps in the archaeological record of the American Southwest is required to more fully clarify the temporal and geographic occurrence of these items in the larger region, a task that is beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, the appearance of notched musical rasps in the archaeological record of the American Southwest appears to coincide with the appearance of the Flower World complex.

Ethnographic Examples of Musical Rasps and Sun Ladders in the Greater Southwest

In the archaeological record, the concept of the Sun ascending a ladder is apparent in the Southwest at Feather Cave, a Mogollon sun shrine in central New Mexico with pictographs of ladder-like designs adjacent to a Sun Face (Ellis and Hammack 1968: 35). To my knowledge, this image remains unpublished. Much more clear evidence for this solar-related ideology is found in contemporary ethnographic texts and art. For example, middle twentieth century Zia and San Ildefonso paintings depict the sun's journey as occurring across or upon a stepped pathway (**Figs. 4.6a-4.6b**).

Contemporary Hopi people have strikingly similar concepts that relate to the rising sun upon a ladder or staircase into the sky in the presence of or upon a plumed serpent body. For example, Winter solstice altars at Hano on the Hopi Mesas bear these thematic elements associated with sun ladders (see image in Fewkes 1899a: pl. XIX). Fewkes (ibid.: 268-274) described the altar as containing effigies of Avaiyo (the Tewa name of the Hopi plumed serpent Palulukoñ), with a horn and eagle plumes protruding along its back, a corn meal spirit path, and a sun ladder (*tawa-saka*). The central sun-

ladder is composed of a notched wooden slat placed behind the altar along with a few notched prayer sticks that symbolize rain-cloud ladders (ibid.: pl. XIX). Fewkes (ibid.: 273) indicated why the notched slat is called a ladder:

They are symbols of the ladders by which the Sun is supposed to emerge from his house at sunrise. In the Hopi and Tewa conception the Sun is weary as he withdraws to the south in winter, and these ladders are made to aid him in rising, and thus in returning to bless them.

Miniature replicas of sun ladders (*tawa-saka*) are also made by Hopi people (Hano Pueblo) to be used in offerings to shrines or as hand-held objects in public dances such as the Buffalo Dance, a clear reference to the dawning sun (see image in Fewkes 1899a: plate XX).

For example, Hopi Buffalo Dance regalia incorporates Sun disks worn upon the back of the Buffalo Maid with a bundle of variegated feathers, perhaps representing the macaw feather headdress of Payatamu, positioned above the face of the Sun (see image in Kabotie and Belknap 1977: 87). Tyler (1979: 32-33) noted that, in addition to the sun-shield worn on the back, the Buffalo Maid also at times wears a crown of parrot (macaw?) feathers. Similarly, Lange (1959: 327) noted that the Cochiti Buffalo Maid wore a feather arrangement standing upright behind the head that is comprised of two eagle feathers and a long parrot (macaw) feather. This eagle and macaw feather assemblage and motif has been determined to date to the onset of the Pueblo IV period and is closely related to the intensification of symbolism and ceremonialism centered on the sun and the dawn (see Chapter 11).

The connection with the sun and dawn in these Hopi rites is reinforced as the Buffalo dancers carry notched wooden objects representing “sun ladders” in their hands

(Figs. 4.6d-4.6e). One portrayal of a Hopi Buffalo Maid painted by Fred Kabotie depicts the prominent sun disk upon her back, war track markings on her face, and a pair of notched “sun ladders” in her hands (see image in Kabotie and Belknap 1977: 87), clearly indicating that she is a burden bearer of the sun disk and symbolic warrior dancing at the rising of the sun. Smith (1952: 193) also noted four examples of “sun ladder” prayersticks pendant to a shield in an Awat’ovi kiva mural (see images in Smith 1952: figs. 13e-13f, 52). Fewkes (1898a: 630) noted that similar notched prayersticks were common in burials at Awat’ovi.

A miniature ladder was recovered from the eighteenth century Navajo-affiliated Site 6 located in Gobernador Canyon (see image in Carlson 1965: 28, fig. 10g). Contemporary Navajo sandpaintings depict the emergence from a ladder located in the east. For example, a Navajo Shooting Chant sandpainting depicts a ladder (*haaz’oi*) in the east that signifies the emergence from the hole *ha’atiin*, or “road coming out” (see image in Dutton 1976: 240). Contemporary Zuni also share an ideology related to the dawning sun, ladders, and the road, or spirit path, of life, as one Zuni prayer recorded by Stevenson (1904: 177) relates:

There, far off, my Sun Father arises, ascends the ladder, comes forth from
his place.
May all complete the road of life, may all grow old.

For a number of indigenous people across the American Southwest, the eastern ascent and daily travel of the sun across the sky takes place upon a ladder or stepped pathway.

In addition to references to solar ladders in prayers, altars, and sandpaintings, notched musical rasps also play an important role in contemporary Puebloan katsina rain

ceremonialism. Parsons (1939: 383) indicated that, among Pueblo peoples, notched rasps are important in katsina dances and make a prominent appearance in the widespread Hemis Katsina dance, which is present among many pueblos, and in others such as the He-hea dance (see images in Earle and Kennard 1938: plate XV; Mails 1983: 115; Wright et al. 1986: plate 39). Called the “kachina gourd fiddle”, the notched rasp is placed on a gourd resonator and played by women and men or boys impersonating women, as it is also symbolically associated with grinding corn (Parsons 1939: 383). At Pueblo musical corn-grinding parties, the Corn Maidens grind, the Sun Youth plays his flute, and the young men sing, which are symbolic prayers for the return of warmth and vegetation (ibid.: 380).

In Chapter 2, I argued that notched musical rasps are considered as the road of the returning Sun and the pathways for returning ancestral rain spirits. Notably, Hopi rasps, such as one from the early twentieth century, often terminate in cloud terraces (see image in Hough 1919: 293). This placement suggests that the body of the rasp is the pathway upon which the cloud spirits travel and return with each stroke of the instrument.

Fewkes (1898b) noted that the notched musical rasp also plays a role in Hopi kiva ceremonies during Soyal at Walpi. Soyal, which takes place at the time of the winter solstice in December, “signals the return of the sun and the gods” (ibid.: 69). The Soyal altar (see image in Fewkes 1898b: pl. 1) is composed of a large screen covered with artificial flowers, called “cornflowers”, from which protrudes an effigy of the plumed serpent Palulukon (ibid.: 78). At one point in the ceremony, the roar of a gourd trumpet, which signifies the roar of Palulukon, was followed by the sound of a scapula being

drawn across a notched stick (ibid.: 82-83). This suggests a close link between the notched musical rasp, the plumed serpent, and the return of the sun and gods. Notably, Fewkes (ibid.: 67) pointed out that the Soyal ceremonies, which involve rites of the notched rasp and the return of the plumed serpent and rain, were brought to Walpi by people who originally came from Palatkwapi.

Tewa pueblos of the northern Rio Grande region use notched rasps in ceremonies linked to eastern rain spirits, the pathway of the sun, the plumed serpent, and a flowery road or pathway. Kurath and Garcia (1970: 16) noted that ceremonies that occur during the morning hours follow the course of the sun. At San Juan Pueblo, one of the important spring dances for promoting fertility in vegetation and in human beings is the Tunshare or Basket Dance, which is performed in preparation for the planting season (ibid.: 145). One important portion of the Basket Dance is the *Mwe'ekwo*, the dance in which the notched rasp (*mwe'e*) accompanies the male dancers.

Significantly, the Basket Dance concerns the return of the *oxua* cloud spirits and rain gods from the east. As Kurath and Garcia (1970: 16) noted, “[t]he male sun deity, *Thansendo*, rises in the east, *thampiye*, from a mystical lake, just as the *oxua*, *kosa*, and Deer Spirits come to the pueblo from the east.” Significantly, the plumed water serpent *Avanyu* is closely connected with the *oxua* (ibid.: 19). Songs that accompany the fast and slow dances which comprise the Basket Dance clearly link the returning *oxua* with the dawning sun and returning rainfall for the growth of crops. The slow dance song lyrics (ibid.: 148, song 1) state the following:

The *oxua* came with lightning
With rainfall they came

The oxua came with thunder
With dewfall they came.
San Juan boys are singing beautifully, decorated
with parrot feathers
San Juan girls are singing beautifully, swaying sacred dew
baskets.

The fast dance song lyrics (ibid.: 148, song 4) begin:

Now that the dawn is breaking, oxua boys have come, Beautifully
singing. He . . .
Now that the dawn is breaking, oxua girls have come,
Beautifully singing. He . . .
Oxua boys are arriving, Oxua
girls are arriving
With their wheat growing power.
They come to see our fields
Oxua boys (girls) are arriving
With their corn conjuring power.

In essence, the Oxua boys and girls return with the dawn to bring rain-filled clouds to
nourish the earth for the growth of corn and other crops in the fields.

Furthermore, a song performed during a San Juan Pueblo Yellow Corn Dance
(Kurath and Garcia 1970: 149) indicates that the *oxua* cloud spirits travel along a flowery
road:

In the inner sanctum of the kiva
oxua boys make their sacred path; they have their flower path.
oxua girls make their sacred path; have their flower path.

These examples of songs from San Juan Pueblo draw clear connections between
ceremonies concerning the return of rain spirits from the east accompanied by the sounds
of notched musical rasps, their arrival at dawn, their association with the plumed serpent,
and their travel along a flowery pathway.

Themes of emergence, the return of rain spirits, and the playing of notched musical rasps are also evident at the contemporary pueblo of Santo Domingo. White (1935:106-107) noted that notched rasps are associated with masked line dancers and that, at the emergence from *shipap*, the first shiwana were “accompanied by female katsina who keep time with the deer leg-bone rubbed on the notched stick.”

Depictions of contemporary rasps from the Eastern Pueblos suggest that these instruments embody the concept of both the pathway of ancestral spirits and the soul, while other examples suggest that they also represent the body of the plumed serpent. Mails (1983: 461) illustrated one rasp from an unspecified pueblo in the Rio Grande region that is portrayed with a pendant breath soul feather (see image in Mails 1983: 461). This feather likely alludes to the rasp as a symbolic road upon which the breath soul or ancestral spirits travel. One notched wooden rasp from San Juan Pueblo, housed in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History, appears to take the form of an *avanyu*, or horned water serpent (anthro.amnh.org, Catalogue #501, accessed Dec. 1, 2006). This shape strongly suggests that the body of the horned or plumed serpent, as a vehicle for ancestral spirits along the pathway of the sun, is conceptually related to or conflated with the notched rasp.

Contemporary indigenous groups in northwest Mexico share similar affiliations between notched musical rasps, the road of the sun, and the return of the rains. For example, Tarahumara notched sticks have designs indicating the path of the sun and the oncoming fertilizing rains. In describing Tarahumara notched rasps, Lumholtz (1902: 1: 366) noted:

The notched sticks . . . from a Tarahumare burial-cave, are apparently of considerable age. The Indians . . . all affirmed that they were rasping-sticks. On two sides of one of them are slanting lines, which symbolize the road of Tata Dios; on the intervening sides are transverse lines which represent falling rain.

Depictions of these rasps, and their use in Tarahumara rites, were illustrated in Lumholtz (1902: 1: 366) and Montemayor (1995: 93). Much like for the Tarahumara, notched rasps used in Pima rain ceremonies are referred to as “rain sticks” (Russell 1908: 167-168, figs. 81a-81g), a probable allusion to their potent rain-making abilities.

For Yaqui people, the rasping of notched sticks is closely related to the eastern flowery solar paradise and fertility. A mural by contemporary Yaqui artist Danny Leon portrays the flowery Yaqui spirit world called *Sea Ania*, the realm of the sacred deer (see image in Sheridan and Parezo 1996: pl. 6). In Yaqui cosmology, “It is clear that the East is the favored direction; it represents fertility, the benevolent sun, the dawn (*machiatana*), which signals safety after the dangers of the night. The east is the focus of the deer songs. It is the country ‘where everything is born’” (Painter 1986: 122). The Yaqui flowery spirit world (*Sea Ania*) is evoked in the Deer Dance by singers and the essential act of rasping notched wooden sticks (*hirukiam*) on gourd resonators, called flower rasps (ibid.: 329; see image in Painter 1986: 285):

Already we sit with our little flower rasps
And we who [came] from yonder sunrise
Into the smoking flower patio of the deer hunter
Already we sit with our little flower rasps.

Some Yaqui rasping sticks “ha[ve] a cross incised on the end that is held in the hand. The cross resembles a four-petalled flower form. It is sometimes called a flower” (Painter 1986: 286; see image in Evers and Molina 1987: 87). The positioning of flowers along

the notches of the rasp likely signify the rasp as a symbolic flowery road of the Sun. Clearly, the act of rasping evokes the Yaqui flowery spirit world.

The preceding discussion drew clear connections between the symbolic significance of notched musical rasps and their affiliation with the flowery spirit world for both ancient and contemporary peoples of Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest. This connection includes the conflation of rasps with the path of the sun, or “solar ladder”, and with the paradisaical flowery road upon which the soul and ancestral spirits travel. These objects are very important for rain and cloud-making that results in the growth of crops and vegetation across the landscape.

Notched Musical Rasps as Burial Accoutrements in the Greater Southwest

In the following section, the presence of notched rasps in elite burials at two important thirteenth- to fifteenth-century archaeological sites, namely Paquimé and Grasshopper Pueblo, are discussed. Di Peso (1974: 2: 582-583, 582 fn. 1) indicated that seventeen notched rasps were excavated at Medio-period (AD 1200-1450) Paquime, Chihuahua. These were made variously of stone, antelope and deer scapulae, bison rib, shell, and a human femur (see images in Di Peso et al. 1974: 2: 551, fig. 331-2; Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: 283; Narez 1991: 89, no. 12-1-958). A notched dacite rasp with a carved human head on the end of the rasp (see image in Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: 283) recalls much earlier West Mexican examples of rasps with human figures positioned on the ends. As noted earlier, this placement likely alludes to ancestral figures who are conjured through the use of the rasp.

Excavation at the Mound of the Offerings, a prominent central platform with a cluster of seven attached rooms, revealed an elaborate mortuary complex with the remains of the highest-status burials at Paquimé, a double human figure statue wearing a stepped cloud headdress, stone altars, and perhaps most importantly, a notched human femur rasp (Di Peso et al. 1974: 8: 371-372, figs. 377-8; *ibid.*: 8: 335, type 5; Narez 1991: 89, no. 12-1-958; Ravesloot 1988: 24-25). Within this mortuary complex, three individuals, including a male more than 50 years old at death and a male and female each aged 36-50 years, were reburied in unusually large Ramos Polychrome vessels (Ravesloot 1988: 25). Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 8: 372) suggested that these remains likely constituted founding elites at Paquimé, though this conclusion remains unclear.

Nevertheless, the placement of a notched human femur with the highest-status burials at Paquimé is anomalous, and highly significant, in that no other examples of notched human bones as rasps have been located in the archaeological record of the American Southwest or northern Mexico. The unique use of a notched human bone as a rasp suggests that elites at Paquimé had knowledge of very specific aspects of Mesoamerican ritual practices. The presence of this rasp, dated to after AD 1200, suggests that the Aztatlán tradition of West Mexico likely was the source of knowledge of this particular burial practice. It should be recalled that the presence of a notched human bone musical rasp in Postclassic Aztatlán contexts at Tizapan el Alto, Jalisco (as described above) draws clear comparisons to the occurrence of a human bone musical rasp at Paquimé. The documentation of the geographical and temporal extent of musical

rasps, particularly notched human bone rasps, at Aztatlán sites is a topic worthy of future research.

Aside from the interment of a rasp in elite burials at Paquimé, to my knowledge only one other site in the American Southwest or Northwest Mexico had an interred musical rasp with the highest-status burial. A notched bone awl described by the excavators as a rasp was recovered from Burial 140, the highest-status burial “with the greatest degree of status acquisition” beneath the foot drum of the Great Kiva at Grasshopper Ruin, Arizona, a 500-room pueblo dating to about AD 1325 (Frisbie 1978: 220-221; see Griffin 1967: 47). The notched bone rasp was placed along with arrows within the personal quiver slung over the arm of the male leader (Reid and Whittlesey 1999: 131). The interment of notched rasps with high-status burials in ancient Mexico and the Greater Southwest suggests important shared cosmological principles concerned with Flower World and Flower Road symbolism.

Discussion

Recently proposed models of Casas Grandes social, political, and religious organization sought comparisons with ethnohistoric accounts of Mesoamerican polities and ethnographic accounts of Pueblo governance. Schaafsma and Riley (1999c: 248; see Riley 2005: 102-103; Riley 2006) recently proposed what they called “The Cacique Model”, which generally focuses on a single person or family having the ritually sanctioned right to rule. In their model, a “cacique, with the essential religious objects that declared his right to rule and his accompanying priests and other retainers, moved

into the Casas Grandes valley and precipitated the development of Paquimé” (Schaafsma and Riley 1999c). Certain ritual accoutrements, recognized across community lines, would act as objects of authority and serve to legitimize a cacique’s right to rule (Furst 1986). Alternative models posit that emerging leaders in the Southwest imported and used an established religion from Mesoamerica, along with Mesoamerican-inspired objects, iconography, and rituals to justify their role and their proposed social actions (Phillips 2002: 186). The distinction between these two models is in whether the adoption of Mesoamerican cultural patterns was instigated and directed from Mesoamerica or if Southwestern leaders selectively adopted particular aspects (Phillips 2002).

This chapter examined the conceptual metaphors embedded within notched musical rasps with the interpretation of these instruments as small-scale cosmological models of the flowery solar road and solar ladder. The physical use of notched musical rasps replicates the road of the sun and the returning rains (see Chapter 2). Ostensibly, this object is closely attached to the development of Sun Youth and katsina rain ceremonialism in the Greater Southwest. In the cosmology of ancient and contemporary peoples in Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest, this concept is closely related to the Flower World complex.

Significantly, the timing of appearance of notched musical rasps in the Southwestern archaeological record does not correspond to proposed models of the initial spread of the Flower World complex in association with the dissemination of agriculture and agricultural rituals from Mesoamerica (e.g., Hill 1992; Taube 2004b). Instead, the very first appearance of notched musical rasps in the Classic Mimbres period, followed

by their occurrence in the Casas Grandes region and the broader Southwest, coincided with a rapidly spreading ideology focused upon Flower World ceremonialism that culminated during the thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries and remains evident to the present day. The florescence of this complex at this time suggests that Paquimé was an important locus in the development of important aspects of katsina-related Flower World ceremonialism. Cloud-related ceremonialism in the Casas Grandes region is evidenced by the large number of rasps at the site in addition to a number of stone or ceramic figures with probable cloud-terrace headdresses, one of which was found in the sanctuary at the Mound of the Cross with the highest-status elites at Paquimé. Other examples were recovered from unprovenienced sites in the larger Casas Grandes region¹⁰.

As notched musical rasp symbolism involves both the sun and the plumed serpent, it is noteworthy that Hopi oral traditions tell of a number of clans and ceremonies, including those that focus upon Solar and Plumed Serpent worship, that came from a place or region “far to the south” called Palatkwapi (Reyman 1995), as noted in Chapters 2 and 12. For example, as Fewkes (1899a: 273) indicated, “[i]t is evident . . . that the priests of Hano have a knowledge of the Great Serpent cult corresponding to the worship of Palulukon. Among the Hopi the Patki people claim to have introduced this cult in comparatively recent times.” Furthermore, as Fewkes (1898c: 192) noted, “the Patki and related societies thus brought to Walpi a higher form of worship than that preexisting . . . [A] dominant factor in the religion of the Patki people was a form of the Solar and Plumed Serpent worship.” This new form of solar worship

¹⁰ See images in Di Peso et al. 1974: 2: 557, fig. 341-2; Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: 294, fig. 354-7, type Ia; Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: 296, type II; Powell 2006: pl. 42; Townsend 2005a: 64, pl. 31.

was predominantly focused upon ceremonies associated with the solstices and the equinoxes (ibid.). Although Fewkes was uncertain of the location of Palatkwapi, he suggested that the ultimate origin for these rites lay far to the south in Mesoamerica (Fewkes 1894a).

In sum, notched musical rasps in the archaeological record of the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico serve as unique chronological markers that shed light on the origin and development of a particular aspect of the Flower World complex, the representation of the stepped pathway of the Sun. In Chapter 2, I have argued that the metaphors embodied in playing a notched musical rasp are equivalent to those embodied in the act of grinding corn upon a metate. Both of these activities are closely tied to the arrival of the Sun Youth at dawn. As the timing of the more widespread appearance of notched musical rasps in the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period is also closely coincident with the florescence of katsina and Sun Youth ceremonialism, this suggests that the site of Paquimé in the Casas Grandes region, where religion was preeminently centered upon the Flower World, likely played a significant role in the development and dissemination of katsina ritualism. Furthermore, the greater antiquity of notched musical rasps in Mesoamerica, and particularly West Mexico, suggests that Casas Grandes elites drew upon specific ritual knowledge from this latter region as a means of legitimizing their social and political position. The role of the West Mexican Aztatlán tradition in the dramatic social changes in the Pueblo IV period American Southwest are discussed in Chapters 6 and 8.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that one particular Mesoamerican-inspired ritual activity in Northwest Mexico, namely the interment of the notched human bone rasp in the highest-status burials at Paquimé, reflects a potent awareness of elite Mesoamerican ritual practices. These practices likely were incorporated into the mortuary rites of Casas Grandes elites in negotiations of power that served to legitimize and justify elite rule and foster the idea of restricted elite access to esoteric ritual knowledge of the Flower World. While notched musical rasps likely were used in public ceremonies and other public ritualized contexts in the Casas Grandes world, much as is done in Pueblo societies today, it appears probable that the interment of a human bone rasp represented something much more esoteric in nature, a mortuary practice that appears not to have been made available to people with lower positions in the social hierarchy.

As Rakita (2001: 315-316) noted, by controlling rites that reaffirmed the role of ancestors in the cosmology of the society, “elites [at Paquime] are able to both reinforce community cohesion and affirm their authority roles.” The interment of notched musical rasps with high-status burials in ancient Mesoamerica and northern Mexico may well signify symbolic markers of governance that link elites to responsibility over, or as arbiters of, access to the “road of life”, the flowery road by which the soul and ancestral spirits ascend to the celestial solar paradise and travel along the path of the sun. With one symbolically charged yet simple act of rasping upon a notched stick or bone, the ancestors were, and continue to be, conjured as rain and clouds with the arrival of the Sun Youth at dawn.

Chapter 5:

Flower Road Symbolism and Political Ideology at Paquimé, Chihuahua

“The image of the flowery road, with its prototype in the path of the sun across the heavens, is one of the most widely diffused Flower World metaphors.”

-Jane Hill (1992: 125)

Introduction

Among the key components in the archaeological material culture and symbolism that serves to mark the appearance of the Flower World complex are portrayals of Flower Road. More particularly, the presence of portrayals of the plumed serpent as the symbolic embodiment of the floral solar pathway is a strong indicator for the presence of a suite of ideas that involve both solar and rain symbolism that is closely related to ancestors. In the following chapter, the first portrayals of the plumed or horned serpent as a symbolic Flower Road in the American Southwest or northern Mexico are noted to appear in the symbolism on Chihuahuan polychromes affiliated with the Casas Grandes culture. Though some Flower World imagery does exist in the American Southwest prior to the rise of Paquimé, the appearance of this particular motif in Medio-period symbolism appears to have marked an important cultural and ideological transition point.

Horned and Plumed Serpents and Floral Imagery in the Greater Southwest

The earliest depictions of horned and plumed serpents in material culture of the American Southwest occur on at least seven Classic Mimbres (AD 1000-1150) ceramic vessels from southwest New Mexico, with rare Anasazi examples (VanPool 2003b: 260;

Schaafsma 2001: 139). This distribution coincides with Hays-Gilpin and Hill's (2000: 413) observation that the first firmly dated Flower World imagery that incorporates colorful birds and flowers, though rare, appears in Classic Mimbres Mogollon (AD 1000-1150) material and a cache of ritual objects in a room at Chetro Ketl in Chaco Canyon that dates from AD 1054 to 1116. However, to my knowledge, none of the horned and plumed serpent examples in Mimbres iconography are explicitly associated with flower imagery.

Following the Classic Mimbres period at around AD 1200, "the frequency, geographic distribution, and morphological variation of horned [and] plumed serpent images greatly increases as those images become common on pottery decoration, rock art, and kiva murals", particularly in the Salado and Casas Grandes regions (VanPool 2003b: 263). As is described in Chapter 3, not all Southwestern scholars who examined horned and plumed serpent imagery arrived at the same conclusions regarding the presence or absence of this being in the Salado region.

To date, scholars have identified very few portrayals of flowers in the art of the Salado and Casas Grandes regions (e.g., Crown 1994: 158; Hays-Gilpin and Hill 2000: 418). After the appearance of horned and plumed serpents in the art of the Mimbres culture and the later florescence in the Casas Grandes culture (and perhaps the Salado region), these creatures became more widespread in the iconography of the Pueblo IV period in the Eastern Rio Grande region. Their presence continues in the art and ritual of contemporary Puebloan people (Van Pool 2003b: 267-269; Schaafsma 2001: 143). Following a similar distributional trajectory as horned and plumed serpents, after the

Classic Mimbres period, Flower World imagery appears most predominantly in Casas Grandes art, in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Hopi (Smith 1952) and Rio Grande (Hibben 1975) kiva murals at Awat'ovi, Kawaika'a, and Pottery Mound (Hays-Gilpin and Hill 2000: 413), and in symbolism on certain Pueblo IV-era ceramic traditions (see Chapter 10). Taube (2010c: 104) recently argued that floral medallions that adorn plumed serpent basebands in Pueblo IV kiva murals likely allude to the plumed serpent as Flower Road (**Fig. 2.6b**).

Given that the plumed serpent in Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest is closely related to the concept of the flowery pathway of the sun and esteemed ancestors, it is notable that scholars have yet to identify floral imagery in association with horned or plumed serpents in symbolism on Casas Grandes ceramics or in material culture in high-status contexts at Paquimé, a region where horned and plumed serpent imagery abounds. Furthermore, while Hill (1992) indicated the widespread distribution of the Flower World complex among ancient and contemporary peoples who speak a Uto-Aztecan language, it is notable that Flower World imagery in general has not been securely identified at Paquimé, particularly in light of Curtis Schaafsma's (1997: 92) recent argument that the inhabitants of Paquimé likely spoke a Uto-Aztecan language of the Taracahitan or Sonoran Branch. However, Hays-Gilpin and Hill (1999: 17; 2000: 418) were the first to suggest a limited number of examples of probable flower imagery on Casas Grandes-affiliated Chihuahuan polychromes.

In the preceding discussion, I provided a brief summary of the initial and general distribution of both horned and plumed serpent imagery and Flower World symbolism in

the Greater Southwest. This discussion drew attention to the notion that while floral imagery on the body of plumed serpents appears in the art of Mesoamerica over 2,000 years ago, flower imagery on the body of or in association with plumed or horned serpents, as Taube (2006a) noted, is currently perceived as not appearing in the art of the Greater Southwest perhaps until the fifteenth and sixteenth century in kiva murals depicting plumed or horned serpents at Awat'ovi and Kawaika'a (see Smith 1952: 234-237), as well as in late-nineteenth-century Hopi Soyal altars at Walpi (Fewkes 1898b: plate 1). Notably absent from the literature is a discussion of the possible manifestation of Flower World symbolism and, in particular, the association of flowers with the plethora of horned and plumed serpent images on Casas Grandes-related Chihuahuan Polychromes.

In light of this assessment, an examination of the symbolism of Chihuahuan Polychrome ceramics is necessary in order to determine if Flower World imagery is indeed evident in the corpus of Casas Grandes symbolism. The present chapter concludes that flowers are indeed depicted in the iconography on ceramics and that Flower World symbolism—with a particular emphasis on Flower Road—is an important component of Casas Grandes cosmology. Furthermore, this interpretation, coupled with the contexts in which Flower Road symbolism appears, provides insight into the political ideology at Paquimé that was used by elites to legitimize or reify their social positions. This identification further allows for a more focused interpretation of the predominant and redundant motif of paired macaws and horned and plumed serpents on Casas Grandes ceramics. In essence, this ideology predominantly involved a concern with emergence

traditions centered upon the diurnal passage of the Sun along the flowery pathway of the horned and plumed serpent (see Schaafsma and Taube 2006: 270-271). Finally, this interpretation positions the Casas Grandes culture as a major hearth of Flower World symbolism in the Greater Southwest and strongly suggests that Paquimé played a significant role in the development and dissemination of important aspects of katsina ceremonialism.

Flower Symbolism in the Greater Southwest and Mesoamerica

In a recent study, Hays-Gilpin and Hegmon (2005) noted that depictions of plants and flowers in various media appear relatively late in the archaeology of the prehispanic Southwest. In describing Classic Mimbres (AD 1000-1150) painted ceramic designs, they (ibid.: 92) noted that plant representations are few in number and, when portrayed, are nonspecific as to species but portray simple bushes or flowers with elongated buds, radial petals, or both. Plant and flower depictions appear in the archaeological record more prominently in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century kiva murals and on painted pottery in more naturalistic portrayals, some of which can be identified by species, while other nonnaturalistic depictions of flowers occur quite simply as a colored circle with a central dot (ibid.: 97-98; **Figs. 5.1a-5.1b**)

In an effort to determine if depictions of flowers are evident on Casas Grandes-related ceramics it is first necessary to examine how flowers are portrayed in the art of ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest in order to compare these depictions to motifs on Chihuahuan Polychromes. As symbolism on Casas Grandes

vessels is predominantly geometric, a cursory examination of motifs on these wares suggests that the presence of naturalistic depictions of plants and flowers is negligible. Thus, depictions of flower imagery in the Casas Grandes corpus of symbolism, if present, would likely be abstract or geometric in nature.

To identify abstract or geometric depictions of flowers in the archaeological record, it is useful to briefly identify and discuss examples of flowers depicted in historic and fifteenth- to sixteenth-century kiva murals, pottery, and material culture of the American Southwest in comparison with ancient Mesoamerican floral depictions. As described above, in his analysis of kiva murals at Awat'ovi and Kawaika'a, Smith (1952: 235) noted that a number of floral medallions that lined the mural basebands were "alike in being generally circular and in being subdivided either radially into segments or into concentric rings" (**Fig. 5.2a**). In addition to flowers being depicted as circular elements with concentric rings, Hays-Gilpin and Hegmon (2005: 97-98) pointed out that flowers in these kiva murals were at times depicted quite simply, such as circles with a central dot (**Figs. 5.2b**).

Furthermore, sunflowers portrayed in murals from Pottery Mound are comprised of a circular floral element with tick-marks on the outer border of the flower, coupled with a central dot (**Fig. 5.2c**). A sunflower in a separate Pottery Mound mural is portrayed as a circle with tick marks delineating petals, while the interior of the flower is marked by a central circle (**Fig. 5.2d**). Floral imagery from a Sikyatki vessel is shown as a circle with petal-like elements along the exterior portion of the circle (**Fig. 5.2e**). Finally, Fewkes (1898b: 78) noted a Walpi winter solstice altar in which hundreds of

circular, artificial “cornflowers” on the altar screen were marked with two perpendicular lines in a cross-like shape (**Fig. 5.2f**). The preceding discussion makes clear the point that nonnaturalistic depictions of flowers in the ancient and contemporary American Southwest can be portrayed in a number of forms ranging from quite simple depictions of a circle with a central dot, a circle with concentric rings, a circle with a central dot and peripheral tick-marks, and a circle with a central cross-shaped mark, among other forms.

In ancient Mesoamerica, flowers are at times similarly depicted in a geometric style. Taube (2001: 108-109) noted that portrayals of Olmec flowers take the form of simple circles or circles with a central dot that are coupled with volutes indicating breath or aroma (**Fig. 5.2g-5.2h**). Reiko Ishihara (pers. comm. 2007) drew my attention to an incised bone from the Classic Maya site of Aguateca, Guatemala, that depicts a blossom in which the circular shape of the flower is formed by a series of tick-marks, with the center of the flower marked by a single dot (**Fig. 5.2i**). Adjacent to this blossom is a small bird whose beak projects toward the flower, perhaps a portrayal of a hummingbird sipping the floral nectar.

Examples of flowers from the Early Classic murals of Techinantitla, Teotihuacan, are comprised of a solid central circle with peripheral tick marks, similar in form to flowers from Pottery Mound (**Fig. 5.2j**). Finally, other flowers from Techinantitla are simple circles with a central dot, much like those depicted in murals from Awat’ovi (**Fig. 5.2k**). Flowers in the Late Postclassic highland Central Mexican *Codex Borgia*, portrayed with a central circle and peripheral tick marks, bear a strong resemblance to those examples from Teotihuacan and from Pottery Mound (**Fig. 5.2l**). While I do not suggest

that there is a direct relationship between similar depictions of flowers from sites in such disparate locations in time and space, I do suggest that there is historical precedent in ancient Mesoamerica for depicting flowers in such a simple, geometric format. The manner in which these flowers are illustrated in ancient Mesoamerica and the prehispanic and contemporary American Southwest allows for speculation on the form in which flowers may be depicted in Casas Grandes-related ceramics.

Flower Symbolism on Chihuahuan Polychromes

In the symbolic repertoire of the Casas Grandes culture, a number of circular medallion-like elements similar to those described above appear repeatedly on ceramic vessels (e.g., Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 236, 269, 274, 275, 276; Townsend 2005a: 154, plate 92a; 171, plate 109; Christman 2002: 45). Following Smith's (1952: 227, fig. 18) identification of floral blossoms in kiva murals, I propose a similar model for Casas Grandes ceramics with the suggestion that these circular medallions are geometric depictions of flowers (**Fig. 5.2m**). It is worth noting that, of the "unequivocal" flowers on Chihuahuan Polychromes noted by Hays-Gilpin and Hill (2000: 418), those flowers identified include an example of circular medallions with a central dot and peripheral tick-marks, much like those identified in the present study. According to Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: 281): "Circles appear to be one of the commoner elements found on Ramos Poly. The majority were negative, usually with a central dot, and often with bulls-eyes of one or more concentric rings within them, and sometimes ticked or with pendant dots." These circles, I argue, represent flowers.

With this interpretation in mind, it is essential to understand the layout and context in which these flower blossoms appear in the symbolism. It is important to note that none of these circular elements appear in the discussion of Viejo-period ceramic decorations in the Joint Casas Grandes Project report (Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 21-76). Furthermore, VanPool and VanPool (2007: 19) recently argued that “there is a discontinuity in the ceramic symbolism between the Viejo and the Medio periods . . .” This statement suggests that, prior to the Medio-period florescence of Paquimé, this motif and the proposed underlying meaning of these circular elements likely had little to no importance at the site.

In describing the primary layout of motifs on Casas Grandes ceramics, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: 262) noted that one design variant was comprised of running bands of these circular elements (**Figs. 5.3a-5.3g, 10.5a-10.5d**). In her dissertation research on symbolism of Casas Grandes ceramic designs, VanPool (2003b: 254-256) also noted that these circular motifs appear as zig-zag and v-shaped bands that encircle vessels (**Figs. 5.3c and 5.3e**; see Christman 2002: 56, 183; Powell 2006: pl. 5; Townsend 2005a: pls. 23a, 53b, 77). In her analysis of these elements, VanPool (2003b: 254) pointed out that these running bands of circles often appear on the bodies of horned and plumed serpents as well as on the bodies of regular serpents (**Figs. 5.4a-5.4b, 5.4d-5.4e**; see Christman 2002: 48; Townsend 2005a: pls. 111a, 113b). Some of these running bands are comprised of solid circular motifs with no central dot, a fact that suggests that these may simply be unelaborated versions of the same thematic motif of the horned and plumed serpent body adorned with these circular elements (see Christman 2002: 171;

VanPool and VanPool 2007: 109, fig. 7.1a). The presence of circular medallions, identified here as flowers, on the body of the horned and plumed serpent indicates that the concept of the plumed serpent as a symbolic Flower Road was an important component of Casas Grandes belief systems.

Circular flower motifs, much like those depicted in running bands, are also noted to occur on the tails of plumed serpents in Casas Grandes symbolism (**Figs. 5.4c**). The location of these floral medallions on the body and tail of Casas Grandes plumed serpent provides support for Taube's (2010a: 173) assertion that flowers on the body and tail of plumed serpents in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest effectively mark them as floral roads. Significantly, human faces or figures appear on or adjacent to horned and plumed serpents with these circular floral blossoms on the body (**Figs. 5.4b**). This motif further suggests that probable ancestral spirits in the Casas Grandes world are linked to the floral road of the Sun and the plumed serpent, a being that serves as a vehicle for returning rain spirits.

Notably, similar medallion-like elements with a central dot appear on the zig-zig shaped body of a horned and feathered serpent in rock art from central New Mexico dating from AD 1325 to the mid-AD 1600s (see Schaafsma 2001: 143, fig. 131). Though difficult to draw an ultimate conclusion, these geometric elements may represent simple floral medallions. Situated within the undulations of this horned and feathered serpent is a small human figure (*ibid.*), perhaps an allusion to the role of the plumed serpent as a conveyor of ancestral figures. Running bands of similar circular elements appear in kiva murals at Pottery Mound along the body of a horned and plumed serpent (see Hibben

1975: 48, fig. 34). Likewise, a horned serpent pictograph from Picture Cave in the Hueco area of west Texas depicts the body of the serpent ornamented with similar circular elements from which emerge half-terrace motifs suggestive of clouds or aroma (**Fig. 5.4f-5.4h**). These motifs largely suggest that horned and plumed serpents in Casas Grandes-related ceramics and in later rock art of New Mexico represent Flower Road as a vehicle for ancestral or supernatural beings, much like those depicted in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century kiva murals as described above.

In her analysis of Casas Grandes symbolism, VanPool (2003b: 255) noted that shorthand versions of these running bands of circles also appear on the bodies of human effigy vessels, some of which are human smoker effigies (see images in Christman 2002: 67; Moulard 1984: pl. 81; Townsend 2005a: pl. 29; Townsend 2005b: fig. 27). Furthermore, she (VanPool 2003b: 255) suggested that these abbreviated versions of circular bands are also shorthand versions that represent horned and plumed serpents. The juxtaposition of the ritual act of smoking and imagery evoking the flowery road is important. In Chapter 11, I have identified a number of examples of the breath spirit and clouds on effigy vessels, including on smoker effigies. The presence of this breath and cloud symbolism strongly suggests that the symbolism of cloud and rain-making formed a central component of Flower World ceremonialism in the Casas Grandes world. These ancestral cloud and rain spirits were undoubtedly conveyed back to Casas Grandes communities by the plumed and horned serpent, much as is known in Mesoamerica and among contemporary Pueblo communities today.

In a study a decade ago, Taube (2001) demonstrated that in ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, smoke and fire offerings are closely related to wind, the breath soul, and the conjuring of cloud-bringing spirits. For example, among the Zuni “smoke makes the mist and clouds; you feed them with smoke, you give more flesh to them” (Parsons 1939: 370). Furthermore, Zuni *uwanammi*, or rain priests, usually come to Zuni on the winds (Tedlock 1979: 500). As Taube (2001: 105) indicated, “[b]oth wind and breath are widely identified with the concept of the breath spirit instilled at birth and departing at death.” Moreover, in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, the breath spirit is closely identified with the sun (Taube 2001). For example the Navajo life wind “is the good part of the person, it is part of the sun or dawn and looks like light, and goes back to the sun . . . at death” (Wyman et al. 1942: 15). Zuni also identify the soul with sunlight and breath, “The word for life is *tekohanan e*, literally daylight. The breath is the symbol of life” (Bunzel 1932a: 481: cited in Taube 2001: 106). In Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, wind, smoke, mist, cloud spirits, and the breath spirit are closely intertwined and are intimately related to the eastern dawning sun (Taube 2001). This topic is explored in more depth in Chapter 11.

In Mesoamerica, an essential being in the wind and rain complex is the plumed serpent, the embodiment of life-bringing wind, clouds, and rains (Taube 2001). Similarly, in the American Southwest, the horned and plumed water serpent is also a central component in the Puebloan water and rain complex (ibid.: 116). In light of Taube’s analysis, the juxtaposition on Casas Grandes effigy vessels of symbolism associated with the horned and plumed serpents as a floral road, ritual smoking, and the conjuring of

cloud spirits coupled with an association with wind, the breath soul, and the eastern dawning sun, suggests a close affinity in Casas Grandes cosmology with the Flower World complex in general and the Flower Road in particular as the celestial path of the Sun, gods, and ancestors.

The Road of the Sun in Casas Grandes Symbolism

In a recent study, Schaafsma (2001: 144) noted that the recurrent motifs of macaws and horned serpents in Casas Grandes iconography suggested an important cosmological principle: “More specifically, paired images of macaws and horned serpents on ceramics from Casas Grandes and in Jornada Mogollon rock art suggests a symbolic linkage between the two creatures.” This linkage likely extends to plumed serpents as well (**Figs. 5.5a-5.5d**; also see Townsend 2005a: pl.21b). In fact, the symbolic linkage between these creatures is so significant that macaw and horned and plumed serpent depictions are at times conflated in Casas Grandes iconography. For instance, macaws are occasionally depicted with serpent bodies and plumed serpent-style feathers adorning the head (**Figs. 5.5a-5.5b, 5.5d**). Moreover, imagery of macaws with serpent bodies at times bear the running bands of circular medallions here associated with flowers and Flower Road (**Figs. 5.5a-5.5b**). Significantly, one vessel that portrays macaws as plumed serpents also depicts an anthropomorphic image with a toothed mouth on the tail of these figures (**Fig. 5.5d**). These figures with a toothed mouth, described in more detail in Chapter 12, are commonly identified by scholars as some of the earliest probable manifestations of katsina rain spirits (Hays 2000: 53; Schaafsma 2000b: 68-69).

This identification is important because the combination of macaws, plumed serpents, and katsina imagery on Casas Grandes vessels illustrates among the earliest depictions of the plumed serpent as both the pathway of the sun and as the vehicle for ancestral spirits in the larger region.

In the American Southwest, macaws are closely related to the sun and dawn. For example, Densmore (1938: 148) indicated that, at Santo Domingo Pueblo, “. . . the parrot represents the early morning colors shading into the blue of the sky, and the red and yellow are also colors of the dawn.” Furthermore, at Santo Domingo, the dawn is closely associated with themes concerned with the return of ancestral rain spirits. For example, lyrics from a Santo Domingo Bow and Arrow dance song reported by Densmore (ibid.: 175) state:

Red and yellow colors low down in the east,
At the place where the people lived long ago.
The *shiwana* go there.
There are hardly any more here, no talking, no singing;
But from the east they are coming down, generations of *sichti* and *shiwana*,
Coming down like happy gods.

Given that macaws, both in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, are closely related to the sun (Rizo 1998; Tyler 1979: 16-45), the conflation of macaws and horned and plumed serpents in Casas Grandes symbolism likely alludes to emergence themes associated with the path of the sun and the plumed serpent as the Flowery Road.

Thus, the examples of anthropomorphic toothed figures and human faces on the bodies of these conflated creatures on the Casas Grandes wares likely allude to themes in which rain spirits travel along the conflated “path” of both the sun and the horned and plumed serpent. This interpretation strongly implies that Flower World, and Flower Road

symbolism in particular, was of preeminent importance in the cosmology of people at Paquimé and in related Casas Grandes sites.

Much like the previously described examples of spirit roads on Mimbres ceramics (see **Figs. 2.4e-2.4g**), a number of examples of stepped mountains or clouds with a central spirit road appear in the later symbolic corpus of Medio-period Casas Grandes ceramics and in Pueblo IV and contemporary symbolism of the American Southwest (**Figs. 5.6a-5.6l**). One particular Casas Grandes example merits further discussion. Christman's (2002: 24-25) illustration of an unprovenienced macaw effigy vessel reveals a layout comprised of four directional stepped-cloud or stepped-mountain motifs. The stepped-motif portrayed on the front of the vessel, or near the macaw head, is of particular importance for this discussion (**Fig. 5.7a**). The interior of the stepped element is composed of an alternating dot-in-a-square motif. In recent studies, scholars noted that the dot-in-a-square motif, while encompassing a broad range of related meanings, is also closely related to depictions of maize in Pueblo IV kiva murals (Hays-Gilpin and Hegmon 2005: 101; Webster et al. 2006; **Figs. 5.7d-5.7e**).

In citing the Hopi Dictionary project (1998: 457), Hays-Gilpin and Hegmon (2005: 101) noted that the dot-in-a-square motif is identified as *qa'öveni*, or corn-markings, among contemporary Hopi peoples (**Figs. 5.7f-5.7g**). Webster and colleagues (2006: 338) also drew attention to accounts of the Hopi of First Mesa where the dot-in-a-square represents the *cö'-n ta*, the "living germ in the heart of the kernel" (Fewkes and Stephen 1892a: 241). Assuming that this identification holds true for Casas Grandes iconography, the dot-in-a-square motif on this particular Casas Grandes macaw effigy

vessel likely alludes to an affinity between the stepped mountain or cloud element, the central spirit path, and maize.

In addition to probable maize affiliations, the central “spirit path” of this stepped element contains both a circular medallion along with the protruding head of a macaw (**Fig. 5.7a**). In his studies of Awat’ovi kiva murals, Smith (1952: fig. 18kk-qq) identified a number of geometric depictions of floral medallions. As described above, in the present study I proposed that similar geometric circular medallions in Casas Grandes symbolism also should be identified as flowers (**Fig. 5.2m**). In this regard, I suggested that flowers are depicted in Casas Grandes art primarily in geometric forms consisting of circles with a central dot, circles with concentric rings, and a circle with a central dot and peripheral tick-marks, among other forms. In light of this identification, the geometric circular medallion with the central dot and peripheral tick marks set within the central spirit-path in question can be considered as a representation of a flower, thus effectively marking this spirit path as a Flower Road (see Taube 2006a).

As the central “spirit path” is marked as a floral road, it is noteworthy that the macaw head is placed squarely within the flowery spirit path. This placement is important in that scholars have long noted that macaws are closely identified with the Sun and the dawn both in the American Southwest and in Mesoamerica (Rizo 1998; Thompson and Brown 2006; Tyler 1979: 16-45). The placement of both the macaw and the flower within the central “spirit road” likely alludes to a Casas Grandes cosmology centered upon the birth and diurnal passage of the sun along the Flower Road. In addition, this particular motif may well signify a symbolic Flower Mountain.

The appearance of a protruding macaw head in association with floral medallions on Casas Grandes vessels is not unique to a single vessel. A cursory examination of Medio-period symbolism revealed other examples where macaw heads appear to emerge from geometric, circular floral elements. One unprovenienced vessel illustrated by Christman (2002: 26) portrays a macaw head apparently emerging from a single floral element that is situated within a running band of these medallions. As noted above, these running bands of medallions likely represent the body of the plumed serpent as a “Flower Road.” Thus, this motif probably alludes to both the emergence of the Sun from a central conduit or “spirit path” as well as to the passage of the sun along a floral pathway. Two separate examples depict a macaw head emerging from a probable floral medallion (**Figs. 5.7b-5.7c**).

The position of a macaw head, a creature associated with the sun, emerging from a flower-like element recalls Taube’s (2010a) argument that the placement of deities or ancestral figures within the center of a flower in ancient Mesoamerican art likely denotes a symbolic emergence through a central conduit (**Figs. 5.7h-5.7j**). The placement of these figures within a flower undoubtedly refers to their ritual role as the aromatic essence of the blossom. The association of the deceased with flowers among the Hopi was noted in an account recorded by Voth (1905: 112) whereby the souls of deceased chiefs reside within flower blossoms, a placement that suggests a connection between high-status and flowers: “That deceased chief and three other chiefs were living in blossoms that were standing one after the other.” These “blossoms” may well also be conceptually equated with clouds, which are often referred to in the ethnographic literature as “cloud-flowers”.

On a related note, Taube (2010a: 162-171) and Thompson (1950: 142) drew attention to the presence of similar concepts among the Maya whereby the sun emerges from a flower. Based upon Yucatec Maya oral traditions and written in the Maya language after the Spanish Conquest, a passage in the *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* noted that the sun was set within a flower: “four-fold [or four-branched] was the plate of the flower, and Ah Kin Xocbiltun [i.e. the sun god] was set in the center” (in Taube 2010a: 162). These shared associations among people in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest suggest that the Casas Grandes motif of the macaw head emerging from a probable floral medallion likely alludes to the emergence of the sun from the Middle Place. This interpretation provides further support for the proposition that Casas Grandes cosmology is primarily focused upon the widespread and ancient Flower World complex.

The Context of Flower Road Symbolism at Paquimé

VanPool (2003b: 337) indicated that the continuous zig-zag band of circular elements is a rare motif on ceramic vessels excavated at the site of Paquimé. For instance, she (ibid.) noted: “Of the 238 Ramos Polychrome vessels excavated from Paquimé, only three geometric vessels have this serpent band motif” (ibid.). While VanPool proposed that the zig-zag variant is a rather rare motif, I have noted in my examination of museum collections that house Chihuahuan Polychromes that this motif occurs on a number of Casas Grandes wares, including those not excavated at Paquimé. I consider the zig-zag running band of flowers and the straight running band of flowers to reflect essentially the same ideological meaning centered upon Flower Road.

In their volume dedicated to Casas Grandes ceramics, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: 262, 266, 273, 276, 298, 316) depict at least seven vessels from the Medio period excavated from Paquimé with the running band design, though not necessarily of the perhaps more rare zig-zag variant. This count of running bands of floral motifs does not even take into regard those Casas Grandes vessels that have individual circular floral motifs. Three Casas Grandes vessels excavated at Paquimé with the motif of a zig-zag running band of flowers motif are anomalous in that they are unusually large (40-50 cm) elite-related burial urns, two of which were found in highly important ritual contexts. One was found in the House of the Walk-in Well and two were found in the Mound of the Offerings (VanPool 2003b: 337). The fact that three vessels of this size were used as burial urns in the Mound of the Offerings, which is the site of the burials of the highest-status elites at Paquimé, suggests that the large vessel found in the House of the Walk-in Well was also intended as a burial urn.

The vessel from the House of the Walk-in Well bears symbolism that is particularly important for this study. Aside from the presence of the zig-zag serpentine form of the Flower Road motif, this vessel also portrays human figures ensconced within the serpentine undulations of the floral road (**Figs. 5.5e**; see photo in Powell 2006: fig. 2.9). This layout, although not directly related, is strikingly similar in layout and meaning to much earlier Flower World imagery in Mesoamerica of plumed serpents as Flower Road and as conveyors of supernatural beings (see **Figs. 2.5a-2.5f**). For example, a similar scene of individuals being conveyed upon the body of an undulating plumed serpent occurs on the famed Pyramid of the Feathered Serpent from the Epiclassic site of

Xochicalco, Morelos. In this scene, Maya nobles are situated within the undulations of plumed serpent bodies that are ornamented with conch shells, the symbolic embodiment of wind (see **Fig. 2.5e**). Set within the context of the Flower World complex, it is probable that this design on the urns of Casas Grandes elites was intended to convey the same ideological message.

The Mound of the Offerings at Paquimé, a prominent central platform mound, was the site of an elaborate mortuary complex containing the secondary interment of the highest-status elites in large burial urns (see Ravesloot 1988: 24-26, figs. 4.2 and 4.4). Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 8: 372) suggested that these three remains likely constituted founding elites at Paquimé, though this conclusion remains to be verified. An alternate scenario is that these high-status individuals were important historical figures who lived sometime during the trajectory of Paquimé's centuries-long existence, though not necessarily the founders. That these remains were found within a ritual compound designed for continual reentry suggests that the remains of these ancestral figures were important figureheads, perhaps oracles, late in Paquimé's existence. Whatever the case may be, of the three burial urns in the Mound of the Offerings, two bore the running band of circles identified in the present study as Flower Road (see images in Ravesloot 1988: 26-27, figs. 4.3 and 4.5b). Thus, three of the four elite burial urns found at Paquimé were decorated with Flower Road symbolism. VanPool (2003b: 338) drew similar conclusions in noting that "the association of serpent banding with these individuals (two males and a female) indicates that serpent symbolism was associated with leadership at Paquimé."

Clearly, reverential people at Paquimé sought to affiliate deceased elite individuals with imagery evocative of the flowery solar road.

In the preceding discussion, I sought to demonstrate that Flower Road symbolism in the form of running bands of circular floral medallions was closely related to elites at Paquimé. The association of Flower Road imagery on the burial urns of the highest-status elites suggests that political ideology at Paquimé likely involved leaders claiming unique access to ritual knowledge pertaining to Flower World as a means to legitimize and justify their social position and actions. While the identification of Flower Road imagery on Casas Grandes ceramics is important, this interpretation also provides insight into the predominant motifs of macaws and horned and plumed serpents in Casas Grandes symbolism as likely being concerned with the emergence and diurnal path of the Sun.

Discussion

In this chapter, I drew from an increasing body of recent research by scholars focused upon the widespread and ancient Flower World complex evident in ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica and the American Southwest. This work serves as a foundation by which to study and examine iconography on Casas Grandes ceramic vessels for evidence of Flower World imagery. Current research to date suggested that Flower World symbolism was nearly absent in the material culture of the American Southwest prior to AD 1300, after which a florescence of Flower World imagery appeared across the Pueblo world. While few studies examined the role of the Casas Grandes culture in the spread of Flower World and katsina ceremonialism, the present

analysis strongly suggests that Paquimé was an important locus for the development and dissemination of fundamental aspects of religious beliefs and practices in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest.

An important aspect of the Flower World complex is the identification of the plumed serpent as the flowery road or pathway of the sun, gods, and noble ancestors. In this regard, plumed serpents in Mesoamerica are at times depicted with images of flowers adorning the body and tail. In the material culture of the American Southwest, imagery of horned and plumed serpents and flowers follow a similar distributional trajectory in that they both first appear during the Classic Mimbres period around AD 1000, although it is important that flowers have not been specifically noted to appear on the bodies of these examples of horned and plumed serpents. Though horned and plumed serpents are prominent in Casas Grandes symbolism, depictions of associated flower imagery had until now remained unidentified.

The comparative analysis of flower imagery in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest resulted in the development of a proposed model for the identification of flowers in Casas Grandes iconography. From the conclusions of this analysis, it is notable that geometric depictions of flowers during the Medio period encompass a variety of forms, ranging from simple circles with a central dot, to circles with perpendicular crossed lines, to circles with tick-marks around the periphery. Notably, variations of these circular floral elements often appear as running bands on the bodies of horned and plumed serpents and are noted to adorn plumed serpent tails in some instances. This identification is in concordance with Taube's (2006a) argument that plumed serpents are

conflated with the Flower Road in Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest. Significantly, human faces and toothed figures associated with katsina ceremonialism also appear on the body and tail of some Casas Grandes plumed serpents, thus providing further support for the argument that plumed serpents are a vehicle for ancestral beings.

Running bands of circular floral motifs are not solely restricted to the bodies of plumed and horned serpents. This motif is also present on the bodies of macaw-headed serpents, suggesting the conflation of macaws and plumed serpents as a solar floral road. Furthermore, the depiction of early katsina imagery on the tail of a conflated macaw and plumed serpent in one example provides further insight into the meaning of the predominant motif of macaws and horned and plumed serpents in the Medio-period Casas Grandes symbolic corpus. As macaws are closely affiliated with the sun in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, the conflation of macaws and horned and plumed serpents suggests that cosmology at Paquimé was centered upon the emergence and daily passage of the sun along the flowery pathway of the plumed serpent, the conduit for the arrival of the returning katsina rain spirits.

The context in which the Flower Road motif appears in the archaeological record at Paquimé is significant for understanding the political ideology of this site. The use of Flower Road imagery on the burial urns of the highest-status elites in the Mound of the Offerings at Paquimé indicates that leaders were intimately affiliated with Flower Road symbolism. This suggests that restricted elite access to ritual knowledge associated with the Flower World complex was important in the legitimization and justification of elite political and socioreligious positions at Paquimé.

Significantly, the ceremonial significance of notched musical rasps in Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest supports this conclusion. In Chapter 4, I argued that notched musical rasps are also small-scale cosmological models of Flower Road. The interment of notched musical rasps in the burials of nobles and rulers in ancient Mesoamerica suggests that these highly charged ritual objects are symbolic markers of elite governance that signify a special access to, or relationship with, the flowery solar road. I argued that in the Greater Southwest, the extraordinarily unique interment of a notched human bone musical rasp in the burial chambers of the highest-status elites in the Mound of the Offerings at Paquimé also signified a highly charged, and politically significant, symbolic relationship to Flower Road. Thus, the affiliation of elite burials with Flower Road symbolism both in the symbolism on burial urns and in the interment of a notched musical rasp reinforces the conclusion that political ideology at Paquimé was centered upon the Mesoamerican-inspired Flower World complex.

Conclusion

In the present chapter, I argued that the Mesoamerican-inspired political ideology at Paquimé, Chihuahua was predominantly focused upon Flower World symbolism and rites. Prior to the Medio-period florescence of Paquimé, there is very limited, if any, evidence in the symbolism that this ritual complex that involved macaws and plumed serpents developed *in situ* at Paquimé.

As noted by a number of scholars, there appears to be a significant disjunction in fundamental cosmological principles between the Viejo and Medio periods at Paquimé

and in the Casas Grandes region. The present study of symbolism on Casas Grandes ceramics supports this assessment. This conclusion suggests that elites at Paquimé during the Medio period were intimately familiar with specific Mesoamerican-inspired religious beliefs and practices not fully evident prior to AD 1200. The identification of Flower World and Flower Road imagery on Casas Grandes ceramics positions Paquimé as a central locus for the dramatic changes in the social, political, and religious organization that occurred across the Pueblo world in the American Southwest within one hundred years or so after the florescence of Paquimé.

Chapter 6:

“The Son of God who is in the Sun”: Political Authority and the Personified Sun God in Ancient West and Northwest Mexico

“It is believed that . . . a group of sophisticated Mesoamerican merchants came into the valley of the Casas Grandes and inspired the indigenous Chichimecans to build the city of Paquimé over portions of an older Viejo Period village . . . These organizers . . . may have come from somewhere along the Pacific coast of Mexico . . .”

-Charles C. Di Peso (1974: 2: 290)

“Accordingly, it would be concordant with what we are beginning to understand about Mesoamerica, as well as the ethnographic pueblo world to the north, if a ‘cacique’ . . ., with the essential religious objects that declared his right to rule and his accompanying priests and other retainers, moved into the Casas Grandes valley and precipitated the development of Paquimé. Such a leader and his entourage may well have come from the Durango area . . . or from the sophisticated cultures of the Pacific coast.”

-Curtis F. Schaafsma and Carroll L. Riley (1999c: 248)

Introduction

Over the last century, perhaps the most provocative and ongoing debate among scholars studying the archaeology of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest is that which seeks to clarify the nature and extent of cultural interaction and integration between peoples in the two broad regions. After AD 1200, the archaeological site at the center of this debate is Paquimé (or Casas Grandes), a site with strong Mesoamerican and Southwestern characteristics located in far northern Chihuahua, Mexico. While most scholars agree that Paquimé was the most socially hierarchical and politically complex site in the entire history of the ancient Southwest, the topic of foremost concern remains whether this polity developed *in situ* from local processes or whether external or direct

interaction by people from Mesoamerican cultural traditions stimulated this cultural florescence.

Also of critical concern is understanding the role that Paquimé (AD 1200-1450) played in transmitting Mesoamerican religious beliefs, if at all, into the Southwest during the Pueblo IV period (AD 1300-1600), an era that encompassed significant changes in religion, sociopolitical organization, artistic traditions, architecture, evidence of heightened warfare, and population migration. The study of ancient religion and symbolism in these regions is a useful means for clarifying the extent to which Mesoamerican ideas are present in the Casas Grandes region and subsequently in the American Southwest.

In this chapter, I again consider a unique motif in the symbolic repertoire of ceramic traditions in northern Mexico, the portrayal of human males wearing a scarlet macaw headdress (see **Figs. 2.5a-2.5f**). In Chapter 2, this motif, unique to the Casas Grandes region in far northern Mexico, was identified as a representation of the young Mesoamerican solar deity Xochipilli dressed as a scarlet macaw. This deity at Paquimé served as the prototype for the widespread solar deity Payatamu in the American Southwest, who also wears a macaw-feathered headdress and who shares many of the same character traits with the young solar deity in highland Central Mexico.

Despite the remarkable similarities to the solar deity Xochipilli, in preceding chapters I alluded to the probability that the ideas and attributes that comprise this deity in the Casas Grandes region, and the form of social organization in which he is worshipped, probably were derived directly from West Mexico. The present chapter

expands upon this discussion and argues that these portrayals on Chihuahuan polychromes likely represent not simply a Mesoamerican solar deity, but a paramount ritual leader at Paquimé dressed as a personified young sun god, a political position situated within a form of social organization that has its direct roots in sociopolitical organization in the Aztatlán region of West Mexico. Data derived from archaeology, ethnohistory, ethnography, and indigenous oral traditions add further substance to the argument that a high-status ritual leader and other individuals from within the Aztatlán culture of West Mexico established themselves at Paquimé and introduced a new form of solar worship centered on the sun god Xochipilli and the political office of Sun King.

Past Interpretations of Sociopolitical Organization in the Casas Grandes Region

Among the major tenets of Charles C. Di Peso's excavation at Paquimé and the subsequent interpretation was the idea that Toltec merchants founded the site as a Mesoamerican mercantile center (Di Peso 1974; Di Peso et al. 1974). Notably, re-dating of the site refuted Di Peso's position and clarified that Paquimé was not contemporaneous with the Toltec capital of Tula (Dean and Ravesloot 1993). The argument for direct intrusion by any Mesoamerican people, or even the idea that foreign people from the south in any context were present at the site, has continued to find its critics. As Whalen and Minnis (2000: 169) noted, Charles Di Peso saw Paquimé as a "highly centralized polity governed by powerful, hereditary rulers of foreign descent" from Mesoamerica. Di Peso's model explained the authority of these rulers as being partly derived from economic control and command of specific Mesoamerican ritual

complexes. The presence or absence of various Mesoamerican deities, motifs, or ritual practices both in northern Mexico and the American Southwest remains a matter of debate (Adams 1991a; Cobb et al. 1999; McGuire 1980: 24-26; McKusick 2001; Riley 2005; Schaafsma 1999, 2001; VanPool 2003b).

More recently, Whalen and Minnis (2000: 172) took issue with Di Peso's position and considered Casas Grandes to have been a polity that is "far from being egalitarian and at the same time lack[s] strong and enduring institutions of authority" (Minnis et al. 2006: 707). They (Whalen and Minnis 2000: 174) concluded their assessment:

To this point, we have questioned the traditional model of institutionalized and highly centralized local and regional leadership based on a formal, hierarchical set of statuses and roles and operating within the communal context of craft guilds and Mesoamerican-style religious cults at Casas Grandes.

Since Di Peso's original interpretations, a minority contingent of scholars, like voices in the wilderness, have proposed that the most prominent alternative conceptualization of Mesoamerican influence involved interaction and integration of Paquimé with then-contemporaneous Aztatlán societies of West Mexico (Foster 1989, 1999; Kelley 2000). Despite the detailed and provocative conclusions, their arguments have drawn little attention from Southwestern and Northwest Mexican scholars. In recent prominent reassessments of the origin and nature of the Casas Grandes culture (e.g., Whalen and Minnis 2001b, 2009), the Aztatlán tradition and archaeological data from this region drew only passing mention. However, in my estimation it is an understatement to conclude that the integration of data from the Aztatlán region is crucial to our understanding of the rise of the Casas Grandes culture.

Models of Sociopolitical Organization at Paquimé

In the last decade, two competing perspectives of Casas Grandes sociopolitical organization have polarized this ongoing debate. On the one hand, Whalen and Minnis (2001b) argued that elites at Paquimé used Mesoamerican symbols of power and “ideologically-based legitimizing strategies” in forming and perpetuating the social and political hierarchy. This strategy involved the control of some aspects of Mesoamerican ceremonialism, symbolism, and ritual knowledge. The concept of elite appropriation of symbols for purposes of political legitimization was detailed by Kertzer (1988). In essence, they (Whalen and Minnis 2001b: 188, 199) argued that the presence of Mesoamerican motifs represented the success of local political entrepreneurs in obtaining knowledge of distant symbols and beliefs and fusing them with a base of locally developed style into a ritually based political ideology. Their conclusions suggest a profoundly local origin for the Casas Grandes phenomenon.

A diametrically opposed model proposed by Schaafsma and Riley (1999b; 1999c) recognized that Mesoamerican polities often focused upon a single person, a cacique or sacred leader, or family as having the ritually sanctioned right to rule. Their “Cacique Model” (ibid.: 199c: 248) proposed that:

. . . [A] cacique . . . and his accompanying priests and retainers moved into the Casas Grandes valley and precipitated the development of Paquimé. Such a leader and his entourage may well have come from the Durango area . . . or from the sophisticated cultures of the Pacific coast.

In other words, their position maintains that the possible presence of an Aztatlán-tradition ritual leader at Paquimé involved this ruler situating himself at the apex of the Casas

Grandes socioreligious hierarchy as the primary force behind the development of the site during the Medio Period.

Indigenous Puebloan Oral Histories and the Casas Grandes Region

As noted in Chapter 1, some archaeologists consider oral traditions and ethnographic analogies to be incompatible with scientific analyses. However, a number of oral traditions in the Southwest, such as the Hopi Palatkwapi traditions and the Zuni origin traditions of Payatamu, strongly suggest a southern origin of specific deities and clans (see Chapters 2 and 12). Likewise, in the Casas Grandes region, the Montezuma stories clearly indicate a lasting local and regional belief that a powerful ritual leader arrived into the Casas Grandes valley and helped guide the main construction of the site (see Chapters 2 and 9). These accounts are essential to our understanding of past social change in the larger region.

To understand from where such an individual or group of migrating clans of southern origin would most likely have come, one must examine the archaeology, history, and religion of cultural groups and regions to the south for evidence of a comparable system of beliefs that was evident earlier in time and that was also centered upon the Sun God and Flower World. Ideally, the identification of similar belief systems should include evidence for the existence of polities with politico-religious hierarchies centered upon a leader as a personified young Sun God, a living representation of Xochipilli. When narrowing down the options for identifying the most probable location of origin of

the Sun Youth and the concept of Sun King in the Casas Grandes culture, one must focus on areas where there is clear evidence for interaction between contemporary societies.

For Paquimé, the most obvious prominent cultural region and source of origin would be the then-contemporaneous Aztatlán societies of West Mexico (see Chapters 7 and 8). As J. Charles Kelley (2000: 151) noted over a decade ago: “The only probable Mesoamerican source for the conversion of Paquimé into the center . . . of a major interaction sphere lies in the Mixteca-Puebla and Late Aztatlán development west and east of the Sierra Madre Occidental.” Given this observation, it is instructive to examine the ethnographic record, historical documentary sources, and archaeological material culture from this larger region to the south in order to discern evidence for Xochipilli worship and Flower World ceremonialism.

Solar Worship in Ancient and Contemporary West Mexico

The Sun Youth Xochipilli in West Mexico

Scholars generally agree that Paquimé was the most politically hierarchical polity in the ancient Southwest and northern Mexico. As I proposed in earlier chapters, while Casas Grandes cosmology was centered upon the young Sun God derived from knowledge of the Mesoamerican solar deity Xochipilli, the portrayals of macaw-headed men on Chihuahuan polychromes may actually depict a singular individual of paramount importance, a high-status ritual leader, or cacique, dressed as a personified macaw-headed Sun God. Though this solar deity has ultimate origins in highland Central and Southern Mesoamerica, it is clear that the only manner in which this knowledge could

have been transmitted to Paquimé at this time was via the Aztatlán societies of West Mexico (see Kelley 2000: 151).

The following discussion focuses upon identifying the core region in West Mexico from where knowledge and worship of the Sun Youth in the Casas Grandes region was first obtained. Archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic data reviewed within this discussion shed light on the religious beliefs of contemporary Cora and Huichol, among the probable descendants of Aztatlán people (see map in Furst 2003: xii). As described below, these data indicate that worship of the solar deity Xochipilli is of great antiquity in West Mexico, though likely dating no earlier than the onset of the Postclassic period. This larger cultural region, particularly the Aztatlán hearth of coastal Nayarit and southern Sinaloa, is the probable direct Mesoamerican intellectual source of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth and a new form of political organization centered upon the paramount office of Sun King.

When seeking to identify portrayals of the highland Central Mexican solar deity Xochipilli in Northwest Mexican symbolism and material culture, it should be recalled that during the prehispanic period there was no single standardized manner in which this deity should always be represented. For example, in highland Central Mexico, Xochipilli is known to have been portrayed (1) as a human male wearing a scarlet macaw headdress, (2) as an unmasked young man playing a flute inside a solar temple, (3) as part of a group of clown-like figures (in his form as Macuilxochitl) with a hand-print at times painted across the mouth and, perhaps most pertinent for the immediate discussion, (4) as a kneeling or seated human wearing a distinctive crested headdress with two or three

tassels appending to the headdress. This latter portrayal is important for discerning representations of Xochipilli in ancient West Mexico.

Notably, two alabaster or travertine vases from Postclassic-period southern Sinaloa likely represent one manner of depicting the solar deity Xochipilli in West Mexico (**Figs. 6.1a-6.1b**). With his distinctive seated figural position, head crest, and tasseled head ornaments, these two prehispanic figures are identical to the way Xochipilli is sometimes depicted in the stone sculpture or ceramic effigies of the Postclassic period in the Valley of Mexico and the Huastec region of Veracruz (**Figs. 6.1c-6.1f**). Though originally thought to represent the Sun God Tonatiuh, a gold pectoral from the Postclassic site of Zaachila in the Valley of Oaxaca bears a portrayal of a seated Xochipilli with tasseled headdress (absent the crest) and depicted as a personified bell, a fitting portrayal for the God of Music (see Aguilar et al. 1989: 165). Karl Taube (pers. comm. 2010) drew my attention to a similar unprovenienced alabaster or travertine vessel, likely from highland Central Mexico, that depicts this same deity with crested headdress, tasseled head, and a kneeling posture (see Fuhrmann 1923: 5).

Though these West Mexican effigies bear clear examples of Xochipilli, the lack of provenience information and archaeological context makes it unclear if these vessels date from the Early or Late Postclassic period. It is possible that these date to the Early Postclassic. Among the earliest portrayals of this version of Xochipilli with the characteristic crested headdress and tasseled head ornaments in Mesoamerica are those on Toltec-related Early Postclassic Tohil Plumbate vessels. In her study of Plumbate wares, Shepard (1948: fig. 21b, 21c, 22h, 27d, 27e, 27y) illustrated a few examples of this

figure, one with the *oyoualli* rattle design characteristic of Macuilxochitl/Xochipilli, from Tonacatepeque and Guayabal in El Salvador and Chipal in Guatemala. Karl Taube (pers. comm. 2010) drew my attention to one Plumbate vessel with this Xochipilli-like figure, similar in form to one portrayed by Shepard (1948: fig. 21b), that is said to be from Uaymil, Campeche (see Columbus Museum of Art 1980: 58).

Though no examples of this Xochipilli-like figure on Plumbate wares have yet been recovered from West Mexico, it is notable that the northernmost extent of the trade of Tohil Plumbate extended to Nayarit, the same region in which Xochipilli-worship was established in West Mexico. Furthermore, in the same region of West Mexico during this era, locally made but Toltec-style Mazapan figurines were manufactured at Aztatlán sites (see Solar et al. 2011). With regards to the presence of Plumbate wares in Postclassic West Mexico, Lumholtz (1902: 295-299, pl. 7) reported what was then a recently looted Plumbate turkey effigy vessel from Tepic, Nayarit, that closely resembles one recorded by Shepard (1948: fig. 16e). Another Plumbate crocodile effigy vessel of unknown local provenience is housed in the Museo Regional de Nayarit in Tepic (Mauricio Garduño Ambriz, pers. comm. 2008). It should be noted here that the archaeology of the Aztatlán tradition remains in its infancy, and more examples of Xochipilli in the material culture may yet be recovered *in situ* such that dating of these artifacts and portrayals is more conclusively refined. Suffice it to say, portraits of the Sun God Xochipilli in West Mexico on travertine vessels in all probability date no earlier than the onset of the Postclassic period.

Considering that ideas of the Sun Youth may well have been transmitted during the same period and along the same routes of exchange in which Tohil Plumbate wares began appearing in West Mexico, it is useful to describe the Tohil Plumbate horizon. Briefly, Plumbate wares, in particular the very finely crafted Tohil Plumbate, are a type of lead-glazed pottery produced at the onset of the Postclassic period in kilns on the Southern Pacific coastal plain near the Guatemala-Mexico border (Neff 1984; 1989a; 1989b; 2002; Neff and Bishop 1988). These vessels were widely traded across Mesoamerica in the Early Postclassic period.

The rarity of glazed wares in Mesoamerica is evident in Coe and Koontz's (2002: 160) assessment that Tohil Plumbate wares were "one of the very few true glazed ceramics of the pre-Spanish Western Hemisphere." This pottery was one of the most common foreign trade wares recovered from Tula and may have been crafted with Toltec tastes in mind (*ibid.*: 169). Lee (1978) characterized the distribution of Tohil Plumbate as being closely tied to elite-oriented commerce and Toltec merchants. The presence of Tohil Plumbate wares in Nayarit in the Early Postclassic is important because it demonstrates the great distance to which material culture, and perhaps ideas, were disseminated, particularly along the Pacific coastal regions (Smith and Berdan 2003: 22; Kelley 1995: 106-107).

Although it is impossible to say whether southern Pacific coastal people, perhaps as traders, were physically present in parts of West Mexico at this time, it is notable that the onset of the Postclassic period in West Mexico also marked the onset of the appearance of glaze-ware technology in the same general region in West Mexico where

the lead-glazed Plumbate vessels were found (see Weigand 1975). It is conspicuous that this region in West Mexico is also the area in which the worship of Xochipilli flourished in the Postclassic period (see below and Chapters 7 and 8).

Might the technological knowledge for producing glazed wares in West Mexico during the Postclassic period have originated with people from farther south along the coastal trade routes? In turn, might this technological knowledge then have been transmitted later into the American Southwest, as Weigand (1975) and I (see Chapter 10) suggest? It appears to be the case that the beginning of Xochipilli worship in West Mexico has its roots in the expanding trade networks of the Early Postclassic period.

Contact-period West Mexican ethnohistoric documents indicate that Xochipilli was a major deity for people living in a large region encompassing parts of modern Nayarit, Jalisco, Zacatecas, Durango and southern Sinaloa. The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, which dates to around AD 1560, depicts a toponym for a town named “Xochipilla” (**Fig. 6.2a**). The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* documents the Spanish incursions into, and conquest of, indigenous towns in West Mexico in the company of indigenous Tlaxcalan mercenaries. The image accompanying the town name Xochipilla depicts a young boy holding marigold flowers. The toponym, perhaps portraying the modern town of Juchipila, Zacatecas, is clearly related to the deity Xochipilli as the image portrays the male child deity as a being associated with marigold flowers, a probable reference to an identity as the God of Flowers.

In other examples, the *Ortelius Map* of AD 1579 depicts two town names of “Suchipila” in West Mexico, one in southern Zacatecas and another in present-day

Jalisco to the west of modern Guadalajara (see map in Weigand and García de Weigand 2000: fig. 3). A more recently published map that illustrates the location of some communities that existed at the moment of Spanish contact in the AD 1530s depicts one town named “Xuchipil” that is located near Ixtlán del Río in southeastern Nayarit, likely now known as the town of Aguacatlán. (see map in Anguiano 1992: Map 9). The Contact-period document *La Vistación de 1525*, a manuscript detailing the exploration of parts of Jalisco and Nayarit, describes Aguacatlán as being divided into a bipartite government with one half of the town named Xochipilli (Arroyo Arámbul 2001: 35; Llamas Guerrero and Arroyo Arámbul 2006: 21).

In addition to these towns, Francisco Samaniega (pers. comm. 2009), an ethnohistorian and archaeologist at Centro INAH-Nayarit, informed me that along the southern coast of Nayarit the contact-period name of the town of Zacualpan, located to the west of the modern city of Compostela, was named “Xochipilli”. Barlow and Smisor (1943: 54, fn. 60) indicated that these town names (and deity) are likely Prehispanic in origin as incoming friars would never have allowed new towns to be named after an indigenous deity.

Along the northern Pacific coast of Nayarit, in the native province of Acaponeta, the most important deity was named Piltzintli (Tello 1968 [1652]: 33-36; see map in Anguiano 1992: Map 9). In a mid-seventeenth-century account from Nayarit, the name Piltzintli was said to mean “[the] Son of God who is in the sky and in the sun” (McCarty and Matson: 204). The Sun God Piltzintli was apparently known by a number of different names that meant the same thing, including the names Nayarit, Nayali, Zapacucati,

Xucati, Tapac, and Huaimani (ibid.: 203-204). Notably, the reference to the name Xucati as being an equivalent name for Piltzintli is relevant, and likely is an alternative spelling of the name Zeucat, or in the Cora lexicon as *X+ká*.

In a relatively recent study of Cora ceremonialism, Coyle (2001: 80) noted that one Cora surname “Zeucat” or “*X+ká*” meant “Sun”. Elsewhere, Coyle (ibid.: 39) pointed out that the name *X+ká* was a manifestation of the deity Tayáu, or “Our Father”. At the beginning of Cora mitote ceremonies, the ceremonial elder is said to stand in the mitote ceremonial grounds and face east while awaiting the arrival of the Morning Star and the Sun *X+ká* (ibid.: 39). Thus, as the name Piltzintli is rarely if ever used in contemporary Cora ethnographies, it is most probable that contemporary references to Tayáu in effect ultimately refer to the young solar deity Piltzintli known from the Prehispanic and Historic periods. This affiliation with Piltzintli likely is also the case for the Huichol names Tayau, Tao, Tau, or Tayaupá that are variously used to identify the Sun God.

For cultures in highland Central Mexico, the eminent Mesoamerican scholar Eduard Seler (1990-1998: 3: 265) indicated that the name “Piltzintecuhtli [Piltzintli] is but another name for Xochipilli.” Given that the name “Xochipilla” and Piltzintli both appear in the ethnohistoric literature of West Mexico, it is likely that these names are interchangeable in this region as well, as both refer to the young solar deity. The deity Piltzintli in West Mexico, said to be a “child god”, was also worshipped in the form of a statue near Sentispac in coastal northern Nayarit and by Totorame, Tepehuan, and Tzayahueca peoples in southern Sinaloa, northern Nayarit, and southern Durango

(Anguiano 1992: chart 7; see map in Anguiano 1992: Map 9). According to Tello (1968 [1652]: 33-43, 142), “. . . y el Dios que adoraban era una estatua, hecha a manera de un hombre, el qual llamaban Teopiltzintli, que quiere decir niño dios, que es el guío a sus antepasados quando los trajo de Atztatlán [sic] para que poblasen aquellas tierras . . .” Tello’s passage indicates that Piltzintli was an important deity and guide for ancestors when they populated the lands along the coastal plain of northern Nayarit from Atztatlán, likely a reference to the Aztatlán province known at contact along the coast.

Ortega (1944 [1754]: 19) similarly reported the worship of a stone idol representing the foremost deity known as “Father of the Living”, an idol said to have been made by the sun with the spirit of the sun still said to reside within the idol. An illustration of a Cora solar calendar recorded in Nayarit in AD 1673 depicts the name of the eastern solar deity as either “Piltzintli” or “Piltzintcli”(Figs. 6.2b, 6.3). This association of Piltzintli with the east is identical to that known for the solar deity Piltzintecuhli in Late Postclassic highland Central Mexico where he is portrayed on Page 1 of the *Codex Fejervary-Mayer* in the eastern directional realm along with a sun and a quetzal bird, a sacred bird of the east. As late as the early twentieth century, Leon Diguët (1903: 19) identified a stone figure from Cocolan (Cocula), Jalisco, as a representation of a deity named Teopiltzintli, the principal deity of indigenous people across Jalisco and Nayarit.

An intriguing passage in Tello’s (1968 [1652]) account, described above, provides clues to the origin of the worship of the solar deity Piltzintli (Xochipilli) in Nayarit. Tello’s account was based upon a now lost relación from AD 1565 by Don Francisco

Pantecatli, who was “. . . the son of the cacique of Acaponeta who also witnessed the Conquest and wrote a memorial of his observations and of the ancestral traditions” (Sauer and Brand 1932: 41, fn. 13). Summarizing Pantecatli’s account in Tello (1968 [1652]: 33-36), Seler (1990-1998: 4: 188) noted that Pantecatli indicated “. . . that a wise Indian named Cuanameti had taught them about the god Teopiltzinli. The same Cuanameti, however, is designated as a god of oracles, but, strange to say, is cited as a leader of the Mexicans as they passed through this country.”

As Furst (2006: 284) noted, this figure Cuanameti was a deified leader of a passing party of Central Mexicans, though he suggested that this passage related to Contact-era events in the early sixteenth century rather than prehispanic events in the Postclassic period. Pantecatli’s account is exceptionally relevant, as it suggests that the transmission of the ritual knowledge of the solar deity Piltzintli (Xochipilli) to northern Nayarit was accomplished by the physical movement of Central Mexican people, much as if the deity were a supernatural guide or oracle in the migration and movement of people upon the landscape.

It is unclear exactly from where this group of “Mexicans” originated, but it is worth noting that the arrival of Xochipilli worship in West Mexico undoubtedly has its origins in highland or Pacific coastal Mesoamerica, most probably from the Puebla-Oaxaca region (see Chapters 8 and 10). Might this account of Central Mexicans passing through this land suggest that the transmission of these religious beliefs to the core coastal Aztatlán hearth ultimately was accomplished through migration, perhaps even from a great distance outside of the immediate region? Might some of the descendants of

these groups in West Mexico who held esoteric and perhaps lineage-based knowledge and rituals of Xochipilli eventually have made their way in later centuries to Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest? If so, this indigenous account from Nayarit would mesh quite well with Hopi Palatkwapi traditions that indicate that northward-migrating clans brought new ceremonies of the Sun Youth to the Hopi Mesas from somewhere deep in Mesoamerica. Clearly these origin accounts of the Cora Sun God deserve greater clarification, a clear question and line of research for contemporary West Mexican ethnographers to pursue.

The Sun and the Macaw in Contemporary West Mexico

Much like among other Mesoamerican and Southwestern traditions, in the ethnography of indigenous people of West Mexico the macaw is closely related to the Sun and the first dawn. In a recent publication, Taube (2005b: 40-41) pointed out a highly relevant account recorded by Robert Zingg (1938: 313) among the Huichol:

In the Huichol conception the parrots, and especially the macaw are particularly the animals of the Sun. This is partially because the Sun's spitting on the seas created the parrot, kakámame, and the macaw, both of which shed feathers for the paraphernalia of the Sun-father. Also the macaw beat its wings and many little parrots flew out to the five world directions. But more than that the myth tells that the miracle of the first dawn of the sun was caused by the screeching of the parrots and other animals of the Sun-father. The first dawn was announced by the macaw, saying, "Now the Sun is born." This is a charming conception, because in actuality the macaws make a great din just before the sun rises.

This account clearly ties the birth of the dawning sun to the macaw in Huichol accounts of the miraculous birth of the sun.

Taube (2005b: 41) noted another account in the Sun Myth recorded by Zingg (1938: 517) that related similar ideas:

Father Sun emerged from the underworld without any clothes. By spitting in the sea he created the following: the small wood-pecker, *tsimakai*; the bird *hotái*; the macaw, the feathers of which are especially for the votive arrows of the Sun. From the wings of the macaw came out the small parrots good for offertory feathers.

Although the Sun does not wear a macaw-feathered headdress in these Huichol accounts, nor in Aztatlán imagery, the description of the macaw beating its wings at dawn with the resultant emergence of parrots from its wings is striking in that it is conceptually akin to earlier Mesoamerican examples of the young macaw-headed Sun God at Teotihuacan, Copán, Escuintla, and El Tajín where small macaws emerge from the wings of the Sun God (Taube 2005b).

Zingg (1938: 313) further noted that the feathers of the small parrot and the large macaw are especially important for the production of Huichol prayer arrows, which are then shot towards the Sun so that the god-people could communicate with him. Macaw feathers were also observed being worn in the hats of peyote pilgrims (Lumholtz 1900: 36) who travel to the Land of Dawn. Macaw feathers are also used on the sacred plumes of ritual specialists where they serve as important stimuli for the production of rain (ibid.: 47). While the close relation of the dawning Sun and the macaw is likely of considerable antiquity in West Mexico, likely dating to the Postclassic period, no examples of a representation of Piltzintli/Xochipilli portrayed as a macaw-headed sun god are known from Aztatlán symbolism. This absence may simply relate to the little attention given thus far to the archaeology and symbolism of the Aztatlán region.

The Cora “Sun King” in West Mexico

Ethnohistoric documents describe Cora political organization in the Sierra del Nayar as based on a lineage of “Sun Kings”, paramount rulers identified as a personified Sun God. This form of political organization in the region, which likely dates to the onset of the Aztatlán tradition and the horizon of Xochipilli-worship in the region, undoubtedly served as the model for Casas Grandes political organization around AD 1200. At contact in the early sixteenth century until the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Cora stronghold of the Mesa del Nayar in Nayarit was the seat of power of a priest-king variously called Tonatí, Nayari, or Piltzintli (Coyle 1998; McCarty and Matson 1975; Neurath 2011; Ortega 1944). Before the Spanish conquest of the Cora and the Mesa del Nayar in AD 1722, the Cora chief-priest was considered as the earthly representative of the Sun Father (Fikes 2011: 4). The ceremonially based political confederation centered upon the shrine to the sun consisted of a central hereditary position of priest-king supported by a council of elders (Coyle 1998: 516).

The Jesuit priest José Ortega (1944 [1754]: 82-83) presented an account of this council of temple priests in a description taken from a letter by the Jesuit Tomás de Solchaga (translated in Coyle 1998: 517), a priest who accompanied an unsuccessful Spanish expedition to the Mesa del Nayar in AD 1716:

They advanced until two lines of armed men who numbered about five hundred came within our sight . . . At the end of these two lines came the nobility and magnates of Nayarit. They carried among them two old men who were like priests. These men came unarmed and between them was their little king or governor who wore on his head a variety of greatly embellished feathers and who carried in his hand a staff tipped in

silver . . . Surrounding them were twelve captains and all of them wore crowns on their heads of beautiful feathers, some of them carrying weapons in thin silver belts . . .

These Cora priests or council of elders, in response to a request to convert to worship of the Christian deity, clearly stated to the Spanish that the Sun was central to their religious beliefs (Ortega 1944 [1754]: 84; translated in Coyle 1998: 517-518):

The two old men and all of the twelve captains, each one at a time, responded that...they could not deprive the dignity of the sun, who they and their ancestors had always worshipped, and that they feared to incur his anger and suffer his punishments, adding that it would be very hard for them to abandon the rites and customs of their elders.

Each of these priests/elders was linked to individual ancestor-mountains, representative of deceased ancestors, on the Cora sacred landscape (Coyle 1998: 518).

Among this priestly council, the priest-king in charge of the sun shrine had a special relationship with the deceased ancestors and “seems to have been a living representative of the deceased ancestors who passed on before him” (Coyle 1998: 519). The shrine to the Sun, located in a cave on the Mesa del Nayar, housed the remains of a noble lineage of four deceased priest-kings seated around a table (**Fig. 6.3**). Among the most detailed accounts of preconquest Cora politico-religious organization at the Mesa del Nayar is the AD 1673 account recorded by the Franciscan friar Antonio Arias de Saavedra, a Franciscan missionary who worked on the Pacific coastal plain to the west of the Sierra del Nayar.

The following is an excerpt of Arias de Saavedra’s account (Coyle 1998: 519; McCarty and Matson 1975: 204-205):

These savages have [their sacrifices] in the ranchería of *Tzacaimutta* where the house of the Naiarit is. In a room of this house there is a table

surrounded by four dried and withered corpses. These are Don Francisco *Naiarit*, Don Pedro *Huainoli*, Don Alonso *Yoquari*, and Don Luis *Uristi*. They are seated on chairs that they call *Ycpallia* . . . Before these four corpses there were four other corpses of their ancestors whose bodies decayed (they were removed for this reason and others were put in their places). In replacing them, they always give them the same names except for the saints' names they bear. After these four corpses have decayed, they will put in four others who are their descendants. Thus they have regarded the members of this family, not as kings and natural Lords, but as bodies which will occupy a specific position in their cult and worship.

The historical and mythical Cora “Sun King” headed a confederacy of indigenous groups over a large area of West Mexico stretching from the Pacific coast, the Sierra and as far as northeastern Zacatecas (Warner 1998: 85).

Accounts from AD 1673 indicate that the Cora ruler was the focus of hereditary and centralized political, military, and religious control in the region (McCarty and Matson 1975). As an example of his military and political prowess, he was said to have united a diverse group of Coras to fight against Totorames, Guainamotecos, and even against coastal groups around Chametla (ibid.). After the destruction of the coastal plain by Nuño de Guzmán in the AD 1530s, the Coras that were under the rulership of the Cora king were said to have sacked Sentispac, located near the coast in northern Nayarit (ibid.). The contact-period Cora king, the Nayarit, was said to have taken the throne around AD 1500 (ibid.: 86).

Following the death of this powerful and legendary Cora King, an occasion thought to have occurred between AD 1624-1626, his body was said to have been worshipped as an oracle while his successors were never fully recognized as their leader, as Arias de Saavedra (McCarty and Matson 1975: 203) noted in AD 1673:

Some make the very strong statement that these Indians have a King and Lord who is a native and to whom they pay tribute and whom they obey. This does not agree with what the Indians themselves say. They only recognize the Nayarit who died many years ago. They have not acknowledged any of his successors . . . as their Lord. When I ask them if they have a Lord or “tlactoane” [leader], they reply that they do . . . For if you ask them who he is, they say he is the Nayarit. What is certain is that they do not consider him a King, but rather an oracle whom they may consult in their wars and concerning the future.

The purported age of this king at death suggests that there likely were successive generations of Sun Kings.

While this particular Nayarit king, the earthly embodiment or intermediary of the Sun, was a ruler, religious, and military leader in life, in death he became a powerful oracle who was consulted in warfare and prognostications of the future. He was also the center of *mitote* rites centered upon agricultural fertility and who “still inspires them and gives them water . . .” (McCarty and Matson 1975: 204). This model of rulership as Sun King in life and powerful oracle and ancestral rain-bringer in death provides us with a model by which to understand the social and political role of probable Sun Kings along the coast in Aztatlán temple-town centers as well as the Sun King at Paquimé, who was revered in life and likely worshipped as a powerful oracle at death in the mortuary complex in the Mound of the Offerings at Paquimé.

Attempts at native revolts took form after the Spanish conquest, perhaps in consultation with the sun oracle. For example, following the conquest of the Mesa del Nayar (described more fully in Warner 1998), a Spanish priest named Padre Urbano Covarrubias was approached by a “good Christian Indian” in AD 1730 who told a tale of “indios viejos” from Guainamota, who had previously lived at the Mesa del Nayar, that

were now sending messages to surrounding communities asking them to revolt against the Spaniards (in Warner 1998: 189-190). As the instigators of these potential rebellions were from the Mesa del Nayar, perhaps the efforts at revolt were informed or inspired by the oracle Sun God. After the Jesuits were later expelled from the Sierra del Nayar (and the Americas) in AD 1767, a new indigenous priest-king named Granito revived this political organization and led a council of elders at the sun shrine on the Mesa del Nayar (Coyle 2001: 85; Hers 1992).

Ethnohistoric documents indicate that this new indigenous leader and his assistants, based out of the Mesa del Nayar shrine like the earlier Cora priest-king, saw the expelling of the Jesuits as a sign to revive large-scale indigenous public *mitote* ceremonies (Coyle 2001: 85; Hers 1992). A council of elders led by Granito invested a single ceremonial specialist in each Cora town with the authority to construct a shrine to the sun to help facilitate this indigenous religious revival (ibid.). This politico-religious revival was suppressed by Spaniards after only two years, though in AD 1777 the Franciscan missionary José Antonio Navarro reported that *mitote* ceremonies centered upon the sun continued in the region: “Taking up a long bow and a small thin cane in his hands the native priest began to play, and at the sound of that music to sing a little song that was composed in honor of the sun and spoke of the happenings of their ancestors” (in Coyle 2001: 85; Meyer 1989: 237).

Fray Navarro (in Warner 2002: 179) also noted that, of the gods worshipped among the Cora, the Sun and the Morning Star (Xurave or Xura) were most prominent:

The first was the Sun, for whom they built a temple in La Mesa, where the church is now. The second [god] was Xura, which in Spanish means

Lucero [Lucifer], who they called “our older brother,” because they believed that this shining star was the son of the Sun . . .

Thus, even decades after the conquest of the Mesa del Nayar in AD 1722, the Cora still held the Sun and Morning Star as preeminent deities in their pantheon. The idea of a revival of sun worship after a period of colonial repression is strikingly similar to my argument in Chapter 2 that the Sun Youth in the American Southwest was integral to the revitalization movements that occurred in the American Southwest following the Pueblo Revolt of AD 1680.

It remains to be seen whether the Sun Youth Xochipilli/Piltzintli in West Mexico played a similar role in the earlier Mixton Rebellion that took form in AD 1540 or the later nineteenth century Lozada Rebellion, the latter of which invoked a call for “*religión y tierras*”, or “religion and land”, that involved the desire for religious and territorial autonomy of Cora communities in the Sierra del Nayar (see Coyle 2001: 88-92). Surely this revolutionary call for Cora religious autonomy was closely tied to *mitote* ceremonialism centered upon the Sun God.

Whatever the case may be, the skull of a person said to be the last Cora Sun King is still worshipped in the mission church at the Mesa del Nayar (Warner 1998: 84; see Aldana and Madrigal 2007: 110). Warner (2002: 183) noted that an altar in the rear of the church at the Mesa del Nayar remains integral to Cora worship to the present day, pointing out that the altar must remain in place if the Franciscan missionary wanted to keep his Cora congregants interested in Mass. Upon this crude wood table rests a human skull said to be that of El Rey Nayar, the last Cora Sun King whose skull was said to have been rescued from the Spaniards after the conquest of their village in AD 1722 (ibid.) but

prior to the subsequent burning of Cora religious items in an *auto de fe* held in Mexico City (Ortega 1944 [1754]: 166; Warner 2001).

A variety of offerings left upon the table included cotton, candles, and dried flowers (Warner 2002: 183). The contemporary Day of the Dead ceremonies among the Cora revolve around worship of this skull, where it is placed in the center of the church entrance and feted by pilgrims who offer cotton and flowers to the god of the sun, through El Rey Nayar, and ask for good rains, good harvests, and good health (*ibid.*: 184).

The importance of this compound as a solar monument remains evident in the placement of a solar clock, constructed in stone, that is located in the atrium of the church at the Mesa del Nayar (see image in Neurath 2001: 52). Clearly there is great time-depth both in the continued worship of the solar deity Xochipilli and in the concept of a paramount ritual leader as a personified young Sun God in West Mexico that likely extends to Aztatlán societies. That the mythology of the Sun King permeates the larger Nayarit region is evident in Mountjoy's (1970: 251) note that a site in Nayarit named San Blas 36, also called Cenote del Rey, in local lore is said to have been the bathing place of the Nayarit King.

According to Fikes (2011: 37; see Weigand and García de Weigand 2000: 27), contemporary Huichol in West Mexico exist within a ranked regional hierarchy of four or five different classes, with each class in the hierarchy becoming subsequently smaller in number. The lowest-ranking class are the ordinary Huichol men and women who participate in, but do not lead, religious ceremonies and rituals. The other classes include

Huichol healers, singers, and *cahuiteros* or temple-district elders (Fikes 2011: 37, 39).

The apex of this Huichol religious hierarchy was the Cora elite and ruling lineage centered upon the Cora chief-priest, at least until the destruction of the ceremonial center on the Mesa del Nayar in AD 1722 (ibid.). In describing the political organization of the postcontact but preconquest period (AD 1542-1680s for the Huichol and AD 1542-1722 for the Cora), Weigand and García de Weigand (2000: 27) similarly noted that there existed a regional political hierarchy of individuals or councils consisting of caciques, *principales*, *tlatoanis*, lords/kings, *casas* or lineages, and the Cora chief-priest, or Nayarit.

Of the four Cora *provincias* (provinces) recorded by Arias de Saavedra in AD 1673, the most important sub-area was Tzacaimuta, the province of the Casa del Nayar (Weigand and García de Weigand 2000: 28). The Casa del Nayar was the location of a pan-Nayarita temple and palace complex, the ruins still evident today, that held the mummified remains of ancestors in the lineage of the Cora Tonati, or Sun King (ibid.: 28-29). According to Fikes (2011: 39), the close connection of the Sun to the Cora priest-king is partly the reason that the Sun is the supreme ancestor-deity for the Huichol. Indeed, Fikes (ibid.: 6, 198) concluded that Huichol ritual specialists were “inspired priests” that were subordinate and paid tribute to the Sun’s earthly representative, the Cora priest-chief. Weigand (1985: 149) similarly noted that Cora self-perceptions of superiority over neighboring Huichols stems from the long period of Cora leadership in the postcontact but preconquest era as well as the importance of the Cora ruling families at the Mesa del Nayar, among other reasons.

Archival research by Phil Weigand (1985) examined the political and social organization of Western Mexico during the early Contact period. This work delineated the archaeological depths and cultural continuity of ethnographic and ethnohistorically known social organization in the larger region of highland Jalisco and Nayarit, including that of the Huichol, Cora, Tepecano, Tequales, and Mexicaneros, among other groups. Weigand's (ibid.) research cogently argued that indigenous communities in these regions during the early historic period were composite groups in various stages of acculturation that were partly comprised of a richly complicated amalgamation of mestizos, mulattos, escaped slaves, refugees, and Tlaxcalans brought by Spaniards, among other groups.

Stemming from this discussion is the point that interpretive discussions of Cora and Huichol history, religion, and cultural continuity have often been set within the context of Aztec historical documents (e.g., Seler 1990-1998: 4: 179-197) such that "... the comparisons are so generalized that they represent a reality that is almost pan-Mesoamerican and hardly surprising for a composite society like the Coras" (Weigand 1985: 143). The problem in discussing indigenous cultural continuity in West Mexico has been compounded by the dearth of regional archaeological information (ibid.).

Pointedly, Weigand (1985: 145) asked a question that remains especially pertinent to the present dissertation:

To what extent did the remarkable political achievements of the Cora Nayarita, reflected in almost two centuries of stalemating the Spanish Colonial efforts in the highlands under the leadership of some talented and fierce regional leaders . . . , mirror the pre-Spanish social configurations of the area?

In his early assessment, Weigand (*ibid.*: 144) suggested that the original stimulus for much of the complex social developments in the region, particularly the Cora complex at the Mesa del Nayar, likely derived from the Classic period Teuchitlán tradition near the Volcán de Tequila in modern Jalisco.

The rise and fall of the Teuchitlán tradition undoubtedly influenced cultural change and development across the region during the Postclassic. However, one of the issues that challenges the assessment of cultural continuity in religious and political organization is the strong evidence that worship of the Sun Youth Xochipilli/Piltzintli in West Mexico, whether adopted or brought from areas in highland Central Mexico including the Mixtec-Zapotec-Eastern Nahua region, is a phenomenon of a decidedly nonlocal origin. This worship likely dates to no earlier than the onset of the Postclassic period and the initial horizon of the Aztatlán tradition, particularly along the coastal plain of Nayarit and southern Sinaloa (see Chapters 7, 8 and 10). In other words, the worship of the highland Central Mexican solar deity Xochipilli in West Mexico does not, to my mind, appear to have been present among Teuchitlán-tradition societies in the Classic period, nor does it appear to have been present at such Terminal Classic sites such as La Quemada and Alta Vista in Zacatecas.

As noted in Chapter 8, evidence of the Flower World of Xochipilli in the iconography and material culture of Formative, Protoclassic, and Classic period cultures in the larger region of West Mexico is difficult to discern but becomes much more clear in the Postclassic period. While the Cora conception of a personified Sun King specifically centered at the Cora stronghold of the Mesa del Nayar may not in and of

itself date to the beginning of the Postclassic around AD 900, it is probable that such a conception did exist in the larger Aztlán region during this era, particularly among the complex societies and temple-town civic-religious centers located along the Pacific coastal plain. Only sustained archaeological research at Aztlán sites in the decades to come will help to clarify or resolve this issue.

Religious Syncretism and the Sun in Historic and Contemporary West Mexico

Santo Niño de Atocha: The Christianized Young Sun God in West Mexico

The widespread worship of the young solar deity Piltzintli during the prehispanic period undoubtedly was transformed with the introduction of Christianity during the Colonial Period of the Spaniards and in the Mexican period that followed. Aspects of the young solar deity appear to have been conflated with Christian deities including Jesus and seemed to underlie the unique rise of a New World saint named Santo Niño de Atocha, a young boy whose major pilgrimage shrine is located to the east of Huichol and Cora territory in the town of Plateros, Zacatecas. Evidence for the conflation and syncretism of Christian deities and saints with the indigenous young Sun God is discussed below.

In a report to the Franciscan commissary general of New Spain located in Mexico City, the Franciscan friar Antonio Arias de Saavedra in AD 1673 reported upon his experience and conversion activities among indigenous people of the Sierra Nayar (in McCarty and Matson 1975). In a telling excerpt, he (ibid.: 202-203) expressed one of the fundamental reasons for his desire to learn the cultural practices and beliefs of native

people of the region, stating that “. . . it is very important to know that I realize that the total destruction of every rite is necessary in order to sow the gospel.” Given the extent to which Spanish missionaries sought to convert indigenous people of the Gran Nayar and to suppress the practice of *mitote* ceremonies centered upon the sun and maize, it would be reasonable to conclude that one manner of indigenous resistance to these destructive colonial practices was to adopt a Christianized façade to native rites.

In particular, worship of the Christian God and Jesus as the Christ-child by native converts in some instances appears have to have overlapped with worship of the young Sun God Piltzintli/Xochipilli, as described below for the Cora Holy Week cycle. Indeed, sacrificial ceremonialism of the Christian Jesus Christ remains an important acculturated component of the Cora ceremonial cycle (Coyle 1998: 521, 531). The overlap between the Christian God and the Cora Sun God seems to have begun prior to the conquest of the Mesa del Nayar that occurred in AD 1722. For instance, an illustration of a Cora solar calendar recorded in Nayarit in AD 1673 depicts a large anthropomorphic solar disk labeled with the name of the eastern solar deity “Piltzintli”, here depicted with a prominent Christian cross placed on the forehead of the face of the sun (**Fig. 6.2b**; see Magriña 2002: fig. 1). It is unclear, however, if this characterization was the independent work of a native artist or if the addition of this Christian symbol to the depiction of the indigenous solar deity was at the behest of Arias de Saavedra.

Nevertheless, the cross and the Sun among Cora and Huichol today bears strong connections to the four quarters or direction of the world. A connection between the sun Piltzintli and the Christian-style cross was noted for seventeenth-century solstitial and

equinoctial worship of the sun among the Cora: “Wherever they are, when they recognize the phases of the sun, they worship in the mountains at the point of entrance of the Piltzintli using statues of clay, wood, and stone made in the shape of a cross” (in McCarty and Matson 1975: 211). In this same account by Araias de Saavedra (ibid.: 209), that described the Cora in AD 1673, a blending of Christian and indigenous beliefs is evident:

. . . after God had created the sky and the earth, he created his sun Jesus Christ and he gave him the sun for his dwelling place and he gave him authority to create all the animals and all creeping things, to release the clouds as water, to send lightning and thunder and thunderbolts, and to carry on and foment wars. They keep Sunday as a great feast because it is the day dedicated to the sun.

This account clearly conflates the creative acts of the Sun God with those creative acts described for God and Jesus in the Christian tradition.

Much as the Cora sometimes conflate their young sun god Piltzintli with the Christian Jesus or Christ-child, so too do contemporary Huichol link the dawning sun to the Christian God. A Huichol funeral song recorded by Fikes (2011: 180) indicates that the *iyari* (a person’s heart-soul memory) is owned by Yoz Iyari, the Sun Father. The Huichol word Yoz or Yozi that is used to name the Sun Father is derived from the Spanish word for god (“Dios”). According to Fikes (ibid), the sacred eastern mountain named Paritecúa (Cerro Quemado, Reunar) from which the Sun Father is born “is also referred to as Yoz Tecúa, in an effort to equate the Christian God with the Sun Father.” In essence, for the Cora and Huichol, the Christian deity is often affiliated or identified with the young, prehispanic eastern solar deity known as Piltzintli, who rises from his sacred floral mountain at dawn.

Aside from the religious integration of the Christian God and the young Cora Sun God, another important example of syncretism is worth noting. In two related studies, Peter Furst (1997a, 2006:276-296) examined the historical development of a unique religious complex centered upon a major Catholic saint whose origin is in the New World, a young boy known as Santo Niño de Atocha. In contrast to Catholic saints whose origin can be traced to the Old World, Santo Niño de Atocha's origin history in the New World is more complex.

In Furst's (1997a, 2006) opinion, the Huichol were thought to have adopted the young Catholic saint and transformed him into a figure named Káuyumari, described as a "child shaman", who appears in a number of traditions recorded by Zingg (1938, 2004). In other words, Furst (ibid.) concluded that some supernatural figures such as Káuyumari or rituals that appear to be indigenous Huichol conceptions might actually have Christian origins. Káuyumari appears in sections of the aboriginal stories that Zingg called the Sun Cycle (Furst 2006: 279). He is considered as a powerful and wise miracle-worker with the power to cause and cure illness and put the world back in order. In his tender age, his exploits awed even the experienced ritual leaders (ibid.). He appears in the sun and maize mythologies, he constructs the chair (*'uwéni*) used by the newly born Sun when he first arises at dawn, he is dressed in Huichol finery, he ordered sacred deer hunting to commence, he is a proficient singer of Huichol traditions, he delivers and bathes a newly born child as instructed by the sun, he later cures the sick infant as instructed by the sun, and he orders many votive offerings to be made for the sun (ibid.: 280-284). Because Káuyumari was known to have cured smallpox, an Old World disease introduced with the

arrival of the Spanish, Furst (ibid.) considered Káuyumari to be a not truly aboriginal figure who was incorporated into Huichol mythology, a figure whose characteristics most probably derived from the earlier rise of the Mexican worship of saints, particularly Santo Niño de Atocha.

In noting the account of the cacique Don Francisco Pantecatl and his description of the arrival of the oracular solar deity Piltzintli in northern Nayarit via a group of passing Central Mexicans (described above), Furst (2006: 284) considered that the acquisition of this young deity, considered to be a divine noble child, occurred *after* the Conquest in the early sixteenth century via transplanted Christianized Tlaxcalans from highland Central Mexico, perhaps as a version of the Christian holy child Jesus. In his estimation, Furst (ibid: 285-287) considered that the proposed post-Contact acquisition of this child-deity later melded into the later introduction of the Mexican cult of saints, particularly that of Santo Niño de Atocha. This proposal would be entirely plausible were it not for the clear antiquity of the worship of the young solar deity Xochipilli in West Mexico that long predates sixteenth-century Christian influences. It is clear in the present chapter that the young male deity Piltzintli/Xochipilli likely was adopted around AD 900 in the larger region.

The complex development of the worship of Santo Niño was described by a number of scholars (Furst 1997a, 2006; Lange 1978; Nunn 1993; Thompson 1994). In the New World, the origin and the location of the major shrine of Santo Niño is the town of Plateros near Fresnillo, Zacatecas, a region that was a major zone of silver mining in the Colonial Period, which was a major source of employment for indigenous laborers from

the Sierra. For example, in his account from AD 1673, Fray Antonio Arias de Saavedra (in McCarty and Matson 1975: 200) noted that Cora and Tepehuan laborers travelled to work in the fields and mines of the Suchil Valley of southern Durango and northern Zacatecas (near Fresnillo) among other places:

I have also learned that these Indians [Cora and Tepehuan] go to the valley of Suchil, to the Pona, and to other places in that kingdom to work in the harvest and in the mines (such as Zacatecas, Sombrerete, and others). Other Indians who are called Tepecanos, meaning “mountain people” also do this.

The Santo Niño first worshipped in the shrine at Plateros was originally a Christ-child figure held in the arms of a statue of Santa María de Atocha sent from Atocha, Spain as a gift to a church in Plateros in AD 1789 (Thompson 1994: 3).

In the early nineteenth century, the image of the child was separated from this statue and placed in a chair, now given a distinct identity of his own, the Santo Niño (Thompson 1994: 3). The shrine to Santo Niño, perhaps the only Catholic saint with origins in the New World, has become so important that it is one of most heavily visited religious sanctuaries in Mexico, rivaling the major shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City, with over two million visitors per year (Lange 1978: 7; Thompson 1994: 7). The first miracle attributed to Santo Niño only dates to the year AD 1829 (Furst 2006: 286; Lange 1978; Thompson 1994: 3). From this region, the worship of Santo Niño eventually spread throughout the New World including to the American Southwest and South America as well as into Spain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Thompson 1994). Between 1903 to 1919, the Fathers of the Josephine Order ran the Plateros

Sanctuary, out of which they established a school for Indian children, many of whom carried the story of Santo Niño into Huichol territory in the Sierra (ibid.: 5).

Furst (1997a, 2006) drew comparisons between the manner in which Santo Niño is portrayed and the manner in which Huichol dress. Santo Niño is commonly portrayed as a pilgrim wearing a broad-brimmed hat, holding a traveler's staff and an hourglass-shaped water gourd, wearing sandals, and seated in a high-backed chair (Furst 2006: 287). The lore of Santo Niño characterizes him as a traveling pilgrim and healer. It is this affiliation as a traveller, Furst (ibid.) suggested, that led Huichols who were on pilgrimages through Fresnillo on their way to the peyote country of Wirikuta to incorporate Santo Niño and the idea of a young male child as miracle-worker into their own pantheon and ceremonial cycle. Indeed, the region of Fresnillo is traditionally considered as one of the stopping points of the ancestors on the initial peyote pilgrimage of the ancestors during the First Times, a region still visited by Huichol today in their journeys (ibid.: 289).

While Furst's study of the origin of Káuyumari is of interest, the present discussion shifts focus and seeks to understand the unique rise of Santo Niño de Atocha, in relation to the long-standing and widely worshipped young solar deity Piltzintli. In an unpublished paper that examined the development of the Santo Niño complex, Charles Carrillo (1984; cited in Nunn 1993: 7-8) proposed that Santo Niño may have been a remanifestation of the young solar deity Piltzintli. Carrillo (ibid.) stated:

Legends in Mexico claim that Piltzintli, the Child God guided Aztecs from their ancestral homeland of Aztatlán to Nayarit sometime between the 3rd and 6th century. From this legend we learn that the Aztec child god was a guide. Strangely enough Santo Niño de Atocha is known as patron of

travelers . . . The extent to which the Santo Niño was a Piltzintli incarnate is difficult to document, yet it is interesting to note that many native Mexicans historically made various thrusts to adore Piltzintli in the New Catholic religion. A cult of Piltzintli still survives in remote regions of Mexico where the image of Santo Niño de Atocha is venerated. In the Zapotec village of San Agustín Loxicha and in Huautla, a Mazatec village, veladas are still sung where the singers invoke the name of Santo Niño de Atocha.

The legends to which Carrillo refers probably are the early historic accounts of Pantecatli from Acaponeta in Nayarit. In his interpretation, Carrillo (1984; cited in Nunn 1993: 7-8) attributed the arrival of the solar deity Piltzintli into West Mexico to have occurred between 300-600 years prior to his actual arrival around AD 900 and further attributed such a movement of ideas to the much later highland Central Mexican Aztecs long before they existed as a cultural group. Despite these incorrect assertions, the main point that I emphasize in this citation is Carrillo's observation of a connection between, and possible conflation of, the indigenous solar deity Xochipilli/Piltzintli and the development of the widespread worship of the Catholic Santo Niño de Atocha in the early nineteenth century.

The conflation between the young solar deity Xochipilli/Piltzintli and Christian deities during the Colonial period in highland Central Mexico was noted by other scholars. For instance, Monteverde (1972: 176) drew attention to flowers or flowering vines that often ornamented sixteenth-century Mexican atrio crosses, an occurrence that she thought was closely related to prehispanic meanings attributed to flowers. Furthermore, she (*ibid.*: 177) proposed: "It is, however, possible that when these symbols or motifs occur, they may indicate a general tendency on the part of the Indians to identify the new Christian god, Christ, with their indigenous gods, particularly the young god Xochipilli, the God of Flowers." This conflation of Christian religious figures and

indigenous deities likely also took form in West Mexico during the Colonial Period. Indeed, Francisco Samaniega (pers. comm. 2009), an ethnohistorian and archaeologist at Centro INAH-Nayarit, noted that images of Santo Niño de Atocha were observed in recent years upon the altar in the church at the Mesa del Nayar, the center of Piltzintli worship for the Cora prior to conquest (see discussion below).

In all probability, the youthful Santo Niño de Atocha is likely a syncretic figure with roots in the ancient and widespread worship of the young solar deity Piltzintli/Xochipilli in West Mexico. The rise of this Catholic saint took form in a region of West Mexico located on the route frequented by native pilgrims to the sacred lands of the east in San Luis Potosí and in a region populated with Hispanicized and Christianized indigenous miners and their families undoubtedly familiar with ancestral traditions of the prominent young solar deity Piltzintli. The appearance and widespread adoption of this young Catholic saint, a prominent healer and patron of pilgrims, in the region long dominated by worship of the child-deity Piltzintli is conspicuous. In essence, Santo Niño de Atocha likely arose as a Catholicized form of the ancient indigenous solar deity Piltzintli/Xochipilli.

The Planet Venus and the Sun in Ancient and Contemporary West Mexico

Among indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, cosmology centered upon the planet Venus and the Sun is often intertwined. For example, Venus as the Morning Star is widely perceived to be a warrior who leads the sun out of the underworld at dawn (Mathiowetz et al. 2008). In the mythology of native

people in the Gran Nayar region of West Mexico, including in traditions of the Cora and Huichol, the Morning Star is a prominent figure (Neurath 2005a). According to Neurath (ibid.: 86), to understand the dual but complementary aspects of both Venus and the Sun, one needs to recognize the contrasting but complementary aspects of life as evidenced in the entire agricultural cycle that crosscuts the rainy season and dry season. The rainy season is considered to be the “night of the year” and is associated with the west and the underworld while the dry season, day, and light are associated with the east and the above (ibid.). The relation between the forces of the east/above and the west/below are necessary to foster growth and fertility (ibid.). These dualities are applicable to the character attributes of both Venus and the Sun. Much as Venus can be transformative, with a morning and an evening aspect, so too is the Sun transformative in his day and night aspect. It is partly for this reason that “the destiny of the Sun follows the same logic as that of Venus” (ibid.: 87).

In the Gran Nayar, Venus as the Morning Star is known variously as Tahatsi, Xurave, or Ha’atsíkan, among other names, while the Evening Star is known as Sáutari. The Morning Star is considered to be the austere older brother associated with the austere elders and deified ancestors while the Evening Star is considered to be the less heroic younger brother associated with the unrestrained and lustful youth (Neurath 2005a: 77-78, 85-86). Being related to the underworld and the west, Sáutari is often closely associated with the Night Sun (ibid.: 81). As Neurath (ibid.: 85-86) noted,

The opposition between Morning Star and Evening Star should by no means be understood in a Manichean fashion. The dynamics of their mutual transformations confronts them, but it also unites them. Obviously, it is true that the older brother represents the supreme values of Cora

society, the continece that is lived by the elders. The proximity of the elders with their deified ancestors is such that it can be said that they identify themselves with the gods. In contrast, Sáutari [the Evening Star], “the one who picks flowers”, personifies the frenzied youth that is closer to the brutal forces of nature. Both aspects of one and the same star represent the phases of the cycle of life, in which the violent, youthful warrior gradually becomes a peaceful and austere elder.

The dualism of this Venus deity, in his morning/light/east/upperworld aspect and in his evening/dark/west/underworld aspect is evident in indigenous traditions across the region that describe a great race between the two that occurs on two different roads in the sky, the north road and the south road (ibid.: 84-86).

In these stories, the north road, which refers to the position of the sun in his northern aspect at summer solstice, is taken by the Evening Star. This relation of the Evening Star to summer solstice is closely related to the fact that the summer solstice on June 21st is identified as being the beginning of the wet season, thus the close relation to the underworld, the wet (female) half of the year, and the beginning of the planting season (Neurath 2005a: 86). On the contrary, the southern road can be associated with the Morning Star and the winter solstice point, thus the close relation to the above, the dry (male) half of the year, and the beginning of the hunting season (ibid.).

Oppositions and duality are closely built into these stories, both for the Sun and Venus, as Neurath (2005a: 86) explained this in relation to the summer solstice: “Summer solstice marks the beginning of planting season and is associated with Sun or Morning Star changing into Night Sun or Evening Star . . .” In a sense, these “two brothers of the same kind” (ibid.: 83), both of which are rain gods, are clearly a version of the Hero Twins, one associated with the Day Sun in his travels in the upperworld and one

associated with the Night Sun in his travels in the underworld (ibid.: 82-87). In the case of West Mexico, this dual aspect of the sun is undoubtedly focused upon the dual aspect of the Sun God Xochipilli/Piltzintli. Given the close relationship between Venus and the Sun in Mesoamerican cosmology, in my estimation there is simply no evidence in the iconography or otherwise that a complex centered upon the dual aspects of Venus and the Sun God existed in West Mexico prior to the onset of the Postclassic period. As is discussed in the following section, this identification and this timing is crucial to our understanding of the development of Hero Twin traditions among Puebloan people in the American Southwest, particularly those traditions that bear a close relationship with Sun Youth worship.

The recognition of the exceptional prominence given to Venus, particularly in his relationship to the dawning sun in the *mitote* ceremonialism of indigenous people of contemporary West Mexico, serves as a guide for potentially identifying a Morning Star deity in Aztatlán symbolism of Early and Middle Postclassic West Mexico. Indeed, one of the more striking figures to appear in the symbol set at this time and in this region, particularly in Nayarit, in a variety of media including ceramics and incised stone, is a distinctive skeletal deity that is often only depicted as a disembodied head (Mathiowetz et al. 2008).

The features of this figure generally include a skeletal face, a crested ruff atop the head, numerous darts or flint knives shooting from the head and face, and a number of Y-shaped projecting elements that terminate in a circular element cupped within the brackets of the “Y”, though there are some variations among depictions (**Figs. 6.4a-6.4h,**

6.5a-6.5f). This latter element was identified as stars or stellar eyes, much like those depicted in skybands in highland Central Mexico (Mathiowetz et al. 2008). This skeletal deity is a representation of the luminescent face of a personified Venus as Morning Star deity, a version of the skeletal deity Tlahuizcalpantecuhli known in Early Postclassic-period symbolism at Toltec-related sites in highland Central Mexico and at Chichén Itzá in the Yucatan Peninsula (ibid.). These skeletal figures in West Mexico are strikingly similar to depictions of this deity in Postclassic-period Veracruz and Oaxaca (ibid.; **Figs. 6.5g-6.5h).**

In West Mexico, Venus as the Morning Star symbolism appears fully formed at the beginning of the Postclassic period and is considered here not to have developed *in situ* in the region. At present, no examples of this deity have been identified in the symbolism of prominent sites in West Mexico such as among the Protoclassic Shaft Tomb traditions, the Teuchitlan tradition, La Quemada, Alta Vista, or other cultures that preceded the Aztatlán tradition. In other words, much like for the young solar deity Xochipilli/Piltzintli, knowledge of this Venus deity appears to have been brought as a fully developed entity to West Mexico from somewhere in highland Central Mexico or Oaxaca. Given that the solar deity Xochipilli and Venus as the Morning Star are so closely related, it is most probable that, minimally, these two deities entered into this region as part of a fully formed ideological complex, the Flower World, at the onset of the Postclassic period. Given the close relationship between the Sun and Morning Star to ritual warfare in Mesoamerica, it is insightful to consider how this complex of symbolic or cosmological warfare is manifest in West Mexico.

As discussed later in Chapters 12 and 13, this ritual warfare complex in Postclassic West Mexico served as the model for the Pueblo III- to Pueblo IV-period development of warfare symbolism in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest that was centered upon a newly evident personified Morning Star deity known as Sotunquangu. Depictions of a personified Morning Star deity as a related dart-headed figure, though not skeletal, begin to occur in Casas Grandes symbolism (one example) and thereafter in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest (**Figs. 6.6a-6.6b**).

Given that a new form of Venus symbolism was transmitted from Aztatlán-era West Mexico to the American Southwest via Paquimé (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008), it is probable, nay nearly inescapable, to conclude that this new Venus complex involved a focus upon the dual Morning and Evening Star aspects of Venus. In other words, this newly adopted religious complex in the American Southwest centered upon Venus likely is the source of distinctive Hero Twin traditions in the American Southwest. Though various Hero Twin traditions are widespread in the New World, it appears likely that the role of these twin figures as evident in contemporary Puebloan accounts is strongly tied to solar and Sun Youth ceremonialism. If Hero Twin rites did exist in the Southwest before the rise of Paquimé, such as among the Mimbres culture (see Thompson 2000), they became something entirely new that more closely resembled West Mexican cosmology when combined with worship of the Sun Youth after AD 1200. Given this historical relationship, it is important to digress for a moment in order to draw comparisons between the Hero Twins of the American Southwest and the Hero Twins of West Mexico.

In her study of Venus warfare symbolism among Pueblo people, Polly Schaafsma (2000a: 125-128) discussed the Hero Twins or Twin War Gods in the Southwest, particularly in their relationship to the personified Venus god known as Sotunquangu. Among some Pueblo people, the War Twins are sons of the Sun, also known as Elder Brother and Younger Brother, or Masewi and Oyoyewi, or Poqangwhoya and Palongawhoya (Hopi), or among the Zuni, the Ahayu:da (ibid.: 125). At Zuni, the Ahayu:da were created by the Sun during their migrations (ibid.: 183). According to Schaafsma (ibid.: 145), Morning Star is considered as the War Chief of the sun, while both the War Gods or War Twins are associated with the Morning Star. In some cases, both the Morning Star and the Evening Star are considered in this role as guardians or companions of the Sun (ibid.: 145). In keeping with Polly Schaafsma's (ibid.: 168) perception that the War societies of the Pueblos are closely related to mountain lions and other felines, as evident in Pottery Mound kiva murals during the Pueblo IV period, it is notable that the Hero Twins in West Mexico are also related to the mountain lion, puma, and jaguars (Neurath 2005a: 84). Much like for the Hero Twins in West Mexico, the War Twins in the Southwest are rain gods (Schaafsma 2000a: 126).

Notably, Pueblo War Captains are considered to be the earthly manifestation of these two Morning Star-related deities, with Evening Star being the feminine component of the two (Schaafsma 2000a: 145), much as is known in West Mexico. At Zuni, their earthly counterparts are the Bow Priests (ibid.: 154). In contemporary Puebloan societies, the war chiefs play important roles in the pueblo as assistants of the cacique and maintain vital civic and religious duties. The conceptualization of the War Chiefs, as symbolic

Morning Star-related Hero Twins and guardians and companions of the Sun may well be reflected in a complex scene in a Kiva mural at Awat'ovi (see Schaafsma 2000a: fig. 3.39).

Recalling that Puebloan War societies are closely related to felines, it is notable that one of most complex paintings at Awat'ovi (Test 14, Room 3) depicts profiles of two human-headed felines marked with stars that each bear one side of a circular sun shield marked with a prominent central *tiponi*, or maize ear fetish (see discussion of maize fetishes below) (**Fig. 6.6c**). These human-headed stellar felines may well represent the War Chiefs (as Morning and Evening Star Hero Twins) bearing the burden of the Sun across the sky. This scene might be akin to a story from Zuni entitled "The Twin Children of the Sun", one involving the Sun Youth, that describes the Hero Twins as being born from the Sun Father who ultimately takes the twin boys with him as he traverses the sky (see Benedict 1935: 2: 43-52). Thus, much as the Morning and Evening Star-related Hero Twins guard and escort the Sun in the dual halves of the year, so to do the War Chiefs as Morning and Evening Star-related Hero Twins consult and provide guidance to the cacique and ritual leader of the community in some Pueblo communities. This concept may well apply to village leaders both in the Aztatlán-era and in contemporary West Mexican indigenous communities.

In chapter 11, I argue that the War Chiefs among some Eastern Pueblos, as earthly representatives of the War Twins Masewi and Oyoyewi, are integral figures in the formation of dual social organization and the division of the pueblo into Winter and Summer moieties, roles that are closely linked to the position of the sun in the dual halves

of the year. It is important to consider our understanding of the timing of the arrival of Venus ceremonialism into the Southwest, the role of Venus in Sun Youth ceremonialism, and the nature of the dual Morning and Evening Star aspects of the earthly War Chiefs and their role in the formation of dual social organization in the Southwest. In doing so, it is inescapable to conclude that these dual aspects of Venus could only have formed in the American Southwest after AD 1300 with the arrival from West Mexico of new Sun Youth and Venus ceremonialism via Paquimé.

In perusing the Southwestern ethnography, it becomes readily clear that the Hero Twins cannot exist without both the Morning Star and the Sun Youth, particularly as their roles are inextricably bound up with the Sun as they serve as supernatural astral guides in the Sun's journey during alternating halves of the year, the dry season and the wet season, or winter and summer. In other words, the origin and development of the ethnographically known Hero Twin traditions of the American Southwest appears not to form part of an underlying fount of ideas that has always existed in the region. Instead, it is a tradition that is rooted in historically contingent social developments that are traceable to the florescence and dissemination of ideas related to the Venus tradition and its dual Morning Star/Evening Star components, likely transmitted via the northward movement of people and ideas from the core Pacific coastal Aztatlán region.

Ritual Warfare and the Sun Youth in West Mexico

Much as the Sun Youth is closely related to warfare in highland Central Mexico and in the American Southwest, whether actual or ritually symbolic (see Chapters 11 and

12), so too do ethnohistoric documents indicate that Piltzintli/Xochipilli in Colonial-period West Mexico was integral in war and ritually infused war ceremonialism among the Cora, rituals that strongly suggest a form of Flowery Wars, or *xochiyaoyotl*, as were known in highland Central Mexico.

Perhaps the best account for the role of Piltzintli in warfare and sacrifice is that of Antonio Arias de Saavedra in AD 1673 (McCarty and Matson 1975). The name Piltzintli, which was said to refer to the “Son of God who is in Heaven and in the sun, who leads armies and kills”, reveals the close connection between the sun and warfare (ibid.: 203). In his description of religion in the Gran Nayar, Arias de Saavedra noted that worship was centered upon the Nayarit [Piltzintli] as “an oracle whom they may consult in their wars and concerning the future” (ibid.). At the shrine at Tzaicamuta, located on the Mesa del Nayar, *mitote* ceremonies were performed in which “they consult the Nayarit about war so as to offer him blood in sacrifice, as they know him to drink human blood” (ibid.). Mitote ceremonies, which are closely related to the cycle of the sun and maize agriculture, were described as “dances and fiestas that result in wars and death” (ibid.).

When Arias de Saavedra (McCarty and Matson 1975: 203-204) questioned the Cora about who led them into war, their reply indicated that:

. . . the Nayarit prophesies good fortune and success in war. They come from the house of the Nayarit armed, bringing out many shields, arm bands, bows, and arrows. They carry as their Captain the image of the Nayarit, or Piltzintli (which is the same), in the form of a cross or an aspa. They trust him for the victory of their side and recognize only him as their head.

The carrying of an image of the young solar deity by warriors is telling, and it suggests that warfare was ritually guided by the sun.

The idea of ritual warfare in honor of the sun is reiterated in the desire of the Cora to acquire the blood of enemies to placate their sun god, as Arias de Saavedra (McCarty and Matson 1975: 205) noted that. The desire for human blood as an offering to the Sun was so strong that it led Arias de Saavedra (ibid.: 205-206) to conclude:

I consider it more likely that all pagans who have a temple and cult always keep up war with some other nation in order to be able to offer sacrifices of human blood to their Piltzintli like the produce they raise. Further proof of this is provided by the request of the gentile Indians of the house of Tzacai Muta [Cora]. When the people of Huainamotta had been moved to another location, they came down to the pueblo of Acaponeta to ask Don Luis de Sossa y Alsatte, who was the Alcalde Mayor at that time, to write to the “real audiencia” at Guadalajara for order to return the Huianamotteco Indians to their old location as they did not have blood taken in war to placate the anger of their Piltzintli.

This statement strongly suggests that warfare was heavily imbued with religious symbolism and that nearly any justification for the conduct of war, at times even based upon trivial circumstances such as a disagreement at a wedding (ibid: 205), afforded the opportunity to acquire blood as nourishment for the Sun God in his daily and yearly pathway through the sky and through the annual seasonal and maize agricultural cycle. The concept of the Sun God as consumer of blood is of great antiquity in Mesoamerica, dating at least to the Classic period in the Maya region (Taube 2011a).

Neurath (2002: 49) characterized this form of solar-oriented warfare among the Cora as *guerras floridas*, or “flowery wars”, an interpretation with which I agree. This form of ritually oriented flowery warfare centered upon the young solar deity Piltzintli/Xochipilli likely dates to the onset of the Postclassic period when Xochipilli worship was first adopted in the Azatlán region. This form of ritual warfare in this region was the intervening link in the northward transmission from highland Central Mexico of

a solar-oriented ritual warfare complex, one centered upon the resultant agricultural fertility, that in time became evident in the Casas Grandes region by AD 1200 and in the American Southwest around AD 1300 (see Chapter 12).

Solar Sacrifice and Warfare in Ancient and Contemporary West Mexico

For the Cora and Huichol, ritual sacrifices are an important component of worship centered upon the Sun. Prior to the AD 1722 conquest of the Cora temple complex at the Mesa del Nayar, ritual offerings to the sun were described in a number of separate Spanish accounts as involving human sacrifice. In one graphic account from the mid-seventeenth-century, Fray Antonio Tello (1968 [1652]:2: 30; translated in Coyle 1998: 520-521) described human sacrifice, heart extraction, and anthropophagy:

In ancient times there had been much devotion [to this cave]. The sacrifices that they made were to each month slash the throat of five of the most beautiful maidens. The Indians would take their lives on top of a rock in front of their temple and they then took out their hearts and hung them up outside so they would dry. They saved them for the festivals when they would cook the hearts, grinding them and mixing them with the blood of maidens and young men that on that day had been sacrificed. They gave the hearts to be drunk in atole by the mothers of those maidens who had given their daughters so that they would live forever grateful that they had given their daughters to be sacrificed. They did the same with the fathers of said maidens.

An account by Fray Antonio Arias de Saavedra in AD 1673 (in McCarty and Matson 1975: 205) described the shrine to the sun:

This house has a wall or cistern whose mouth is carefully oriented to the south where they offer the blood that is brought in vessels from every ranchería. Usually they offer blood when they have killed some *Huaina motteco* Indian. They cut off his head and collect the blood in a jar and pour it into this cistern as an offering to the sun.

Warner (1998: 85) noted that the Guainamotecos (Huaina motteco) were traditional rivals of the Cora who lived to the south of Cora territory. In his account of the Sun temple at the Mesa del Nayar, Arias de Saavedra also noted that one of the two female priestesses or assistants at the temple compound consumed human flesh acquired from individuals slain during war (McCarty and Matson 1975: 206).

Along with Fray José Ortega, the Jesuit friar Antonio Arias Ibarra accompanied the Spaniards who ventured to and destroyed the sun shrine and temple complex at the Mesa del Nayar in AD 1722. His eyewitness account (in Meyer 1989: 36; translated in Coyle 1998: 521) described the destruction of the temple shrine and provided evidence of human sacrifice for the sun:

On said day of Saturday in the afternoon the [Spanish] governor and I made our way to the *güecalli* [Nahuatl, shrine house] and removed the cadaver of the Great Nayari and his ornaments in order to remit them to his excellency . . . and also the statue to the sun, which is a stone that looks like a *tecalli* [Nahuatl, pagan altar-piece]. . . We put a torch to the thatched house and the shrine and also to another thatched house next to it where they had their dances . . . Also burned were a blood-stained hide on which they sacrificed children, killing a child each month in order to feed the sun, as well as a hollow tree that was next to it in which we found a great quantity of small bones with the skulls of infants.

Ethnohistoric evidence clearly supports the argument that human sacrifice to the sun was an important component of preconquest Cora rituals at the Mesa del Nayar.

While critics of these statements by Spaniards may regard them as exaggerations, the discovery in recent years of a prehispanic Aztatlán-tradition codex-style vessel in the vicinity of San Felipe Aztatán, Nayarit, with the depiction of an explicit scene of human heart sacrifice of an individual stretched backwards across a sacrificial stone, provides dramatic support to the validity of these ethnohistoric accounts (Ohnersorgen et al. 2010).

This evidence indicates that human heart sacrifice for the sun in Nayarit is of much greater antiquity than Contact-period documents indicate and in all probability dates to the onset of a new form of Xochipilli-oriented solar worship during the Postclassic period in the region.

Philip Coyle (1998: 521, 531) noted that sacrificial ceremonialism of the Christian Jesus Christ remains an important acculturated component of the Cora ceremonial cycle. For example, during Catholic-derived religious ceremonies involving the Spanish-style horsemen known as Santiago or *tayaxú*, the horsemen are also called Tawósimwa, the name commonly associated with the deceased ancestors, and symbolically represent the deceased ancestors as rain (ibid.: 531). During the Santiago rites in July during the height of the rainy season, brightly painted roosters torn apart in a tug-of-war and other elements such as alcohol all index previous ceremonies during the year that are tied to the deceased ancestors (ibid.).

The brightly colored paints on the roosters index the brightly colored crepe paper used during Carnival and Holy Week ceremonies where a sacrifice is made to *tayó x+ká*, or “Our Father the Sun” (Coyle 1998: 531). The name *tayó x+ká* may be an equivalent term for another name (*tayaxuk+*) used by Coyle (ibid.: 533) to discuss the deceased aspect of *tayaxú* (aka Santiago) as described above for Day of the Dead/Holy Week ceremonies, though this potential connection will need to be clarified. The suffix “k+” used in the term *tayaxuk+* simply means “deceased” (ibid.: 533). Thus, while *tayaxú* refers to “Our Grandfather”, the term *tayaxuk+* refers to “Our Deceased Grandfather.”

This figure named *tayaxuk+* is important in other Cora ceremonies that have affinities to the flowery world of the sun and will be discussed in more depth below.

According to Fikes (2011: 226-227, fn. 9), the Huichol also engaged in human heart sacrifice dedicated to the Sun, though this rite is no longer practiced. One statement by a Huichol consultant, summarized by Fikes (*ibid.*), indicated that:

. . . the Sun Father asks Huichols to feed him with their own hearts, in addition to using hearts of deer and bulls. He [the Huichol consultant] complained that the Huichol no longer do what the Sun Father wants because Mexican law prohibits human sacrifice. He stated that the Sun Father wants to be given the heart of a small boy. Because the Huichol are now unable to provide him with children's hearts, their life is more difficult.

Furst and Anguiano (1976: 118) noted that child sacrifice was important for the nourishment of the Sun, indicating that in the mythological accounts, a child was sacrificed:

. . . so that its life blood might nourish the Sun Father and restore him to sufficient strength to travel south and west through the sky at the correct distance for lighting up the world and causing maize and other food plants to ripen, but not again to threaten the very survival of the earth.

They (*ibid.*: 175, fn. 18) also noted that child sacrifice traditions were known in the past in the Sierra and were said to have occurred in the context of alleviating prolonged droughts or some other natural disaster.

Blood and sacrifice, though now not of human derivation, remain important components of Huichol rituals. Fikes (1985: 235) reported that deer blood is important for the growth of maize. In order for maize to grow properly, offerings of deer blood are made to the maize mother in the *hixüapa*, or “earth navel”, in the maize field where the maize mother Niwetsika dwells (*ibid.*: 233-234). Fikes (*ibid.*: 335) noted that the *hixüapa*

is the intersection of the world at the four directions. Notably, on a larger scale the seemingly related term *aihixüapa* refers to the intersection of the four directions at the peak of *Paritecúa* (Dawn Mountain) where the Sun was first born (ibid.: 328).

This conflation of terms suggests that on a smaller scale, the sun may well be perceived as being born from the center of the maize field along with the directional Corn Maidens collectively associated with the Corn Goddess Niwetsika, much as they are born together on a larger scale at the Mountain of Dawn in the east (see below). Aside from blood nourishing the Corn-Child Niwetsika, blood also is symbolically fed to the Rain Mothers to help them send rain (Fikes 1985: 236-237). As one Huichol song lyric stated, “From the beginning the blood of the deer has been your food my Rain-Mothers” (ibid.: 237).

The Sun and the ancestors also symbolically eat blood in order to help send the rains, as one Huichol consultant noted: “When the Sun-Father and other ancestor deities come to eat the blood of sacrificial animals they bring the rain with them to the temple” (Fikes 1985: 236). Finally, Fikes (ibid.: 239) concluded:

Looking at their ritual cycle as a totality it becomes apparent that blood, be it of rabbits, fish, deer, etc., is the quintessential offering for the ancestor deities. It is offered so that rain will fall, maize grow well, the sun continue to shine and follow its path, and Huichols remain healthy.

Clearly, sacrifice for human and animal blood, and the life-giving force that resides within, has long been an integral component of solar worship and the maize agricultural cycle likely dating to the onset of the worship of the young Sun God in Postclassic West Mexico.

Plumed Serpent Ceremonialism in Ancient and Contemporary West Mexico

Among contemporary indigenous people in West Mexico, the Plumed Serpent, Morning Star, and Sun God are intimately intertwined, much as they are for many other people in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest. To understand where Mesoamerican-style horned and plumed serpent ceremonialism in the Mimbres, Casas Grandes, and Puebloan regions originated, one need only turn to the Aztatlán region. The plumed water serpent is an important supernatural figure in the ritual and cosmology of contemporary indigenous people of West Mexico, and many of its characteristics are strikingly similar to those attributed to plumed serpents by indigenous people in the American Southwest, northern Mexico, and Mesoamerica (see Chapter 3).

According to Lumholtz (1900: 20), the appearance of directional clouds of rain conjured by the smoke of burning fields in Huichol communities serves to commence the arrival of the rainy weather in the form of multi-colored directional plumed serpents. Much like for Pueblo people, clouds in the Huichol region are thought to emerge from springs and pools of water along with plumed rain serpents (*ibid.*). Similarly, like Puebloan conceptions of the plumed serpent (see Chapter 3), many aspects of water upon the ground, clouds, and lightning in the sky are perceived by the Huichol as rippling or undulating rain serpents. As Lumholtz (*ibid.*) noted:

The rain-water as it flows over the ground is a serpent, and the rivers that hasten down to the sea are also serpents. The sea itself and the ripples on the surface of water are serpents. The lightning is a powerful serpent, and the shaman sees that the fires [from burned fields] is also a serpent, namely, a rattlesnake; and when the Huichol burns the fields, they see in the moving crest of the fire the plumes of the fire-serpent. The sky and the wind are serpents. The serpentine movements of the latter are visible when

it sweeps through the grass and the trees, and it helps to bring the clouds to the country of the Huichols.

The plumed serpent in West Mexico is a dynamic supernatural being that takes form in many types of natural and weather-related phenomena centered upon the winds and rain.

For the Huichol, the feathered serpent known as *haiku* is a serpent of the clouds and is related to, or identified with, the Goddess of the First Rains from the east (Neurath 2005a: 90). This feathered serpent, also known by the name Tatei Nia'ariwame or "Our Mother Messenger", plays a role in the peyote pilgrimages to the Land of Dawn and the subsequent return of the rains from this direction (*ibid.*). Notably, the Huichol God of Wind who is the older brother of Tatei Nia'ariwame is called Tamatsi Eaka Teiwari (*ibid.*: 91), the name Eaka being a clear analogue to the name of the highland Central Mexican wind aspect (named Ehecatl) of the beneficent eastern rain serpent Quetzalcoatl.

During the Hikuli Neixa ("Peyote Dance"), that represents the beginning of the rainy season, the Huichol peyote pilgrims return to the community along with the plumed serpent, personified by the line of pilgrims, who symbolically bring with them the rains from the east (Jáuregui 2002: 64-69; Neurath 2005a: 90). The great line of returning pilgrims is the symbolic embodiment of the plumed serpent's body. Two of the individuals in the line, called *tekoamana*, carry with them serpentine staffs that represent small versions of the plumed serpent (Neurath 2005a: 90). Within this procession of individuals, a number of the leaders or cargo-holders of this returning procession of peyote pilgrims represent Venus as the Morning Star or closely related stellar figures (*ibid.*).

In essence, this ritual drama is closely identified with the trilogy of deities including the dawning Sun, the Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star and their arrival from Flower Mountain. Neurath (2005a: 91) clearly stated, “The Huichol Mountain of Dawn is a version of the Mesoamerican Flower Mountain. . .” Neurath (2005a: 90) further indicated:

In the choreography of the peyote festival, the feathered cloud serpent descends from the Mountain of Dawn [i.e., Flower Mountain] . . . The Mountain of Dawn is located ‘above, in the east,’ that is ‘in the sky,’ as is the desert of Wirikuta; hence the serpent, formed by the group of pilgrims that return, surely represents an astral deity coming down to earth, as is expressed by the Cora chants of Mitote that describe the arrival of the Morning Star, Ha’atsíkan, who descends from the sky to teach the people how to celebrate Mitote dances.

The undulating line of dancers in the Peyote Dance held the plaza signifies the arrival of the plumed serpent with the rain that symbolically washes the world (ibid.). The arrival of the beneficial plumed serpent of the east is conceptually tied to the recognition that the first monsoon storms in the region always come from the east (ibid.: 91). These three above-noted deities and Flower Mountain form the core of the Flower World religious complex, which first became evident in the symbolism of the Aztatlán tradition during the Postclassic period.

Plumed serpent rites continue to be practiced among Mexicaneros of northern Nayarit. Francisco Samaniega (pers. comm. 2008) pointed out that similar linear processions of people signify the plumed serpent body in some Mexicanero ceremonies. The head of the plumed serpent is signified by a man wearing a headdress comprised of multi-colored macaw feathers along with two circular mirrors, said to represent the eyes of the serpent (ibid.; see image in Porrás Carrillo and Samaniega Altamirano 2006: 44).

In actuality, like all other entities, the beneficial plumed serpent of the east, and the related Goddess of the First Rains (Tatei Nia'ariwame), has an opposed side, the serpent that lives in the Western Ocean who is associated with destructive floods, deluges, and hurricanes, a being also known as the Goddess of the Western Ocean or Tate Kiewimuka (Neurath 2005a: 91). These opposed and conflicting water serpent beings are related to the east and west, or the above and the below, respectively. As Neurath (ibid.) and Schaefer (2002: 226) noted, the names of these two deities are applied to the names of the two poles in the Huichol temple (*tuki*) that the Sun alternately shines upon during the course of his travels. Thus, during the dual halves of the year, there is a conflicting tension between the beneficent rain serpent of the east who arrives with the Day Sun from Flower Mountain and the destructive rain serpent of the west associated with the Night Sun and the underworld.

In essence, as Neurath (2005a: 91-92) confirmed, the Huichol conception of the return of the beneficent rains and the plumed serpent from the east is fully in accord with conceptions of the Flower World and Flower Mountain. He (ibid.: 92) noted:

This concept coincides fully with Huichol beliefs and practices; they carry out a pilgrimage into a 'flowered desert' in the east (Wirikuta), where they climb the Mountain of Dawn, the place where the Sun is born, to dream about cloud serpents (the first rains), which they bring back with them to their communities in the Sierra Madre Occidental.

The close relationship between the Sun, the Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star in Huichol mythology, all of whom are beings of the east that are related to Flower Mountain, suggests that this ideology in this region of West Mexico only took form at a

time when we see clear material culture evidence and symbolism in the archaeological record that indicates the existence of these three deities.

As noted above, the Sun and Morning Star became evident, and appeared fully formed, in Aztlán symbolism at the onset of the Early Postclassic period. As noted below, so too did evidence for the Plumed Serpent become heightened at this time. The material culture evidence is sufficient to suggest a fully formed complex minimally involving these three deities characterized the initial growth and spread of the Aztlán politico-religious system, a system that had a profound intellectual, religious, and political influence later at Paquimé and in the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period.

Plumed Serpent and Conch Symbolism in the Aztlán Tradition

While the plumed serpent is an important figure in indigenous cosmology, the roots of this supernatural being, as part of a larger complex of ideas, can be found in Aztlán symbolism. Among the more distinctive design motifs that is portrayed in the center of some Aztlán wares is the cut-conch shell. As I noted in Chapter 3, the conch, and particularly the cut-conch symbol, are closely affiliated with the plumed serpent across a great span of time and geography in Mesoamerica.

Scholars who worked with or studied Aztlán material culture long noted that the cut-conch symbol placed prominently within the central interior of some Aztlán vessels represented the cut-conch “wind jewel”, or *ehcailacacozcatl*, of the wind deity Ehecatl, the wind aspect of the plumed serpent deity Quetzalcoatl (Bojorquez 2010: 71-72, fig. 10;

Ekholm 1942: 55; Karl Taube, pers. comm. 2005). The geographical distribution of these designs was widespread and began at the onset of the Aztatlán horizon. Cut-conch symbolism was identified at sites in Nayarit including El Pirul, Amapa, Coamiles, and Chicoche/El Quemado (**Figs. 6.7a-6.7e, 6.8a**; see Bojorquez 2010: fig. 10). Cut conch symbolism is also known from southern Sinaloa at Siqueros, in far northern Sinaloa at Guasave, as well as from Tizapan el Alto in Jalisco (**Figs. 6.8b-6.8d**; see Bojorquez 2010: fig. 10). Furthermore, a cut-conch symbol was observed on the interior of a vessel from La Peña, Jalisco that was displayed by Susana Ramirez in a workshop at the Primer Seminario-Taller Regional de la Arqueología Aztatlán in Guadalajara in 2008. Scholars have pointed out that this manner of portraying the “wind jewel” is also known from Postclassic-period sites in Oaxaca such as Teotitlan del Camino (**Fig. 6.8e**) and Nochistlán (Ekholm 1942: 55), as well as the great city of Cholula (**Fig. 6.8f**) in Puebla (Bojorquez 2010: fig. 10; Ekholm 1942: 55). Cholula, of course, was a great pilgrimage destination and the center of worship of the deity Quetzalcoatl during the Postclassic period in highland Central Mexico.

It is most probable that the symbolism of wind embodied in the West Mexican cross-sectioned conch “wind jewel” has its temporal origins during the Early Postclassic period. Given the greater antiquity of this symbol in other parts of Mesoamerica, this motif in West Mexico did not develop *in situ* and most likely has its ultimate geographical origins in highland Central Mexico and its ideological origins in the Quetzalcoatl wind complex.

Plumed Serpents and Solar Mirrors in Aztatlán Symbolism

Depictions of plumed serpents became most prominent in West Mexico during the Aztatlán era. Serpents with a horn (Rodríguez Zariñan 2009) or feathers on the head (Schaafsma and Taube 2006: fig. 23b), though rare in the latter instance, do exist during the Classic period in Zacatecas and Jalisco respectively. But while these serpents may express a distantly related ideology, it is my impression that these depictions are not part of, or directly ancestral traditions to, the Postclassic-period ideology that flourished in the Aztatlán region in conjunction with the religious complex identified in the present dissertation that is partly centered upon the Sun God Xochipilli and Venus as Morning Star Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli.

In Aztatlán symbolism, disembodied plumed serpent heads, much like the examples of disembodied heads of the Morning Star, occur on the central interiors of some vessels. Two of these depictions, one on a Mangos polychrome from Amapa and one portrayal on an Iguanas Polychrome from Peñitas, date to the Early Postclassic (AD 900-1100) (**Figs. 6.9a-6.9b**). Other probable plumed serpent heads from Amapa (see Meighan 1976: pls. 140d and 144a) occur on Middle Postclassic Ixcuintla Polychromes (AD 1100-1350) and other unidentified wares (**Figs. 6.9c-6.9e**).

The depiction in Figure 6.9e resembles a butterfly, similar to one portrayed on the interior of one Mixteca-Puebla-style bowl (see Taube 2010a: fig. 20f), and even lacks the scroll above the eye and the bifid tongue found on other Aztatlán plumed serpents. However, the open curled mouth of this example is identical to the plumed serpent from Amapa in Figure 6.9a and the nub-like element at the base of the head is similar to

another plumed serpent portrayal from Amapa in Figure 6.9c. This manner of depicting the open, curled mouth of the plumed serpent is identical to a plumed serpent maw portrayed on the exterior of a Pilitas polychrome from the Mixteca Alta that was illustrated by Lind (1994: fig. 19d [color plate]).

One plumed serpent was portrayed on a roller stamp from the site of Ixtlán del Río (Los Toriles) in southeastern Nayarit (**Fig. 6.10a**). John Carpenter (pers. comm. 2008) noted that a plumed serpent with a split-view head and a bifid tongue is evident on an Aztatlán vessel from the site of Mochicahui in far northern Sinaloa (**Fig. 6.10b**). Other geometric-style variations of plumed serpents in the Aztatlán region, such as those with a feather-tabbed body, were identified by Stern (1977: figs. 1-5) on Tuxpan Engraved (AD 900-1100) and Ixcuintla Polychrome (AD 1100-1350) wares from Amapa and the surrounding region (**Figs. 6.10c-6.10d**). Another example of the plumed serpent with tab-like feathers on an Ixcuintla Polychrome from Amapa was illustrated by Meighan (1976: pls. 136b).

Some of these plumed serpent bodies with tab-like feathers are abstracted and do not display a head (see Meighan 1976: pl. 136c). The tab-like or rectangular manner of portraying feathers upon the body of some Aztatlán plumed serpents strongly resembles the manner in which feathers are portrayed upon a plumed serpent on a Nicoya Polychrome from Costa Rica, now housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (see <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1979.206.377>).

Aside from the disembodied plumed serpent heads, perhaps the most intriguing portrayal of plumed serpents are those that occur in abundance on Santiago Engraved

wares (AD 1350+) (**Figs. 6.10e-6.10f and 6.11a-6.11b**). In these examples, geometric renderings of entwined plumed serpent bodies undulate around the outer body of the vessel. Like other depictions of plumed serpent bodies described above, the plumed serpents in these examples have tab-like feathers upon the body. Two published examples, one from the site of Coamiles and one from Peñitas in Nayarit, clearly depict the open maw and bifid tongue of the serpent (**Figs. 6.10e-6.10f**). The example from Coamiles is distinct in portraying the plumed serpent head in a split-view, a depiction that recalls a similar, though slightly different plumed serpent portrayal from Mochicahui (**Fig. 6.10b**), as noted above.

Perhaps most importantly, the entwined plumed serpent bodies are portrayed carrying a circular disk within their undulations. This is a highly redundant motif on these wares and can often be recognized from even the smallest ceramic sherd. These disks are usually portrayed as crossed circles and in all probability represent solar mirrors, or *tezcacuitlapilli*, as they are known in highland Central Mexico.

The association of mirrors and the sun remains strong in the cosmology of contemporary indigenous people in West Mexico, among the probable descendants of Aztatlán populations. For example, among the contemporary Huichol, mirrors are closely associated with the Sun Father and fire. According to Zingg (1938: 702), men commonly wear small mirrors around their neck, said to be a symbol of the Sun Father whose rays it reflects. Zingg (ibid.) noted: “Indeed, the mythology says that it was the splendor of this addition [of mirrors] to the full festal array of the Huichol man, that enabled the Sun-

father to shine in the first times” (ibid.). Fire is also said to have first appeared as a mirror (ibid.).

Elsewhere, Zingg (1938: 620) noted that the *nealika* or “face” of the Huichol Sun Father was described as consisting of a mirror, a ritual item that appears to be closely related to the Cora Sun God or Sun King of the Mesa del Nayar,

The mirror in the center [of the *nealika*] is the very ‘face’ of the Sun-father (because it reflects the Sun, naturally). This ‘face’ should be taken to the Mesa of Nayarit in the Cora Country as a penitence in which the pilgrim exposes himself to hunger and thirst. Thus the Sun-father will give long life.

This account suggests that the face of the Cora dawning sun Piltzintli can be perceived of as a great shining mirror in the sky. This perception is reiterated in another account of a Huichol object that represents the *nealika* (“face”) of the Sun: “This should be carried to the sea or the Mesa of Nayar. It represents the Sun-father as is clearly indicated by the small mirror in its center which flashes the sun’s rays” (ibid.: 630). In essence, the ideas or metaphors expressed in the Aztlán mirror motif is that the entwined plumed serpents carry the Sun as a solar disk or mirror into the sky at dawn.

It is important to recall that there are many different ways to express the metaphor of the Sun rising on the plumed serpent body without losing the underlying core meaning. The sun in Mesoamerica can be represented by a flower, a solar mirror, a solar disk, or as a macaw-headed Sun God (see Chapters 2 and 3). Thus, this motif in the Aztlán symbolic repertoire is conceptually identical to the portrayals of the Sun God astride the body of the Plumed Serpent in Casas Grandes art, just illustrated in a different manner. In

other words, I argue that Casas Grandes and Aztatlán people practiced the same belief system centered upon the same Sun and Plumed Serpent deities.

What is perhaps most intriguing about these depictions of plumed serpents and solar mirrors in Aztatlán symbolism is that this manner of depicting *tezcacuitlapilli* upon plumed serpent bodies is identical to that expressed in the art of Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá in the Yucatan Peninsula (**Figs. 6.11c-6.11d**). In fact, while flowers often overlie the body of plumed serpents in examples from other a number of Mesoamerican sites, to date the only examples that I have found in all of Mesoamerica where solar mirrors are portrayed on plumed serpent bodies is at Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá and in Postclassic West Mexican Aztatlán symbolism. The significance of this unique pattern is unclear at the moment.

To summarize, the onset of the Postclassic period in West Mexico in the Aztatlán region saw the rapid appearance of a fully formed foreign ritual complex, primarily along the coast of Nayarit and southern Sinaloa, that was centered upon three deities, the Sun God, the Morning Star, and the Plumed Serpent. These three deities in West Mexico can accurately be considered as northern manifestations of the highland Central Mexican Sun God Xochipilli, the Morning Star Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, and the Plumed Serpent Quetzalcoatl. The lack of portrayals of these deities prior to the Postclassic period indicates that the Flower World ideology centered upon these key deities did not exist in West Mexico among the Classic period or Shaft Tomb cultures. As described above, the symbolism of the Plumed Serpent during this era was primarily centered upon his affiliation with the wind and the cut-conch “wind jewel” as well as his role in carrying

the solar disk into the sky. Ethnographic data indicates that, much like in highland Central Mexico, the Plumed Serpent is closely related to the Morning Star and the return of the rains from the east with the newly born Sun from Flower Mountain. It is this precise ideology that, according to Hopi traditions, was brought to the American Southwest by northern-migrating Palatkwapi clans. This ideology, largely transmitted through Paquimé, transformed the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period.

The Sun, the Soul, and Ancestral Rain Spirits in West Mexico

Among Pueblo people in the American Southwest and the Aztec of Central Mexico, the soul is perceived to have bi-sexual components (see Chapter 11). Similarly, the Huichol soul has dual yet complementary male-female components derived from celestial parents. For the Huichol, the *cüpori* is associated or equated with water while the *iyari* is the heart-spirit-mind bestowed upon humans by the Sun Father (Fikes 2011: 160). After death, an individual's *iyari* returns to the Sun Father while the *cüpori* returns to the celestial mother, Tatei Nihuetócame (ibid.: 112, 114). *Cüpori*, also called Ha'yorime, is analogous to the life-giving waters and rain, akin to the blood and spirit of deceased ancestors, that is used in ritual offerings and is necessary for the survival of life (ibid.: 117). As one Huichol noted, "That water is like the blood of our gods, that which gives us life. It heals us of illness. This spring water never disappears, never runs out. It comes from the great beyond and is ancient . . . It is the life of our gods. At the same time, it sustains our lives" (ibid.: 119).

In Huichol thought, the Sun is intimately associated not just with the *iyari* as noted above, but with the return of the rains and the blood of the ancestors, the divine living waters called *cüpori* (Fikes 2011: 119). Huichol rituals and prayers involve the use of blood offerings and the living waters of *cüpori* to persuade the ancestor-deity embodied in the offering to help the Huichol (ibid.: 120). As one Huichol man noted, “. . . *cüpori* is from the goddesses and gods, including the Sun Father . . .” (ibid.: 121). Blood, an analogue of *cüpori*, is also an important component in offerings to the Sun Father (ibid.: 120).

Fikes (2011: 122) stressed the significance of the interconnection between the living waters of the ancestors and the Sun Father that was first manifest at the time of creation:

From the moment humans first appeared, their *cüpori* has been inextricably tied to the annual rainy season established by their Sun Father. Rain Mothers, in concert with him, release the rain that makes possible the growth of corn, the staple in Huichol subsistence.

The sprinkling of Ha’yorime or *cüpori* as symbolic rain is evident at Huichol festivals such as the Peyote Dance (Hicüri Neixa) and the First Fruits Ceremony (ibid.: 118-120), two solstice ceremonies that involve symbolic or actual journeys to the sacred eastern realm of the dawning sun. One Huichol consultant indicated that Huichol pilgrimages to Paritecúa, the sacred mountain in the east, involved the deposition of offerings for the Sun and a request for rain (ibid.: 253, fn. 17).

In the period leading up to the Peyote Dance, temple officers who are charged with keeping sacred gourd bowls that represent specific ancestors are dispatched on pilgrimages to sacred water holes, springs, lakes, and the Pacific Ocean, locales that span

the Huichol territory, to collect sacred water. Brought together on the day of the Peyote Dance, these bowls of water are combined in a large gourd bowl from which is flung water to the winds, an invitation for the rains to come back to the pueblo (ibid.: 130). As Fikes (ibid.: 131) noted:

To begin each rainy season, at the end of each year's dry season, the Huichol feel obliged to honor and invite all the most outstanding ancestors associated with Ha'yorime. This is the primary purpose for sprinkling Ha'yorime taken from all world directions. Doing so renews the rainy season; tantamount to inviting Rain Mothers residing in all directions back to the Huichol homeland.

According to Nahmad and Hinton (1997: 457), the Cora world is perceived as a great bowl in which there are six cardinal points including the center point. Within this bowl reside the gods and supernaturals.

Cora engage in a pilgrimage rite much like that of the Huichol where sacred waters tied to ancestors, deities, and descent groups are collected from directional springs, each associated with its own sacred mountain and cave, in a ritual circuit beginning in the east, north, west, south, and center springs (Coyle 2000: 126, 2001: 41-42, fig. 7). After collecting the sacred water from one particular source, it is poured into a gourd bowl at the four corners and center of the bowl along with a mound of sacred maize that forms a miniature model of the world (Coyle 2000: 124-126). In this model of the world, each direction and the world center bears a miniaturized version of these sacred water and maize-filled bowls linked to the ancestors and certain lineages (ibid.: fig. 3). These water-gathering rites are intended "to join the waters", to bring the four-directional ancestral waters back to the central community and the ceremonial grounds where community *mitote* rites occur (ibid.: 119).

For the Huichol, the close relationship between the Sun Father and the return of the rains is likened to the process of evaporating waters (Fikes 2011: 132) into the sky that condense into rain. Lumholtz (1902: 57) concluded that the Huichol “adore water” and noted that the gods reside in springs and “rise with the clouds and descend as fructifying rain.” He (ibid.) further noted the preponderance of rain symbolism and water-bearing gourds in Huichol rites:

Of the four elements, water is the most generally revered. At every feast the people sprinkle water on their heads from some spring. As there is a special water for the various occasions, there is a constant carrying about of gourds from one place to another full of it.

Much like for the Huichol, a similar perception of the relationship between the cloud spirits and the Sun is known for the Cora: “The souls of the dead become vaporous clouds as they are heated by the sun, . . . causing them to precipitate as precious drops . . .” (Coyle 1998: 532).

The cosmological process of bringing the four-directional waters back to the community is identical to that described for Pueblo people whereby the Sun Youth awakens the ancestral cloud spirits through the process of convection (see Chapter 2). The Huichol and Cora invocation of directional living-waters and its collection in bowls, both of which are representative of the living ancestral rain-spirits, is a concept that is strikingly similar to contemporary Pueblo conceptions of ancestral katsina rain spirits that are perceived as bowls or jars of water (see Schaafsma 1999, 2002). In other words, Cora, Huichol, and Pueblo people share perceptions of the ancestral spirits as vessels containing living water, the rain. This concept in the Greater Southwest is first evident in

the personified water jars at the site of Paquimé around AD 1200 and thereafter in the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period (see Chapter 11).

Not only are Huichol ancestors closely related to the rains, the Huichol life force or soul is also closely related to breath and cotton, which serve as an analogue to clouds. Much like other indigenous people in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, the Huichol relate the soul with breath or air, as one story relates that the soul of a slain individual “. . . came from his body as air” (Zingg 1938: 167). Among the Huichol, the breath of life and the soul are also closely related to wind (ibid.: 245), which itself is the means by which the gods are transported (ibid.: 246). The equivalence of wind, breath, and the soul for the Huichol is clear: “The wind participat[e]s with the breath as sacred because both are identified with the soul” (ibid.: 751).

Cotton and smoke are closely identified with rain clouds and the soul. According to Zingg (1938: 250), “Among the Huichols tufts of cotton symbolize clouds and are used on the altars of the wet-season ceremonies, and especially that of the first fruits. Smoke is another cloud symbol . . .” Lumholtz (1902: 2: 164) noted that wads of cotton placed inside of a deity’s drinking bowl were symbolic of clouds that bring life, health, and the rains. Elsewhere he (ibid.: 160) noted, “Cotton wads are symbols of rain because they look like fleecy clouds . . .” Furst (1968: 55) relayed one Huichol tradition where a ritual specialist (*mara’akáme*) sought to retrieve, and bundle in cotton, a lost life force that would come to be reinstilled into a gravely injured man:

Then the *mara’akáme* takes a little wad of cotton. He has brought this wad which is like cotton to lift up that life, to protect it. He lifts the life up with his plumes, carefully, carefully. On the tip of his feathers, very slowly, very carefully, he lifts it up . . . He takes that life and wraps it up in cotton

. . . He puts it there, inside the head. And that little wad of cotton, that which contains the life, that also goes inside. The cotton disappears inside the head with that life. And that man comes back to life again.

Elsewhere, the same Huichol consultant noted that this life force exits from the head of the person at death “. . . like a little cloud, a whirlwind” (ibid.: 56). Furst (ibid.: 57) considered this cloud-like soul to be “cotton ball-like”.

The same process of wrapping cotton around the soul occurs five years after death when the soul returns as a rock crystal or *urukame* (see Perrin 1996). Furst’s (1968: 83)

Huichol consultant described the wrapping of the *urukame*:

And then he [*the mara’akame*] asks that they bring him a little bit of cotton from a tree. Because there is a special kind of tree which has seeds in which there is some of that cotton. They go and collect some of this cotton and they begin to pull it apart and they take the seeds out. That is done so that they can cover that little rock crystal which is *‘urukame*.

The identification of this cotton-wrapped soul with the clouds is reiterated when, in the next moment, the *mara’akame* asks to wrap the cotton-like soul in a woven textile ornamented with a design of lightning (ibid.).

Much like for Pueblo societies in the American Southwest, deceased Cora ancestors are inextricably identified with the rain clouds. Just as directional rain clouds and rain-related plumed serpents in the Southwest are conjured through ritual acts such as smoking or burning of fields (see Chapter 3), so too is this concept evident among the Huichol of West Mexico. Lumholtz (1900: 20) reported that the burning of Huichol fields and the resultant smoke directly contributes towards the conjuring of multi-colored directional rain clouds. Clouds of smoke are thought to travel to the Rain Mothers to be transformed into clouds of rain that convey the plumed rain serpents (ibid.). Furthermore,

“When the fields are burned at this time [at the end of the dry season], the billowing clouds of smoke are considered by the Huichols to be related to rain-clouds” (Zingg 1938: 250-251). Coyle (1998: 513-514) noted that the living elders in the town of Santa Teresa who appoint local civil and religious authorities collectively:

. . . are called *tawósimwa* (Our Elders or Our Ancestors). Interestingly, but not coincidentally, rain clouds are referred to by the same name—Tawósimwa. Indeed, the elders who select the traditional civil and religious authorities in each town are depicted in Cora ritual as the same people who will become the clouds, and so continue to work for the benefit of the Cora people in their afterlife.

This form of ancestor worship permeated Cora ceremonialism in the preconquest period (pre-AD 1722) in the Sierra del Nayar (ibid.: 515).

Huichol burial patterns reveal the close connection between the afterlife and the realm of the dawning Sun. Fikes (1985: 349) noted that the souls of Huichols who have lived a moral life “become part of the Sun upon death.” A Huichol consultant revealed to Fikes (2011: 108-109) one Huichol burial rite:

[t]he head is toward the direction from where the sun rises. This is so they select the route taken by the sun when it rises, in accordance with the place where the person came from when they were living . . . After performing the Hutaimari [funeral ritual], the deceased is shown the right path in order . . . to go to the Sun Father.

Another Huichol consultant to Furst (1968: 96) indicated that the souls of ritual specialists, or *mara'akáme*, dwell in a circle around the Sun and accompany him through the heavens and underworld. He (ibid.) noted: “That is where they live, the *mara'akáte* who have died. Their souls are with the Sun. One by one they go up there.” To illustrate his point, the consultant drew a picture that portrayed a multi-rayed Sun surrounded by spirals said to represent the souls of shamans (ibid.). Fikes (2011: 109) also noted: “We

know that the virtuous deceased follow the path into the sky, thereby imitating the Sun Father.”

The life of an individual and the souls of ancestors also appear to be closely related to the sacred eastern lands and the “Mountain of Dawn”, also known as Cerro Quemado, Reunar, or Paritecūa. As one Huichol song proclaims, “There at Paritecūa, we are born with our ancestor deities” (Fikes 2011: 236, fn. 34). Thus, the journey of the deceased into the afterlife recreates the original creation of the world (ibid.), replicates the birth of the Sun into the sky from the sacred eastern mountain in the floral paradise of Wirikuta, and perpetuates the ritual precedents set by the deceased ancestors.

The birth of the Sun in Wirikuta is closely related to the birth or rising of the clouds into the sky. As one Huichol consultant noted, “Here in Wirikuta were born the rain and the clouds” (in Mata Torres 1980: 2: 28). Likewise, another Huichol account indicates that “[t]he Sun-Father is believed to send rain and clouds are said to come from his heart” (Fikes 1985: 348). The onset of Xochipilli worship in the Early Postclassic period in West Mexico probably was accompanied by a new conception of the ancestors as cloud and rain spirits, an idea that formed the basis of the ancestral katsina rain spirit complex that was adopted, transformed, and elaborated upon during the Pueblo IV period (ca. AD 1300) in the American Southwest.

“Sharing Breath”: The Sun and the Soul among the Raramuri of Northwest Mexico

The concept of the soul as being related to flowers, breath, smoke, wind, and life is integral to the cosmological frameworks of other indigenous people in northwest

Mexico. The depth to which these ideas permeate Raramuri (Tarahumara) thought and worldview have been documented in great detail (Salmón 1999). Raramuri worship a paramount figure known as Onorúame (or Reyenari) who is identified as the sun (ibid.: 89). The Tarahumara universe is conceived of as being tri-leveled, with an earthly middle-level divided by an underworld and an upperworld, with each level divided among other sub-levels. The upper level is occupied by Onorúame, his wife, and the Morning Star who watch over the people and the cultivated fields while the lower level of the universe is occupied by an evil opposed figure named Diablo in a realm of chaos (ibid.: 89-91). The upper level of the Sun is a place populated with the Sun's helpers including Raramuri souls, stars, butterflies, and beneficial plants (ibid.: 91). The battle between the forces of the Sun Onorúame and the soldiers of Diablo, or between the *soldados* and *fariseos*, during the Semana Santa ceremonies, have strong pre-Contact undertones and are strikingly similar to Semana Santa rites among the Cora and the defeat of the Sun over the forces of the underworld, as has been described elsewhere (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008).

In light of the ritual preeminence of the Sun, it is noteworthy to consider the nature of the soul among the Raramuri for comparative purposes. The concept of *iwigá* or *iwígara* ("breath"), the shared essence of all life, permeates Raramuri conceptions of the world (Salmón 1999: 177, 189). Traditions indicate that from the seed corn given by the sun, the Raramuri emerged as humans in the form of ears of corn on the growing maize plant (ibid.: 197-198). In Raramuri conceptions, the sun Onorúame also created or later transformed plants into people, a concept that links the *iwigá* breath of plants and people

as kin (ibid.: 201, 218). As Salmón (ibid.: 225) noted, “In *iwigara*, all is bound, connected, and affected by . . . sharing breath.” One Raramuri woman stated that “plants breathe *iwigá* just like we [humans] do” (ibid.: 222). Thus the physical act of respiration in humans, plants, and flowers is the conduit of the soul (ibid.: 226). Much like among other indigenous groups in Mesoamerica, the souls of deceased Raramuri and animals are said to be transformed into butterflies that visit the living (ibid.: 223).

Breath is an important component in all aspects of Raramuri life. For example, as women dance at *yúmari* ceremonies, “they symbolize the reproductive and fertile parts of the flower, and therefore its life giving breath” (Salmón 1999: 226). The *yúmari* dances are designed to keep the sun Onorúame healthy and to ensure that he has the strength to provide sustenance to all life (ibid.: 241). At dances, resting dancers do not entirely stop participating in the ceremonies but instead are said to be “dancing with their breath” (ibid.: 219). The consumption of fermented corn beer (*suwi-ki*) at these dances is likened to consuming the breath of the corn (ibid.: 226).

The intention of the *yúmari* dances is to enable the sun Onorúame to provide rain to nurture his daughters, the flowers (Salmón 1999: 294). One *yúmari* song reported by Lumholtz (in Salmón 1999: 296) clearly expresses the Raramuri affinity with the flowers:

Beautiful lily, in bloom this morning, guard me.
Drive away sorcery. Make me grow old. Let me
reach the age at which I have to take up a walking
stick. I thank thee for exhaling thy fragrance
there, where thou art standing.

It is clear that in the Tarahumara Flower World the exhalations and sharing of the breath soul of the flowers provides strength and vitality to their human kin: “By breathing the

fragrance of the lily, the singer is inhaling the *iwigá* of the lily that strengthens the *iwigá* of the singer” (Salmón 1999.: 296). Though only described briefly here, it is evident that conceptions of the Flower World and the dawning sun are infused in the beliefs and worldview of many indigenous peoples across northwest Mesoamerica, much of which are likely historically related to the northward spread of the Xochipilli-oriented Flower World complex from Mesoamerica in the Postclassic period.

The Sun and Flower World Ceremonialism in Contemporary West Mexico

An examination of contemporary rites of indigenous peoples in the Gran Nayar, particularly those of the Huichol and Cora, reveals that the Flower World of the Sun Youth and the ancestral rain spirits permeates religion and ceremonialism on every level. Important components of the Flower World, such as Flower Mountain, the eastern floral paradise, and the Morning Star as predecessor of the rising Sun clearly are integral to indigenous beliefs among local indigenous groups in the present day. The following sections examine contemporary Cora and Huichol ceremonies in some depth in order to discern the presence of, and degree to which, the Flower World is manifest in indigenous religious beliefs in the region. A better understanding of contemporary indigenous beliefs and ritual practices will help when seeking to reconstruct ancient religious beliefs in Aztatlán material culture and symbolism.

Pilgrimage to the Huichol Flower Mountain

Perhaps the most recognizable component of Huichol ritual for anthropologists and the general public is the widely described pilgrimage to the sacred eastern lands of Wirikuta for the collection of peyote, a journey that replicates the emergence of the ancestral gods from the western sea/watery underworld and their travels to the Land of Dawn to find their life with the rising sun. Within this eastern realm sits a sacred mountain of emergence and creation, variously called Reunar, Cerro Quemado (“Burned Hill”), Paritecūa, or Yoz Tecūa (“Peak of God”), among other names. According to Neurath (2005a: 86) the pilgrimage to the “flowered desert” of Wirikuta is necessary to obtain a visionary ability called *nierika*. *Nierika* is considered to be “a magical force that makes it possible to dream of, or rather to envision, the orderly renovation of the cosmos governed by the Sun Father” (ibid.). As noted above, a key destination in this pilgrimage to Wirikuta is the “Mountain of Dawn”, the place where the Sun is reborn in the east after having travelled through the underworld (ibid.: 87).

Wirikuta, and the journey to it, is heavily imbued with floral symbolism. Fernando Benítez recorded three Huichol songs recited by peyote pilgrims to Wirikuta and Paritecūa that strongly identifies an affiliation with Flower World, the womb, and the birth of clouds and the growth of in the maize field. The first peyote song, recorded by Benitez (1975: 75-76), begins:

Out of the sea rose the sea,
And after the sea
Came all the gods.
The gods advanced like flowers,
In the form of flowers,
Following the sea.

And they came to the womb,
The generating place,
The place of their birth.
Out of the womb came the cloud,
And from the cloud sprang the *xiriki* [god house],
And from the *xiriki* was born the deer
Who became the corn,
Who became the cloud
With rain for the cornfield . . .

The second peyote song, excerpted here (ibid.: 77-78), describes the sacred eastern mountain (here called Burned Hill or Reunar) as a flowery place of birth for the gods of the four quarters and rain:

Flowers are flying, flowers are wheeling,
Circling over the Burned Hill,
And out of the heart of Our Grandfather
Spring the itari and the Deer. . .
From the itari springs the rain,
The rain is loosed,
Sounding the message of the gods:
“Brothers, the time has come
to make the rain-arrow.”
The bowstring *wikuxa* leaps
To the notch of the arrow,
And the clouds rise again,
And the gods of the four quarters
Take form . . .
All rise into the air
And circle over Reunar; . . .

A third song describes the flowery road to Wirikuta: “The way of the flowers/ Leads here, through Wirikuta/” (ibid.: 74).”

Peter Furst (1997b: 33-34) recorded a separate song performed during the peyote pilgrimage, a portion of which is excerpted here, that reinforces the interpretation of Wirikuta as the sacred and idyllic floral realm:

For there at my rancho it is so ugly,

And here in Wirikuta so green, so green,
And eating [peyote] in comfort as one likes,
Amid the flowers, so pretty.
Nothing but flowers here,
Pretty flowers, with brilliant colors,
So pretty, so pretty.
And eating one's fill of everything
Everyone so full here, so full with food.
The hills very pretty for walking,
For shouting and laughing,
So comfortable as one desires,
And being together with all one's companions. (weeping)
Do not weep, brothers, do not weep,
For we came here to enjoy it,
We came on this trek,
To find our life.

These songs cumulatively identify the sacred eastern lands of Wirikuta and the Mountain of Dawn as a realm of flowers, a womb-like place of emergence for the gods and ancestors, a place of abundance, as the place to find life, and as a place of creation for the directional clouds and rain for the cornfield.

Flowers, Music, and Song in Flower World Ceremonies of the Huichol

Flowers have an integral role in indigenous ceremonies of contemporary West Mexico. According to Zingg (1938: 246-247):

Few tribes have more picturesque and beautiful uses for flowers than do the Huichols. Flowers and beautiful green leaves adorn the outside altars during all ceremonies, as well as the altars of the god-house. They are placed on the hats of all men at these times. And from flowers the women make elaborate headdresses for themselves and their children for wearing during the first fruits ceremony. Flowers, including a beautiful orchid, are used as a hyssop for sprinkling things and people in the Huichol baptism with sacred water.

Furthermore, Zingg (*ibid.*) noted:

Though flowers are used in the ceremonies of both the dry-and wet-season gods, the mythology reveals tht it is with the wet-season goddesses that flowers have the most intimate relationship. Thus they are associated with rain, growth, fertiliy, and increase. This is most natural since the flowers come out only with the rains when the Huichol country is changed from an arid desert to a sub-tropical land.

Flowers are closely related to music and water and, as one tradition described it, they serve as the means by which the Sun Father impregated a mortal woman who had innocently gathered flowers in her skirt (*ibid.*). Furthermore, flowers are identified with the Sun, as the central portion of a Huichol front-shield effigy of Father Sun was almost entirely covered by a large yellow paper flower (Lumholtz 1900: 116, fig. 124). The votive bowl of Father Sun also contained a white and yellow paper flower as well as symbols of clouds. Finally, Huichol consider that all “flowers beds”, symbolically constructed as certain woven mats, are considered as altars of the gods (*ibid.*: 152).

Much as music is integral to the identity of the young solar deity in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, music and song is also integral to Huichols traditions describing the birth of the dawning sun. Zingg (1938: 314) noted,

He played the violin, adding its music to the songs of the birds in order to please the Sun. All the paraphernalia sounded; the wolves howled; the lions roared; and the eagles screamed. Their father (the Sun) heard their song and was pleased . . . They sang for five hours and offered their burning candles in the middle of the dry-season. This ceremony finally tamed the Sun. The Huichols continue to do it to keep the Sun tame (i.e., to give the ceremonies of the Sun). If this were not done the Sun would stay in his cave and all of the world would be dark. Or else he would be wild, and, coming too close to the earth, would dry up and burn the world.

Music, song, dance, and flowers are integral to the identity and ceremony of the dawning sun among indigenous peoples in contemporary West Mexico.

The abundance of flowers used in such rites as the Parched Corn ceremony in the Huichol community of Ratontita astounded Zingg (1938: 420), who noted:

There was at least fifty thousand dollars worth of orchids used in this feast—at New York prices. Every man has a dozen in his hat. These silly-looking Huichol hats are indeed something of meaning and beauty in Huichol culture, being adorned with different flowers and leaves at every feast . . .

Aside from having a dominant presence of flowers, the close relationship between this Parched Corn ceremony and the dawning sun is explicit in the second stage of the ceremony when the ritual participants greet the dawn after having danced all night (ibid.: 425):

The dancing and singing lasts all night . . . Comes the dawn. The men have danced the whole night, and at dawn the women join the dance to greet the rising sun. The shaman's chairs have faced the east all night in anticipation of this event. As the sun rises the old shaman get up from his chair. Two candles are lit on the altar to light the sun on his arrival. With his shamans' plumes the old singer beckons to the sun, as he sings loudly. This was indeed a beautifully symbolic greeting.

Aside from the important use of flowers, yellow pollen of the widespread *Bombax palmeri* S. Watson, a member of the Bombacaceae family, is also important for decorating the faces of ritual participants in some ceremonies and is said to mimic the use of the sacred yellow *uxa* root collected in Wirikuta that is used to paint the faces of peyote pilgrims (Zingg 1938: 248).

Flower World and the Cora Ceremonial Cycle

The Cora Day-of-the-Dead/Holy Week ceremonial cycle provides a wealth of information from which to begin to understand the antiquity and complexity of Flower

World-related religious beliefs in West Mexico and the manner in which these indigenous belief systems were integrated with Christian rites. The following discussion describes in detail only some of the ceremonies in this ritual cycle and highlights the close connection of these rites to the Flower World.

The Cora Day-of-the-Dead cycle includes ten major festivals including the Day-of-the-Dead (Festival of the Deceased), Christmas, New Year's, Pachitas, and the Holy Week festivals (Coyle 2001: 115, 121). The symbolic killing of a figure named Hesu Kristu Tavástará (Jesus Christ our Elder) during the final rites of Holy Week serve to complete the fate of this figure who was conceived during the Festival of the Deceased and born during Christmas (ibid.: 138). This ceremonial cycle is akin to a morality play that is intertwined with the daily lives of people such that they provide instructions to people on their earthly journey from birth to death and their redemption as the deceased ancestral rain spirits (ibid.: 129). Those who leave their earthly sins behind "continue on as deceased ancestors in the flowery world of the rains" (ibid.: 127-128).

According to Coyle (2001: 120), for the Cora of the community of Santa Teresa, certain aspects of the Holy Week cycle:

. . . [are] linked not only with the deaths of all living Tereseño people . . . , but also with the transformation of (some) living people into the rains. These animate rains are then associated with the traditional authority of the cargo-system elders, who take over for these ancestral rains during the dry season and then supervise the ceremonies that bring them back by means of a symbolic sacrifice the following year.

The oscillation between the wet season of the returning Cora ancestral rain spirits and the dry season period under the authority of community elders who later supervise the ceremonies that bring back the rains is remarkably similar, and likely historically related,

to the ritual and political structure of Pueblo societies where community elders and medicine societies remain in charge and supervise the return of the ancestral katsina rain spirits. The commonality that links these two similar systems of belief in such disparate regions is the worship of the Sun Youth.

The main ceremony during the Festival of the Deceased (Day of the Dead) in the Cora town of Santa Teresa makes clear the ongoing agency of deceased Cora in the life of the community. This ceremony features a figure of a life-sized deceased man (known as *tayaxuk+*), that is constructed of flowers and is accompanied by a pair of boys mimicking owls, all of whom are strongly associated with the deceased ancestors and the seasonal rains (Coyle 2001: 121-123).

According to Cora consultants, this flower-covered figure is simply a different manifestation of the crucified Jesus Christ used during Holy Week ceremonies (Coyle 1998: 533; 2001: 123). One Cora ceremonial elder stated to Coyle (2001: 123):

That [flowered figure] is Tayaxuk+. That is the Jesus Christ that they will make. The [same] Jesus Christ that is lying over there that they never take out of the box [the figure of the infant Jesus in the sacristy]. This same one they are going to make up there so that everyone sees it. That is the one they are going to worship.

This figure is the same that is killed during Holy Week (*ibid.*). The small figure of Jesus Christ in the sacristy (called Hesu Kristu Tavástará) is born in the festival, grows up rapidly, and is killed by the “devils” in the Holy Week ceremonies (*ibid.*: 124). As discussed below, the central indigenous figure of the Cora Holy Week ceremonies is the Cora Sun God.

In the Festival of the Deceased ceremonies held in the church, Coras use *zempual* (marigold) flowers to construct an image of *tayaxuk+* in the form of a man and then place a shroud over the figure; a shroud that is later used to cover the crucified Christ during Holy Week (Coyle 1998: 533-534). During the course of the ceremony, Coras continually arrive and place piles of flowers as offerings around the image (ibid.). As an aside, while marigold flowers, with their pungent aroma, have wide usage in Day-of-the-Dead ceremonies across contemporary Mexico, it is notable that in West Mexico these flowers have had a long affinity with the solar deity Xochipilli. The Lienzo de Tlaxcala, a painted linen from the middle sixteenth century that depicts the Tlaxcalan participation in early Spanish conquest events, illustrates a toponym from the town of Xochipilla (likely modern Juchipila, Zacatecas) as a young boy holding marigold flowers (Chavero 1979: pl. 58). This image indicates that the association of Xochipilli with marigold flowers in West Mexico is evident from the earliest period of contact.

Within the Festival of the Deceased, an extremely complicated and interwoven tale illustrating the fate of the dualistic (both young and old) Hesu Kristu Tavástará (Jesus Christ, our Elder) is combined with the story of a dualistic being known as San Miguel Xúrave (Venus as Morning Star) and San Miguel Sáutari (Venus as Evening Star) (ibid.: 125-126). Coyle (ibid.: 126) referred to Hesu Kristu Tavástará as “a boy-deity walking the earth among people.” In my estimation, the story of a dualistic, oppositional but complementary Christ figure coupled with a dualistic, oppositional but complementary Morning Star figure may well relate to indigenous conceptions of the dualistic Sun (Night Sun and Day Sun) who is led by the Evening Star in the underworld (night) and the

Morning Star in the upper world (day) respectively. It is in his earthbound aspect that the young Sáutari, engages in sexual “sin” in order to bring life to the landscape (ibid.: 127), perhaps much like the earthbound aspect of the young, sexually charged solar deity Xochipilli helps to animate life on earth. After this, the earthbound sexualized figure sheds his sins to ascend as a more austere figure into the realm of the deceased ancestors in “the flowery world of the rains” (ibid.: 127-128). This tradition sounds quite similar to Zuni descriptions of the dualistic young solar deity who at one moment is a highly sexualized, almost clown-like figure that can transform into a more austere figure and ritual teacher in an instant (see Chapters 2 and 11).

The Cora Pachitas Festival and the Flower World

The longest festival of the Cora ceremonial cycle is the Pachitas Festival, which for the Cora of Santa Teresa begins in mid-January shortly after New Year’s and lasts until Ash Wednesday, the beginning of Lent (Coyle 2001: 138-139). The focus of this festival, recorded in some detail in the Cora town of Santa Teresa, is upon the younger side of the multi-faceted figure of Hesu Kristu Tavástara (Coyle 2001: 138). This younger side of Christ behaves similarly to the character named Sáutari (the Evening Star aspect of Venus). This young boy and his drunken and festive companions are thoroughly interested in self-gratification and earthly pleasures. The point of this pleasure, and the casting off of these earthly sins upon the land, is that it helps to bring the dry season to life. As the behavior of this young male is much the same as Sáutari, it should be noted that in his travels through the world, Sáutari casually wanders through the world having

sex with plants, animals, and rocks all the while bringing the world to life through his actions before shedding his “sins” and returning to his mother in the east (Coyle 2001: 119).

The sexualized aspect of Sáutari is explicit, as the verb stem *sáuta*, which means “cut flowers”, signals a clear sexual relationship to females (Coyle 2001: 142). The casting-off of this “sinful” behavior is analogous to deceased humans who leave their earthly sins behind and continue on as ancestral rain spirits in the flowery world of the rains (ibid.: 128). The point is that the young, highly sexualized aspect of Hesu Kristu Távastara and his companions in some regards sound quite like the characteristics of the young sexually charged solar deity Xochipilli/Piltzintli long known to be worshipped in the region. Thus, it may be the case that Xochipilli has dualistic but complementary components in a sexual side associated with the earth, underworld, and the west and the Evening Star and a more austere side associated with the above, the upperworld, the east, the Morning Star, and the austere deceased elders. Perhaps this conception is also perceived as a male/female duality.

During the Pachitas festival, two separate flag poles are paraded. One flag belongs to a group of musicians, singers, and others that comprise the Pachitas group associated with a young girl named La Malinche. In time to the rhythm of the music, the pole is stamped into the ground. Song lyrics, such as “dance, flag, dance” (ibid.: 139- 141), indicate that the feather-topped flag pole is intended to be perceived as dancing along with the ritual participants. This flag, associated with “earthly femaleness”, is decorated with colored crepe paper flowers, fresh flowers, multi-colored ribbons, bells, and a

cluster of long blue tail feathers of the *urraca* (long-tailed jay) at the top of the pole (ibid.: 139). During the course of this ceremony, individuals place peach blossoms and other flowers into the *malinches* hat until it is covered in multi-colored flowers. All of these elements identify the *malinche* as the representation of a pure virgin whose ‘flower’ is the object of the sex-crazed Sáutari (ibid.: 141).

After several days of ceremonial festivities, the group is joined by a young flag-bearing boy known as the *monarco*, a figure who takes on the similar characteristics of the sexualized nature of Sáutari (Coyle 2001: 142). The flag pole of the *monarco*, particularly a circular hoop that is later added, refers to the world-shaped *chánaka* “wheel” of the *mitote* ceremonies. It is notable that the flag of the *monarco* refers to the *chánaka*. The *chánaka* pole, which also makes an appearance in the Cora parched maize *mitote*, was described by Coyle (ibid.: 113) as representing a map of the Tereseño world:

Moreover, a number of ritual actions (like pilgrimages to gather sacred water at the five cardinal directions, prayers to maize and water in a gourd bowl, and dancing in a counter-clockwise direction around a central fire), as well as more esoteric symbols (like the shapes of century plants, spindle whorls, and watsiku crosses), also find strong meaning as images of the world in their resemblance to the *chánaka* pole.

This *chánaka* pole is also important to maize-bundle descent groups and helps to legitimize traditional authority (ibid.: 113-115).

The association of the *chánaka*, a symbol of the world, with the boy who represents the young, sexualized *monarco* is key. Elsewhere, in the Cora community of Jesús María, the *chánaka* is equated with Santo Entierro (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 451). Santo Entierro is the Christianized version of the Cora Sun god (ibid.: 455-456). They (ibid.: 451) further noted: “This is the Santo Entierro which is *todo el mundo*, the

chanaka, the world. He is God. The Dios Santos [Holy Week] is his fiesta, the greatest of the Indians (fiestas).” This passage indicates that the indigenous Cora Sun God (Xochipilli/Piltzintli), represented by the Christianized Santo Entierro, is an all-encompassing being associated with all of the world and the ceremonial cycle embedded in the *chánaka* pole and wheel. This characterization is essentially comparable to the role of the young Sun God in the ceremonial cycle of Pueblo people in the American Southwest. The close connection between the *chánaka* and directional symbolism, such as the gathering of ancestral water spirits to bring back to the center point of the Cora community, is remarkably similar to the role of the Sun Youth of the American Southwest who awakens the clouds from the four directions to bring water and ancestral rain spirits back to Pueblo villages (see Chapter 2).

During the Pachitas Festival (and Holy Week), people in the community collect colorful crepe paper to hang on the flags of the *malinche* and *monarco*, in their fruit trees, and in their garden. By the end of the festival on Ash Wednesday during Holy Week, the flags and the regalia of the *malinche* and the *monarco* are laden with ribbons, crepe paper, and flowers (Coyle 2001: 142-143). The display of colorful crepe paper, like the symbolic “flower-cutting” sexualized behavior of Sáutari, acts as a means by which to bring back the actual flowers of the world during the rainy season (ibid.: 143). The slow elaborations of the regalia of these figures and their poles and the increasing drunkenness of their associates culminates in a shower of “flowery color” at the end of the Pachitas Festival on the day before Ash Wednesday (ibid.: 143).

Furthermore, the two flag poles, one associated with the young female *malinche* and the other associated with the young male *monarco*, serve to index a duality and seasonal movement between the wet season (female) and the dry season (male) and back (Coyle 2001: 143). Thus, the oscillation of the wet and dry seasons, and the sexual tension between the two as represented in the *monarco* and the *malinche*, suggests that fertility and the creation of the flowery world on the landscape is dependent upon the conflict, cooperation, and the sexualized union of the female and male aspects of the wet and dry season, much like the creation of life involves procreative acts between a man and a woman. This emphasis on the cycle of the wet and dry season is notable and will be discussed in more detail below.

The sexualized nature of the duality between the *malinche* and the *monarco*, the symbolic wet and dry season, is reflected in the flowers worn by the young boy and girl and their associates on the final day of singing. Divided into two competing groups, the *malinche* and those that share an affinity with her wear white bell-shaped campanilla flowers in their hats (Coyle 2001: 143). The bell-like shape of this flower likely has connotations of the female sexual organs as a receptacle. The *monarco* and his associates wear in their hats a white calla lily with its characteristic long, yellow pollen-covered spadix protruding from the flower, a clear reference to the male sexual organ (ibid.: 143-144). The yellow pollen on this flower spike is considered akin to the *pinolito* (pollen used by the Pachiteros in this festival (ibid.: 144). According to Coyle (ibid.), “these two flowers, then, again imply a sexualized relationship between the malinche and the

monarco that is analogous to the relationship of Sáutari to the flowers, plants, trees, and even rocks that he brings to life during his travels on earth.”

On the final day and evening of the Pachitas performance, the two groups and the flags associated with the *monarco* and the *malinche* split up into two competing factions, both in pursuit of Hesu Kristu Tavástara. According to Coyle (2001: 144-145), these two groups come together again in the plaza later in the day to compete in a form of ritual battle:

The first group to arrive begins to sing but is then interrupted by the other group, which slams into them, disrupting their performance. One of the cargo system’s governors urges a competition, and so the groups alternate singing and pounding their flags while the other flag is forcefully quieted by a member of the opposing group.

This competition seeks to prove who has been searching harder for the Hesu Kristo Tavástara over the preceding weeks (ibid.).

Once this ceremonial battle concludes, the Pachiteros are covered in a shower of yellow pollen and commercial dyes until they become saturated in color. Following the cascade of pollen and colorful dyes, multi-colored candies are also tossed over the ritual participants: “People say that the pollen and dye are like rain and the hard candies are like hail. This colorful shower of pollen, dye, and candy, then, reflects the type of rainy-season fecundity that San Miguel Sáutari is said to have brought to earth (Coyle 2001: 146).” These colors are said to reflect “the colors of life”, while the Pachitero ceremony itself is said be geared towards a “life-bringing floweriness” (ibid.). Though neither the *malinche* and her associates nor the *monarco* and his associates were able to find Hesu

Kristu Tavástara, this chore will now fall to the ash-covered and clown-like “devils” during Holy Week (ibid.: 146-147).

The Pachitero festival, with the colorful and final drenching of participants in a shower of flower pollen and symbolic rain, is a striking and explicit example of the depth to which the Flower World complex permeates Cora rites. The *monarco* and *malinche* figures and their associates, and their ritual competition, are particularly noteworthy and shed light on the nature of prehispanic rites in the region. These highly sexualized beings and groups are intimately related to the opposed but complementary wet and dry season. Much as copulation between males and females helps to create life, so too is the symbolism of this male and female highly evocative of a sexualized tension. The ritualized battle or competition between what are essentially human representatives of the wet and dry seasons, serves to bring about the following virtual explosion of Flower World imagery and symbolism on the physical landscape.

As both groups are related to the search for Hesu Kristu Tavástara, a probable symbol of the Christ/Sun who is later captured during Holy Week, it is likely that the duality between the two groups is reflective of a division and “battle” between the two aspects of the sun during the dry season and the wet season. The conflict and union between these opposed halves of the year that results in a profusion of the flowery world of the rains and the production of a flowery realm on the landscape is profoundly similar to the symbolic “Battle of the Seasons” that I identify in Chapter 11 for the Casas Grandes and Pueblo IV-period cultures of the American Southwest. Notably, a new form of solar worship with an emphasis on diligently marking the changing seasons through

observations of the movement of the dawning sun on the eastern horizon took form in West Mexico during the Postclassic in the Aztatlán region (see Ohnersorgen et al. 2010). Given this conclusion, it is most probable that these ideas and rituals centered on the opposed but complementary seasons were transmitted northward to the American Southwest via the Casas Grandes culture along with worship of the Sun God Xochipilli around AD 1200 (see Chapter 11).

Cora Holy Week Ceremonies and the Death and Rebirth of the Sun

The Semana Santa (Holy Week) ceremonies among the Cora (Nahmad and Hinton 1997; Neurath 2001) are perhaps the most explicit example of the depth to which solar ceremonialism continues to be at the center of indigenous religion in the region. The Holy Week ceremonies, with a clearly syncretistic Christian façade, represent vernal equinoctial rites that reenact the mythic death and resurrection of the Sun and the defeat of the stars and the nocturnal forces of darkness in the underworld (Neurath 2001). For the Cora of the Mesa del Nayar, the best published pictorial sources for the Holy Week ceremonies to date were taken by the photographer Guillermo Aldana, who accompanied anthropologists and filmmakers to the Mesa del Nayar in 1970 (Aldana 1971; Aldana and Madrigal 2007: 100-137). An extended discussion of Cora Holy Week rites helps to discern the prehispanic religious foundation of these ceremonies, partly obscured by indigenous and Catholic syncretism, and provides part of the framework by which to seek to understand religious beliefs among Aztatlán people during the Postclassic period.

The rites of Holy Week are among the most important ceremonies in the ritual cycle for indigenous people of the Gran Nayar. The ceremonies of the Cora of the Mesa del Nayar (Mesa del Tonati), perhaps the most conservative in the region, are centered upon the renewal of agricultural fertility and the birth or resurrection of the Sun, a figure today conflated with Christ (Neurath 2001). Notably, a portion of this ceremony is dedicated to the construction of a large Holy Week altar within the church that is made of wooden scaffolding and is laden with plants and vegetation (Coyle 201: 150). In its final form, “the large altar within the church resembles a green, flower-covered mountain (or a pyramid). Indeed, the following day it is used as a kind of ‘Garden of Gethsemane’ on the ‘Mount of Olives’” (ibid.). The description of a symbolic flower-covered mountain constructed for rites associated with the birth of the Sun is clearly related to the Mesoamerican conception of Flower Mountain, the birthplace of the Sun.

The centerpiece of the Holy Week rites involve the persecution and sacrifice of the Sun (represented by a small boy) by an army of blackened star demons, a rite that strongly resembles indigenous cosmology in highland Central Mexico (Mathiowetz et al. 2008). An account of Holy Week ceremonies in the Cora community of Jesús María, located to the northeast of the Mesa del Nayar, provides much greater detail (Nahmad and Hinton 1997) as do Holy Week rites reported from the Cora town of Santa Teresa (Coyle 2001: 148-176).

Holy week rites in the community of Jesús María, lasting from Palm Sunday until Easter Sunday, center upon a Christianized version of the Cora solar deity Tayau (who I argue is equivalent to Piltzintli), the creator of the world who is known in these rites by

his Christian name Santo Entierro. An account recorded by Hinton (in Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 451) described Santo Entierro in the context of Christian ceremonialism:

Long ago when the world had to be remade, the Santo Entierro guided man . . . When the world was whole again [after a great flood], Santo Entierro told the people to return to earth and they with the animals leapt from the boat and began life anew . . . This is the Santo Entierro which is *todo el mundo*, the *chanaka*, the world. He is God. The Dios Santos [Holy Week] is his Fiesta, the greatest of the Indians' (fiestas).

According to Nahmad and Hinton (1997: 454-456), two of the principal deities in contemporary Cora religion are Santo Entierro (also known as Father Sun, Tayau, or Toakamuna) who is associated with the Holy Sepulcher and Tahas (Tahats) (also known as Hatzikan or Elder Brother among other names), a deity identified as the Morning Star (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008; Neurath 2005a). The Morning Star is identified in Cora cosmology, much as it is for Pueblo people and other Mesoamerican cultures, as the stellar warrior who leads or precedes the Sun as it emerges from the underworld (Mathiowetz et al. 2008; Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 455; Neurath 2005a). This stellar deity is evident in the iconography of the Aztatlán culture and dates to no earlier than the Early Postclassic, or AD 900 (Mathiowetz et al. 2008).

The Christian God is conflated with the indigenous Cora Sun God. According to Nahmad and Hinton (1997: 455-456):

Santo Entierro, Tayau, *Nuestro Padre* (Our Father), also called *Dios Tata* (Father God), was originally the *Dios del Sol* (God of the Sun) and the majority of the Coras still recognize him as such . . . Nevertheless, they generally distinguish him from the physical presence of the Sun . . . To the people of Jesús María, Tayau, or Santo Entierro, is the same as the Christian God. In Jesús María one can fully see the syncretism of the two ideas of God, in which Tayau preserves all the attributes of the ancient Sun God combined with some of those of the Christian God the Father.

The identification of Santo Entierro (the Christianized form of the Cora Sun God), as distinguished from the physical presence of the visible Sun, is identical to those conceptions of the Sun Youth Xochipilli as being distinct from the visible sun disk, a concept also known among Pueblo and Central Mexican people. This description is important, as it securely identifies Santo Entierro as being the Christianized version of the Cora “God of the Sun”, Piltzintli. The Santo Entierro is represented by an image of the crucified Christ that is kept in a small coffin in the church. Likewise, the journey of the Sun through the darkened underworld and his emergence at dawn is likened to the death and resurrection of the Christian deity Jesus Christ (ibid.: 456). While the Catholic ceremonies and the indigenous Cora *mitote* ceremonies are considered as separate, the members of the village hierarchy form the same group of participants in both ceremonies (ibid.: 458).

In the community of Jesús María, Santo Entierro has a special ceremonial house attended by a group of attendants headed by a main priest “of Tayau”, called a Centurión, who spends a large portion of the year performing the customary rites of Our Father (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 456). In actuality, there exist two Centuriones, the Black (*Primer Centurión Primero Negro*) and the White (*Centurión Segundo Blanco*) Centurión (ibid.: 459). While the civil hierarchy of the community operates year-round, during Holy Week all political, religious, and social power is transferred to the Centuriones as directors of the rituals (ibid.). Their principal office is located in the Casa Fuerte, the guardhouse of Santo Entierro (ibid.). In essence, the Centurión is a priest of the Sun (ibid.). The Fariseos are a group of twenty men who serve under the alternating direction

of each Centurión and accompany this leader during their vigils around the church where Santo Entierro is kept (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 460). The Judíos, a group of young men who wear masks and body paint, are related to the Fariseos but are considered a separate group (ibid.: 461). These groups are discussed in more detail below.

As noted above, Holy Week lasts for one week beginning on Palm Sunday and lasting through Easter Sunday. The activities that occur at Jesús María on each day were documented by Nahmad and Hinton (1997) and deserve a more detailed analysis. Among the processions that occur on Monday is the parading of the image of San Miguel the Archangel, who is the Christianized version of the Cora Morning Star Tahats or Hatzikan (ibid.: 464). The appearance of the Morning Star at the beginning of the ceremonies that end in the symbolic rebirth of the Christ/Sun may reflect the Cora perception of the Morning Star as predecessor heralding the arrival of the dawning Sun. The following day's activities involve the search for the Nazarene (comparable to Santo Entierro) by the Judíos and Fariseos (ibid.: 465).

The search intensifies the following day where the masked Judíos run at great speed through town blowing whistles, waving machetes, yelling, and ask for goods such as tobacco, cigarettes, and other donations from families in their houses (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 465-466). As the day progresses, the dancing of the Judíos turns to mock fighting with wooden machetes and grotesque mimickry as they are accompanied by the sound of flutes and drums and transform into an army of infernal beings (ibid.: 467-468). Women in the community at this time begin the process of large-scale food preparation for participants and spectators of the festivities that occur each day. In front of the Casa

Fuerte of Santo Entierro, the Judíos engage in mock-fighting, sexual horseplay, simulated intercourse, and orgasm (ibid.: 468). According to Benítez (1970: 498-499), these dancers shed their human personalities and engage in merriment, buffoonery, mischief, pranks, and display a broad range of freedoms that reflect a lack of self control outside of the normally constrained framework of rules. Through obscenity and mockery, they seek to destroy that which is sacred and essentially exhibit the behavior of clowns (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 473).

This sexualized horseplay, performed to the laughter of the spectators, serves to entertain the observers and is closely tied to agricultural abundance and rites of fertility for the soil, animals, human beings, and life itself (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 468-469). During the course of the ceremony in their later search for the Christ-child on Friday, the Capitanes of the Judíos also speak in oppositions or negatives. This type of behavior is strongly reminiscent of Pueblo clowns in the American Southwest (see Chapter 11). In West Mexico, these beings are probably of great antiquity, perhaps even dating to the onset of solar ceremonialism in the Aztlán region. In fact, given the close relationship of these clown-like figures to the death and rebirth of the Cora Sun God in these ceremonies, it is entirely possible that the clown societies of the Southwest developed as a result of adopting a new form of solar worship from West Mexico via Paquimé that came with an attendant belief system centered upon clowns (see Chapter 11).

On the following day (Thursday) of the Cora ceremony, an offering of an urn is taken to the shrine of Thuakamota to honor “the God Seated on the Mesa del Nayar”, while each of the previous five days also saw a special prayer wand constructed and

taken to the cave shrine (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 469). On this day, the Judíos continue their transformation from their previous form as human beings and decorate their entire bodies with black-and-white striped designs, always these two colors (ibid.: 469-470). The black designs are composed of ashes covering their face and bodies and the white lines lend a zebra-like effect (ibid.: fig. 16.5). Elsewhere, Coyle (2001: 108) indicated that alternating black-and-white bands of yarn on a certain object represented dark clouds. Thus, this painted design on the bodies of the ash-covered males may well also signify clouds. Whatever the meaning, in their new guise these figures aggressively search out the Sun God (Christ) in order to kill him. Thursday continues with a focus upon the church and a young boy, named *El Nazareno* (“The Nazarene”), who impersonates the Christ. This boy, captured during the course of the day, is one of three personators of Christ used in different contexts in the rituals, the two others being Santo Entierro and a depiction of Christ on a cross that is used in the procession outside of the church (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 472-473).

On Thursday, a separate but related ceremony that involves Santo Entierro also occurs. Within the church, the image of Santo Entierro is removed from his small coffin and placed in front of the main altar. Among the somber and mournful mood of the devotees, a symbolic wake, or *velación*, ensues. Covering Santo Entierro is a cloth with a burning candle placed at each corner (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 474). This detail, the placement of four directional candles, is significant and may well relate to ideas reflected in a Huichol tradition that states that four candles were placed at the corners of the world to help the sun rise. Fikes (2011:147-150) reported Huichol stories whereby directional

candles set at the world corners and center place symbolized a ladder or stairway upon which the sun would arise at dawn. He (ibid.: 148) further noted: “All available evidence suggests that lighting candles . . . supports the world established by the Sun Father.” Thus, if this concept holds true for the candles placed around the Cora imagery of Christ/Tayau/Santo Entierro just prior to his symbolic resurrection, the candles at the four corners of the cloth may well serve to represent the ladder by which the Christ/Sun at the center of the world emerges at dawn at the end of the Cora Holy Week.

According to Nahmad and Hinton (1997: 475):

For many Coras this Velación for Santo Entierro is the most critical ceremony which unfolds during Holy Week because he that rests is the image of God, be he Cristo or Tayau, Nuestro Padre, *El de Los Coras* (Our Father, the One of the Coras). Santo Entierro is the image most feared and revered of all the Cora santos . . . They continue on with the two representations of Christ—the center of attention—focusing upon the images from two time periods: the mysterious time of the Santo Entierro, and the present time with Christ represented alive or as a statue. Evidently, all this takes place in a kind of dream-time where time and space are merged.

This statement clarifies the powerful religiosity of the Santo Entierro, a Christianized version of the Cora Sun God. These particular rites seem to collapse earlier time periods and prehispanic rites centered on the indigenous Sun God with relatively recently acquired rites of the Christian deity Jesus. By this point in the ceremonial cycle, the Christian clergy and dominion has been rendered obsolete as the ceremonies fall completely under the power and organization of the Cora (ibid.: 475).

Good Friday represents the climax of the ceremonies and festival with the sacrifice of the Christ-child, the young boy who represents the Nazarene. In the morning, an army of Judíos, now painted in multi-colored paints as opposed to their earlier black-

and-white design, gather their machetes, much as the Fariseos gather their lances, and proceed in the search for the Nazarene who is now hiding in the Church (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 476). In leaving the Church, the young boy who represents the Nazarene engages in a prolonged chase involving the Judíos who seek to capture him, eventually taking sanctuary in the Casa Fuerte of Santo Entierro before finally being captured upon his emergence and returned to the church (ibid.: 476-477). The capture is followed by a ritual procession of images of the Virgin and the Christ which, in turn, is mocked in a ritual burlesque by the Judíos who ride backwards on burros decorated with eggshells, later to be broken over the heads of Judíos, and carry burning chiles instead of incense. These acts evoke laughter and jokes from the crowd (ibid.: 479). Events following this procession include change-of-office rites where the present Centuriones meet the new Centuriones, recently selected by a council of village elders, who will take this office the following year (ibid.: 480). This rite is accompanied by gifts of food.

The Friday rituals conclude with the symbolic death of Christ and the collapsing of all of his different identities into his true Cora line (Nahmad and Hinton 1997: 480). At the final feast, the *Basta* or priest of Santo Entierro recites a prayer asking everyone to eat the beans, meat, fish, and food given to them by Santo Entierro. He then asks for the first fruits to be taken to the house of Santo Entierro so that he may eat first (ibid.). In the final procession, and after five days of preparation inside his Casa Fuerte, the image of Santo Entierro is prepared be placed in his small urn inside the church (ibid.: 481-482). This act signals the end of the official festival. Saturday represents a day of rest and involves the dismantling of the ramadas, the cleansing of paint from the bodies of the participants, and

the resumption of the positions of civil authority. Sunday represents the conclusion of Semana Santa and involves the bathing of saints and the final rest of Santo Entierro who is safely ensconced in his urn within the church (ibid.: 482-485).

During the following Cicada ceremony, a rain-oriented festival begun shortly after Holy Week in May, rites of harvesting the hearts of century plant and distilling them into liquor are closely tied symbolically to ancestral rain-spirits and the Flower World. At the time of harvest around Holy Week, some century plants send up an inflorescent shaft, an indicator that the plant is ready to be harvested (Coyle 1998: 532). For the Cora of Santa Teresa, the central floral shaft of the plant is a symbolic model of the world, with the central floral stalk serving as a form of *axis mundi*. This flower stalk serves as a means to connect the living Cora with their deceased ancestors in the heavens. Moreover, the process of distilling the century plant sap into liquor via the heat of fire mimics the process by which the vaporous ancestor-rains are formed through the heat of the sun (ibid.). It is notable then that liquor-drinking rituals take place at sunrise (Coyle 2001: 60). Thus, the distillation into liquor is akin to the precipitating rain drops. It is in this connection to the ancestral rain-spirits that liquor forms such an important component of Cora festivals (Coyle 1998: 532; Coyle 2001: 56-61).

In the preceding section, I reviewed details of some Cora festivals in the ceremonial cycle, including the Festival of the Deceased, the Pachitas Ceremony, the Holy Week Ceremonies, and, briefly, the Cicada ceremony. Though shrouded in Christian symbolism, a closer examination of these rites reveals just how thoroughly the ceremonial cycle is centered around prehispanic conceptions of the young sun god, the

Morning Star, ritual clowns, the ancestors as rains, the oscillating wet and dry seasons, sexuality and fertility, and the fecundity of the Flower World. These ceremonies can shed an incredible amount of light on our understanding of the historically related Aztatlán ceremonial cycle and belief systems. In my estimation, though covered by a thin layer of Christian symbolism, contemporary Cora ceremonies that involve the above-listed core beliefs and deities probably are closely akin to the religious beliefs and rites that took form across the region in the Postclassic period with the onset of Xochipilli worship in the region, but most particularly among the temple-town centers on the Pacific coastal plain. These ideas and concepts, in addition to others such as the Corn Maidens, are discussed more fully in the following sections.

The Sun and the Corn Maidens in West Mexico

Aside from being the embodiment of the dawning sun, the Sun Youth of Mesoamerica, Northwest Mexico, and the American Southwest is also closely related to the return of the young maize plant (see Chapters 2 and 11). For indigenous people of Mesoamerica, an aspect of the solar deity Xochipilli is his form as the male maize god Centeotl. Coupled with this male aspect, in Central Mexico an important component of the larger Xochipilli-Centeotl complex is the female maize goddess named Chicomecoatl, a young corn maiden who wears a tall headdress ornamented with maize cobs.

For Pueblo people in the American Southwest, Sun Youth ceremonialism bears striking similarities to this solar-maize deity complex in that the young solar deity is closely identified as the maize plant and is intimately affiliated with rites concerned with

the return of the young multi-colored directional corn maidens to the pueblos each year. The Sun Youth and Corn Maiden complex of the American Southwest most likely was adopted as a whole from the Casas Grandes region of northern Mexico after AD 1200. In my estimation, the strikingly similar solar and maize religious complexes in these different areas are all historically related and did not exist as an underlying set of beliefs that existed in all regions in perpetuity.

In considering when, and from where, this new religious complex was transmitted northward from Mesoamerica to northwest Mexico and the American Southwest, it is clear that there must have been an intermediary region through which this complex was transmitted. The timing of the arrival of these beliefs into the northern regions perhaps no earlier than AD 1200 strongly implicates the Aztatlán tradition as the probable source of origin of these beliefs. The fact that worship of the young solar deity Xochipilli in the Casas Grandes region directly originates from West Mexico, as described in the present chapter, strongly substantiates the postulation that Corn Maiden rituals originated there as well.

Scholars have long noted similarities between Pueblo rites and Huichol and Cora rites (e.g., Parsons 1939: 1008-1015), including those similarities that extend to Corn Maiden rituals. As Parsons (*ibid.*: 1009) suggested, the Huichol corn goddesses “may be compared with Keresan or Isletan Corn Mothers or with Zuni Corn Maidens who hide in the ocean from Sun Youth.” Given this noted similarity, it is instructive to examine the ethnographic record of West Mexico in order to discern analogues for the Corn Maiden tradition of the Southwest. The finding of similar traditions among probable descendants

of Aztatlán people in the former region of the Aztatlán cultural tradition would help to strengthen the argument that the Corn Maiden tradition of the American Southwest and the Casas Grandes region originated in West Mexico. Presumably, this proposed complex in West Mexico, in turn, would have been adopted or brought along with Sun Youth traditions from highland Central Mexican peoples from further south, likely from the larger Mixteca region.

Since the early beginnings of ethnographic field work among the Huichol of West Mexico, ethnographers described the rites and attributes of the Corn Mothers (Zingg 1938: 434-480; Valadez 2010). As Shelton (1996: 452) noted, for the Huichol each of the five directionally colored maize (white, red, yellow, blue, and mottled) is considered to be a maize maiden. However, in one Huichol account recorded by Fikes (1985: 234, 289, 297), there are seven differently colored Corn Maidens. Nonetheless, like for the Hopi, the most important color of maize for the Huichol and Cora is the blue maize (Furst 1994: 136; Shelton 1996: 452). Much as the Puebloan version of the Corn Maiden traditions concerns the proper treatment of maize and the consequences of maltreatment, so to do numerous traditions of the Huichol and Cora describe the origins and consequences of the improper treatment of the Corn Maidens (see Schaefer 2002: 207; Taube 2000b).

In a recent study, Valadez (2010) drew comparisons between contemporary Huichol ceremonies for the Corn Mother named Niwetsika and those rites recorded by Zingg. For the Huichol, Fikes (2011: 44) reported that the Corn Mother Tatei Nihuetzica (Niwetzika) is also known by the name of Otoanaca. The Huichol Corn Mother Niwetzika and her attendant ceremony is closely related to the arrival of the Sun and the

rains at dawn. According to one Huichol consultant, the directionally colored Corn Maiden Niwetzika (Nihuetzica) has a close affinity for the breath of the dawning Sun, “[I]n the morning Tatei Yoahuima, or Nihuetzica, listens to the breathing of our Sun Father. To her, his breath feels like fresh air” (Fikes 2011: 226, fn. 7). The receptivity of the Huichol Corn Maiden to the breath of the dawning Sun is a concept of striking similarity to that of the Pueblo Corn Maidens who are receptive to the breath of the Sun Youth (see Chapter 2). Notably, just as the Sun God of the Huichol ascends upon a sacred ladder (*nihuetari*) at dawn, so too does the Huichol Corn Maiden ascend upon her own ladder to the place where she sits upon her altar in the temple (Fikes 2011: 252, fn. 16).

In a description of female sweeping rites at dawn in preparation for a Huichol ceremony, a Huichol consultant (in Valadez 2010: 79) noted:

The brooms belong to the Corn Mother, Tatei Niwetzika . . . By doing this [sweeping] they communicate with the clouds, they are sweeping the clouds to make them travel across the sky so they can bring the rain to nourish our crops. When they sweep in the four directions they are also bringing the aroma of our ceremonies to the gods and goddesses in the cardinal points. They sweep before dawn so that when Father Sun rises he is greeted with a clean patio and will therefore bring many blessings to us all during the day.

For the Huichol, rituals of sweeping are an important instruction given by the Maize Mother for the arrival of the Blue Maize Maiden (Shelton 1996: fig. 115). Preuss (1907), Furst (1994: 148), and Taube (2000b) drew strong parallels between Huichol, Cora, and Nahua Maize Maiden sweeping rites with strikingly similar mythology and sweeping rituals involving the Late Postclassic Aztec Maize Goddess Chicomecoatl, who is analogous to the Puebloan Corn Maidens in the Xochipilli-oriented solar-maize complex (see Chapter 2).

In demonstrating the cyclical nature of the life, growth, and death of corn, the Corn Mother Niwetzika is considered to be both the Corn Mother and the Corn Child, the former giving birth to the latter, who ultimately grows up to become the Corn Mother again (Valadez 2010: 81). Nearly every aspect of Huichol religion is tied to the Corn Mother, to the balance between the sun and rain, and ultimately to human life as symbolic corn (ibid.). The Corn Mother is integral to Huichol life, as Valadez (ibid.: 82) noted, “The lives of Huichol people are so intertwined with the Corn Mother that when they die the shaman’s songs reunite their souls with their divine mother goddess in the afterlife.”

The cargo role of the maize goddess Niwetsika is fulfilled on the rancho level at the family *xiriki*, or god house, a place where close and distant kin gather to perform family ceremonies. According to Schaefer (2002: 70),

The family *xiriki* is located at the rancho of whomever the parents have entrusted with the sacred family maize and gourd bowl (called Niwetsika, like the maize goddess) and the ancestors in the form of small rocks or quartz crystals [*urukate*]. . . –most often the oldest sibling.

As Schaefer (ibid.: 115) further noted, the person who fulfills the ritual role of the corn goddess Niwetsika wears a special woven textile belt (*kuxira*) tied around the head. The girls or women who wear this belt associated with their cargo are said to be human representations of the sacred ears of maize (ibid.: 116). A young girl with the rancho cargo of the maize goddess Niwetsika is depicted in one photo wearing the sacred woven headband with a full-sized cob of maize strapped to her forehead, a probable signifier of her role as a corn maiden (see Schaefer 2002: fig. 38).

Although the Corn Mother in some way or other is present in ceremonies throughout the annual ceremonial cycle, she makes an important appearance in a ceremony that takes place at the change of the seasons near the summer solstice when the rainy season takes over from the dry season (Valadez 2010: 82; Zingg 1938: 434-502). This ceremony, called *Nama wita neixa*, is centered upon the courtship and fertilization of the Corn Maiden, whose seeds are subsequently planted into the earth and reborn into the Corn Child (Valadez 2010: 82). Tatei Nihuetzica (also known as Otuanaca) also makes an important appearance in the Tatei Neixa ceremony, or the Dance of Our Mother (Fikes 2011: 70).

Zingg (1938: 460) described the *Nama wita neixa* ceremony as “the ceremony to prepare the soil for seed.” The planting rites that involve the phallic digging stick and the womb-like nature of the earth is clearly akin to human copulation. Zingg (ibid.: 460) observed the ceremony in the Huichol communities of Ratontita and Tuxpan. The central figure in this ceremony is the Corn Mother, an effigy of whom is placed upon a special altar in the temple (see image in Valadez 2010: fig. 6.10). Zingg (1938: 461) described the Corn Maiden upon the altar,

The main feature of the altar for this feast is the large figure of the corn-goddess, almost life-sized and dressed as women. This is called *uki* (corn girl). It is made using a Huichol stool as a base. This is filled with corn-ears and husks which are tied roughly in the shape of a person. The figure is then dressed in Huichol woman’s costume with several skirts, camisas, white embroidered mantles, and two mantles made of new bandanna handkerchiefs. The figure has two ribbons around the head, and these are filled with a couple of dozen shaman’s plumes.

Contemporary Huichol consultants also described the construction of the Corn Maiden effigy in more detail (Valadez 2010: 84). According to one consultant, the effigy of the

Corn Maiden is constructed of five stalks of ear-laden corn, each bunch of five brought by 25 temple officers as well as one ear of special seed corn brought by each of the temple officer's wives (ibid.).

These cobs, the mother corn, are used as the head of the effigy while the stalks comprise the body (Valadez 2010: 84). Her headdress includes eagle feathers and the long blue tail feathers of the jay, most likely the plumes of the beautiful *urraca* used by the Cora, which are here said to represent rainfall and lightning (ibid.). Zingg's (in Valadez 2010: fig. 6.9) photos of the Corn Goddess Ceremony portray the offering of gourd bowls of food to the effigy of the Corn Maiden in the plaza at Ratontita.

A portion of the ceremony, described as the "ceremony of dancing the corn goddess", involves parading the Corn Maiden in the temple and in the plaza (Zingg 1938: 467). Pictures of this rite were also recorded by Zingg (see photo in Powell and Grady 2010: 130, pl. 53). During the Corn Goddess Ceremony, the Corn Mother is accompanied by a male guardian who fans her with a fan made of turkey feathers (Valadez 2010: 85-87). Given that the life cycle of the corn-eating grasshopper is closely aligned with the life cycle of the corn plant, this man is noted as the symbolic representation of a grasshopper who fans his symbolic wings over the corn plant. The breeze created from his symbolic wings serves to invoke the God of Wind to bring the rain clouds that are vital for the pollination of corn from the ocean to the mountains (ibid.: 86).

During these rites, the Corn Mother's male companion shakes his gourd rain rattle in order to call the rain and the clouds to help pollinate the corn (Valadez 2010: 86). These rain rattle rites are closely analogous to the rain rattles used in Pueblo Corn

Maiden ceremonies to imitate and call for the clouds to bring rain upon the maidens (see Chapter 2). These Huichol ceremonies set the course for the symbolic impregnation of the Corn Maiden that occurs within the temple where her effigy sits upon her sacred altar (ibid.: 86). According to Zingg (1938: 256, fn. 134) the Corn Girl was too sacred to have intercourse with her mortal husband; instead, she was impregnated by the Sun Father who left sacred flowers upon her lap.

These Huichol Corn Maiden rites also involve five male rain dancers who wear headdresses and special cloaks and stomp upon the fires in order to symbolically extinguish the dry season and inaugurate the rainy season (Valadez 2010: 86). These five rain dancers undoubtedly are imbued with directional rain symbolism and, essentially, they can be perceived as fulfilling the same role of directional rain chiefs or directional Tlalocs. In a similar account told by one Huichol consultant (in Fikes 2005: 115-116), the ancestor-deity Rain Mothers are implored to arrive from all directions to be present at the birth of the corn-child Niwetsika. The concept of directional rain deities (or Tlalocs) with a central multi-colored Corn Maiden, essentially the same idea known for the contemporary Huichol, was known for the Late Postclassic Aztec as portrayed on page 30 and 31 of the *Codex Borbonicus*. This latter scene celebrating the multi-colored maize goddess Chicomecoatl involved the five directional Tlaloc impersonators dancing around the central Corn Mother Chicomecoatl (see Taube 2000b: 318-319, figs. 21-22).

These Aztec and Huichol rites of the Corn Maiden are essentially identical in nature. Notably, the concept of the ancestor rain deities, or Rain Mothers, who bring rain to the community during the rainy season and depart at the beginning of the dry season

(Fikes 1985: 184), is essentially parallel to those ideas expressed in the Puebloan katsina complex. Much like for Pueblo people of the American Southwest, the inextricably intertwined relationship between the sun, rains, and maize is evident for the Huichol, whose ritual focus serves to “recreate a world where sun and rain coexist in proportions favorable for maize horticulture” (ibid.: 263).

In Huichol thought, the unification of the deer, maize, and peyote (see Myerhoff 1974) is closely related to the Corn Mother Niwetsika (Schaefer 2002: 196). One part of the Niwetsika tradition described a Huichol culture hero’s search for maize, his marriage to the maize girl, and her mistreatment and eventual return to her mother (ibid.: 196-199). A second aspect of the Niwetsika tradition involved the corn maiden’s decision to live in the sacred eastern lands of Wirikuta and the pilgrimage her mother and husband made to find her (Schaefer 2002: 196, 199-200).

These traditions, first detailed by Preuss (1907), were described in some detail by Furst (1994). Similar traditions of the maize maiden were recorded by Preuss among the Cora of Nayarit and the Nahuas of San Pedro Jícara, Durango (see Furst 1994), a point that suggests that the Corn Mother traditions are pan-regional. In the latter tradition, upon her arrival in Wirikuta, the corn maiden turned herself into the peyote which is now hunted symbolically as deer by peyote pilgrims (Schaefer 2002: 199). In fact, though the peyote pilgrims journey to the Land of Dawn to visit the place where the sun was first born, they also travel to Wirikuta in order to give thanks to the Corn Mother Niwetsika “for the fruits of her labor and to ask for her help in growing the new maize crop” (ibid.: 207).

According to Schaefer (2002: 207), the story of Niwetsika is integral to Huichol creation mythology as well as to the story of the peyote pilgrimage to Wirikuta, the land of dawn. The idea that the Huichol Corn Maiden lives in Wirikuta, the land of the dawning sun, is quite similar to Pueblo conceptions of the Corn Maidens who return to the pueblos with the Sun Youth from the east (see Chapter 2). Notably, Lumholtz (1900: 14) pointed out that Otegana'ka, another name for the Corn Mother Niwetsika, was associated with the direction east. According to Fikes (2011: 258-259, fn. 6; see Schaefer 2002: 207), Huichol travel to a shrine atop Paritecua, the eastern Mountain of Dawn from where the sun is first born, in order to make an offering of the Corn Child Niwetsika to the Sun in the First Fruits ritual, an offering that must be done so that new corn can be safely consumed. Thus, the trilogy of deer, maize, and peyote is conceptually united in the young Corn Maiden Niwetsika, a fact that links the Corn Mother traditions in the annual cycle of maize agriculture to both of the alternating wet and dry seasons.

According to Shelton (1996: 456-457) the entire half of the rainy part of the year is focused upon a series of ritual ceremonies that mark the stages of growth of the maize plant, from sowing, supplication of the rains, weeding of the fields, the maturation of the maize, and the harvest, a process that mimics the conception, birth and baptism, childhood, and maturity of humans. The close link between the directionally colored maize maidens and the maize field is reflected in Huichol planting rites and practices Schaefer (2002: 213-214). Huichol intellectual knowledge of maize pollination and the growth cycle of maize integrates biological observations with beliefs regarding the five Corn Maidens. As Schaefer (*ibid.*) noted, in order to reduce crossbreeding Huichol plant

the five maize colors, each representing a maize maiden, in different segments of the milpa with each corresponding to a cardinal direction.

In the center of the maize field, offerings are left to the maize goddess Niwetsika, with maize representing Niwetsika that has sat on various Huichol family altars during the preceding year now planted in the center of the milpa (ibid.). The mixing of the sacred Niwetsika maize in the center of the maize field together with sacred maize from different Huichol families helps to contribute to more genetically diverse and vigorous maize strains (ibid.). This account clearly demonstrates the directional mapping of the cosmos onto the sacred maize field, a symbolic *axis mundi*, a concept that is of great antiquity in Mesoamerica (see Taube 1996, 2000b).

The two major ceremonies central to maize are the solstice rites of Hikuri Neixa and Tatei Neixa (Schaefer 2002: 208-210), ceremonies that are closely related to the sun and the solstices that are described elsewhere in this chapter. The Corn Mother Niwetsika appears in both of these ceremonies (ibid.). During the Hikuri Neixa, a woman from each of the families of two or three local temple groups invited to the ceremony is chosen to represent or take on the persona of Niwetsika. These women wear the sacred headband with the maize ear and dance around the plaza holding the family's bundled maize ears that are placed inside the gourd bowl of Niwetsika (ibid.: 209, 214), directional maize that represent the five maize maidens. Notably, the wearing of a corn ear on the forehead by the Huichol Corn Maiden (see Schaefer 2002: fig. 38) is equivalent to that noted for the Hopi Corn Maiden (or Shalako-mana) who wears a rain-cloud tablet upon her head and a symbol of an ear of corn upon her forehead (see Fewkes 1899b: fn. 1).

In the Huichol rites of Tatei Neixa, also known as the First Fruits ceremony (Schaefer and Furst 2002: 8), a large group of the community's children, usually aged one to five, are symbolically transported by a ritual specialist (*mara'akame*) to the sacred eastern lands of Wirikuta, much like the journey conducted by peyote pilgrims (Schaefer 2002: 210). The souls of the children, symbolized by cotton balls, are transported along a string connecting the *mara'akame* and his drum to an altar symbolizing the sacred eastern lands (*ibid.*). An effigy of the Corn Mother is present in those ceremonies that occur at the end of the rainy season in October and November (Zingg 1938: 482). In a photo taken by Zingg (1938: 488; 2004: 255) in one Huichol community, an effigy of the Corn Mother Niwetsika was placed as the central focal point on the altar of the First Fruits ceremony.

The location of the Corn Mother on the altar, the symbolic eastern lands of Wirikuta, likely is related to the story of Niwetsika's disappearance after her mistreatment in order to make her home in Wirikuta, the land of the dawning sun. Fikes (1985: 179) pointed out that the birthplace of the Sun from Paritecúa, the Mountain of Dawn, is the same place from where the Corn-Child (Corn Maiden) Niwetsika is born. The close relationship between Niwetsika and the sacred eastern lands of the sun was described by Fikes (1985: 177-180), and these ideas clearly relate to the Mesoamerican cosmological paradigm of the rebirth of the sun and maize at Flower Mountain.

The plethora of flowers and floral imagery in the First Fruits ceremony indicates a strong connection to the Flower World. According to Zingg (1938: 486), sacred "eternal" yellow and red flowers ornament the clothing of the children in this ceremony. These

flowers, which are symbolic of corn, are saved from ceremonies from year to year and later placed in the corn field where the seeds of the flowers later blossom with the growing corn and squash (ibid.). According to Lumholtz (1900: 187), the red everlasting flowers were dedicated to the Sun while the yellow flowers were dedicated to the Corn Mother, an assessment that strongly links the Sun with the Corn Maidens. During this feast in the Huichol community of Ratontita, hundreds of brilliantly colored rock-orchids ornament the male participants' hats, with some women wearing hundreds of these flowers woven into a crown of flowers worn upon her head (ibid.: 487).

Women and children in this ceremony paint their faces with the yellow powder of the *uxa* root obtained only from Wirikuta during the peyote pilgrimage (Zingg 1938: 487). These yellow designs are said to represent the reflection of sunlight upon the faces and cheeks of ritual participants (Neurath and Kindl 2005: 76). Elsewhere, Lumholtz (1902: 141-142) indicated that designs painted with the *uxa* root upon the face include stylized images of clouds, rain, cornfields and corn, fruiting squash vines, and peyote, while the images as a whole can represent the mask of a particular god.

Furthermore, in the Tatei Neixa ceremony, the main altar is said to represent the Mountain of Dawn (Neurath and Kindl 2005: 77). Atop this altar, also referred to as a *niwetari*, or "ladder of the sun" (see Chapter 4), are placed a number of items such as chocolate, rock crystals (*'urukáme*) that represent the crystallized souls of ancestors, flowers, candles, and green maize, among other items (Furst and Anguiano 1976: 141). A 15-foot-long chain of yellow flowers is hung over the altar frame and extended towards a stake just in front of the *mara 'akame*, or singer (Zingg 1938: 487). Along this chain of

flowers is the cactus fiber cord containing cotton tufts said to represent the souls of the children who symbolically travel with the singer to Wirikuta (Furst and Anguiano 1976: 142; Taube 2006a; Zingg 1938: 487). This flower chain represents a floral road that leads to the sacred land of dawn (Taube 2006a). The upright drum placed in front of the singer is also laden with flowers (Zingg 1938: 488).

During this ceremony, the infants and children are held up and introduced to the sun (*ibid.*: 491). In the following day's ceremony, bundles of five flower-ornamented ears of green corn are brought out from their god-houses and paraded around the patio while women use flowers of the yellow hyssop or orchids dipped in water to sprinkle the participants (*ibid.*: 496), rites that are performed in order to ritually purify the green corn and make it safe to eat.

In essence, the children in this ceremony are considered to ascend to and descend from the sacred eastern floral realm of the dawn along the stepped ladder of the sun. As noted earlier, the Corn Mother Niwetzika is conceptually identical and apparently historically related to the highland Central Mexican Maize Goddess named Chicomecoatl. What is perhaps most remarkable about this connection is that, much like the Huichol First Fruits ceremony of Niwetzika that symbolically occurred in the land of dawn, the Hueytozotli ceremony that involved the young solar-maize deity Xochipilli-Centeotl and the maize goddess Chicomecoatl was also a First Fruits ceremony that involved effigies of the maize goddess and the rituals of children (see Nicholson 1971: table 4). Surely these Huichol rites that involve two specific deities of ultimate highland

Central Mexican origin must be historically connected, particularly as they are both identified with the young Sun God Xochipilli.

The eternal cycle of the rising sun, the growing corn, and the falling rain are integral to a bountiful life for indigenous people of West Mexico, as Lumholtz (1900: 37) described the significance of symbolism inscribed upon a disk made to represent the “face” of the sun:

The upper surface of the disk is thus expressive of the following thought and prayer: Father Sun, with his front shield (or ‘face’) and his arrows, rises in the east, bringing money, that is to say wealth, to his people. His heat and the light from his rays make the corn grow; but he is asked, on the other hand, not to interfere with the clouds that are gathering, that the hills may become resplendent with corn-fields.

It is clear that the combined power of the Sun, the corn, and the rain remain major components of wealth and spiritual power in the former Aztatlán region.

Corn Maidens and Sacred Maize Ears in the American Southwest and Mesoamerica

Among a number of indigenous people in Mesoamerica, Northwest Mexico, and the American Southwest, the veneration of directionally colored Corn Maidens is an example of a very specific shared ritual practice associated with the young dawning sun. In my estimation, these connections are not based upon an underlying substratum of ideas that have existed in perpetuity in these region, but instead are shared ideas that appear to be closely tied to the historical and northward spread of worship focused upon the young dawning sun Xochipilli. Comparisons of shared maize symbolism and ideology between Mesoamerican cultures and societies in the American Southwest have noted similarities

that date as early as the Middle Formative period (BC 900-500) among the Olmec in the Gulf Coast region of Mesoamerica (see Taube 1996: 2000b).

However, in the American Southwest, the noted similarities in symbolism and ideology do not extend to these early dates as in Mesoamerica but only find parallels that date primarily to the Pueblo IV period, though some shared elements extend to the Classic Mimbres period (AD 1000-1150) (ibid.). This temporal discrepancy suggests that despite the earlier adoption of maize agriculture in the American Southwest as early as 3000 years ago, the specific rites of the Sun Youth and Corn Maidens likely took form much later in time in the northern regions and most probably reached its ethnographically known form in the Southwest at the onset of the Pueblo IV period.

The traditions of the Corn Maidens are closely related to the Sun Youth, the east, the cyclical seasonal cycle of the alternating wet and dry seasons and the diurnal path of the sun, headdresses comprised of maize and cloud symbolism, weaving as a symbolic means of planting corn and the return of the fertilizing sun and rains (see Chapter 8), as well as a close affinity between maize and the ancestors as rains. For the Aztecs of highland Central Mexico, the Corn Maiden known as Chicomecoatl wears a tall tablet headdress and is closely associated with the Xochipilli-Centeotl sun-maize complex. Evidence of this deity in highland Central Mexico dates at least to the Epiclassic period (ca. AD 700-900) and perhaps earlier. In West Mexico, in the area where Xochipilli worship appears around AD 900 in the Aztatlán region, traditions of descendant indigenous people in the region, such as the Cora and Huichol, share a strikingly similar belief system centered upon the sun and maize. Archaeological evidence and symbolic

portrayals of the Corn Maidens on ceramic vessels in the Aztatlán region remain unidentified, but this absence probably is partly due to the sparse archaeological attention given to this region over the last fifty years.

Nevertheless, material culture evidence and ethnohistoric documentation lends credence to the proposition that this solar-maize complex in West Mexico is not of considerable antiquity in the region but largely dates to the Postclassic period. Suffice it to say, given the close, nay inextricable, relationship between the Corn Maidens and the cycle of the sun through the wet and dry seasons, it is most probable that a new form of maize ceremonialism accompanied the adoption of new Sun Youth ceremonialism at the onset of the Early Postclassic period in this region. Archaeological evidence for directional maize symbolism and Sun Youth symbolism in this region is difficult to discern in either the Classic period or among the Protohistoric shaft-tomb traditions in the larger region.

Though portrayals of Corn Maidens are not clearly identifiable in Casas Grandes symbolism, it is difficult to see how Sun Youth ceremonialism could have been adopted independently of new maize rites, particularly since the sun and maize complex is so intertwined and interdependent on many different levels. In other words, the adoption of only a solar complex without the attendant maize and ancestral rain complex would seem nearly pointless if not impossible. The rites of the Sun Youth and the Corn Maidens in northwest Mexico and the American Southwest in all probability stem from earlier Xochipilli and Corn Maiden rites in Mesoamerica and were adopted from or brought by Aztatlán people from West Mexico to Paquimé beginning around AD 1200.

In the American Southwest, the occurrence of Corn Maiden symbolism and rituals in plaza-oriented pueblos coincided with major social changes that took form at the onset of the Pueblo IV period. These changes occurred in tandem with the adoption of Sun Youth rituals across the region. Sun Youth and Corn Maiden rites in the Southwest were undoubtedly adopted as a whole complex from the Casas Grandes region where Sun Youth ceremonialism formed a key and central component of religion at Paquimé, a belief system undoubtedly centered upon the maize agricultural cycle through the alternating rainy and dry season.

In an important study of shared maize agriculture mythology and ritual practices, Taube (2000b) concluded that maize symbolism among Puebloan societies in the American Southwest ultimately has antecedents that date back to the Middle Formative Olmec, a conclusion that suggested that the adoption of maize agricultural techniques was accompanied by an attendant set of rituals and beliefs. This work drew attention to striking similarities in maize bundle and maize “fetish” objects and symbolism among societies in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest (ibid.). These sacred maize ear fetishes can be traced in the iconography from the Olmecs of the Middle Formative period of the Gulf Coast, through the Classic Maya of southern Mesoamerica, to the Aztec in the Postclassic period and beyond in central and southern Mesoamerica (ibid.). In his study of Olmec maize symbolism, Taube (1996: 68, 72, fig. 24) identified portrayals of feather-wrapped bundles that contain perfect ears of corn, an analogue to the sacred feather and cotton-wrapped seed corn known in contemporary rimes as *mili* among the Zuni, *tiponi* among the Hopi, and *iariko* among the Keresans of Zia Pueblo, among

others. In a subsequent article, Taube (2000b) greatly expanded upon his discussion of these objects and their ritual significance.

While the sacred bundled seed corn was described in great detail for the Formative and Classic Period, for the sake of brevity I limit the present discussion to the Postclassic period and ethnographic examples in highland Central Mexico, Northwest Mexico, and the American Southwest. As I previously noted, the directional Corn Maidens named Chicomecoatl (Central Mexico), Niwetsika (West Mexico), and the Corn Maidens of the Southwest are essentially cognate beings that are historically related. All of these Corn Maidens have a close relationship to the young eastern Sun God Xochipilli. Chicomecoatl in Central Mexico dates at least to the Late Classic (ca. AD 700-900) at the highland Central Mexican site of Xochicalco, Morelos (Seler 1990-1998: 2: 85-86, fig. 62a-62b), thus establishing clear precedent for this deity in Central Mexico. Even earlier in time, the Early Classic Maya “Death Vase” portrays a complex scene that depicts a solar cartouche rising over the body of the bundle Maize God at Flower Mountain, a scene that is flanked by six mourning Corn Maidens (Taube 2004b: 80-81, figs. 9a-9b).

In my estimation, in the Southwest and northern Mexico, rites of the Corn Maidens likely date to no earlier than AD 1200 in the latter region. The preceding discussion of the Corn Maidens in West Mexico suggested that the arrival of Corn Maiden worship accompanied Sun Youth worship in the Aztatlán region no earlier than AD 900. Thus, the Aztatlán region is the likely intermediary cultural tradition in the northward transmission of this sun-maize complex. What is pertinent for the present discussion of the shared maize ear “fetishes” in these regions is that the sacred and

perfect ear of corn is a ritual object that is closely related to the Corn Maidens, a fact that suggests that the ideology that is imbued in these sacred objects also was likely transmitted into the Southwest with the Sun Youth-maize complex rather than with the earliest transmission of maize agriculture.

In the Late Postclassic or Contact period Aztec version of this sun-maize complex, the maize goddess Chicomecoatl, or Xilonen, was the female aspect of maize while the young solar maize god Xochipilli-Centeotl was the male aspect of maize (Taube 2000b: 316). Although Chicomecoatl existed long before the Aztecs, much of what we know of her ritual role comes from Late Postclassic material culture and sixteenth-century ethnohistoric documents from highland Central Mexico. The Corn Goddess Chicomecoatl (or Seven-Serpent) was perhaps the most commonly depicted deity in Aztec stone sculpture (ibid.). An important item in rites of the maize goddess Chicomecoatl was the double maize ear fetish, called a *cemmaitl*, an object wrapped in paper containing precious quetzal feathers that served to represent the tassels of the corn (ibid: 316-317). This item was often carried in the hands of Chicomecoatl or placed in the deity's headdress when portrayed in sculpture and was held in the hands by a deity impersonator when dressed as the maize goddess in ceremonies (ibid.: fig. 20). According to Taube (ibid.: 317), "Both Chicomecoatl and the double maize ear fetishes embodied the spirit of the maize, the fertile seed passed down through generations of planting." This item represented the precious seed corn.

In describing rites involving *cemmail* maize bundles that were wrapped in groups of seven in honor of the deity Chicomecoatl and carried by groups of young females, Sahagún (1950-1982: 2: 64; cited in Taube 2000b: 317) noted that:

. . . as they took them [the *cemmail*] to the temple of Chicomecoatl, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became their granary hearts. They laid them in the granary. And when the seed was sown, when it was time for planting, this they sowed. They made seed of it, they scattered it as seed.

The use of bundled groups of two or four sacred seed corn (named 5-Flower or 7-Flower, the calendrical name of the related deities Macuilxochitl and Xochipilli) is still known among the Nahua of northern Veracruz (Sandstrom 1991: 245, 293; Sandstrom 2009; Taube 2000b: 317). Similar rites exist in the Southwest. For example, the concept of directional bundles of maize ears is reflected in the Hopi Lakon ceremony, where four directionally oriented female Lakon dancers as Corn Maidens wear cloud headdresses partly comprised of eagle and macaw feathers, their face ornamented with the yellow Sun Youth Payatamu medicine, while carrying bundles of four ears also said to represent the four directions (Tyler 1979: 43).

In a recent comparison of ethnography that documents shared rites between Pueblo people and indigenous people of the Gran Nayar region of West Mexico, including parts of Nayarit, Jalisco, and small portions of Durango and Zacatecas, Johannes Neurath (2005b: 577) noted that the sacred maize bundles described by Taube (2000b) also existed among the Huichol and Cora, though these seem not to be feather-wrapped as they are in Pueblo examples. As described above, the five- or seven-colored directional maize cobs are maize maidens that are aspects of the maize goddess

Niwetsika (Fikes 1985: 1985: 234, 289, 297; Schaefer 2002: 207). Considering that the Aztlán region was an intermediary point for the transmission of a new solar-maize ideology into the American Southwest, it is useful to examine the use of sacred bundled maize objects in relation to Corn Maiden rites among contemporary indigenous groups in this area.

Maize bundles are integral components of the Huichol annual ceremonial cycle. At the time of birth, each Huichol is given an ear of maize that becomes part of his or her persona. The care of this sacred maize cob, which is identified with the Corn Maiden Niwetsika, is integral for the health and life of the individual and the community (Schaefer 2002: 207). Aside from the individual, each family has a bound bundle of five sacred maize ears that represent the multi-colored maize maidens that are destined to become seed corn for the milpa when planting season begins (ibid.).

For Huichol families, Stacy Schaefer (2002: 115-116; 2003: 73) noted that the sacred bundled maize of the Corn Maiden Niwetsika is often kept on top of the *niwetari* altar, the symbolic “ladder of the sun”, that is located inside the family *xiriki*. Vizcaino (1989: 145) illustrated a stepped adobe altar within a Huichol structure, a probable representation of the stepped solar ladder described by Schaefer (2003), upon which is placed a number of maize bundles wrapped with woven belts (*kuxira*). The placement of sacred family maize bundles upon the stepped altar or pathway of the Sun illustrates the clear relationship that individual and family maize bundles have with the stepped pathway of the dawning sun, the multi-colored directional Corn Maiden Niwetsika, and the ancestors. On a larger scale, within the temple on the occasion of the Tatei Neixa at

the end of the rainy season, the sacred ears of bundled maize are placed as offerings to the Corn Maiden Niwetsika upon the *niwetari* altar that represents the stepped solar pathway, “. . . so that they may greet the sun” (Schaefer 2003: 79).

Similar maize-bundle rites are practiced by neighboring indigenous groups in the Gran Nayar. Among the Cora, the participation in cycles of ceremonies called *yi'irá* (customs) serve to form and sustain the Cora cognatic descent system that traces descent to one or more ancestral group (Coyle 2001: 29). The ceremonies that comprise this cycle are known as *nyera* (dances), also known by the Spanish word *mitote* (ibid.), and are performed at the homes of ceremonial elders in the descent group. According to Coyle (ibid.), “Mitote ceremonies constructed descent-group affiliation through the ritual association of descent-group members with bundled ears of white maize. Thus their consanguineous relation is not based on a notion of shared blood but of shared maize.” The people who can trace their descent to a particular *mitote* ceremony are considered to be part of the same “maize bundle group” (ibid.: 29-30).

With each year of participation in *mitote* ceremonies in their initial years, girls eventually receive four ears in their maize bundles and boys receive the full five ears (Coyle 2001: 30). As kinship among the Cora is reckoned bilaterally, individuals can be affiliated with maize bundle groups at the house of the ceremonial elder of each of their grandparents maize-bundle group (ibid.). From this, Cora would be able to trace their descent back to their great-great grandparents and beyond at different homesteads throughout the Sierra (ibid.). Thus, as cognatically related families of maize-bundle groups traverse the Sierra to participate in related descent group maize-bundle

ceremonies at various ranches, they symbolically create and perpetuate a web of umbilical-like links between maize-bundle groups formed through the out-marrying of women (ibid.: 33). These ranch-based ceremonies operate in conjunction with larger village level cargo-system *mitotes* (ibid.: 35).

The Cora maize bundle represents each person's soul in its connections to ancestors that can be traced back to the origin of people on earth (Coyle 2001: 64-65). This connection also binds together people with their ancestors in the next world as well as with future generations to come (ibid.), a link that lends an overwhelming emotional feeling of connectedness that can lead participants to weep when clutching their maize bundles tightly as they perform the *mitote* dances, such as during the roasted maize *mitote* (ibid.: 65). The connection between the ancestors and the rains in the Cora *mitote* cycle is evident in an account reported by Lumholtz (1902: 516). In this tradition, the stones that surround the open space of the dance plaza that was used during the *mitote* ceremony observed by Lumholtz were perceived by the Coras as being the living ancient ones, or "Taquats". Notably, the Taquats are the ancient ones who arrive at dawn with plumes and pipes amidst the rain-filled clouds of smoke that emanate from their pipes (ibid.: 523). Thus, Cora *mitote* ceremonies held in the plaza, much like contemporary katsina ceremonialism among Pueblo people, are closely identified as rites of fertility designed to call forth the ancestors to return as rain to observe and participate in the endless seasonal cycles of the sun and maize agriculture.

According to Coyle (2001: 75-78), sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ethnohistoric accounts of the Gran Nayar region, and of Cora ceremonialism in particular,

indicate that despite Spanish domination and concentrated efforts at missionization, *mitote* rituals continued to be practiced in the region in the Colonial era. Catholic community-level ceremonialism in mission communities essentially replaced a region-wide preconquest chiefdom with smaller community-level political and religious authorities (Neurath 2002; Coyle 2001: 75-76). Thus, according to Coyle (ibid.: 76), *mitote* ceremonies in ranch-level maize-bundle groups is a long-existent form of political structure whose relationship to more wide-scale regional political structures changed during the Spanish period in the Gran Nayar beginning in the early sixteenth century.

Mitotes and their attendant maize-bundle ceremonialism likely are of great antiquity in the region, perhaps having begun in the Aztatlán era. Coyle (2001: 76-86) isolated examples from a number of reports from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historic documents, such as those of Fray Antonio Arias de Saavedra (McCarty and Matson 1975), that commonly mention the practice of *mitote* ceremonies during this early Colonial period, with some described in great detail. Conquest-period accounts from the Mesa del Nayar region, such as those of José Ortega (1944 [1754]), also detail *mitote* ceremonies centered around peyote consumption. This led Coyle (2001: 77) to conclude: “When combined with earlier reports, it shows that mitote ceremonies . . . have a deep history in the region.” For example, Ortega (1944 [1754]: 22-24; cited in Coyle 2001: 77) described rites reminiscent of a First Fruits ceremonial offering of thanks to the Sun where a community elder gave “a sermon of thanks to their God for having given them life, and for letting them see and taste those new fruits.” The Cora god that received the

new fruits undoubtedly is the young Sun God Piltzintli, much as is done in contemporary First Fruits rites.

In fact, Arias de Saavedra in 1673 (in McCarty and Matson 1975: 207) described these dances in relation to the Sun God Piltzintli (i.e., Xochipilli), noting:

Their worst vices are dancing and drunkenness, and they believe that when they are thus engaged they are banishing poverty. They ask for many things during their dances, all of them temporal. They ask their Piltzintli for a long life to spend in pleasure and gluttony.

Collectively, these at times detailed descriptions of peyote and liquor consumption, first fruits ceremonies, maize blessings, plaza dances, cognatic or maize-bundle descent systems, community or rancheria maize-bundle group elders, the use of bow-drums, and tear-filled displays by participants, among other ritual aspects, suggest strong similarities to contemporary *mitote* rites (Coyle 2001: 78). As Coyle (ibid.: 79-86) noted, even after the AD 1722 conquest of the Cora, historical documents indicate that *mitote* ceremonies continued nearly unabated, albeit in secret.

A short-lived indigenous revival or intensification of *mitote* ceremonies and the regionwide office of Sun King was attempted by a Cora religious leader named Granito at the Mesa del Nayar in AD 1767, almost immediately after the Jesuits were expelled from the Americas (Hers 1992). Thus, after the conquest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a ceremonial division where the Catholic missionaries implemented ceremonies in towns dedicated to saints and civil-religious offices while in the countryside Cora continued their *mitote* practices. As one account noted, “The Indians dance their gentile mitotes in the canyons . . . while Father Missionary is there, alone, in town” (cited in Meyer 1989: 173; Coyle 2001: 86). However, the Spaniards were able to

suppress the apparently more centralized preconquest practice of human sacrifice to the Cora Sun God at the Mesa del Tonati, such as that described by the Franciscan Antonio Arias de Saavedra (McCarty and Matson 1975), the historian Antonio Tello (1968), and the Jesuit Antonio Ibarra (Meyer 1989: 36).

Suffice it to say, “These documents show that prior to the conquest of the Sierra del Nayar, widespread mitote ceremonialism was practiced in relation to a more centralized political and religious tradition under a single “priest-king” at the town of the Mesa del Tonati [Nayar]” (Coyle 2001: 82). In my estimation, considering that worship of the solar deity Xochipilli/Piltzintli likely extends to the onset of the Postclassic period, it is most probable that the Aztatlán era in this region, at this time, marked the initial development of the ceremonial cycle of *mitotes* dedicated to the dawning sun, the Corn Maidens, sacred maize-ears and maize-bundle groups, Flower World and Flower Mountain, the deceased ancestors as clouds and rain, and the dual divisions of the year into the dry and rainy seasons (see Chapter 11).

In the American Southwest, much of the maize complex finds parallels to beliefs and practices in Mesoamerica, including directional and colored maize symbolism, the concept of humans as corn, the metaphor of the life cycle of corn as being analogous to the life cycle of humans, the concept of corn as the *axis mundi*, and the presence of maize ear fetishes (Taube 2000b). As scholars have long noted the striking religious similarities between Pueblo people and Cora and Huichol, it is perhaps unsurprising that along with other parallels in the solar-maize complex, the closest analogues to Puebloan feathered maize ears are the maize bundles of the Cora and Huichol that were described above. As

a representation of the sacred and perfect seed corn and *axis mundi*, the maize ear fetishes of a number of groups in both the Western and Eastern Pueblos are the preeminent sacred objects (Parsons 1939: 319-323). Taube (2000b) documented the paramount importance of maize ear fetishes at Zuni, Isleta, Hopi, Zia, Cochiti, Acoma, Laguna, and Santa Ana, among others, and he further noted the strong parallels to the sacred Chicomecoatl maize ears from Central Mexico.

Maize ear fetishes in the Southwest are closely related to the individual and the group, much like those in indigenous groups in West Mexico. As one Hopi Powamu song recited by the Powamu chief indicates, the corn ear is considered as the clan mother: “A perfect corn ear,/ My clan mother” (Voth 1901: 129). At Hopi, the maize ear *tiponi* of a society is owned by the chief, who is the trustee for the *tiponi* that is passed through the maternal lineage that possesses a particular ceremony (Parsons 1939: 319-323). This concept is strikingly similar to that described above for the Cora and Huichol. Among some Eastern Pueblos, such as in Jemez and Tewa communities, the town chiefs are said to have charge of the society Corn Mothers (ibid.).

Perfect corn ears are also closely related to birth and death rituals of Puebloan individuals. At Zuni and among Keresans, the corn ear is the guardian of infants, with a perfect ear being placed alongside their bodies (Parsons 1939: 319-323). The connection between perfect ears of corn and the dawning sun is evident in presentation and naming rituals of children. According to Parsons (ibid.: 321), at Zia:

On the fourth morning after the birth during the ritual of presenting the child to the Sun, this ear, which has meanwhile lain alongside the infant, and one other ear are carried by the woman doctor and the mother. Subsequently, the two ears are wrapped together and laid under the cradle

to stay there until the next corn-planting, when the grains are planted, apart from the main field, to produce a crop to be eaten by the child.

Similar rites are known from San Juan (ibid.). According to Parsons (ibid.), in all naming rites for infants and ceremonial initiates, a perfect ear of corn described as a “mother” is given to the individual.

In society ceremonials, the sacred maize ears of individual members are placed at the rear of altars and often carried around and taken care of by their owners (Parsons 1939: 322). At Cochiti, an ear of corn is placed near the deceased and referred to as his heart (ibid.: 320). According to Parsons (ibid.: 322-323), the seeds of the maize ear fetish at Zuni and Cochiti are planted at the death of the owner. At Zuni, an individual “lives as long as his *mi’li* wants him to live” (ibid.: 323).

A connection between the Zuni *mi’li* and the dawning sun is evident in the use of four long scarlet macaw feathers around the sacred central maize cob as directional framing devices to mark the four quarters (Stevenson 1904: 419, pl. 101). Scarlet macaw feathers are also used in Zia maize ear fetishes (Stevenson 1894a: pl. 9).

The sacred maize ear fetishes in the American Southwest are variously associated with the birth and death of individuals and in some instances are important as ritual objects that are kept within maternal clan lineages, such as among the Hopi. Geertz (1987: 17-18) noted that Hopi *tiiponis* are the central element of every altar and ceremonial, and is the first object set up on altars:

The central item of every ceremonial (and consequently of every altar) is the *tiiponi*. Without it the society is destitute and weak, being unable to perform a vigorous ceremonial. It is owned by the clan and is used by the elder who has charge of the ceremonial. It is his symbol of authority, and those who have *tiiponis* have a special relationship with the Cloud Deities.

It is the mother of the people, the heart of the clan . . . It is a symbol of life and authority.

Similarly, the maize ear *iariko* at Santa Ana is also placed upon the altar during ceremonies as objects through which medicine priests obtain power from the maize mother Iatik (Taube 2000b: 324; White 1942: 340). At Acoma, the first maize ear *honani* was similarly created by the maize mother Iatiku (Taube 2000b: 325).

For Hopi, Fewkes (1898b: 80) noted that symbolic maize-ear fetishes, some with terraced rain clouds, were placed upon the Winter Solstice (Soyal) altar at Walpi. Those maize fetishes with terraced rain clouds were said to represent the “Corn-Rain-maids” (ibid.). The presence of symbolic Corn Maidens in the form of maize ear fetishes in Hopi ceremonies, such as Soyal rites that are said to have been brought by clans from far to the south in Mesoamerica, suggests that the ultimate origin of the Corn Maiden complex and the related maize ear fetishes is to the south, likely from the place and era of origin of the Sun Youth complex. It remains to be determined if Hopi *tiponis* are present equally in first, second, and third order Hopi ceremonies or if they are primarily only associated with the first and second order ceremonies that have their origin with clans from the south at Palatkwapi.

The antiquity of archaeological examples of maize ear fetishes is of considerable interest. Granted that these items are comprised of perishable material, it is still notable that two actual maize fetishes recovered from Antelope House in Canyon de Chelly in northeastern Arizona date to around AD 1300 (Hall and Dennis 1986; Taube 2000b: 321). Notably, much like the Zuni *mi'li*, as described above, a connection between these two maize ear “fetishes” and the dawning sun is evident as these objects were wrapped in

the feathers of the scarlet macaw, likely obtained from Paquimé. Following these examples at the end of the Pueblo III period, maize ear fetishes are commonly depicted in Pueblo IV kiva murals at Pottery Mound, Awat'ovi, and Kawaika'a (Taube 2000b: 321-322, figs. 27d-27h).

The use of scarlet macaw plumes as framing devices to mark the centrality of maize and perhaps the maize field likely relates to the multi-colored hue of scarlet macaw feathers delineating the directional colors and centrality. As Tyler (1979: 38) noted, “. . . the parrot [scarlet macaw] ties many hues together, all colors, all directions . . . By bringing all these colors and their powers together, the cosmic influences are joined to shine directly on the village and its fields, the Middle Place.” This view is substantiated in one free translation of a Santo Domingo Pueblo song, where the tail feathers of the macaw draws forth all of the directional clouds to water the earth for the growth of vegetation: “He [the macaw] spreads out his tail and makes clouds that come out and cover him. Today it is going to rain from the north, west, south, and east. The plants sprout with two and four shoots, and grow and ripen quickly” (White 1935: 97). Thus, it seems probable that the macaw feathers used as directional framing devices around a central maize cob in the maize ear fetish may have been related to the idea of the multi-colored clouds, as ancestral spirits awakened by the dawning sun, being called forth from the four directions to nurture and bring rain upon the symbolic Corn Maiden as sacred maize ear at the center of the world.

To my knowledge, maize ear fetishes are unreported from the Casas Grandes region of northern Mexico, though this may partly relate to the relatively sparse

archaeological work in the region as well as preservation issues. Although further research into the presence of archaeological examples of maize ear fetishes is deserved, it seems conspicuous that the largely late-Pueblo III to Pueblo IV occurrence of these objects neatly coincided with the widespread adoption of the closely related Sun Youth and Corn Maiden rites across the American Southwest. In other words, given the rather late evidence for these objects in the archaeological record, the idea and practice of using maize ear fetishes in the American Southwest may well have been transmitted to the region around the onset of the Pueblo III- to Pueblo IV-period transition along with the highly Mesoamericanized version of the Flower World complex from the Aztatlán tradition of West Mexico.

Theoretically, given the close relationship between Corn Maidens and sacred maize ear fetishes, the transmission of Sun Youth and Corn Maiden rituals to the American Southwest around AD 1200-1300 would entail the transmission of an ideology of sacred maize ear fetishes, as lineage-based ritual objects, along with the northward movement of clans or individuals from West Mexico. Thus, might the clan-owned solar-maize ceremonies of Aztatlán maize bundle groups, such as that known later among contemporary Cora and Huichol people, form the basis of clan-owned ceremonies and societies by lineage groups that owned maize ear fetishes? If so, the Hopi clans that came from Palatkwapi, a place that I argue in part represents Paquimé and ultimately West Mexican Aztatlán groups, seem likely candidates for the initial transmission of these rites (see Chapters 2 and 12). In other words, it may well be the case that the Pueblo IV-period ritual use of sacred maize ears tied to lineages in the American Southwest, such as

those among Hopi clans of southern origin, may ultimately have their roots with lineage groups and their use of sacred maize ears in Corn Maiden and Sun Youth worship in West Mexico in the Postclassic period.

Rainy and Dry Season Duality in Ancient and Contemporary West Mexico

Seasonal Solar Worship and Architecture in the Aztatlán Tradition

Among the clearest archaeological evidence to date for seasonally based solar worship in the Aztatlán tradition is a recently discovered solar-oriented mound complex at the Early Postclassic site of Chacalilla on the coastal plain of Nayarit (Ohnersorgen et al. 2010), a site that dates primarily to the Cerritos phase (AD 900-1100). Chacalilla, currently the focus of research by Michael Ohnersorgen, was a major regional center with an I-shaped ballcourt, located a few kilometers north of the modern town of San Blas and about twenty kilometers south of the Aztatlán site of Amapa on the coastal plain. The mound complex in question is comprised of two mounds, a low lying circular mound and a linear, north-south-oriented mound that lies to the east of the circular mound.

A series of skulls, one interred with a rock crystal, were placed along the west face of the linear mound. On the linear mound, a large stone was placed conspicuously due east of the circular mound. When standing upon the circular mound, it is clear that the northern and southernmost points of the linear mound were eastern horizon markers of the solstices while the stone placed at the center of the linear mound served as a visual horizon marker for the equinoxes. Ohnersorgen and colleagues (2010) concluded that the function of this paired-mound structure was to mark the movement of the sun on the

eastern horizon, much like a rudimentary Maya E-Group and much like the function of the contemporary Huichol *tukipa*. This mound complex at Chacalilla appears to be closely tied to ancestor worship and the dawning sun Xochipilli/Piltzintli (ibid.). This complex also likely served to symbolically demarcate the division between the dual halves of the year.

Notably, the layout of similar mound complexes was also noted to exist at Amapa, such as Mounds 1 and 3 in the Group E Complex, and may well indicate a similar form of solar worship at a separate then-contemporaneous Aztatlán site (see map in Meighan 1976: 26, map 7). Perhaps most noteworthy is that this mound complex at Chacalilla, which was centered upon solstitial and equinoctial worship of the dawning sun, predates the construction of the Mound of the Cross at Paquimé, a solar-oriented effigy mound that performed the same function as that at Chacalilla and involved the same solar deity.

The Chacalilla mound complex, which does not appear to have any antecedents in the Classic period of West Mexico, essentially marks the initial appearance of a new form of solar worship in the region at the onset of the Postclassic period. As it is clear that this religious complex, and the solar deity for which it was constructed, did not develop *in situ* in Postclassic West Mexico, the probable locus of origin of these beliefs is to the far southeast in highland Central Mexico, or most probably in the Mixtec-Zapotec-Eastern Nahua region of Oaxaca and Puebla.

In sum, evidence suggests a great historical time-depth for seasonally oriented solar worship in West Mexico. This evidence indicates that a new form of sun worship

centered upon the solstices and equinoxes took form during the Early Postclassic period at the onset of the Aztatlán tradition, continued on into the ethnohistoric period thereafter, and remains strong among indigenous peoples, presumably descendants of Aztatlán people, in parts of southern Sinaloa, Nayarit, Durango, and Jalisco.

Drawing a cultural bridge between the present to the past, a discussion of religious beliefs and practices focused upon the seasonal solar cycle can be extended backwards in time from the ethnographic present to the early ethnohistoric period in West Mexico and ultimately to the archaeological past. As noted previously, perhaps the most detailed early historic account of indigenous rituals in West Mexico is that of Fray Antonio Arias de Saavedra in AD 1673 (McCarty and Matson 1975). Along with his descriptions of local religious practices, an illustration of a Cora solar calendar that accompanied Arias de Saavedra's text provides invaluable clues to the nature of seasonal solar worship in the region after contact and prior to the conquest of the Mesa del Nayar in AD 1722.

As noted above, in the *ranchería* of Tzacaimutta at the Mesa del Nayar was located the main Cora sun shrine, the house of the Nayarit (*Piltzintli*), that was dedicated to the desiccated corpses of four previous ritual leaders who were then seated in chairs around a table (McCarty and Matson 1975: 204), each of whom had replaced previous leaders (their ancestors) whose bodies had decayed in the past. The location of the sun shrine was and remains an important religious monument and pilgrimage destination in the larger region. The corpses within the shrine each had directional and seasonal significance: "The four bodies which are in the house of the Nayarit are connected with

the four seasons, and the Indians offer the first fruits of all produce to them” (ibid.: 210). Taube (pers. comm. 2007) suggested that these directional figures may well be related to four directional rain chiefs, a concept that is akin to the directional Tlalocs. The Arias de Saavedra pictorial calendar depicts the prominent solar deity Piltzintli in his eastern locale as well as the four corpses around their table in the house of the Nayarit, a shrine attended by two female priests that is described more fully in the text of Arias de Saavedra.

The pictorial solar calendar and the text recorded by Arias de Saavedra make clear the role of the sun in awakening different deities and weather-related phenomena in his travels during the course of the year. At the bottom of the image is a depiction of three deities, two of which are aligned with the summer and winter solstices and one of which is placed in the middle at the vernal/autumnal equinox point. Connecting these deities is a listing of the twelve months of the year, six months of which span the period from the winter solstice to the summer solstice (the dry season) and six months which span the period from the summer solstice to the winter solstice (the wet season). In other words, this schematic calendar marks out the travels of the sun during the course of the year from solstice to solstice and describes the different deities, plants, or animals associated with the changing seasons that the sun awakens throughout the year.

Arias de Saavedra (McCarty and Matson 1975: 210) described the role of the Sun in awakening deities during his seasonal travels,

He [God] sent the Piltzintli to the East to the sun to carry out his duties and the Nicanori [a western goddess] to the waters of the sea on the West side where the sun enters the first degree of the sign of Aries on the 21st of March. He sent the Narama where the sun enters the first degree of the

sign of Cancer on the 21st of June and the Uxuu to where the sun enters into the first degree of the sign of Capricorn, which is on the 21st of December. After they had taken their places, they left their images in these locations to be worshipped by the sons of earth as their representations and so that men could offer them their fruits at the proper times.

In describing the deities that were awakened, Arias de Saavedra (ibid.: 210) explained what seasonally related aspects of each of these deities were stirred at the solstices and equinoxes when the sun touched them during his yearly travel:

. . . they believe that the Piltzintli has an influence on the others [deities], and that when the Piltzintli Xucati (whom they call the son of God who is in the sun) comes on the 21st of March, he awakens the Nicanori so that he in turn can begin to create all the shellfish and fish and prepare the birds to lay eggs. When the sun has gone beyond the Nicanori, he touches the Narama with his light and arouses him to begin producing the salt and other fruits that are his assignment in the months of April, May, and June.

Furthermore, Arias de Saavedra (ibid.) continued:

At a certain point after the 21st of June, the sun Piltzintli comes and releases the mists in the form of water and sends lightning and thunder until the 21st of September. Then he again arouses the Nicanori, who begins from that day on to make the fish multiply and the birds lay. After the 21st of September, he awakens the Uxuu with his light so that she can prepare the earth with rains and mists for the production of fruits and seeds. These they call the Tonalmilli, that is, the fruits of summer. From there he goes on to the 21st of September [December] when another season begins which is related to one of the four bodies.

This account makes clear the integral role of the young sun god Piltzintli/Xochipilli in the ceremonial and seasonal cycle of the solstices and the equinoxes, the rainy and dry season, and his role in creating or bringing forth the abundance of plants, animals, crops, that are also related to economic activities associated with certain seasons.

This description closely ties the seasonal cycle of the *mitote* rites performed at the House of the Nayarit, that was and remains the center of the worship of Piltzintli, with the

seasonal round of the sun. Considering that the earliest evidence in the larger region for a similar observation and worship of the sun at the solstices and equinoxes is the solar mound observatory recently identified at the Cerritos phase (AD 900-1100) archaeological site of Chacalilla, located on the coastal plain of Nayarit, it is most probable that the development of *mitote* rites centered around the ceremonial cycle of the Sun God Piltzintli in his seasonal round took form at the onset of this era primarily along the coastal plain of southern Sinaloa and Nayarit.

The important role of the Sun God in providing rain is explicit. Arias de Saavedra (McCarty and Matson 1975: 215) in AD 1673 described the pilgrimage of an Indian named Joachin Perez to the Sun Temple at the Mesa del Nayar to ask for rain:

If he planted too early, the birds and vermin dug up the seed. If he planted too late, weeds grew up and he could not weed on account of the rains. So he had gone up to consult the Nayarit in order to know with certitude about the rains. For this purpose, he had taken along “quetzales,” vessels, cotton and other things to offer to the Noxat [priestess] who took them in to the oracle.

The priestess took the offering to the oracle:

When she asked his question, it turned out that the Nayarit said that he should return to his home at once because it would begin to rain on Thursday of the same week. He started back and got to the pueblo of Sayamotta in the doctrina of Ayotuxpan on Thursday when it rained a great deal. When he had been reprehended for all this by the priest, he made amends by going around and telling everyone that if he [sic] had not been for him going to the Nayarit with those offerings, they would have had no water (ibid.).

A similar account reported by Fernando Benítez indicates that pilgrimages to the Cora Mesa del Nayar continue to be important in Huichol requests for rain and plentiful harvests: “The [Huichol] shaman . . . then flies toward the Nayar mesa, the home of

Tsakaimuka, the deity shared by the Huicholes with their neighbors the Coras, there he pleads for a prolongation of the rainy season” (Benítez 1975: 106).

Juan Negrín (1975: 8) identified Tsakaimuka (or Sakaimuka) with the Sun shrine at the Mesa de Nayar. This place remains a pilgrimage destination for Huichol (ibid.: 35, fn. 6):

A Huichol shaman named Yausali, meaning “costume of the sun”, still makes yearly pilgrimages to the peak of Sakaimuka. He describes the spirit embodied there as the Father of the Sun. Evidently, the memory of this sacred spot and its traditional meaning did not fade in two hundred and fifty years, despite the obliteration of the temple and its temporary replacement by a Catholic church.

Clearly, the sun remains an important controller of and conduit for the return of the rains.

The dual components of the Huichol ceremonial cycle during the wet and dry seasons form “. . . the linkage of corn with the two ceremonial cycles” (Zingg 1938: 257). Thus, a concern for the growth of maize from the wet season to the dry season forms an intertwined relationship that spans the course of the year. For Zingg (ibid.: 296-298, 318-321), this interrelationship and fundamental opposition between the seasons was likened to a sexual antithesis between the male dry season and its related deities and the female wet season and its related deities, with mention of this polarity in the mythology being framed in terms of a contest or struggle between the two. In some accounts of these “catastrophic battles” between the the dry and wet seasons, the stars of the Sun-Father swoop down upon and tear apart the water serpents of the great creator wet-season goddess Takútsi Nakawé (or Grandmother Growth), a symbolic victory in this instance of the dry season over the wet season (ibid.: 319).

As noted in Chapter 11, politico-religious organization among Pueblo communities in the Eastern Pueblos of New Mexico is oriented around dual offices of leadership whereby one ritual leader (Winter Chief) takes care of the pueblo during the cold/winter/hunting half of the year while a second ritual leader (Summer Chief) takes care of the pueblo during the warm/summer/agricultural half of the year. A similar concept appears to be present among Huichol communities. According to Valadez (2010: 85), at the ceremony that marks the transition of the dry season (day) to the rainy season (night), the rites are:

. . . led by the shaman of the dark times, or the rainy season. This shaman of the night is associated with the direction of the setting sun, the west, the left, and with the coastal waters in the land of the underworld . . . It is the job of the rainy season shaman to invoke and revive Grandmother Growth. The creator and owner of the world, and the other goddesses of moisture . . . The shaman inquires of the gods whether or not it is going to rain well and what needs to be done in order to ensure sufficient rainfall for the crops.

While Valadez in this discussion only described a rainy season ritual leader and did not specifically describe a dry season ritual leader, the description that is given implies that such a position does exist as an oppositional figure to the rainy season ceremonial leader.

Elsewhere, Zingg (1938: 348) indicated that Grandfather Fire is the singing shaman of the dry season. In theory, as opposed to the rainy season leader, a dry season ritual leader would logically be concerned with the day, heat, the direction east, the right, the rising sun, the world of the above, and hunting. An alternative perspective is that these ritual positions in the present or in antiquity may well have even been subsumed into a dual role for one ritual leader or singer for the community whose ritual role changes with the dry and wet seasons, though this subject surely deserves more attention.

Seasonally Oriented Architecture in West Mexico: The Huichol Temple and the Sun

The importance of the sun, of solar observation, and of the related alternating rainy and dry season is reflected in architecture that dates to the Aztatlán era and the early historic era. However, continuity in these ideas is evident in the architecture of the contemporary Huichol circular temple, or *tuki*. Stacy Schaefer's (1996) fieldwork in the 1980s and 1990s in the Huichol community of San José, located north of the community of San Andrés Cohamiata in Jalisco, provided an opportunity to study the role of the sun in Huichol sacred space. An overwhelming amount of solar symbolism embodied in Huichol structures and altars was compiled by Stacy Schaefer, and the significance of her conclusions deserves an expansive discussion.

According to Schaefer (1996: 335), much like the Puebloan circular kiva, in Huichol cosmology, “. . . the center of the universe, the navel from which life enters the world, lies within the temple. Its interior arrangement, vertical and horizontal, mirrors the indigenous cosmos and, in turn, is its model.” Like niches in Pueblo kivas, the circular Huichol *tukis* also contain niches that are carved out for the placement of votive offerings such as corn or a sacred gourd bowl for particular deities (ibid.: 341).

Similarly, much like Pueblo *sipapus* in kivas, the Huichol *tuki* has several holes dug into the middle of the floor that facilitate interaction between the middle world and the underworld, each of which are also representative of such deities as Grandfather Fire, the planet Venus as Morning Star, and the Goddess of the Western Sea (who receives the setting sun) (Schaefer 1996: 342). During the course of ceremonies held in the *tuki*, the ritual specialist in charge sits in front of the hole of Tunuamei (Venus as Morning Star)

and sings into the hole, thus invoking Venus as a guide for the Sun as he embarks on his nocturnal journey in the underworld from the west to his eventual rebirth in the east (Schaefer 1996: 344-345, fig. 84; 2003: 77-78).

This rebirth of the sun is likened to a blooming flower. As two Huichol consultants explained, the *mara'akame* (ritual specialist) “. . . sees it as if it were a sunflower that closes and afterwards when [the sun] rises, the flower awakens and opens up. When it opens up this means that the sun is awake to travel once again to the ocean” (in Schaefer 2002: 220). The larger temple complex, called the *tukipa*, consists of a surrounding ceremonial space as well as a number of smaller temple houses or “god houses”, called *xiriki*, that are dedicated to particular ancestral spirits or deities (Schaefer 1996: 344-345). The *tukipa* compound is an integral component of the Huichol social structure that mirrors the cosmos, is closely related to temple members past and present, and is tied to ancestors, family lineages, and to the annual ceremonial cycle (ibid.).

In San José, there are actually two *tukis*, one of which is dedicated to the Hikuri Neixa (Peyote Dance) and the other of which is dedicated to the Tatéi Neixa (Dance of Our Mother) (Schaefer 1996: 337). For the Huichol, the Sun is credited with creating the rainy season after emerging at dawn. As one Peyote Dance song recorded by Fikes (2011: 197) stated:

My Sun Father, it was you who established the rainy season. At that moment, it was you who created the test, the plan followed by our Rain Mothers . . .

Furthermore, during the peyote hunt, offerings are taken to the Sun Father at Paritecua, the place of the first birth of the sun, in order to maintain the interrelated world of the sun and the rains:

The world of sunlight and rain must always be maintained by completing funeral rituals and by making pilgrimages to leave offerings . . . for the Sun Father at Paritecūa. Making offerings to him and acquiring his Ha'yorime are integral to bringing back the rain, thereby facilitating the succession of wet and dry seasons that is indispensable to Huichol survival (ibid.: 149).

It is the “world-recalibrating” Sun Father’s birth at the sacred eastern mountain that serves as the precedent for all Huichol deceased when they ascend from the underworld, their *cūpori* and *iyari* destined to their heavenly parents to enable another life to be born (ibid.: 148).

With regards to the *tuki*, Huichol origin traditions indicate that the first *tuki* was constructed to honor the Sun Father (Zingg 2004: 40). Furthermore, Grandfather Fire instructed the people, “If you do not accept the command of Father Sun, your children, crops, animals, and everything will die” (ibid). Recalling that there are two *tukis* in the community of San José (see above), it is notable that them of both the Hikuri Neixa and the Tatéi Neixa is focused upon the land of the dawning sun. The Peyote Dance honors the peyote pilgrims who are returning from their journey to both collect peyote at the sacred eastern lands of Wirikúta and to visit the sacred eastern mountain from where the sun is born. The Tatéi Neixa, on the other hand, is a ceremony in which the officiating ritual specialist metaphorically leads children, symbolically transformed into small birds, on a journey to the “Land of Dawn” (Schaefer 1996: 337).

Not only are Huichol *tukis* closely related to the sun, they also closely embody symbolism of the duality inherent in the rainy season and the dry season. In *tuki* refurbishing in the community of San Andrés, the temple is divided into two halves in order to establish the rainy season and the dry season (Schaefer 1996: 341). According to Schaefer (ibid.), “To me, the division of the temple interior into dry and rainy season halves strongly suggests a former moiety system in Huichol social organization”, a possibility suggested by other scholars (Weigand 1972).

Offerings of five directional plants in the roof of the circular *tuki*, united by a twisted cord, serve to demarcate the sacred directions and center (Schaefer 1996: 349-350, fig. 87). Within the circular *tuki* are two tall pine tree logs, two twin symbolic *axis mundi* that serve to support the roof beam of the temple but which also serve to connect the underworld to the upper world (ibid.: 346). These beams are closely associated with rain and are perceived to act as lightning rods to bring down the desired rainfall (ibid.). Not surprisingly, these two beams represent the duality of male and female balance. The male pole is associated with the east and the rising sun, and especially with a deity named Nu’ariwaméi, a god of lightning and thunder who is also associated with bows and arrows and furious storms (ibid.: 346-347). The female pole is associated with the west and particularly with a western rain goddess named Kewimúka who has a gentle demeanor and helps to bring steady rain (ibid.).

Huichol temple cargos are kin-based, with families and individuals fulfilling the roles of their lineage ancestors from one generation to the next when representing specific deities in *tuki* ceremonies (Schaefer 1996: 351-352). In certain ceremonies, the

cargo members and their families are arranged within the temple into two groups, the dividing line running on an east-west axis extending between the doorway on the east and the altar on the west side of the *tuki* (Schaefer 1996: 353; 2003: 78). This division separates the two groups into dry season families and wet season families (ibid: 354). All of the gods and temple members on the north side of the temple represent the dry season. In contrast, all of the temple cargo members on the south side of the temple represent the rainy season (Schaefer 2003: 78). The gods (and cargo members) that are represented on one side of the temple for the rainy season have counterparts on the other side of the temple for the dry season (Schaefer 1996: 353-354). This intertwined relationship is ritually bound through food and drink and is replicated during ceremonies when these opposed counterparts are paired and dance in the plaza together (ibid.).

The rainy season lineages alternate in leadership, as the rainy season kin are in charge of the ceremonies during the rainy season from around May to October while the dry season kin are in charge of the dry season cycle from November to April (Schaefer 1996: 355). One of the main ceremonies during the rainy season cycle is the Peyote Dance (Hikuri Neixa), a planting dance, while the major ceremony of the dry season cycle is the Dance of Our Mothers (Tatéi Neixa), a harvest dance. As noted earlier, these two ceremonies are the focus of the two *tukis* in the community of San José. The existence of two Huichol circular temples centered upon kin-based rituals for the ceremonies of the alternating rainy and dry season is strikingly similar to the existence of two kivas (Turquoise and Squash) that represent dual social divisions (ceremonially

based moieties) centered upon the rainy and dry seasonal cycle in the Eastern Pueblos of the American Southwest (see Chapter 11).

In any case, the Huichol division between the rainy and dry season is further mirrored in two god houses placed in the patio that sits in front of the *tuki*, one for the dry season god Paritsika (god of the hunt, deer, and scorpions and one for the rainy season god Maxa Kwaxí (Schaefer 1996: 354, 357). The actual or mythical ancestors [i.e., the patrons] of the rainy and dry season kin groups are these two deities. The use of god houses to mark dual divisions of the year at the solstices was noted in the Huichol community of Santa Catarina. Fikes (1985: 348) noted:

A god-house dedicated to the Sun-Father is located at the summit of a hill east of Santa Catarina. From there a notch, or “window”, where the sun appears at the winter and summer solstices, is visible in the mountain range on the eastern horizon.

The action of visually sighting the sun on the horizon at the solstices among contemporary indigenous groups in this region is identical to that for earlier Aztatlán solar observatories described above.

Schaefer (1996: 354) noted that the names of many of the major deities that are represented in the circular *tuki* represent certain stars or constellations that appear in the night sky during the course of the year. In essence, “The temple thus divides its membership physically, socially, and symbolically into rainy and dry season families” (ibid.). This relationship ties together the fates of cargo holders, along with the rainy and dry season, into a strengthened ritual, social, and natural relationship. The concept of dividing the Huichol circular temple into ritually based moieties centered upon the rainy or dry season is essentially identical to the division of communities into ritually based

moieties centered upon the winter and summer seasons among Eastern Rio Grande Pueblos, though these latter examples are not kin-based but village-based.

Huichol Temples as Solar Calendars

On many different levels, Huichol *tukis* are thoroughly imbued with solar symbolism. According to Schaefer (1996: 355), the five main *tukis* in the region in which she studied (San Andrés), and presumably many more in the sierra, “. . . are solar temples, oriented toward the annual cycle of the sun, used as solar observatories, and literally permeated by solar symbolism and associations.” A strategically placed doorway, which opens eastward towards the rising sun, and openings and windows in the walls allow sunlight to enter the temple, thus enabling temple members to measure the movement of the sun across the floor of the temple (ibid.). These openings are particularly designed so that the sun shines upon the pine support-post that represents Nu’arawameí at the start of the rainy season at the Summer solstice and upon the pine support-post of Kewimuka at the Winter solstice point (ibid.: fig. 89). A hole in the rear of the temple also allows the light of the sun to be measured as he descends into the underworld (ibid.: 358).

The descent of the sun, his movement through the underworld, and his eventual rebirth from the sacred eastern mountain at dawn is charted by ritual specialists through the holes placed strategically in the floor of the temple (Schaefer 1996: 358). In essence, the *tuki* is constructed as a solar calendar that marks the ascent and descent of the sun, his diurnal path across the sky, the arrival of the alternating rainy and dry seasons, and the

beginning of the ceremonial cycles that are attendant to each respective season. The strong connection between the *tuki* and solar ceremonialism is notable. Much as the Pueblo kiva is perceived as a female womb subject to impregnation by the rays of the sun (see Chapter 11), so too is the Huichol circular *tuki* perceived of as a woman's womb. According to one Huichol woman, summarized here by Schaefer (1996: 361), "the sun's ray, called *tau'uru*, meaning arrow of the sun, enters the womb of the *tuki* to impregnate her and bring fertility throughout the daily, as well as the annual, cycle for all the temple members."

This charting of the movement of the sun is also applicable to the god houses of the two dry and rainy season deities (Paritzika and Maxa Kwaxi) built in front of the Huichol *tuki*. At the time when the rainy or dry season begins, the sun is in a position to shine upon a small stone disk called a *tepari* that is placed just below the roofline of the god house. A small hole or *niérika* ("face" or "aspect") that is carved into the *tepari* allows the light of the sun to penetrate the temple, thus giving "sight" to the god of either the rainy or dry season within the annual cycle of the sun (Schaefer 1996: 357).

Stepped Altars in Huichol Ritual: "The Stairway of the Sun"

Huichol altars placed within the temple (*tuki*), the god house (*xiriki*), and the Catholic church are also closely related to the sun. Each of these altars, called *niwetári* or *niwetarite* (pl.), are a symbolic *axis mundi* that serves to connect the multiple levels of the universe—the underworld, middle world of the living, and the upperworld (Schaefer

2003: 71). In consultation with a Huichol consultant, Fikes (2011: 252: fn. 16) reported the following:

. . . at the entrance to the god-house in every rancho, there are five steps, which commemorates the five steps the sun father took to exit from the underworld. Each step represents a step the Sun Father took to ascend out of the underworld in which he found himself after jumping into the ceremonial fire. Thus the rectangular-shaped god-house is consecrated to the Sun Father by reference to this mythic event.

The *niwetarite* also represent the symbolic resting place of the souls of deceased ancestors along the “stairway of the sun” (Schaefer 2003: 71). The pathway of the sun is of integral importance to the *niwetari* (ibid.: 77). Huichol consultants indicated that the sun’s pathway takes form through five stations, or steps, as it travels during the course of the day and five stations that it travels upon during the night (ibid.). These same concepts are embedded and replicated in other material culture objects such as notched musical rasps and the Huichol loom and ties into a similar ideology of solar ladders both in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest (see Chapter 4).

According to Schaefer (1996: 342; 2003: 71-73), the ceremonial shelf or altar (*niwetári*) in the *tuki* is constructed along the western interior wall. Two types of these altars have been observed. One type of altar is constructed from pieces of cane and tied to posts, forming a type of table. The annual movement of the sun during the alternating rainy and dry season is traced via observation of the rays of the sun as it traverses the *niwetari* located at the rear of the *tuki*, from one side of the altar to the other, during the course of the year. Specific offerings pertinent to the rainy/planting season or the dry/hunting season are placed upon the altar at the solstices and equinoxes (Schaefer 2003: 78-79). For the solstice ceremonies, the Hikuri Neixa marks the end of the dry

season and the beginning of the planting season while the Tatei Neixa marks the end of the rainy season and the beginning of the hunting and peyote pilgrimage season (ibid.). During ceremonies such as the Hikuri Neixa (or Peyote Dance), Huichol musicians sit beneath the *niwetári* in the *tuki* and play music to accompany the ceremony (Schaefer 1996: 344, fig. 83).

A second type of altar, the more ancient style, is constructed from stone and mortar that reaches upward some 3.5 to 4 feet in height, like a stairway in successive tiers (Schaefer 1996: 344; 2003: 72). As one Huichol consultant noted, this stairway is considered to be the “stairway of the Sun”, the stepped pathway that the sun climbs in his journey across the sky. At the time of the equinoxes, the rays of the rising sun enter the *tuki* doorway and symbolically climb the stepped altar in his symbolic ascent into the sky (ibid. 1996: 356).

There are rainy and dry season components of these altars, much as if there are duality-based conceptions of the ascent of the sun during the two halves of the year. For instance, during ceremonies held at the end of the rainy season (or beginning of the dry season), items associated with the harvest, such as freshly harvested young corn and squash adorned with marigold flowers, are placed in embroidered bags of the cargo holders and hung from the posts of the *niwetári* (Schaefer 2003: 72). These offerings at the end of the rainy season are consistent with the harvest dance known as Tatei Neixa. In ceremonies held at the end of the dry season (or beginning of the rainy season) in May or June, offerings in the embroidered bags consist of peyote, dried deer meat and deer faces, and tobacco. These offerings at the end of the dry season are consistent with the Peyote

Dance that marks the end of dry season activities such as hunting and peyote pilgrimage (ibid.). The offerings of dried maize stalks at the altar at this time initiates the beginning of the planting season with the coming of the rains (ibid.). These offerings indicate a clear dualistic concern for the ascent and passage of the sun during the alternating rainy and dry seasons.

The *niwetari* is also constructed on a smaller scale in god houses (*xiriki*) located at family ranches located within the larger temple district (see Schaefer 2003: figs. 2-3; Zingg 1938: 602-603). Much like the *tuki* altars, the *xiriki* altars are placed on the west side of the circular or square *xiriki*, facing east towards the doorway and the rising sun (Schaefer 2003: 73). In distinction from the *tuki* altar, the *xiriki* altar contains a number of offerings that are more closely related to the well-being of the extended family lineage.

Among the offerings placed upon the *niwetari* of the *xiriki* are bundles of sacred maize situated inside of a gourd bowl decorated with wax figures representing all of the family members (Schaefer 2003: 73). Upon the altar also rests the sacred rock crystals or *urukáte*, wrapped in cotton bundles, that represent the deceased family ancestors (ibid.). These rock crystals, and the souls of the deceased they represent, are closely related to the sun (Ohnersorgen et al. 2010; Perrin 1996). Zingg (1938: 602) commented upon a stepped altar (the symbolic ladder of the sun) in a Huichol *xiriki* upon which was hung a string of hundreds of brightly colored macaw feathers, each measuring about 10-inches in length, an artifact with possible allusions to the myth of the Sun Father in his arising at dawn on his stepped altar (see above). A color image of this string of macaw feathers, as

well as Zingg's original photograph of its placement above the god house stepped altar, was recently published (see Powell 2010: figs. 1.23-1.25).

Upon return from the pilgrimage to collect peyote from the "Land of Dawn", the sacred lands of the east, the family pilgrims place the peyote upon the *niwetari* in the *xiriki* before distributing the peyote to family members to be ritually consumed (Schaefer 2003: 74). The *niwetari* in the *xiriki* is also important in curing rites. Schaefer (ibid.) noted that healing rituals for infertile couples involved special prayer offerings placed upon the *niwetari* by an elder healer of the community.

The *niwetari* is also important in Huichol death rituals. On the occasion of the death of a family member, the Huichol construct a temporary altar that faces westward rather than eastward, so that the soul may begin its journey to the spirit world. In Huichol thought, the soul retraces its life and follows the path of the sun to the west (Schaefer 2003: 74). A subsequent mortuary rite involves the retrieval of the soul by a ritual specialist, who brings the soul back to the community for last respects by family members before sending it back to the sky above Wirikuta, the place of the rising sun (ibid.). The soul is thought to travel with the sun (Perrin 1996). As one Huichol consultant noted, "the *urukáte* join the sun and they watch over us; along with Sun they look after us and take care of us . . ." (Perrin 1996: 413). Another Huichol consultant noted that the crystallized soul travels along the path of the sun: "[The *urukáte*] seem to be with Sun . . . It is a rock belonging to the sun, a place he passes by. For the sun never stops moving . . . We go there when we die..." (ibid.: 412).

Finally, the *niwetari* is also constructed inside the Catholic church in the Huichol community of San Andres Cohamiata, Jalisco. Unlike the placement of the *niwetari* on the west wall facing east, as is done in the Huichol *tuki* and *xiriki*, the *niwetari* in the church is placed on the east wall, facing west (Schaefer 2003: 75, fig. 4). This opposed placement of the altar does not have anything to do with the movement of the sun, but it reflects a tradition that explains the different arrival of the Christian deities to the sierra in contrast to the arrival of the Huichol deities (ibid.: 80).

The altar is a tiered stairway up to 12 feet in height, upon which individuals can ascend during ceremonies such as Semana Santa. Semana Santa ceremonies in the church are performed to mark the beginning of a new year and to ensure that the sun is renewed (Schaefer 2003: 79). The top tier of the altar holds carved wooden images of Christ on the cross, who are said to represent different Huichol deities (Schaefer 2003: 75). During Semana Santa, a number of cattle and bulls, at times exceeding forty, are dragged into the church and sacrificed in the middle of the building. The blood from their slit throats is placed into a hole in the center of the floor and also is collected in bowls to anoint the deities at the top of the *niwetari* (ibid.). These sacrificial rites are performed “to give health and vigor to the sun, the saints, Christ, the gods, the people, their animals, and their future crops” (ibid.: 79).

The *niwetari*, the symbolic stairway of the sun, is a place that is closely identified with the resting place of the Huichol soul, whether living, deceased, or the yet-to-be-born (Schaefer 2003: 76). The birth of a child is an occasion for gathering the family inside the *xiriki* for the presentation of the infant to the altar and to the deceased gods and ancestor

who reside there (ibid.: 76-77, fig. 6). The souls of children yet-to-be-born, symbolized by cotton, also reside on the altar, a place where couples having difficulty in becoming pregnant go to perform healing rites designed to enable conception (ibid.: 77).

In his role as midwife, the shaman is called *tiniwet+wame*, a term that evokes the bringing of light into the world, much like the sun's rays (Schaefer 2003: 77). On the occasion of a baptism inside the church, a shaman leads the godparents, carrying the child, up the steps of the *niwetari* for blessing in front of the Christ figures and saints (ibid.: 76). At death, the crystallized souls, or *urukáte*, of ancestors are wrapped in cotton and placed upon the *niwetari* where offerings of food, drink, and the blood of sacrificed animals are made to feed the ancestors (ibid.: 76-77). Much as cotton in the Puebloan world is related to ancestors and the rains, it is likely that the affiliation between the souls of children and deceased ancestors, wrapped in cotton, reflects a similar conception among the Huichol. For example, Furst (2006: 61) indicated that among the Huichol, cotton symbolizes clouds.

Much as the *niwetari* is embodied at different scales in the *xiriki*, the *tuki*, and the church, the symbolic stairway of the sun is also transposed upon the sacred landscape in Huichol territory. During the course of the journey of Huichol peyote pilgrims to the "Land of Dawn" in the east, the place where the sun is born, the pilgrims visit a number of sacred sites on the landscape. Travelling eastward, one sacred area called Niwetaritsie ("Place of the Altar") is comprised of five sacred spots that are concordant with the five steps or stations that the sun takes in his journey across the sky (Schaefer 2003: 80). On their return trip, traveling from east to west, after visiting the sacred mountain from

which the sun is born, the pilgrims again pass through Niwetaritsie and become part of the diurnal path of the sun (ibid.). Essentially, the ascendant and descendant pathway that the Huichol pilgrims travel to and from the sacred eastern desert and mountain is akin to the stepped path upon which the sun travels as he ascends and descends in his journey across the sky during the course of the day and year.

Ideology and the Aztatlán Heartland in the Postclassic Period

The present chapter sought to determine the region from which the Casas Grandes culture obtained knowledge of the young Mesoamerican solar deity Xochipilli, the central deity of the Casas Grandes world. An analysis of ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and archaeological data indicates that worship of the young sun god Xochipilli/Piltzintli is of great antiquity in West Mexico, long pre-dating his arrival into northern Mexico and the American Southwest. The southern portion of the core-coastal Aztatlán heartland, mainly southern Sinaloa and northern Nayarit, appears to have been the central hearth of Xochipilli worship since the onset of the Aztatlán tradition at the beginning of the Postclassic period (ca. AD 900+/-). In fact, the adoption of the Xochipilli-oriented social, political, religious, and economic complex appears to be closely tied to the rise and expansion of the Aztatlán tradition. The social changes associated with the Aztatlán tradition that took form in West Mexico in the Postclassic represent a cultural disjunction that is comparable to that which took form in the American Southwest during the Pueblo III- to Pueblo IV-period transition. Both of these episodes in Southwestern and Northwest

Mexican history were related to the adoption of worship of the Sun God Xochipilli and a heightened form of the Mesoamerican Flower World complex.

In the Aztatlán region of West Mexico, the adoption of this seemingly fully formed ritual complex is directly related to events in highland Central Mexico and appears to have few to no antecedents in preceding Classic-period religion and political organization in the region. The initial adoption of Flower World in West Mexico around AD 900+/-, or Kelley's (2000) "Early Aztatlán" period, appears to correspond to an influx of Toltec-related material culture, such as Plumbate wares and Mazapan-style figurines, while a second phase of influence, or Kelley's (2000) "Late Aztatlán" period (ca. AD 1200+/-), appears to be more closely related to a heightened influence from the Mixteca region, particularly as reflected in the appearance of the West Mexican variant of the Postclassic International Style during this era. The latter period, which saw a great expansion of Aztatlán interregional networks and the rise of Paquimé, appears to have been closely related to the earlier founding of the dominant Tututepec empire in AD 1083 along the Pacific coast of Oaxaca and the subsequent rise in demand for distant Southwestern exotica such as turquoise (see Chapter 10).

The division of an early and late period in Postclassic West Mexican cultural change may well be paralleled in early cultural changes in the Southwest (Chaco Canyon and Mimbres) and later changes in northern Mexico (Paquimé). In terms of the presence of Mesoamerican objects and ideas in the American Southwest, Lekson (2008) noted a similar division:

Southwestern connections with Mexico intensified or (perhaps) democratized after 1150/1200. There was no lack of Mesoamerican

objects and ideas before 1150, concentrated at key sites. After 1150 the floodgates opened. Everybody had a parrot or a copper bell, so it seems. Surely, things changed within the Southwest . . . , but it seems likely that the long-distance proclivities of the Early Post-Classic were jacked up another notch in the Middle Post-Classic.

Surely, these cultural changes in the American Southwest are tied to events in Mesoamerica, not just in West Mexico but in highland Central Mexico, as a consequence of the expansion of Postclassic period information and interaction networks.

The rise of the Aztatlán tradition saw the development of a number of temple-town centers (perhaps akin to city-states) across the region, particularly along the major drainages of the Pacific coast of Sinaloa, Nayarit, and Jalisco. Along with the rise of these centers was a new form of solar worship that was centered upon the solstices and the equinoxes and observation of the sunrise on the eastern horizon, particularly as reflected in solar-oriented architecture at such sites as Chacalilla and probably Amapa as well. This new ceremonialism was centered upon the cycle of the Sun during the course of the year. The appearance of new solar ceremonialism was complemented by a new form of Plumed Serpent and Venus worship and a ritual complex centered upon cosmological warfare, primarily as reflected in the abundance of portrayals of the Morning Star deity, a West Mexican version of the highland Central Mexican Morning Star deity Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli.

A more thorough examination of Venus as Morning Star ceremonialism in the American Southwest and Mesoamerica recently confirmed the Mesoamerican origin of this complex (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008). Furthermore, the Venus complex in Postclassic West Mexico, with its dual Morning Star/Evening Star components, likely

served as the foundation of key components of Hero Twin ceremonialism that became evident in the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period. As described in Chapter 11, this Morning Star/Evening Star and Sun Youth dualism was integral to the development of dual-social organization in the American Southwest in the Pueblo IV period.

The recognition of a new Sun, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star religious complex at the onset of the Postclassic period is important for understanding the historical development of ceremonialism of West Mexican indigenous people. Considering that contemporary Cora and Huichol *mitote* rites are primarily centered upon the Sun and the Morning Star, it is most probable that the *mitote* ceremonial cycle has its roots in the onset of the Aztatlán tradition. Indeed, it is difficult to see how *mitote* ceremonies could exist without these two major deities in the contemporary indigenous pantheon. These deities were unknown in the larger region in the Classic period. Furthermore, considering that the contemporary *mitote* cycle is oriented around the solstices, the wet and dry seasons, and the cyclical growth of corn, it is most probable that Corn Maiden-oriented *mitote* ceremonialism in West Mexico also has its origins with the Sun and Venus complex adopted in the Postclassic. Likewise, it is impossible to have a Corn Maiden complex in the *mitote* cycles without these two deities, particularly as the Sun is intimately associated with the growth of corn.

In other words, the appearance of a fully developed ceremonial complex partly centered around the Sun Youth Xochipilli, the Morning Star Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the Plumed Serpent Quetzalcoatl, and the multi-colored Corn Maidens marked the onset of

the Aztatlán tradition and served as the prototype for an all but identical complex that appeared in the American Southwest around AD 1300. This complex was transmitted in its most fully formed version via the site of Paquimé around AD 1200. The transmission of this complex appears to have involved the use of sacred seed corn embodied in maize-ear fetishes that likely involved attendant lineage-based ritualism. A more detailed examination of Cora and Huichol ceremonies reveals that Flower World-derived rites form an important, and perhaps dominant, portion of contemporary indigenous ceremonialism in the region .

Not only did this new form of ceremonialism simply focus upon a new solar deity, but this new belief system influenced the manner in which Aztatlán societies were organized both socially and politically. Coupled with the newly acquired solar deity Xochipilli was the appearance of a new political office of Sun King, much as is known for the Contact-period Cora. While much more work is needed to understand political organization in Postclassic West Mexican Aztatlán communities, it is entirely probable that the ethnohistorically known form of Cora political organization centered upon a paramount office of Sun King is of much greater antiquity in the region and is based upon a political office previously known among Aztatlán societies. It would have been this form of political organization in the Postclassic period that served as the model for sociopolitical organization in the Casas Grandes culture and the site of Paquimé during the Medio period. While depictions of Xochipilli as a macaw-headed Sun God are as-yet unknown in West Mexican symbolism, it is clear from contemporary Huichol traditions

that the macaw is closely related to the dawning Sun, an association that likely is of great antiquity.

As the worship of the Sun has continued in West Mexico until the present day, this deity appears to have played a role in resistance movements against Colonial oppression and in revitalization movements, much like in the American Southwest. Furthermore, after the Contact period and the introduction and imposition of Christianity, the young Sun God also was made manifest in syncretized versions. In many instances in contemporary native traditions and rites, the Christian God appears to be closely conflated with the role of the indigenous Sun God. A more pointed example of syncretism occurred in the unique rise of worship centered upon a New World saint named Santo Niño de Atocha, a child-god whose worship is largely centered around the larger zone of Xochipilli worship and whose rise in prominence probably is partly due to previous worship of the child-god Xochipilli that existed in the region for over 900 years prior to the development of the Santo Niño de Atocha complex.

The solar/maize ritual complex that took form in the Aztatlán region around AD 900 was and remains intimately tied to an ideology of rainmaking and ancestral rain spirits. This rain complex is closely related to the Tlaloc rain complex of highland Central Mexico and, ultimately, it served as the prototype for the katsina rain complex that took form in the American Southwest in accompaniment with the worship of the Sun God Xochipilli. In West Mexico, and later in the American Southwest, the ideology of ancestors as cloud and rain spirits took form in the proliferation of cotton and weaving and the identification of cotton with clouds and ancestors (see Chapter 8). In West

Mexico, this ideology is evidenced by the widespread occurrence of spindle whorls, likely used in cotton fiber spinning, found across the Aztatlán region (see Chapter 8).

Among Aztatlán societies, much like in contemporary indigenous ceremonialism, the ceremonial cycle was attuned to the alternating rainy and dry seasons, a duality that was closely connected to the alternating hunting and agricultural halves of the year. This duality in the seasons is likened to a perpetual cosmological tension or symbolic “battle” between the forces of the dry season and the forces of the wet season. Much as these ideas were mapped into the architecture of some Aztatlán societies, such as the solar mound complexes at Chacalilla and Amapa, contemporary Huichol people in many instances map the movement and diurnal pathway of the Sun through the alternating dry and wet season in their temple architecture. Furst (1972: 158) characterized contemporary Huichol society and ideological system as reflecting an “incomplete transition” between their former existence as hunters and gatherers and their present existence as subsistence farmers. Fikes (1985: 48) disputed this assertion and argued that hunting and horticultural activities are both well-integrated into the Huichol ceremonial cycle. In my estimation, the origin of the dual divisions of hunting and agricultural ceremonialism is tied to the adoption of Sun Youth rituals during the Postclassic period.

Within the temples (*tuki*), god houses (*xiriki*), dance patios, and churches, Huichol people construct small-scale versions of the stepped pathway (*niwetari*) upon which the sun travels across the sky. The conception of the stepped pathway of the Sun is also imbued on a smaller scale in the loom and the notched musical rasp and on a larger scale on the sacred landscape, such as in sacred spots on the peyote pilgrimage to the Land of

Dawn in Wirikuta. It is clear that worship of the sun, originally begun in the Aztatlán tradition, continues to permeate every aspect of indigenous ritualism in the former Aztatlán region of West Mexico.

The present chapter speaks to a number of broad issues in Southwestern and Mesoamerican archaeology, including the role of religion in sociopolitical organization and elite strategies of legitimization in ancient polities, the importance of religion in social change, the mechanisms by which religion is transferred and transformed over long distances, and the methods by which native oral traditions can be integrated with scientific archaeology. Data from archaeology, ethnohistory, ethnography, and oral traditions indicate that a new form of solar worship focused on Xochipilli, one ultimately centered upon a Casas Grandes paramount ritual leader as a personified young Sun God, was transmitted into the American Southwest after AD 1200 via the site of Paquimé. The transmission of very specific ritual knowledge of this deity and the attendant ritual complex to the Casas Grandes region and Paquimé probably involved the physical movement of people from the Aztatlán region.

Discussion

Scholars have long noted that Mesoamerican material culture evidence points squarely to interaction and integration between Paquimé and a broad region in West Mexico (see Chapter 8), mainly along the Pacific coast. It is most probable that the Xochipilli-oriented solar complex in the northern regions of Mexico and in the American Southwest has its origin among then-contemporaneous Aztatlán societies.

Archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic data confirm that the above-described ritual complex in West Mexico was largely centered in Nayarit. Notably, the only documentary evidence of a personified young Sun God in this region is found in the hereditary lineage of Cora “Sun Kings” in Nayarit. It is probable that this form of political office has existed in West Mexico since the adoption of Xochipilli worship at the beginning of the Postclassic.

Given that Paquimé existed for over 250 years, it is reasonable to suggest that, there may have existed successive generations of Casas Grandes “Sun Kings”, much like in ancient West Mexico where this politico-religious complex originates. In the Casas Grandes region, these figureheads probably resided at the site of El Pueblito (see Chapter 9), a unique domestic and ritual architectural complex situated atop Cerro de Moctezuma, the highest peak overlooking Paquimé in the Casas Grandes valley (see Pitezel 2003, 2007; Swanson 1997, 2003). As Pitezel (2007: 366) noted,

. . . leadership at Paquimé specifically selected Cerro de Moctezuma to visually broadcast their place as paramount holders of religious knowledge. It is probable that at least some of the occupants of El Pueblito held the status of ritual specialists with relevant knowledge to perform activities ultimately related to the ritual structure emanating from Paquimé.

While Lekson (1999a) argued that elites from Chaco Canyon established Paquimé, the present research indicates that a ritual leader at Paquimé, identified as a living Sun God, may well have instead originated among Aztatlán-tradition societies of West Mexico.

This proposition is strengthened by two biological studies that demonstrated connections between West Mexico and the Casas Grandes region. Christensen’s (1997) analysis of nonmetric skeletal traits found great similarities between Casas Grandes

samples and those of contemporary Cora and Huichol of Jalisco and Nayarit, the primary region from where Sun Youth ceremonialism at Paquimé originated. A second study focused upon dental morphology found a close genetic relationship between the prehispanic Mimbres, Casas Grandes, and Sinaloan populations (Turner 1999). This study also found a striking lack of genetic similarity between populations in the Casas Grandes region and surrounding areas of northern Mexico and the southern Southwest (ibid.). These conclusions strongly point towards the possibility that the transmission of ideas and material culture from West Mexico to Paquimé in part involved the physical movement of people.

While the transmission of material goods such as finished copper ornaments (Vargas 1995, 2001) or shell species from West Mexico to Paquimé (Bradley 1996) might be explained as having been obtained through a relatively anonymous down-the-line or prestige-goods exchange (Whalen and Minnis 2001b, 2009), the transmission of detailed elite-oriented esoteric knowledge of Xochipilli and a new form of political organization centered upon a ruler as a personified young Sun God through this same mechanism is improbable.

As Christine Vanpool and colleagues (2008: 8) rightly recognized:

. . . similarities in religion, ritual, and political organization display a more secure and direct cultural connection than is possible as a result of down-the-line trade and incidental mimicry. Such a connection is present between the Medio Period Casas Grandes system and the Aztatlán tradition.

Unless Casas Grandes and Southwestern scholars are willing to accept that these ideas and this entire religious complex travelled northward casually by word-of-mouth, or that

a local Casas Grandes political entrepreneur travelled up to 1000 km southward to receive training or investiture before returning northward, the more likely explanation is that the movement of this very specific constellation of ideas over such vast distances probably involved the presence of West Mexican Aztatlán people at Paquimé. This proposition need not imply a dramatic Toltec-style invasion of marauding warriors into the Casas Grandes valley.

Oral traditions and ethnohistoric accounts from northern Mexico that speak of a ritual leader who arrived from outside of the region and established himself at Paquimé add significant weight to the latter proposition and lend credence to Schaafsma and Riley's (1999b; 1999c) proposed "Cacique Model". Furthermore, oral traditions of Pueblo peoples such as the Hopi that tell of a number of clans with origins deep in Mesoamerica arriving to the Hopi Mesas with a new form of solar worship only strengthens the present argument that the physical movement of people facilitated the transmission of solar-oriented Xochipilli-worship to Northern Mexico and the American Southwest.

Recent critiques of the study of shared religious beliefs and symbolism between Mesoamerican and Southwestern cultures have lamented that this type of approach to understanding the presence of shared ideas ". . . assumes rather than demonstrates the mechanisms involved in cultural transmission" and does not prove that ". . . inter-regional cultural transmission could have occurred" (Phillips 2002: 184). The present chapter has sought to address this concern by identifying a specific region of origin for Mesoamerican ideas along with proposed mechanisms for the interregional transmission

of beliefs centered on specific Mesoamerican deities and a specific complex of religious beliefs.

Conclusion

Contemporary analyses of past Southwestern indigenous cultural developments largely concluded that cultural change in Mesoamerican societies far to the south had very little influence on historical events in the American Southwest. In turn, the majority of scholars also seem to have largely settled on the perspective that cultural developments in the American Southwest have been of little consequence in shaping historical events in Mesoamerican societies. However, as Stephen Plog (1996: 137) rightly noted, when considering the nature of interaction and integration between societies in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest, we must build models based upon more clear understandings of social organization and social change in multiple pertinent regions in antiquity:

Only when we have added Southwestern cultural dynamics to the equation along with Mesoamerican cultural dynamics will we fully understand the long-distance links between Mesoamerican [sic] and the American Southwest that Di Peso, Kelley, Phil Weigand and others have documented and brought to the fore. The challenge is to create a more holistic framework that incorporates both internal and external dynamics, that recognizes the complex webs of social relationships at both regional and interregional scales . . .

Overwhelming evidence for the introduction and dissemination of a ritual complex minimally centered upon Xochipilli worship, with attendant ritual components of the Morning Star, Plumed Serpent, Corn Maidens, and ancestral rain spirits, into the Southwest from West Mexico via Paquimé renders the isolationist position undefendable.

Clearly, Mesoamerican religious beliefs at Paquimé, derived from the Aztatlán tradition, live on in the ritual and lore of contemporary indigenous people of the American Southwest.

Chapter 7:

The Mesoamerican Ballgame in Postclassic Northwest Mexico

“An imaginary east-west line running through the precinct . . . would cut the ballcourt in half. The two halves of the ballcourt may therefore have been invested with the same oppositional meaning . . ., notably in the annual north-south movement of the sun corresponding to the alternation of rainy and dry seasons and their related ceremonies.”

-Susan D. Gillespie (1991: 342)

“I have therefore assumed, and have made, for instance, a statement . . . to the effect that, if as a matter of fact the Mexicans in the ballgame thought of a comparison with the sun, they perhaps had in mind the movement of the sun from the south side of the sky to the north side, and the reverse, which was performed in the course of the year.”

-Eduard Seler (1990-1998: 4: 153)

Introduction

The Mesoamerican Ballgame in the Casas Grandes World

Among the most clear-cut Mesoamerican-style architectural designs at Medio-period (AD 1200-1450) Paquimé and subsidiary sites are I-shaped ballcourts, structures long cited by scholars as evidence for some form of interaction with and knowledge transmission from Mesoamerican societies. Though scholars have variously described oval-shaped earthen architectural features in the Hohokam region (circa AD 700) of southern Arizona as dance plazas or an early Southwestern version of the Mesoamerican ballgame (Wilcox and Sternberg 1983; Wilcox 1991b), these particular architectural features are not the focus of the present discussion.

Wilcox (1991b: 113) indicated that all Hohokam courts were abandoned by AD 1200-1250, precisely the time during which the Casas Grandes Medio period began.

Other Casas Grandes scholars see a disjunction between Hohokam ballcourts and later Casas Grandes ballcourts, with the latter exhibiting stronger similarities to ballcourts in northern Mesoamerica (Whalen and Minnis 1966: 736-737). For example, Wilcox (1991b: 125) concluded: “Paquimé adopted a new version of the Mesoamerican ballgame to serve its own purposes; the Pueblos did not.” I agree with this assessment and contend that the ideology associated with the ballgame in the Casas Grandes region (i.e., the Sun Youth) is different from that for the Hohokam region and is more closely aligned with a Postclassic-period ideology and cosmology centered on the Sun Youth in parts of highland central and northwest Mesoamerica.

The following discussion focuses upon the ideological components of the ballgame in Mesoamerica, with a more particular focus on the Postclassic period (AD 900-1521) and early Historic era, in an effort to discern meaning that is pertinent to our understanding of Medio-period Casas Grandes cosmology as conceptualized in the present dissertation, particularly in regard to solar and plumed serpent ceremonialism. Following this discussion, I examine Postclassic-period Aztatlán ballcourts and ballcourt ideology in an effort to more specifically discern the region from where the Mesoamerican ballgame in the Casas Grandes region originated.

The Ballgame in Mesoamerica: A Story of Emergence and Creation

In his assessment of the Mesoamerican ballgame, Eduard Seler (1990-1998: 4: 153) drew attention to the north-south orientation of many courts in a passage worthy of note. As Seler (*ibid.*) explained:

The old Mexican ballgrounds were oriented north and south, as I found was true of a large number that I had an opportunity to inspect in the ancient cities of this land. Hence the ball was not thrown in the direction of the sun's revolution, but from south to north and from north to south.

Furthermore, Seler (*ibid.*) continued:

Since the passing of the ball through stone rings was the fortunate throw—seldom achieved—and in every instance decided the game, the rings were therefore not passed through in an east-west direction, but presented their broad sides and their openings to the south and north. I have therefore assumed, and have made, for instance, a statement . . . to the effect that, if as a matter of fact the Mexicans in the ballgame thought of a comparison with the sun, they perhaps had in mind the movement of the sun from the south side of the sky to the north side, and the reverse, which was performed in the course of the year.

Though Seler's (*ibid.*) following sentence immediately expressed some reservations about accepting the proposition that the course of the ballgame was tied to the sun's northward and southward movement on the horizon, there does remain some support to this proposal (see Chapter 11).

For example, keeping in mind the movement of the sun northward and southward on the eastern horizon as well as the east/west axis of the sun in its daily journey across the sky, it seems probable that these dual, but intertwined perceptions of the sun's movement would be represented differently in north/south-oriented courts and east/west-oriented courts. While some ballcourts in Mesoamerica are positioned lengthwise on an east/west axis rather than the more common north/south axis, it may well be the case that the east-west axis of either of these ballcourt layouts marked the straight road of the sun during the course of the day. The north/south-oriented courts, bisected in the middle, would have been effectively partitioned into a northern half and a southern half, essentially dividing the ends of the ballcourt into the warm, summer half of the year and

the cold, winter half of the year (i.e., with a dual emphasis on the hunting season vs. agricultural season). This division may have been delineated by marking the halves of the year according to the winter solstice and the summer solstice points. However, the summer and winter halves of the year can be alternately perceived as being divided at the spring and fall equinoxes.

In either case, the idea of the ballgame marking the path of the sun during the dual halves of the year is still extant in both cases, but in a different manner. These different manners of perceiving the dual division of the year exists today among different ethnic groups in the American Southwest, though this ideology is not, and has never been, apparent in the context of the Mesoamerican ballgame in these northern regions. While some form of solar worship almost certainly was known in the larger region prior to the rise of Paquimé, it is most probable that a new form of solstice- and equinox-oriented solar ceremonialism began at the onset of the Pueblo IV period with the adoption of highly refined Flower World and Sun Youth rituals from the Casas Grandes region (see Chapter 11).

In analyzing the underlying meaning of the ritual components of the ballgame in Mesoamerica, Gillespie (1991: 320) concluded: “The [agricultural] fertility theme is not distinct from the solar symbolism but instead is inextricably linked to it.” Gillespie (*ibid.*: 342) further noted that a north/south-oriented ballcourt at the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan was divided by an imaginary line across the central east/west axis, a line that also divided the paired temples atop the Templo Mayor, and may have been invested with oppositional meaning, particularly as “. . . the annual north-south movement of the

sun correspond[ed] to the alternation of rainy and dry seasons and their related ceremonies.” This conceptualization, the ceremonial division of the alternating seasons, and perhaps even in the contrast between darkness and light, lies at the heart of the present interpretation of the Mesoamerican ballgame in the Casas Grandes world (also see Chapter 11).

Ballcourts are often portrayed in Central Mexican codices with the center marked by a circle (Shuji Araki, pers. comm. 2005; Gillespie 1991: 338). Gillespie (1991: 338) characterized these central points on the ballcourt as marking a symbolic navel or center. Some I-shaped ballcourts with these circular markers are present in scenes of dynasty foundation such as those depicted in the *Lienzo de Tlapiltepec* from the Mixteca (in Boone 2000: fig. 94, 101) and *Codex Bodley* page 10 (in *ibid.*: fig. 61). Other instances, such as *Codex Nuttall* page 2, depict the ballcourt divided into four quarters, likely an allusion to the four quarters of the world with the central marker as the symbolic navel. One portrayal on *Codex Borgia* page 35 depicts an I-shaped ballcourt with an earth deity situated across the ballcourt in the hocker birth position. The circular marker placed upon the center of the body of this figure at the symbolic center of the ballcourt likely alludes to the ballcourt as a place of birth or emergence.

Some depictions, such as those on *Codex Nuttall* pages 2 and 4, illustrate symbols of footprints extending to the four directions from the center of the ballcourt, much as if the center of the ballcourt is a place of emergence (**Fig. 7.1a**). Page 19b of the *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I* depicts an I-shaped ballcourt with a central cleft from which emerges a set of footprints (**Fig. 7.1b**). In some instances, such as two examples on page

1 of the *Codex Nuttall*, ballcourts are depicted beside points of emergence from the earth, one of which portrays a human emerging from the opening in the earth beside a ballcourt (**Fig. 7.1c**). In a scene from the Classic period murals of Tepantitla at Teotihuacan, the close association of the ballcourt as a point of emergence is evident in the placement of a ballcourt directly above a central cleft mountain (Taube 1986: 72). Thus, ballcourts were places of emergence and descent, a locus of conflict and creation, and were a place for political legitimization.

The Sun, Plumed Serpent, and Flower World in the Mesoamerican Ballgame

As I argue in the following section, evidence suggests that the solar Flower World complex is an important component of the Mesoamerican ballgame, particularly in the close association of the ballgame with solar and plumed serpent imagery. At a number of sites across Mesoamerica, objects and imagery associated with the ballgame are affiliated with the sun, plumed serpents, macaws, flowers, and Flower World warfare imagery, among others, though these motifs are not always present as a group in all sites.

At the Epiclassic (AD 600-900) site of Xochicalco in the modern Central Mexican state of Morelos, stones called *hachas*, shaped in the form of macaw heads, served as markers on the ballcourt (**Fig. 7.1d**). Classic period *hachas* from Veracruz also took the form of macaw heads (Whittington 2001: pl. 64). For the Early Classic Maya site of Copán in Honduras, Fash and Fash (1996: 131) noted that macaw head markers were recovered in association with Ballcourts II and III (**Fig. 7.1e**) while sixteen full-figured macaws ornamented the façades of the final building phase of Ballcourt III. Taube

(2005b) identified these markers as having attributes suggestive of the macaw-headed solar deity embodied by K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', the founder of Copán who appears to have been an antecedent to the Postclassic period solar deity Xochipilli.

Perhaps most importantly for the present discussion, the remains of two enormous stucco macaws ornamented the façades of both Ballcourt I and II at Copán (Fash and Fash 1996: 131). The *en-face* macaw that is located at the south end of the eastern building at Ballcourt I is particularly notable. This bird has the head of a macaw, a series of macaw heads emerging from the wings, and the head of a Teotihuacan-style plumed serpent placed at the loins between the legs (**Fig. 2.7a**). The authors (*ibid.*) noted that these plumed serpent heads are nearly identical to those that portray the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl on the façade of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl at Teotihuacan. This macaw-headed being who bears attributes of the macaw and quetzal, is thought to represent the Copán founder and ruler K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', whose name means “sun god, the first (or green) quetzal-macaw” (Taube 2005b: 41).

A similar avian figure with macaw and quetzal attributes (but absent the plumed serpent), a probable early version of Xochipilli, is portrayed descending amidst a rain of flowers in murals in Room 13 Zone 5a at Teotihuacan, a signifier of the Flower World (Taube 2005b: 40). This macaw-headed being at Copán represents the lineage founder as a personified macaw-headed solar deity that is being conveyed upon the body of the Teotihuacan-style plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl (*ibid.*: 41-42). Certain elements of these beings led both Taube (2005b: 41) and Fash and Fash (1996: 132) to conclude that this scene likely referenced a scene from the Popol Vuh involving the giant macaw Vucub

Caquix, a boastful being who falsely proclaimed himself to be the sun, stating: “Here I am: I am the sun” (Tedlock 1996: 77). Taube (2005b: 41) clarified that although this particular macaw-headed being falsely proclaimed himself as the sun, Contact-period Maya accounts from Izamal indicate that the solar deity was named K’inich K’ak’ Mo, the “sun god fire macaw”, a deity who descended into a temple at noon to consume offerings (Thompson 1970: 240) in mid-December to mark the winter solstice (Thompson and Brown 2006: 94).

Seler (1990-1998: 5: 222, 226, figs. 332) drew attention to *Codex Dresden* page 40b, where a human figure with a macaw headdress and characteristic beaded macaw eye is depicted holding a pair of torches. He (ibid.) noted that a celestial shield above the head of this figure bears a *kin* glyphic element signifying “sun”. In any case, the placement of the mythological scene at Copán, that involved the arriving solar and plumed serpent deities at the southeast corner of the ballcourt may allude to the actual southeast corner of the world, the place where the sun is newly born at the beginning of each year at the winter solstice point.

In other words, this portrayal represents the fiery arrival of the youthful and newly born Sun God dressed as a scarlet macaw, a likely antecedent to the Postclassic-period Xochipilli, arriving to the ballcourt at dawn on the body of the plumed serpent. Furthermore, Fash and Fash (2007: 274-275) also noted that the floor marker in the central playing alley of Ballcourt IIb contained a portrayal of a later Copanec king dressed as a Classic Maya version of the later highland Central Mexican deity

Macuilxochitl, an analogue to Xochipilli, including diagnostics such as the hand-over-mouth facial design commonly associated with this deity.

The close connection between the newly born macaw-headed solar deity and maize is apparent in the “Rosalilla” structure at the center of the Copán Acropolis, where Fash and Fash (1996: 133) identified large sculptures of the name of the founding solar ruler emblazoned all four sides of the first floor of the temple while two enormous representations of *witz* mountains with sprouting maize plants were identified as ornamenting the second floor of this structure. Clearly, the arrival of the macaw-headed solar deity at dawn, who has strong connections to the Copán ballcourt and the growth of maize, is a concept of great antiquity in Mesoamerica.

Classic Maya ballcourt scenes, such as those from Yaxchilan or in some portrayals on ceramics (see Cohodas 1991: 263-265, figs. 14.6-14.7; Schele and Friedel 1991: figs. 15.7-15.8), also incorporate imagery of ballplayers hitting the ball up or down a large stepped platform that at times resembles a large, stepped pyramid. The concept of hitting the ball up or down a stairway may well be linked to the diurnal path of the sun as he travels upon his stepped pathway across the sky. The perception of a stepped pathway of the sun is known among the contemporary Tzotzil Maya (Holland 1989: 70, fig. 5) and is a topic that is discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 4.

Similar themes that involve solar disks and plumed serpents occur at Late Classic El Tajín on a sculpture at the Pyramid of the Niches, which is adjacent to a ballcourt. This sculptural scene depicts a pair of entwined plumed serpents carrying a petalled solar disc into the sky (see Castillo Peña 1995: 396, piece 029; also see site map in *ibid.*: 13; ;

Taube 2011a). The darts placed horizontally behind the petalled sun likely relate to solar warfare (Taube 2011a). A separate sculpture that depicts a similar scene of a petalled solar disk and plumed serpents occurs at El Tajín on Structure IV (ibid.), a building adjacent to another ballcourt at the site (**Fig. 3.4a**). The wavy lines at the bottom corners of the latter scene and the turtle beneath the central image suggest a basal element signifying a watery underworld realm. One figure to the side of this scene holds a flaming bundled torch beside the petalled symbolic sun, almost as if he were holding the torch to light up the solar disk. This torch resembles those used during new fire rites among the Aztec as illustrated on page 34 of the *Codex Borbonicus* (see Couch 1985: fig. 20).

This scene may well reflect the birth of the new sun as he arises on the bodies of entwined plumed serpents from the watery underworld, perhaps a new fire rite. At the center of the petalled sun is a circular concave cavity. Wilkerson (1991: 54) argued that the entwined plumed serpents around the petalled sun formed a symbolic *tlaxmalacatl* (ballcourt marker). Indeed, the form of this floral sun is conceptually similar to floral ballcourt markers known later for the Aztec (**Fig. 7.1f**).

Although the El Tajín sculpture itself obviously was not a ballcourt marker, perhaps the circular cavity at the center of the flower was intended to hold one of the balls, itself a probable symbolic sun, or other offering before or after the game. Thus, this concept would lend the perception that the movement of the ball on the court was tied to the movement of the sun on its celestial pathway. An equally possible alternative would be for the cavity to have contained a heart from a newly sacrificed losing team member as

a blood offering to feed the sun, a well known motif in Mesoamerican ballcourt symbolism.

Elsewhere, Taube (1986: 56) argued that the central relief panels from the South Ballcourt at El Tajín portray the mythic origin of humankind and maize. These relief panels at El Tajín collectively suggest that the ballgame is tied to the birth of the dawning floral sun, the creation of humankind, and the origin of maize. That a prominent figure in the South Ballcourt relief is Tlaloc indicates a strong rain and lightning component to these cosmological scenes that likely alludes to the striking of lightning on the maize field to release the maize and humankind (ibid.).

At the Terminal Classic to Early Postclassic northern Maya site of Uxmal, feathered serpents carrying probable noble figures in their mouths slither across a field of flowers on the façade of the West Structure of the Nunnery Quadrangle, drawing a clear reference to the Flower World (see Kowalski 2007: 260, fig. 8). Feathered serpents also occur at this site in imagery on the Main Ballcourt (ibid.). The ballgame at Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá also has associations not just with Quetzalcoatl, but with the Sun, and Venus as the Morning Star as well. Tozzer (1957: 139) noted that five of the ballgame players depicted in the east-central panel from the Great Ballcourt wore the cut-conch wind jewel of Quetzalcoatl. The close connection to the ballgame and the Flower World is reiterated in scenes on the walls of Hall E (Lower Temple of the Jaguars) on the ballcourt at Chichén Itzá. In these scenes, processions of warriors, some dressed in plumed serpent garb, stand atop a baseband teeming with flowering vines, probable ancestors either clinging to the vines or situated within flowers as personified aroma, and

hummingbirds sipping the nectar of the flowers (see Seler 1990-1998: 1: 206-208, figs. 7-10). The façade and reliefs of the adjacent Upper Temple of the Jaguars, a building attached to the Great Ballcourt, also are laden with Flower World warfare symbolism (see Chapter 11), including warriors standing atop Flower Mountain (Taube 2004b: 85-86) and entwined plumed serpents carrying solar mirrors.

Notably, lintels from the Upper and Lower Temple of the Jaguar also portray paired images of a figure set within a solar disk coupled with a figure dressed as a warrior encircled by a plumed serpent, each nicknamed “Captain Sun Disk” and “Captain Serpent” respectively (Ringle 2009; Taube 1994: 223-224; see **Fig. 3.3**). As the latter figure in the Upper Temple of the Jaguars wears a skirt marked with stars, this is likely a reference to the Venus aspect of the plumed serpent (Taube 1994: 223). Directly in front of this plumed serpent in two of these lintels in the Upper Temple of the Jaguars is a possible mountain exhaling floral vines, a likely allusion to the Flower World. Elsewhere, Taube (*ibid.*: 223, fig. 14a) argued that depictions of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the deity identified as the personification of Venus as the Morning Star in Postclassic highland Central Mexico, also are evident at this site in a column from the Northwest Colonnade at Chichén Itzá where he is portrayed wearing the cut-conch wind jewel of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl.

In the Chichén Itzá lintels that depict the paired solar and plumed serpent figures (described above), the bodies of two serpents frame these scenes. One lintel contains two flanking serpent heads and another contains recognizable serpentine belly scutes (see Seler 1990-1998: 6: figs. 121a and 121c). The impression given by these paired serpents

is that they act as conveyors of the two individuals in the scene. Taube (1994: fig. 16c) illustrated the Maya-style solar figure in a scene from the Lower Temple of the Jaguars where the sun disk is set upon entwined serpentine bodies. In fact, entwined serpent bodies serve as conveyors when portrayed as the baseband for warriors, and the human form of Quetzalcoatl himself, to stand upon in a scene from the rear wall of Hall E (see Seler 1990-1998: 1: 208, figs. 11-12). Examples from the façade of the Castillo depict entwined serpents, flanked by jaguars, as conveyors of a flower, a probable allusion to the upwards conveyance of the floral sun on the bodies of serpents (see Tozzer 1957: fig. 86).

Scenes in the Upper and Lower Temple of the Jaguars portray a figure with circular-shaped eyes, a being often identified as Tlaloc, accompanied by a towering upright feathered serpent (see Seler 1990-1998: 1: 208: fig. 11). More recently, however, Taube (1994: 221) convincingly demonstrated that this figure is the personified Quetzalcoatl wearing a mask ornamented with feathered serpents, exactly like a gold mask found in the Cenote of Sacrifice (*ibid.*: figs. 11a-d). In one instance, this figure is portrayed with darts and flames shooting from the body, likely an allusion to Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli as the Morning Star aspect of the plumed serpent (*ibid.*: fig. 11c; see Mathiowetz et al. 2008). Taube (1994: 223) pointed out that the paired Plumed Serpent and Solar Disk figures appear together in Toltec-style rock art at Ixtapantongo in the State of Mexico (**Fig. 3.2b**). Much like for Chichén Itzá, the plumed serpent in this example is accompanied by star signs, likewise suggesting an aspect as the Morning Star Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli (*ibid.*: 223, fig. 15a-15b; Miller 1989). A similar scene with a solar

figure coupled with the Quetzalcoatl figure and plumed serpent is also evident on a finely painted Toltec-style vessel from Tula (Taube 1994: 223: fig. 15b). Many aspects of these Toltec-period Maya-style solar figures at Chichén Itzá, such as the paired eagle feathers at the back of the head, indicate that they likely are an Early Postclassic version of the Central Mexican solar deity Tonatiuh (ibid.: 224).

Thus, these figures in the lintels in the Temple of the Jaguars on the Great Ballcourt at Chichén Itzá, as described above, reference three deities in close conjunction with the ballcourt; the Sun, the Plumed Serpent, and Venus as the Morning Star. Furthermore, in a number of instances, Maya-style warriors at Chichén Itzá are portrayed as the rain god Chac, the Maya analogue to Tlaloc, with many holding lightning axes (see Taube 1994: 230: figs. 7a, 8, 9a, 26b-26c, 29a). These examples suggest a strong component of rain in its varying manifestations in these Flower World warrior or battle rites.

The placement of the Upper and Lower Temple of the Jaguars, with its Flower World-related Solar, Plumed Serpent, and Venus symbolism at the southeast corner of the ballcourt is likely of some significance. It may well be the case that this temple has strong affiliations with the actual “southeast corner”, the winter solstice point. Thus, the presence of Flower Mountain, the Sun, Plumed Serpent, Morning Star, and warfare imagery on this temple in close conjunction with the ballgame in all probability alludes to the arrival of the Morning Star with his phalanxes of warriors at dawn along with the birth of the Sun from Flower Mountain on the pathway of the Plumed Serpent. The close relation to the growth of maize is reiterated in a relief from the Lower Temple of the

Jaguars which depicts a youthful maize god emerging from a cleft mountain while accompanied by a pair of figures bearing squash, flowers, and foliage (Taube 1994: 225, fig. 19a).

Much as the newly born sun and the plumed serpent are associated with the ballgame in parts of Mesoamerica in the Classic period and Early Postclassic, so too is this the case during the Late Postclassic and Contact periods. One ritual cache recovered in a plaza near the main ballcourt in the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan contained an offering to Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl, the patron of the ballgame (Day 2001: 77). This cache contained a seated statue of Xochipilli with his diagnostic crested and tassled headdress along with offerings of two stone miniature ballcourts, tiny musical instruments, two stone balls, and a sacrificial knife (ibid.: 77, fig. 80; Whittington 2001: pls. 117 and 121).

Ballcourt Offering Two, placed inside the ballcourt at Tenochtitlan, also included musical instruments such as a drum (*teponaztli*), miniature flutes that terminate with the head of Xochipilli, and tiny vessels with an *appliqué*d head of Xochipilli on the side (see Matos Moctezuma 2001: fig. 102; Whittington 2001: pl. 119). As well, some Late Postclassic Aztec stone ballcourt rings thought to refer to Xochipilli were carved into the form of a large flower (Whittington 2001: pl. 115), lending the impression that the passing of the ball through the goal ring related to the passing and emergence through the center of a flower. If indeed the ball symbolized the sun, as some suggest, this passage may well be equivalent to the sun being born from a flower, a concept known anciently in Mesoamerica (see Taube 2006c; 2010a).

In his commentaries on 20 Aztec songs recorded in the sixteenth century by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Eduard Seler (1990-1998: 3: 231-301) described songs that provide information on the relationship between the young maize and solar deity Xochipilli (also known as Centeotl) and the ballgame in Central Mexico. For example, Seler's (ibid.: 261) translation of Song 8, the Song of the God of Flowers (Xochipilli), begins:

When the time [of the feast] is come for us, we shall prepare our
ballground. There we shall sing and (with us) the *quetzalcoxcotli* [bird].
Day has come, the morning has dawned, already they sing,
the maize god [Centeotl] sings, *quetzalcoxcotli*.

In his comments, Seler (ibid.: 262) noted that this song refers to Xochipilli in his guise as the young maize god Centeotl.

In Seler's (1990-1998: 3: 262) view, the reference to preparing the ballcourt on the feast day likely refers to the feast of young maize called Huey Tecuilhuitl, of which Xochipilli is the patron. During the feast of Tecuilhuitl, as portrayed in the *Codex Magliabecchiano*, the solar deity Xochipilli arrives wearing a scarlet macaw headdress while seated on a litter of flowering maize plants (see Nuttall 1903: 23). For the preparatory feast of Tecuilhuitontli, *Codex Borbonicus* page 27-1 portrays a large I-shaped ballcourt with Xochipilli dressed as Centeotl on one end accompanied by the related god of dance Ixtilton while Quetzalcoatl and another deity are situated at the other end of the ballcourt (see Couch 1985: fig. 11; Seler 1990-1998: 4: 150, fig. 2). The placement of Xochipilli and Quetzalcoatl on opposite ends of the court is noteworthy and is discussed in more depth below.

In Song 14, the solar deity Piltzintli, another name for Xochipilli, is also related to the ballcourt (Seler 1990-1998: 3: 278):

O Piltzintli, Piltzintli,
with yellow feathers thou coverest thyself,
thou descendest on the ball ground
into the house of darkness, into the house
of darkness.

The reference to the house of darkness may refer to the descent into the watery underworld in the west (ibid.: 282-283). Seler (ibid.: 282) explicitly considered the ballgame to be connected with the worship of the solar deity Xochipilli and his aspect as the young maize god Centeotl. The ballgame also has a relation to Quetzalcoatl, as a large I-shaped ballcourt is depicted in the *Selden Roll* adjacent to the shrine of 9 Wind, a figure known among the Aztec as Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl (see Boone 2000: fig. 96).

The connection between Xochipilli, Quetzalcoatl, and the ballgame is evident in Late Postclassic Central Mexican cosmology and imagery. Among the more enigmatic sections in the *Codex Borgia* is an eighteen-page sequence from pages 29-46 that depicts a series or narrative of cosmological events that forms a type of creation story (Boone 2007: 171). Many of the episodes involve Quetzalcoatl and the scenes are concerned thematically with the first existence, the origin of the calendrical day count, the Temples of Heaven and the creation of the sun, the origin of music in the house of the sun, the birth of humans, the acquisition of maize, the birth of flowers, rites of Venus as Morning Star, and the drilling of New Fire (ibid.: 171-210). In four scenes of this creation narrative, the *xochicalco* or Red Temple of the sun and flowers (in which Xochipilli is sometimes seated) and the Black Wind Temple of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl are paired (see

Codex Borgia pages 33-34, 37, 40, 42). In two of these four scenes, these paired temples are placed adjacent to, or on opposed sides of, I-shaped ballcourts (see *Codex Borgia* pages 40 and 42).

These examples cumulatively make clear that the Sun and Plumed Serpent, and more specifically the Sun Youth Xochipilli and the Plumed Serpent Quetzalcoatl (and wind aspect Ehecatl) in highland Central Mexico, are closely related to the Mesoamerican ballgame, probably within the larger Flower World complex. The affiliation of these two deities with the Mesoamerican ballgame is especially pertinent to our understanding of the appearance of this game and its distinctive I-shaped courts in the Casas Grandes region.

In an examination of political and religious ideologies after the fall of Classic period centers, Ringle and colleagues (1998) noted that the ballgame formed a significant component of the spread of the Quetzalcoatl complex during the Epiclassic to Postclassic transition. In turn, Schaafsma (2001: 146) argued that the spread of the Quetzalcoatl complex with its ballgame component reached its northernmost manifestation in the Casas Grandes culture around AD 1200. Given the preceding discussion, in all probability the proposed northward spread of a Quetzalcoatl complex during the Postclassic period probably also involved the spread of a solar (Xochipilli) and morning star (Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli) component as well, a point that is returned to below.

Sun and Plumed Serpent Ceremonialism in the Casas Grandes Ballgame

The origin and nature of the Casas Grandes ballgame has long been a subject of intense interest among archaeologists in Northwest Mexico and the southern Southwest¹¹. In the larger Casas Grandes region, there exist between 21 and 24 ballcourts (Harmon 2006: 187; 2008: 35) with more likely to be discovered in the future. Paquimé is the only site with more than one court, with three courts total (ibid.). The only known stone ballcourt goal ring was found at Paquimé (Di Peso et al. 1974: 4: 293-296, fig. 212-4).

Ballcourts in the Casas Grandes tradition are known in parts of Sonora and as far north as the Bootheel region of southern New Mexico during the Animas phase (ca. AD 1150-1450), with five ballcourts known in this latter region (Douglas 2007; Skibo and Walker 2002; Whalen and Minnis 1996: 732, 742, fig. 7). Aside from this region in the southern Southwest, ballcourts are not known in the archaeological record of the Western and Eastern Pueblos. In terms of the ballcourts in southern New Mexico, Douglas (2007: 102) accepted the idea that Animas-phase populations participated to some extent in the Casas Grandes worldview, but he questioned the nature of power relations between these two regions. Aside from variability in construction techniques, the differential location of the ballcourts at sites in the two regions, and patchy distribution patterns, Douglas (ibid.: 102-103) cited the differences in orientation or alignment of the ballcourts in the two regions as indicative of evidence for different ideologies or different sources for leadership power.

¹¹ Braniff 1988; Di Peso et al. 1974: vols. 4-5; Douglas 2007; Fish and Fish 1999: 36-38; Harmon 2005, 2006; Naylor 1995; Skibo and Walker 2002; Whalen and Minnis 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001b, 2009

For example, among other differences in architecture, while ballcourts in both regions primarily trend north/south, ballcourts in the Casas Grandes region trend somewhat east of north while Animas ballcourts trend somewhat west of north with some also oriented east of north (ibid.: 103, fig. 6.2). Douglas (ibid.: 103) contended that these differences are an “indicator of basic ritual and social differences.” In my opinion, given that Sun Youth worship was flourishing in northern Mexico and beginning to flourish in both the Western and Eastern Pueblos by no later than AD 1300, it is improbable that Casas Grandes Animas-phase sites, especially those with ballcourts, participated in a much different ideological realm. It is doubtful that ideology of the Sun Youth skipped over this region at this time, particularly given its affiliation with the Casas Grandes culture and its similar material culture. Despite the recognized differences in ballcourt orientation, it seems to me that if a Casas Grandes-style ballcourt existed in an Animas site, it should be considered a given that the occupants of that site participated in an ideology centered upon the Casas Grandes Sun Youth, which ultimately was centered upon the leader of Paquimé as the personified Sun God (see Chapter 6).

In considering the differences in alignments, it should be noted in comparison that some sites in Mesoamerica, such as the Epiclassic site of El Tajín, had multiple ballcourts with a variety of directional orientations (see map in Castillo Peña 1995: 13). It would be difficult to conclude that there were fundamental differences in ritual or ideology reflected in these adjacent ballcourts at this Mesoamerican site, particularly given the conclusion that Flower World symbolism focused upon solar and plumed serpent worship is evident in different locations at the site (see discussion above).

Likewise, in my opinion, relatively slight differences in the orientation of ballcourts in the larger Casas Grandes world probably do not reflect sharply divergent ideologies. It may simply be the case that the individuals at Paquimé who possessed the technical skills in construction and the skills in recording alignments based upon astronomy or celestial bodies did not participate in the construction of the ballcourts outside of the immediate Casas Grandes region. This observation would be concordant with Harmon's (2006: 207) view that elites at Paquimé had better access to more labor and materials (and presumably technical skills and astronomical knowledge) than did the outlying sites, a reflection of the political hierarchy in the region. However, while orientation may have differed, both disparate regions were undoubtedly participating in Sun Youth ballgame rituals that ultimately acknowledged and reified the leadership position of the Sun King at Paquimé. Much as is known for many Pueblo people today, political power is not maintained by force of arms, but by control and ownership of ritual knowledge and the threat of cosmologically oriented punishments. In the Casas Grandes world, that knowledge was concentrated at the primary site of Paquimé.

Douglas (2007: 106) had no qualms with the idea that ballcourts constructed at sites such as Joyce Well in southern New Mexico, with material culture that strongly resembles that of Casas Grandes, may have been the result of a certain level of imposition upon them from Paquimé. However, he (*ibid.*) did question whether this same level of imposition and sociopolitical integration occurred at sites west of Joyce Well with the more diverse ballcourts and more patchy material culture resemblances to the Casas

Grandes region. A more detailed analysis of all of these topics is beyond the scope of the present study but should remain an important focus for further discussion in the future.

On a related note, it is difficult to discern why Puebloan communities in the broader northern Southwest adopted Casas Grandes Sun Youth rituals rather enthusiastically during the Pueblo IV period but did not adopt the ballgame, especially considering oral traditions among the Hopi that explicitly indicate that some of their clans came from the far south, likely from Paquimé, as I detail in Chapter 12 and elsewhere (Mathiowetz 2010a). What should be noted, however, is that while the ballgame does not exist among Puebloan people in the Southwest today or in the past, other games, such as ritual relay racing, retain the same ideological information concerned with the alternating road of the sun and the return of the rains (see Chapter 11). The ballgame ideology that was centered upon the symbolic battle of the seasons was also reflected in a different manner in Pueblo IV kiva murals at Pottery Mound and remains a part of Puebloan cosmology in the dual divisions of the year that form the basis of dual social organization (see Chapter 11).

In a series of recent studies, Whalen and Minnis (2000, 2001b) proposed the existence of a feasting complex at Paquimé and in the surrounding Casas Grandes region that incorporates the ballgame, large feasting ovens, and macaw breeding facilities for ritually important feathers (see Chapter 10). They (2000: 176-177) concluded that this feasting complex was indicative of a society with no institutionalized central powers, little evidence of formal social stratification, and little evidence of decision-making hierarchies.

In contrast, while I concur that a feasting complex that involved these elements did exist in the Casas Grandes region, I contend that it was manifest in the context of rigidly hierarchical stratification and was preeminently oriented around strong political and religious power centralized at Paquimé. In my estimation, this feasting complex at the paramount site of Paquimé was closely related to the Mound of the Cross, a directionally oriented platform mound, with its attendant function as a solar observation point at the solstices and equinoxes. The ballgame was closely interlinked with the road of the sun and the symbolic battle between the seasons (see Chapters 10, 11). Likewise, feasting and the ballgame were inextricably affiliated with the Flower World complex and the paramount Casas Grandes ruler as a personified young Sun God, or Sun King (see Chapter 10). This feasting complex associated with the young Sun God likely is of great antiquity in Mesoamerica. This solar complex reflects remarkable parallels with Xochipilli-oriented Flower World feasting in the Mixtec region of Postclassic Oaxaca and probably was transmitted northward to Paquimé via the Aztatlán tradition of West Mexico (see below and Chapter 6).

Much as scholars have argued for the development of multiple horned and plumed serpent traditions in the Southwest (see Chapter 3), so too have other scholars, using phylogenetic analysis, argued that multiple ballgame traditions developed and evolved over the course of the Medio period in the Casas Grandes world (Harmon 2005: 475). This conclusion was partly reached by a morphologically based analysis focused on 44 separate traits divided into three groups. These groups included such things as

construction technique, location of the court within the settlement, and interpretations of how the game was played on each court (Harmon 2008: 36-37).

Based upon the shape of the ballcourt construction, Harmon (2008: 35-46) concluded that the ballgame evolved over time, and it was thought by him to have been partly tied to changes in precipitation, competition between emerging elites, and social stress tied to competition for resources. In Harmon's analysis, the difference in ballcourt shape was thought to reflect different religious, cosmological, and ceremonial associations (*ibid.*: 46). This interpretation of the evolution of the ballgame seems to be on par with Whalen and Minnis's (2001b) vision of the evolution of social complexity in the Casas Grandes region that tied social change to changing rainfall patterns and competition between elites for resources.

Harmon's (2008) phylogenetic analysis and his interpretation is quite complex, and it is beyond the scope of the present study to analyze the validity of these conclusions in any detail. However, Whalen and Minnis (2009: 275) noted that one of the main differences between their model and Harmon's is that their model sees the ballgame in the context of disunity and factionalism in the region, largely as a result of less centralized political organization, while Harmon interprets the presence of the ballgame as reflecting integration with Paquimé. Harmon (2006: 206-209) viewed the presence of the ballgame as reflecting increasing political and religious control by Paquimé over outlying regions.

With these thoughts in mind, and considering the close connection between the sun and plumed serpent in the ballgame ideology in Mesoamerica, I will simply state that

it is entirely likely that the Mesoamerican ballgame appeared in the Casas Grandes region at the onset of a new religious program centered upon the Sun Youth and Plumed Serpent ceremonialism and as part of the Flower World complex. This highly refined version of Flower World ideology, along with the ballgame component, likely was introduced by Aztatlán people from West Mexico (see Chapters 6 and 8).

Thus, with such apparent political and ceremonial centralization at Paquimé from the outset, and the known stability of the Flower World ideas present in this complex for roughly 800 years in the larger region, it is difficult to envision an evolution of the Casas Grandes ballgame over the course of the Medio period based upon competing elites, competing ideologies, and intermittent rainfall patterns resulting in competing factions. Ballgame rites in many parts of Postclassic-period Mesoamerica were intimately associated with the conjuring of the rain for maize agriculture and the annual movement of the sun, both ideas being bedrock concerns that remain evident in the cosmological framework of the Flower World for Pueblo people today. As such, it is difficult to accept the idea that differences in ballcourt shapes or orientations indicate a variety of competing cosmologies and ideologies in the Casas Grandes region, although there certainly could have existed a variation in rules.

In all likelihood, on whatever type of court it was played, the Mesoamerican ballgame in the Casas Grandes world was centered upon the Sun Youth (i.e., the Casas Grandes Sun King), the Plumed Serpent as both the road of the sun and the conveyor of ancestral rain spirits as breath and wind, the battle of cosmological forces associated with varying forms of moisture in the dual divisions of the year, the return of the rains for the

growth of maize, and the production of the flowering landscape (see below and Chapter 11). The ballcourt sacrifices noted by Di Peso (1974: 2: 414-417) may well have been related to sacrifices to the sun.

As the ballgame was not simply a game, any proposed significant differences in ideology between Casas Grandes sites at the core and periphery would indicate a divergence from the core foundations of a widely accepted belief system preeminently centered upon stability both in the course of the sun and the return of agricultural fertility and abundance. To diverge from this ideology even in the slightest would dangerously court cosmological and agricultural disaster, the antithesis of a cosmology that is focused on balance and stability in all realms of life. Thus, it is difficult to see any meaningful differences in ballgame ideology over time as reflected in different shapes or construction techniques of the ballcourt across the region.

Religion and Symbolism of the Casas Grandes Ballgame

In his analysis of the ritual significance of the ballgame in the Casas Grandes region, Di Peso (1974: 2: 414-417) sought analogies in Mesoamerica and proposed that ballgame rites were related to a newly introduced Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca religious complex. A decade ago, following the research of Ringle and his colleagues (1998), Schaafsma (2001: 146) also proposed that the northward spread of a religious complex, a veritable “world religion” centered upon the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl, likely was responsible for the sudden occurrence of the Mesoamerican-style ballgame in the Casas Grandes world. The present study also concludes that plumed serpent worship in the

Casas Grandes region, with a ballgame component, is indeed tied to the distant Quetzalcoatl complex. Furthermore, considering that a new form of solar (Xochipilli) and morning star (Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli) worship also appeared in the American Southwest and northern Mexico during the same time period (Mathiowetz et al. 2008; see Chapters 2 and 6), it is most probable that this entire complex, involving these three deities, though perhaps known by different local names, was transmitted northward to the site of Paquimé and thereafter, minus the ballgame component, to the American Southwest.

In the Casas Grandes symbolic corpus, ballgame imagery occurs on at least one, but perhaps up to four vessels. One vessel portrays a human figure in a nearly prone position with two red circles, presumably balls, between his upraised arms (see Fields and Zamudio-Taylor 2001: fig. 18). Two vessels that share nearly identical *en face* depictions of human males with pendant feathers on their elbows and hands stand next to negative circles (see Townsend 2005a: pls. 42, 55a). These circular motifs might represent balls and might be associated with the ballgame, but this interpretation is equivocal. What strengthens the suggestion that this figure is related to the ballgame is that this same person also appears to be depicted on another Chihuahuan polychrome, this time in a figural position that is indicative of dance (see *ibid.*: pl. 40b). On the opposite side of this vessel, this same individual is depicted in profile and is clearly engaged in the ballgame, with a prominent ball beside the head and his body positioned in the classic Mesoamerican-style figural pose characteristic of a ballgame player (**Fig. 7.1g**). This pose, with one leg kneeling upon or towards the ground with hip jutting out and the other

leg bent at the knee and slightly extended, is apparent in many ballgame rituals and in symbolism across Mesoamerica.

Examples of this figural pose occur in the art of Formative period Guerrero (see Whittington 2001: pl. 23), the Middle and Late Classic Maya (see Whittington 2001: pls. 34, 37, 107-109, 112, 113), Classic-period murals from Teotihuacan (see Taladoire 2001: fig. 129), Contact-period depictions of ballplayers brought to Spain (see Leyenaar 2001: fig. 141), and even among contemporary ballplayers in Sinaloa (see *ibid.*: fig. 150), among others. The outward jutting hip is indicative of the ballplayer crouching low to the ground in order to strike the ball with the hip. What is remarkable about this image in the Casas Grandes region is that it indicates that not only were Casas Grandes ballplayers familiar with one of the central rules of the Mesoamerican ballgame, namely hitting the ball with the hip, but the artists were also aware of Mesoamerican figural conventions used to symbolically depict this classic pose. As is discussed in Chapter 12, other Mesoamerican-style figural conventions and poses that were known to Casas Grandes artists include the portrayal of dance and the portrayal of figures in the position of supernatural flight in the realm of Flower World.

The Casas Grandes Ballgame and Directional Rain Symbolism

It is pertinent to note that rites involving the directional rain priests were evident in Aztec ceremonies that involved the young macaw-headed solar deity Xochipilli, the growth of maize, and the I-shape ballcourt. As Seler (1990-1998: 3: 241) noted, at the beginning of the rainy season during the Aztec feast of Huey Tecuilhuitl (the patron of

which was Xochipilli, whose rites involved setting up a ballcourt), the rulers from surrounding cities assembled at mountain-top shrines in the Valley of Mexico and performed rites to bring rain. Schaafsma and Taube (2006: 238) characterized the gathering of the four rulers of four cities on the shrine atop Mount Tlaloc as representing the gathering of the four directional rain priests.

This gathering during the feast of the young solar deity is strikingly similar to contemporary Puebloan conceptions of the Sun Youth, who travels to the four directions at dawn to awaken the storm clouds who come spiraling back to the village (see Chapter 2). These rites provide clues to the nature of ballgame rituals in the Casas Grandes world. Considering that the Sun Youth was first evident in the northern regions at Paquimé, it is probable that it also was the first site in the region to have directional rain chiefs.

The inferred presence of directional rain priests may be materially manifested at the Mound of the Cross at Paquimé, a directionally oriented cross-shaped platform mound linked to solar worship (see Pasahow 1993). The presence of four circular platforms at the terminus of each directional spoke of the cross, each with a set of stairs leading to the top the circular platform, indicates a strong degree of directional solar symbolism (see Di Peso et al. 1974: 4: fig. 207-4). It is probable that during solar ceremonies at this mound, the actual directional rain chiefs or impersonators climbed atop these mounds as they were symbolically awakened at dawn. As there are a number of shared concepts associated with directional symbolism in Puebloan and Mesoamerican cosmology, such as directional plumed serpents, or clouds, or birds, or corn, this idea can also apply to these concepts/beings in the Casas Grandes world.

As an aside, Taube (2010b: 214) suggested that the four directional Zuni Uwanami rain makers find precise analogs with the four directional Chahks known among the contemporary Yukatek Maya. A similar analogue can be found with the four directional Tlalocs of Central Mexico. The striking similarities in the conceptualization of directional rain chiefs within this larger ideological complex suggests that these ideas are historically related and probably developed or were adopted in the American Southwest during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV transition. Perhaps similar concepts were present in the Casas Grandes region as reflected in portrayals of four directional faces around the necks of certain vessels (see Moulard 2005: fig. 5; Townsend 2005a: pl. 41), some of these faces are portrayed exhaling breath feathers, and some are situated above a running band of circular floral medallions (see Townsend 2005a: pl. 122; see discussion of breath feathers and flowers in Chapters 5 and 11). These four-directional beings, depicted as a personified jar, may well represent directional rain priests who water the earth. Following the depictions of four-directional beings (probable rain chiefs) in Casas Grandes art, among the earliest depictions of directional guardians or rain chiefs occurs in murals from Kiva 2 at Pottery Mound, imagery thought to date between AD 1370 and 1475.

Indigenous consultants indicated to Hibben (1975: 56) that four stylized staff-carrying human males that are ensconced in rainbow frames, one each on the murals of the four walls, likely represented “direction men” that guarded the four cardinal points. More recently, Hays-Gilpin and colleagues (2010: 129) likened these figures to Zuni directional Ashiwanni, or rain priests “who accompanied the ancestral Zunis from the underworld, and who guard and send rain from the world’s major directions.” These

supernatural rain chiefs have living representatives in contemporary Zuni rain chiefs who participate in ceremonialism and, after death, become the rain and lightning priests of the world directions (ibid.). These concepts, given their close relationship with the sun who awakens them at dawn and the katsina rain spirits whom they help to bring back to the Pueblos (see Chapter 2), likely have their earliest manifestation in the Casas Grandes region.

The close connection between the solar-oriented Mound of the Cross (with its probable relation to the directionally oriented rain chiefs) and the main I-shaped ballcourt at Paquimé, suggests that the Sun Youth may well have awakened the directional rain chiefs at dawn on the four circular platforms of the Mound of the Cross in order to bring rain spiraling back to the Casas Grandes communities. Given that the east/west axis of the Mound of the Cross appears to be tied to the straight road of the sun that directly bisects the middle of the ballcourt (see Chapter 10), it may well be the case that the rain in its varying manifestations throughout the year was symbolically conjured to fall over the ballcourt and the ritual participants who ritually reenacted during the course of play the “battle” between the warm and cold halves of the year (see Chapter 11). Moisture conjured during the warm half of the year would be the fertilizing rains while moisture conjured during the cold half of the year would be the fertilizing snows, hail, and ice that influenced future vegetal growth. One of the main purposes of the conjured rain produced during ballcourt rites was the ultimate production of a flowering landscape and moisture for the growth of maize.

That the proposed directional rain chiefs in the Casas Grandes world, who undoubtedly would have close historical associations with the directional rain chiefs (directional Tlalocs) in Mesoamerica, were called to water the symbolically charged ballcourt is important, as the directional Tlalocs are also associated with the ballgame in other Mesoamerican accounts. For example, the *Codex Chimalpopoca* records a tradition where the Toltec ruler Huemac played the ballgame with the *tlaloque*, the directional Tlalocs (Bierhorst 1992: 156). Instead of providing jades and quetzal plumes to the victor, the *tlaloque* offered green corn as the prize (ibid.). Because Huemac preferred the jades and quetzal plumes, the Tlalocs withheld the corn and caused excessive snowfall that destroyed the crops (ibid.). This passage suggests that in some instances the ballgame is closely tied to the directional rain chiefs, the newly growing maize, and the control of weather-related phenomena, much as is argued here for ballcourts in the Casas Grandes region.

The close relationship between the directional Tlaloc rain chiefs and corn is evident in other Late Postclassic highland Central Mexican sources. Portrayals of the four directional rain chiefs as Tlalocs, with a fifth Tlaloc to mark the center, are evident on pages 27-28 of the *Codex Borgia*. Each of these Tlalocs is marked by directional colors. This scene serves as an augury for farming and crop conditions and depicts the world as a cosmic maize field. The imagery portrayed concerns different types of climatic phenomena that affect the growth of maize and crops.

According to Taube (pers. comm. 2007), in each of the scenes on *Borgia* page 28, rain pours from the water jar of Tlaloc in the form of flints (hail), wind, fire, and (corn)

fungus. These images depict the varying manifestations of moisture and climatic conditions in relation to maize farming at different periods of the year. The central scene depicts the water of Tlaloc laden with jewels as the precious rain of warmth and spring. Taube (ibid.) noted that the face of the central Tlaloc is marked with face paint commonly associated with solar deities and likely signifies Tlaloc dressed as Xochipilli.

The conclusion that directional rain-priests in all probability existed first in the Casas Grandes world as part of the Flower World complex before becoming evident in the American Southwest strongly supports earlier assertions that the Tlaloc complex, with its directional rain-priest (directional Tlalocs) component, formed the basis of katsina rain ceremonialism in the Pueblo IV period (Schaafsma 1999). These ideas do not appear to have existed in the American Southwest before this time.

Since the ideas associated with the Sun Youth, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star (and Tlaloc) are so closely intertwined in the Flower World complex, it is highly improbable that any of these ideas at Paquimé were acquired piecemeal or via word of mouth. As these deities all work together in conjunction, it would be pointless, if not impossible, to convey or acquire knowledge of one deity without including the others. A religious complex only centered upon the Sun Youth, without including the balance provided by the rain, is one that would symbolically risk the destruction of crops by the scorching sun. Likewise, a religious complex that only focuses upon the rain, one that does not include the balance provided by the Sun, is one that would symbolically risk the destruction of crops by inundation. These newly adopted ideas in the American Southwest, an entire religious complex, occurred hand in hand.

If we are to consider the Casas Grandes region and the American Southwest as a general whole, it is most probable that these ideas and these deities undoubtedly originated from the south in Mesoamerica. From the onset of the Medio period, Casas Grandes elites as political and ritual leaders knew these Mesoamerican rites and deities and they knew them well. Either Casas Grandes individuals traveled far to the south to acquire this knowledge and a newly bestowed elite status, or these ideas were transmitted via the physical movement of people in a high-status lineage from somewhere in northern Mesoamerica, likely from within the Aztatlán cultural tradition of West Mexico.

Given the remarkable similarities between Mesoamerican esoteric religious beliefs and political organization and those at Paquimé on so many different levels, coupled with the fact that Hopi oral traditions documented over the last one hundred years consistently and clearly state that a number of their clans came from far to the south with new forms of solar worship (see Chapter 12), it strains the imagination to conclude that local Casas Grandes aspiring elites imported this entirely new cosmology piecemeal or through secondhand information. Indigenous Puebloan oral histories, particularly those of the Hopi, tell us specifically that these three deities (the Sun Youth, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star) and these new ideas that are related to the Flower World were brought from somewhere far to the south by people who owned these lineage-based rituals (see Chapter 12; Mathiowetz 2010a). The archaeological record profoundly concurs with indigenous historical accounts of the southern origin of people with new solar and rain-oriented religious beliefs.

Given the close connection between the Mesoamerican ballgame, the political hierarchy, Flower World, the plumed serpent, the changing of the seasons, fertility, and the origin of maize, rain, and humankind, all elements that are closely connected to the Sun Youth, it is entirely probable that the playing of the Casas Grandes ballgame reified the position of the paramount Casas Grandes Sun King as the supreme “holder of the roads of men.” This supreme position was centered upon the cacique’s role as the caretaker of his people and as the personification of the life-giving spirit of the Sun, a role that is closely intertwined with the growth of maize and the continuation of life. Much as the I-shaped ballgame court in Mesoamerica served as a symbolic center place and place of emergence and descent, it seems reasonable to conclude that the ballgame courts in the Casas Grandes world also served as places imbued with similar meaning, places where cosmic and climatic competitive dramas unfolded, and as symbolic destination places for rain that was conjured from the four directions in order to bring forth the flowering landscape of the Sun Youth.

In sum, the arrival of the Mesoamerican ballgame in the Casas Grandes region coincided with a newly acquired, or highly refined form of Flower World worship minimally centered upon the Sun Youth Xochipilli and the Plumed (and Horned) Serpent Quetzalcoatl. The ballgame in this region of far northern Mexico, much like in other parts of Mesoamerica, involved a specific focus upon the sun in his diurnal path across the sky during the day and the course of the year. This ideology is closely tied to the dual divisions of the year, the cold and the warm seasons, that is intimately related to solar observations that took form at the Mound of the Cross at Paquimé. Ballplayers on the

field, as symbolic warriors, likely reenacted cosmological battles between the warm and cold halves of the year (see Chapter 11). These battles, much like the symbolic tension between males and females, are creative acts that result in a flowering and fruiting landscape. Considering that this new form of solar worship undoubtedly was acquired from the Aztatlán region, it stands to reason that knowledge of this version of the ballgame, which did not exist in the region prior to Paquimé, also was acquired from then-contemporaneous Aztatlán sites. The following section explores the presence of the ballgame in West Mexico.

The Mesoamerican Ballgame in the Aztatlán Region of Postclassic West Mexico

Versions of the Mesoamerican ballgame have long existed in West Mexico, but it is my estimation that the occurrence of the ballgame in Postclassic-period Aztatlán sites represented a new version of the game that was closely tied to the appearance of Sun and Plumed Serpent worship. Weigand (1991) noted that versions of the ballgame and ballcourts have existed in Western Mesoamerica for over two thousand years. For example, some Protoclassic or Late Formative shaft tomb sites in Jalisco, such as Huitzilapa, contain a ballcourt (Lopez Mestas Cambreros and Ramos de la Vega 1998: 54-55, fig. 4). Ballcourt models are well known from Ixtlán del Río-style shaft-tomb art from Nayarit (Day 1998). One definite large ballcourt is known from the ceremonial precinct near the votive pyramid at the Classic-period site of La Quemada in Zacatecas, as well as other ballcourts at sites in Zacatecas and Durango (Kelley 1991). Classic

period ballcourts in Teuchitlán-tradition sites are associated with monumental architecture (Weigand and Beekman 1998: 45-46, fig. 17b).

Weigand (1991: 84-85) remarked that the end of the Classic period and the transition to the Postclassic period, characterized by massive social reorganization, represented a major shift in ballcourt ubiquity. With regard to the architecture, this social change involved the abandonment of circular architecture common among Teuchitlán sites and the appearance of new highland Central Mexican-style plazas and rectangular pyramids (*ibid.*: 84). However, whereas Teuchitlán-associated sites in Jalisco contained up to 50 ballcourts, only one possible ballcourt (at the site of Las Cuevas) existed among Postclassic sites in the same region of Jalisco (*ibid.*: 84-85), a collapse or disjunction of the ballgame tradition in this region that is worth noting. For all of the Nayarit lowlands and the highland lake districts of Jalisco in the Postclassic period, only a handful of ballcourts are known to exist (*ibid.*: 85).

As I note below, current archaeological evidence suggests that the main concentration of these courts appears to be at some major temple-town centers in the coastal lowlands of Nayarit in the core Aztatlán zone, a region where the Flower World complex of the Sun God, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star was established in the Postclassic period. In my opinion, the dramatic shift in ballcourt ubiquity in the Nayarit lowlands is closely tied to a newly introduced ideology of the ballgame centered upon the Flower World. Thus, while ballcourts clearly existed in Western Mesoamerica for some time in antiquity, it is my perspective that a new ideology of the Sun God Xochipilli was attached to this game in the Aztatlán region during the Postclassic.

For the Postclassic-period Pacific coastal plain, Mountjoy (2000: 98) indicated the association of ballcourts and Aztatlán sites:

The presence of a major Aztatlán center in many large coastal valleys, at which there was an extensive village with monumental architecture that includes platform mounds and a ballcourt, seems to indicate strong centralized political control of at least some individual valleys.

Ballcourts have been noted at large sites on the coastal plain, including Amapa (Meighan 1976) and Chacalilla in Nayarit (Ohnersorgen 2007). The recently discovered yet unexcavated major site of Las Animas, located along the coastal plain of Nayarit to the northeast of Coamiles, also contains a large I-shaped ballcourt (Mauricio Garduño Ambríz, pers. comm. 2008). While ballcourts are evident in some large coastal sites, Furst and Scott (1975: 14) also briefly mentioned the existence of ballcourts at sites in the sierra to the east of Acaponeta in northern Nayarit that are comprised of two parallel lines or walls of rock over 100 feet in length. Details of these sites are not published but are noted in a preliminary *informe* prepared by Scott (1968). To the north in Sinaloa, an I-shaped ballcourt was reported at the site of Chametla (site RB-01) near the Río Baluarte (Grave and Nava n.d.). To the south in coastal Jalisco, ballcourts have been identified near Banderas Bay at Ixtapa and Arroyo Seco (Mountjoy 2000: 98). Kelley (1991: 89-91, fig. 5.2) described and depicted a small, open-ended ballcourt excavated at the Aztatlán-era Schroeder site in the Guadiana Valley of Durango.

A discussion of the geographical distribution of ballgames as described here must be taken with a grain of salt, particularly as too little archaeological work has been done in the Aztatlán region to make any definitive assessments of ballcourt ubiquity. Plus, it is difficult to discern whether other major sites, since built upon and destroyed by modern

construction (such as Culiacán or Santiago Ixcuintla), had ballcourts (Michael Ohnersorgen, pers. comm. 2011). In other words, too little is known of the Aztatlán cultural region to draw anything more than preliminary conclusions on the distribution of ballcourts in the region.

Nevertheless, much like in the Casas Grandes region, ballcourts do not occur at all Aztatlán sites, but it is noteworthy that the major courts currently known are located at some of the large sites along the coastal plain of Nayarit. These courts occur in the center of the region in which Xochipilli-worship flourished in the Postclassic. Future intensive archaeological research is needed to determine the extent to which ballcourts of various forms and sizes existed during the Postclassic in the larger Aztatlán region. However, as Kelley (1991: 89) first suggested, it is highly probable that the core Aztatlán area along the Pacific coast is the source of the Mesoamerican ballgame in the Casas Grandes region, knowledge of which was transmitted, or more likely brought, to far northern Mexico by Aztatlán people who helped to establish the site of Paquimé.

Ethnohistoric Accounts of the Ballgame in West Mexico

Ethnohistoric accounts by Pérez de Ribas in AD 1644 indicate that the hands-free ballgame, called *pelota* or *hule*, was evident among the Acaxee of Durango and Sinaloa, part of the former Aztatlán region (cited in Beals 1933). Pérez de Ribas's (1968) account is said to have been drawn from the letter of Hernando de Santarén, a missionary who lived and worked among the Acaxee around AD 1600 (Beals 1933). In describing the rules and the widespread nature of the ballgame, Pérez de Ribas (1968: 161) noted:

They [the Acaxee] were much given to playing games, the favorite of these called Hule, in which a rubber ball is bounced from the shoulder or the hip toward an opposing player. In this game all the Indians of the Sierras were most dextrous. Either leaping to meet the ball with their body, or dropping to earth with the great agility to return a ball rolling there. Their playing fields were very well built, usually surrounded by rock fences.

The presence of many skilled players in the Sierra suggests a proliferation of the ballgame in this region in antiquity, likely extending beyond the early Historic period

Much like in other parts of Mesoamerica, mock warfare between opposed players from two villages formed a component of the game among the Acaxee, as did feasting and wagering of turquoise, cotton, silver, clothing, weaponry, and other goods (Beals 1933: 11-14). These ballgames were preceded by three days of dancing on the ballgrounds (ibid.). On the day of the ballgame, the ballgame players entered into the ballcourt fully armed as warriors dressed for battle, shooting blunt arrows at the opposing “warriors” (ibid.: 13). Pérez de Ribas (1968: 161) noted that rancherías frequently challenged others to games:

. . . [T]hese were taken so seriously that for at least three days and nights before such a game the men and women of each pueblo would gather on the field where their games were played, dressed in full regalia, as though for war, while extolling in loud voices the valor and swiftness of their players, and exhorting them to carry on to victory.

Though speculative, it may well be the case that this intriguing account of mock ballgame battles between opposed players was related to a symbolic battle of the dual seasons, much as is known in other parts of Mesoamerica and as argued above for the Casas Grandes region.

In Sinaloa, essentially in the northern portion of the former Aztatlán core zone, a survivals of the ballgame continue to be played in some communities. Leyenaar (2001) documented versions of the ballgame (called *ulama*) played with rubber balls, including *Ulama de Brazo* or “arm-*ulama*” that is played from Culiacán north to the Río Sinaloa. In southern Sinaloa, the *Ulama de Cadera*, or “hip-*ulama*” is played on parallel-lined courts in southern Sinaloa and south of Mazatlán. The region in which the *Ulama de Cadera* is played in southern Sinaloa sits within the former Aztatlán core zone. A third game called *Ulama del Palo*, played with a wooden paddle, was also observed to have been revived in the 1980s (ibid.).

In sum, it is conspicuous that a new form of the Mesoamerican ballgame appeared primarily in the core coastal zone of Nayarit at large Aztatlán ceremonial centers during the Postclassic. It is also conspicuous that in highland Central Mexico during the Postclassic period, the patron of games, including the ballgame, is the young solar deity Xochipilli and his closely related analogue Macuilxochitl (Seler 1990-1998: 3: 262). In all probability, the appearance of the ballgame at Aztatlán sites is closely related to the adoption of Xochipilli worship in the core coastal region of Nayarit, much as was later the case for the Casas Grandes region.

The Game of Patolli and the Sun God Xochipilli in Postclassic West Mexico

Some support for the argument that worship of Xochipilli was closely tied to the ballgame ideology in Postclassic West Mexico is found in the appearance of another game in the coastal Aztatlán region of Nayarit and Jalisco, namely the game called

patolli. This discussion is relevant, particularly as Xochipilli was considered the patron of game-playing in highland Central Mexico (Miller and Taube 1993: 190). *Patolli* is of great antiquity in Mesoamerica and is comprised of a track-like design used in conjunction with game pieces or beans (Caso 1925). Different forms of the *patolli* game boards are known in Mesoamerica, including those in a cruciform shape and others that are square with a cruciform-style pattern in the middle (see Mountjoy and Smith 1985: fig. 24).

In West Mexico, *patolli* boards appear to be restricted to the Postclassic period. For the Aztatlán region, Mountjoy and Smith (1985) reported the appearance of a distinctive petroglyph design identified as a *patolli* board that was pecked in a rock at the site of La Piedra III in the Tomatlán river valley on the central coast of Jalisco. While noting that the form of the Tomatlán *patolli* board resembled a mid-twentieth century version of the game board reported among the Tarascans, Mountjoy and Smith (*ibid.*: 256-258) analyzed associated ceramic artifacts and architecture at Tomatlán and ultimately concluded that the *patolli* board likely dated to the Aztatlán period. This conclusion is notable in that another *patolli* board is also evident on an incised flat rock recovered from the Aztatlán site of Amapa on the Nayarit coastal plain. These data suggest that the game of *patolli* became evident only in the Aztatlán era.

At Amapa, Meighan (1976: 44, pl. 16) recovered a number of stone blocks incised with images, including a bird and one deity recently identified as Venus as the Morning Star (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008). One stone, the only one recovered from Mound B5 in Group B, the presumed ceremonial center at Amapa (Meighan 1976: 18), portrayed a bird

and designs that Meighan (ibid.: pl. 16) vaguely characterized as “geometric patterns.” Upon personal inspection of this stone, now housed at the Fowler Museum at UCLA, it became clear that within these geometric patterns, a version of a *patolli* board is incised upon the stone. Closer examination of Meighan’s black and white photograph of the incised stone clearly depicts the *patolli* placed just above the image of the bird (see Meighan 1976: pl. 16). Considering that the incised stone at Amapa with the Morning Star image dates to the Aztatlán era, it is most probable that this *patolli* board also dates to the same era.

The documented presence of *patolli* boards, though currently few in number, in the core coastal Aztatlán region is significant in that the patron of games, including the game of *patolli*, in the Postclassic period in highland Central Mexico was the solar deity Xochipilli/Macuilxochitl (Seler 1990-1998: 3: 262). This fact provides yet more support to my argument that social change in Postclassic period West Mexico, particularly centered on the coastal plain of Nayarit, southern Sinaloa, and northern Jalisco, was closely tied to the adoption of a new form of worship centered upon the solar deity Xochipilli.

Discussion

One of the more intriguing issues that has puzzled archaeologists in northwestern Mexico is understanding both the nature and the place of origin or inspiration of the Mesoamerican ballgame in the Casas Grandes region. To understand the origin of this game in far northwest Mexico, one needs to understand not just the geographic location

of the ballgame in the larger region in antiquity, but the underlying ideological meanings attached to its performance. The preceding discussion reviewed past arguments by scholars who considered the cosmology of the Mesoamerican ballgame to be closely tied to the diurnal path of the sun across the sky, both from east to west and north to south and back again, as observed along the horizon during the course of the year. A general conclusion reached by scholars is that the ideas inherent in the ballgame are closely tied to the alternating rainy and dry season and the agricultural cycle. Symbolically, the main themes of the ballgame in some Mesoamerican sites include the focus upon solar and plumed serpent imagery with others bearing a very explicit iconographic linkage to the Flower World complex.

From this base of knowledge, and given our more clear understanding of Casas Grandes religion as described in the present work, I conclude that the appearance of the ballgame at Paquimé and in the surrounding region was closely tied to the arrival of a new form of Flower World worship centered upon the Sun Youth Xochipilli and the Plumed Serpent Quetzalcoatl that did not exist in the the region before AD 1200. This new worship was closely oriented to the alternating cosmological “battle” between the cold and warm halves of the year. At Paquimé, the ballgame was closely aligned with solar observation that took form at the nearby Mound of the Cross and was also closely related to feasting networks at the primary site and in the larger region.

To understand where knowledge of the Casas Grandes ballgame originated, we need look no further than the closest antecedent and then-contemporaneous sites with ballcourts, those that existed in some major Aztatlán temple-town centers along the

Pacific coastal plain of West Mexico. These sites, such as Amapa and Chacalilla, were located squarely in the middle of a florescent Flower World religious complex centered upon the Sun Youth, the Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star that first became evident around AD 900. These two sites in particular also contained architectural mound complexes that were constructed for the purpose of solar observations of the equinoxes and the solstices (Ohnersorgen et al. 2010), much as was the case later for Paquimé.

In other words, major Aztatlán sites exist on the coastal plain of Nayarit with evidence for worship of the Sun Youth Xochipilli and the Mesoamerican ballgame. These sites predate, and then become contemporaneous with, the appearance of the precisely similar Mesoamerican ballgame and Xochipilli complex that arrived fully formed at Paquimé in the Medio period around AD 1200, or as some scholars propose for the beginning of the Medio, perhaps as early as the late AD 1100s.

An intriguing point to note is that while the site of Amapa had an occupation period that is antecedent to, and then-contemporaneous with Paquimé, the site of Chacalilla is currently thought only to have an occupation span during the Cerritos phase that extended to around AD 1100 or so, though there is a limited amount of Ixcuintla phase (AD 1100-1350) material at the site (Michael Ohnersorgen, pers. comm. 2011). It should be noted however that Aztatlán chronology and the occupation periods of specific sites is a currently unresolved issue, and the beginning and ending of phases is similarly poorly understood. The reasons and the timing for the demise of Aztatlán sites remain unclear.

In the future, the historical trajectories of Aztatlán sites must be considered in more detail to discern whether the demise of any Aztatlán sites in the Cerritos phase (ca. AD 1100) with evidence of Sun Youth and Flower World worship had anything to do with the subsequent florescence of Paquimé. Might some of the populations from Aztatlán sites, perhaps in the midst of their own cultural reorganization in the late 1100s, have migrated northward to the Casas Grandes region with new knowledge of the Sun Youth? If so, these populations might well form a part of the Hopi Palatkwapi clans who came from far to the south with a new form of solar worship. Though entirely speculative, these are intriguing propositions that need to be more fully explored in the future.

Conclusion

Much like for the later Pueblo IV-period American Southwest, a large portion of Western Mesoamerica underwent a significant cultural shift at the onset of the Postclassic period during the Aztatlán era. This shift involved changed architectural styles (some to a more highland Central Mexican style) and settlement patterns, changed political and social organization, and a significantly changed ideology and symbolic system. Evidence suggests that a key zone of cultural change within the larger region was the coastal plain of southern Sinaloa, Nayarit, and northern Jalisco. Along major drainages in this region arose new temple-town centers. Current data indicates that, on the Nayarit coastal plain, major centers constructed ballcourts, practiced solar observation at solstice and equinox-oriented mound complexes (see Chapter 6), engaged in feasting activities with flower-

laden serving vessels (see Chapter 8), and engaged in rituals dedicated to the Sun God, the Morning Star, and the Plumed Serpent within a new mitote-style ceremonial cycle (see Chapter 6). The appearance of the Mesoamerican ballgame at Aztatlán sites undoubtedly was tied to a new ideology of the Sun God Xochipilli, the patron god of game-playing.

This ideology in the Aztatlán core zone, centered at sites on the coastal plain, formed the base of knowledge that was transferred to the Casas Grandes region at the beginning of the Medio period. Though the construction techniques of the main I-shaped ballcourts at Paquimé do not precisely mirror those found at Aztatlán sites such as Amapa, I do not consider this to be an overriding issue. The ballcourts in the Casas Grandes region were likely built by a local labor force using local construction techniques. However, the underlying ideology of this game was purely foreign, and is considered here to have been a largely intact political and ideological system tied to the newly adopted Sun Youth-oriented Flower World complex that was, in all probability, brought by people from Aztatlán sites in West Mexico to the Casas Grandes region.

Chapter 8:

The Casas Grandes and Aztatlán Connection: Interregional Interaction and Integration in Ancient Northwest Mesoamerica

“ . . . [I]n the Early Postclassic, probably beginning about A.D. 800-900, many Toltec and Mixteca-Puebla influences effectively penetrated West Mexico, especially in the northwest. From this time forward the area obviously participated much more fully in pan-Mesoamerican developments . . . Perhaps the introduction of new religious-ritual systems from the east, along with associated socioeconomic patterns, was responsible for the demise of the shaft-chamber tomb complex.”

-Clement W. Meighan and H.B. Nicholson (1989: 47)

“ . . . [T]here was a “development gap” in Northwest Mexico; interrelated political developments bypassed considerable geography . . . Not until a much later time horizon, ca. A.D. 1200 or later with Casas Grandes, do Northwest Mexican centers participate most actively in the long-distance, interregional exchange of objects and social principles. The interrelated [Pacific] coastal developments then amount to a thin rope of connection rather than a wide frontier. Connectivity that skips regions is consistent with the voyaging form of interaction . . .”

-Ben Nelson (2004: 294-295)

Introduction

The Aztatlán Region at Contact and in the Early Historic Period

The Aztatlán tradition was a widespread material-culture complex that dates mainly to the Early to Middle Postclassic period (AD 900-1350+) in much of West and Northwest Mexico and involved socioeconomic and information networks that linked this larger region to the American Southwest in the north and highland Central Mexico in the south (Kelley 1986, 2000; Mountjoy 2000; Publ 1986, 1990; Sauer and Brand 1932). A decade ago, an assessment of the perspectives of contemporary archaeologists found that the nature of the Aztatlán tradition was not unanimously conceptualized and was

variously characterized as a geographic region, a ceramic horizon, a cultural complex, a time period, and a mercantile system (see Carpenter 2002: 147). Whatever the case, it remains accurate to state that the Aztatlán tradition along the Pacific coast represented the northernmost extension of Mesoamerican societies (ibid.).

The onset of the Postclassic period and the rise of the Aztatlán tradition marked a significant social change and cultural disjunction in the larger region that involved the construction of major regional centers along the Pacific coast from northern Sinaloa to the central coast of Jalisco. As Mountjoy (2000: 95) noted:

It is likely that at least one ceremonial/civic center of the Aztatlán tradition was established near the center of every large coastal river valley between Tomatlán, Jalisco, and the northern border of Sinaloa, as well as in strategic locations along routes of communication and commerce in many highland areas, such as Ixtlán del Río, Nayarit.

In his assessment of Contact-period sociopolitical and economic structures in the Aztatlán region, Publ (1990: 236) concluded that Aztatlán polities probably were organized in a manner similar to ethnohistorically known chiefdoms, but later qualified this remark by noting that these probably might better be considered as states or “statelets”. Furthermore, he concluded that these polities most likely would have been theocracies (ibid.).

At contact in the AD 1520s, the Spaniards encountered a number of native provinces or “states”, also variously described as *señoríos*, *cacicazgos*, or kingdoms, along the Pacific coast from the Río Grande de Santiago to the Culiacán River, namely the provinces of Culiacán, Chametla, Aztatlán, and Sentispac (Publ 1990: 206). These provinces contained a high degree of cultural complexity with market towns, large armies

of thousands of elaborately dressed warriors, merchants, fishing industries, extensive trade systems, densely populated settlements on the coastal plain, evidence of political boundary formations, subjugated communities, the payment of tribute, and the presence of caciques, all of which Publ (1986: 183; 1990: 206) considered to have developed in the region long before the arrival of the Spanish.

As an example, in the vicinity of Sentispac in northern coastal Nayarit during the early sixteenth century, the Nuño de Guzmán expedition encountered a community with a cacique named Ocelotl who kept hundreds of personal retainers, who extracted tribute of gold, cotton, honey, and silver from over 20,000 indigenous peoples who lived in the mountains to the east, and who provisioned Guzman's army with surplus food for over a month (Publ 1990: 233-234; Sauer and Brand 1932: 43-44).

Trade networks at the time of contact were extensive and well-established across the region, and it was the major coastal indigenous trade route that Spaniards quickly followed into the American Southwest in the early sixteenth century. This route to the American Southwest, and to the Zuni Pueblos [Cibola] in particular, was described by Sauer (1932) as "the Road to Cibola." He (*ibid.*: 1) noted,

The land passage through northwestern New Spain was mostly one great arterial highway, which is a good illustration in point. From the densely peopled lands of central Mexico a road led by way of the coastal lowlands of the Mexican Northwest to the northern land of the Pueblo Indians, and at the last to California . . . It is here called the Road to Cibola, since the search for the legendary Seven Cities was the main reason for its opening by the Spaniards.

Many of the communities that were encountered, their established political boundaries, and the trade networks that stretched across the post-Aztlán region, were destroyed by pillaging Spaniards in the early historic period.

As Sauer and Brand (1932: 41) noted, “Our area was almost completely destroyed because it was overrun in 1530-1531 by about as hard a gang of killers as Spain let loose anywhere in the New World and because in those days there was no stay upon the killing propensities of conquerors.” Elsewhere, Sauer (1932: 7) drew similar stark conclusions:

By a single entrada, in 1530-31, Nuño de Guzmán ruined the native scene. The conquest was cheaply won. Mostly he met no resistance, often he was received with open arms. Behind he left a trail of smoking ruins and shambles. Survivors were driven out in gangs and sold as slaves; in a few years the lowlands of Sinaloa and Nayarit became almost a wilderness.

While much of coastal West Mexico was pillaged in the early Historic period, it is probable that the forms of social and religious organization encountered were of great time depth. The study of this historic data, coupled with ethnographic data, is integral to our understanding of social, political, and religious organization in the Aztlán period.

Previous Studies of Aztlán Material Culture

Scholars in the past who were familiar with Aztlán material culture and symbolism almost immediately perceived close ties to highland Central Mexican material cultures. The similarities were so strong in the eyes of early excavators and analysts that some suggested the direct intrusion of highland Central Mexican people into West Mexico. Gordon Ekholm (1942: 126), the excavator of Guasave in far northern Sinaloa concluded:

Considering merely the number of traits common to the to the Aztatlán complex culture of Guasave and to the various cultures of the central highlands of Mexico, there can be little doubt as to the cultural affiliation between the two areas. More important, of course, than the number of similar traits is the degree of similarity . . . in regard to each class of objects. Furthermore, it seems that there can be no disagreement as to the probability that the cultural movement was from Central Mexico to the West Coast—that a large portion of the Guasave culture had its origin in the highlands of Central Mexico. The movement could not possibly have been in the other direction . . .

Ekholm's comments suggested a high degree of interaction and integration of cultures over great distances, so much so that he thought that the transmission of ideas and material culture involved the physical movement of people from highland Central Mexico.

Likewise, though qualifying his remarks as being “sketchy” and stating that his conclusions necessarily deserved clarification through further field research, Clement Meighan (1976: 161), the excavator of Amapa in Nayarit, noted:

The West Mexican Postclassic also shows another wave of influences which extended the cultures of Central Mexico to Amapa and far to the north into Sinaloa. In this period, also, the changes that appear beginning about A.D. 900 are so extensive and striking that they cannot be explained as due to passive acceptance of traits from another area; it is necessary to propose a transfer of considerable numbers of people to bring about the observed influx of Postclassic features. Again, the nature of the new people is not known, but a military-religious expansion is most likely and parallels the similar events taking place toward the Maya region in the south.

Meighan continued to hold the view that Central Mexican people and cultural influences effected major social changes in Postclassic West Mexico and some fifteen years later he, along with noted Mesoamerican scholar H.B. Nicholson, stated:

. . . [I]n the Early Postclassic, probably beginning about A.D. 800-900, many Toltec and Mixteca-Puebla influences effectively penetrated West

Mexico, especially in the northwest. From this time forward the area obviously participated much more fully in pan-Mesoamerican developments . . . Perhaps the introduction of new religious-ritual systems from the east, along with associated socioeconomic patterns, was responsible for the demise of the shaft-chamber tomb complex (Meighan and Nicholson 1989: 47).

Despite the conclusions of earlier Aztatlán archaeologists, there remains no consensus among contemporary archaeologists as to the origin and nature of the Aztatlán tradition.

More recently, the interpretation of such a high degree of highland Central Mexican influence in these northern regions has been met with less enthusiasm by some archaeologists who work in the region. As Carpenter (2002: 147) noted, “Large-scale migration of populations from central Mexico, such as that proposed by Ekholm (1942), is not supported by the archaeological evidence.” Furthermore, his reanalysis of material culture from Guasave, a site in Sinaloa at the far northern end of the generally accepted boundaries of Mesoamerican societies, concluded: “The Aztatlán component at Guasave was apparently restricted to funerary contexts and appears to be strongly associated with the ideological realm, with little evidence for either political or economic integration on a macro regional scale” (Carpenter 2002: 149). While it seems accurate to conclude that direct highland Central Mexican influence at the site of Guasave was negligible, the case for some form of direct interaction between unspecified highland Central Mexican or Oaxacan sites and the Pacific coastal communities within the southern core Aztatlán zone in Nayarit and southern Sinaloa is, to my mind, more plausible. It was this core region that saw the florescence of a complex of new ideas that originated far to the southeast while Guasave was quite a distance away and much more peripheral to these new developments.

Having examined, photographed, and studied a corpus of Aztatlán symbolism and material culture from a number of museums, private collections, and systematically excavated material from across the region, I can attest that there are indeed a number of striking similarities, if not exact correlations, between Aztatlán symbolic motifs, artistic conventions, and deities that neatly correspond to, and are traditionally affiliated with, then-contemporaneous and antecedent highland Central Mexican motifs and deities. Furthermore, the present analysis indicates that it is not simply motifs or designs that are similar, but it is the ideas, conceptual metaphors, and entire cosmological framework that underlies these designs that were also shared.

This topic is expansive, but it is my preliminary estimation that either some Aztatlán individuals travelled to distant regions to obtain knowledge of highland Central Mexican or Oaxacan motifs along with a complex of religious practices and forms of social organization, or individuals or groups from highland Central Mexico or Oaxaca came to the Aztatlán region with this cultural knowledge. While much can be written on this subject, time and space constraints have unfortunately prevented a full analysis of these cultural connections in the present dissertation. Future in-depth analyses of these shared religious beliefs, symbols, and material culture are planned by the author.

Shifting away from those arguments for an imperial role of complex Mesoamerican societies in the far northwest, other perspectives that sought to explain the long-distance movement of various cultural elements in the northern regions of Mexico and the American Southwest argued that a linguistic continuum among cultural groups, whether Tepiman or Cahita-speakers, would have facilitated the movement of goods and

ideas amid more localized processes of selection and adaptation of material goods and ideology (Carpenter 2002: 149; Wilcox 1986b).

While a linguistic continuum can account for some movements of goods and ideas, it is difficult to accept that the proposed localized selection and adaptation of ideas along this linguistic chain can account for the movement of an entire politico-religious system and a constellation of ideas, first from highland Central Mexico to the core Aztatlán zone and, second, from the core southern coastal Aztatlán zone to Paquimé and beyond. The complex of beliefs that were transferred northward to Paquimé and the American Southwest, which were largely intact but differently depicted, comprised an entire worldview that, by and large, did not involve the movement of individually selected and partially accepted ideas.

Casas Grandes and Aztatlán Material Culture: The Evidence for Interaction

As noted above, evidence for Aztatlán interaction with highland Central Mexican cultures to the southeast is rich in scope but unfortunately will need to be addressed in more detail at a later time. Suffice it to say that the Aztatlán horizon represented an entire shift in worldview, cosmology, and social, political, and religious organization that arose as a result of the adoption of an entire politico-religious complex minimally centered upon the Sun, Plumed Serpent, Morning Star, Tlaloc, and Corn Maidens from highland Central Mexico (see Chapters 6 and 7). Considering that this ideological complex in the Aztatlán region during the Postclassic is of a clearly distant southern origin, it is worth shifting perspective now to focus not just on the northward transmission of ideas, but on

evidence for Aztatlán influence and interaction to the north in the material culture of the Casas Grandes region.

There is considerable evidence for economic, ritual, and biological links between Paquimé and West Mexico. In a recent study of design iconography on pre-Columbian pottery from the U.S. Southwest, northern Mexico, and West Mexico, Harmon and colleagues (2006) argued that “there was a direct historical, heritable connection between the intellectual traditions underlying the symbolic systems of the Classic Mimbres and Medio period Casas Grandes symbolic systems, which share a more ancestral relationship with western Mexico.” Aside from shared religious beliefs, it has long been noted that some Casas Grandes material culture has its origins or inspiration from the Pacific coast of West Mexico.

Rather than there being direct interaction between Southwestern people and cultural groups in highland Central Mexico, McGuire (1980: 28) drew attention to West Mexico, noting over two decades ago: “A more impressive body of evidence exists for direct and periodic trade between the Southwest and northwest Mexico (the modern Mexican states of Durango, Sinaloa, Nayarit, Zacatecas, and Jalisco).” This assessment concurs with Kelley’s (2000: 151) observation that the only Mesoamerican source for the development of Paquimé was the Late Aztatlán communities along the Pacific coast.

Among the perennially mentioned lines of evidence for long-distance interregional interaction between Paquimé and West Mexico is the presence of West Mexican shells, copper, urn burials, ceramic drums, and other unique artifact forms (T. VanPool et al. 2008). Some archaeologists who work in Northwest Mexico consider most

of these items to have been obtained as a result of a prestige-goods economy, where contact is evident but which does not, in their view, necessarily reveal cultural integration or strong influence or bearing on social change (Whalen and Minnis 2003). The following section discusses evidence of Casas Grandes material culture derived from West Mexico.

West Mexican Exotica and Influence in Casas Grandes Material Culture

Marine shell is considered to be one of the most prevalent classes of exotica found at Paquimé. Citing the work of Bradley (1993), Steve Lekson (1999a: 100) noted: “. . . [T]here were two major sequential shell production and distribution systems in the Greater Southwest: a Hohokam system and a Paquimé system.” During excavations at Paquimé, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: 385) recovered shell ornaments totaling 3,909,096 pieces, more than one-and-a-half tons of shell. Of this, about 96 percent of the shell was found in a few storage contexts with limited distribution, a pattern that “. . . suggests that it was an accumulated resource possibly used as a status indicator or reserved for exchange purposes” (Bradley 1993: 128, 134-135, 137).

Helen DuShane, who analyzed the Casas Grandes shell, noted that a majority of the shell came from “a coastal area bounded possibly by Tastiota Bay, Sonora, Mexico on the north to at least Banderas Bay, Jalisco on the south. The coastal distance between these points is approximately 1500 km (800 mi.)” (in Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 401). An important point to note is that some of these shells were procured from as far south as

Banderas Bay, Jalisco in coastal West Mexico, the perhaps the furthest southern region of the Aztatlán tradition. Bradley (1993: 141) noted:

One of the best examples is *Periscula bandera*. A total of 1,122 *P. bandera* were unearthed at Paquimé, and this particular species is found only in the Banderas Bay area of coastal Nayarit and Jalisco, near Puerto Vallarta. This presents compelling evidence for links with groups in Jalisco and Nayarit, as do other exotics such as scarlet macaws and copper metallurgy. Particularly intriguing is the fact that *P. bandera* is rare in archaeological contexts. *P. bandera* has not been found elsewhere in the Southwest, although it has recently been found on sites in northwestern Mesoamerica.

Bradley (ibid: 137, 143, 144) further indicated that shell was very rarely used in burial offerings, yet one of those most often found "in substantial numbers" in burials, likely those of elites, was *Persicula bandera*. She (ibid.) noted: "The 576 burials recovered from Medio period contexts contained only a small proportion of the shell assemblage (0.2%) . . . Of those associated with burials, the majority were beads of *Nassarius* [spp.], *Olivella* [spp.], *Persicula bandera*, and Vermetid." Interestingly, Bradley (1999: 227) also noted that the distribution of macaws closely followed the distribution patterns in the Casas Grandes shell network, a fact that suggests that ritual networks centered upon Casas Grandes Sun Youth ceremonialism also had an economic or trade component.

Aside from noting the unique presence of shell species from Banderas Bay, Bradley (1999: 146-147) pointed out that a rare triangular pendant fashioned from *Melongena patula* also was present at Paquimé (**Fig. 8.1a**). This shell species and pendant type has not been recovered from any other site in the American Southwest and to date has only been identified at Paquimé (see Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 404, fig. 504-6, no. 5-10) and one poorly preserved example from the site of Amapa in Nayarit (see Meighan 1976: pl. 111). More recently, an examination of archaeological collections at a

local museum in Compostela, Nayarit revealed nine well-preserved triangular shell pendants with pairs of holes in the upper right and left corners of the pendants and incised designs that are strongly similar in form and ornamentation to the examples from Paquimé (**Fig. 8.1b**). Though the species of these pendants remains to be identified with certainty by a shell specialist, it is most probable that these examples are of *Melongena patula*.

One ritually important object at Paquimé that has its inspiration in West Mexico is the ceramic drum. Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: 337-339, 356-365, fig. 389-6) recovered 109 ceramic hand drums in Medio-period contexts, all of which were intentionally broken (ibid.: 356, 359). Four fragments of hand drums, differing in form from the later Medio-period drums, were recovered in Viejo-period contexts and were considered to be trade wares rather than of local manufacture (Di Peso et al. 1974: 8: 138-139). The Medio-period drums, locally made, were considered to resemble those from West Mexico, including those known from Chametla, Sinaloa (Kelly 1938: 49, fig. 14j) and Tizapan el Alto, Jalisco (Meighan and Foote 1968: pl. 16a), among others (Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 337-338). Fragments of a ceramic hand drum were reported in recent years from the Aztatlán site of La Peña, Jalisco to the west of Tizapan el Alto (Ramírez and Cárdenas 2006: 323). In other words, Casas Grandes artisans and musicians were making West Mexican-inspired objects in a local form.

In a recent series of studies, Vargas (1995, 2001) determined that, stylistically and technologically, copper bells found at Paquimé appear to have been imported from West Mexico for local consumption. The ideology of copper is an important subject, discussed

in more detail below, that can shed light on our understanding of the widespread occurrence of copper, particularly crotals, in Aztatlán sites and in the northern regions of Mexico and the American Southwest.

Aside from shell species, distinctive shell ornaments, drums, and copper ornaments and tools that could be part of a prestige economy, other similarities in architecture, namely a slab-lined drainage system, do not fit this model of exchange. Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 2: 352-353, fig. 35-2.1) described and depicted an extensive drain system at Paquimé used to channel water. An exceptionally similar slab-lined drainage system, though comparably smaller in length, ran through the north-central end of the I-shaped ballcourt at Amapa (Clune 1976: 285-286, fig. 2; Meighan 1976: pl. 3a-3c). Presuming that the technological knowledge for building these forms of drains at Paquimé originated in West Mexico, it is logical to conclude that the transmission of this knowledge was not by word-of-mouth.

Perhaps the most intriguing intrusive ritual practice at Paquimé that has its origins in West Mexico is the practice of secondary interments in funerary urns. As noted in Chapter 5, three urn burials were recovered in the funerary complex of the highest-status elites at Paquimé in accompaniment with objects and iconography that was evocative of, and closely affiliated with, the Mesoamerican Flower World complex.

Urn burials are exceptionally unique at Paquimé and in the larger region, but are quite common along the Pacific Coast of West Mexico. Recently, Bojorquez (2009: 146-148, map 8) compiled a list and map of a number of sites with urn burials stretching from northern Sinaloa through southern Sinaloa and Nayarit and reaching as far as central

coastal Jalisco. These sites include Guasave, Chametla, Culiacán, and the Marismas Nacionales in Sinaloa, Peñitas, the San Blas region, and Punta de Mita in Nayarit, and the sites of Ixtapa, Nauhuapa, and Tomatlán in Jalisco (*ibid.*). Urn burials are also known at the site of Cañón del Molino in Durango (Ganot R. and Peschard F. 1995: 158, fig. 8.9). Recently, Vásquez del Mercado (2008) excavated 15 urn burials at the site of Ixtlán del Río (Los Toriles) in southeastern Nayarit. Clearly, the point is that foreign burial practices for the proposed highest-status elites at Paquimé have their origin in the coastal West Mexican Aztatlán tradition. This ritual practice most likely was not acquired by Casas Grandes individuals via word of mouth.

The significance of foreign burial practices is given more weight when we consider that biological studies have shown a close relationship between some Casas Grandes individuals and people from coastal West Mexico. A recent study of dental crown morphology of people from Paquimé concluded that there was a close epigenetic connection primarily with peoples from both Sinaloa and the Mimbres area (Turner 1999). This study suggested that Mimbres and Casas Grandes people, particularly at Paquimé in the latter case, had an intimate familiarity and biological relationship with Pacific-coastal Mesoamerican people. Aside from there being biological connections to West Mexico, the present work makes clear that Casas Grandes people, particularly those in the upper levels of the social hierarchy, had a deep understanding of religious beliefs and ritual practices in West Mexico, a shared belief system that extended to Postclassic period highland Central Mexico.

A unique complex of rock art motifs shared in these regions may shed more light on the proposed biological link between people at Paquimé and in West Mexico. In two separate studies, Polly Schaafsma (1998, 2000c) sought to examine evidence for symbols of social identity and power in rock art of Chaco Canyon and the Casas Grandes region. While finding little evidence for symbols of power in the Chacoan rock art, Schaafsma determined that unique rock art motifs called “cartouches” or “cuadros” held special significance in the regions surrounding Paquimé. These cartouches in the rock art are squares or rectangles that have a variety of interior patterns, including “x” shapes, quartered regions, or zig-zag lines, circles, triangles, frets, hooked motifs, among others (see Schaafsma 1998: figs. 14-15). Many cartouches are found in all six of the Casas Grandes rock arts sites across the region that were examined by Schaafsma (1998: 36), including at the site of Arroyo de los Monos (a prominent spring to the south of Paquimé), one at the Casas Grandes-affiliated Joyce Well site in southwestern New Mexico, others in the Santa Maria Valley, and also in Cave Valley in the Sierra Madre Occidental (Schaasma 1998: 34, 36; 2000c).

While these box-like symbols are prevalent in the Casas Grandes region, Schaafsma (1998, 2000c) noted that these cartouches or *cuadros* have also been recorded in parts of West Mexico, including in northern Sinaloa (Mendiola 1994), Durango (Lazalde 1987), and Sonora (Ballereau 1990: 389-393). Mountjoy (1987: fig. 101) illustrated a square cuadro with an interior design divided into four segments, each segment containing a large circle. A square *cuadro* with a fringe-like element at the bottom was also noted by the author in rock art at the site of Coamiles on the Nayarit

coastal plain. The point of this discussion is that these square cartouches in Casas Grandes rock art have antecedents or contemporaries in quite similar rock art designs in parts of West and Northwest Mexico. The documentation of the distribution and ubiquity of these motifs in Aztatlán sites is a topic worthy of future research.

While the precise significance of these motifs was unclear, Schaafsma (2000c) couched her discussion of rock art symbolism in the larger context of identity and social order. In particular, she noted that contemporary Puebloan groups use rock art symbols to identify social groups, particularly in clan symbolism. Clan identity in the Southwest is strongest among the Western Pueblos and plays an especially significant role in the lives of Hopi and Zuni people (ibid.). Clan symbols are often marked onto the landscape or in public displays as a signifier of clan-owned land-use patterns, political affiliations, and even can be used as evidence of past migrations of people (ibid.). Oftentimes, clan symbols take the form of animals, plants, birds, celestial phenomena, or they commemorate events endured or objects encountered in migrations (ibid.).

As Schaafsma (2000c) alluded to the possibility that the Casas Grandes and West Mexican cartouches as clan symbols, her general observations on the link between rock art and social institutions in the Southwest and Northwest Mexico is important for the present discussion. In my estimation, these square symbols may indeed be clan symbols. Support for this argument is found in Kurt and Cindy Dongoske's (2002) discussion of Hopi rock art at Awat'ovi. Their study noted that by far the most ubiquitous motif in the rock art around Awat'ovi, with over one hundred examples, was a square or rectangle with a diverse variety of designs on the interior, including diagonal, vertical, or horizontal

lines, hatching, and steps (ibid.: 125, fig. 8.8), much like those from the Casas Grandes region. When questioned on the significance of these designs, called the “clan” or “rug” symbol, Hopi people characterized these as clan symbols attributed to the occupants of Awat’ovi that probably were specifically affiliated with particular clans.

In their study, it was noted that the occupants of Awat’ovi came from diverse regions, including the Palatkwapi clans from far to the south (Dongoske and Dongoske 2002: 116). In Chapter 12, I argue that Hopi Palatkwapi clans and many of their rituals and traditions are very closely associated with Paquimé and the Casas Grandes region. Considering that Paquimé and the surrounding region is the next closest place where these symbols are prominent, it may well be the case that these designs in northern Chihuahua are clan symbols affiliated with the Palatkwapi clans. Furthermore, given that Palatkwapi clans are said to have come from deep within Mesoamerica, it may even be the case that some of these southern clans came from West Mexico from the general region where these probable clan symbols are present. Future research on this topic is deserved.

In sum, a growing body of multiple, independent lines of evidence indicates that there was a strong intellectual, iconographic, ritual, biological, and economic relationship between peoples at Paquimé and peoples along the Pacific coastal region of Sinaloa, Nayarit, and Jalisco. These findings call for increased archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic investigation into the nature of ancient interregional interaction between peoples of the Greater Southwest and West Mexico (e.g., Harmon et al. 2006).

Considering that Casas Grandes and Southwestern cultures appear to have a very strong link to Aztatlán-era West Mexico, it is worth considering in some detail the ideology of specific material culture and economically important items that characterized the florescence of the Aztatlán tradition and that played an important role in Pueblo III and Pueblo IV religion and social change in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest. The material goods that will be considered in the following section include cacao, cotton, and copper.

Cultivation, Trade, and Use of Cacao in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

Cacao Use in the Ancient American Southwest

In recent years, perhaps no other discovery has reinvigorated the debate over the nature of Mesoamerican and Southwestern interaction than the discovery of cacao residues, or the chemical marker theobromine, in ceramic vessels from the Chacoan culture of the northern American Southwest. Scholars have long noted the occurrence of cylinder vessels in Chacoan material culture (Pepper 1920; Washburn 1980), a vessel form commonly used for cacao consumption in Mesoamerica. But until recently, studies had never conclusively demonstrated that cacao was consumed as far north as the American Southwest. A brief but highly significant report by Patricia Crown and W. Jeffrey Hurst (2009) detailed the chemical testing of the interiors of fragments from ceramic vessels in the shape of pitchers or cylinder vessels and revealed that cacao was indeed consumed at the major site of Pueblo Bonito between AD 1000 and AD 1125. It should be noted here that cacao (*Theobroma cacao*) is a nonnative species in the

American Southwest and it existed in this region far outside its southern tropical habitat of origin. The presence of this substance in the Southwest, in vessels that are in the same form in which it was consumed in the south, led Crown and Hurst to observe:

The likely association of cacao with cylinder jars at Pueblo Bonito suggests that knowledge concerning the proper preparation, serving, and consumption of cacao beverages accompanied the seeds from Mesoamerica. Chacoan ritual practitioners imported or acquired both the ingredients and the culinary knowledge to incorporate Mesoamerican ritual activity into the Chacoan world.

Their conclusion suggests that the adoption of Mesoamerican ritual, or a local manifestation of it, took form around AD 1000 by elite individuals or groups in the American Southwest.

A more recent study, however, demonstrated that the consumption of cacao in the American Southwest was much more complicated than first imagined. Following in the footsteps of Crown and Hurst's (2009) study, Washburn and colleagues (2011) discerned evidence of theobromine from the interiors of Chacoan vessels at Pueblo Bonito and the surrounding region in both elite and non-elite contexts. It was also recovered from fourteenth-century Hohokam ceramic vessels from elite contexts in the platform-mound site of Los Muertos (*ibid.*). This study sought to test for cacao consumption in relation to previously observed patterns of nonlocal vessel forms that periodically occurred in the long history of the Southwest, forms that have analogues in vessel sets used in cacao consumption in Mesoamerica (*ibid.*).

As a comparison, this study also tested for cacao in local forms of vessels that were found in small farming communities (Washburn et al. 2011). Somewhat surprisingly, evidence of cacao was found in 50 of the 75 vessels tested, in both elite and

commoner contexts, and in both local and nonlocal vessel forms (ibid.). In their estimation, the appearance of cacao in the American Southwest was tied to the expanding demand for Southwestern turquoise that began to take form in Mesoamerica during the Postclassic period (ibid.). The occurrence of cacao in small, non-elite sites in Chaco Canyon was thought to relate to the processing of turquoise and the use of cacao as payment to local workers who processed turquoise for trade (ibid.).

In assessing the location from where cacao and nonlocal vessel forms in the Southwest may have come, the authors proposed that the strong similarities in vessel form between Chacoan and ceramic assemblages from Monte Alban in Oaxaca (MA IIIa-IIIb) as well as certain similarities in Classic Maya depictions of cylinder jars indicated some form of interaction between the two broad regions (Washburn et al. 2011). The similarities are so strong that they proposed that, “. . . such identities in vessel content, form, and features are manifestations of direct and extensive interactions between the two regions” (ibid.). While it is difficult to discern direct interaction between these specific cultural groups and the American Southwest at the moment, I do agree with the author’s general conclusion that higher degrees of interaction, perhaps even directly, were the mechanisms by which Chacoan and Hohokam people obtained their cacao and their new vessel forms from the south. The question remains, however, from where did Southwestern people obtain their cacao and in what ritual context? To answer this question, one must seek to understand the cultural developments of the intermediary regions in Northwest Mesoamerica during the Postclassic period, particularly those of the Azatlán tradition.

The conclusions of Washburn and colleagues indicate that cacao consumption in the American Southwest dated between AD 900 and AD 1400 (*ibid.*), a temporal frame that roughly brackets the beginning of the expansion of the Chacoan Great House tradition in the northern Southwest and the end of the Casas Grandes tradition in Northwest Mexico. Furthermore, it seems particularly relevant that this time frame is conspicuously aligned with the rise and demise of the Aztatlán tradition and the rise of the initial and secondary phase of the appearance of Flower World symbolism and ritual in the larger region.

Cacao found at Chaco Canyon likely was imported or brought from Aztatlán societies in coastal Nayarit, the northernmost cacao-growing region at Contact, and a major center of Flower World ritualism in antiquity. In Chapter 10, I argue that in all probability, cacao was consumed at Paquimé and in the Casas Grandes region, perhaps in vessel forms ranging from small bowls ornamented with flower designs as well as from a foreign form of annular-based goblets. This proposition will need to be validated through residue analyses, a future line of research planned by the present author. Perhaps what is most significant is that cacao in Mesoamerica during the Postclassic period appears to have been closely tied to the Flower World complex and Xochipilli in particular, as he is portrayed in certain codices as the patron of cacao, as a cacao trader, and as an oracle who is given offerings of cacao (see Chapter 10). Given the close relationship between the advent of Xochipilli worship and the rise of the Aztatlán tradition in parts of West Mexico, a closer examination of the material culture of Aztatlán sites as well as a discussion of ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts of cacao use in West Mexico

seems especially pertinent for identifying the specific locale for the growth and distribution of cacao in this multi-regional chain of interaction and exchange.

The Ritual Use of Cacao (Chocolate) in Historic and Contemporary West Mexico

To identify which region in Mesoamerica served as the source of cacao for people in the American Southwest roughly between AD 900 and AD 1400, it is instructive to begin with an examination of ethnohistoric and ethnographic documentation for evidence of the ritual use of cacao among contemporary indigenous people. This analysis serves as a platform for examining the archaeological record for evidence of cultural continuity in the ancient use of cacao in regions that likely played a major factor in the transmission of this precious commodity to the Southwest. As it happens, the most abundant and northernmost evidence for cacao and chocolate use among indigenous people in the historic and contemporary era is among the Cora and Huichol people of West Mexico, the probable descendants of Aztatlán people. As described below, evidence for the cultivation, trade, and ritual use of cacao in the historic era among these groups serves to strengthen the argument that the ritual use of cacao in the core coastal and highland heartland of the Aztatlán tradition has long been important.

From among the earliest encounters between Spaniards and indigenous peoples in the sixteenth century who were living along the coastal region of Nayarit and Jalisco, the southernmost coastal extent of the Aztatlán region, cacao was noted as a commodity that was grown and traded. A recently published map that illustrates the zones of cacao cultivation at Contact depicts coastal Nayarit as the northernmost region in which cacao

was cultivated (see McNeil 2006b: fig. 1.2). In an article detailing the historic period economies and specializations of indigenous towns in Nayarit, Feldman (1978b) listed a number of market towns or communities that grew or traded cacao that were under Spanish control in a concentrated part of the Nayarit coast. The documentation from which he drew these data were tax records of the AD 1525-1550 expeditions of Francisco Cortés, the cousin of Hernán Cortés, that extended from Colima to as far north as the Río Santiago in Nayarit (ibid.: 141). In Nayarit, the coastal towns that produced or traded for cacao were mainly concentrated around Matanchen Bay and southwards. A map that depicts the market towns described by Feldman is illustrated in Mountjoy (1978: fig. 20). The region in which cacao was noted to have been grown or traded is notable in that it roughly corresponds to the point at which the north/south oriented Sierra Madre Occidental meets the coast in Nayarit and Jalisco, beginning just south of the modern town of San Blas in Nayarit. This area is roughly the transition point from the hot, dry, and flat coastal plain to the more hilly coastal region, a zone with micro-climates that probably were suitable for cacao cultivation.

Feldman (1978b: 142, table 16) listed a number of towns or markets (“*tiangués*”) that had evidence of cacao, including the coastal trading center of Quexipan near San Blas and, moving southward, the towns of Quacatlan, Mecatlan, Tecomatlan, and Chacala. In this region, cacao was common in the very humid Upper Piedmont. Citing Mariano de Torres (1965: 57), Mountjoy (2000: 96) noted that cacao was also an important cash crop in coastal valleys to the south near Banderas Bay, Jalisco, by AD

1530, a region that is not too far removed from the cacao-growing zones of coastal Nayarit.

In comments appended to Mountjoy's (1978) discussion of prehispanic West Mexican cultural developments, Feldman (in Mountjoy 1978: fn. 10) drew attention to accounts of cacao from Francisco Cortés's expedition to Nayarit. From these accounts dating to AD 1525, Feldman (ibid.) pointed out that Quexipan, a town with 115 house and 230 men, traded with a town to the south named Tecomatlan, "... where there was cacao" (cited from Coria 1937: 564). Furthermore, perhaps the most explicit evidence for cacao cultivation in this region is the description of the town of Tlagonalachitipan and its subject ranch of Quacatlan, located near the Santa Cruz River in this same region of coastal Nayarit. Feldman (in Mountjoy 1978: fn. 10) noted that this town and ranch together had 170 houses and 311 men while Coria (1937: 564) indicated: "They harvest in this town much cotton, and at the ranch some cacao, although little" (translated by Feldman [in Mountjoy 1978: fn. 10]). This account clearly indicates that the cultivation of cacao indeed was known in this region by AD 1525. In my estimation, the cultivation of cacao in this area probably is of some antiquity, probably extending into the beginning of the Aztatlán era (see discussion below). These towns on the coasts traded among themselves and with inland communities such as Tepique (Tepic) and Xalisco (L. Feldman in Mountjoy 1978: fn. 10; Mountjoy 1978: fig. 20).

Cacao was also mentioned for the San Blas region in AD 1605 (Mota y Escobar 1940: 82; Mountjoy 2000: 102). Between AD 1602 and AD 1605, Alonso de la Mota y

Escobar (1940: 81-82; cited in Mountjoy 1970: 117) visited the area around Santa Cruz near San Blas and took note of the fields of cacao and cotton, stating,

. . . es tierra caliente, y tienen much y Buena pesquería en la mar, de ostra, sardine, pompanos, y otros muchos géneros de peces; tienen esto algunos por granjería y otros cosechas de algodón y algunos heredades de cacao.

This comment makes clear that cacao continued to be cultivated into the early seventeenth century in the heart of the Aztatlán core coastal region. The subject of cacao use in Aztatlán societies is discussed in more detail below.

The idea that cacao use is integral to indigenous ritualism in the region is of some importance. This importance is evident in the ethnographic literature of the Cora and Huichol, the probable descendants of Aztatlán people, who today use modern chocolate in their rituals dedicated to the ancestors, gods, and the Sun. Perhaps the earliest, but most revelatory, ethnohistoric account of the use of cacao in the post-Contact and pre-Conquest period is that of Tomás de Solchaga, a Jesuit friar who accompanied an expedition by General Mendiola in AD 1716 to the Cora territory at the Mesa del Nayar (see Warner 1997: 138-142). Upon arriving to the Mesa del Nayar, the Spanish party of one hundred-thirty individuals was met by Cora military leaders and a contingent of 400 armed warriors ornamented with many-colored plumed headdresses and body paint (ibid.: 139). The next morning, the Spaniards assembled in a plaza where they were met by around 500 people, including the Cora nobility, priests, and the “governor” (ibid.) who was surrounded by twelve captains wearing flowered crowns, some with silver. At his meeting, the Cora priests performed a ceremony to honor the sun in which “a chocolate drink was consumed after the first drink was offered to the Sun” (ibid.: 140). As Ortega

(1944 [1754]: 70) described it, “. . . se les dió asiento y chocolate que bebieron gustosos, hacienda antes sus ceremonias gentílicas de ofrecer al sol el primer bocado.”

Following the entreaties of the Spanish, the Cora rejected Spanish rule and conversion to Christianity “. . . since it would offend the sun to whom they and their ancestors had always rendered homag[e], and they feared incurring the sun’s anger and punishments” (translated in Warner 1997: 140). These passages indicate that prior to the AD 1722 conquest, the Cora elite and the high priests engaged in ritual offerings of cacao to the Sun before engaging in ritual consumption of a chocolate beverage among themselves. This Sun God, to whom they had always rendered homage, is undoubtedly the Sun God Xochipilli/Piltzintli.

Considering that pre-Conquest rituals of chocolate consumption were intimately related to the Sun, it is telling that more recent twentieth century rituals involving chocolate consumption among the Huichol are also oriented to the Sun. One tradition reported by Fikes (1985: 126) described the birth of the Sun from his sacred mountain in the east:

There in the east the Sun-Father has arisen. Our Sun-Father has blessed all the world directions . . . Four times Sun-Father tried to lift himself off the ground but could not do it. The fifth time he succeeded there at Paritecūa. As he ascended from Paritecūa, the Sun-Father carried with him the chocolate . . .

This passage clearly indicates that chocolate is closely related to the dawning Sun.

Robert Zingg (1938) also noted examples of chocolate consumption among the Huichol, though he suggested that the use of chocolate was a more recent phenomenon in indigenous rites. He (ibid.: 272) noted:

If, among the Huichols, there was any pre-hispanic use of chocolate, the Aztec “drink of the gods,” I was disappointed to find no evidence of it in Huichol mythology. The Indians now merely buy the little round cakes of chocolate, a typical Mexican folk preparation. During the ceremonies these are dissolved in tiny god-bowls of water and offered on the altar. During the feast which follows the ceremony, the dignitaries, who may be present, are offered it to drink.

Despite Zingg’s uncertainty as to the era in which chocolate was first used among the Huichol, this account indicates that chocolate is something that holds strong religious significance in contemporary ceremonies involving individuals of elevated status. He (ibid.: 273) further noted that as the ceremony continued: “They [sweetbread] are crumbled in the chocolate water. After the ceremonies everyone, or at least the principal men and women, get a bite of this ambrosia and nectar.”

Lumholtz (1902: 2: 166) described an offering in front of a Huichol god house to a little image of a god (Grandfather Fire) constructed in stone atop a tuff disk, and a separate image of the same deity placed underneath the disk: “In front of it [the statue] had been placed a few ceremonial arrows with symbolic attachments, a votive bowl, and a small tuff disk, on which the god’s food is offered, such as grains of corn, bread, chocolate, tevino [fermented corn beer], etc.” A moment later, Lumholtz (ibid.) remarked that this deity placed above the ground converses with the sun in the daytime while the one underneath the tuff disk spoke with the sun in the evening when the sun was traveling underground. This account indicates that, among other items, offerings of chocolate to deities closely related to the Sun remained important at the turn of the early twentieth century.

Fikes (2011: 26) reported that other Huichol gods also request chocolate as offerings, such as Grandfather Fire, who assists Huichol deer hunters. Valadez (2010: 85, 6.10) noted that offerings of chocolate water are made to the effigy of the Corn Mother Niwetzika on her altar. In addition, chocolate was even noted to have been given as offerings to the crystallized souls of ancestors (*urukame*) that were kept in Huichol god houses or *xiriki* (Fikes 2011: 52). One Huichol consultant noted that in order for Huichol to obtain Ne'acame, a sort of spiritual power invested in sacred stones linked to the planet Venus that is crucial for ritual specialists (ibid.: 41): "One must offer chocolate [in water] or ground peyote [in water] to the Sun Father" (ibid.: 58). This passage indicates a close tie between the Sun, the planet Venus, and a source of spiritual power that all are closely linked to offerings of chocolate. Considering that the onset of the Aztatlán tradition first saw the rise of a new form of Venus and Sun worship, it is feasible that the use of cacao also arose with this new worship in the larger region. This topic is discussed in more detail below.

An offering of chocolate and other items to certain Huichol gods is also important to obtain *tocari*, a form of life energy bestowed upon children that gives them the breath of life and helps them to grow (Fikes 2011: 114-115). In fact, the *tocari* is said to be present within the chocolate (ibid.: 115). Among the Huichol, chocolate is also prepared to feed the Ha'yorime, the everlasting waters which embody the ancestors (ibid.: 129). Even in the early twenty-first century, pure chocolate was also offered as payment to the Cora Urraca dancers (Coyle 2001: 168), who are closely linked to rain. These accounts cumulatively indicate a close connection between chocolate, the Sun Father and other

gods such as Venus, the ancestors, the sacred place of the dawning sun in the east, the breath of life and growth, and rain spirits. For the pre-Conquest Cora, the consumption of chocolate was a central focus of rituals centered upon the Sun God Xochipilli/Piltzintli. These facts suggest that chocolate consumption is an integral part of Cora and Huichol ritual that remains evident in the present day and likely formed part of prehispanic ceremonialism in the region. To determine the time depth of cacao use in the distant past, one must examine the archaeological material culture from Aztatlán sites in order to discern evidence indicative of cacao consumption.

Evidence of Cacao Consumption in Aztatlán Material Culture

Without the benefit of having performed residue analyses on ceramic vessels, perhaps the best means of discerning the use of cacao among Aztatlán societies is through the examination of specialized vessel forms. At the onset of the Postclassic period, and with the rise of the Aztatlán cultural tradition, a new vessel form began to appear in the material culture record, namely tall cylindrical vessels. As is well known for Classic Maya societies, tall cylindrical vessels have a close association with cacao preparation and consumption. The main region in which cylindrical vessels are known at this time, roughly between AD 900 and 1350, is the core coastal heartland of Nayarit and southern Sinaloa. Unfortunately, except for a couple of cylinder-style vessels excavated from Amapa in coastal Nayarit, the majority of cylinder vessels known are unprovenienced, though of clear Aztatlán affiliation. For example, these vessel forms are known in private

collections from northern Nayarit and southern Sinaloa while others are found in a variety of local and regional museums in the region (**Figs. 8.2a-8.2d, 8.3a-8.3d**).

There exists a number of variations of these Aztatlán cylinder vessels, many of which average roughly 25-30 cm in height. Some of these are tall, roughly parallel-sided vessels, some have more rounded bases that taper slightly up towards the top of the vessel, some are tripod-footed vessels while others are flat-bottomed. Though these vessels have not been conclusively proven to have held cacao beverages, it seems most probable that these forms are likely candidates and are among the first that should be tested. Future residue analyses on a variety of these vessel forms are planned by the author.

Some of these Aztatlán vessel forms, particularly those that are parallel-sided or tapered vessels with no tripod legs, have analogues with the schematic depictions of Chacoan cylindrical vessel forms published by Pepper (1920: fig. 45). Two differences between Aztatlán and Chacoan cylinder vessels are (1) Chacoan vessels do not have tripod feet as do Aztatlán vessels and (2) Aztatlán cylinder vessels currently known do not have the lugs or bail handles as do Chacoan cylinder vessels (see *ibid.*). This perception may change as more excavations of Aztatlán sites commence. It is notable, however, that lugs do occur on other Aztatlán vessels. These differences between Chacoan and Aztatlán cylinder vessels are minor and may simply be local variations. The main point is that the Aztatlán cylinder vessels that probably held cacao date to as early as AD 900, perhaps one hundred years or less prior to evidence for Chacoan cacao use.

It is important to keep in mind that cylinder vessels are not the only form in which cacao was consumed in antiquity. For example, as I note in Chapter 10, cacao was also consumed from small bowls as well as from annular-based goblets. Another form of vessel from which cacao was consumed in Mesoamerica were globular-shaped tripod vessels. For example, page 13 of the *Codex Nuttall* depicts an individual holding a tripod globular vessel overflowing with precious cacao (**Fig. 8.8a**). This form of vessel is quite similar to those evident in the Aztlán region, a vessel form that appears to have existed in this region only after the onset of the Postclassic period (**Figs. 8.8b-8.8d**). Examples of these vessel forms are known from the sites of Guasave in northern Sinaloa (Ekholm 1942: figs. 7d, 7g-7k), and Amapa in coastal Nayarit, in museum collections located in Puerto Vallarta and the Museo Regional de Nayarit in Tepic, while others are in private collections in northern Nayarit.

The point is that these globular tripod ollas are rather common in Aztlán assemblages and deserve attention as probable vessels for cacao consumption, particularly as this vessel form is portrayed in highland Central Mexican codices as being used for that purpose (see Chapter 10). Undoubtedly, more of these vessel forms recovered *in situ* will come to light as archaeological research in the Aztlán region accelerates in the coming years. While the vessel forms themselves strongly suggest a use tied to cacao-oriented ceremonialism, this proposed function is strengthened by the appearance of Flower World-related iconography and design elements, namely the lobed elements that encircle the body of these vessels illustrated in Figures 8.8b-8.8d, as well as on other forms such as bowls. These design elements and their symbolic significance are

discussed below. Other Aztatlán vessel forms, such as cups or small hemispherical bowls that were used as serving vessels, also deserve attention for the possible presence of cacao, though these forms will not be addressed further in the present work.

In sum, archaeological evidence of Aztatlán vessel forms reveal that minimally, two foreign vessel forms that appear in coastal West Mexico during the Postclassic period, namely tall cylinder vessels and tripod globular ollas, appear to be prime candidates for evidence of cacao consumption. Only future residue analyses of these vessel forms, as well as a number of other serving vessels such as small bowls and cups, will decisively confirm these postulations. While vessel forms hold clues to their function and use, designs and symbolism on these vessels and others add support to the notion that some of these were used in cacao-drinking rites as well as closely related Flower World rites. The relationship between cacao and Flower World symbolism on Aztatlán vessels is described below.

The Aroma and Nectar of Flowers: Floral Symbolism on Aztatlán Ceramic Vessels

Considering that worship of the young Sun God Xochipilli/Piltzintli became manifest in portions of West Mexico in the Early Postclassic period, it is reasonable to speculate that attendant depictions of flowers in the symbolism should accompany these rites. Portrayals of flowers do not appear to form any significant component of the symbolic corpus of cultures in the larger region prior to the rise of the Aztatlán tradition. The identification of flower imagery in Aztatlán symbolic repertoire strengthens the argument that conceptual metaphors in this tradition were centered upon a number of

interrelated ideas, including the perception of the ancestors as flowers and floral breath, clouds of smoke as the symbolic aromatic essence of flowers, and the consumption of the symbolic nectar of flowers.

In the process of photographing vessel imagery and analyzing the symbol sets on Aztatlán wares, one motif quickly stood out as being both redundant and widespread in many Aztatlán sites and on a number of different ceramic types and vessel forms. This motif can be described simply as a lobed design that encircles the entirety of the exterior of a bowl or other vessel (**Figs. 8.4a-8.4d, 8.5a-8.5d, 8.6a-8.6c, 8.7a-8.7c, 8.8b-8.8d**). This lobed design is pervasive, and it is often painted, incised, or modeled in relief onto vessel exteriors, primarily on fine serving vessels rather than on cooking wares. The redundancy and distinctiveness of this design is such that portions of it can often be recognized even on small sherds. The tops of the lobes on these vessels are often double-lined, also making them easy to distinguish even on the smallest of ceramic fragments. Oftentimes, but not always, a series of small circles or spirals are set around the vessel just above the lobe-like elements (**Figs. 8.4a, 8.4c-8.4d, 8.5c, 8.6a, 8.7c**). While these motifs are recognizable on sherds, the full portrayal of these motifs on whole vessels yields a different perspective on the significance of their meaning.

In my estimation, these lobed designs were specifically intended to represent floral petals. The placement of these designs around an entire vessel lends the impression that the bowls themselves were intended to represent bowls as open floral blossoms. Thus, as an individual in an Aztatlán community held a bowl or other vessel in their hands and consumed the liquid or food within, they were symbolically perceived to be

drinking the nectar of an open floral blossom. The perception of vessels as open floral blossoms has been documented in floral and solar bowls in Postclassic highland Central Mexico and Veracruz (Taube 2010a). The occurrence of Azatlán floral bowls predates later examples of Classic Mimbres bowls with apparent open flower motifs as well as an example of a bowl with a large central floral blossom from the Pueblo IV-period Zuni pueblo of Hawikuh, New Mexico (**Figs. 8.8e-8.8f**).

The small spiral and circular motifs that were previously noted to hover over the lobed design may well refer to pollen and wind-like aroma emanating from the open floral bowl, the symbolic breath of the flower. Taube (2001) noted that in Mesoamerican symbolism spirals and volutes commonly refer to breath and wind. The perception that these spiraled elements refer to the solar-related breath and wind is given some credence in other Azatlán imagery. A common motif in Santiago Engraved wares (ca. AD 1350+) are flocks of hummingbirds, a bird strongly affiliated with the sun, portrayed with distinctive circular torsos and small angular wings (**Figs. 8.11a-8.11d**). Interspersed amongst these scenes of flying hummingbirds is the redundant motif of spirals, surely an allusion to the hummingbirds flying amongst wind-like aromatic elements.

Finally, a Santiago Engraved sherd from Peñitas portrays a portion of entwined plumed serpents that are lined with a series of spirals upon the bodies, surely an allusion to the plumed serpent as a being of breath and wind (**see Fig. 6.11b**). Spirals also appear on the body of a geometric-style plumed serpent portrayed on a Tuxpan Engraved bowl (**Fig. 6.10c**). That this latter bowl dates to the Early Postclassic suggests an affinity

between spiraling breath/wind and the plumed serpent from the onset of the appearance of this deity and these ideas in West Mexico.

Notably, a recent field survey around the Early to Middle Postclassic site of Chacalilla indicated that spirals were the dominant motif (Ohnersorgen, pers. comm. 2011). Spirals accounted for 19 of the 20 petroglyphs recorded at the site, not including a few other spirals that were unrecorded (*ibid.*). The ubiquity of these motifs suggests that this apparent wind complex dates to the onset of the Postclassic period.

For the contemporary Huichol, Zingg (1938: 245) noted that wind is a favorite messenger of the gods. Hummingbirds appear to be closely related to and perhaps even conflated with the wind. For instance, Zingg (*ibid.*) indicated that wind is able to talk or communicate, and it is said that the hummingbird can be considered as wind personified. He (*ibid.*) noted: “As such, wind is personified sufficiently to be both a humming-bird and the wind, and able to talk.” Preuss reported that, among the Cora, the hummingbird was a messenger of the Sun (cited in Fikes et al. 2004: 111, fn. 48). Thus, these scenes of hummingbird flocks surrounded by wind elements likely relate to the role of hummingbirds as the wind-like messengers of the gods in the Aztatlán era.

The small circular elements in Aztatlán floral imagery, often with a central dot, may well represent pollen. Some support for this proposition can be found in a remarkable cross-sectioned portrayal of a flower blossom on a Peñitas Engraved ware (AD 1100-1350) of unproven origin from southern Sinaloa or northern Nayarit, now housed in the Biblioteca Publica in San Felipe Aztatlán (**Fig. 8.12a**). This Aztatlán image is clearly intended to represent a flower and includes many of the structural

components including the receptacle, the perianth (sepal or petals), the pistil (ovary, style, and stigma), and the stamen (anther and filament). This portrayal of a cross-sectioned flower is nearly identical to contemporary depictions of the component parts of flowers found in plant biology books (see Stern et al. 2003: fig. 8.5). Floating within and around the open flower are a number of small circles with a central dot. These circles, much like those that hover above the open floral bowls, probably represent the floating pollen. Notably, a prominent depiction of a human head set within the flower marks this as a portrayal of a probable ancestral figure as a personified flower, a clear indicator of an ideology of the Flower World. *En face* portrayals of humans set within flowers also are present on an Ixcuintla Polychrome (AD 1100-1350) from Amapa as is a split-view depiction of a bird, identified by its distinctive circular torso and small wings, shown alighting upon an open flower in imagery from the same vessel (**Fig. 8.12b-8.12c**).

Another iconographic example of these circular elements again helps to clarify that these floating circular elements likely signify pollen. One unidentified polychrome ware from the Aztatlán site of Coamiles, located on the coastal plain of Nayarit just north of Amapa, depicts a series of three individuals (**Fig. 8.13a**). The postures of these figures, with arms raised and one foot lifted slightly off the ground, strongly signifies that these individuals are engaged in the act of dancing. Notably, surrounding these individuals are a series of the floating circular elements with the central dot. These elements likely indicate that the figures are dancing in a realm of floral pollen.

Perhaps reemphasizing the solar nature of this scene, a single hummingbird, identifiable by its head, long beak, circular thorax, and a square wing tipped by short

lines, flutters in mid-flight (**Fig. 8.13b**). The idea that these Aztatlán individuals are dancing in a realm of pollen is strikingly similar to a description of Cora dancers in the culminating moments of the colorful and floral realm evoked in the Pachitero Festival. As Coyle (2001: 145-146) described it:

. . . [T]he pachiteros are covered in a shower of yellow pinolito [pine tree pollen] tossed by cargo officials . . . [and] commercial dyes, which are also splashed over the pachiteros until they become entirely saturated in color. Finally, multi-colored store-bought candies are brought out, and big handfuls are tossed in colorful arches over the assembled group . . . People say the pollen and dye are like rain and the hard candies are like hail. This colorful shower of pollen, dye, and candy, then, reflects the type of rainy season fecundity . . . brought to the earth.

This contemporary Cora dance and the culminating shower of pollen that represents fecundity and the colors of life bears striking thematic resemblance to the scene portrayed on the vessel from Coamiles. In all probability, this group of Aztatlán individuals is dancing amidst a shower of pollen in the flowery world of the rains brought about by the ancestral rain spirits and the Sun God.

The occurrence of the distinctive lobe-like design around vessels also is manifested on another material culture object, the bowls of ceramic smoking pipes. Kelley (2000: 139) noted that the presence of ceramic pipes in the Aztatlán region grew in intensity from the Early to Late Postclassic. This conclusion is notable in that it suggests an increasing adherence to attendant ideologies tied to symbolic rain-making and cloud production. The lobed design has been noted on pipes in museum and private collections from unprovenienced locales in central and northern Nayarit as well as one from the community museum in Chametla, Sinaloa (**Figs. 8.9a-8.9d**).

The lobed design noted around Aztatlán pipe bowls suggests that the pipes themselves served as symbolic open floral blossoms, such that the emanating smoke would be akin to the production and emanation of floral aroma. These clouds of floral smoke also symbolically represented the rain-filled clouds of ancestors. Earlier scholars who studied Aztatlán material culture noted the flower-like shape of these pipe bowls. For instance, Ekholm (1942: 83) noted that pipe bowls from Guasave, Sinaloa have “a four-lobed or petalled effect”. Kelly (1945: 133) noted that pipe bowls from Culiacán, Sinaloa are “rosettelike”.

This perception of clouds of smoke as floral aroma may even remain evident among the contemporary Huichol. Siegel and colleagues (1977) noted that Huichol mix the yellow flowers of the marigold (*Tagetes lucida*) with their tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*), the result being a “more pleasant-smelling smoke.” That the marigold flower is so closely related to the young Sun God Xochipilli in West Mexico suggests that the mixture of these flowers with tobacco is designed to evoke, or bring into existence, the floral aromatic realm of the Sun. Taube (2000a: 278-280) described the important ritual use of *Tagetes lucida*, or *yauhtli*, in highland Central Mexico as incense (symbolic clouds) and in relation to rites of fertility and abundance.

The use of pipes among contemporary Huichol and Cora, and the production of smoke in general, is closely tied to cloud- and rain-making, acts that are intimately related to the ancestral cloud and rain spirits. The Huichol and Cora ancestors, of course, are closely linked to the flowery world of the rains. In Huichol traditions, smoke from burning fields is closely identified as rain clouds (Lumholtz 1900: 20). Similarly, Cora

traditions indicate that the ancestors “arrive dancing with the rain-clouds that emanate from their pipes as they smoke” (Lumholtz 1902: 523). These accounts are strikingly similar to contemporary Puebloan rites of rain- and cloud-making (see Schaafsma and Taube 2006).

Given the portrayal of flower-like symbolism on Aztatlán pipe bases, the act of smoking for the production of rain clouds probably dates to the onset of evidence for widespread pipe-smoking in the Aztatlán region in the Postclassic period. Pipe-smoking rituals are graphically portrayed in one Middle Postclassic-period Iguanas Polychrome illustrated by Von Winning (1977: figs. 1-2). This scene depicts four individuals seated on stools, one wearing a large solar disk on his back, with three of the four holding small pipes up to their mouth or in front of their face (**Fig. 8.10a-8.10d**). One pipe in this scene, held by the individual seated at far right, is particularly noteworthy. Directly above the pipe bowl of this individual are three elements in the form of “exclamation points”. As is well known, in Mesoamerican symbolism, this motif is symbolic of raindrops. These designs occur beneath clouds on Middle Formative Olmec monuments from Chalcatzingo, Morelos, and are even present in Contact-period period depictions of clouds with falling rain, and in front of the Rain God Tlaloc (**Figs. 8.10e-8.10g**).

The depiction of an Aztatlán individual smoking a pipe with elements of rain above the pipe bowl clearly signifies smoking as a rain-making act. Furthermore, this portrayal indicates that some Aztatlán artists were familiar with highland Central Mexican artistic conventions for portraying specific motifs, such as raindrops. The pipe

of another smoker has a volute that emanates from the bowl, likely an allusion to smoke/clouds (**Fig. 8.10c**).

Notably, in this scene, a volute emerges from the foot of one of the ritual smokers, much as if the volute was intended to represent sound emanating from the foot as it was struck hard against the ground (Fig. 8.10a, far right). Zingg (1938: 613-614) pointed out that for the Huichol, foot stomping was a means by which to communicate with the gods, some of whom lived as far away as the bottom of the sea. In some instances, the sound of foot stomping has the power to cause thunder, which is closely associated with rain (ibid.: 614). The ritual act of making thunder and rain by stomping the foot seems to be an appropriate interpretation of the actions of the ritual smoker in the scene on the Aztatlán vessel. The stomping of his foot and the act of smoking each are mechanisms for the production of rain, thunder, and clouds.

To summarize, the onset of the Postclassic period saw the appearance of a new form of solar worship centered upon the Sun God Xochipilli and the Flower World complex. With this complex came new forms of ceramic vessels, including tall cylindrical vessels and globular tripod vases, among others. These new vessel forms appear to be close analogues to vessels used in cacao consumption elsewhere in Mesoamerica. In all probability, these new vessels in the Aztatlán region were used in rites of cacao-drinking or preparation. It seems beyond coincidental that these new vessel forms appeared across the coastal plain of Nayarit and southern Sinaloa, the core coastal zone of the Aztatlán tradition, and beyond at the same time that Xochipilli worship was flourishing in this region.

It also is conspicuous that these vessel forms occurred in such proximity to early Contact-period zones of cacao cultivation and trade, as described above. The early Historic-period cacao zones along Matanchen Bay of coastal Nayarit are exceedingly close and just south of major Aztlán sites such as Chacalilla, Amapa, Coamiles, and others. In all probability, these cacao cultivation zones along the coast probably are of great antiquity and likely served as the source of cacao, not just for Aztlán temple-town centers from the onset of the Postclassic, but for distant cacao consumers such as Chaco Canyon and most probably at Paquimé as well. Cacao consumption, ritual smoking, and the consumption of other foods and liquids from symbolic floral vessels are clearly related to the Flower World complex of Xochipilli and the ancestral rains. The consumption of cacao and other liquids from floral vases would be symbolically akin to consuming the nectar of an open flower. The act of ritual smoking, with pipe bowls as symbolic open flowers, and the stomping of feet would be akin to producing thunder and clouds of floral aroma and rain-filled clouds.

Feasting and the Flower World in Ancient and Contemporary West Mexico

As the preceding discussion implies, evidence of cacao consumption and a plethora of serving bowls and other vessel forms laden with flower imagery strongly suggests a component of community and regionwide feasting that is strongly associated with the Flower World. The use of multiple ceramic types imbued with Xochipilli-oriented Flower World symbolism in many different areas suggests a pan-regional ideology that may have served to interlink elites and sites into a multi-ethnic system of

political alliances. These bonds may have been strengthened with ritual feasting, marriage alliances, and gift exchange, much as has been described by Pohl (1994a, 2001, 2003a, 2007) for the Mixtec-Eastern Nahuatl-Zapotec region, the area from which the Aztlán politico-religious complex likely originated. Thus, it would have been the Aztlán region with its Flower World-oriented feasting complex, flourishing in West Mexico after AD 900, that served as the inspiration and intermediate locale by which the Xochipilli-oriented feasting complex was transmitted from highland Central Mexico to Paquimé and thereafter to the American Southwest (see Chapter 10).

Feasting and large-scale food preparation remains important in Huichol ceremonies where gourd bowls of food are prepared for ceremonial participants and spectators as well as for offerings to deities. Many photographs by Robert Zingg depict offerings of food during Huichol feasts, such as the Ceremony to Prepare the Soil for Seed (see Valadez 2010: fig. 6.9), the Corn Goddess Ceremony (see Powell and Grady 2010: pls. 51-52), and the Ceremony of Parched Corn (see *ibid.*: pl. 56), among others.

Early-twentieth-century descriptions of the Ceremony to Prepare the Soil for Seed indicated that “the altar itself is principally a huge pile of sacred food . . .” (Zingg 1938: 656). The nature of feasting among the Huichol was further described by Zingg (*ibid.*: 655):

It is characteristic of the elaboration and artistry of the Huichol ceremonies that each ceremony should have a special preparation of food, each different from the other. This special preparation of ceremonial food is of two sorts: one, a preparation of festal food for distributing lavishly to the guests; and, second, the preparation of sacred food for placing on the altar as an offering to the gods.

Notably, the close relationship between feasting and the Sun among the Huichol is evident as feasting was commanded by the Sun Father. As Zingg (*ibid.*: 655-656) noted:

The festal foods [of the peyote ceremony] are tamales, deer-soup, and mush from different colors of corn. For this feast mush the color of chocolate is preferred, as was more or less commanded in the mythology, since the Sun-father ordered the people to gather five kernels of different colors of corn to be ground into flour to be offered to him.

In contrast to this ceremony, festal foods in the First Fruits Ceremony are green corn and squash (*ibid.*: 657). Thus, though feasting remains important throughout the ceremonial cycle during the year, the nature and types of feasting foods changes along with the seasons. Such was likely the case in antiquity in the Aztatlán region where the Sun God Xochipilli/Piltzintli likely commanded different foods to be prepared for feasting during the ceremonial cycle. These foods were likely consumed in temple-town centers and surrounding communities by ritual participants and made as offerings to ancestors and deities in floral-ornamented bowls and other similarly ornamented vessels.

In Aztatlán communities of Postclassic West Mexico, ritual feasting appears to have been integral in the ceremonial cycle oriented to the sun and maize, much as is known among indigenous communities in the region today. The onset of this feasting complex coincided with the florescence of a new form of solar worship centered upon the young Sun God Xochipilli. This feasting involved the use of serving wares designed to resemble open floral blossoms, such that ritual participants were perceived as symbolically consuming food or drink from a flower. Evidence from vessel forms such as tall cylinders or globular-shaped tripods, some in the form of symbolic flowers, suggests

that this feasting likely involved the consumption of cacao, most likely by dignitaries or higher-status individuals.

Ethnohistoric evidence suggests that a major region for cacao cultivation, likely extending into the Postclassic period, was just south of the Nayarit coastal plain near Matanchen Bay, where the Sierra Madre Occidental begins to meet the Pacific Ocean. This cacao-growing region likely supplied cacao to regional elites for Flower World feasting ceremonies. This region is also the probable source of cacao for high-status individuals at Chaco Canyon who sought knowledge of the Flower World, as evident in the initial appearance of Flower World symbolism in their material culture. While residue testing on Casas Grandes wares is yet to be undertaken, vessel forms and floral and Sun Youth symbolism suggests that cacao probably was consumed in Flower World rites, though in different vessel forms than Chacoan or Aztatlán communities. The Aztatlán region was the origin of Flower World feasting in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest, though ultimate origins were in highland Central Mexico (see Chapter 10).

Flower World and the Ideology of Weaving and Cotton in Northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

The cosmological principles evident in the Huichol and Aztatlán conceptions of the alternating, but intertwined, rainy (agricultural) and dry (hunting) seasons, are evident not just in architecture (as described in Chapter 6), but on a smaller scale in the loom. The form of the Huichol loom is imbued with conceptual metaphors that link the alternating seasonal cycle of the ancestors and rains to the stepped pathway of the sun. A discussion of the religious symbolism of the loom, weaving, and cotton among

contemporary indigenous groups in West Mexico helps to shed light on our understanding of the solar and rain-oriented religious beliefs inherent in weaving and cotton for Aztlán people during the Postclassic period, an era when evidence of cotton production and weaving becomes abundant. This discussion also provides insight on the later florescence of similar ideologies in the Casas Grandes and Puebloan regions.

Among the Huichol, Schaefer (1989, 1993, 2002) documented the relationship between weaving and the sun and rains in great detail. Her analysis is integral for discerning the nature of religious beliefs of Aztlán people during the Postclassic period and deserves an extended discussion. In Huichol thought, weavers are like the spiders who orient their newly woven webs to face the rising sun (Schaefer 1989: 179). The act of weaving, and the loom itself, is imbued with layers of conceptual metaphors, not the least of which involves the metaphor of weaving a pathway towards the sacred lands of the east from where the sun arises (*ibid.*), a connection that closely ties weaving to the flowery world of the dawning sun.

Among the Huichol, implements of weaving, such as the spindle, also bear some connections to the Flower World. Spindle whorls are made of materials of special significance. The most traditional spindle whorls are made from the stem of squash, from which flowers and fruit emerge (Schaefer 1993: 119). The spindle shafts themselves, much like the wood components of the loom, are made of the red-colored Brazilwood, a wood with strong symbolic significance as “the heart of the Sun-father” (Schaefer 1993: 121; Zingg 1938: 646).

It should be recalled that, among the Cora of Nayarit, the highly symbolic and ritually powerful *chanaka* pole, that serves as a central symbol of the world and the circular seasonal cycle, is also likened to the metaphors inherent in the spindle whorl (Coyle 2001: 113). The eight-foot-tall *chanaka* pole is likened to the shaft of the spindle while the “wheel” at the top is likened to the disk-like spindle itself (ibid.: 57). Thus, as women spin the spindle, they are essentially continuing the rotation of the ceremonial cycle. In the baptism ritual, one of the first Cora rituals designed to introduce male and female children to the ceremonial *mitote* cycle, the young girls are stood facing a flower-covered altar on the eastern wall of a ceremonial room where they then receive a number of gifts, including a wooden spindle wound with black and white yarn (boys receive a hunting bow), a gift that is intended to represent her feminine role as a weaver (ibid.: 53). The black and white yarn is said to represent darkened clouds (ibid.: 108). Thus, as a girl or woman weaves, it is probable that they are perceived as symbolically weaving clouds, a clear link between weaving and symbolism for the production of rain and the return of the ancestors. Furthermore, the gifts for male and female children during these initiation rites represent gender-related activities associated with the alternating dry and rainy season activities.

Weaving among the Huichols is closely tied to the annual cycle of the sun and the dual seasonal divisions of the year. According to Schaefer (1989: 181):

Like the loom, where the warp is a continuous circle of yarn, with two layers of warp threads for double weave, Huichols envision time as having a dualistic nature that flows in a cyclical motion. This can be seen on a daily and seasonal basis, during ceremonial occasions, and through the life cycle of an individual.

In a sense, spinning yarn and weaving on the loom make the world and the ceremonial cycle go round. In one regard, the loom is imbued with an ideology of dualism, of day and night, of the rainy and dry season, and of male and female, all aspects that are closely tied to the path of the sun.

The warp yarns on the loom represent the pathway of the sun as well as the rain, with the yarn or thread on the front representing the path of the sun during the day and the yarns behind the loom representing the path of the sun during the night through the underworld (Schaefer 1989: 184-185). The sticks, beams, pickup sticks, heddle sticks, and rod sticks that are perpendicular to the yarn represent landmarks that the sun passes on his daily journey, landmarks that form a type of stairway or ladder representing the sun's pathway that extends from the east to the west (ibid.: 181). In fact, the top beam of the loom represents a sacred lake located behind the sacred eastern mountain Reunar (the following loom stick), from which clouds emerge to bring rain to the sierra. The bottom beam of the loom represents the far western ocean, the place where the western goddess Haramara resides, and the location of the sacred white rock (located off the coast near San Blas, Nayarit) where the sun sets and where the ancestors emerged to begin the first journey to Wirikuta (ibid.: 182-184). Thus as Huichol women weave a textile, they symbolically weave themselves into the path of the sun, the path by which the ancestors emerged from the west and journeyed eastward and upward (much like in the peyote pilgrimage) to the sacred Land of Dawn.

In another regard, the loom represents the two major periods of time, the rainy and dry seasons (Schaefer 1989: 185). In West Mexico, the dry season, considered to be

day-time, lasts roughly from January through May while the rainy season, considered to be the night-time, lasts from June through December (ibid.). The rainy period is considered to be a return to the primordial chaos and dangerous period before the sun was born while the dry season coincides with the birth of the sun and order.

The path of the sun and the return of the rain, symbolically replicated in the loom, are united in the annual seasonal cycle, much as the warp yarns are united when weaving.

As Schaefer (ibid.) noted:

These [weaving] movements enable the two layers of warp yarns to mesh together when weaving a design. The warp yarns represent the rays of the sun, as well as the rain. Although sun and rain can manifest themselves as two separate entities, they are in reality united: they are of the same essence. This concept includes the warp yarns, which are interchangeable as sun and rain. Like the warp and weft, the sun and rain are interwoven to make the annual cycle.

The loom, and the weaver's movements that occur during the act of weaving, reflect these interwoven concepts as expressed during female and male activities that occur during the rainy season and the dry season respectively.

When the rainy season is expressed in weaving, the loom and the weaver's bodily movements are closely related to weather and plant metaphors, including metaphors of growing plants, digging stick and planting imagery, and maize-field symbolism, among others. For example, Schaefer (1989: 186) noted:

The unwoven warp yarns, when still, are the sun. As the weaver pulls each heddle stick toward her to make a shed, she is bringing the winds, an essential element which carries the rain clouds to the Sierra. When the weaver places the pickup stick in the shed and with it moves the shed down the warp, she is making it rain.

At other points during the weaving process, the weaver symbolically digs holes with the planting stick, plants seeds, pounds the soil, and, as the weaving progresses towards completion, the it symbolically takes the form of a maize field with growing plants and roots, nourished by the sun and rain (ibid.). In other words, during the act of weaving, the Sun is moving along his pathway and brings along the rains to the land. This act results in a textile that serves as a virtual blanket of vegetation upon the earth.

As the weaving becomes complete and becomes a woven fabric that symbolizes the growing, flowering, and fruiting plants upon the land, it seems accurate to conclude that as the sun moves across the sky (loom) during the day and year, the weaver symbolically weaves a symbolic garment of flowering vegetation across the landscape, blossoms that relate to the flowering of human life. According to one Huichol consultant (cited in Valadez 2010: 80):

When women embroider they recreate the embroidery that appears on the garments of Grandmother Growth whose skirts are made of all the flowers that are blossoming in the fields. When the flowers blossom, the skirts of Our Mothers are filled with flowers of many colors, like the beautiful embroidered outfits we wear. When we make and wear our embroidered outfits, we also blossom. Everything in the universe began when it was embroidered onto the skirts of the goddesses. When Father Sun saw the designs he gave names to everything and brought them to life. That is why all of the embroidery designs are sacred, and why we bring designs to the altar, so that we will have more life, more luck, more abundance.

These metaphors expressed in Huichol cosmology and in an ideology of weaving, both closely connected to solar and rain symbolism, are essentially identical to that expressed in Puebloan cosmology as reflected in such activities as corn grinding and playing notched musical rasps (see Chapters 2 and 4). Precisely the same conceptual metaphors can be expressed in different activities and in material culture objects during their use.

During the dry season, the metaphors of weaving take the form of activities that are associated with this part of the year, such as the peyote pilgrimage to Wirikuta. The peyote pilgrimage reenacts Huichol origin stories of a mythical period: the first journey of the gods and ancestors to the sacred eastern lands and their rebirth with the Sun. This journey is replicated at the solstices during the Hikuri Neixa (Peyote Dance) and Tatei Neixa (Dance of Our Mother) ceremonies (Schaefer 1989: 187). The loom and its component parts replicates this pilgrimage.

On one metaphorical level, the loom sticks can symbolize the pilgrims themselves, with each loom stick representing an individually named god or ancestor (Schaefer 1989: 189). As a weaver progresses in her weaving and pulls the loom sticks in one direction, she is symbolically moving the pilgrims along in their journey. As Schaefer (*ibid.*: 190) explained:

Every time the loom sticks are manipulated in weaving, they follow a kind of rhythmic motion in which, after pulling one stick, the weaver pulls all the other sticks in succession. The pilgrims, connected together by the sacred cords [yarn], follow the same movements. As they travel from one sacred place to the next, they pull each other along the path of the warp as their journey progresses.

Furthermore, “Since the warp yarns represent the path of the sun, the pilgrims, who are like the weft, are seen as metaphorically weaving themselves with the rays of the sun as they travel along their journey” (*ibid.*: 191). Neurath and Kindl (2005: 77) noted that while the warp threads represent the pathway of peyote pilgrims to the place of sunrise, the weft threads are related to the north-south movement of the sun. Thus, the act of weaving replicates not just the east-west movement of the sun across the sky, but the north-south movement of the sun across the sky in the alternating rainy and dry seasons.

At the inception of the peyote pilgrimage, and throughout the course of the journey, a sacred fire ritual plays an important role. In mythical times, and in a ceremony that occurs the evening prior to their departure, the pilgrims gather to ask Grandfather Fire for protection. These rites involve pilgrims placing sticks and logs onto a ceremonial fire, an act of “feeding the fire” that symbolically takes place at sacred spots during the course of their journey (Schaefer 1989: 188). During this trek, the wood sticks are placed in the fire on the west side facing towards the east. By the time the journey to the sacred east ends, the sticks are placed on the east side of the fire facing west towards the Sierra (ibid.). The sticks of wood that comprise the loom symbolize the kindling and wood that was used to start, and feed, the sacred fire (ibid.). The loom sticks represent the sacred stopping points themselves, the stations or steps in their journey to the east (ibid.).

In a sense, as the peyote pilgrims travel eastward and periodically add wood kindling to the fire when stopping at each sacred spot along the way, they symbolically build and add to a progressively strengthened fire, one that appears to culminate in the great fire from which the sun is reborn at the volcanic hill variously called Cerro Quemado, Reunar, or Paritecúa. According to Furst and Anguiano (1976: 117), at the first dawning, the ancient people:

. . . hid themselves in fear when the sky turned red and the ground began to tremble, and they wondered out loud what appearance the newborn Sun Father would have and what he would be named. When he finally burst out from his Mother, the earth, it was in a shower of fiery rocks and sparks.

This rite involving a symbolic, progressively built fire may well be akin to New Fire rites known elsewhere in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest that replicate the fiery

rebirth of the sun (see Chapter 3). The similarities in these traditions require a brief discussion.

Scholars have long noted that Huichol religion and origin traditions share a number of commonalities with highland Central Mexican traditions and deities (e.g., Neurath and Jáuregui 1998; Seler 1990-1998: 4: 179-197). The shared similarities across these regions led some to conclude that the main period of borrowing occurred in the sixteenth century at the time of Spanish incursions into West Mexico and thereafter in early Colonial times, particularly as a result of interactions between local indigenous groups and Tlaxcalan mercenaries brought by the Spaniards (e.g., Furst and Anguiano 1976; Knab 1976). However, evidence suggests that many of these borrowings may well extend much deeper into the past, perhaps to the onset of the Postclassic period.

Among the more prominent, and perhaps most striking, shared traditions is the story of the fiery self-sacrifice and fiery rebirth of the sun in the east at dawn. According to Furst and Anguiano (1976: 116-117):

The Huichol origin myth of the Sun is so similar in several respects to those of central Mexico at contact time as to suggest diffusion, if not of the entire tradition, at least of the strikingly Aztec-like theme of human sacrifice. In contrast, it is possible that both the central Mexican solar myths and that of the Huichols derive ultimately from common roots and that the basic elements of the story of the birth of the Sun, as recorded in the sixteenth century in central Mexico and more recently among the Huichols, were present already in an older Uto-Aztecan substratum ancestral to both the Aztecs and their far flung linguistic cousins.

Briefly, the Huichol tradition indicates that in the time prior to creation, it was decided by a council that the creation of the sun would involve one of their members transforming themselves into the sun through autosacrifice. The individual chosen was a lonely and

solitary boy, also described as deformed, blind, and lame, who flung himself upon a flaming pyre only to be reborn in the east in the flowery world of Wirikuta at the Mountain of Dawn, Cerro Quemado (ibid.: 117). A crucial point to note is that this story involves the birth of the dawning sun from the sacred eastern mountain, the symbolic Flower Mountain of the contemporary Huichol world. The identification of this mountain as Flower Mountain was identified by Taube (2006a).

While Furst and Anguiano (1976: 116-117) noted that the Huichol tradition is similar to the Contact-period Aztec tradition, it is noteworthy that the self-sacrifice and birth of the sun was closely identified by the Aztec with the great Early Classic-period city of Teotihuacan. This Central Mexican tradition involved the self-sacrifice of the diseased and pustuled boy named Nanahuatzin, which preceded his creation as the dawning sun at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, the symbolic Flower Mountain of the Teotihuacan world (Taube 1983: 125-126; 1992a: 81; 2000a: 309-311, 323). This tradition was known not just among the Aztecs, but among the Mixtecs as well, who portrayed elements of this story in the prehispanic *Codex Nuttall* (Taube 2000a: 314).

Rather than being a recently transmitted tradition to West Mexico during the early Historic period, the story of the birth of the dawning sun from a sacred, eastern Flower Mountain was probably transmitted along with knowledge of the young solar deity Xochipilli at the onset of the Aztatlán tradition in the Early Postclassic period. This tradition, and its relationship to New Fire ceremonialism both in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Returning to a discussion of the cosmological qualities inherent in the loom, the loom also symbolically represents the dualities inherent in the life and death of an individual. According to the perspectives of Huichol women, the birth of a person is akin to the birth of the sun each day at dawn: “. . . [W]hen the sun rises in the morning, it is like giving birth to a new day. When a woman gives birth they say she is giving light, like the rays of the sun. Every time a child is born it is like the sun rising to complete another day” (Schaefer 1989: 191). One Huichol woman noted: “The life of every person is like the loom. When one is born, it is like beginning the loom. The life path of the individual follows that which will be woven. When the person dies, it is like finishing the weaving” (ibid.). Furthermore, it is thought that when a child is born and begins to grow, he or she symbolically climbs up the sticks of the loom (ibid.), much like the peyote pilgrims who progress in their journey to the birthplace of the sun in the east.

The loom and weaving embodies much of the symbolism inherent in the cyclical birth and death of an individual and the birth and descent of the sun each day at dawn. As Schaefer (ibid.: 192) concluded:

. . . [W]ith reference to the loom as a model of the sun’s path, the top beam on the loom represents the rising of the sun in the east, its movement down the loom sticks until it sets in the west, and its travel through the underworld and reappearance once again at the top of the loom. Mirroring this imagery, at birth, the arrival of the soul of an individual is like the sun rising in the east, in Virikuta. Following the sun, the soul travels down the warp of the loom along its life path, and at death it reaches the west, the Pacific Ocean, and then goes on to the sky above Virikuta, completing the cycle of the sun, the warp, and life in the Huichol world.

Furthermore, “When weaving, the weaver metaphorically gives birth to the sun and helps it along its path. She brings the rains, plants the seeds, and helps the crops grow. She re-

creates mythical time by weaving the pilgrims into the path to Virikuta” (ibid.: 192-193). Clearly, among indigenous people of West Mexico, weaving is a tradition imbued with multiple layers of metaphors that are closely tied to the dawning sun, the return of the rains, the alternating seasons, the growth of crops and vegetation, and life itself, an ideology of weaving that, as discussed below, likely extends to the onset of the Aztatlán tradition.

The Ideology of Weaving in the Aztatlán Tradition

The loom, cotton, and the act of weaving among the Huichol is overwhelmingly imbued with solar symbolism, including ideas associated with the birth of the sun from the eastern mountain in the “Land of Dawn”, rain, clouds, dualism and the alternating seasons, and an individual’s life cycle. Considering these attributes, it is instructive to examine material culture evidence in the archaeological record of the Aztatlán tradition for clues to a similar ideology in order to determine the antiquity of this complex in the region. Keeping in mind that a new form of solar ceremonialism focused upon the Sun God Xochipilli/Piltzintli took hold in the core coastal region of the Aztatlán culture around AD 900, it is probable that a related symbolic complex centered upon weaving flourished in conjunction with the adoption of these solar rites. The discussion of this topic for the Aztatlán region provides insight into similar ideologies of weaving in the Casas Grandes region and the American Southwest.

In examining the material culture of the burgeoning Aztatlán tradition during the Postclassic period, perhaps the best evidence for weaving that archaeologists

can find, aside from cotton itself, are spindle whorls (see Bojorquez 2010: 129-132, fig. 30 and map 3). These objects, usually made of fired clay or shaped stone, preserve well over time. Spindle whorls, often incised, are relatively abundant in Aztatlán sites (Kelley 1986: 84), a fact noted by Sauer and Brand (1932: 34-35, fig. 10) in their pioneering survey along the Aztatlán coastal strip. As Mountjoy (2000: 96) noted:

Judging from the relative abundance of spindle whorls in Aztatlán deposits at Amapa and other sites to the north in Sinaloa, cotton was probably grown in many of the coastal valleys in these areas. Cotton was probably spun locally into yarn for weaving cloth most likely used by the elites.

Only a few of the Aztatlán sites known to have spindle whorls are discussed below.

According to Foster (1999: 158), a “marker of the Early Aztatlán tradition is a distinctive round, incised spindle whorl decorated with incised circles.” Kelly (1938: 52-53, fig. 24) identified incised spindle whorls at Chametla, Sinaloa as being affiliated with Aztatlán contexts in her Late Chametla II and El Tase-Mazatlán assemblage, both affiliated with the Aztatlán complex (Foster 1999: 151). Sauer and Brand (1932: 27-28, fig. 4) reported spindle whorls at sites near the Río Piaxtla, located on the coastal plain between Culiacán and Mazatlán. They (*ibid.*: 28-29) also reported spindle whorls from sites in the Sierra de Tacuichamona and San Lorenzo Valley regions located south of Culiacán. A total of 278 whorls were recovered from Culiacán (Kelley 1945: 137-141, table 14). Incised spindle whorls recovered at Culiacán resembled those from Guasave (Foster 1999: 152). At Guasave, a large burial mound located in far northern Sinaloa, 36 spindle whorls were recovered, most of which were found interred beside individuals (Ekholm 1942: 87-88, fig. 17).

According to Kelley (1986: 88), spindle whorls from the coast, likely from sites such as Guasave and Culiacán, were recovered from Late Aztatlán period Guadiana Chalchihuites sites in the highlands of Durango. At the Schroeder site (now called La Ferrería), Kelley and colleagues (Kelley 1971, 1990; Kelley and Winters 1960) recovered a number of intrusive ceramics from the Pacific coast, including large incised spindle whorls (Foster 1999: 152). At the site of Cañon del Molino in Durango, Ganot and Peschard (1995: 158) reported Aztatlán spindle whorls resembling those from the west coast. Some of these spindle whorls were illustrated in Ganot and Peschard (1997: fig. 56). Spindle whorls of west coast origin also were recovered from the site of Navacoyán in the Guadiana Valley (Kelley 1986: 88).

Spindle whorls also were reported from sites in the Marismas Nacionales in southern Sinaloa and northern Nayarit (Sweetman 1974: 69). Whorls were recovered from the site of Juana Gómez, a site located in the foothills near Escuinapa, Sinaloa (ibid.: 68-69). Gill (1974) reported on the results of burial analysis from excavations at three sites (Panales, Chalpa, and Tecualilla) in the Teacapan estuary, a section of the larger Marismas Nacionales, located in southern Sinaloa and northern Nayarit (see map in Gill 1974: fig. 1). In his analysis he noted that burials at these sites, primarily those of females (or an unidentified sex in the case of the burial Panales), were interred with spindle whorls (ibid.: 88, 94, 95, 96, and tables 1-5). No spindle whorls were found with males.

The practice of interring spindle whorls with females is notable. The Franciscan friar Antonio Arias de Saavedra similarly reported in AD 1673 that upon death, Cora

women were interred with objects they used in life, such as metates and spindles (in McCarthy and Matson 1975: 207). One Huichol funerary rite documented in 1981 indicated that the deceased woman was interred in her grave with a number of objects including brazilwood battens from her backstrap loom, thread, and spun wool (Fikes 2011: 175).

Continuing on, whorls from this area in the Marismas Nacionales were similar to whorls found at Chametla, Sinaloa (ibid.: 96). At the site of Amapa along the central coastal plain of Nayarit, Meighan (1976: 77-81) recovered 164 spindle whorls, roughly half of which were stone while the rest were made of pottery. Spindle whorls also were reported by archaeologists working at other Aztatlán archaeological sites along the coastal plain of Nayarit, including at Coamiles and San Felipe Aztatán (Garduño Ambriz 2007; pers. comm. 2009), located north of Amapa, and at Chacalilla (Ohnersorgen 2007: 41, fig. 4.13), a site located to the south of Amapa and north of the modern town of San Blas that dates primarily to the Cerritos phase (AD 900-1150). A private collection housed at the Casa-Museo Vladimir Cora in the town of Acaponeta in northern Nayarit (just north of the site of San Felipe Aztatán) contains roughly one hundred spindle whorls. In southeastern Nayarit, Gifford (1950: 233, figs. 19a-19l) reported 12 spindle whorls in surface collections from the site of Ixtlán del Río. Notably, spindle whorls are present, but more rare, at Aztatlán sites to the south of Amapa (ibid.). The diminished presence of spindle whorls south of the core coastal zone of the Aztatlán region suggests that cotton may have been produced locally in the southern coast to be exported and spun elsewhere in other nearby or distant areas (ibid.).

Notably, at the site of Coamiles on the coastal plain of central Nayarit, Garduño Ambriz (2009) documented the unique presence of numerous pochote (*Ceiba aesculifolia*) trees in the North Acropolis of the site. This portion of the site contained an east and west plaza, an architectural layout identified by Ambriz (ibid.) as forming a component of solar worship focused upon the transit of the sun. Importantly, pochote trees are well known for pods that explode into cotton-like tufts containing seeds that float across the landscape on the winds. Ambriz (2008: pers.comm) also pointed out that some cylinder-shaped Aztatlán incense burners, such as one evident from the site of Ixtapa, Jalisco, now housed in the archaeological museum in Puerto Vallarta (see Mountjoy 2000: fig. 7.11), are shaped into the form of the trunks of pochote trees, complete with the characteristic spiked tree trunk. Portions of a similar cylindrical, studded or spiked incensario were also recovered from Amapa (see Meighan 1976: pl. 122d). This artifact form suggests that the smoke of the incense emanating from the pochote-like incensario is akin to the cotton-like clouds produced from the pochote seed pod. Ambriz (pers. comm. 2008) also noted that one of these cotton-like pochote pods is portrayed in a celestial skyband on an Aztatlán vessel recovered from near Culiacán, Sinaloa (see image in Toro 1925: 57-58; Mathiowetz et al. 2008), clearly an allusion to the deceased ancestors floating as cotton-like clouds in the sky.

The portrayal of Aztatlán-tradition motifs, and the association of material items such as incensarios with the cotton-like elements of the pochote tree, calls to mind an account describing the cotton obtained from a probable pochote tree that is used by contemporary Huichol people to wrap the crystallized souls (*‘urukáme*) of deceased

individuals, an act that evokes the deceased as symbolic clouds. Furst (1968: 83)

conveyed a Huichol account of the cotton obtained from an unspecified tree, probably a pochote:

And then he [the mara'akáme] asks that they bring him a bit of cotton from a tree. Because there is a special kind of tree which has seeds in which there is some of that cotton. They go and collect some of this cotton and they begin to pull it apart and they take the seeds out. That is done so that they can cover that little rock crystal which is *'urukáme*.

The wrapping of the crystallized soul of ancestral spirits in cotton undoubtedly conveys the perception of the ancestors as clouds. The description of this tree sounds very much like the pochote tree, much like those now growing in the North Acropolis at the site of Coamiles. Notably, Lumholtz (1900: 187, fn. 1) pointed out that flowers of the pochote tree were also important as offerings to the Sun. Pochote cotton is also closely identified with clouds and the creator goddess Grandmother Growth (ibid.: 45).

Schaefer (2002: 45) indicated that for the Huichol, cotton-like seed fibers were obtained from two trees; the *Bombax palmeri* (or *xawe*) produces a brown fiber and the *Ceiba acuminata* (or *kapuxi*), also known as the pochote or kapok, produces a white fiber. Cotton (*Gossypium hirsutum*) is also cultivated or grows wild in the Sierras (ibid.: 46). Lumholtz (1902: 253) noted that contemporary Huichol textiles can include motifs of hummingbirds sipping on the nectar of pochote flowers. For Aztatlán people at the site of Coamiles and in the larger region, it is probable that the cotton of the pochote trees signified the deceased ancestors as rain clouds, much as is known for the Huichol today.

In the Tomatlán river valley of coastal Jalisco and at the site of Ixtapa in the Banderas Valley of Jalisco, Mountjoy (1982, 1990) identified some spindle whorls in

Aztlán contexts. In the interior region of Jalisco, Meighan and Foote (1968: 126-132) reported 41 spindle whorls from the site of Tizapan El Alto, two of which were described as having a “flower-shaped design” (ibid.: 131). The presence of possible flower-shaped Aztlán spindle whorls recalls the Huichol’s use of squash stems as whorls, partly because these are objects from which flowers and fruits emerge (see Schaefer 1993: 119).

Of the 41 recovered whorls at Tizapan el Alto, seven were found in three burials, four with a female, one with a male, and two from the burial of a person of an unknown sex (Meighan and Foote 1968: 45-47, Table 2). Some of the whorls at this site were likened to those from the relatively nearby site of Cojumatlán, Michoacan, located to the east (ibid.: 126). Lister (1949: 63-67) reported roughly 97 spindle whorls from the site of Cojumatlán, eight of which display a “four-petaled floral” motif (ibid.: 67). Located west of Tizapan el Alto and Cojumatlán, the site of La Peña in the Sayula Basin of Jalisco (south of modern Guadalajara) contained an Aztlán component with spindle whorls (Ramirez de Swartz et al. 2005: 313). These scholars (ibid.: 316- 317) argued that the Aztlán horizon at La Peña was accompanied by a number of changes in social organization and material cultural, a change that accompanied the introduction of an iconography that attests to a changed ideology and a new, pan-regional religious order used particularly by the elites.

The spread of the Flower World complex to inland sites located near modern Guadalajara, and the participation of elite networks of exchange, may have been interrelated with the widespread distribution system of obsidian and obsidian blades during the Aztlán era. Mountjoy (2000: 97) noted that the main source of golden brown

and gray obsidian was from the mines of La Joya in Jalisco, located west of Guadalajara, a mine that provided obsidian to many Aztatlán communities along the Pacific coast (ibid.) where Xochipilli worship and the Flower World complex was flourishing. Another possibility for the inland spread of this complex to sites like La Peña may in part relate to economic interaction networks and trade corridors that linked Pacific coastal elites to communities around the major salt production zones of the Sayula Basin (see Liot 1998).

According to Mountjoy (2000: 98), the pan-regional nature of exchange, and the similarity of material culture among Aztatlán sites across the region, “. . . all support the idea that there was some rather uniform system of political, economic, and religious organization that linked these coastal valleys, probably through some sort of political alliance mechanism, such as elite marriage.” This system of elite marriage alliances and exchange systems probably was imbued with religious and ritual significance and involved ritual feasting as well as the exchange of fine textiles, a trade item that undoubtedly would have included an ideology of weaving. In my estimation, this new ideology was the Flower World complex of the Sun Youth Xochipilli/Piltzintli. In effect, the proposal for a pan-regional multi-ethnic political, economic, and religious structure linking civic-ceremonial centers in the Aztatlán region that was oriented around a new form of worship focused upon the solar deity Xochipilli and the Flower World complex during the Postclassic period is strikingly akin to that proposed by Pohl (1994a, 2003a, 2003b) for the Mixteca-Eastern Nahuatl-Zapotec region of Puebla and Oaxaca, the region from which this complex in West Mexico originated.

Notably, in these southern regions, the young solar deity 7 Flower-Xochipilli was considered to be the patron god of weaving and elite craft specialization (Pohl 1994a), making an appearance on page 15 of the *Codex Vindobonensis* surrounded by objects of his patronage, including garments known as *xicollis* and other textiles (ibid.: 9, fig. 10). Pohl (ibid.) further noted that many of his pictorial attributes depicted in symbolism also appear in textile designs. The major feast days in which 7 Flower-Xochipilli was celebrated involved elite feasting and the gift exchange of woven garments and other objects (ibid.). As Sahagún (1950-1982, Book 2: 35-36, Book 4: 7) noted, during the feast of Xochilhuitl (“Feast of Flowers”), in which Xochipilli was celebrated, “. . . the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They fasted . . . [in order] to weave textiles well.”

An ideology of weaving in relation to the Flower World is evident in carved bone weaving implements recovered from Late Postclassic Mixtec burials in Tomb 7 at Monte Alban, Oaxaca, considered one of the richest burials in ancient Mesoamerica (**Figs. 8.14a-8.14f**). Within this tomb, a number of spinning and weaving implements were found, including carved weaving battens, small combs and picks, spindle whorls, and spinning bowls used as a base for the spindle (Caso 1969; McCafferty and McCafferty 1994:148). Caso (1969) concluded that many of the objects found in the tomb reference the solar deity Xochipilli. The link between the bone weaving battens and the Flower World ritual complex centered upon Xochipilli is evident in the finely carved codex-style imagery on these objects. Caso (1969: 191-193) and Robb (2003) noted that 7 Flower-Xochipilli appears in a scene of birth in carved imagery from weaving batten number 203i (see Caso 1969: fig. 185).

In a recent study, Taube (2010a: 171) indicated that some of the bone implement designs, much like the rims of bowls in the Mixteca-Puebla style, contain depictions of skybands with solar rays, flowers and petaled edging, the heads of humans or human spirits, deities, serpents, precious birds, butterflies, eagles, and other beings (**Figs. 8.14a-8.14e**; see Caso 1969: fig. 241). Taube (2010a: 171) concluded, “The heads on the carved bones emerge from or are placed on blossoms as celestial denizens of the solar Flower World.” While some of the bones depict probable ancestral spirits and other creatures, others portray depictions of Venus-related deceased warriors as stars in a sky band (**Fig. 8.14f**), much as is known in murals from the site of Mitla, Oaxaca (see Caso 1969: fig. 194). It should be recalled that in highland Central Mexico, the souls of warriors who died on the battlefield were thought to ascend to the celestial solar paradise in order to lead the sun out of the underworld at dawn.

The ideology of Flower World imagery on Mixtec weaving implements suggests a close affinity to that described for the Aztlán region, an ideology that links together the ancestral spirits with cotton and clouds, the pathway of the sun, and the production of a flowering landscape as a result of the rains. The connection to the rains in Mixtec weaving implements is evident in the presence of the rain deity Tlaloc in a skyband on one of the weaving battens from Tomb 7 (**Fig. 8.14b**; also see Caso 1969: fig. 232, far left) as well as a portrayal of the wind deity Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl, known to the Mixtecs as 9-Wind (see Caso 1969: fig. 237). Though the Tomb 7 imagery reflects a Late Postclassic ideology, these concepts probably date at least to the Early Postclassic in the region when Xochipilli and Flower World worship became prominent, and perhaps

extends into the Classic period at sites such as Teotihuacan, where a macaw-headed young solar deity, likely an antecedent to Xochipilli, was worshiped. In all probability, the transmission of knowledge of the deity Xochipilli from Oaxaca and Puebla to the Aztlán region of West Mexico at the beginning of the Postclassic period involved the transmission of a new ideology of cotton and weaving.

While domesticated cotton in West Mexico most certainly predates the Aztlán tradition, the dramatically heightened presence of spindle whorls, and a new ideology of cotton, at sites across the entire Aztlán region likely formed only one component of the new ideological and social changes associated with the adoption of Xochipilli-worship and the Flower World complex at the onset of the Postclassic period. The close connection between the sun and cotton remains evident in rites for the Cora solar deity Piltzintli (Xochipilli). The Franciscan friar Antonio Arias de Saavedra reported in AD 1673 that the Cora at the Mesa del Nayar offered cotton to Piltzintli and the other deceased ancestor-rulers in his shrine at the ranchería of Tzacaimutta on the Mesa del Nayar (in McCarty and Matson 1975: 205). Elsewhere, Arias de Saavedra stated that one local indigenous man made a pilgrimage to the Mesa del Nayar with offerings of cotton and other items in order to petition the Nayarit (Piltzintli) for rain (ibid.: 215). Even today, offerings of cotton and flowers are made to the remains of the last Cora Sun King in the church at the Mesa del Nayar (Aldana and Madrigal 2007: 110-111).

The importance of cotton in the Aztlán region continued into the historic period. In AD 1524, Francisco Cortés, the brother of Hernán Cortés and the recently appointed *alcalde mayor* of Colima, organized an expedition northward between the Ameca River

and the Río Grande de Santiago in order to place towns under Spanish control (Feldman 1978b: 141). A number of local and regional markets, or *tiangués*, were encountered in the towns visited by Cortés. The expedition records, plus tax assessments of the local commodities and specializations of a number of towns some twenty-five years later, enable a better understanding of local economies during the early colonial period (ibid.: 141-144). The towns encountered, and the tax records recorded, were described for a portion of southern Nayarit, a location that included the southernmost portion of the core coastal Aztlán region. The tax records and expedition reports also detail which towns in the area were engaged in reciprocal trade relations. These records can provide insight into the importance and trade of agricultural products such as cotton, and even cacao, during the Aztlán era.

Furthermore, the travelogue of Friar Alonso Ponce, in this area (see map in Feldman 1978b: fig. 21) and in the larger region to the east, in AD 1587 provides perspective on the routes and the amount of time it would take for travel and trade between towns (Feldman 1978a, 1978b). In describing the large markets and great numbers of itinerant merchants or foot porters that existed in the region at the time of Spanish Contact, the Fourth Anonymous Reporter noted that a number of traders were observed carrying loads in the province of Jalisco while between 800-1000 *tamemes*, or foot porters, were observed in the town of Aguacatlan in southeastern Nayarit, located near Ixtlán del Río (see Carrera Stampa 1955: 83, 105, 125; Publ 1990: 225). Along the coast of the Bahía de Matanchen (located just south of modern San Blas in Nayarit) and

leading southward towards modern Puerto Vallarta, a number of towns were reported as growers or traders of cotton (Feldman 1978b).

Those Contact-period towns mentioned above are located only a few dozen kilometers from large Azatlán-era towns such as Chacalilla, Amapa, and Ixtapa where spindle whorls were reported, as described above. Feldman (1978b: 142) suggested that the Lower Piedmont zone of this region was important for the specialization of cotton cultivation (see maps in Mountjoy 1978, fig. 20; Feldman 1978b: fig. 21). For instance, along the coast, the town of Quexipan, thought to have been located just to the east of modern San Blas, Nayarit, was a trading center of cotton. Other towns along the coast and slightly inland that specialized in cotton or *mantas* (finished garments or blankets) include Mecatlan, Tlagualachitipan, Tecomatlan, Teozacualpa, Istapa, Chila, Xalpan, Chacala, Xaltempa, Matacticpac, among others. Other towns in Nayarit that were located slightly inland and to the southeast of modern Tepic, as well as some near the Azatlán-related site of Ixtlan del Río, were specializing in cotton or *mantas*. These towns included Xala, Ixtlan (or Ixpan), Mexpan, Tetitlan, Xalisco, Tepique (Tepic), Guamolticpac, Camotlan, Tepezhuacon, Tepeguacan, Tecpatitlan, Tecoxquines, and others (see maps in Feldman 1978b, fig. 21; Mountjoy 1978, fig. 20). Clearly, the location and the significance of cotton production and trade during the Historic period can reveal much about the earlier Azatlán economies and ideology across the larger region, an ideology of the sun and the ancestral cloud and rain spirits that was later adopted across far northwest Mexico and the American Southwest.

Weaving, Textiles, and Cotton in the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico

A detailed history of the production and distribution of cotton and textiles in the ancient and historic American Southwest has long been of academic interest (Teague 1998). Cotton, which was first domesticated in Mesoamerica, is evident in the American Southwest as early as AD 300-500 (Cordell 1997: 135; Teague 1998: 167), though cotton weaving traditions did not become more fully developed until around AD 700, probably as a result of increased contact with coastal West Mexico (Teague 1998: 175-177). In the AD 700s, the Hohokam appear to have been suppliers of cotton for the Colorado Plateau (Adams 1991a: 181; Teague 1998: 167). Pockets of cotton production appeared on the Colorado Plateau around AD 1100, but were abandoned around AD 1300 (Adams 1991a: 181). After AD 1000-1100, societies in the American Southwest began to experience many changes, which appear to have been related to increasing interaction with coastal West Mexican communities (Teague 1998: 180-181), an era that encompassed the Aztatlán tradition. For example, modeled clay spindle whorls that are typical of Classic and Postclassic period Mesoamerica began to appear in the central Southwest in the eleventh century (ibid.: 181).

While evidence of cotton production is of considerable antiquity in the American Southwest, scholars have indicated that the late prehispanic period saw an influx of weaving and textile traditions of a decidedly Mesoamerican origin, particularly from the western coastal region on the northern Mesoamerican frontier. According to Teague (1998: 171):

From the first appearance of loom-woven textiles in the region below the Mogollon Rim there is strong evidence of imitation of Mesoamerican

coastal textiles, and the post-A.D. 1000 appearance of new fabric structures and design practices corresponds again to this route of transmission.

The fabrics imitated were not of the simple fabrics of everyday use but were instead “. . . associated with the highly developed complex societies of northern Mesoamerica. In replicating these fabrics the residents of southern and central Arizona imitated the practices of the most complex social organization known to them” (ibid.).

After AD 1100, the influence of Pacific coastal Mesoamerica on textiles, designs, and weaving technologies became much more pronounced, as Teague (ibid.: 183) noted:

The external connections that are most conspicuous in surviving fabrics are those with the far south. The textiles of the northern frontier of western coastal Mesoamerica inspired the Southwestern weaves to develop more elaborate decorative textiles in this later period, providing precedents for fabric structures, tools, and even specific motifs. The development of the Mesoamerican-inspired clothing styles was probably in part motivated by simple aesthetics. *The use of designs believed to have iconographic meaning may be a reflection of the spread of a belief system* [emphasis mine] . . . These fabrics suggest that some part of the Southwestern population wished to identify with Mesoamerican social authority and the people who held that authority. Donning the clothing of Mesoamericans would have helped to reinforce and legitimize local leaders in Southwestern society.

The recognition that the spread of cotton weaving technologies and designs from coastal West Mexico in conjunction with the spread of a new ideology and new forms of political organization is significant. This new ideology that began to become evident in the American Southwest during this era was the Flower World complex then florescent in coastal West Mexican Aztatlán communities.

Given that hung textiles or blankets appear prominently in some Pottery Mound kiva murals, especially in the highly abstracted Sikyatki style also known at Awat’ovi on

the Hopi Mesas (Hays-Gilpin and LeBlanc 2007: 117-122, fig. 7.11; Webster 2007: 196, fig. 9.14), it seems reasonable to suggest that textiles and their designs were items that conveyed ideological meaning. For example, considering that the great Kiva 2 murals at Pottery Mound in which these cotton textiles are hung demonstrate clear connections to the Casas Grandes Flower World complex (see Chapter 11), it is reasonable to suggest that the spread of Flower World ideology from Mesoamerica to the American Southwest, embedded in the symbolism of weaving, cotton, and textile design (evident no earlier than AD 900 in West Mexico), was accomplished in part through the spread of weaving technologies, the trade in textiles and cotton, along with the use and display of textile patterns and design motifs across the Southwest. This connection to West Mexico is explored below.

A brief discussion of the archaeological botanical record of one particular cluster of Pueblo IV-period sites in the Western Pueblos will help to highlight the increased importance of cotton at this time. Adams's (1991a: 179-183) work at the Hopi-affiliated Homol'ovi cluster of northeastern Arizona revealed that specialization in cotton production skyrocketed in conjunction with the rise in evidence of katsina ceremonialism in the late AD 1200s to early AD 1300s. This change in cotton production also coincided with changes in land use in these areas, with a new emphasis on kinship-held land near aggregated villages (Adams 1991a: 182). Cotton was so prevalent at the thirteenth-century site of Homol'ovi II that it was recovered from 57 percent of the flotation samples (Adams 1991b: 118) and was as equal in importance as corn (Adams 1991a: 182).

The abundance of evidence of cotton production, but the relative absence of spindle whorls, suggests that raw cotton may have formed a component of reciprocal exchange networks where cotton was spun in regions at some distance from the zone of production (Adams 1991a: 181; 1991b: 119), though this absence may be due to the perishability of material used to construct spindles. The rise in the importance of cotton in Homol'ovi clusters in the late AD 1200s and early AD 1300s is notable, as this period coincides with other scholars temporal estimates for the influx of a large number of Hopi Palatkwapi clans from far to the south (Bernardini 2005). In Chapter 12, I conclude that many elements of the Palatkwapi traditions suggest a southern origin in the Casas Grandes region and beyond. It may well be accurate to state that the rise or change in the ideology of cotton (e.g., ancestral katsinam, breath, and clouds) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Homol'ovi clusters was primarily due to the arrival of Palatkwapi (or Casas Grandes-related) immigrants, though this proposition deserves more attention.

Weaving in the Casas Grandes World

The increasing importance of cotton, culminating in its pronounced use in heightened Pueblo IV-era katsina ceremonialism, likely was closely related to the florescent solar and rain-oriented Flower World complex centered at Paquimé, a heightened ideological complex ultimately acquired from coastal West Mexican Aztatlán sites. Much as cotton and weaving was long present in other parts of the Southwest, evidence for spinning cotton in the Casas Grandes region certainly predates the arrival of

Flower World ideology during the Medio period. Evidence for cotton use is found in Viejo Period contexts in the presence of simple sherd spindle whorls with a central perforated hole, common in the wider region, though Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: 332-333) admitted that the identification of these objects as spindle whorls was uncertain. In any case, a total of 59 specimens were recovered in Viejo contexts (ibid.). During the Medio Period, the number of spindle whorls does not appear to have been dramatically different in form or function than the Viejo Period. A total of 68 spindle whorls and 8 stone spindle bases were recovered along with 97 cloth weaving tools (Di Peso 1974: 2: 540, fn. 133, 136, 139, 140). Three yarn-smoothers were also recovered (Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 345).

Of the whorls recovered, there were a total of 6 foreign modeled, painted, and incised whorls at Paquimé that originated from the Chalchihuites culture (Guadiana sequence) of Durango (Di Peso 1974: 2: 540, fn. 139; Di Peso et al. 1974: 8: 161-162). These whorls have near precise analogues to those recovered from the Schroeder site (now called La Ferrería) in Durango during the Rio Tunal (AD 950-1150) and Calera (AD 1150-1350) phases (Di Peso et al. 1974: 8: 161-162). The highland Schroeder site (La Ferrería) was known to have material culture imported from Aztatlán sites along the Pacific coast of southern Sinaloa. According to Kelley and colleagues (1999: 66-67), in the larger Casas Grandes region, one other broken Chalchihuites-style spindle whorl, similar to those recovered from Paquimé and presumed to originate in Durango, was recovered from site Ch-156, a Casas Grandes site in west central Chihuahua located some 200+ km southeast of Paquimé near El Picacho Valley (see map in ibid: 64, fig. 4.1).

The recovery of plant remains during the three years of excavation during the Joint Casas Grandes Project were minimal at best, likely due to the absence of flotation sampling and the larger interest in recovery of exotica such as macaws and copper (Whalen and Minnis 2009: 218). Nevertheless, 8 specimens of cotton were recovered at the site (Di Peso et al. 1974: 8: 314-315). Though sparse in number, the recovery of cotton seeds near the head of one burial at Paquimé (ibid.) sheds light on the ideology of cotton in the Medio-period Casas Grande region. Di Peso and colleagues (ibid.) noted that ethnographically, the practice of placing raw cotton near the heads of deceased individuals is known for the Hopi and the Zuni. For the Hopi, the placement of raw cotton, flecked with corn pollen, over the face of the corpse signifies the future transformation of the spirit into a cloud (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1935: 12). For the Zuni, cotton down was placed over the heads of deceased rain priests (Stevenson 1904: 316; 1915: 92). Notably, following this Zuni mortuary ceremony, the temporal lateness of the performance of these rites prevented burial that day due to the fact that the Sun had already passed overhead and would not be able to collect the prayer offerings associated with the deceased. That the postponement of the mortuary rite was based upon the unsatisfactory position of the Sun in the sky suggests an integral affinity between the Sun and burial rites tied to the deceased priest as rainmaker, a ritual position that likely relates to the cotton placed near the head.

The placement of cotton seeds alongside the face of the deceased in a single burial at Paquimé is an obscure detail, but one that provides a wealth of information regarding conceptions of the soul and the afterlife of individuals as clouds. This ideology,

essentially identical to that which underlies the ancestral katsina rain spirit complex evident in the Pueblo IV period, has elsewhere been noted in a different form in Casas Grandes anthropomorphic effigy vessels that function as personified water jars, some exhaling the feathery breath soul that represent clouds (see Chapter 11). Notably, 238 cotton seeds were recovered from the Casas Grandes-affiliated Joyce Well site in southwestern New Mexico (Skibo et al. 2002: 100). All of these seeds were found in three separate burials (*ibid.*: 99, table 3.1). The presence of cotton in these burials, and its close relationship to clouds, suggests a similar relationship between the rites of the deceased Casas Grandes-related individuals at Joyce Well and the same burial practice at Paquimé. The antiquity and the geographic extent of this practice in the wider region deserves further attention. Recently, through flotation sampling, Whalen and Minnis (2009: 218-221, table 7.1) identified cotton as one of the main domesticates present at four Medio Period sites located to the west and southwest of Paquimé.

While the number of Medio-period spindle whorls at Paquimé in comparison to the Viejo Period is not on par with the exponential increase in evidence of cotton production seen at some Pueblo IV sites such as the Homol'ovi cluster, one small but key difference between the Viejo- and Medio-period whorls is the presence of the foreign whorls from West Mexico during the Medio period. While the intensity of cotton production in the Casas Grandes region may not have exponentially increased in the Medio period, the foreign whorls do indicate an increasing level of contact with then-contemporaneous regions in West Mexico who are now known to have been participating

in an ideology of weaving, rain-making, and solar worship centered upon an alternating seasonal ceremonial cycle.

The meager presence of these whorls in the Casas Grandes region does not appear likely to have formed any significant component of a prestige exchange economy. More likely, the presence of foreign whorls, as portable domestic objects, does suggest that the mechanism for establishing their presence at Paquimé may have involved these objects being personal possessions of a female individual or individuals who perhaps formed part of a larger group emigrating from the larger Azatlán region. If so, these migrants would have been steeped in the knowledge of the Flower World of the Sun Youth and undoubtedly would have transmitted an ideology of clouds, cotton, weaving, and rain-making then flourishing in Postclassic West Mexico.

If it was the case that female weavers from West Mexico formed a component of the Casas Grandes population, however small or large the number, this proposition would then provide one avenue of research to partly explain how specific knowledge of the Flower World may have moved across the landscape locally or distantly both within the Casas Grandes region and across the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period. The movement of female weavers within the prehispanic Southwest to other communities, perhaps due to marriage arrangements, undoubtedly would have facilitated the movement of a Flower World-related ideology of weaving.

As noted above, scholars have observed a strong Mesoamerican influence in textile designs and garment styles in the late prehispanic Southwest. For example, the production of tie-dye fabrics, one of the primary means for decorating ritual clothing

during the Pueblo IV period, first appears in the archaeological textile record of the American Southwest in the late AD 1100s or early AD 1200s (Webster et al. 2006). One of the motifs used to decorate tie dye textiles, the dot-in-a-square motif, has an even earlier time horizon in the rock art and ceramics of the Southwest, in some limited instances dating to the tenth and eleventh century on some Hohokam and Chacoan ceramics and later on Ramos Polychromes, Kayenta, and Little Colorado wares (ibid.: 318). In Mesoamerica, this motif has artistic roots extending to the late Preclassic period (pre-AD 250), but is much more common in Classic-period Central Mexican and Maya art (ibid.: 318). Tie-dye techniques, with their underlying symbolic meanings, were well suited to express the emergent Pueblo IV symbolism that included clouds, lightning, meteorological events, rainfall, and fertility (ibid.: 328). Both tie dye and negative dye techniques appeared quite frequently, both in depictions of textiles and in kilts worn by ritualists in kiva murals at Awat'ovi, Pottery Mound, and Kuaua (ibid.).

The depiction of kilts and other garments in Pueblo IV kiva murals leads us to another related avenue of discussion. In a recent study, Webster (2007) examined, and drew comparisons between, portrayals of Southwestern ritual clothing styles found in kiva murals and pottery in relation to Mesoamerican clothing styles as depicted in codices and mural imagery. In her study of Southwestern kiva murals from the sites of Awat'ovi, Kawaika'a, Pottery Mound, and Kuaua, Webster (ibid.: 168) identified major garments including the kilt, sash, manta dresses or blankets, breechcloths, and tunics, among other garment types. For Mesoamerica, the clothing styles analyzed included

those depicted in Tarascan, Aztec, Tlaxcalan, Mixtec, and Lowland Maya imagery (ibid.: 169).

While archaeological ritual clothing has rarely been recovered in the American Southwest, evidence for the influence of Mesoamerican garment styles began to become evident in some respects in the Mimbres, Ancestral Pueblo, and Hohokam region around AD 1000 (Webster 2007: 168). However, Webster (ibid.) concluded that “. . . [T]he Pueblo IV costume repertoire reflects a broad emulation of Mesoamerican garment styles and incorporates many of the same or similar elements.” Furthermore, she (ibid.: 178) noted:

The different styles of kilts, sashes, breechcloths, shirts tunics, wraparound dresses, and shoulder blankets depicted in the Pueblo IV murals may have entered the U.S. Southwest as components of integrated costume repertoires, perhaps related to particular ceremonies, deities, or symbolic complexes.

The introduction of new styles of ceremonial dress at the onset of the Pueblo IV period, some with antecedents in the Casas Grandes region, but all with Mesoamerican antecedents, strongly suggests that the transmitted symbolic ritual complex that helped to facilitate these new styles of dress was the Flower World complex.

A brief discussion of the role of the Casas Grandes culture in the transmission of just one of these garment styles, the kilt, helps to illuminate the role of people at Paquimé in at least partly influencing these changes in clothing styles. Mesoamerican kilts, evident in portrayals of individuals in a number of Central Mexican codices, closely resemble Pueblo IV kilt styles (Webster 2007: 169-171). The presence of archaeological kilts in the American Southwest dates to the mid- to late-AD 1200s. Kilts are absent from Pueblo III

sites on the Colorado Plateau but a couple of examples have been recovered from Salado and Sinagua sites dating between AD 1200 and AD 1450 (ibid.: 170). Graphic depictions of kilts occur on male figures portrayed on Medio-period Ramos Polychrome vessels as well as on male and female effigies from the Casas Grandes region between AD 1200 and AD 1450 (ibid.: 170-171, fig. 9.4). Following this period, kilts are portrayed widely on ceremonialists depicted in the murals at Pottery Mound, Awat'ovi, and Kawaika'a, which indicates that this style of dress formed a core component of male ceremonial dress in the Southwest by AD 1400 (ibid.: figs. 9.3c, 9.4c, 9.4d).

The timing of the appearance of a single garment style, the kilt, worn by ritual specialists in northern Mexico and the American Southwest is conspicuously aligned to the florescence of a new form of ceremonialism in the Casas Grandes world that has its origins in coastal West Mexico. Much as the physical presence of Aztatlán females may have helped to transmit a new ideology of weaving and textiles, so too might male Aztatlán migrants helped to transmit new clothing styles into the Casas Grandes region. While I suggested that the transmission of this religious complex involved the movement of people over great distances, it remains to be clarified if these new garment styles particularly originated with migrants from far to the south, migrants who are presumably the Hopi Palatkwapi clans that brought knowledge of the Sun Youth from far to the south (see Chapters 2 and 10). In other words, it remains to be determined if male Hopi ritual participants who wear kilts have a more prominent appearance in the context of ceremonies that are said to have been brought with clans from the far south.

Considering that the Mesoamerican garment styles to which Webster (2007) compared Southwestern clothing styles did not include examples from Aztatlán imagery, this absence undoubtedly due to the paucity of published symbolism, it is clear that the next step for scholars of textiles is to study West Mexican Aztatlán clothing in order to determine the extent to which these garment styles might have served as the direct source for these textile changes, perhaps through the migration of people. An unfortunate fact that hinders this proposition is that archaeological work in this region of West Mexico is sparse at best, and the symbolism on Aztatlán ceramics is poorly understood or unpublished. However, a cursory examination of some Postclassic International style imagery on an Aztatlán vessel from the site or vicinity of Amapa, Nayarit, reveals somewhat abstracted depictions of individuals who appear to be wearing forms of kilts or wrap-around skirts or blankets, feather-fringed capes or shoulder throws, sashes, and a shirt or *quechquemitl* worn by a female, among other garments (see Von Winning 1977: 121-134, figs. 2b, 2d, 5b, 5d, 10.13, 10.17, 10.25).

It has been recognized, including in the present dissertation, that depictions of clothing styles and deities in the Postclassic Aztatlán tradition (e.g., Ekholm 1942; Von Winning 1977) bear evidence of a pronounced Central Mexican flavor. While Webster (2007) found striking analogues between Pueblo IV and Central Mexican styles of garments, in all probability the timing of these technological, material, and ideological influences into the Southwest suggests that these clothing changes were facilitated via an influx of Central Mexican garment styles and ideas into the intermediary Aztatlán region. Perhaps later, the transmission of these garment styles northward may have involved the

migration of some Aztatlán people into portions of northern Mexico and the American Southwest. Future studies of the origin of divergent Southwestern textile and garment traditions of external origin should focus upon the Aztatlán region as a generative source of change.

Cotton has long existed in the American Southwest, but the interpretation of symbolism and conceptual metaphors inherent in weaving and cotton put forth here do not suggest that these ideas have considerable antiquity that dates to the first appearance of cotton. It seems likely, however, that a profoundly new form of beliefs that took form in katsina ceremonialism, that served to intersect cotton and weaving with the sun, the ancestral rains, and the maize-based agricultural and seasonal cycle came to supplement, overlay, or replace those ideas that existed before in the region. The idea that new belief systems associated with cotton, essentially forming a component of the Flower World complex, came into the Southwest rather late and proliferated during the Pueblo IV period, is akin to an argument I made in Chapter 2 that a new form of corn ceremonialism centered upon the Sun Youth Xochipilli also took form in the Pueblo IV Southwest, one that arrived much later than the original appearance of corn in the American Southwest.

Much as cotton and weaving was and remains focused upon the seasonal rains and the diurnal path of the Sun, so too did these new forms of maize rituals relate to the sun and the seasonal cycle. This new form of corn ceremonialism was centered upon the Sun Youth and the retrieval of the young Corn Maidens, ideas that were centered at the site of Paquimé by AD 1200. Along with new corn ceremonialism, so too did a new form of cotton and weaving ceremonialism form a component of Casas Grandes solar worship.

In a recent article on maize symbolism in the American Southwest, Hays-Gilpin and Hegmon (2005: 108) suggested that there is no evidence that corn rituals and metaphors shared between Mesoamerica and the Southwest that are associated with Corn Maidens date to the Late Archaic or Basketmaker periods (ca. 3000 BC to AD 200). Rather, they (ibid.) suggested that maize rituals may have arrived later with more productive varieties of corn by AD 700 or even when cotton textiles appeared on the Colorado Plateau. To my mind, the data presented in the present work suggests that elements of a new form of maize and cotton weaving ceremonialism more likely began to take form in the Southwest at the onset of the Flower World complex around AD 1000, but took full form with the arrival of Sun Youth, Corn Maiden, and rain-spirit ceremonialism at Paquimé around AD 1200 with migrants from the Aztatlán region who introduced new textile and garment traditions and an attendant ideology and ritual complex.

For contemporary indigenous people of West Mexico, such as the Huichol, the soul and the deceased are closely related to cotton, clouds, and rain. Given this connection, it is most probable that this concept and these affiliations took form during the era in which the production and use of cotton expanded exponentially, namely, the onset of the Aztatlán tradition at the beginning of the Postclassic period (ca. AD 900). This argument strongly implies that an ideology of the ancestral spirits as cotton-like clouds and rain existed in the Aztatlán world some four hundred years prior to its accepted date of origin in the Pueblo IV period in the American Southwest around AD 1300, some three hundred years prior to the proposed florescence in the Casas Grandes

region around AD 1200, and some one hundred years prior to the proposed occurrence of elements of this ideology among the Classic Mimbres around AD 1000 (see Chapter 11). In other words, the Aztatlán region is likely the source of the ideological underpinnings of katsina ceremonialism in the American Southwest.

The Ideology of Copper in Northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

The origin and development of copper metallurgy in West Mexico dates to as early as AD 600-700 during the Classic period in portions of coastal West Mexico, including the modern states of Jalisco, southern Sinaloa, Nayarit, Colima, Michoacan, and portions of northern Guerrero and the State of Mexico (Hosler 1994: 33, fig. 1.1). However, the widespread adoption of metallurgy across the region does not appear to have occurred until around AD 800-900 (Hosler 1988, 1994; Kelley 2000: 139). In the Postclassic period, copper artifacts appeared in the archaeological record in many Aztatlán sites in West Mexico and across much of Mesoamerica. Notably, metal objects have not been recovered from some important sites in the highlands, such as those of the Teuchitlán tradition in highland Jalisco, which flourished around AD 200-800/900 (Hosler 1994: 14).

The initial adoption of metallurgical technologies in West Mexico, which occurred prior to the development of the Aztatlán tradition, is thought to have been accomplished via coastal contacts with long distance traders from Central and South America where metallurgical traditions appear in the latter region much earlier in time (Hosler 1994: 15). Two phases of copper metallurgy are recognized, the first phase (AD

800-1200/1300) was largely comprised of artifacts with a pure copper composition while the second phase (AD 1200/1300-1520) involved a technological shift to copper alloys and new forms of artifacts (Vargas 2001: 201).

With regards to the presence of copper in the Aztatlán-era, J. Charles Kelley (2000: 139) noted, “The distribution of metallurgy in western and northern Mexico appears to have corresponded approximately to the distribution of Aztatlán Mercantile System sites (and to Tarascan sites).” Mountjoy (2000: 97) concurred in stating: “The origin and early development of metalworking on the west Mexican coast appears intimately related to the Aztatlán tradition.” The metallurgical tradition that developed in the Aztatlán region in the Postclassic period focused on the production of copper ornaments such as plaques, crotals (“copper bells”), and small utilitarian items such as fishhooks, needles, tweezers, and other objects (Mountjoy and Torres 1985).

Copper artifacts are present at Amapa on the coastal plain of Nayarit along with evidence of slag, which is indicative of the smelting of metal ore (Meighan 1976: 119-120; Mountjoy 2000: 97). Meighan (1976: 112, pls. 99-109) noted that 205 metal artifacts were recovered at Amapa, with bells and more fancy items usually associated with burials and more utilitarian artifacts such as awls and needles more commonly associated with refuse. Three of the copper crotals at Amapa depict the face of the Mesoamerican Rain God Tlaloc (ibid.: pl. 108a-108c). Copper fishhooks and needles were recovered from the largely Cerritos phase (AD 900-1100) site of Chacalilla located to the south of Amapa (Michael Ohnerson, pers. comm. 2009). Copper also was recovered at the sites of Coamiles and San Felipe Aztatán on the coastal plain of northern Nayarit (Mauricio

Garduño Ambríz, pers. comm. 2009). At the nearby site of Peñitas, Von Winning (1956) described an olla burial in which the vessel contained 40 copper bells.

In Jalisco, Aztatlán deposits at Nahuapa II in the Tomatlán Valley also contained copper foil, a cast bell, tweezers, buttons, and probable needle and chisel fragments (Mountjoy 2000: 97). In the Banderas Valley of Jalisco, despite an abundance of Aztatlán ceramics, excavations at 107 sites revealed only one copper item, though the scarcity of these artifacts may be due to the corrosive acidity of the soil (*ibid.*). At Tizapan El Alto in Jalisco, Meighan and Foote (1968: 135-137) recovered 12 copper artifacts, though of a great diversity in forms. From the nearby site of Cojumatlán in Michoacán, Lister (1949: 70-72) recovered 13 copper artifacts.

On the coastal plain of Sinaloa at Chametla, Kelly (1938) did not report copper artifacts. At Culiacán, Kelly (1945: 146-149) reported 19 copper artifacts. In the Marismas Nacionales, a copper axe was recovered from a burial mound at Chalpa (Gill 1974: 88). At the site of Guasave in far northern Sinaloa, Ekholm (1942: 97-100) recovered 134 objects of cast copper, including 111 copper crotals, that likely originated from farther south. Of these objects, 87 copper crotals were recovered from a single burial (*ibid.*).

Aztatlán sites in highland Durango, such as Cañón del Molino and the Schroeder site (La Ferreria) were reported to contain artifacts of copper, likely imported from the coastal plain (Ganot R. and Peschard F. 1995: 161-162). At Cañón del Molino, 115 copper objects were recovered, including 81 copper bells (Kelley 1995: 109-110). Human figures depicted on codex-style vessels from the coastal plain of Nayarit are in some

instances portrayed wearing a turquoise-mosaic necklace with pendant bells or crotals, likely of copper, that is portrayed in a turquoise necklace style that is commonly illustrated in Mixtec codices. Copper also was reported at Cerro Hervideros and El Zape (Kelley 2000: 139). In sum, the Aztatlán tradition represented the development of a widespread interaction sphere that commonly involved the greater proliferation and exchange of copper artifacts across much of West Mexico.

Copper Artifacts in the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico

The presence of copper artifacts in the American Southwest, which stylistically and technologically appear to be derived from West Mexico (Kelley 1995: 112-116; Vargas 2001: 201), roughly coincides temporally with the florescence of the Aztatlán tradition. In Vargas's (ibid.: 202) study of copper artifacts in the American Southwest, Phase I (AD 800-1250) sites with copper crotals clustered mainly in the Hohokam region of southern Arizona, the region of Flagstaff in northern Arizona, with smaller quantities in the Mimbres region and Chaco Canyon of southwest and northwest New Mexico respectively. These copper crotals seem to have entered the Southwest in the context of a macroregional exchange network that emerged out of a Chacoan demand for these items (see Vokes and Gregory 2007: 323).

During this phase, one crotal from the site of Wupatki bears a depiction of the face of the Mesoamerican Rain God Tlaloc (Vargas 1995: 52), much like those evident at some sites in Nayarit, Durango, and Jalisco (see below). Phase II sites with copper artifacts, mainly crotals, that date after AD 1200-1300 cluster in two regions, the Salado

region of Arizona and the Casas Grandes region (Vargas 2001: 202-203). During this period, copper artifacts roughly clustered into a bilobed distribution to the northwest with a less frequent ubiquity to the northeast, thus supporting the concept of a large Casas Grandes economic interaction sphere (Vokes and Gregory: 325 and 351). While Vargas (2001) suggested two distinct exchange networks with West Mexican metal producers, Vokes and Gregory (2007: 325) considered that only one exchange system operating out of Paquimé was functioning at this time. However, Vargas (1995: 67) proposed that local elites at Paquimé were high-end consumers of copper artifacts from West Mexico and may not have been distributors on a large scale to Southwestern sites.

According to Vargas (2001: 198), “The number of copper artifacts recovered from Paquimé—664—is more than the combined total of copper items recovered from all other Southwest/Northwest region sites to date.” Of these artifacts, Paquimé had 115 crotals of 11 different types, the largest and most diverse set of crotals recovered from any site in the Southwest (*ibid.*: 203). Like an earlier example from Wupatki in Arizona, one of these crotals at Paquimé took the form of the face of the Mesoamerican Rain God Tlaloc (Vargas 1995: 57). In contrast to sites in Arizona and New Mexico, a diverse range of copper artifacts are present at Paquimé, including copper back shields (*tezcacuitlapilli*), crotals, armlets, and needles, among others (*ibid.*: 71).

While Di Peso (1974) suggested that copper metallurgy was practiced in the Casas Grandes region, Vargas (1995, 2001) convincingly argued that copper artifacts were instead imported from West Mexico as part of an elite exchange network of prestige items. Furthermore, she (Vargas 2001: 208-209) noted:

The quantity of copper artifacts and variety of copper artifact types at Paquimé relative to other sites in the Southwest/Northwest region suggest a unique relationship with West Mexico. The inhabitants of Paquimé appear to have interacted more closely with West Mexicans than did other groups in the Southwest/Northwest region.

Vargas (1995: 71) concluded: “A better understanding of prehispanic societies and chronologies in West Mexico and Northwest Mexico is critical to piecing together these relationships and the resulting affects on local sociopolitical developments, economy, and ideology.” This observation is important, as the florescence of the Casas Grandes culture was closely tied to the adoption of the full spectrum of the Flower World complex from Aztatlán societies in West Mexico. To understand how copper artifacts fit into this ideology and to gain a better understanding of why the acquisition of these objects were important at Paquimé, it is useful to consider the ideology of copper.

Copper and the Flower World in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest

In her study of the sensory qualities of copper, Hosler (1994: 227-248; 1995) argued that in ancient Mesoamerica, ideology and ritual power was imbued in the sounds and colors of material objects. Many of the ritual concepts and conceptual metaphors that were imbued in material substances such as clay, copper, and cotton undoubtedly continue to exist among contemporary indigenous groups. Drawing upon Contact-period documents of such groups as the Tarascans in Michoacan and song texts of the Aztecs in highland Central Mexico, Hosler (1994: 227-248) examined the ideological domains evoked in the use of shimmering and reflective metallic objects, a subject that is discussed below.

In her seminal study of the Flower World complex, Jane Hill (1992) noted that bright, iridescent, and chromatic colors are important means by which to evoke the floral solar paradisaal realm. For example, Burkhart (1992: 89) provided an elegant description of the shimmering Flower World realm of the early Colonial-period Aztec, a veritable shimmering garden of life itself:

In this symbolic garden, one came into direct contact with the creative, life-giving forces of the universe and with the timeless world of deities and ancestors. The garden is a shimmering place filled with divine fire; the light of the sun reflects from the petals of flowers and the iridescent feathers of birds; human beings—the souls of the dead or the ritually transformed living—are themselves flowers, birds, and shimmering gems . . . This garden is not a place of reward for the righteous, existing on some transcendent plane of reality separate from the material world. It is a metaphor for life on earth, a metaphor that ritual transforms into reality by asserting that, in fact, this is the way the world is.

Following Hill and Burkhart's initial analysis, Hosler (1994: 233) noted that in these Colonial-period Aztec texts, the effects of glistening metallic colors served as a means by which to evoke the Flower World.

Aside from the glistening colors, the sounds of metallic objects also evoked the Flower World realm and agricultural wealth (Hosler 1994: 233), while bells in Mesoamerica seemed to be closely related to deities of fertility and regeneration, such as Tlaloc, Quetzalcoatl, and Xipe Totec (ibid.: 235-243). In noting the relationship of these highland Central Mexican deities to bells, it should be considered important that these three deities are portrayed in Aztatlán symbolism on ceramics, a fact that may also relate to the ideology of bells or crotals. Hosler (ibid.: 243) further stated, "The sounds of rattles and bells thus promote human and agricultural fertility, they create order, and they protect. They also create color, a shimmering sacred paradise full of lustrous beings."

It is notable then that one readily recognizable deity found on some copper crotals in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest is the Rain deity Tlaloc (ibid.: 236). For the Azatlán era, copper crotals in the form of Tlaloc are known from the site of Amapa in Nayarit (Meighan 1976: pls. 107r-s, 108a-c), Cañón del Molino in Durango (Ganot and Peschard 1995: fig. 8.13), and a copper pin or awl that terminates in a crotal in the form of Tlaloc from Quitupan, Jalisco, located roughly 70 km east of the Sayula Basin (Schöndube 1974: fig. 7f), among others.

As Hosler (1994) described, the use of rattling instruments for calling rain and thunder is a common concept in Mesoamerica. One account from the Contact-period *Florentine Codex* (Sahagún 1950-1982: 2: 151; cited in Hosler 1994: 237) in highland Central Mexico described a Tlaloc rain priest's attempt to bring the rain by shaking his ceramic incense ladle that contained rattles,

And when the rain broke out, then he forthwith arose; he seized his incense ladle . . . the incense ladle rattled. It was in the form of a serpent. And the serpents head also rattled . . . Then he offered incense; to the four directions he raised [the incense ladle]. Much did it rattle; [the incense] spilled out . . . Thus he attended to the matter; thus he called upon the Tlalocs; thus he prayed for rain.

While the use of Tlaloc crotals composed in copper formed only one part of rain rituals in Postclassic West Mexico, rain-making rites may well have been imbued in Azatlán ceramics in the form of vessels with built-in rattling devices in the feet.

One of the common traits of Azatlán tripod vessels noted in my study of multiple collections of Azatlán wares in various museums in Mexico and the United States is the inclusion of a small ceramic ball or pebble within the at times hollowed legs of serving vessels, an inclusion that effectively adds the sensory experience of rattling sounds when

using the vessel. As rattling sounds in many cases served to evoke the rains, perhaps the rattling of the Aztatlán serving vessel when carried involved an intent to evoke or call forth the Tlaloc-related ancestral rains. Pointedly, it was noted that in some Casas Grandes macaw effigy vessels, a small pebble or ceramic pellet or ball was inserted into the mouth of the macaw to produce a rattling sound (e.g., National Museum of the American Indian, Catalog # 60562), an act that is effectively akin to the ideas present in rattling vessels from Aztatlán-era West Mexico. The Casas Grandes rattling effigies may well have served as a similar means by which to call forth the rains and in this instance probably specifically referred to the rain-making capacity of the scarlet macaw.

As objects such as gold and silver appear not to have played any major ideological or economic role in far northwest Mesoamerica, it seems most probable that the shimmering colors of copper musical instruments, such as crotals, served to evoke the Flower World of the Sun Youth Xochipilli during the Postclassic period. In Mesoamerica proper, although made of gold rather than copper, it should not be surprising that the young solar deity Xochipilli, the God of Music, was portrayed as a personified bell seated within a solar disk on a Late Postclassic pendant from Tomb 1 at Zaachila, Oaxaca (see Aguilar P. et al. 1989: 165).

While copper metallurgy developed in West Mexico from a base of technological knowledge derived from South America, it appears most probable that the affinity of copper with the Flower World may not have actually come to fruition until the adoption of Xochipilli-worship around AD 900 at the onset of the Postclassic period when copper artifacts became a major part of the Aztatlán interaction network. In other words, much as

domesticated cotton and weaving took on new ideological undertones in the Postclassic, and much as a new Sun and Corn Maiden ideology appears to have taken form in *mitote*-style ceremonialism in the Postclassic, it seems reasonable to conclude that the ideology of copper, an item that existed in West Mexico prior to the Aztatlán tradition, also took on a new ideological significance related to the shimmering Flower World at the onset of Xochipilli-worship in the region.

It seems improbable for these metallic objects to have been imbued with Flower World symbolism in the Terminal Classic in West Mexico when evidence of Flower World symbolism and Xochipilli is all but nonexistent at this time. The early importation of copper objects into the American Southwest from Aztatlán-era West Mexico probably reflects an attempt by higher-status groups in the Southwest, perhaps associated with a Chacoan and Mimbres interaction network, to tap into the blooming ideology of the Aztatlán Flower World as expressed in material goods such as copper.

The acquisition of these items may have served as a means for legitimization of power that was attached to the demonstrated ability to acquire exotic foreign objects at a great distance. Rather than through a relatively anonymous down-the-line exchange, it is entirely possible that these copper objects were brought into the American Southwest by West Mexican traders. The idea that West Mexican people never found their way up into the Southwest or Northwest Mexico, or that some Southwestern people did not travel to West Mexico, are propositions that are difficult to accept. Indigenous people and their trade and travel in the distant past were not constrained by national and political boundaries that only became defined in more recent centuries.

With the rise of the fully Mesoamericanized version of the Flower World in the Casas Grandes region, it should not be surprising that the presence of copper objects far exceeded that of any site in the American Southwest. In all probability, copper use at Paquimé and in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest reflected the sounds and colors of the flowery world of the Sun Youth Xochipilli. The continued use of bells in dances of ancestral katsina rain-spirits in the American Southwest is, to my mind, undoubtedly related to the Tlaloc and Xochipilli-derived, and Flower World-related, rain and solar rites of Aztatlán-era West Mexico. These rites remain centered upon ancestral rain spirits who, after first being awoken by the Sun Youth at dawn, symbolically arrive to the community in a shimmering cacophony of symbolic thunder and lightning evoked in the wearing of clamoring bells.

Indeed, modern bells attached to a belt worn around the waists of contemporary Pueblo dancers, such as some now housed in the collections of the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe (see Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology, Catalogue No. 1626-12a and 1626-12b), were noted to contain a large incised image of a flower that cross-cuts the opening of the bell, much as if the opening in the bell and the sound that was emitted symbolically represented the “voice” or aroma of the flower. This association is concordant with the observation that the Flower World of the Southwest and Mesoamerica is evoked through the sounds of bells (Hays-Gilpin et al. 2010: 122).

The florescence of the Flower World in the Aztatlán region of West Mexico in the Postclassic involved the association of the flowery spiritual realm with copper objects

such as crotals that added a sensory dimension to Flower World rites. While copper metallurgical technologies existed in West Mexico prior to the Postclassic as a result of interaction with South American cultures, it appears that a new system of beliefs, the Flower World of Xochipilli, was later associated with the existing metallurgical technology. This association between copper and the Flower World probably remained intact with the trade of copper artifacts to the American Southwest and Paquimé. Though copper was traded from West Mexico to the Southwest prior to the rise of the Casas Grandes culture, it is probable that the clearest and most specific association of copper with the young Sun God at Paquimé took form in the abundance of copper artifacts found at the site, more so than all Southwestern archaeological sites combined.

Mechanisms of Interaction along the Pacific Coast of Northwest Mesoamerica

Ben Nelson (2004: 294) recently noted that long distance connectivity between cultural developments in the American Southwest and the Mesoamerican frontier often bypassed large geographical regions, thus resulting in what he termed a “development gap” in northern Mexico. After AD 1200, the most active period of long distance interregional exchange of objects and social principles involved the Casas Grandes culture (ibid.). Interaction, such as that between Casas Grandes and the interrelated Pacific coast cultural developments, amounted to a “thin rope of connection” that skipped regions (ibid.: 294-295). This form of interaction or connectivity “is consistent with the voyaging form of interaction” that characterized forms of interaction along the Pacific coast extending as far south as coastal Ecuador (ibid.). Forms of coastal interaction that

skip regions strongly suggests the probability of travel by boat, an idea not too far-fetched for maritime-oriented cultures along the Pacific coastal plain with one eye on the sea and one eye on land oriented towards the Sierra, figuratively speaking.

What is notable about this proposition is that Fray Antonio Arias de Saavedra, in his account from AD 1673, briefly noted that long-distance boat travel was known for indigenous people in the Aztatlán hearth near the mouth of the Río Grande de Santiago. Though only mentioned in passing, Arias de Saavedra (McCarty and Matson 1975: 214) described this area, saying: “There they build boats to go to the Californias.” Though only a tantalizingly brief mention, in the context of his discussion of indigenous cultural practices Arias de Saavedra’s use of the pronoun “they” appears to refer to indigenous people, rather than Spaniards or *mestizos*, living on the coast. For example, prior to and after his mention of boat-builders, he repeatedly uses phrases and the pronoun “they” that clearly refer to local indigenous people, including, “. . . in their language . . .” or “. . . which the natives call . . .” (ibid.). Thus, it is clear that when Arias de Saavedra used the word “they” when describing boat builders who “go to the Californias”, it is clear that he was referring to the practices of native people, though the specific nature of these maritime activities is unclear.

Might there be some considerable antiquity to these long-distance maritime practices by indigenous people? As this boat-building activity occurred in the precise coastal region where Xochipilli-worship flourished during the Aztatlán era, might this provide us with just one mechanism by which to understand the movement of ideas and people along the Pacific coastal trade corridors? Scholars elsewhere commented upon the

importance of waterborne trade and travel via canoe or rafts in coastal West Mexico, as Publ (1990: 226: 232) noted: “With the information at hand, I suggest that watercraft were an integral feature of the prehispanic trade/transportation network in the Aztatlán region.” Many Aztatlán temple-town centers were built in major river valleys, and thus were constructed close to navigable waterways (ibid.: 231-232). From these data, Publ (ibid.: 232) concluded,

In part, it was probably access to and use of both water and land transportation which allowed some locations in the Aztatlán region to become significant focal points, and which probably contributed to the emergence of particular polities during Postclassic times.

In sum, waterborne trade and travel along a large span of the Pacific coast in the Aztatlán region was one activity that likely held important functions in prehispanic economic and communication networks that ultimately were interlinked with historical events and social change in distant regions. This mechanism for the physical movement of people along the Pacific coast also helped to facilitate the transmission of ideas and goods northward or southward and ultimately served as a means for polities and people of Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest to participate in a larger interaction sphere involving people and polities in West Mexico.

The data discussed within the present dissertation, which concerns the transmission of specific elite-oriented esoteric knowledge of the Sun Youth, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star deities from West Mexico to Paquimé and beyond, offer some measure of support to Nelson’s observation that the long distance interregional transmission of ideas and material goods along the Pacific coast skipped large intermediary geographical regions. For example, evidence suggests that the heartland of

Xochipilli worship in West Mexico was largely centered in and around the modern boundaries of the state of Nayarit. The straight-line distance between Paquimé and the mouth of the Rio Santiago in central coastal Nayarit, a prominent zone of Xochipilli worship during the Postclassic period and the early Contact period, roughly measures 1,000 kilometers.

Among the major concerns of archaeologists working in the Casas Grandes region and the American Southwest is to identify the specific region or cultural group in Mesoamerica from where material goods or ideas were transmitted northward. In addressing these concerns, data discussed in the present chapter indicate that Xochipilli worship in the Casas Grandes region and in the American Southwest originated in the southern portion of the core coastal and upland zone of the Aztatlán cultural region. With this argument in mind, it is worth recalling Parsons's (1939: 1008) observation: "Of all the extant Uto-Aztekan (sic) peoples, Cora-Huichol tribes of the Nayarit Sierra in Jalisco are the closest in culture to Pueblos." These similarities imply that there are important connections between these disparate regions that need to be clarified.

This perceived connection to Cora and Huichol people seems to be most particularly applicable to the Hopi, and may well be reflected in shared customs and stories. For example, Furst (2006: 186-187; see Kennard 1989) pointed out that certain Huichol and Hopi (Oraibi) stories of funerary customs are remarkably similar. Notably, the role of the Sun God in the Hopi account in question suggests that that this story may indeed form part of the traditions brought by southern clans from the south. Clearly there

are deep historical connections between indigenous people in these disparate regions that extend beyond any superficial similarities.

Scholars acknowledge that the coastal route along the western flanks of the Sierra Madre Occidental, termed “The Road to Cibola” by Carl Sauer (1932), probably was the main northward route of interaction for the transmission of material culture and ideology (Carpenter Slavens, Vicente López, and Sánchez Miranda 2008; Lekson 2008: 114; Riley 2005: 139). While some Southwestern scholars may hesitate to accept the argument that such long distance direct interaction occurred in the pre-Columbian era, scholars recently demonstrated that evidence of long-distance elite-oriented interaction in Mesoamerican prehistory in other areas is readily apparent, such as that which occurred between Teotihuacan and societies in the Maya region during the Classic period (e.g., Braswell 2003).

Discussion

The onset of the Postclassic period in Northwest Mesoamerica saw a dramatic shift in sociopolitical organization and religion, comparable to the later cultural reorganization that later took form in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest. Social change in the core Pacific coastal zone of the Aztatlán region involved the rise of major temple-town civic-ceremonial centers along major drainages as well as near highland routes of communication. The social changes that took form in West Mexico, in my estimation, were directly related to the arrival of the Flower World complex from highland Central Mexico. Much of our understanding of prehispanic social organization

and religion in Aztatlán communities can be drawn from analyzing ethnohistoric and ethnographic documents of probable descendant communities such as the Cora and Huichol. Strong correlations exist between religious beliefs and practices of these indigenous groups and Aztatlán ideologies expressed in the prehispanic symbolism. It was these major Aztatlán centers and their social, political, and religious organization that played an important role in social change in the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico after AD 900.

As a number of scholars noted, much of the Mesoamerican material culture that is present in the American Southwest can be traceable to West Mexico. The present chapter began with an assessment of some of the more prominent aspects of Casas Grandes material culture and practices that derive from West Mexico. Many of these items, such as shell and shell jewelry and copper ornaments and tools, were considered to be part of a prestige goods economy. However, other elements such as new hydraulic technologies of slab-lined drainage systems, secondary interments in urn burials, possible shared clan symbolism in rock art, as well as biological connections cannot be readily explained away as being part of the exchange of precious goods.

Following the discussion of shared material culture and practices in the Casas Grandes and Aztatlán regions, three subjects were considered in some depth: the ideologies of cacao, cotton, and copper. Each of these material goods became prominently important in the ritual and economy of Aztatlán societies of West Mexico during the Early Postclassic. While cotton and copper use undoubtedly predates AD 900,

it appears that Flower World ceremonialism imbued these items with new ideological significance among Aztatlán people.

Later, copper and cotton, and the underlying ideological components of these goods, also were significant in Puebloan Flower World rites, particularly during the Pueblo IV period. Though cotton was produced locally in the Southwest, the association between cotton and the ancestral rain- and cloud-spirits ultimately has its origins in the core Aztatlán zone and was present hundreds of years earlier than evidence for these ideas in the far north.

Cacao cultivation, and the use of specialized vessels for its consumption, also took form among Aztatlán centers in the Early Postclassic period, probably among high-status individuals in rites quite similar to that known among the Huichol and Cora where modern chocolate is now consumed. These rites primarily are dedicated to the Sun, the gods, and the ancestors. It is from the southern core coastal region along Matanchen Bay where cacao appears to have been cultivated in antiquity and it seems most probable that this is the region from where people at Chaco Canyon, and likely Paquimé, obtained cacao.

The consumption of cacao and other consumables from serving vessels laden with flower symbolism, particularly as evident in the metaphor of bowls and vessels as open floral blossoms, reveals the close relationship between Flower World and newly emerging socioreligious life in Aztatlán communities. The appearance of a multitude of ceramic types with this floral symbolism suggests that different communities had their own distinctive manner in which to portray Flower World symbolism. Much like for the

Mixtec-Eastern Nahuatl-Zapotec feasting complexes among competing elites, a similar form of feasting, exchange, gift-giving, and alliance formation among Aztlán civic-ceremonial centers appears to have taken form during the Early Aztlán period. The feasting complex conceptualized here is strikingly similar to that which existed in Puebla and Oaxaca and appeared practically fully formed in the core coastal Aztlán zone of West Mexico. This feasting complex was adopted along with a suite of religious beliefs, ritual practices, and forms of sociopolitical organization inextricably tied to Flower World, a system of beliefs that undoubtedly has roots of origin to the far southeast.

Considering the high probability that Casas Grandes populations were partly comprised of West Mexican people, it may well be the case that certain individuals at Paquimé looked back towards the region from where they had come, and from where they had distant kin, to establish economic relations for the acquisition of prestige commodities. The northward movement of goods and ideas described herein undoubtedly occurred primarily along the Pacific Coast trade corridor. The “hop-scotch” pattern of distribution of these trade goods and ideas seems to imply that interaction took form along the coast at least partly through travel by boat. Similar long distance patterns in the trade of such high-valued items as cacao implies that trade did not always occur through a series of down-the-line exchanges, but more likely involved the long distance movement of traders. In light of these propositions, it remains necessary to more fully understand how such long distance interactions took form in relation to social developments and people in the intervening areas.

Despite recent assertions of cultural continuity or descent relationships between Comala phase cosmology in Colima from the Protoclassic period (see Harmon et al. 2006) and Casas Grandes cosmology circa AD 1200, the present work finds that the Aztatlán Flower World complex of the Sun Youth, the Morning Star, and the Plumed Serpent did not exist in Comala symbolism and ritual in any form. While scholars have lately perceived relationships between the much earlier Comala phase and the much later, widely shared belief systems of the Casas Grandes and Pueblo cultures of the American Southwest and northern Mexico, in reality, there appears to exist little to no cultural bridge between the two as evidenced in Aztatlán politico-religious organization and Flower World-oriented belief systems and symbolism. Thus, the proposed connection between Comala, Casas Grandes, and the Puebloan Southwest via the connecting node of the Aztatlán tradition is considered here to be overstated. Rather than characterized by continuity, the Aztatlán tradition represented a thorough disjunction in religion, social organization, and political organization from that which existed in the wider region beforehand (see Weigand 1990).

Conclusion

One of the more problematic developments in the fields of Southwestern and Northwest Mexican archaeology was the general tendency of scholars to rely primarily upon theoretical models of internal sociocultural evolution and ecological determinism to explain the development of social complexity. While scholars recognized that Mesoamerican societies played some role in social change in the far northern regions, by

and large these influences were minimized in recent decades. The present chapter, and the larger dissertation, seeks to demonstrate that social change in these northern region after AD 900 was largely correlated with social developments along the coast of West Mexico and, more distantly, events and social developments in highland Central Mexico and Oaxaca. To understand these social changes more fully, archaeologists must leave behind approaches that only consider a narrow set of data primarily from the region in which they work and begin to adopt a relational approach (e.g., Van Dyke 2007) that considers the interdependent and interrelated local, regional, and interregional social dynamics on a continental scale.

In light of the present research on Aztatlán social, political, and religious organization, it is becoming clear that Southwestern and Northwest Mexican social change should not be considered in any regard without an equal consideration of then-contemporaneous social formations in West Mexico. It seems safe to conclude that the Aztatlán tradition was a major cultural node in a complex continental interaction sphere, a node that holds the key to understanding social change and the development of political complexity not just to the far north but to the far south. The Aztatlán tradition appears to have been one of the prime movers of social change in the American Southwest during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV periods. The social forces in the Aztatlán region that propelled the rise of the Medio-period Casas Grandes culture served to transform Paquimé into a prime mover in its own right, and not just a simple participant, that stimulated major social changes in the American Southwest after AD 1300.

Chapter 9:

The Mountain of Dawn: Sacred Landscapes and Political Power at Paquimé, Chihuahua, Mexico

“Two deities in particular were identified with Flower Mountain, the maize and sun gods. Quite clearly, this relates to their widespread use as metaphors for human birth and rebirth, the sun god being reborn at dawn on a daily basis and the corn deity each year in the cycle of planting and maturation of growing maize.”

-Karl Taube (2004b: 92)

Introduction

Sacred Landscapes and Political Power in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

Studies of landscape and settlement in ancient and contemporary societies emphasize the importance not only of the physical aspects of the land, but also the ways in which human beings interact with it economically and politically and ascribe to it meanings, symbolism, and beliefs (Ashmore 1991; Ashmore 2004: 171; Ashmore and Knapp 1999). In many different places and time periods in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, and in many other parts of the world, landscape features often were integrated into the process of selection of settlement location and development while also serving an important role both in the cosmological realm and in the formation and maintenance of social power.

The materialization of cosmological symbols on the landscape provides opportunities for individuals or groups to manipulate, use, own, transfer, or control ritually charged natural features for the purpose of obtaining and legitimizing social, political, and religious power (Halperin 2005: 72). For instance, as Ashmore (1989: 272) noted for the Classic period in southern Mesoamerica: “Few would dispute some

presence of ideological underpinnings in Maya settlement patterns . . . Maya rulers were also using principles of site planning based in cosmology as a means to profess and reinforce their membership in the political elite . . .” In other words, from multiple scales that encompass individual buildings to the regional landscape, the mapping of the cosmos onto settlement patterns could function as strategies for political propaganda and for the legitimization and justification of power and authority (ibid: 272-273).

Halperin (2005: 73) described similar appropriations of ritually significant natural features among the ancient Maya in Belize:

Access to or control over sacred spaces, such as caves, and associated rituals served as a fundamental strategy for displaying, legitimizing, and negotiating social power . . . In addition, ritual dramatization of power plays a central role in defining political and social hierarchies within complex societies . . .

It seems likely that this strategy can readily be applied to other prominent natural features on the landscape such as mountains, hilltops, waterholes, or canyons, among others. The control and manipulation of monumental cultural or natural features enables the accumulation of prestige, wealth, and power, and visually conveys social status differences and social identities. Ritual performances on or near appropriated natural features also served to legitimize and reinforce unequal status relations through public (or private) displays of elite’s symbolically charged expressions of esoteric ritual knowledge. The use of symbols is a potent medium for conveying information about an individual’s social position and identity. As Kertzer (1988: 30) indicated,

Transmission of messages through ritual dramatization is much more powerful than communication through verbal declaration. Moreover, in many situations, direct verbal expression of status differences is more

likely to create overt conflict among those in lower ranks than is ritual expression of the same message.

In other words, rather than verbal communication, the use of ritual, performance, and symbolic affiliations is a more effective means by which to communicate status and reinforce or reify differences in the social hierarchy.

The present chapter examines the sacred landscape of Paquimé, located in far northwestern Mexico. Given that social organization at Paquimé was the most highly stratified in the larger region, a number of questions are addressed in the following pages: (1) Did elites at Paquimé incorporate or manipulate features on the natural landscape into political propaganda as a strategy of legitimization?, (2) How is Casas Grandes cosmology and worldview mapped onto monumental architecture, in site layouts, or onto the nearby geographic landscape?, (3) How does ritual dramatization at sacred natural features link elites to the supernatural realm while both defining and reifying differences in social status?, and (4) How can studies of sacred landscape in the Casas Grandes region inform the longstanding debates about the degree to which Mesoamerican societies and religious beliefs influenced the significant cultural changes in the American Southwest and Northern Mexico after AD 1200? These questions are addressed in the present chapter through a focus upon a unique hilltop domestic and ceremonial architectural compound built atop Cerro de Moctezuma, a prominent site overlooking Medio-period Paquimé in the Casas Grandes valley.

Flower Mountain in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest

As described in Chapter 2, among the most widespread features in the cosmological landscape of ancient Mesoamerica and the American Southwest is the sacred mountain of the east, known variously as Flower Mountain or Flower Mound. This concept, identified in recent years by Karl Taube, persists in a variety of artistic mediums of a number of temporally and geographically spaced cultural traditions, including many contemporary indigenous religious traditions. Located in the floral, solar paradisaic realm of the dawning sun, Flower Mountain is recognized on a variety of scales. On a larger scale, it is the birthplace of the Sun at dawn, while on a conceptually equivalent smaller scale it is the point of emergence for the maize plant. Thus, the rising of the Sun from Flower Mountain is identical to the concept of the growth of the maize plant as it emerges upward from the flower-covered mound of soil that surrounds the roots of the growing plant.

Perhaps most importantly for the present chapter, the sacred floral mountain, a symbolic *axis mundi*, is closely linked to esteemed individuals, rulers, heroic warriors, and ancestors who adhere to a strict and morally virtuous code of ethics in life (Taube 2004b). The relationship between rulers and Flower Mountain, discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, is especially important for our understanding of political power and the sacred landscape in the Casas Grandes world.

Casas Grandes Cosmology and the Mesoamerican Connection

Religion and Ritual Power at Paquimé

While archaeological evidence suggests that aspects of the Flower World complex were present in the American Southwest as early as AD 1000, the florescence of Mesoamerican religious beliefs and practices reached a pinnacle in the Medio period at Paquimé. To summarize, these ritual practices and beliefs included such specific attributes of the Flower World complex as (1) the interment of a notched human bone musical rasp in the burial crypt of the highest-status elites in the Mound of the Offerings, (2) the presence of Flower Road symbolism on the burial urns of these same elites, (3) the earliest portrayal in the Greater Southwest of the plumed serpent as the road of the sun, or “flower road” and a vehicle for ancestral beings, and (4) iconographic portrayals of a youthful solar deity wearing a macaw-feathered headdress who is akin to the Mesoamerican solar deity Xochipilli. These macaw-headed figures depicted in Casas Grandes symbolism later served as the prototype for the young Sun God Payatamu of the American Southwest.

In earlier chapters, I argued that portrayals of anthropomorphic figures wearing a macaw-feathered headdress on Chihuahuan Polychromes represent more than simply illustrations of the youthful Mesoamerican solar deity Xochipilli, the god preeminently associated with the Flower World realm. Rather, these images may well represent the conception of a paramount ruler dressed as Xochipilli, a personified Sun God *per se* (see Chapters 2 and 6). In other words, I argued that religion at Paquimé was centered upon the Mesoamerican Flower World complex and pointedly concerned the diurnal rising and

passage of the sun on the body or pathway of the horned and plumed serpent. At the heart of this complex at Paquimé was a fundamental conception of a paramount ritual leader identified as the personified or living representation of the young sun god Xochipilli. This ritual leader thus used highly visible Flower World symbols and a constructed identity as a living sun god to signal and distinguish his social position and his predominant role in power relations in the Casas Grandes social and political hierarchy.

These very specific Mesoamerican religious beliefs and symbols in the Casas Grandes region did not develop *in situ* through local cultural evolution. Rather, these ideas were likely brought to Paquimé by Aztatlán peoples from West Mexico. While it is clear that the Sun Youth Payatamu is closely related to Flower Mound in the American Southwest, and the Sun God Xochipilli/Piltzintli is closely related to the eastern Mountain of Dawn in West Mexico, it remains to be considered whether the Casas Grandes Sun Youth is similarly associated with the *axis mundi*, a sacred central mountain in the Casas Grandes region. In other words, as Mesoamerican elites and esteemed ancestors were closely affiliated with Flower Mountain, it is important to consider the sacred geography of the Casas Grandes World to discern evidence for connections between elites and a sacred mountain as an *axis mundi*, a place that at once conveyed key cosmological concepts and that also reified high-status individual's social positions .

Sacred Landscapes in the Casas Grandes Valley

The Mountain of Dawn: Cerro de Moctezuma and the Casas Grandes World

Over the last century, many scholars offered speculation on the sociopolitical and religious significance of the hilltop site of Cerro de Moctezuma (see images in Pitezel 2007: figs. 1-4), a site with a unique combination of domestic and ritual architecture situated atop the most prominent landform in the Casas Grandes valley overlooking the site of Paquimé (Bandelier 1890-1892 563-574; Blackiston 1906; Brand 1933, 1943; Di Peso 1974: 2: 360-365; Di Peso *et al* 1974: 5: 866-867; Lumholtz 1902: 89-91). The most recent and most detailed studies of the significance of Cerro de Moctezuma are those of Steve Swanson (1997, 2003) and Todd Pitezel (2003, 2007, 2011). The site itself lies 6-7 km southwest of Paquimé at the confluence of three river valleys and is comprised of a number of unique features both around and on top of the hill.

A habitation area of adobe room blocks, named “El Pueblito”, is situated 240 m above the landscape on a natural mesa on the northern edge of the hill and measures roughly 2,500 m² including a “large” interior plaza (Pitezel 2007: 354-362). This domestic compound is surrounded on three sides by precipitous cliffs (Pitezel 2003: 10). The collapsed adobe mound of the pueblo is perhaps the tallest of 338 adobe mounds within a 60 km radius of Paquimé, suggesting that the possibly multiple-storied pueblo atop Cerro de Moctezuma would have been conspicuously visible for many miles around from the valley floor (*ibid*: 362). Pitezel’s (*ibid.*) map of El Pueblito indicates that the plaza has an eastward-oriented entrance and measures roughly 25 m on its east/west axis and 20 m on its north/south axis, or roughly 400-500 m² in total. Harmon (2005) also

suggested that there may be a ballcourt at El Pueblito. A collection of surface ceramics from El Pueblito dates this complex to the Medio period from the mid-1200s to 1400s AD (Pitezel 2007: 357).

Cerro de Moctezuma is unique in that it contains the only known habitation on a hill in the area, it has a more substantial variety and number of features than many of the other sites in the region, and the extent and size of the construction of features on the mesa and summit suggests a level of overbuilding and an “extravagant use of labor and materials” such that it likely represents an “architecture of power”, much like architecture at Paquimé (Pitezel 2007: 356, 362; and see Whalen and Minnis 2001a). For example, on the crest of the summit some 410 m above the valley floor was built a massive circular structure identified as a signaling station, also known as an *atalaya*, which was connected by a trail leading from El Pueblito (see images in Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 866, fig. 239-5; Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 866, fig. 239-5; Swanson 2003: 756, fig. 2).

While Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 5: 866) suggested a layout of spiral-shaped walls, recent scholars agree that the structure on the summit instead was comprised of a central tower or structure surrounded by two concentric walls (Pitezel 2007: 356; Swanson 2003). The central structure at the peak of this hill may have directional significance as it contained a roughly square or diamond-shaped interior building subdivided into four rooms oriented towards the cardinal directions (Blackiston 1906: 259). The delineation of this structure into four parts recalls the definition of the four world quarters and the pivotal world center, an ancient Mesoamerican cosmological principle (Taube 2005a: 23). This quadripartite structure was connected to the

surrounding inner wall by an east or southeastward-facing 10-ft-long projecting wall, as clearly illustrated by Di Peso (Blackiston 1906: 259; Di Peso 1974: 2: 867). However, Swanson's (2003: fig. 2) recent illustration of this structure indicated a northward-facing wall. This discrepancy needs to be clarified. Commenting on the extreme size of this structure, Pitezel (2007: 363) noted that the outer circular wall of piled rock measures 1.5 m in height while the more massive inner wall measures 3 m at its tallest point, is 2.2 m in width, and measures 17 m in diameter.

Notably, on the western side of the hill about 40 m below the *atalaya* is a cave that extends 14 m into the hillside and drops to an unknown depth inside the hill (Pitezel 2007: 363). During his visit, Blackiston (1906: 260) noted that members of his entourage had helped to dismantle a wall that blocked entrance to the cave and had ventured some 135 ft inwards. He (ibid.) further noted that the cave descended to a point directly underneath the *atalaya* on the summit. Recent research and organized symposia (e.g., Brady 2008; Guernsey and Reilly 2008; Nicolay 2008; Prufer and Brady 2005) demonstrated that caves are infused with ritual symbolism in ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica and the American Southwest. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the cave located just below the summit of Cerro de Moctezuma also held religious significance for ritual specialists on the mesa and summit and ultimately for residents of Paquimé on the valley floor.

What is perhaps most remarkable about the interrelated secular and ritual complexes on the mesa and on the nearby peak is that while both used adobe in the construction techniques, neither a permanent water source nor an abundance of soil, the

necessary ingredients for making adobe, are available on the top of the hill. As Pitezel (2007: 360) noted, soil at the site is no more than a few centimeters deep while the closest permanent water source to El Pueblito is 300 m below to the valley floor and several kilometers from the site. Evidence of adobe mortar on the summit of Cerro de Moctezuma is even more unique as this site sits 410 m above the valley floor (ibid.). These factors suggest an impressive investment of time, energy, and mobilization of physical labor that was necessary to haul the materials needed for the construction of a hilltop site containing both a habitation area and architecture with prominent ritual significance (ibid.).

In his reconnaissance on and around Cerro de Moctezuma, Pitezel (2007: 364-365) also recorded a portion of a “massive” agricultural system that measured at least 38,000 m², the second largest recorded system in the region. This system far exceeds the average 2,462 m² of other agricultural fields in the area (ibid.). The size and abundance of the agricultural systems features on and around Cerro de Moctezuma, which included a number of check dams in drainages, agricultural terraces, and rock piles for agave farming, were deemed by Pitezel (ibid.: 365) to be “more than necessary to support the residents of El Pueblito.” In a recent study of farming systems in the Casas Grandes region, Minnis and colleagues (2006: 717-719) suggested that the fields in the vicinity of El Pueblito may correspond to ethnographically known examples of “cacique fields”, agricultural fields communally worked for the benefit of a cacique or community leader. Ethnohistoric and ethnographic examples of “cacique fields” are known in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest and Southeast (ibid.). While the surplus products of

this agricultural system undoubtedly went to residents at Paquimé or for ritual activities such as feasting, the presence of such an extensive system would have had the visual effect of defining this mountain as surrounded by a veritable garden of abundance and fertility.

Previous Interpretations of Cerro de Moctezuma

In a brief synthesis that characterized past conceptualizations of the significance of Cerro de Moctezuma, Pitezel (2007:357) pointed out three trends in interpretations of the primary construction purpose, including for defensive purposes, communication, and ritual. A number of early investigators suggested that the hilltop position and massive construction were characteristics of a fortified and defense-oriented strategy (e.g., Bandelier 1890-1892; Blackiston 1906; Lumholtz 1902). While this interpretation may be partly correct, more recent analyses downplay arguments for the military primacy of the site as no other defensive traits were noted in the region (Pitezel 2007: 365; Swanson 2003: 764). More likely, combinations of communicative and ritual activities were the central elements important in the function of the site. As VanPool and VanPool (2007: 132) noted:

The center's placement, however, at the top of a mountain that lacks water and provides no benefit or resource other than its exceptional view . . . , which could in fact have been quite important for communicating with distant communities . . . , is consistent with a ceremonial purpose.

Moreover, they (ibid.: 130-132) further suggested that Cerro de Moctezuma was a symbolic “cosmic mountain” and *axis mundi*.

Signaling Stations, Communication Networks, and Socioreligious Integration in the Casas Grandes Region

As part of Paul Minnis and Michael Whalen's survey project entitled *Reconocimiento Regional Paquimé*, Steve Swanson (1997, 2003) initiated a survey and mapping of signaling stations (*atalayas*) in the Casas Grandes region in part to determine the degree of line-of-sight intervisibility between such features and to better understand how these features served to integrate outlying communities into an extensive network of communication of the social, political, and religious activities centered at Paquimé (see map in Swanson 2003: 761, fig. 5). Ethnographic and ethnohistoric information dating to the earliest Spanish contact in the mid-1500s documents a number of signaling systems throughout the American Southwest and Northern Mexico (Swanson 2003: 754-755). In testing his assumption that the *atalaya* on Cerro de Moctezuma was used for smoke signaling, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 5: 867) burned a single dry yucca plant atop the *atalaya* and found the resultant smoke to be visible for some 26 miles (42 km). Ethnographic data suggest that the maximum extent of visibility for fire signaling is 72 km (Ellis 1991; Swanson 2003: 755). Di Peso (1974: 2: 362-365) argued that a series of signaling stations in the surrounding Casas Grandes region served as a widespread communicative network that enabled the interaction and integration of surrounding communities with the central Paquimé polity.

Since many features documented atop hills often lack evidence of how signals were sent (e.g., evidence of smoke/fire or mirror remnants), Swanson's (2003) analysis sought to identify interaction networks based upon the degree of direct visibility between signaling stations. His (ibid: 758) survey identified 24 probable signaling stations,

including 23 hilltop platforms and the *atalaya* atop Cerro de Moctezuma. Results of his study indicate that the highest degree of intervisibility and network connectivity is centered on the *atalaya* on Cerro de Moctezuma, where 12 lines-of-sight converge (ibid.: 763). This connectivity suggests that this signaling station was the central hub of an extensive communication network that would have enabled people at this *atalaya* to observe, transmit, or receive any messages being sent by other stations in the region (ibid.:765). This communication network was mainly oriented to the north and west of the site (ibid.: 763).

Much like Pitezel (2007: 365-366), Swanson (2003: 764-765) suggested that the Casas Grandes signaling stations were likely oriented more towards a social and religious function, while defensive components remain a plausible alternative. These stations may well have served multiple purposes, including the coordination and relay of a regionwide schedule of activities based upon rituals taking place at Paquimé or on Cerro de Moctezuma (ibid.: 764).

The close association between the *atalaya*, El Pueblito, and Paquimé is plainly evidenced by a number of factors: (1) The *atalaya* is connected to El Pueblito by a direct trail (Pitezel 2007: 364); (2) El Pueblito is connected to Paquimé by a road that is several kilometers long (Blackiston 1906: 257; Swanson 2003: 764); and (3) a narrow sighting window in the corner of a room at Paquimé gives an exclusive view of the summit of Cerro de Moctezuma (Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 756; Swanson 2003: 764). These factors led Pitezel (2007: 366) to conclude:

I suggest that the leadership at Paquimé specifically selected Cerro de Moctezuma to visually broadcast their place as paramount holders of

religious knowledge. It is probable that at least some of the occupants of El Pueblito held the status of ritual specialists with relevant knowledge to perform activities ultimately related to the ritual structure emanating from Paquimé.

With these thoughts in mind, I contend that Cerro de Moctezuma was specifically chosen by Medio-period ritual leaders at Paquimé to represent the *axis mundi*, a sacred central mountain. Given that Casas Grandes cosmology was centered upon the Flower World complex, Cerro de Moctezuma may well represent the symbolic Flower Mountain of the Casas Grandes world. This strategy fits well within what we know of the links between centrality and rulership and the importance of ideology in site planning and construction in Mesoamerica (e.g., Ashmore 1989; Sorenson and Fedick 2008; Taube 2005a).

As scholars have long noted, many Casas Grandes sites were in part selected due to their proximity to water sources and fertile agricultural land in the river drainages. Paquimé itself is situated next to the largest river with the most extensive drainage (Di Peso 1974: 1: 8). However, while site location in the Casas Grandes valley was often based upon environmental factors, the selection of Cerro de Moctezuma as a high-status domestic and ritual center likely was chosen with both political and cosmological significance in mind. Imbuing both the natural and human-modified features on this peak with ritual significance recalls an admixture of Knapp and Ashmore's (1999: 10-11) concept of the "constructed" and "conceptualized" landscape; that is, the investment of cultural meaning into both material and natural features.

Ideally, the selection and cultural modification of a symbolic Flower Mountain in the Casas Grandes region should be one located directly east of Paquimé, rather than immediately southwestward as is Cerro de Moctezuma. However, to my knowledge, no

such mountain to the east is close enough to have provided the proximity, visibility, and communicative potential to Paquimé and to surrounding communities as does Cerro de Moctezuma. The construction or replication of a symbolic Flower Mountain adjacent to Paquimé does not preclude the suggestion that an actual sacred eastern mountain exists on the landscape in the Casas Grandes region.

The centrality of the hilltop location on Cerro de Moctezuma for high-status habitation, ceremonial performance, and regional communication networks was likely the most practical and expedient choice in the immediate area for ensuring maximum public expression of political authority and social power which helped to define and reinforce political and social hierarchies at Paquimé. As noted above, in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, features on the natural landscape, such as caves and mountains, can serve as the setting for ritual performances and often are imbued with cosmological, social, and political significance. As Paquimé was the most socially and politically complex site in the ancient American Southwest or Northwest Mexico, the positioning of a highly visible ritual and domestic complex, with highly restricted access, atop a prominent hill overlooking the regional center surely reinforced social differentiation.

Rituals performed both on the top of the mountain and at Paquimé undoubtedly pertained to the Casas Grandes Flower World complex while religious beliefs and practices in the Casas Grandes region likely entailed envisioning Cerro de Moctezuma as a symbolic Flower Mountain, an *axis mundi* and mountain of abundance and sustenance on a monumental scale. Thus, ceremonies performed atop this sacred central mountain by a ritual leader self-identified as a personified young Sun God likely were linked to

the ancient and widespread Mesoamerican conception of the young dawning sun rising from atop Flower Mountain. Furthermore, as evidenced by the extensive agricultural system on and around this sacred mountain, the elite residents of Cerro de Moctezuma may have been perceived as living not simply on a prominent hilltop, but atop the Edenic, sacred Flower Mountain and symbolic *axis mundi* of the Casas Grandes world. These principles are entirely unknown in the Casas Grandes region in the Viejo Period and their appearance coincided with the sudden elaboration of a suite of specific elements of the Flower World complex introduced in the Medio period at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

This interpretation may also have implications for our understanding of ceremonial rooms at Paquimé. Unit 11, also known as the House of the Serpents, located in the far southwestern portion of the site and isolated from the rest of the domestic compounds, was described by Bandelier (1890-1892: 551) as having a very different layout plan from that of any of the other compounds (see map in Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 476, fig. 1-5). The southwest corner of the Unit 11 complex also contained a unique arrow-shaped room or “bastion” that pointed in the direction of Cerro Montezuma, unlikely a coincidence (Di Peso 1974: 3: 372, fig. 54-2.2; Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 503-505, fig. 22-5). Its position at the southwestern corner of the site also makes it the closest structure at Paquimé to Cerro de Moctezuma. Flanked by a roughly 113-m-long horned serpent effigy mound immediately outside its west walls, this complex contained 25 single-story rooms, 2 multi-storied sections, and 4 interior plazas (Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 475; *ibid.*: 477, fig. 2-5).

Within this complex, the subterranean portions of the multi-storied sections were judged to be “ceremonial rooms” (Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 475). Of the two subterranean rooms, Room 38-B-11 was considered by Lekson (1999b: 87-88) and Wilcox (1999: 101) to most closely resemble twelfth to fourteenth century Mogollon-style kivas than any other room at Paquimé (see image in Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 507, fig. 27-5). With a main access route comprised of a sloped ramp leading up to an interior plaza, the rectangular Room 38-B-11 contained two elaborate support posts in the center of the room. Between the two posts was a large excavated area which likely once contained either a central cache or a central hearth (Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 509; Lekson 1999b: 88).

Notably, each of the four corners of the room contained looted pits that likely once held caches (Di Peso et al. 1974: 5: 509). In essence, the four corner caches coupled with the central cache or hearth, the quintessential quincunx cosmogram, indicate that this ceremonial room may have held strong directional significance. It should also be noted that the plaza connected to the kiva-like structure also contained the only access door to the arrow-shaped room. This suggests a connection between the rectangular “kiva”, the interior plaza, and the arrow-shaped room.

Given its unique location in relation to Cerro de Moctezuma and its isolated location in relation to the rest of the domestic structures at Paquimé, the presence of the unique room pointing towards the hilltop ruins, the kiva-like structure with directional caches, and the proximity to a major horned serpent effigy mound located just outside the compound, it is probable that this complex held some significance and may well relate to the occupants and activities of the domestic and ritual compounds atop Cerro de

Moctezuma. Perhaps this complex housed elites on extended visits to Paquimé while away from their usual residency atop Cerro de Moctezuma. In light of these suggestions, it is important for archaeologists to determine whether or not the trail said to have linked Cerro de Moctezuma to Paquimé led towards Unit 11, the closest structure to the sacred mountain.

Oral Traditions and the Legend of Montezuma in the Casas Grandes Region

It is notable that the ruins of Paquimé and Cerro de Moctezuma, as embodied in the name of this landform, are identified in oral traditions as the residence of the legendary and widespread culture hero Montezuma. The earliest recorded mention of Montezuma in Spanish documents in the Southwest dates to the AD 1664 writings of Francisco de Gorraez Beaumont and Antonio de Oca Sarmiento (Bandelier 1892: 320). In discussing the ruins of Paquimé, they refer to the buildings as the “houses of Montezuma” (ibid.).

Seventeenth-century traditions from the Casas Grandes region indicate that the leader Montezuma came from the west, lived in the vicinity for a long period, and enslaved the local population in order to help construct the “*fortaleza*” at Paquimé (Ives 1950: 324). Bandelier (1892: 322-323) further indicated that indigenous people in the El Paso and Casas Grandes regions referred to nearly every ruin in the area as a “Montezuma”. Blackiston (1906: 257) noted that local indigenous people who accompanied him up Cerro de Moctezuma referred to the trail leading to El Pueblito as the “road of the Montezumas”. Furthermore, he (ibid.: 260) pointed out that the tradition

of local people “. . . unhesitatingly proclaims the remains [of El Pueblito] to be the palace of the great king who reigned from these heights over the inhabitants of the Casas Grandes.”

Given the name ascribed to this hill, it is clear that this king or leader would be the Montezuma of lore. This concept draws striking concordance with Pitezel’s (2007: 366) suggestion that a few permanent ritual specialists from Paquimé lived permanently at El Pueblito. Might this isolated and secluded, yet prominently visible site indeed have been the rarified residence of a paramount ritual leader and his priestly retainers? While scholars pointed out a number and wide variety of Montezuma traditions from throughout the American Southwest (e.g., Parmentier 1979), oral traditions, the earliest of which were recorded roughly 340 years ago, suggest that the Montezuma tradition has some roots in northern Mexico and in the Casas Grandes region in particular.

The suggestion that both the legendary figure Montezuma and the widespread Sun Youth Payatamu have origins at Paquimé is important. In an earlier chapter, I proposed that the Montezuma (and related Poseyemu) traditions may refer to an actual prominent historical figure in the Greater Southwest, perhaps even a prominent leader at Paquimé. Traditions suggesting the arrival of Montezuma at Paquimé from outside the region may well reflect the grafting of the name of a later Aztec ruler onto an earlier tradition of a ritual leader coming to Paquimé from further south or west.

That the earliest written records of the name Montezuma date to the mid-1600s in the Southwest suggests that highland Central Mexican natives who accompanied the Spaniards to the Southwest, such as those that accompanied Coronado in 1542 and

remained behind at Zuni (Bandelier 1892: 321; Riley 1974), may have transmitted stories of the historical figure Montezuma to the Southwest. I suggest that these stories with the name Montezuma may well have then been grafted onto earlier traditions in the Greater Southwest of an important ritual leader associated with the Sun Youth Payatamu who established himself at Paquimé. In fact, as I have noted earlier, this conflation is evident in traditions at Santa Ana Pueblo where Bandelier (in Lange 1959: 337) in 1882 referred to the tall Sun Youth standard of Payatamu as “la mera bandera de Montezuma [*the flag of Montezuma*].”

In summary, I suggest that the Montezuma traditions related to a prominent leader in the Casas Grandes region may well have a basis rooted in stories of a historical figure at Paquimé. That the Sun Youth, first evident at thirteenth-century Paquime, shares some similarities with later Montezuma traditions in the Casas Grandes region and the American Southwest suggests that these later Montezuma stories may be partly conflated with, and rooted in, traditions of a prominent ritual leader at Paquimé, self-identified as a personified Sun Youth, who originated from outside of the immediate region (see Chapter 6). This interpretation, if correct, is in accord with Schaafsma and Riley’s (1999c: 248) Cacique Model, which suggested that a cacique, likely from the complex societies along the Pacific Coast or in Durango, moved into the Casas Grandes valley and helped facilitate the construction of the site.

In Chapter 6, I suggested that these high-status individuals probably originated from the larger region around Nayarit, Mexico. The above-described model postulating the arrival of ritual leaders from the south contradicts Lekson’s (1999a) assertion that a

lineage of high-status ritual leaders established themselves at Paquimé after migrating southward from Aztec Ruin after first departing from Chaco Canyon in northern New Mexico. Instead, this lineage of rulers more likely has roots in the coastal West Mexican Aztatlán tradition.

Given that Hopi oral traditions indicate that a number of priestly societies have their location of origin at Flower Mound (see Chapter 12), might some of these origin stories be ultimately traced to Paquimé and to priestly societies residing at Cerro de Moctezuma in particular, the symbolic Flower Mountain of the Casas Grandes world? This sacred mountain surely was known to many people far and wide across the ancient American Southwest. As I concluded in Chapter 2, Hopi Flute Society standards are conceptualized as small scale models of the dawning sun from Flower Mound. The central pole of these standards likely represents the widespread Sun Youth Payatamu, the young eastern sun god who wears a macaw-feathered headdress. The original common prototype for Payatamu was traced back to the macaw-headed figures in Casas Grandes iconography.

Given these conclusions, if rituals related to a paramount Casas Grandes ritual leader identified as a personified Sun Youth were performed at Paquimé or in the plaza of El Pueblito atop Cerro de Moctezuma, a symbolic mountain of the center, then it would be reasonable to suggest that these rituals performed atop the peak of Cerro de Moctezuma were simply a monumental-sized version of the concept of the emergence of the sun from Flower Mound that is embodied in Hopi Flute Society standards today.

Discussion

Beginning around AD 1200, the establishment of a religious and domestic architectural complex on Cerro de Moctezuma for ritual specialists from Paquimé coincided with the introduction of a heightened version of the Mesoamerican Flower World complex associated with worship of the young Sun God Xochipilli. Ceremonies performed atop this sacred central mountain may have involved a preeminent ritual leader, a personified macaw-headed Sun God, who associated himself with Flower Mountain. This proposition is well within the parameters of what is known for the Flower World complex in Mesoamerica. The linking of both rulers and esteemed ancestors with Flower Mountain in Mesoamerica is a well-documented and quite-ancient concept. In this regard, given that the occupation of Paquimé extended for over 250 years, might leadership at the site also have involved a paramount ritual office focused upon a lineage of successive politico-religious leaders identified as the personified Sun Youth Xochipilli (see Chapter 6)?

Evidence from the archaeology, religion, and demography of eleventh- to twelfth-century northern Mexico and the southern Southwest suggests two conclusions : (1) The presence of some form of the Flower World concept among earlier Mimbres and Chacoan peoples suggests that some Mesoamerican ideas associated with the Flower World Complex were filtering into the American Southwest at this time through interaction (direct or indirect) with Mesoamerican peoples; and (2) It is likely that some descendants of Mimbres populations helped to form the population base in the Casas Grandes region after AD 1200. These conclusions imply that the familiarity of Mimbres

peoples (and their descendants) with aspects of the Flower World complex would have facilitated an easy integration into a newly forming Casas Grandes society.

While this may be the case, it is important to recall that in the Casas Grandes region, there is an unprecedented elaboration of very specific Mesoamerican Flower World ritual conventions not previously seen in the larger region that are prominent at Medio-period Paquimé. While these ritual conventions have links to the highest-status individuals at Paquimé, they are so specific as to be of undoubted Mesoamerican origin. Thus, while aspects of the Flower World complex were evident among earlier Mimbres and Chacoan people, the introduction of a new suite of Flower World-related high-status ritual knowledge at Paquimé of clear Mesoamerican origin most likely did not originate as a whole with any populations from the Mimbres region or from any other part of the American Southwest, nor did they develop *in situ*.

This conclusion suggests the probability that local elites in the Casas Grandes region either travelled far to the south, learned this ritual knowledge, and returned northward or, more likely, that ritual specialists from a Mesoamerican culture arrived at Paquimé at the beginning of the Medio period with a cohesive suite of specific Flower World ritual knowledge. The degree of specificity of this complex of ritual knowledge suggests an intimate familiarity with religion and cosmology that is wholly of Mesoamerican origin. These ritual specialists who arrived at Paquimé likely joined with descendants of Mimbres people and others in the region who had earlier begun to incorporate aspects of Flower World into their worldview, perhaps due to earlier interactions with people from coastal West Mexico.

As a part of this suite of knowledge at Paquimé, the Medio-period conception and establishment of Cerro de Moctezuma as a symbolic Flower Mountain would have served as a ritual establishment of place, akin to the setting up of the cosmos with the conceptualization of a central mountain as the *axis mundi*. As the concept of framing the center place by four-directional mountains and other elements such as colors, deities, or birds is widespread and ancient both in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest (Riley 1963; Sleight 1950; Taube 2010c), it stands to reason that there are also four sacred directional mountains on the landscape, yet to be identified, that bound the Casas Grandes world. Perhaps there existed an actual sacred eastern mountain, a locus for the birth of the sun, which served as a place of pilgrimage for Casas Grandes people. This proposition would be much like that which is known for the contemporary Huichol of West Mexico in their pilgrimage to the sacred eastern lands of Wirikuta and Cerro Quemado in San Luis Potosí, the mountain from which the Sun is born. Given that the Casas Grandes Flower World complex has its direct origins in West Mexico, this is an entirely plausible suggestion.

Plaza ceremonies atop Cerro de Moctezuma at El Pueblito may well have emphasized rituals dedicated to the Sun Youth, much as certain public ceremonies (e.g., the Corn Dance) involving the Sun Youth are performed in plazas across the American Southwest today. Ceremonies in the plaza on the mesa at El Pueblito, or perhaps on the summit of Cerro de Moctezuma, performed by a paramount leader from Paquimé self-identified as a personified Sun God would have been related to the ritual reenactment of the primordial dawning of the sun from Flower Mountain.

The performance of these ceremonies would reinforce and legitimize the social hierarchy wherein the paramount social positions were likely occupied by a ruler as Sun God and a priestly class linked to the Flower World of the eastern dawning sun. In sum, Cerro de Moctezuma probably represented a symbolic Flower Mountain, central to the Casas Grandes culture, that was widely known across the ancient American Southwest. This site may well have been a pilgrimage center (Fish and Fish 1999: 40) for people across the Southwest attracted to the newly blossoming rituals dedicated to Flower World and the Sun Youth.

Conclusion

The Medio period (AD 1200-1450) in the Casas Grandes region of Chihuahua, Mexico, was a time of significant social changes. Beginning in the early thirteenth century, the preeminent center of Paquimé saw dramatic transformations in social, political, and economic organization, religious beliefs, settlement patterns, demography, and secular and ritual architecture among others. Perhaps among the most significant of these changes was the introduction of the Mesoamerican deity Xochipilli and specific ritual practices associated with the Mesoamerican Flower World complex by individuals or groups from West Mexico. Among the most significant change of all was the arrival of a paramount ruler identified as a living Sun God from an Aztatlán-tradition society.

The present chapter examined the social and political significance of the Medio-period construction of ritual and domestic architecture on the sacred central hilltop of Cerro de Moctezuma, which was constructed just as these significant social changes took

form in the region. The summit of this hill contains ceremonial and domestic architecture that was intimately connected to ritual specialists who lived on the hilltop. Rituals conducted in the plaza and on the summit probably were centered upon a priestly class and a paramount ritual leader self-identified as a personified Sun God. This hilltop site was uniquely connected to Paquimé by a trail and by line-of-sight communications.

Furthermore, the positioning of the *atalaya*, or signaling station, as the hub of a far-flung communication network would have served to easily facilitate the integration of outlying communities located perhaps up to 75 km from Paquimé into a coordinated schedule of Flower World ritual and ceremony emanating from the preeminent center (Swanson 2003: 765). Pauketat (2007: 176-177) suggested that the extent of this integrative network of communication indicates that the size and extent of Paquimé's political reach and social control may far exceed Minnis and Whalen's (2001b) estimate of a modest radius of only 30 km.

Multiple lines of evidence suggest that at the beginning of the Medio period (AD 1200-1450), a high-status ritual leader and perhaps a number of other individuals from West Mexico established themselves at Paquimé in the Casas Grandes valley and introduced a very specific manifestation of the Mesoamerican Flower World ritual complex. Perhaps among the most important acts of these individuals was the setting-up of the cosmos, the establishment of a sacred symbolic Flower Mountain overlooking the rapidly developing city of Paquimé.

This central mountain, Cerro de Moctezuma, was an *axis mundi* of the Casas Grandes world and likely served as the residence and ritual center of the paramount ritual

leader and a priestly class. Given that the paramount ritual leader was identified as a personified young Sun God, his position atop the sacred central mountain would have served as a perpetual physical manifestation of the Mesoamerican religious concept of the dawning sun emerging atop Flower Mountain. Furthermore, this dominant position would have allowed for the ritual leader to both define and reify his position at the apex of the Casas Grandes social hierarchy. These concepts were broadcast to the valley below and also would have served to integrate far-flung Casas Grandes communities into the ritual structure emanating from Paquimé via a complex network of signaling stations.

This new ritual paradigm established at Paquimé had far-reaching effects that reshaped the cosmological landscape of people across the American Southwest. Clearly, as these momentous events continue to resound in the memory, oral traditions, and ceremony of indigenous peoples of northwest Mexico and the American Southwest, it is essential for scholars who study social change in these regions to simply look beyond evolutionary frameworks or environmental factors as the sole force of change and reconsider the complex historical processes of long-distance interregional interaction and the integral role of religion in social transformations.

Chapter 10:
**Feasting and the Flower World Complex
in Ancient Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest**

“ . . . Feasts are inherently political . . . ”

-Michael Dietler (2001)

Introduction

Recent studies have begun to examine the role of feasting in creating, negotiating, and maintaining social and political relationships in the ancient American Southwest, northern Mexico, and the American Southeast¹². In the Casas Grandes region of northwestern Chihuahua, discussion of feasting complexes has centered upon the site of Paquimé and subsidiary sites in the surrounding region. An examination of the Casas Grandes feasting complex in conjunction with a discussion of religious beliefs and ritual practices at the site can shed further light on the nature of sociopolitical organization, leadership strategies, and stratification at Paquimé. A discussion of feasting in the Casas Grandes region can also inform interpretations of the nature and degree of interaction and integration between societies in Mesoamerica and the North American Southwest.

Political Power and Social Stratification at Paquimé

As Michael Dietler (2001: 66) succinctly noted, “. . . [F]easts are inherently political . . . and they constitute a fundamental instrument and theater of political relations.” Since feasting is closely intertwined with political power, as a prelude to

¹² Graves and Spielmann 2000; Jones 2002; Mills 2007a; Minnis and Whalen 2005; Pauketat et al. 2002; Phillips and Sebastian 2004; Potter 1997; Potter and Ortman 2004; Spielmann 2004; Van Keuren 2004; Wills and Crown 2004.

examining the feasting complex at Paquimé it is useful to consider recent discussions of how this site was organized socially and politically.

Conceptions of the level of social stratification at Paquimé have fluctuated since the excavation and analysis by the Joint Casas Grandes Project (Di Peso 1974; Di Peso et al. 1974). As I noted in Chapter 6, Di Peso (*ibid.*) considered Paquimé to have been founded by foreign ritual leaders from Mesoamerica who transformed the site into a highly centralized major regional polity that exerted economic and religious control across the region. Data derived from a later mortuary analysis (Ravesloot 1988) offered some measure of support at least to the argument for a high degree of social stratification. In his analysis of mortuary practices, Ravesloot (*ibid.*) concluded that evidence of a low to high degree of treatment of the dead suggested a system of hereditary ranking. His conclusion was partly based upon what he interpreted as the placement of “symbols of authority” within different burials (*ibid.*).

Whalen and Minnis (2000: 172) found flaws in this argument due to what they considered to be a lack of interment of unambiguous identification of symbols of authority aside from some possible ritually important items, such as drums or flutes. While they acknowledge that some form of differentiation and possible hereditary ranking was present, the lack of elaborate displays of wealth in burial treatments suggested to them that ranking was relatively unelaborated (*ibid.*: 173). Rather than the highly centralized polity envisioned by Di Peso, they considered the Casas Grandes culture to have been a polity that lacked a strong institutionalized authority with a highly centralized leadership that was based upon a formal hierarchy of statuses and roles tied to

the economic and religious structure (Minnis et al. 2006: 707; Whalen and Minnis 2000: 174).

Instead of a political system that involved more formal, static, hierarchical, and less competitive levels of social positions, such as those in corporate political organizations, Whalen and Minnis (2000: 174-179) envisioned a less formal and more competitive form of leadership known as “network” strategies whereby would-be leaders and their followers struggled against competitors for positions of power and prestige. They (Whalen and Minnis 2001b: 10-13) further maintained that greater complexity in the Casas Grandes region arose through a combination of adaptationist and agent-based models.

Briefly, the Darwinian adaptationist model would argue that complexity in some areas arises in-part due to an unpredictable environment and resources, which then allows for the preconditions by which an aspiring agent or “political entrepreneur”, in the agent-based model, would then seek to enhance his or her social position or status by controlling resources (ibid.). Thus, the unpredictable resource base would lead to competitive struggles for power and economic and political control. In essence, their viewpoint positions Paquimé, having arisen due to competition for resources by factionalized social groups striving for power, as a decidedly less centralized and more fragmented form of sociopolitical organization than that proposed by Di Peso (1974).

While other scholars (VanPool 2003a, 2003b; VanPool and VanPool 2007) suggested that Paquimé was ruled by shamans, Whalen (2008: 167-168) took issue with this concept and questioned how part-time practitioners of private rituals translated these

roles into the political and economic power found in complex societies. Moulard (2005: 90) also saw problems with the identification of shaman-rulers, suggesting that this form of political organization would not have been suitable for the needs of a large, aggregated, and ethnically diverse society such as the Casas Grandes culture. Rather, she suggested that theocratic rule at Paquimé likely was centered upon a priest-ruler (ibid.). Rakita (2001: 331) also suggested that esoteric or ritual sodalities at Paquimé were organized around institutionalized priesthoods. Stephen Lekson (2001: 221) even considered Paquimé to have been the closest thing to a state ever to have developed in the entire history of the Greater Southwest.

Siding with those perspectives that emphasize a more institutionalized social stratification, in preceding chapters I argued that political organization at Paquimé was indeed rigidly hierarchical and likely was comprised of a hereditary lineage of paramount rulers identified as a personified young Sun God that were situated at the apex of the social hierarchy and the center of political, military, and social organization. This political office was accompanied by a proliferation of social changes including new elite burial rites, a new symbolic system, Mesoamerican deities, ritualism centered upon Flower World, new ballgame rites, and new elite habitation zones in elevated locales, among other components. These social changes most likely accompanied the arrival of Aztatlán people from West Mexico.

Surely, evidence that indicates rule by a paramount ritual leader self-identified and portrayed as a personified macaw-headed Sun God, the most powerful life-giving force in the universe, who may well have lived in an architectural complex atop the most

prominent peak in the Casas Grandes valley overlooking Paquimé can be considered to be the evidence sought by Whalen and Minnis (2000) that demonstrates “unambiguous identification of symbols of authority”? This interpretation of Casas Grandes leadership indicates a high degree of social inequality and a more centralized and hierarchical form of social, political, and religious organization than more decentralized models proposed by others (e.g., Whalen and Minnis 2000, 2001b).

Citing Mary Helms’s (1993) study on kingship and political power, Lekson (1999a: 168) suggested a similar form of centralized authority for Paquimé. Helms (1993: 87) noted that one of the key roles of kings or leaders in pre-industrial societies is their role as world makers:

He transforms, through culture hero-like acts of creativity that constantly create (or impose) sociopolitical order out of (or on to) the constantly threatening potential chaos of group living . . . He legitimates his use of power and authority, his transformative, constructive, and exemplative efforts, by invoking liminal associations with the culture-hero crafters who originally initiated these marks of cultured existence. By constantly performing these activities anew, the ideal ruler collapses time/space dimensions that separate the here-and-now from the there-and-then and relates himself to ancestral places and acts of origin on one or the other axis or dimension of the outside realm.

Casas Grandes “Sun Kings”, divinely endowed rulers, took on a similar role and legitimated their power and authority by adopting the persona of the earthly manifestation of the Sun, an act that simultaneously placed them atop the sociopolitical order and inextricably linked them to the most potent life-giving source of growth and fertility.

This religious role involved becoming the physical manifestation of the Sun, a living Sun God or intermediary, whose ritual program was centered on the daily and perpetual replication of the primordial creation and emergence of the Sun at dawn.

Clearly, this role suggests highly centralized politico-religious power. One thing is clear however, the arrival from West Mexico of a high-status ritual leader and the subsequent establishment of the political and ritual office of Sun King at Paquimé, a transformative historical event, had little if anything to do with an evolutionary sequential development of complexity from the Viejo period arising from factions and aspiring local leaders competing for power and control of environmentally unstable economic resources.

Forms of solar worship presumably involve observation of the movement and position of the Sun. Given that solar worship guided Casas Grandes political and ritual life, it is entirely possible that, aside from the presence of a paramount ruler as a personified young Sun God, there also existed a special class of attendant priests who, observed the rising and setting of the sun on the eastern and western horizons on occasions such as the vernal and autumnal equinoxes and the summer and winter solstices, among other duties. Importantly, in a study of effigy mounds at Paquime, Pasahow (1993; see also Di Peso 1974: 2: 409) concluded that the Mound of the Cross, a cardinally oriented cross-shaped effigy mound, was constructed for the purpose of eastern and western horizon observations of the sunrise and sunsets on the solstices and equinoxes (see Pasahow 1993: fig. 1).

While solar observation undoubtedly was known in the Southwest prior to Paquimé, it is conceivable that new forms of solstice and equinoctial rituals and beliefs accompanied the introduction of Sun Youth solar worship to Paquimé from West Mexico. A class of sun priests with specialized astronomical, religious, and ritual

knowledge associated with the Sun Youth, perhaps linked to the ballgame, likely formed a component of the newly introduced form of the Flower World complex at Paquimé.

Feasting in the Casas Grandes Region and the American Southwest

Recent studies of feasting at Paquimé and in surrounding Casas Grandes communities have begun to shed light on the nature of leadership, power relations, and sociopolitical integration in the region. Along with their interpretation of less centralized, more competitive strategies of leadership involving factional rivalries among elites in the region around Paquimé, Whalen and Minnis (2000, 2001b) identified a feasting complex that involved ballcourts, macaws (i.e., their breeding pens), and agave roasting pits for large-scale food production during feasts. This complex is discussed in more detail below.

Feasting necessarily involves intensive food production along with the subsequent distribution and consumption of large quantities of food. Ancient polities with more highly centralized political control should yield material culture evidence where relationships of production involved control of food resources by elites. In a series of surveys and mapping projects extending nearly a decade, Minnis and colleagues (2006) examined the organization of prehispanic fields and other farming systems in the Casas Grandes region.

While previous studies of Medio-period agriculture in the region suggested a more decentralized and small-scale system of organization, their recent studies yielded a noteworthy pattern whereby the largest fields were located next to sites identified as elite

residences or administrative and ritual centers (Minnis et al. 2006: 711). These special sites, such as Site 242, located to the southwest of Paquimé, housed very small populations and were located in more isolated areas that were sparsely populated and away from the best farming areas near the major rivers in the area.

Some of these isolated sites also were constructed in a style considered to be an “architecture of power”, a design style closely associated with Paquimé that consisted of very unique characteristics suggestive of a level of overbuilding, such as extra-thick walls with complicated shapes (Minnis et al. 2006: 712; Whalen and Minnis 2001a). Some of these communities contained field systems measuring in excess of 100,000 m² (10 ha). In a comparative study of vessel size, form, use wear, and consumptive patterns from two domestic-oriented sites and one administrative center with an I-shaped ballcourt and a platform mound (Site 242) in the outlying region around Medio-period Casas Grandes, Jones (2002) also concluded that feasting was integrally affiliated with the elite-oriented secondary administrative center, but was negligible among the small domestic settlements.

One important field site was located near the base of Cerro de Moctezuma and the hilltop site of El Pueblito. This location is significant because this hill has been identified in Chapter 9 as the symbolic Flower Mountain of the Casas Grandes world and likely was the location of the residence of the highest-status elites and the paramount ruler as personified Sun God. What is perhaps most important about these special administrative sites with an “architecture of power” (Whalen and Minnis 2001a) and with nearby large farming systems is that “. . . the size and the unambiguous associations of these fields is

best explained as evidence of some coordinated or controlled food production, at a level previously unrecorded in the Puebloan World” (Minnis et al. 2006: 715) such that “the most reasonable explanation for this relationship is that these large fields were controlled by elites or agents of the elites” (ibid.: 716).

The production of food from these fields likely served an important function in feasting at Paquimé and in the surrounding region (Minnis et al. 2006: 716). As elite control of production is closely tied to power, Minnis and colleagues (ibid.: 717) indicated that “. . . the data shown here might be used to argue that we have underestimated the control exercised by the Paquimé leaders.” Though this suggestion runs counter to their earlier conclusions of more decentralized social and political power at Paquimé, they tempered this suggestion with a discussion of cacique fields and gardens in ethnographic examples from the Pueblo region, Sinaloa, and the Southeast whereby fields of caciques with weak positions of power were worked communally by community members. Their discussion was intended to express the idea that elite control does not need to imply strong power relationships (ibid.: 719).

Despite this, Minnis and colleagues (2006: 719) acknowledged that the control of some forms of production at Paquimé likely was much more formal and hierarchical than that found in ethnographic documentation. Lastly, aside from proposing a high degree of political control over large upland agricultural fields, they (ibid.: 719) further suggested that there is “little question” that centralized planning and control over the extensive intra-community water distribution system (canals and reservoirs) and some central

control over floodplain farming probably existed as well. These insights suggest a much higher degree of political control and centralization than previously understood.

The foodstuffs grown on the floodplain likely went not only to nearby secondary administrative centers, but much of the food probably was transported for ceremonial and political feasting events at Paquimé. Minnis and Whalen (2005) also examined the evidence and role of large-scale feasting at the primary center. Along with the 400 fire hearths excavated by the Joint Casas Grandes Project were five extremely large agave-roasting ovens. The largest of these ovens, located adjacent to the Unit 9 platform mound, is considered to have been the center of large-scale food preparation for ritual use (*ibid.*: 117). This oven is considered to have been the largest earthen oven in the entire North American Southwest (*ibid.*: 118). In considering the size and volume of the oven, and in comparison to ethnoarchaeological studies of food output from earthen ovens, calculations indicated that one cooking episode of the large Casas Grandes oven could produce roughly 7,242 pounds (3,284.9 kg) of food (*ibid.*: 118-119).

Four other agave-roasting ovens were located adjacent to Unit 1, just north of the large I-shaped ballcourt and cross-shaped platform mound. The potential importance of this location is discussed below. Their location, standardized construction, and size suggests a high level of centralized processing and production (Minnis and Whalen 2005: 120-121). Debris from roasting episodes collected from the four ovens was deposited in a large mound between the ovens. Calculations of the size of cooking debris in the refuse mound led to estimates of roughly 67 cooking episodes that would have produced over 128,000 pounds (58,060 kg) of cooked agave (*ibid.*). The baked agave hearts could have

been eaten directly or processed to make fermented drinks. From all of this evidence, Minnis and Whalen (ibid.: 120) concluded that massive amounts of food were processed under a strong degree of centralized control.

Solar Worship, Social Hierarchies, and the Casas Grandes Feasting Complex

The preceding discussion drew attention to a number of interrelated subjects. The first point highlights the conclusion that political organization at Paquimé involved a highly centralized and hierarchical form of institutionalized leadership centered upon the paramount ritual office of Sun King. The second point involves the distinct probability that solar worship at Paquimé was centered on a new form of equinoctial and solsticial observation that primarily took form at and near the Mound of the Cross. The third point concerns the observation that agave roasting ovens (Unit 1), the main I-shaped ballcourt (Unit 3), and the cross-shaped platform mound architecture (Unit 2) that is linked to solar observations appear to be part of a closely related ritual program (see map in Vargas 2001: fig. 179).

With regard to the Mound of the Cross, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 4: 288) noted that on the vernal (March 21) and autumnal (September 21) equinox the sun was observed to rise directly over the center of the eastern circular mound. Notably, the east/west axis of the Mound of the Cross directly bisects the middle of the large, north/south-oriented I-shaped ballcourt that lies just to the west of the cross-shaped effigy mound/solar observatory. Thus, on instances of the equinoxes, the Sun would be perceived as crossing almost directly over the center of the north/south-oriented ballcourt.

As indicated in Chapter 7, this relationship suggests that ballgame rituals at Paquimé had a strong solar component. This symbolic division effectively partitions the ballcourt into a northern half and a southern half, a strategy which may well have reflected the dual division of the year into a “winter” half and a “summer” half that was based upon horizon observations of the sun’s diurnal pathway. Thus, ballplayers in action on the field at Paquimé might well have conceptually replicated the symbolic yet perpetual “battle” between the ever-changing summer and winter halves of the year (i.e., the duality of the dry season versus the wet season or the male half of the year versus the female half), much like that described in Chapter 11.

Perhaps solar observation of the equinoxes marked the “straight path” of the sun, the time period when the sun achieved its equilibrium in the midst of its vacillation between the winter and summer solstice points. In other words, the vernal and autumnal equinoxes would be the period when the sun was not straying, so too speak, too far to the north on his journey towards the summer solstice and not too far south on his journey to the winter solstice, particularly when measuring the sun’s movement on the eastern horizon. Solstice rituals at Paquimé may well have focused upon turning, guiding, or encouraging the sun back from his extreme positions at the solstices in order to achieve equilibrium or balance in his diurnal path across the sky. Given the connection between the ballcourt and the straight road of the sun at the equinox, this suggests that equinoctial rituals of the Sun Youth were important for ceremonies associated with the ballgame.

Importantly, Di Peso (1974: 2: 599, fn. 8; Di Peso et al. 1974: 8: 276) pointed out that most scarlet macaws at Paquimé were also sacrificed at around the time of the vernal

equinox, the period when their long, red tail feathers were mature. As will be recalled, both the ballcourt and the Mound of the Cross are situated directly adjacent to the four large agave-roasting ovens that presumably were used for public feasting. This proximity suggests the probability that a new, fully developed form of solar worship centered upon the macaw-headed Sun Youth and equinoctial and solstice observations was closely tied to an entire ritual program focused upon the ceremonial use of macaw feathers, the ballgame, and large-scale feasting. That the Mound of the Cross, the main ballcourt, and the agave-roasting ovens are all situated adjacent to the architectural complex housing the remains of the highest-status elites at Paquimé in the Mound of the Offerings suggests that this solar-oriented feasting complex probably also was tied to high-status ancestors with close affiliations to the Flower World realm (see Chapters 4 and 5).

It is noteworthy that throughout the larger region surrounding Paquimé, Whalen and Minnis (2000, 2001b: 133) also independently identified a similar feasting complex, again involving large ovens, ballcourts, and the distribution or use of macaw feathers and perhaps other prestigious items. They (Whalen and Minnis 2000: 176) further suggested that the presence of this feasting complex at Paquimé and in surrounding sites points toward a high degree of factional rivalries or competition for power and prestige, played out in ritual contexts. To them (*ibid.*), this suggests that social and political control in Casas Grandes regional organization was less centralized and highly fragmented. However, this interpretation does not correspond with the present interpretation that the political and social organization of the Casas Grandes culture was highly rigid and hierarchical with more centralized control in the realms of religion and ritual, food

processing, production and feasting, and in the construction of extensive water-control systems.

In their research, Whalen and Minnis (2000; 2001b) envisioned a feasting complex that involved decentralized, highly competitive, and factionalized struggles for prestige and power involving the ballgame, macaw feathers, and roasting ovens. Their interpretation appears to at least partly coincide with Dietler's (2001: 76) categorization of the "empowering feast", that is, feasts that are in the domain of inherent social competition oriented towards defining and/or maintaining status among peers (*ibid.*).

While the present chapter finds support for a feasting complex involving the three above-mentioned components, it is apparent that these rites were closely affiliated with political rituals and ceremonies dedicated to the young Sun God or, more specifically, the paramount ruler as the personified young Sun God. Given that highly centralized social and political institutions converged on the ruler of Paquimé as a personified macaw-headed Sun King, it seems likely that this ritual structure and the timing for important seasonal rituals was broadcast to outlying communities via the elaborate hilltop communication systems (*atalayas*) across the region in order to integrate outlying communities and secondary administrative centers into events occurring at the primary center (see Chapter 9).

Local elites who hosted feasting events in the outlying regions surely were not competitors with, but subordinates to, the paramount regional leader at Paquimé. The solar-related ritual feasting complex at and around Paquimé likely was centered upon the

ruler at Paquimé, the personified Sun God, and in part functioned to maintain status differences and reinforce the social hierarchy.

As opposed to a more competitive form of feasting, commensal politics at Paquimé, and in secondary administrative centers, probably at the very least involved more formalized, institutionalized, and asymmetrical power relations that were akin to what Dietler (2001: 82) described as “patron-role feasts”. As Dietler (ibid.: 83) noted:

. . . [T]he acceptance of a continually unequal pattern of hospitality symbolically expresses the formalization of unequal relations of status and power and ideologically naturalizes it through repetition of an event that induces the sentiments of social debt. On the one hand, those who are continually in the role of guests are symbolically acknowledging their acceptance of subordinate status vis-vis the continual host. On the other hand, the role of continual and generous host for the community at large comes to be seen as a duty incumbent upon the person who occupies a particular elevated status position or formal political role.

Institutionalization of authority relies on this binding asymmetrical commensal link between unequal partners in a patron/client relationship.

This is the principle that lies behind the regular lavish hospitality expected of chiefs and kings in almost all societies where they exist . . .

This form of patron-role feasting, in which feasts are organized by a chief or king who occupies an asymmetrical and formal political role, sounds more appropriate for the nature of Casas Grandes political organization.

What remains unclear is whether components of diacritical feasting are also present at Paquimé. According to Dietler (2001: 85-90; see also LeCount 2001), diacritical feasts are those that involve such things as the use of differentiated cuisines and styles of consumption to reify notions of status difference. Forms of diacritical feasting at Paquimé, perhaps like those in some African societies (Dietler 2001), may not have been so glaringly obvious and could have simply taken the form of special food

avoidances, restrictions on food preparations, or privileged consumption of special animals, among other forms. In Chapter 9, I concluded that in the Casas Grandes region the highest-status elites lived in a ritual and domestic complex atop the highest peak in the Casas Grandes valley. These elites and may also have maintained a segregated residence in the House of the Serpents, a more isolated and architecturally distinct complex located on the outer portion of the site. Given this distinction in living patterns, it remains to be determined how food consumption might have differed in these two areas in comparison to other domestic residences.

Feasting at Paquimé and in the surrounding Casas Grandes region likely were coordinated by the highest-status individuals at Paquimé and at secondary administrative centers. These events probably occurred on ritual occasions associated with maize- and cloud-oriented fertility rites or renewal ceremonies for the sun, as well as on occasions that required the mobilization and feeding of large workforces or *corvée* labor. These occasions would have included construction or rebuilding projects, temple refurbishing, canal and reservoir building, or canal cleaning projects, among other instances that required collective labor. Given the argument that agricultural field management and construction and maintenance of water control systems appear to have been organized under a more centralized authority (see above), this may well be the case.

Dietler and Herbich (2001: 244) noted that *corvée* labor “. . . exists only where there is institutionalized central authority in the form of religious leaders, chiefs, kings or other types of state apparatus.” At Paquimé, some form of mobilized labor forces may have been organized under the direction of the centralized authority of the paramount Sun

King, the institutionalized religious leader of the Casas Grandes region. Feasts at Paquimé also may have been important occasions for building and cementing social relationships through marriage. All in all, when considering the political, ritual, social, and economic power of the lineage of Casas Grandes Sun Kings, it is clear that in all of Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest there were no peers of the paramount ritual leader of the Casas Grandes polity.

Ceramic Horizons, Feasting, and Flower World in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest

Salado and the Southwestern Regional Cult

Given that Casas Grandes religion was centered upon the Mesoamerican Flower World complex, a related topic of discussion for Southwestern scholars to consider is how this ritual complex may relate to other cultural traditions and ritual complexes, such as the Salado phenomenon and the proposed widespread Southwestern Regional Cult (see Crown 1994; Dean 2000a; Lekson 2000, 2002a). The Southwestern Regional Cult was thought by Crown (1994) to have originated in the Mogollon Rim region of east-central Arizona, with earlier elements of this complex present in Chaco Canyon and the Mimbres region. This complex was considered to have subsequently spread along routes of communication and along trade networks (ibid.).

Early aspects of the Southwestern Regional Cult complex were suggested to have spread to all areas linked to the production of Pinedale Style pottery, including the Hopi Mesas, the region of the confluence of the Salt and Gila rivers, the Casas Grandes region, and eastern New Mexico (Crown 1994: 217). Mills (2007b: 235-236) suggested that the

spread of the Pinedale style on pottery is evidence that is indicative of increased regional interaction and migration. Though thought to have originated in the Mogollon Rim, the Pinedale style is believed to represent a mingling of migrating Kayenta-Tusayan people from the north and Mogollon Rim peoples from the south following the depopulation of the Four-Corners region (ibid.: 211).

In her comprehensive study of symbolism on Salado (Gila, Tonto, Pinto) polychromes, Crown (1994: 214-215) proposed that the large-scale social change and population dislocation of the late-thirteenth century coincided with the appearance of a new religious ideology centered upon an “earth/fertility cult” as embodied in symbolism on Salado wares, though in her opinion it was not particularly associated with ancestors. A suite of icons associated with this complex, as identified by Crown (1994), began appearing in an earlier horizon on Pinedale ceramics (but see Lekson 2000: 291) and increased through the fourteenth century.

According to Crown (1994: 215, 212, see Fig. 9.1), these icons included a focus upon “. . . the sun, Venus, stars, flowers, the sky, clouds, lightning, precipitation, and the wind” and occasional birds and butterflies, all elements associated with fertility and weather control. In addition, the ambiguity of horned serpents and parrots (macaws?) suggests that these two creatures were symbolically related (ibid.: 216). Notably, the occurrence of circular flower-like medallions and masked anthropomorphs in the symbolic repertoire on ceramics suggests some relationship to the Flower World complex and katsina ceremonialism (see Crown 1994: figs. 9.28b, 5.11, 5.40).

In fact, Crown (1994: 218, 220) acknowledged that the Flower World formed an aspect of the Salado complex, and further indicated that the appearance of masked figures on Salado ceramics occurred as part of a well-developed, widespread, and unified belief system that remains evident in katsina ceremonialism today. In essence, Crown defined the Southwestern Regional Cult as a new regional belief system focused upon aspects of the Flower World and katsina ceremonialism that also involved a suite of icons centered upon fertility and precipitation, such as closely related macaws and horned serpents, the sun, flowers, stars, clouds, lightning, and masked human figures.

After AD 1300, the ceramic ware predominantly associated with the Salado phenomenon is Gila Polychrome. After the end of the Mimbres Black-on-White tradition (ca. AD 1150), the dramatic appearance of Chihuahuan Polychromes (Casas Grandes series) in the Chihuahuan desert was accompanied by the widespread production and occurrence of Gila Polychrome across a vast region of the Southwest, including southeastern Arizona, southern New Mexico, and northwestern Chihuahua (Lekson 2000: 276; see distribution map in Crown 1994: fig. 1). This region encompasses the Jornada, Mimbres, Upper Gila, Animas, and Casas Grandes districts (Lekson 2000: 276).

The fact that Gila Polychromes were everywhere produced locally, in small amounts, across the entire region of its distribution, supports Crown's contention that these wares and their imagery were linked to a ritual complex (Lekson 2000: 291). Wilcox (1995: 291) noted early on that the geographic distribution of both Gila Polychrome and El Paso Polychrome essentially mirrors the bilobed (northwestward and northeastward) extent of the Casas Grandes regional system.

Following Wilcox (1995), Lekson (2000: 286) noted that the northeastward spatial extent of Gila polychromes followed a “Casa Grande-Casas Grandes” corridor that stretched from northwestern Chihuahua to the Safford Valley of southeastern Arizona. As Wilcox and Sternburg (1983: 255) suggested:

The Salado phenomenon that crystallized about 1300 is interpreted as the wide-spread adoption of a new ideology that temporarily facilitated the economic articulation of a series of small-scale regional systems from the Phoenix Basin Hohokam on the west to Casas Grandes on the southeast.

The presence of Gila Polychromes in this region and along this axis is thought to indicate an increased interaction with the Casas Grandes world (Wilcox 1995: 292). While McGuire (1993: 371-372) suggested that Casa Grande and Casas Grandes were both “power centers” of the Salado system, Lekson (2000: 293) took that argument further by suggesting that the Hohokam site of Casa Grande is a reduced version of Casas Grandes, perhaps even an outlier.

Based upon a recent post-AD 1250 macroregional database (Vokes and Gregory 2007) of marine shell, copper bells, macaws, and turquoise in the American Southwest, Wilcox (2007: 237-238) further pointed out that the distribution of these prestige items is similar to that of El Paso and Gila polychromes. This suggests that Casas Grandes intellectual traditions likely had a pronounced influence on southern Pueblo groups to the northwest and northeast of Paquimé (ibid.). In this line of thought, Wilcox (ibid.) emphasized that Crown’s (1994) study of ideology encoded in Gila Polychrome must be reassessed with a clearer understanding of Casas Grandes cosmovision in mind.

Given all of the attributes of the Salado symbolism on Gila Polychrome, including a focus upon the sun, macaws, horned serpents (but see Chapter 3), flowers, precipitation,

and masked anthropomorphs (rain spirits), among others, it is clear that many if not all of these themes are important components of the Mesoamerican Flower World complex.

Evidence indicates that Paquimé was the epicenter for the dissemination of Flower World rituals across the Southwest after AD 1200. Following this observation, and given that Gila Polychromes are thought to date to around AD 1300 (Crown 1994: 19), it appears accurate to propose that the Southwestern Regional Cult was simply a variant or manifestation of the Casas Grandes Flower World complex. As the clearest examples of Casas Grandes Flower World imagery, such as depictions of the Sun Youth and the horned and plumed serpent as Flower Road, occur on Ramos polychromes, it is probable that these wares held especially great symbolic import for conveying Flower World ideas in the immediate region.

While it is argued here that Flower World rituals and symbolism were closely linked to Casas Grandes elites, Wilcox (1995: 292) suggested that Gila Polychrome designs may also have encoded an ideology shared by elites in the Salado regional system. Crown (1994: 190) noted that by the last decades of their manufacture, Salado wares most closely resembled Chihuahuan polychromes, such as Escondida Polychrome and Ramos Polychrome. Notably, Rakita (2001: 327; 2009: 163) suggested that the ideology encoded in Ramos Polychromes and its wide distribution likely represented a Chihuahuan version of Salado wares. In light of these assessments, it is certainly agreeable that Salado ceramic producers across the region were well aware of Flower World ideology encoded in Ramos Polychromes and other Chihuahuan polychrome wares. However, given that the Casas Grandes Flower World complex dates as early as

AD 1200, these religious ideas likely were incorporated into the slightly later and then largely contemporaneous Gila Polychromes (i.e., Crown's Southwestern Regional Cult).

Rather than considering the symbolism and belief system evident in Chihuahuan wares as a version or variant of Salado ideology, it may accurate to assert that Salado wares are a variant of the Flower World ideology, first graphically evident at Paquimé as early as AD 1200, that is encoded on Medio-period Chihuahuan polychromes (but see VanPool 2010; VanPool and Savage 2010). Adams (1991a: 95) voiced similar general thoughts and noted that the role of the Casas Grandes culture in the Salado system was probably significant. Furthermore, he (*ibid.*: 131) noted: "Both El Paso Polychrome on the east and Gila Polychrome were influenced by Casas Grandes stylistic (and probably ritualistic) traditions." This ritualistic tradition, of course, was the Casas Grandes Flower World complex centered upon the Sun Youth.

That the cessation of the production and widespread use of Salado polychromes at around AD 1450 is conspicuously aligned with the generally accepted timing for the end of the Casas Grandes tradition, the greatest proponent of Flower World ritual, likely is not a coincidence. While the presence of common religious beliefs, or at least a shared symbolic repertoire, may be the case, one topic that still deserves further attention is in explaining the differential contexts in which Gila and Ramos Polychrome wares are found in the archaeological record. As an example, Crown (1994: 202-203; Lekson 2000: 291) noted that Gila Polychrome wares in central and southeastern Arizona prominently appeared in burials while Gila Polychrome vessels at Paquimé were absent from burials. This topic is worth pursuing but remains beyond the scope of the present study.

According to Wilcox (1995: 292), Gila Polychromes designs suggests a shared symbolic symbolism and ideology over a broad area that may have formed an aspect of intermarriage by elites that linked people in these local and regional contexts into ever-changing political and military alliances. Thus, the Casas Grandes Flower World ritual complex embedded in symbolism on Gila polychromes in northern Mexico and the American Southwest may well have involved components linked to intermarriage and political alliance-building outside of the more recently proposed insular boundaries of the Casas Grandes World.

Given that the increased “communal” size of Gila Polychromes suggests a link to feasting (Crown 1994: 224), along with the above-described feasting complex noted for Paquimé, feasting and intermarriage alliance-building may well have been an important aspect of the Medio-period Casas Grandes Flower World belief system centered on the Sun God Xochipilli. It appears accurate to state that Gila Polychrome bowls were one ceramic ware that was important for feasting and that the symbolism on these vessels are a manifestation of the Casas Grandes Flower World complex. Might this then suggest that the extensive presence of these wares across a large portion of the Southwest and northern Mexico, including at Paquimé, indicates that the intensive Flower World feasting complex at Paquimé formed part of a vast and extensive network for feasting, and perhaps intermarriage and alliance-building, across the larger region far beyond the immediate Casas Grandes cultural heartland? It is important to note that the northernmost Casas Grandes sites, located in the bootheel of southwestern New Mexico, are located in the region where the Casas Grandes and Salado regions overlapped (see map in Searcy

2010: fig. 1.1). Might this intersection be more than a coincidence? Perhaps these northern Casas Grandes sites were specifically constructed in this particular location as an interface between Salado-related people who lived to the northwest of Paquimé.

Crown (1994: 199-200) and Adams (2000a: 271) also pointed out that in the late-AD 1200s, enclosed plazas were widespread among areas where Salado Polychromes appear, while most large sites with Salado Polychromes commonly had enclosed plazas. As Adams (1991a: 101) noted, “Salado sites are large, usually having over 100 adobe rooms surrounding a plaza.” However, the western Salado region, such as the Tucson Basin, does not have enclosed plaza structures or kivas but platform mounds instead (ibid: 93). While plazas associated with the Katsina complex are usually associated with kivas (Adams 2000a: 271), the plazas associated with the Southwestern Regional Cult do not have kivas (ibid.), although Adams acknowledged a probable “common root” of development between the two ritual complexes dating to about AD 1280-1325. Likewise, Hays-Gilpin and Hill (2000: 414) concurred that the Southwestern Regional Cult and the Katsina religion, along with components of earlier Mimbres religious beliefs, are all manifestations of the Flower World complex.

In Chapter 2, I argued that the reorganization of villages around a central enclosed plaza in the thirteenth-century American Southwest was partly due to the adoption of public ceremonialism focused upon the Casas Grandes Sun Youth, the Flower World complex, and the closely related katsina ceremonialism. Thus, the development of enclosed plaza ceremonialism in some Salado communities, and their use in katsina (and Sun Youth?) ritualism, likely was a local manifestation of an architectural change derived

from the adoption, to some extent, of the Casas Grandes Flower World complex centered at Paquimé.

Thus, though some aspects of the Flower World complex formed their earliest manifestation in the symbolism of Mimbres and Chacoan ritual artifacts by AD 1000, the greatest and most specific Mesoamerican-style manifestation of Flower World occurred at Paquimé by AD 1200, followed by an explosion of manifestations across the Southwest thereafter during the following century, including the Salado region, all of which likely were modeled after cosmovision at Paquimé. That the Flower World complex in the Southwest increased in complexity and scope after AD 1325 may partly reflect the increasing social, religious, and economic influence of Paquimé across the macroregion. This influence likely involved efforts at controlling and providing rare objects, such as copper bells and macaw feathers, used in Flower World rituals that were focused upon the Sun Youth and katsina ceremonialism, this in conjunction with a rapidly expanding religious fervor among new converts in the Southwest.

While a comprehensive comparison of Flower World themes and symbols on Salado Polychrome wares and Chihuahuan polychromes is beyond the scope of this chapter, scholars should explore a more fine-grained analysis illustrating how the Casas Grandes Flower World complex may have specifically impacted ideology and symbolism as illustrated on Salado wares (see Dean 2000b: 13-14). For example, recently identified geometric depictions of flowers on Chihuahuan polychromes and Awat'ovi kiva murals (see **Fig. 5.7**), such as circular medallions with a simple dot or a cross, are rather similar to circular medallions present on some Salado Polychrome vessels (see Crown 1994:

9.28b, 5.11, 5.40). One of these Salado vessels, a Tonto Polychrome from the Kuykendall site in Arizona, contains depictions of a possible floral medallion in conjunction with a portrayal of a toothed anthropomorph commonly identified as an early form of katsina (see Crown 1994: fig. 5.11). Might these images depict a Salado-related form of the Flower World (see Searcy 2010: 63-66, 116-119)?

Though there is clear evidence for interaction between the two areas, recent comparative studies of the Salado and the Casas Grandes traditions argued for some differences in shell and copper trade networks, site organization, architecture, and biological relationships. Yet the similarities and differences of the two Flower World-related ritual complexes remain to be more clearly understood. For example, though Van Pool and colleagues (2006) argued for significant differences in Salado and Casas Grandes religious beliefs based upon their analysis of stylistic depictions of horned and plumed serpents (see Chapter 3), Mills and Ferguson (2008: 354) suggested that such differences may simply be akin to ethnographically known differences between the Hopi and Zuni, “. . . clearly related, but reproduced within different networks of ritual practice.” The conclusion by VanPool and colleagues (2006: 246) that Salado and Casas Grandes religious beliefs represented a schism of “. . . what had been a single system of belief”, suggests that the Xochipilli-oriented Flower World tradition, first prominent at Paquimé, was precisely this single belief system.

Rio Grande Glaze Wares and Feasting

Another dramatic shift in ceramic traditions occurred in the rapid appearance of glazed ceramic wares during the early- to mid-AD 1300s in the Rio Grande region (Habicht-Mauch et al. 2006; see Eckert 2006: Fig. 3.1 for Southwestern glaze ware distribution map and Fig 3.2 for glaze ware chronology). In a study exploring the reasons behind the dramatic shift in vessel style, Spielmann (1998; see also Eckert 2008a: 81-95 and 2008b) posited that the replacement of earlier black-on-white traditions by glaze-decorated wares represented a significant change that signaled the spread of new iconic and belief systems thought to be closely related to feasting complexes. For example, early assemblages of glaze wares were comprised of larger bowl sizes that occurred both in domestic contexts and “. . . in a new context of ritual feasting” (Spielmann 1998: 257-258).

Archaeological examples of decorated bowls used in kiva mural scenes indicate that these domestic bowls were also used in ritual contexts (Smith 1952: 250-261; Spielmann 1998: 253-254). Notably, in the Rio Grande region, one of the mural scenes in Kiva 9 at Pottery Mound that features a polychrome-decorated bowl is strongly evocative of the spiritual realm of the Sun Youth (**Fig. 2.14a**). This image depicts a woman standing upon a rainbow baseband with a bowl upon her head, surrounded by dragonflies and lightning, while holding two scarlet macaws. Imagery of dragonflies on the interior of a Glaze A ware (AD 1321-1450) from Pottery Mound (see Graves and Eckert 1998: fig. 14.3b) and from Glaze B rim exteriors from Pecos Pueblo (Kidder and Shepard 1936: 105, fig. 91d), similar to early twentieth-century Zuni constructions of wooden effigy

dragonflies (see image in Fane et al.1991: fig. 115), suggests further, and early, connections to the Flower World complex. These new ritual contexts, as described by Spielmann (1998), in which polychrome-decorated bowls were used, probably were closely linked to the newly adopted rituals of the Flower World complex.

A prominent motif to appear on the central interiors and exterior rims of Glaze C through E wares are representations of the top of the dance standard used in the Corn Dance (see **Figs. 2.13a-2.13f**). This motif, some examples of which bear portrayals of human visages, represents the face and head of the Sun Youth (see **Figs. 2.10a, 2.11a-2.11e**). Though these images appear to be absent on earlier Glaze A and B wares, it is my perspective that this absence may relate to a religious proscription on portraying this figure. An alternative explanation could be that, much as he is today, the Sun Youth was perceived as an animating figure that hides behind or within the Sun, largely invisible to human eyes, and only appears in rare instances when called upon for help and guidance. The presence of Flower World motifs on earlier glazed wares indicates that this ideology took form prior to the overt appearance of the Sun Youth on these wares in the early fifteenth century.

Kidder and Shepard's (1936: 163, 217) estimation for the average size of Pecos Glaze D bowls as 10.5 inches (or 26.67 cm) and Glaze E bowls as 12 inches (or 30.48 cm) corresponds with Spielmann's (1998: 257) size classification for large glaze ware bowls that served as feasting vessels (>25 cm). Considering that these vessels bear depictions of the Sun Youth, this indicates a corresponding link between Sun Youth ceremonialism and feasting vessels in some of the Rio Grande glaze wares.

Such a link is evident in contemporary Puebloan feasting episodes. For example, though she does not mention the specific pueblo, Parsons (1939: 1: 477) indicated: “At all meals and at the final feast food offerings will be made to various supernaturals, and prayer meal is sprinkled at dawn to the Sun.” Similarly, in providing a generalized description of Feast Day dances involving the Sun Youth standard, Lange (1957: 66-68) noted:

Later, women of the village who are not engaged in the dancing bring baskets of breadstuffs, stews, melons, and other items and place them on the ground before the [saint’s] shrine. About midway through the day’s dancing, there is an intermission . . . during which the dancers and visitors alike enjoy this food.

These statements indicate that contemporary rituals and dances linked to the dawning sun Payatamu are intertwined with feasting and consumption even among the pueblos in the early- to mid-twentieth century.

That the appearance of glaze ware vessels, with their attendant link to feasting, in the Rio Grande Valley roughly corresponds with the timing of the appearance of plaza-oriented pueblos (Adams 1991a: 133) suggests that these changes are interrelated. Both changes are likely linked to the adoption of Sun Youth rituals. Notably, the presence of imagery of the Sun Youth on the interior of vessels provides further support to my assertion that the interior symbolism of certain Southwestern polychrome wares represents small scale or “nested” versions of the interior of kivas, some of which contain elaborate murals depicting the fertile solar realm of the Sun Youth and his Cavern of the Rainbow (also see Schaafsma 2009).

Graves and Eckert (1998: 279, Fig. 14.1) suggested that the wide distribution of Rio Grande glaze wares in the central and southern Rio Grande Valley indicated that this new ideology associated with these wares (i.e., Flower World) crosscut multiple linguistic and ethnic groups. The occurrence of Flower World ritualism among different ethnic and linguistic groups is a common characteristic of the Flower World complex throughout Mesoamerica and the American Southwest (Hill 1992; Taube 2005b, 2010a). It is also worth noting that the rapid appearance of early Rio Grande glaze wares and their attendant feasting complexes was contemporaneous with the increasingly larger sizes of the Salado polychromes (presumably for feasting), vessels which, in their later phases were increasingly similar to Chihuahuan wares such as Ramos Polychrome and Escondida Polychrome (see Crown 1998: 298).

Importantly, both Rio Grande glaze wares and Salado Polychrome ceramic traditions share similar thematic elements of the Flower World complex, most assuredly affiliated with the Casas Grandes Sun Youth. The appearance of glaze-painted ceramics in the Zuni region by the early AD 1300s included common design elements suggestive of the Flower World complex, including such images as parrots (macaws?), eagles, and butterflies (see Mills 2007b: 230). The geographic distribution of Flower World-related ceramic traditions to the northwest and northeast of the Casas Grandes region supports indications that Paquimé's intellectual influence in the Southwest was indeed bilobed (Vokes and Gregory 2007: 351; Wilcox 2007: 238) and was much more vast and profound than some scholars acknowledge.

Southwestern Glaze Wares and the West Mexican Connection

Given that the fully developed Sun Youth and Flower World complex of the American Southwest originated in the Casas Grandes region at Paquimé, which in turn had its direct origins through the probable immigration of people from West Mexico, it is intriguing, to say the least, to ponder whether glaze-paint technology might also have its ultimate origins somewhere in West Mexico. Eckert (2006: 34) recently pointed out that glaze-painted polychrome pottery was produced in West Mexico by around AD 900 and at Paquimé during the Medio period (AD 1200-1450), though not as intensively as later in the American Southwest. At Paquimé, for example, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: 83, 93) noted that there was evidence of glaze paint on some Ramos Polychromes, the hallmark ceramic type of the Medio period. In an earlier study, Weigand (1975) came to similar conclusions in suggesting that prototypes for the Southwestern glaze ware tradition can be found centuries earlier on West Mexican glazed ceramic, clay, and stone objects, though this tradition never was as popular or widespread as it was later in the Southwest.

According to Weigand (1975: 5), many of these West Mexican glazed ceramic objects occur near the hearths of metallurgy, particularly copper metallurgy, in highland Nayarit and lowland Jalisco, a fact that suggests that the two technological developments were probably closely related. Examples of glazed objects, some dating to roughly AD 900, occur at sites in the Marismas Nacionales of coastal Nayarit. Near San Blas, Nayarit, Joseph Mountjoy identified lead-based glazed sherds dating to the Santa Cruz phase, which began around AD 1200, while R. Crabtree in 1961 excavated a Santa Cruz urn

burial with an associated probable glazed jar (*ibid.*). Glazed sherds were also collected from surface surveys in the Ameca Valley near the Nayarit/Jalisco border in association with sites that date roughly between AD 800 and AD 1200 (*ibid.*).

Weigand (1975: 6) concluded that the technological innovation of glaze ware technology originated in the Nayarit/Jalisco region of West Mexico and that this technology was subsequently adopted and more widely popularized thereafter in the American Southwest. That Weigand links glazed ceramics, some of which are lead-glazed, to zones of copper metallurgy in West Mexico is notable in that Habicht-Mauche (2006: 5) recently pointed out that the earliest glaze technology, which was a “radical technological and aesthetic innovation” (*ibid.*:12) in the Southwest in the late-thirteenth century, involved potters experimenting with both copper and lead-glazed pigments.

Rather than being independently invented in the American Southwest, might the highly complex technological knowledge of producing glaze-painted pottery have its origins in the Aztatlán region? Perhaps this knowledge was even acquired directly by Southwestern people who ventured southward along the Pacific Coast. Though this is only a tentative suggestion, the topic of whether glaze-painted technology in the Southwest has ultimate roots in ancient West Mexico surely deserves further attention (Weigand 1975).

What is perhaps most compelling for this argument is that the region in West Mexico where glaze ware technology is found is the precise geographic region where both Flower World and Xochipilli-worship flourished prior to its adoption at Paquimé and later in the American Southwest (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8). Surely, this connection

cannot be just a coincidence. Furthermore, the development of glaze ware technology in the Postclassic period in West Mexico may itself ultimately have its technological origins much further south in the widely traded lead-glazed Plumbate tradition (see Neff 1984, 1989a, 1989b, 2002; Neff and Bishop 1988), some of which began to appear in far West Mexico in the Early Postclassic after AD 900. These wares, and the technological knowledge to produce them, may ultimately have served as inspiration for the development of glaze ware technologies that made their way northward into the American Southwest.

Fourmile Style and the Flower World

Another ceramic-tradition horizon that can be considered in this discussion is Fourmile Polychrome. Fourmile style, developed in the Mogollon Rim of Arizona, prefigured many aspects of the Sikyatki-style layout and iconography (discussed below) and included such designs as katsinam, serpents, cloud terraces, birds, and butterflies or insects (Hays-Gilpin and LeBlanc 2007: 115 and fig. 7.7). In the Western Pueblos of east-central Arizona, the widespread Pinedale style, which appeared by AD 1300, was replaced by the Fourmile style at around AD 1325 (Van Keuren 2000: 85).

Accompanying this dramatic change in ceramic style was the appearance of villages with large, enclosed central plazas with kivas (ibid.). Fourmile polychrome “. . . was produced and circulated among a handful of large, aggregated villages whose occupation ended by AD 1400” (Van Keuren 2004: 198). Some archaeologists argued that these changes in artifacts and architecture occurred with an influx of a suite of artifacts, icons, and ritual

behavior from the Casas Grandes region of northern Mexico (Adams 1991a; Adams and Lamotta 2006: 61).

While Adams (1991a, 2000b) viewed the appearance of the Fourmile style as a marker for the development of a widespread belief system centered upon katsina ceremonial complex, Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa (2006: 14) also noted that many of the symbols associated with katsina ritualism are intimately related to the Flower World complex. Furthermore, the ceramic design change during the early Pueblo IV period, including the Fourmile style, “. . . is a material residue of knowledge-based leadership strategies that potentially reorganized the social composition of villages in the uplands of eastern Arizona” (Van Keuren 2000: 93).

Van Keuren (2004; 2006: 101) also recently suggested that Fourmile and Fourmile-copies likely were used in communal feasts. While earlier red ware vessels that were used at newly aggregated villages are thought to have had a more “generalized” association with feasting or in household food preparation and consumption, but later likely took on “more specific ritual connotations . . . at large plaza-oriented villages in the fourteenth century” when Fourmile-style bowls were used (Van Keuren 2004: 198). It is important then to recall that these more specific ritual connotations were identified as involving northern Mexican ritual influences, symbolism associated with katsina ceremonialism, plaza pueblos, and ritual feasting, the development of which were likely directly linked to the Casas Grandes Flower World complex. Thus, these changes in social organization likely reflected a knowledge-based shift in social statuses reflecting differential access to new ritual information linked to katsina ceremonies, plaza

performances (in part centered upon the Sun Youth), Flower World symbolism on ceramics, and Flower World-related feasting and rituals derived from the Casas Grandes region.

Sikyatki Polychrome and the Flower World

After AD 1375, the Flower World complex also occurs frequently in Sikyatki Polychrome pottery made on the Hopi Mesas (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006: 14). Recently, Hays-Gilpin and LeBlanc (2007: 113) suggested that northern Chihuahua polychromes may well have contributed some stylistic features to the temporally later Sikyatki style. For example, they (ibid.: 115-116) noted:

Both Sikyatki and Ramos polychromes have black and red designs on a buff background, some similar iconography, and bird effigy vessels. Both types depict birds, serpents, and mask-like faces, but overall styles, vessel shapes, and layouts are distinct.

Sikyatki Polychromes also take the form of macaw-effigy vessels, and at times contain imagery of tadpoles (symbols of moisture) and butterflies (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006: 17, 21, 22). Fewkes (1898a: pls. CXXXI a, CXXXIII b and e, CXXXIV d-e, CXXXV a-b, CXLIII) similarly pointed out a number of depictions of butterflies, dragonflies, tadpoles, flowers, and macaws on polychromes excavated from Sikyatki. Examples of symbolism evocative of the solar Flower World on other Sikyatki Polychrome wares include imagery of butterflies and flowers (see Hays-Gilpin 2006: fig. 4.2; Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2006: 39), males holding scarlet macaws (see Townsend 2005a: pl. 140), and one vessel with a woman behind an altar surrounded by dragonflies and cross-shaped symbols identified by others as insects (see Townsend

2005a: pl. 139). Notably, the cross-shaped insects that appear in this latter example are similar to the cross-shaped elements that appear in kiva murals (see Fig. 2.14a) and in a Glaze D vessel with an image of the Sun Youth standard (see Fig. 2.13e).

Early Sikyatki Polychrome wares also sometimes contain stylistic features of earlier and contemporaneous pottery both from the Mogollon Rim and even northern Chihuahua (Hays-Gilpin and LeBlanc 2007: 113). Thus, earlier Gila Polychromes and later Sikyatki Polychromes both share similar thematic components of the Casas Grandes Flower World complex. Further examination of the reasons for which the Flower World was differently manifested in these two geographically and spatially separated ceramic traditions is beyond the scope of the present study.

Ritual Knowledge-based Inequality and Feasting in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest

The Casas Grandes Flower World complex centered upon Sun Youth worship appears to have been closely associated with feasting, while subsequent and widespread ceramic traditions such as Gila Polychrome, the Fourmile Style, and Rio Grande glaze wares each have links to Casas Grandes ideology (Flower World) and to feasting ceremonies. Given these conclusions, might this then suggest that the origin and spread of the Casas Grandes religious complex centered on Xochipilli was intimately linked to the differential spread of a Flower World-oriented feasting complex, variously manifested in time and space, across the American Southwest in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries?

In other words, evidence suggests that feasting among Eastern and Western Pueblos after AD 1200 was closely related to the spread of new ceremonialism across the Southwest. While scholars parse this new ceremonialism into categories such as “The Southwestern Regional Cult” and the “Katsina Cult”, these are both acknowledged to have roots in the Flower World complex, which, after AD 1200, is presently identified as a politico-religious system centered upon a feasting complex associated with the Casas Grandes Sun Youth. Might this observation then suggest that the spread of the Xochipilli-oriented Flower World complex from Mesoamerica to the American Southwest was also comprised of a ritual feasting component that involved networks of intermarriage and political alliance-building that likely served as a foundation of ritual knowledge-oriented status differentiation?

Considering that feasting at Paquimé and in the Casas Grandes region was intimately connected to a ritually based social inequality centered upon esoteric knowledge of the Sun Youth, it is possible that during the Pueblo IV period in the American Southwest, social inequality was at least partly based upon control of ritual information linked to the Sun Youth (and katsinam). Recently, Phillips and Sebastian (2004) lamented what they described as the resurgence of “neo-egalitarian” models of social organization. They (*ibid.*) stressed the need to acknowledge that social inequality and power relations in the ancient American Southwest was not based on coercive force or ostentatious wealth.

As Bunzel (1938: 336) noted for the Zuni:

There are societies, like Zuni, where wealth and power are kept distinct. Wealth is desirable there because it contributes to comfortable living. It

gives no control over others. Power, by which is always meant knowledge ritualistically acquired . . . is supernatural and dangerous.

In a recent discussion of Puebloan social organization, Schaafsma and Riley (1999c: 248) noted that ritually based social differentiation is present among historic and contemporary Pueblos whereby social organization is centered upon village caciques or chiefs (and priestly societies) who exercise political and religious control. Bernardini (2008: 499) noted that for the Hopi, the more ritually powerful clans maintain control of certain ceremonies while other clans that do not control ceremonies are ritually less-powerful.

Whiteley (1987) earlier came to the same conclusions and noted that, among the Hopi, there is no disjunction between politics and religion. In his discussion of the Hopi village of Oraibi, he (ibid.: 699) pointed out that divisions of power are evident among the classification of the *pavansinom* (“most powerful”, “most important”, or “ruling people”) and the *sukavungsinom* (“common people”). The *pavansinom* are those clans, or more appropriately the core lineage segment of a clan, that own certain ritually important ceremonies and whose power and “. . . authority rests in the conduct of cyclical ceremonies and is repeatedly re-asserted in myth and ritual performance” (ibid.: 700). In fact, “The primary source of power in Hopi society lies in esoteric ritual knowledge [while] the greatest proportion adheres to the *momngwit*, chief-priests” (ibid.: 703). As Whiteley (ibid.) further noted, “Ritual knowledge serves as the scheme of value, the ‘currency’, perhaps, of power.” Consent to authority then is not based on the threat of physical violence so much as it is on the hegemonic concept of *maqastutavo* (“fear teaching”), the idea that behavioral norms are enforced through the threat of supernatural sanction by ritual leaders (*pavansinom*) who essentially have the ritual power to benefit

or destroy life (ibid.: 705). Thus, ritual and political power are inextricably linked in Hopi society.

With regard to katsina ritualism, Potter and Perry (2000) pointed out that these performances are associated with public demonstrations of social position and power relationships within communities. Adams and LaMotta (2006: 62-63) also noted: “At Hopi today, the secrecy and liturgical order of katsina ritual demonstrate to the community the nature of ritual power and authority and establish boundaries between those who have this power and those who do not.” It is pertinent to note here that it is entirely probable that katsina ceremonialism and Sun Youth ceremonialism are intimately intertwined (see Chapter 11). It seems unlikely that, during the Pueblo IV period, a rain complex would have developed entirely independently from a solar complex. Common sense suggests that the physical and ritual manifestation of a flowery and fertile realm of blooming flowers and vegetation, pollen, birds, and butterflies in a natural and spiritual landscape glistening with rain would necessarily require the combination of the natural power of rain in conjunction with the invigorating power of the Sun. In other words, the Flower World complex of the American Southwest was and is a well-developed religious complex that incorporates both solar- and moisture-oriented aspects. Thus, katsina and Sun Youth ceremonialism in ancient Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest likely were not mutually exclusive, but codependent and intimately related ceremonial complexes.

Might these forms of social organization where social power is based upon ritually specialized knowledge be at least partly anchored not just in katsina

ceremonialism, but in control of special religious knowledge centered upon the Sun Youth Payatamu by a cacique and priestly societies? For example, elevated statuses for some groups associated with the Sun Youth Payatamu were known among the historic Zuni. Stevenson (1904: 549) pointed out that members of the Little Fire Fraternity, which is partly comprised of the order of Payatamu, had the largest membership with many of its members being among the wealthiest of the Zuni. Notably, the mythical medicine (*tenatsali*) of Payatamu is very important for Zuni groups, including the rain priesthood (*A'shiwanni*) and other esoteric orders such as the Cimex fraternity and the Hunters fraternity (ibid.: 569, fn. A).

Among the Hopi, for example, the Squash clan controls the “first order” Maraw and Wuwtsim ceremonies (Bernardini 2008: 500, table 1). Importantly, the patron of these two ceremonies is the Sun Youth Payatamu (Wright 2004: 63). This relationship is notable in that, as one Hopi consultant noted, “these [Wuwtsim] societies are the Hopi’s government” (in Whiteley 1987: 701). Furthermore, these ceremonies are said to have their origin at Flower Mound, the abode of the Sun Youth (Fewkes 1900b: 595) and are said to have been introduced by groups who came from Palatkwapi, the legendary place or region located far to the south (Fewkes 1900b: 594-603). Whiteley (2004a: 490) indicated that at the Hopi village of Walpi, the Flute ceremony reenacts the Flute clan’s arrival to the mesa and relegitimizes the clan’s ownership of the office of *kikmongwi*, or Village Chief. Importantly, Fewkes (1896: 252) indicated that the Flute ceremony is also intimately linked to Taiowa (Payatamu). This brief discussion highlights the probability that some social-status differences among both ancient and contemporary Pueblo

communities may well derive from esoteric societies' control of ritual information related to the Casas Grandes Sun Youth.

The main point then is that it is conceivable that during the Pueblo IV period in the American Southwest, members of esoteric societies associated with the Sun Youth Payatamu maintained an elevated social status based upon their control of ritual knowledge, which in some instances may have included, at least in the early twentieth century, a degree of differential wealth. Scholars generally acknowledge that the forms of social organization presently seen among historic Pueblos took shape at the beginning of the Pueblo IV period (Ortman 1998; Ware and Blinman 2000). Given these arguments, it is not far-fetched to suggest that ritually based political power and status differences in Pueblo societies during the Pueblo IV period were partly founded upon knowledge of ceremonies of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth.

Recent studies argued that leadership strategies that involve unequal access to information can be manifest both in the control of rituals and performance (Potter and Perry 2000) along with the use of knowledge-based ceramic designs and symbols (Van Keuren 2000). Thus, it is conceivable that knowledge-based social inequality in the prehispanic American Southwest in some instances involved differential access to ritual knowledge, ceremonies, and symbolism of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth and Flower World complex as it became manifest in public and private ritual acts, performances, feasting, and in imagery and designs on ceramic vessels.

However, it is worth noting that a recent study by Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2009: 204) hold a different view than archaeologists who envision a link between power

relations and feasting. They (ibid.) determined that the lavish gift-exchange of food in feasts among the contemporary Hopi is not necessarily tied to the control of populations and directives by an institutionalized ruler or affirmations of power by the host group. Rather, “. . . since everyone contributes food to these gifts, the intent of this community-wide participation is to embody the idea of the shared responsibility that every Hopi person has for the well-being of his community” (ibid.). They (ibid.: 204-205) further noted,

These meals are not prepared as displays of status or power nor are they bids for control. Rather they are seen as symbolic of the renewal of the communal spirit that sustains the community . . . [Ceramic] [d]esigns are rather an individual’s expressions of concerns for all the things that support the corn lifeway—prayer for rain as well as the land and the corn nurtured on it.

One of the other ways that we might also conceptualize feasting and leadership in the Casas Grandes region is through Sekaquaptewa and Washburn’s (2009: 210) discussion of the Hopi perception of an ideal leader. For Hopi, this person would be a humble, community-oriented exemplary role model or spiritual leader rather than a Western-style leader who is elevated above other Hopi and who is singled out for recognition and remuneration such that they are deserving of posthumous status markers after death, such as in the construction of statues or monuments. This form of leadership may have taken form in the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period, perhaps even as a response to or as an antithesis of more hierarchical and elevated leadership positions in the Casas Grandes region.

While political power is often misconstrued as being inextricably related to the use of force and the accumulation of wealth, Phillips and Sebastian (2004: 236) argued:

“Clearly, the absence of the ability to coerce is not evidence for the absence of political power.” One way in which power differentials can be manifested is through feasting. In considering the role of managing elites in Casas Grandes feasting, they (ibid.: 240) further noted that while feasts can both integrate and differentiate, they can also simultaneously perform both functions, thus, “. . . feasting was a reflection of social inequality, not of social equality.” In Pueblo societies in the ancient American Southwest, the adoption of rituals dedicated to the Sun Youth likely occurred in tandem with new forms of social organization whereby status differentials were at least partly based upon ritual specialists’ knowledge and control of esoteric ceremonies dedicated to the Casas Grandes Sun Youth. Feasts that involved decorated ceramics centered upon the Flower World would serve both to integrate large and newly formed multiethnic communities and to differentiate between those with the specifics of this ritual knowledge and those without.

Xochipilli, Feasting, and the Flower World Complex in Mesoamerica

Given that a highly refined feasting complex focused upon Flower World ritualism is first evident in the Casas Grandes region before it becomes manifest in the American Southwest, it is instructive to examine the role of feasting in the context of Xochipilli-worship in other regions of Mesoamerica in order to draw parallels and to provide insight into how and why this religious complex came to be transmitted northward and locally manifested. Thus, for comparative purposes, the following section

examines feasting and Xochipilli-worship from another part of ancient Mesoamerica, the Mixteca region of Oaxaca and Puebla.

For the Aztecs, and perhaps the earlier Toltecs, the macaw was the personified form of the young sun god Xochipilli, also known among the Mixtecs by his calendrical name “Seven Flower” (Pohl 2001: 97). As Seven Flower was the patron of the palace folk (*tecpanzinca*), royal palaces, royal marriages and craftspeople, “[f]estivals in his honor were celebrated with bacchanalian banquets involving the exchange of lavish gifts of woven garments, feathers, and jewels” (ibid.). For example, on the Aztec feast of Tecuilhuitontli the nobility invited each other to participate in elaborate feasts and gift-giving (Pohl 1994a: 9). Notably, as depicted in the *Codex Magliabecchiano* and the *Codex Tudela*, an effigy/impersonator of Xochipilli dressed as a scarlet macaw was paraded on a litter of maize on the feast days of Tecuilhuitontli and Xochihuitl, both being feast days associated with Xochipilli (**Figs. 2.9a-2.9c**). As Ramsey (1982: 38) noted:

At the feast of Xochihuitl the nobles drank *tlacuilotolli* (painter’s or writer’s brew) decorated in the center with a flower. They ate cakes in the shape of butterflies, S-shapes, and lightning bolts . . . Dancing and singing, accompanied by beating drums, followed the feast.

Thus, the political ideology of the religious complex of Seven Flower-Xochipilli “embodied the ideology of elite gift-giving and reciprocity that was the focus of Postclassic Mexican alliance networks” (Pohl 2001: 97) that arose after the demise of such Classic Period sites as Teotihuacan and Monte Alban (Pohl 1994a, 2001).

During the Middle Postclassic period the complex feasting networks of the Eastern Nahuatl, Mixtecs, and Zapotecs involved the development and spread of a

representational art style known variously as the Mixteca-Puebla style or Postclassic International Style (Pohl 2003b: 201). A variant of this style reached as far west as the region near Amapa, Nayarit, and as far north as Guasave, Sinaloa (Boone and Smith 2003). The Nahua-Mixteca art style is thought to have developed at Cholula as early as AD 900 (Lind 1994) with influence from artistic styles of the Late Classic Gulf Coast and Lowland Maya regions (Taube 2010a). This highly refined art style depicted in pictorial codices and on ceramic feasting vessels was often comprised of repetitive designs such as butterflies, jewels, and birds and “probably invoked the spirits of dead ancestors” (Pohl 2003b: 201). According to Pohl (2004: 43) these vessels, along with codices, were intended to celebrate the legends of gods and ancestors.

Symbolism on Mixtec-Zapotec ceramics included a focus upon plumed serpents, parrot heads, and flowers (Pohl 2003b: 203) with one anthropomorphic Zapotec feasting vase and some tripod plates from Zaachila, Oaxaca depicting Xochipilli, known to the Zapotecs as Bezelayo, a “supreme universal god” (ibid.: 204, 206). A tripod olla in the Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca depicts a scene of musicians, one of which is a portrayal of Xochipilli as a *teponaztli* drummer (Pohl 2007a: 24-25, fig. 16). Other Nahua-Mixteca feasting vessels depict Xochiquetzal, the consort of Xochipilli (Pohl 2004). Taube (2010a: 171) noted that Postclassic International style imagery from the Mixteca region portrays ancestral figures and animals emerging from chains of blossoms. One polychrome tripod vessel from Yagul in the Valley of Oaxaca bears depictions of probable ancestral figures emerging from a chain of flower blossoms, much as if they were the personified aromatic essence of the flowers (**Fig. 10.1a**). The pendant volutes

along the chain of flowers is nearly identical to the cloud or mist motif identified on the interior rim of the above-described Nahua-Mixteca bowl with the image of Xochiquetzal (see image in Pohl 2004: fig. 8). A mist motif along the chain of blossoms probably indicates floral aroma.

A portrait on the interior of a polychrome tripod bowl from Zaachila depicts a human figure wearing bells while situated within a probable *en face* petalled blossom (see image in Paddock 1966: pl. 26). Taube (2010c: 97, fig. 5.19d) noted one Mixteca-Puebla vessel that portrays a plumed serpent emerging from a petalled ring, a probable blossom, much as does the previously mentioned human figure (**Fig. 10.1b**). The plumed serpent in this example is likely emerging as the wind-like aromatic essence of the flower. The interior of one Early Postclassic period (Aquiahuac phase AD 950-1150) Cristina polychrome bowl fragment from Cholula depicts a central flower surrounded by four blossoms in profile (Taube 2010a: fig. 17a). Following the early appearance of floral motifs in the Early Postclassic, the Flower World complex was fully developed by the Late Postclassic with images of Xochipilli appearing on Catalina polychrome vessels (AD 1350-1550) bowls and goblets associated with elites from Cholula and in effigy form on Pilitas polychrome wares (AD 1350-1550) (Lind 1994: 93, 96; Solís et al. 2006: 94-95).

A recent study of symbolism on Tecama phase (AD 1150-1350) polychromes from Cholula demonstrates that the icons depicted are focused upon a solar-oriented ritual complex (Rojas Martínez Gracida 2008a). The symbol-set is centered upon such themes and motifs as flowers, hummingbirds sipping from flowers, eagles and other

birds, solar rays, and others, all related to the eastern realm at dawn (ibid.: 150). Clearly, this theme indicates a strong link with the Flower World complex. In his study of Postclassic period Mixtec symbolism, Ramsey (1982: 33-42) identified a central focus upon a group of motifs, including the butterfly and flower, and a theme that he termed the “Xochipilli Motif Group”. According to Ramsey (ibid.: 39), these motifs probably were reflected in parallel Xochipilli ritual complexes among both the Aztecs and Mixtecs, though this complex probably had its central locus in the Mixtec symbolic system during the Postclassic period. This theme is found “. . . in all areas that participated in the Mixtec style: Cholula, Puebla, Tlaxcala, the Tehuacan Valley, Mixteca Alta, Mixteca Baja and coast, and the Valley of Oaxaca” (ibid.; see regional map in Lind 1994: 80, fig. 1).

In a comparison of Late Postclassic elite-oriented polychromes from Cholula and Oaxaca, Lind (1994: figs. 23-24) found that elite-oriented Catalina polychromes from Cholula in Puebla and Pilitas polychromes from Oaxaca shared a well-established symbolic system focused on shared motifs appearing in similar frequencies, such as flowers, butterflies, sun rays, stylized serpent or bird heads, clouds or smoke, and other motifs such as anthropomorphic figures, plumed serpents, and *chalchihuitl* glyphs (a symbol of preciousness). Other symbols unique to either type include such things as cacao beans or *patolli* game boards (ibid.: 95, figs. 25-26). Clearly, these elements are hallmarks of the Flower World complex centered upon Xochipilli. Furthermore, Taube (2010a) roundly concluded that the Flower World complex was a prominent component of the Postclassic International Style.

The point of this discussion thus far is that the Postclassic-period Mesoamerican Flower World ritual complex in the Eastern Nahua-Mixteca-Zapotec regions, embodied in the larger Postclassic International Style, was centered upon an elite political ideology and feasting complex that involved the use of feasting vessels ornamented with symbolism evocative of the floral solar realm of the Sun Youth Xochipilli. Given that the antecedents of Xochipilli predate the Postclassic period, such as at Early Classic Teotihuacan and at Classic period Copán, it is probable that there are much more ancient roots to this complex in other parts of Mesoamerica.

The Flower World feasting complex described for the Mixteca-Eastern Nahua-Zapotec regions is remarkably similar to the ritual complex presently argued for in the Greater Southwest, with aspects first becoming evident as early as Chaco Canyon but only later appearing most prominently and most specifically at Paquimé and in the American Southwest thereafter. Notably, at Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon, evidence of cacao residue was recently identified on the interior of Chacoan cylindrical vessels used in feasting and elite rituals (Crown and Hurst 2009), although Washburn and colleagues (2011) recently concluded that non-elites were also involved in Chacoan cacao consumption. These discoveries suggest that cacao-drinking rituals in Chaco Canyon likely formed a part of a newly burgeoning but incomplete form of the Flower World complex.

Taube (2005b: 9-10) pointed out that in ancient Mesoamerica, such as at Teotihuacan and among the Classic Maya, cacao was closely associated with precious riches including jade and quetzal plumes, while all were linked to the eastern floral solar

paradise. The discovery of cacao residue in vessels at Chaco Canyon, with the inherent link of cacao to the Flower World complex, is also important because Seven Flower-Xochipilli is portrayed as a cacao trader in the late prehispanic *Codex Nuttall* (**Fig. 10.2a**). In the *Codex Vindobonensis*, Seven Flower-Xochipilli also appears in one scene with craft and ritual objects associated with his patronage, one of which is a vessel brimming with cacao pods (**Fig. 10.2b**). A narrative scene on page 31v in the *Codex Bodley* depicts a Mixtec lord, later to become ruler of a kingdom in the Nochixtlan Valley, presenting a bowl of cacao to the oracular priest Seven Flower-Xochipilli at his shrine (Pohl 2005: 84, 86-87; **Fig. 10.2c**).

Before continuing on with the discussion of cacao, a discussion of these oracular shrines deserves brief attention. A scene that depicts Seven Flower at the above-mentioned shrine in the Nochistlan Valley, known by the toponym Hill of the Turkey, is also portrayed in murals at Mitla, Oaxaca (Pohl 2005: 84-85, fig. 7b). Notably, Pohl (2007a: 25) suggested that this oracle either was Seven Flower or it was a priest dressed as or representing Seven Flower. Importantly, a scene from the murals at Mitla depicting a priest carrying a tumpline containing the toponym for the Hill of the Turkey suggests that the ritual complex associated with this shrine, that of Seven Flower Xochipilli, may well have been transported to other parts of Oaxaca by the physical migration of people from the Mixteca Alta to the Mitla Valley (Pohl 2005: 87-88, fig. 7a).

The physical movement of groups of people over great distances, with Pohl (2005: 87-88) suggesting the possibility of “an entire population”, along with rituals dedicated to deities in their oracle shrines (in this case Seven Flower-Xochipilli),

provides one clue as to how ritual complexes may have been disseminated to other regions. Traditions concerned with the movement of populations from the Mixteca Alta to the Mitla Valley due to factional warfare or marriage alliances and the subsequent establishment of new kingdoms does in fact exist in the local lore of this region (ibid.).

Other Mixtec oracles also have strong links to Xochipilli. For example, the most powerful Mixtec oracle was One Death, a solar deity linked to the royal families whose seat was the principal citadel atop the Hill of the Sun, a prominent mountain overlooking the community in the kingdom of Achiutla in Oaxaca (Pohl 2007a: 18-19). This powerful oracle, once consulted by the Aztec emperor Motecuhzoma, was charged with arranging marriage alliances and settling disputes between Mixtec royal lineages (ibid.). Pohl (ibid.: 19) noted that, in the *Codex Nuttall*, Seven Flower is portrayed as One Death's supernatural guardian. Furst (1978: 218, 243) noted that in the *Codex Vienna* (or *Codex Vindobonensis*), Seven Flower often shares characteristics with the solar deity One Death while the oracular shrine at the Hill of the Sun was at one point placed under the auspices of Seven Flower. Notably, a passage in *Vindobonensis* 23-12 that depicts an account of the first rising of the sun indicates that the Hill of the Sun is the sacred directional mountain of the east (Pohl and Byland 1990: 121, 123 fig. 10, 126), in other words, the probable Flower Mountain from which the Sun arises at dawn (John Pohl, pers. comm. 2010).

In drawing comparisons between Mixteca Alta place-names and codical data, Pohl and Byland (1990: 124, fig.11) indicated a probable correlation between sacred Mixtec directional sites and the directional 260-day calendar illustrated in the *Codex*

Fejervary-Mayer. Importantly, the sacred direction of the east in the *Codex Fejervary Mayer* that corresponds with the Hill of Achiutla is affiliated with Piltzintecuhtli (Piltzintli), the young solar deity who is cognate to Xochipilli. Notably, sixteenth-century genealogical documents from the Zapotec region of the eastern or Tlacolula region of the Valley of Oaxaca indicate that there even existed town names and lineage heads named “Macuilxochitl” (Five Flower) and a town to the north near Ixtlán was named “Chicomexochitl” (Seven Flower) (Paddock 1983; Whitecotton 1990: fig. 1.3), both being alternate names for Seven Flower-Xochipilli.

The above-noted observations are important because there are indications that some Mixtec high-status priests, such as at the Hill of the Turkey, may have dressed as a personified version of, or at least had very strong affiliations with, the young solar deity Seven Flower-Xochipilli, much as I have suggested was the case in other time periods and regions in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest (see Chapter 6). It is striking to note that the placement of ritual architectural complexes, such as at the Hill of the Sun, atop prominent mountaintops or on mesas that house high priests affiliated with or identified as Xochipilli, is evident in the Mixteca region, at the Mesa del Nayar in the Aztatlán region of West Mexico (see Chapter 6), and at Cerro de Moctezuma overlooking Paquimé (see Chapter 9). It is clear that by the time of Paquimé’s florescence from AD 1200 to AD 1450, these remarkably similar politico-religious systems, a “world religion” *per se*, were in operation in all of these disparate regions at the same time.

Continuing along with the discussion of cacao use in relation to Xochipilli, it is notable that Lind (1994: 87) estimated that roughly 80 percent of the above-described

Late Postclassic Pilitas polychromes from Oaxaca and about 50 percent of Catalina polychromes from Cholula were used for the the consumption of such drinks as cacao and pulque. That these vessels were used in Flower World rituals dedicated to Xochipilli further strengthens the connections between cacao consumption and Xochipilli-worship. Given this association, and presuming that the connection between this deity and cacao is quite ancient, it is reasonable to suggest that elites at Chaco Canyon who engaged in cacao-drinking rituals likely were drawing upon the Mesoamerican Flower World complex for political legitimization. Though tall cylindrical vessels are not known for Paquimé, it is still unknown whether cacao was an important ritual drink used in Flower World rituals at this site. It is conceivable that, if it were produced and consumed, it would be through the use of another vessel type. Further examination of this topic at Paquimé is explored below.

Two possible alternative vessel forms used for cacao preparation and/or consumption in Mesoamerica that occur at Paquimé and deserve further attention are the simple goblet with annular base and the small hemispherical bowl. To cite one example, while tall cylindrical vessels, such as those found in the Maya region and at Chaco Canyon, were important in cacao preparation and consumption, cultural groups in other regions such as the pre- and post-Contact-period Aztec and Mixtec of Central Mexico also used hemispherical bowls and goblets, among other forms, for these purposes (Lind 1994: 84 and 87, figs. 9a, 9b, 10a-10c). Lind (*ibid.*: 87) suggested that elites at Cholula preferred hemispherical bowls and goblets as drinking vessels while Pilitas polychrome goblets occurred to a lesser degree (*ibid.*: 87, table 2 and 89, figs. 17a-17b). A scene from

page 4 of the *Codex Borgia* depicts Xochiquetzal, the consort of Xochipilli, drinking cacao from a small hemispherical bowl (ibid.: 84, fig. 9c).

As noted above, a bowl or similarly shaped gourd containing cacao is presented by a Mixtec lord to the oracle Seven Flower-Xochipilli in a scene in the *Codex Bodley* (**Fig. 10.2c**). Notably, one of the Catalina polychrome goblets from Cholula portrayed an anthropomorphic figure, identified by Lind (1994.: 84, fig. 10c) as the face of Xochipilli. One Catalina polychrome goblet illustrated by Lind (ibid: 84, fig. 10a) appears to be decorated with *tonallo* symbols, a group of four circles identified as the emblem of Macuilxochitl/Xochipilli. The *tonallo* is closely identified with the *tonalli*, the breath soul identified with heat and the sun (Lopez Austin 1988: 1: 204-228; Taube 2001: 105). A remarkable goblet with annular base from Puebla clearly illustrates the connection between these vessel forms and the Flower World complex. This vessel design depicts a number of flower blossoms and hummingbird heads, with the beaks of the hummingbirds aimed to penetrate the flower in order to suck the nectar (**Fig. 10.3a**). These blossoms are linked together with volutes that are suggestive of aromatic mist or clouds, much like that depicted in Figure 10.1a.

Notably, Contact-period ethnohistoric accounts also indicate that the preparation of cacao in highland Central Mexico also involved goblets. One scene on page 3r of the late-sixteenth-century *Codex Tudela* depicts a woman frothing cacao by pouring it from one annular-based goblet or gourd to another (**Fig. 10.3b**). Another scene from Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's sixteenth-century *Florentine Codex* depicts a cacao seller frothing cacao in the same manner, by pouring it between two annular-based goblets or

gourds (**Fig. 10.3c**). By engaging in feasting and consumption rituals with these Flower World ornamented vessels, the participants were, in effect, actively recreating, participating in, and bringing to life the solar, fertile realm of Xochipilli.

The point of this discussion on the varieties of vessel forms used in cacao consumption rituals in the context of Flower World and Xochipilli ceremonialism is to explore the possibility that cacao consumption may have occurred at Paquimé, albeit using vessel forms other than the more commonly assumed tall cylindrical vases. Considering that Flower World and Xochipilli-worship were preeminent at Paquimé, as cylindrical vessels do not exist at this site the possibility remains that annular-based goblets, small hemispherical bowls, and even gourds may have been used in rites involving cacao. While never comprising a significant portion of Casas Grandes ceramic assemblages, the fact that annular-based goblets exist at all within these collections is a significant point worth noting (**Figs. 10.4a-10.4e**). One of these goblets, in fact, is decorated with a band of circular medallions earlier identified by the author as flowers (see image in Christman 2002: 85). To my knowledge, annular-based vessel forms are not known in other Southwestern ceramic assemblages such as the earlier Mimbres or Chaco Canyon cultures, but indeed are quite common along the Pacific coast in Aztatlán sites.

Although small hemispherical bowls were known in the Southwest prior to Paquimé, the fact that a number of these Casas Grandes bowls are also decorated with floral medallions suggests that these vessels were used in Flower World rituals during the Medio period (**Figs. 5.3f-5.3g, 10.5a-10.5d**). Though it remains unclear whether cacao

was consumed at Paquimé, the close connection between cacao use and Xochipilli-oriented Flower World rituals in other parts of Mesoamerica renders the idea plausible. Only residue analysis on a variety of Casas Grandes vessel forms, including hemispherical bowls and goblets, among others, can definitively answer this question.

While scholars recently considered cacao in the American Southwest to have been acquired from southern Mesoamerica (Crown and Hurst 2009; Washburn et al. 2011), I argue in Chapter 8 that cacao in the American Southwest more likely came from coastal Nayarit in West Mexico, the northernmost cacao-growing region at contact (see map in McNeil 2006: fig. 1.2). It was also the region with the strongest evidence indicating that this core area was the locus of Flower World rituals, Xochipilli worship, and cacao consumption likely dating to no earlier than the Cerritos phase (AD 900-1100). At this time and afterward, material culture in this region included tall cylindrical vessels and other vessels (such as small hemispherical bowls) and objects ornamented with floral imagery. Even today, the Huichol, probable descendants of Aztatlán people, still use modern chocolate in rituals and offerings dedicated to the Sun (see Chapter 8). Future studies by the author are planned to test for cacao residues on select vessels in the Casas Grandes and Aztatlán region. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Pacific coastal region of West Mexico holds the answers to many key questions regarding the nature of Mesoamerican/Southwestern interaction and integration.

Feasting and the Expansion of Postclassic Mesoamerican Trade Networks

Along with the development of Postclassic feasting and trade networks and Flower World-related symbolism on ceramics in the Mixteca region was a focus on a high level of craft production and the competitive exchange of elite craftworks, such as textiles, featherwork, and jewelry, for more intensified bridewealth and dowry systems (Pohl 1994a; 2001: 97; 2003a). Pohl (*ibid.*) noted that the more exotic materials and finer craftsmanship allowed for access to better and more powerful marriage and alliance networks. It was this competitive drive for exotic materials that led traders and craftspeople to seek out such materials as turquoise from as far north as the American Southwest (*ibid.*).

In a number of studies, Phil Weigand and colleagues (Weigand 2008a, 2008b; Weigand and Harbottle 1993; Weigand et al. 1977; Weigand and Weigand 2001) have argued for the increasing formalization of trade structures between producers of turquoise in the American Southwest and consumers in many parts of Mesoamerica. While trade in turquoise from the American Southwest is evident in Mesoamerica quite early in time, it was not until about AD 1000 that a systematized turquoise trade structure was in operation, with turquoise reaching nearly every corner of Mesoamerica (Snow 1973; Weigand 2008a: 349; Weigand and García de Weigand 2001: 187, 191).

With regard to the utilization and popularity of turquoise from the mines of Cerrillos, New Mexico, “The first truly identifiable peak coincides with the rise and apogee of Chaco Canyon and the Late Epi- and Early Postclassic social systems of Mesoamerica” (Weigand 2008a: 349). Other scholars have long argued that

Mesoamerican demand for turquoise had a transformative effect on the cultural developments at Chaco Canyon (Di Peso 1968b: 29; Frisbie 1978: 211, 1980: 64, 2003: 4; Kelley and Kelley 1975). After the decline of Chaco Canyon and following the rise of Paquimé, the demand for turquoise in Mesoamerica increased geometrically with a new focus upon the exploitation of more sources (Weigand 2008a: 350).

The post-AD 1000 distribution of turquoise occurs in a lineal distribution along the Pacific Coast, through Jalisco, and along the Rio Lerma, with another route probably continuing south towards Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Chiapas (Weigand 2008a: 351; see map in Weigand and García de Weigand 2001: fig. 167). Notably, Weigand (2008a: 351) suggested that the Pacific coastal corridor closely followed the development and distribution of the Aztatlán horizon style: “Indeed, the systematic trade for turquoise may be one of the explanators for the very existence of the [Aztatlán] horizon style.”

Turquoise from the mines of Cerrillos, New Mexico, has been identified at Aztatlán sites such as Guasave (Sinaloa) and Ixtlán del Río, (Nayarit) (Weigand 1992: 172).

What is intriguing about the observation of peaks in turquoise procurement and trade, first by AD 1000 during the time of Chaco Canyon, and secondly during the subsequent and larger peak with the rise of Paquimé by AD 1200, is that this temporal trend roughly mirrors the initial occurrence of Flower World imagery and symbolism in the American Southwest in the Chaco and Mimbres traditions and the following explosion of Flower World symbolism in northern Mexico at Paquimé and across the American Southwest. Might this be more than a coincidence? That this trend also roughly mirrors J. Charles Kelley’s (2000) timetable for the beginning of the Early Aztatlán

horizon (ca. AD 950+/-) and the Late Aztatlán horizon (ca. AD 1250+/-) may signal an important connection.

It appears increasingly possible that the origin and development of the Aztatlán tradition was tied to the spread of the closely intertwined political, social, economic, and ritual components of the Xochipilli-oriented Flower World tradition from Mesoamerica to the North American Southwest. That Southwestern turquoise was funneled to Mixtec artisans, likely via Aztatlán sites, for the production of jewelry, masks, and objects ornamented with turquoise tesserae, reveals that these regions were linked together by a far-flung economic, religious, and political structure. Given that worship of the young sun god Xochipilli, the preeminent deity of the Flower World complex, is prominent during the Postclassic period in then-contemporaneous sites in the Mixtec, Zapotec, and Eastern Nahuatl regions of Oaxaca and Puebla, among Aztatlán sites in West Mexico, in Casas Grandes sites in northern Mexico, and in the American Southwest by the mid-thirteenth century, all while leaping large intermediary areas, this is very likely the case.

Perhaps not coincidentally, as Pohl (1994a: 11) indicated, the northernmost Pacific coastal natural habitat of scarlet macaws was Oaxaca, with the furthest northern range reaching roughly to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (see map in Howell and Webb 1995: 337). Much as Xochipilli worship in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest probably has its ultimate origin in the Oaxaca and Puebla region via the Aztatlán tradition, it is likely that the original breeding population of scarlet macaws at Paquimé also have their ultimate origin in this southern coastal area rather than from the

Gulf Coast Huastec region as others (Di Peso 1974: 2: 733, n. 9; Riley 2005: 137-138) suggested.

Such a Pacific coastal route may be comparable to Ball and Brockington's (1978: 112-113) postulation for what they termed the "West Mexican-South Coast Combine", an exchange network, possibly including such luxury goods as scarlet macaws and feathers, among other items, which they suggest may have stretched from coastal Oaxacan seaports via direct sea trade both southward and northward to as far as coastal Nayarit primarily during the Postclassic period. Pohl (2003a: 176, fn. 7) drew attention to Alva Ixtlilxochitl's (1965: 2: 27-28) account that is strongly suggestive of a coastal trade route between West Mexico and Huatulco, a major port for the coastal Oaxacan town of Tututepec. This account documented a migration of Tolteca-Chichimeca from Aztlan through Jalisco, to Huatulco, Oaxaca. The point is that native traditions indicate that the disparate areas of West Mexico and Oaxaca likely were linked by the physical movement of people, goods, and ideas.

Parallels in the Rise of Paquimé and the Rise of the Tututepec Empire of Coastal Oaxaca

A discussion of the importance of the founding and development of the coastal Mixtec Tututepec empire, roughly at the beginning of the twelfth century, may shed light on the profound cultural developments occurring in Northwest Mexico around this time. Recent work on Mesoamerican political dynamics and empires sought to balance discussion of Postclassic imperial polities predominantly focused upon the Mexica (Aztec) with new archaeological and ethnohistoric data on other contemporaneous

empires, most notably the Mixtec Empire of Tututepec (Forde 2006; Joyce et al. 2004; Levine 2007, 2011; Spores 1993), located along the western coast of Oaxaca (see map in Lind 1994: 80, fig. 1).

Tututepec's history and founding is chronicled in a number of pictographic manuscripts such as the *Codex Bodley*, *Codex Colombino-Becker*, and *Codex Nuttall* which focus upon the life and exploits of the historical figure Lord 8 Deer (Joyce et al 2004: 274). Founded in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth century in the lower Río Verde Valley, or AD 1083 as indicated in codical accounts, and ruled by a highland Mixtec dynasty or *cacicazgo*, Tututepec's political power eventually encompassed a 25,000 km² range by the Middle to Late Postclassic (ca. AD 1100-1522) and crosscut five ethnolinguistic groups (ibid.: 274, 282; see Redmond and Spencer 1994 for discussion of *cacicazgos*).

By the Late Postclassic, the 2,185 hectares that comprised Tututepec made it the largest site by area in Late Postclassic Mesoamerica (Joyce et al. 2004: 287). The expansion of Tututepec and of its political reach in part was accomplished through military expansion and tribute (ibid.) while the site itself was comprised of “. . . a complex internal organization with multiple zones of public architecture, high-status residences, craft production and ritual activities” (ibid.: 293). The highly nucleated characteristic of Tututepec within the region is evident in that it accounts for 94.4% of the occupational area in the Lower Río Verde Valley during the Late Postclassic, as compared to the more balkanized political entities in the highlands (ibid.: 288).

Archaeological, ethnohistoric and linguistic data indicate that a major immigration of highland Mixtecs co-occurred with the development of Tututepec as an imperial center (Joyce et al. 2004: 280). Ethnohistoric documents and Mixtec codices also indicate that major social change at Tututepec and in the surrounding region was instigated by the actions of Lord 8 Deer, who was from the highland Oaxacan town of Tilantongo. Lord 8 Deer's journey from Tilantongo to the coast of Oaxaca involved a roughly 120 km voyage and resulted in his subsequent founding of a new Mixtec dynasty and political center at Tututepec. This act perhaps was spurred by ambition and his lack of a linkage to the ruling lineage of Tilantongo, by political opportunity in the wake of the collapse and fragmentation of the Rio Verde state during the Late Classic, and an opportunity to take advantage and control of exotic coastal resources such as tropical feathers and cacao (ibid.: 283, 285).

In other words, the founding of Tututepec was accomplished through “. . . a combination of advantageous historical, political, economic, and ecological circumstances” (Joyce et al 2004: 293). The founding of Tututepec by Lord 8 Deer may have been closely linked to Seven Flower-Xochipilli. Matthew Robb (2003) noted that in the *Codex Vindobonensis*, Seven Flower was the first major figure consulted by Lord 8 Deer after his father's death, an event that presaged Lord 8 Deer's quest for power. Robb (ibid.) noted that the link between Seven Flower and political action is reiterated on page 34iv in the *Codex Bodley* where 4 Wind, a figure who eventually rose to overthrow Lord 8 Deer, is depicted meeting Seven Flower at a cave marked as “7 Flower Mountain”.

Following Mixtec traditional founding rites, the dynastic and kingdom-founding rituals at Tututepec involved three activities: “(1) peregrinations with ‘objects of authority and rulership,’ (2) visitations of local places and local authorities on a ‘journey of rulership recognition,’ and (3) demarcations of polity boundaries through ballcourt rituals” (Joyce et al. 2004: 283). The foundation of Tututepec also involved a strategic alliance with prestigious Toltec foreigners who are depicted in codical accounts with clothing and insignia marking themselves as merchants or *pochteca* (Pohl 1994b: 83-108; Joyce et al. 2004: 285). This strategic economic alliance, complimented with a subsequent nose-piercing legitimization rite marking Lord 8 Deer’s induction into the Tolteca-Chichimeca royal house (Joyce et al. 2004: 286; see *Codex Nuttall* pg. 52), reaffirmed the mercantile and politico-religious qualities associated with the dynastic founding of Tututepec.

Furthermore, ceramic artifacts at the site were commonly Mixtec Polychromes (Joyce et al. 2004: 288), suggesting that the inhabitants of the site were well-versed in the Xochipilli-oriented solar worship expressed in Mixtec symbolism in the Oaxacan highlands, as described above. The Oaxacan coast saw major transformations at this time (Joyce et al. 2004: 281):

These transformations include the collapse of old social orders, an escalation of militarism, a reorganization of settlement patterns, the expansion of Tututepec from a small hamlet to a major urban center, population expansion possibly linked to Mixtec immigration, and an increase in highland-lowland interactions.

During the Late Postclassic, the Tututepec state “. . . was larger and more complex than other highland Mixtec *cacicazgos*” and resembled in scale, social complexity, and

military strength, polities in Central Mexico such as the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, Choula, and the Tarascan Empire (ibid.: 293).

Contact-period documents indicate that turquoise was a highly valued commodity in Tututepec (Pohl 2003a: 176, fn. 7). Notably, the port of Huatulco is also thought to have been a locus for cacao trade from the Soconusco region of Chiapas and also a port for incoming merchants from South America (ibid.). This coastal trade route probably was the means by which cacao, scarlet macaws and their feathers, and the movement of the Xochipilli-oriented Flower World complex was disseminated northward through West Mexico and to points beyond. Weigand (1993: 215) noted that the Pacific coastal route probably was the most perdurable route that linked Western Mesoamerica to the Mixteca region and to Central Mexico.

After examining Brockington's private collection of coastal Oaxacan ceramics, Mountjoy (1978: 135) indicated that striking connections existed between wares from the coast of Oaxaca and those occurring along the southern coast of Nayarit by AD 900-1000. In a recent study of the Early Postclassic site of Río Viejo, located in the lower Río Verde Valley slightly inland along the Pacific coast of Oaxaca, King (2008: 277) noted that copper bells were not recovered from the site during the Early Postclassic and were only more widely evident in the area, such as at Tututepec, around AD 1200. However, at Río Viejo in the Early Postclassic, 12 ceramic bells were recovered that were exceptionally unique to this site in the lower Verde region (ibid.). According to King (ibid.), these ceramic bells “. . . are similar in design to elongated copper bells that are among the earliest bell forms found in West Mexico, which have parallels in coastal

South America.” As the reasons for mimicking West Mexican or South American bell styles is unclear, expanded research into Pacific coastal trade routes during the Postclassic period are required to understand long distance interaction and integration.

As Pohl (2003a: 176, fn. 7) suggested, it is this probable Pacific coastal trade route that would explain the appearance of locally produced Postclassic International Style (codex-style) vessels with narrative scenes found in the region around Amapa along the coast of Nayarit or in southern Sinaloa, some with depictions of Mixtec *ñuhu*’s, or earth lords (see Von Winning 1977: 133, fig. 9). Likewise, it is the existence of a coastal route that would help to explain the appearance of a number of readily recognizable codex-style depictions and symbols of deities in West Mexico that are commonly associated with the highland Central Mexican pantheon, such as Tlaloc, Xipe Totec, Quetzalcoatl, Tlaltecuhli, Xochipilli, and Tlahuizcalpantecuhli (Mathiowetz 2010b; Mathiowetz et al. 2008). A more comprehensive comparison of West Mexican and highland Central Mexican (and Oaxaca and Puebla) material culture, religion, and symbolism has yet to be undertaken but forms an ongoing component of my research agenda.

The continuation of this trade route, Sauer’s (1932) “Road to Cibola”, extended further northward by coast and by land and served as the main corridor of travel that Spanish expeditions easily followed into Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest. The dynastic founding and militaristic and mercantilistic expansion of the Tututepec state beginning on the coast of Oaxaca by AD 1083 may well have been the catalyst that fueled the subsequent second expansion of the Aztatlán mercantile system during the

Late Aztatlán period a century later or less. While the following statement might be thought heretical by scholars in the American Southwest and Northern Mexico who advocate the position that cultural developments in these regions were insular in nature, it is entirely possible that the founding of the expansive Tututepec imperialistic dynasty in Oaxaca a scant 100 years or so prior to the dramatic Medio Period florescence of Paquimé, with its political ideology centered upon the deity Xochipilli, are inextricably related historical events. The rise of Paquimé may well be a distant and slightly later consequence of the founding of Tututepec.

While separated by thousands of miles and roughly one century or more, the founding and florescence of Paquimé as a major regional center bears remarkable similarity to the founding of Tututepec. Much like Tututepec, Paquimé rapidly developed from a small hamlet to a highly nucleated settlement in the larger region with multiple zones of public architecture, high-status residences, craft production, and ritual activities. The rapid development of Paquimé and its *cacicazgo* also likely was instigated in the spirit of dynastic founding by the arrival of a foreign ritual leader or “Sun King” from West Mexico with links to the Xochipilli-oriented Flower World complex (see Chapter 6). At its height, Paquimé’s political, economic, and religious influence stretched across vast portions of the American Southwest and crosscut multiple linguistic groups.

The growth of Paquimé largely took place in a time of political fragmentation following the decline of old social orders such as the Chaco and Mimbres polities. The development of Paquimé was also concurrent with a period of dramatic reorganization of settlement patterns across the region. Much as the decline of old polities such as

Teotihuacan and Monte Alban led to balkanization across the Mixteca region and a florescence of the Flower World complex, so too did the collapse of large polities such as Chaco Canyon result in political balkanization and a subsequent florescence of the Flower World complex in northern Mexico and across the American Southwest. Much like for Tututepec, the rapid population expansion in the Casas Grandes region was partly due to immigration, likely from the Mimbres region in the north, but also probably from the movement of some people from far to the south, as specifically indicated by some Puebloan oral traditions.

Paquimé's development coincided with an increased militarism, or more likely a militaristic religious and symbolic complex, as evidenced in rock art and kiva mural imagery in the Southwest (Mathiowetz et al. 2008; Schaafsma 2000a). The strategic founding of Paquimé in the foothills of the eastern flanks of the Sierra Madre Occidental in a well-watered riverine zone placed it at the crossroads of trade routes for exotic items such as shell, copper, turquoise, cacao, and scarlet macaw feathers and birds from the Pacific coast. This position further allowed for maximal highland/lowland interaction and trade of natural resources. Much like Tututepec, Paquimé's Medio-period rise was linked to a combination of advantageous historical, political, economic, and ecological circumstances.

Even the three traditional Mixtec rites associated with the dynastic founding of Tututepec, as described above, find analogues in the Casas Grandes world. Elsewhere I argued that the establishment of the office of Casas Grandes Sun King likely involved a long-distance peregrination by an Aztatlán ritual leader and entailed a close affiliation

with symbols of authority, including Flower World symbolism, ritual, and objects linked to the macaw-headed solar deity Xochipilli. Second, Mesoamerican-style ballcourt rituals in Northwest Mexico appear to be unique to the Casas Grandes culture. Ballcourts in this region were a Medio-period phenomenon, with examples of Casas Grandes-style courts reaching over 65,000 km² in northwest Chihuahua, northeast Sonora, and southwest New Mexico. However, some Casas Grandes scholars argued that the presence of ballcourts does not necessarily imply that these outlying sites in Sonora or southwest New Mexico were incorporated or integrated into the Casas Grandes polity (Whalen and Minnis 1996: 742).

While Whalen and Minnis (1996) advocated the position that ballcourt rituals in Late Postclassic Mesoamerica were most common in more politically fragmented regional systems that lacked strong, centralized political control (see Santley et al. 1991), recent studies demonstrated that ballcourt rituals were key to the founding of the most complex and politically centralized kingdom in Late Postclassic Oaxaca and perhaps in Mesoamerica at this time (Joyce *et al* 2004). While ballcourts in the Casas Grandes region did not exist prior to the Medio period, they may well have played important roles almost immediately thereafter in political boundary rites and solar rituals in newly developed communities across the larger Casas Grandes political sphere.

Finally, a third aspect of the Mixtec “foundation narrative” involved visitations of local places and local authorities by the founding leader. Much as Lord 8 Deer embarked on a “journey of rulership recognition” as a component of the founding of Tututepec (Joyce et al. 2004: 283), if the proposed account of a foreign ritual leader arriving to the

Casas Grandes region with the subsequent founding of a dynastic political center at Paquimé is correct, one might expect to find some form of evidence in the oral traditions that said leader would have visited other communities or leaders in the region in a similar journey of rulership recognition. In fact, such evidence may be found in widespread Southwestern oral traditions concerned with the ritual leader Montezuma (see Chapter 2).

Discussion

There is More to Casas Grandes than Chihuahua

As Phil Weigand (2008b: 15) rightly noted, in the broader economic context, the northern suppliers of minerals in the American Southwest and the larger urban consumers in Mesoamerica to the south formed a single world, or *ecumene*, unified by a large macroeconomic structure, each portion cannot be studied without considering the other. Furthermore, he (ibid.) cautioned, “Archaeological studies that ignore the *ecumene*, or deny its ancient existence, are exercises in dogma.” Not only was ancient Mesoamerica and the American Southwest united by a continental-scale economic structure, but it was also linked together, most thoroughly with the rise of the Casas Grandes culture in AD 1200, by a political ideology centered upon the Flower World complex and the young solar deity Xochipilli.

That the earliest evidence of the Flower World complex occurred as early as AD 1000 in the art and symbolism of Chaco Canyon and the Mimbres culture, and later and more specifically at Paquimé, suggests the increasing degree to which people in the Southwest were becoming integrated into these vast Postclassic-period interregional trade

and information networks. Though evidence indicates that components of the Flower World complex in the American Southwest became manifest in art and ritual practices by AD 1000, it is clear that something entirely different and dramatic happened at Paquimé by AD 1200 sufficient to suggest that Mesoamerican peoples, and particularly a paramount religious leader, with specific Flower World ritual practices previously unknown in the region, were present at Paquimé. These people likely originated from an Aztatlán-tradition society of West Mexico (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

In a recent discussion of the current state of Chihuahuan archaeology, Minnis and Whalen (2004) pointed out the dominant position that Paquimé has been accorded in archaeologists' reconstruction of the cultural history of the region. They rightly lamented the dearth of research focused upon the archaeology of the time period preceding the rise of Paquimé and note in one section subtitle: "There is more to Chihuahua than Casas Grandes" (ibid.: 123). In keeping with their perception that the development of Paquimé was based upon a local, *in situ* evolutionary sequence of increasing complexity, they suggested that the Viejo period may well have been a time of greater population density and organizational complexity than heretofore recognized. While they acknowledged that Mesoamerican objects and ideas were important parts of the ritual, economy, and development of Paquimé, they consider "... these elements as imports used to support and augment the power of local political entrepreneurs" rather than as "... reflections of distant developmental stimuli" (Whalen and Minnis 2003: 328). However, other scholars recognize significant discontinuity in the archaeological record and maintain that there

existed a developmental gap between the twelfth-century Viejo period and fourteenth-century Medio period at Paquimé (Lekson 1999a; 2001).

The present research also recognizes the importance of understanding the time period prior to the florescence of the Casas Grandes tradition, but with the important caveat that, to turn a phrase, we must simply acknowledge that there is more to Casas Grandes than Chihuahua. Increasing evidence indicates that the rise of the Casas Grandes culture owes much to the West Mexican Aztatlán tradition and to events in Oaxaca and Puebla with the adoption of, not isolated elements, but specific rituals and political organization centered on the young sun god Xochipilli/Piltzintli. Scholars who study ancient culture change both in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest clearly must, as Lekson and Peregrine (2005) indicated, broaden our view and work to couch our discussions within the context of larger-scale cultural dynamics with a continental perspective.

In this chapter, I demonstrated the close link between the Casas Grandes Flower World complex and some of the significant changes that occurred in the American Southwest both before and after AD 1200. During the Pueblo IV period in the American Southwest, the development of different ceramic traditions encoded with symbolism and conceptual metaphors with roots in Casas Grandes religion and ritual co-occurred with evidence of a new, ritually and politically oriented feasting complex centered on the young sun god Xochipilli (Payatamu). Along with the adoption of these rituals, the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period saw a time of dramatic ritual intensification and the appearance of a diverse “feasting landscape” (Dietler 2001: 93;

Mills 2007: 233) associated with different intra- and intercommunity social networks that changed through time.

While this study is by no means exhaustive, it is solely intended to stimulate discussion among archaeologists who work in the Southwest or Northwest Mexico on new ways of considering the significant role of the Casas Grandes culture in the dramatic changes in religion and sociopolitical organization that occurred in the Southwest during the Pueblo IV period. Considering that Paquimé was the preeminent supplier of copper bells and macaw feathers used in very specific Sun Youth (and katsina) ceremonialism, it is not far-fetched to suggest that a ritually oriented feasting complex centered upon the Sun Youth was differentially disseminated or adopted across the Southwestern macroregion along with these new religious beliefs from Paquimé, the preeminent political, religious, and economic powerhouse of its time.

Conclusion

For scholars who study social change in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest, the significant impact of Paquimé in these changes is proving to be immeasurable. Likewise, for scholars who study the origin and development of the Casas Grandes culture during the Medio period, the tendency to overlook or dismiss the significantly influential role of the Aztatlán tradition of West Mexico on social, political, and religious organization at Paquimé must certainly be reconsidered. Furthermore, for scholars who study the development of the Aztatlán tradition, the necessity of understanding how and when the Flower World complex centered on the sun god

Xochipilli came to be established in prehispanic West Mexico from other parts of Mesoamerica is readily apparent. All of these cultural changes in these disparate regions were interrelated. Clearly, when considering cultural changes in ancient West and Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest, archaeologists must broaden their viewpoint to include data from archaeology, ethnohistory, ethnography, and oral traditions from both sides of the modern international border and situate their analyses within a continental-scale perspective. When it comes to reconstructing past social change in the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico, to do otherwise is to paint an incomplete picture of the historical events that reshaped the cultural landscape across the larger region in antiquity.

Chapter 11:

The Battle of Winter and Summer: The Sun Youth and Social Organization in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest

“ . . . [M]y sense is that whatever pan-Southwestern account of the development of Pueblo dualism is ultimately written, it will necessarily be a complicated one composed of a tangled web of diverse intellectual tangents rather than the coherent evolutionary story of a single grand idea.”

-Severin M. Fowles (2005: 42)

“Whatever Paquimé was or was not, . . . [we] should not consider Pueblo IV, anywhere, without contemplating Paquimé, its causes, and its effects. Those effects may have been major.”

-Stephen H. Lekson et al. (2004: 60)

Introduction

The onset of the Pueblo IV period (AD 1300-1600) in the American Southwest marked a dramatic shift in sociopolitical organization and cosmology that coincided with the rise of the Casas Grandes tradition in Northwest Mexico and the florescence of a new, perhaps even messianic, religious complex centered upon the Mesoamerican solar deity Xochipilli, at the site of Paquimé, Chihuahua, Mexico. While a consensus of Southwestern scholars has long delineated these profound changes, preceding chapters have specifically addressed how each of the social changes in migrations, ritual architecture, widespread feasting, warfare imagery, and symbolism in murals, rock art, and ceramics, among others is related to the widespread adoption of a new or refined Mesoamerican solar complex that involved the Sun Youth deity, a being most commonly known in the Southwest as Payatamu.

While the integral role of the Sun Youth in many aspects of the Casas Grandes and Puebloan world has been discussed in some depth, there yet remains much to be explored in the details of the archaeology, symbolism, ethnohistory, ethnography, and oral traditions that can more fully shed light on Puebloan social change. As well, much remains to be understood about the nature of the Casas Grandes polity and its relationship to Mesoamerican societies and belief systems. Such unaddressed questions include how does the Sun Youth and Casas Grandes cosmology relate to the development of the katsina rain-spirit complex, the closely related clowning and medicine societies, and the emergence of dual-social organization that took form during roughly the same time period? Furthermore, how does control of esoteric knowledge of the Sun Youth intersect with political power and social hierarchies in Pueblo communities? Lastly, how might each of these developments in the Southwest more specifically relate to religion and social organization at Paquimé and, ultimately, to more distant societies in Mesoamerica? These are complex and intertwined subjects that cannot easily be separated and, thus, cannot be discussed individually. The exploration of these questions as a whole can help to clarify the paramount importance of the newly adopted Sun Youth rituals in reshaping the Puebloan social landscape.

The Sun, the Breath Spirit, and Life

For many indigenous peoples of the Americas, the Sun is a central figure in the social, religious, and political structure of society. Among cultural groups in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, it is the creative and generative aspects of the

sun's life-giving force that enables parallels to be drawn between the sun's role in the life and growth inherent in the cultivation and care of plants such as maize, and the tending, growth, and maturity of human beings in their life cycle. In Mesoamerica and in the American Southwest, the Sun Youth, as the young, sexually charged, life-giving aspect of the sun at dawn, plays a key role in the creation, growth, and developmental cycle of humans and plants. Since the growth and maturity of humans and vegetation requires both the sun and the life-sustaining infusion of water, it should be no surprise that the production of clouds and the coming of the rains, the ancestral cloud and rain-spirits, are intimately related to the coming of the young Sun and the bestowment of his blessings upon the people and the land.

It is this combination of the sun and the rain that yields an Eden-like Flower World realm in a bountiful landscape of birth, life, growth, and maturation in both the lives of humans and in the verdant and fragrant landscape of germinating, flowering, and fruiting vegetation across the land. For the Hopi, this Flower World paradise is a reflection of the perfection and fructifying abundance of life in the past that is desired in the present and the future, when all is idyllic and in balance. It is this perfect mythological and primeval state of being that Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2004: 472) recently noted: "Flowers are thus not only visible signs of a promise of future life but also metaphorical representations of the pristine plentifulness of the past where all life was right." This concern for a perfect state of being among the Hopi was also noted by Fewkes (1897b: 143) over a century ago:

The Hopi, like many people, look back to a mythic time when they believe their ancestors lived in a "paradise", a state or place where food (corn) was

plenty and rains abundant—a world of perpetual summer and flowers. Their legends recount how, when corn failed or rains ceased, culture heroes have sought this imaginary or ideal ancestral home to learn the “medicine” which blessed this happy land. Each sacerdotal society tells the story of its own hero, who generally brought from that land a bride who transmitted to her son the knowledge of the altars, songs, and prayers which forced the crops to grow and the rains to fall in her native country.

This account makes clear that many Hopi rites are closely linked to the ancestral Flower World, and a number of priestly societies engage in rites to bring from this place the esoteric knowledge necessary to perpetuate the cycles of corn and rain that serve to sustain them.

Among many Mesoamerican and Puebloan people, the arrival of the Sun at dawn is a cause for prayer and thankfulness, for it is the Sun who instills light and life into all living beings. Karl Taube’s (2001) study of the shared symbolism of the sacred solar breath of life drew remarkably similar parallels between cultural groups in the American Southwest and Mesoamerica. Breath, clouds, smoking, floral aroma, incense, and music all are interrelated in the Flower World solar and wind complex. In Mesoamerican symbolism, portrayals of the breath soul are quite ancient, and are often symbolically depicted in front of an individual’s mouth or nose as a precious feather, a flower, a “wind” symbol, a jade bead, or a spiral conch shell, among other forms (*ibid.*). To reference only a couple of examples, breath is symbolically portrayed as feathers in Classic Maya art (see Taube 2005a: fig. 19g), during the Epiclassic at such sites as Xochicalco in highland Central Mexico (*ibid.*: fig. 20a), as well as in the art and symbolism of many other cultures of Mesoamerica.

For the Aztec in Late Postclassic highland Central Mexico, the divine gift of breath and the *tonalli* breath soul, which is closely related to the sun, solar heat, and warmth, was breathed into the infant from the sky gods (López Austin 1988: 1: 204-228; Taube 2001: 105). According to López Austin (1988: 1: 211), “. . . the Sun was the carrier par excellence of the *tonalli* . . . Every being on the face of the earth was infiltrated by *tonalli* power.” Furthermore, “The [*tonalli*] force takes substance as something that seems to be breath” (ibid.: 206). Upon birth, the Aztec child was shielded from solar rays for a few days until he or she was given a ritual bath, named, and given their full *tonalli*, which when absorbed by the individual would shape their temperament, their degree of valor, and the conditions of their fate (ibid.: 211).

While the *tonalli* is closely related to the highland Central Mexican solar deity Tonatiuh (López Austin 1988: 1: 206), it also appears to have some relation to the solar deity Xochipilli. The *tonallo* emblem, a symbol that consists of a group of four circles, is usually considered as a signifier of the closely related deities Xochipilli and Macuilxochitl (Seler 1990-1998: 2: 168). As birth and the *tonalli* are closely related in Aztec thought, it is notable that birth scenes in one highland Central Mexican codex also involved the Xochipilli theme. Boone (2007:140-143, table 11) recently pointed out that, during the first four day signs of the *Vaticanus B* 20-day birth almanac, the closely related maize/flower/solar deities Xochipilli, Macuilxochitl, and Centeotl participated in different aspects of the birth, such as controlling the birth itself, presenting the child, and manipulating the umbilical cord. The theme of “vegetation and abundance” is attributed

to these related supernaturals who dominated this portion of the birth almanac (ibid.: 141).

The close relationship between the breath soul and the sun is also evident among contemporary people of the American Southwest (Taube 2001). Rina Swentzell (1990: 23) noted: “The Pueblo world, first of all, is an altogether hallowed place where ‘the breath’ or life energy, flows through both the animate and inanimate realms in such a manner that even the house, kiva, and community forms breathe of that breath and are essentially alive.” As Bunzel (1932a: 481; see Taube 2001: 106) indicated for the Zuni:

The word for life is *tekohanan e*, literally daylight. The breath is the symbol of life. It also is the means by which spiritual substances communicate and the seat of power or mana. Inhaling is an act of ritual blessing. One inhales from all sacred objects to derive benefit from their mana . . . The feather is the pictorial representation of the breath.

This passage suggests that, for the Zuni, the sacred breath of life has its origin in the sun and daylight, that spiritual power is attained through the inhalation of this precious substance, and that this sacred breath essence is symbolically manifest in the light and airy feather.

The solar breath is a vital element in life, as one Corn Dance song recorded by Densmore (1957: 53) from the pueblo of Acoma described the effect of the gentle breath of the Sun Youth on the vegetation of the world:

There in the east, there in the east,
The sun-youth has risen and has sent out his breath so that the leaves and
all vegetation is in gentle motion.
The sun-youth has risen and has sent out his breath so that the leaves and
all vegetation is in gentle motion.
The corn maidens and the vine maidens are also in motion with this
breeze.

Thus, the sacred solar breath of life invigorates all animate and inanimate beings, plants, and objects of the world. This conception may well reflect the observation of natural phenomena whereby the heat of the rising sun creates air currents, symbolically perceived as warm breath (Karl Taube, pers. comm. 2011).

Bunzel (1932a: 511) similarly stated that for the Zuni, “The Sun is the source of all life.” However, another Zuni account indicated that the breath of life and life itself is A’wonawil’ona, “the supreme bisexual power” (Stevenson 1904: 22-24, 416). Bunzel (1932c: 622, fn. 5) indicated that A’wonawil’ona is not a special deity but is a term used of any supernaturals who influence human affairs. The relationship of this figure to the Sun is unclear, though it may suggest a certain degree of sexual duality in that the bestowment of the breath of life upon new beings can only come about from uniting a male and a female, or that an individual person has both male and female aspects.

Noting this same sense of duality, in Chapter 2 I suggested that among a number of Pueblo people, including Zuni, certain paired colors such as blue and yellow are closely related to the Sun Youth. These colors are symbols of fecundity and fertility and serve as markers of paired males (blue) and females (yellow) (Stephen 1936: 1191). Recalling that the Sun Youth Payatamu is historically related to the Sun Youth Xochipilli of distant highland Central Mexico, it is notable that the Southwestern concept of a dualistic male/female force that is integral in the instillation of the breath spirit is strikingly similar to the dualistic concept of the paired male and female creator beings who instill the solar *tonalli* breath spirit into the newly born child at “the place of duality”, as expressed in a sixteenth-century Aztec midwife’s oration: “Thy mother, thy

father, Ome tecuhtli, Ome ciuatl have sent thee. Thou wert [breathed], thou wert bored in thy home, the place of duality” (Sahagún 1950-1982, bk. 6, 202). Thus, there exist strong parallels in Mesoamerican and Southwestern concepts of a dualistic male-female component that comprises the sacred breath of life that originates in the sun.

Among Pueblo people, dawn is a sacred time for offerings of meal and pollen to feed and strengthen the Sun, and a time of prayer for health, fertility, and well-being. For example, at Santa Ana Pueblo, “It is said that ‘everyone is supposed to go out early in the morning [at dawn, or just before sunrise] and pray’ . . . Prayers are addressed also to the rising sun” (White 1942: 351). At Zuni, “Meal is offered to the sun each morning by all men who hold any permanent or temporary sacerdotal position and by many other individuals, both men and women” (Bunzel 1932a: 499).

Bunzel (1932a: 511-512) further noted:

Each morning as the sun sends his first level beams striking across the houses his people come out to meet him with prayers and offerings. Men and women stand before their doors, facing the east, their hands full of corn meal which is offered to the sun, with prayers for long life. Every priest or appointee to ceremonial office and every man during the time he is engaged in any ceremony must observe this morning ritual. But many others, “poor people,” never omit it, even on the most bitterly cold winter mornings.

Zuni prayers to the dawning sun ask for long life, health, spiritual strength, and water (ibid.: 635):

Now this day,
My sun father,
Now that you have come out standing to your sacred place, That from
which we draw the water of life,
Prayer meal,
Here I give to you.
Your long life,

Your old age,
Your waters,
Your seeds,
Your riches,
Your power,
Your strong spirit,
All these to me may you grant.

The sun is clearly the paramount life-giving force and source of spiritual and material riches for many native peoples of the Southwest.

For the Zuni, Stevenson (1904: 24) noted that the sun is comprised of his visible shield, or visage, made of burning crystal, as well as by an invisible force that resides within or behind the sun shield. It is to this force that prayers are addressed each day. At Nambé, corn meal is sprinkled at dawn to both the four directions and to the sun, specifically to *tamuyowa enu*, the holy Dawn youths (Parsons 1929: 265). The name *tamuyowa enu* is a Tewa name for the Sun Youth (Parsons 1939: 1: table 2) and also likely refers to his associates, forms of *oxua* cloud spirits who exist in the four directions (Parsons 1929: 265). Notably, at Cochiti a mixture of meal and shell is also sprinkled to the east at sunrise in honor of Montezuma (Dumarest 1919: 230), a culture hero whom I suggest is an analogue to the Sun Youth.

Perhaps nowhere is the solar life force more evident than in naming rites and the presentation of Pueblo children to the rising sun in the days following birth. Among the Zia, on the fourth day after birth, the newborn child is presented to the Sun and named (White 1932a: 60). At Laguna, the child is also presented to the Sun on the fourth day after birth (Parsons 1923c: 180). At Santa Ana, “Just before sunrise one of the father’s sisters takes the baby outdoors and carries it toward the sunrise. She presents the child to

the rising sun, praying and strewing *petana* (prayer meal) to the six directions. She gives the baby a name” (White 1942: 164).

Alfonso Ortiz (1969: 30-32) described Tewa naming rites: “At dawn on the fourth day after birth, the ‘umbilical cord-cutting mother’, or naming mother, for convenience, and her assistant take the newborn child out to present him to the sun, and to bestow a name on him.” As the first rays of the rising sun are seen above the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, prayers are expressed to the dawn spirits and the winter and summer spirits so that the boy or girl will be properly brought into manhood or womanhood (ibid.: 31-32). Likewise, at Isleta, when “showing the baby to the Sun”, meal is cast eastward at sunrise as a name is bestowed upon the baby and as prayers ask for the infant to have a long life (Parsons 1970: 22, painting 8). By this name, the infant will be recognized by the Sun after he dies and goes to live at Sunrise Lake (ibid.: 23).

These presentations also involve the instillation of the solar breath of life. For example, at Acoma, the child is taken out on the fourth day to be presented to the Sun. When the sun first appears over the eastern mesa the medicine man’s wife holds the baby out towards the sun: “He (the medicine man) gathers in his arms all the air he can hold and blows it toward the baby; he gathers air from the four directions, north, west, south, and east. As he blows the air toward him, he speaks the child’s name. He is giving the child breath of life” (White 1932b: 133-134; White 1930: 615). The Acoma tradition of holding the baby out towards the dawning sun is said to replicate the origin tradition (White 1932b: 134, fn. 36):

In the origin myth, Iatiku, the mother of the Indians, placed all her children in a row, facing east . . . While they were facing east she caused

the sun to rise. The eyes of the first children opened. That is why the children of Acoma are presented to the sun to-day at birth.

At Zuni, on the eighth day after birth, the child is taken outdoors and, with corn meal placed in his hand, is presented to the sun at the moment of sunrise with the participants praying: “May your road be fulfilled/ Reaching to the road of your sun father . . .” (Bunzel 1932a: 635). This passage suggests that the Zuni road of life leads to the rising sun.

Like other pueblos, at Santo Domingo on the fourth day after birth, the child is taken outside at dawn to meet and be named as the sun rises (White 1935: 80-81). Among the Hopi, on the twentieth day after birth, the infant is presented to the rising sun as the participants pray and recite all of the names the child has been given (Eggan 1950: 46-47). Many personal names among Tewa people in the early twentieth century, such as Oxu’apowi (“Cloud flower”), Kaetsepowi (“Yellow flower meal”), Tamotse (“White dawn”), Tamoyoapowi (“Dawn flower”), Tsaepowitseanye (“Waving yellow cactus flower”), Powwitsauwa (“Blue Flower”), Puganinitse (“Yellow Butterfly”) and Tanipobi (“Macaw flower”) among others (Parsons 1929: 18-29), are clearly evocative of the solar Flower World realm.

Perhaps the earliest depiction of the presentation of children to the dawning sun is a Casas Grandes Ramos Polychrome female effigy vessel, where the hands of the woman appear to hold a small human, ornamented with feathers, by the waist directly in front of her, much as if the woman was holding the child out in front of her only for a brief moment (see image in Powell 2006: 118, pl. 37; 2008: 89). As a more comfortable position for holding a child would be to cradle them in both arms, the position of holding

the child in front might well suggest that the female is holding aloft the child, perhaps in presentation to the Casas Grandes Sun Youth during a post-birth naming or breath-institution rite, much like that described above for Acoma. If this interpretation is correct, this example would be the earliest pictorial depiction of the presentation rites of newly born children to the Sun in the Southwest or northern Mexico.

The life cycle of Puebloan individuals is tied to the pathway of the sun. During winter solstice and New Year rites among the Tewa, those people that are expected to die within the coming year are marked on their bodies with pine gum in order to prevent being chosen for illness or death, the gum being used to symbolically attach themselves to the sun while on his celestial road (Ortiz 1969: 102). These individuals, when they encounter others during the day, state where exactly they are attached to the sun, saying: “I am holding onto the sash of our elder the sun” (ibid.).

Interestingly enough, after an individual’s death at Santo Domingo, when a person’s spirit or soul is said to return to the underworld via Shipap, a figure of Payatamu is also present during the death ceremony held four days after death (White 1935: 83-87, fig. 10). Therefore, in what may be an example of an inverted rite or ritual of polar opposition between the Upperworld and Underworld, the presence of the Sun Youth Payatamu in this end-of-life ceremony might suggest that just as a person is instilled with the breath of life four days after birth into the present or above world, so too might the deceased be perceived as being instilled with the breath of life four days after he or she is “born” into the underworld as a katsina rain spirit. This concept would be much like

when the Sun descends in the west in the world of the above only to be “reborn” in the east of the underworld.

A similar rite may be evident at Acoma where mortuary practices include painting the faces of the deceased with the same designs that were painted on their faces when they were presented to the sun on their fourth day after birth (White 1943: 322). The close connection of the deceased to the sun as katsina rain spirits may be the reason that Hopi dead are buried with the body set “. . . in the typical squat, facing sunrise (*ta'wat ahtai'ta*, looks toward the sun)” (Stephen 1936: 826, 828). At Isleta, the deceased chiefs are said to join their predecessors in White Earth Way, “east where the sun rises” where they remain a chief in the East (Parsons 1970: 36). These concepts would be akin to ideas among the Hopi where oppositions such as Life and Death and Day and Night are much better defined as a system of alternation and continuation (Hieb 2000: 25; see diagram in Hieb 2000: 26, fig. 4.1 and Waters 1963: 231, fig. 58).

Thus, just as the katsinam are born or drawn forth from the watery earth into the sky as the Sun rises in the east in the world of the above, so too in a perpetual cycle do the katsinam rise into the sky of the underworld as the Sun descends into the earth and rises in the east in the world of the below. It may be for this reason that the deceased at San Juan Pueblo were described after death as becoming “a kind of wind” (Parsons 1929: 65). Their metamorphosis into the airy katsina rain-spirits, a form of solar wind, may be considered as having been a transformation back into the solar wind or breath of life, forever to rise into the atmosphere along with the sun at dawn (see Taube 2001).

The sacred breath essence is also manifested as a form of the ancestral cloud spirits. For example, among the Zuni, as is widespread among Puebloan people: “The Clouds are people, just as we are people. They are our ancestors, the ones who have died. They are the rain . . . When they put on their beautiful garments, they are just like the clouds. Therefore they just impersonate clouds with their breath, but they are people” (Bunzel 1932a: 193; Taube 2001: 106). Stevenson (1904) also noted:

The Pueblo peoples recognize the existence of a spirit or ‘breath body’ distinct from the physical body, which leaves the latter at death by way of the mouth, and joins the spirit of the dead, or the Cloud People. It (breath) also constitutes an effective means of communication of spiritual petition and power, especially in terms of . . . moisture.

Thus, the breath spirit is said to be instilled from the sun at birth and it emerges from the mouth at death to join the ancestral cloud and rain spirits, or *katsina*. In other words, the breath spirit and the *katsina* ancestors are essentially united as one.

The closely related concepts of breath and the ancestral *katsina* rain spirits also exist among the Hopi. As Voth (1905: 116; in Taube 2001: 106) pointed out, the Hopi conceive of both the essence and the food of the ancestors as breath, stating: “They never eat the food, but only the odor or soul of the food . . . And that is the reason why the clouds into which the dead are transformed are not heavy and can float in the air.” This connection between the Hopi ancestral cloud spirits and the breath soul is manifest in *katsina* regalia: “On Hopi *katsina* masks, breath, or *hi’ksi*, can appear as one or more strings with a tied feather hanging from the mouth region” (Taube 2001: 106). This passage indicates that the breath of the *katsinam* is represented by a feather exhaled from the mouth.

Among the Hopi, the close relationship between breath and the sun is evident in the placement of a cotton cord with a tied feather at the tip of the bell-shaped gourd that are placed at the end of Hopi flutes, appropriately called *len hiksi*, or “flute breath” (Wright 1979: 82; Taube 2001: 119). With the bell of the flute likened to a flower (Stephen 1936: 326, fig. 192 and 1245; Taube 2001: 118-119; Wright 1979: 82), and the emergent music akin to the fragrance or breath of the flower, these instruments used in the Hopi Flute Ceremony are likely the floral flutes of the Sun Youth Payatamu.

In fact, Payatamu, portrayed as a Zuni katsina, is depicted playing one of these floral flutes with a pendant breath feather (Wright 1985, pl. 19d; Taube 2001, fig. 112). The identification of Payatamu’s flute as a potent rain and breath-making instrument linked to katsina ceremonialism is evident in the Zuni characterization of Payatamu’s flute as having a “liquid voice” (Cushing 1896: 431). This perception appears related to Loftin’s (1991: 10-11; also see Hieb 2000: 26) observation among the Hopi that the katsina are considered as “liquid substance”, or “the rains”. These data suggest that the invigorating exhalations and solar breath of the Sun Youth’s flute, and the solar breath of katinam that comprise their airy substance and emanate from their masks, are one and the same. They both are the “liquid substance” that is the fertilizing rains.

Ritual Smoking and the Breath Soul

In both Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, breath and the closely related smoke, incense, or floral aroma, are commonly associated with rituals for the arrival of clouds and rain-bringing winds. As is well documented, graphic evidence in central and

southern Mesoamerica indicates that these intertwined concepts are over 2,000 years old and are extensive and widespread. However, in the American Southwest, scholars have only documented and dated the initial appearance of these concepts in the material culture to roughly AD 1000-1150 (Schaafsma and Taube 2006; Taube 2001). This timing suggests that the themes of the solar breath-spirit, wind, and rain begin to appear in the Southwest at the same time as the earliest graphic appearance of symbolism of the Flower World complex.

While a common mimetic means of cloud-conjuring in parts of Mesoamerica is via the burning of incense and other offerings, ethnographic literature in the Southwest indicates that clouds, lightning, rain, mist, and snow, all closely related phenomena, can be produced through large-scale acts such as burning fields or lighting bonfires, but are often conjured through smaller-scale acts such as burning offerings or ritual smoking (Carlson 1982: 150; Schaafsma and Taube 2006; Smith 1952: 237-238; Taube 2001: 116). For Contact-era highland Central Mexico, for example, Schaafsma and Taube (2006: 263) drew attention to Aztec rain rites documented in the sixteenth century, whereby the Tlaloc rain priest burned scented marigolds, or *yauhtli*, in order to bring the rain: “[E]verywhere he offered incense; everywhere he spread warmth. Thus he attended to the matter; thus he called upon the Tlalocs; thus he prayed for rain” (Sahagún 1950-82 [1569], Bk. II: 151). It should be clear that the burning of sacred flowers as incense creates a form of floral smoke or clouds that is strongly evocative of the solar Flower World. Furthermore, caves in Mesoamerica, as the source of mist and water, often contain censers in the form of Tlaloc, the Central Mexican god of rain and lightning

(Schaafsma and Taube 2006: 263). These examples clearly relate cloud- and rain-making to incense burning and other acts that produce smoke.

In the Southwestern ethnographic literature, the close connection between clouds, smoke, and breath is well documented. For example, Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2004: 476) noted in one Hopi song that the Turtle katsina boys make their breath into clouds:

Because we turtle boys have made our breath into clouds over there,
We have come to those who live here in Hopiland to dance as rain...

In a Zuni story describing the origin of corn, it is said: “The breaths of the Corn Maidens blew rain-clouds from their homes in Summerland, and when the rains had passed away green corn plants grew everywhere the grains had been planted” (Cushing 1920: 53).

The act of ritual smoking, and the resultant production of billowing plumes of smoke, is also likened to cloud-making. Thus, breathing and smoking are conceptually equivalent in nature. One Hopi katsina song reported by Earle and Kennard (1938: 13) indicates:

You start smoking your pipe
And hand it to one another.
In the same way [as the clouds of smoke]
The clouds will approach
With rain.

Similarly, in regards to a ceremonial participant at Isleta, Parsons (1939: 1: 256) indicated: “Before he finished smoking, clouds were all around. Lightning and thunder began to come and rain fell.” At Jemez, offerings of lightning sticks and cane cigarettes stuffed with cotton (Parsons 1925: 122, fig. 18) likely allude to the production of clouds and rain as a result of smoking. One Santa Clara clay pipe made in the 1940s depicts a

prominent lightning bolt etched into its side (Hill 1982: pl. 33), an image that suggests that the act of smoking creates clouds and lightning.

Among the Zia, after the creator Sûs'sîstinnako initially made the earth (Ha'arts) and its people, the second act was focused upon creating the rain, cloud, lightning, thunder, and rainbow people who work for the people of the earth by bringing water. So that the people of Ha'arts would not see this second creation, Sûs'sîstinnako “. . . commanded the Sia to smoke, that clouds might ascend and serve as masks to protect the people of Ti'nia [the middle plain of the world] from view of the inhabitants of Ha'arts [the earth]” (Stevenson 1894a: 28-29). For the Hopi, Geertz and Lomatuway'ma (1987: 67) noted: “Because the smoke itself symbolizes rain-clouds, the act of smoking is a rain-producing endeavor as well.” Indicating a close link between breath and the petitions for the Katsina rain-spirits, Zuni consultants stated: “Our fathers [of old] come nigh in breath, when now we call the Kâ'kâ, and they aid our songs and prayers to the beloved Gods of Rain and Wind” (Cushing 1896: 338).

Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2006: 36) noted that Hopi ritual practices involve smoking as a metaphor for cloud-making,

In the kiva the men sit in a circle with the tray of prayer feathers in the “center” (*kivanasave*). When each individual smokes, he first draws the smoke into his mouth, holding it while he prepares his prayer message. As he blows out the smoke, he is, metaphorically, blowing out the rain-containing clouds.

These concepts are reflected in designs on a piece of contemporary Hopi silver jewelry that depicts the smoke from a kiva chief's pipe transforming into lightning-filled rain clouds that water a corn plant (**Fig. 11.1i**).

This act is also conveyed in a Hopi Angaktsina song reported by Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2006: 37):

Hark! Hark! Someone is about.
Down below they are smoking, passing the pipe
from one to another . . .
If, by good fortune their resolve comes together
as one, the clouds, from all directions,
will come here in rain.
If by good fortune, their resolve comes
together as one, they will be beholding the
brightly shimmering land.

The “brightly shimmering land” that results from smoking and cloud-making, as noted in the song lyric above, no doubt refers to the Flower World realm expressed in the Hopi phrase *siitalpuva'a taayimuyiwni* or “along the land brightened with flowers they will go along beholding” (ibid.: 40). The relationship between smoking and the Flower World of the Sun Youth may well be reflected in a rain ceremonial of the Zia Knife Society, whereby a priest exhales smoke across the altar and offers the smoke to Payatamu and the rainmakers, saying: “I give this to you; smoke and be contented” (Stevenson 1894a: 106). In sum, smoking is a mimetic act designed to bring the clouds, rain, and sun to water the earth and bring about all of the flowering plants of the world.

Given that the concept of the breath soul is closely related to the Sun and clouds, it is telling that the earliest graphic evidence of the breath soul as feathers or clouds appears first in Mimbres art no earlier than AD 1000. This initial appearance roughly mirrors the first graphic evidence of the arrival of aspects of the Flower World complex into the larger region. To my knowledge, in Chacoan symbolism no pictorial examples exist that depict humans or animals with feather or cloud-terraced breath elements.

Carlson (1982: 150) and Taube (2001: 116) noted that cloud terraces at times emanate from the mouths of a couple of Mimbres animals (**Fig. 11.1a**), with one example of a cloud terrace emerging from the mouth of a fish (Brody et al. 1983: fig. 96). Feather designs that at times adorn the heads of Mimbres individuals or animals are also depicted as symbolic breath elements placed at the mouth (see Taube 2001: fig. 107). Notably, the smoke emanating from a pipe held by one Mimbres figure is in the form of Mimbres-style feathers (**Fig. 11.1b**). This depiction suggests that the ritual act of smoking for some Mimbres people was related to the feathery breath soul.

Stone tubular, cloud-blower type pipes are known from Mimbres sites such as the Swarts Ruin, while some were retrieved from Faywood Hot Springs in the Mimbres Valley (Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: 50-51, pl. 55; Fewkes 1914: 18-19, fig. 6) and sixty-three ceramic, stone, and bone pipes from the Wind Mountain site (Woosley and McIntyre 1996: 248-251). Elsewhere in the Southwest, a handful of pipes were also recovered from Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon (Pepper 1920: 50-51, 54-55, 63-65, 111, 183, 191-192). While evidence of smoking is clearly evident in the archaeological record for a great depth of time, my point is that the graphic evidence of conceptual metaphors that link smoking to breath and cloud-making in the context of Flower World ceremonialism is not equally evident, save for a few Classic Mimbres examples from southwestern New Mexico.

In other words, these few examples in the Mimbres region seem to indicate the initial appearance of a new conceptual framework and a new ideological context for ritual smoking (i.e., Flower World) that began during the Mimbres era and became greatly

expanded in the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period, as discussed below. In sum, the presence of breath clouds at the mouths of animals suggests that not only humans, but animals as well, are a vital part of a ritual complex linked to breath, smoke, clouds, rain, and life.

Curiously, while evidence of smoking in relation to feathery breath and clouds is first depicted in a couple of examples among the Mimbres culture (AD 1000-1150) and thereafter became more prominently depicted during the Pueblo IV period (AD 1300-1600), to date, examples of breath elements have yet to be identified in symbolism from the intervening time period in the Casas Grandes region (AD 1200-1450). However, a closer examination reveals these ideas to be abundant in Casas Grandes symbolism. Following the Mimbres tradition, evidence of pipe-smoking is found in the material culture of Paquimé in northwestern Chihuahua in the form of pipes and human effigy vessels that depict ritual smokers, all dating to the Medio period. Charles Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 7: 304-306) reported 9 tubular-shaped pipes recovered during the excavations at Paquimé, while at least 22 male smoker effigy vessels were reported by VanPool (2002: 42; 2003a: 702) in her examination of some museum collections of Casas Grandes ceramics. Recent excavations at the Casas Grandes-related La Tinaja site, some 17 miles west of Paquimé, revealed one ceramic tubular pipe (Whalen and Minnis 2009: 252-253, fig. 8.7).

In recent years, Christine VanPool (2002, 2003a, 2009; VanPool and VanPool 2007) argued that Casas Grandes male smoker effigies reflect a politico-religious organization centered upon tobacco shamanism, a form of religious organization where

figures smoke potent tobacco and then transform into, and interact with, spirit beings as they engage in shamanic journeys to the supernatural world. While this interpretation is debatable, clear evidence indicates that the interrelated concepts of the solar breath spirit as feathers, smoke, and clouds are depicted in symbolism on Casas Grandes smoker effigies and other human and animal effigies, and are clearly tied to rain-making activities. The identification of these elements on Casas Grandes-related wares should be considered unsurprising given that Casas Grandes religion was centered upon the solar- and moisture-oriented aspects of the Mesoamerican Flower World complex.

One of the distinctive traits of Medio-period Casas Grandes symbolism is the increased importance placed upon the depiction of feathers, preceding the even greater emphasis of feather imagery during the Pueblo IV period, as portrayed in kiva murals and ceramic symbolism. These depictions stand in contrast to the relative lack of elaborate feather imagery in earlier iconic traditions such as among the Mimbres and Chaco cultures. Feathers in Casas Grandes symbolism are depicted on the heads of plumed serpents, on the many macaws and other birds, on headdresses worn by humans, or as pendant ornaments on human individuals engaged in the act of dancing or playing the ballgame (e.g., Di Peso et al. 1974: 6, fig. 293-6; Townsend 2005a: plates 29, 40a, 40b, 42, 48a, 55a, 55b, 57).

In examining Casas Grandes imagery, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: 283, fig. 294-6) isolated a number of motifs that they identified as representing some of the stylistic variations of bird feather symbolism, though the avian species of these examples are not readily identifiable. They (*ibid*: 6: 283) also noted that feathers at times were used

in ceramic design layouts as filler in triangular-shaped areas and ranged in style from pairs of simple side-by-side feathers to groups of four feathers ornamented with dots or short lines at the ends (**Fig. 11.2**).

What is notable about the identification of these feather motifs on Casas Grandes wares is that these motifs at times appear to emanate from or near mouths and noses on smoker and other human effigy vessels (**Figs. 11.3a-11.3i, 11.4a-11.4e**). The feathers emanating from both sides of the mouth of some smoker effigies are clearly intended to equate the feathery breath spirit with the emanating smoke produced during this ritual act (**Figs. 11.3a-11.3b**). Notably, Vanpool (2003: 710-712) pointed out that some of the Casas Grandes smoker figures, as well as some other human effigies, are ornamented with designs comprised of running bands of dotted circles (e.g., Christman 2002: 67; Townsend 2005a: pl. 29 and pl. 122 [note breath feathers on latter]; VanPool 2003a: 710, color photo 3).

Elsewhere, in Chapter 5, I argued that these circles with central dots likely represent geometric depictions of flowers, while the running bands are shorthand representations of the body of the plumed serpent as Flower Road, the floral strewn pathway of the Sun that marks its diurnal journey across the sky. The presence of flowers on smoker effigies probably partly relates to smoking as a rain-making act that helps to bring about a flowery landscape. On three human effigy jars, distinctive cloud terraces emerge either from the side or top of the mouth, a likely allusion to the warm, moist breath as moisture-laden clouds (**Fig. 11.4f-11.4h**). Furthermore, from the mouth of one

macaw effigy vessel emerges a spiraling half-terraced cloud symbol (**Fig. 11.4i**), likely an allusion to the rain-making abilities of the macaw.

Thus, the presence of clouds, breath feathers, and smoke emanating from the mouths of human and animal figures, along with floral imagery on some of these vessels, clearly indicates that Casas Grandes people were full participants in Mesoamerican-derived religious beliefs centered upon the solar-oriented breath spirit and cloud complex of the Flower World. This suggests that the conceptual metaphors underlying the Pueblo IV katsina complex were evident in an earlier nascent form among the Casas Grandes culture, with some antecedents among the Mimbres.

The limited number of smoker effigy vessels in the Casas Grandes ceramic corpus recorded by VanPool, which totals 22, does not reflect the minimal importance placed upon this ritual act and the attendant ideology in Casas Grandes society. Rather, it more likely suggests that the act of ritual smoking, much like when done within kivas in contemporary Puebloan societies, probably was a highly sacred act at Casas Grandes sites that was limited to male initiates in highly formalized and perhaps private ritual contexts (Moulard 2005: 90).

Following the graphic evidence for tobacco smoking in relation to cloud-making in the Mimbres and Casas Grandes regions, we find iconographic correlates for these concepts both in kiva murals and in the material culture itself in the form of pipes decorated with cloud, lightning, and moisture-related designs. Aside from Mimbres and Casas Grandes breath feathers and cloud-breath, there is evidence of breath feathers and clouds emanating from the mouth in Pueblo IV-period kiva murals at Awat'ovi as well as

a depiction from a vessel at the Zuni-related site of Hawikuh (Taube 2001: 116). For example, one figure in a kiva mural scene in Awat'ovi Room 788, layer 1 is portrayed exhaling a breath cloud, likely as a result of smoking (see full scene in Smith 1952: fig. 81a; **Fig. 11.1c**). Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2006: 40) suggested that the figure with a breath cloud emanating from his mouth in this mural reflects the intertwined concepts of smoking, breath, clouds, and rain. As the Awat'ovi figure is standing upon a baseband ornamented with flower medallions and is holding a scarlet macaw while a butterfly perches on a nearby branch, it is clear that newly burgeoning Pueblo IV-era rituals and symbolism related to clouds and smoking, as mimetic acts reflective of the coming of the katsina rain-spirits, are closely related to the newly adopted Flower World complex.

Taube (2001) noted that, much like for the figure in the Awat'ovi kiva scene described above, a vessel from Hawikuh in west-central New Mexico depicts a four-legged mammal exhaling a cloud-terrace breath element (**Fig. 11.1f**). Smith (1952: figs. 28d, 90a) noted one Pueblo IV-era Awat'ovi mural fragment that bears an example of a human figure standing adjacent to a cloud terrace with a cloud blower pipe at his mouth (**Fig. 11.1e**). Attached to the pipe are pendant feathers while emerging from the pipe is particulate matter, possibly indicating both smoke and mist.

Smith (1952: 237-238) also drew attention to one Awat'ovi mural scene where pairs of individuals seated beside a Cumulus Cloud Maiden hold bowls or baskets into which falls particulate matter, likely rain. From the mouths of two of these individuals are small triangular-shaped elements with feathers placed in front (see full scene in Smith 1952: fig. 80b; **Fig. 11.1d**). Smith (*ibid.*: 237-238) suggested that the triangular elements

were small pipes while the feathers represented the breath spirit. Elsewhere, Sekaquaptewa and Washburn (2004: 477; 2006: 33) suggested that these figures may be inhaling or ingesting the goodness of the falling rain/cornmeal, much as Hopi awaken in the morning and, facing east towards the dawning sun, inhale or ingest the goodness of the new day. Nevertheless, each of these interpretations conveys the same metaphors linking the breath, as smoke clouds or feathers, to the essence of life inherent in the sun and the rain.

Aside from kiva mural imagery, elaborately decorated pipes at Pueblo IV sites in the Rio Grande region most clearly reflect this shift in ideology tied to rain-making. In a recent publication, Schaafsma and Taube (2006; see Kidder 1932: 156-182) pointed out that ceramic pipes at Pecos (ca. AD 1425) are ornamented with a number of rain and cloud motifs, including clouds, horned serpents as lightning arrows, star-warriors, and water-dwelling frogs, among others (**Figs. 11.1g-11.1h**). At the site of Pa'ako located northeast of modern Albuquerque, Lambert (1954:115-116, fig. 49 and pl. XXIII) excavated 39 tubular and elbow-shaped pipes, most of which were undecorated. However, two historic-era pipe fragments from this site appear to depict the body of the pipes in the form of terraced-cloud elements (*ibid.*: 118, fig. 50a-b), much like at Pecos. The rise of smoking imagery in the southern Southwest in relation to cloud-making and breath feathers coincided with the first appearance of Flower World imagery. The appearance of smoke, cloud, and breath imagery in the northern Southwest in kiva murals and material culture such as pipes coincided with the spread of Sun Youth worship from the Casas Grandes region.

While archaeological evidence for tobacco smoking in the American Southwest, such as residue and seeds, dates to over 2,000 years BP (see VanPool 2003a: 700), the graphic evidence of pipe-smoking in relation to symbolism of the breath soul and the production of clouds is only present in much more recent times. The first evidence of this ritual complex coincided with the appearance of Flower World imagery first in the Mimbres region, then at Paquimé and in the Casas Grandes region, and afterward in other parts of the American Southwest. This suggests that new ritual connotations affiliated with smoking, the breath soul, rain-making, and ancestral cloud spirits were coincident with the adoption of the solar Flower World complex across the larger region. This connection further suggests that the development of the katsina complex and its focus upon an ideology of rain-making is intimately tied to the appearance of Sun Youth-oriented Flower World ceremonialism in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest.

The Sun Youth and Katsina Rain Ceremonialism

Sun Youth ceremonialism in the American Southwest and Mesoamerica clearly has ritual components linked to the production of moisture, rain, and clouds. Yet it remains to be seen how the florescence of Sun Youth rites relate to the simultaneous florescence of the katsina rain spirit complex. As Hays (1989: 297) noted:

Katsinas are benevolent spirit beings who reside in mountains and springs part of the year, and come to the pueblos bringing rain to the dry fields. Wearing distinctive symbol-laden masks and costumes, they dance in the plazas and distribute food and gifts to the community members and guests.

There has been much debate as to where and how the katsina complex originated, whether among the Eastern or Western Pueblos or in the Mimbres and Jornada Mogollon regions, while much discussion also focused on the degree to which Mesoamerican societies and beliefs influenced its development (Adams 1991a; Brew 1944; Carlson 1982; Schaafsma 1999, 2000b). For example, Adams (1991a: 132-133) suggested that katsina ceremonialism developed along the Little Colorado River region in the west before disseminating eastward to the Rio Grande region. In contrast, Schaafsma (1999, 2000b; Schaafsma and Schaafsma 1974) argued that katsina ideology developed in the Rio Grande area with influence from the Jornada Mogollon, with an ultimate historical relationship to a rain complex associated with the Mesoamerican rain deity Tlaloc (see Brew 1944). At the least, scholars generally concede that katsina ceremonialism has some roots that extend to the Mimbres culture.

Flower World and the Warm Season in the American Southwest

Recent discussions of katsina ceremonialism highlighted the close relationship between katsinam and the Flower World complex. For example, in Hopi traditions, water- and solar-oriented aspects associated with the Flower World include flowers, butterflies, macaws and parrots, frogs, turtles, tadpoles, dragonflies, pubescent girls, as well as a more widespread relation to clouds, mist, tobacco smoke, breath, wind, rainbows, mountains, and caves, all of which are associated with the katsinam (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006: 14). The close connection between the sun and the return of the rains is plainly evident in a simple Hopi prayer spoken at dawn: “Our Sun, send us

rain” (Fewkes 1900a: 85). A similar prayer to the dawn and to the sun was recorded by Voth (1903b: 17) during the Oraibi Oaqöl ceremony: ““Sun, my father! Oh (make it) rain, and we shall drink.”” Perhaps reflecting the same concepts, one Pueblo IV or Historic-era rock art portrayal in the Zuni region depicts a sun shield superimposed upon a stepped cloud design (Schaafsma and Young 2007: fig. 15.12a), a pairing that may suggest that the two arrive together.

In a Hopi story of the first creation, the Sun said: “Yes, . . . land has come out everywhere, and everything is beautiful, and the water is beautiful, too. Now, to-morrow when I shall rise there will be blossoms and flowers and grass all over the land” (Voth 1905: 7). Among the Zuni, the place of Everlasting Summer is the realm of the fathers of macaws: “. . . and wherever they dwell, like the color of their plumage are the flowers, fruits, and leaves, and summer abides there forever” (Cushing 1920: 191). Hopi katsina songs, which are essentially moral directives and admonishments from the katsina to Hopi people, serve as messages to explain how to achieve a cosmic and social equilibrium reflective of the idyllic, rain-filled flowery spiritual world (Glowacka and Sekaquaptewa 2009: 168) of the Sun Youth. As one song from the *katsinam* to the Hopi (ibid.) explains:

Come to care for one another, my mothers, my fathers
If you take the right way of life and live it
Rains will come from all directions
You will look upon the splendor of the flowery land.

It is in living a socially, spiritually, and morally balanced life that Hopi people, and all Pueblo people, can achieve the perfection, fulfillment, and order of the Flower World that existed at the time of emergence (ibid.: 168-169).

Other ceremonial and dance songs also reflect the bountiful Flower World produced as a result of the rains. One Harvest Dance song of origin performed at San Ildefonso stated, “May the Earth mother be made happy with the waters from the rain makers and cover the earth with all vegetation, may flowers cover the earth” (Stevenson n.d.: Box 1). Songs and regalia from a Tablita or Green Corn Dance performed in 1914 at Santa Clara Pueblo also reflect the role of the rains in bringing about a flowery spiritual landscape. In this dance, the women wore serrated tablet headdresses representing clouds that were painted blue-green, yellow, and outlined in black, with blue-green symbolizing the vegetation of the earth, yellow symbolizing the flowers of the world, and black denoting blackened rain clouds (Stevenson n.d.: Box 1).

With regard to paraphernalia used in the dance noted above, Stevenson (n.d.: Box 1) observed that “the cedar twigs represent the flowers of the world and the maidens symbolize the hummingbirds gathering sweets from the flowers by the motioning of the spruce twigs they carry.” Furthermore, during this dance procession the choir sings, “May the hummingbirds gather the honey from the blossoms and be happy” (ibid.). As Stevenson (ibid.) concluded: “The joy of these birds so delight the rainmakers that they are glad to water the earth.” Densmore (1957: 34) described a Flower Dance beginning at sunrise that is held at Acoma during February and March as “. . . an invitation to the flowers to bloom again.” A Butterfly Song held during the Flower Dance reiterates the desire for the fertile, floral solar realm (ibid.: 38):

Butterfly, butterfly, butterfly, butterfly,
Oh look, see it hovering among the flowers,
It id like a baby trying to walk and not knowing how to go.
The clouds sprinkle down the rain.

These songs draw clear links between Pueblo ritualism and the desire to bring about the Flower World.

Among the Tewa, after the ceremonial grinding of special white corn meal by the female assistant to the rain priest, he then prays to the Sun, saying: “I prepare prayer meal for you with precious shells and turquoise to pay you that you may influence the rain makers to water the Earth mother and that you will warm the seed germs into life” (Stevenson n.d.: Box 2). This prayer indicates that the Sun and the rain makers work in conjunction to bring about life and (flowering) vegetation upon the earth. In a similar sentiment, expressed during an act of ritual smoking to prevent a solar eclipse, a Tewa rain priest prayed to the Sun: “I give you this smoke my Sun father that you may be happy and contented. That the cloud masks will form, and the rain makers may be happy and water the Earth mother that she will give to us the fruits of her being” (ibid.).

Another Tewa song, performed by fraternity members while seated facing east, asks the Sun Father to make life and the world as beautiful and new as at the time of creation (Stevenson n.d.: Box 2):

Let the earth be covered with all things beautiful. All trees, plants, flowers.
Let the deer, antelope, mountain sheep and turkey roam over the earth that
we may have food in plenty for our children. Let the eagle soar over the
earth that we may have plumes to offer to our gods. Refresh Earth our
mother with rains that she may be happy and give us the fruits of her
being. Let the rains come and fill the rivers and the lakes that we may be
refreshed . . . That we may have forever the light from your burning shield
to give us warmth and light by day.

Aside from these examples, Hopi Powamu ceremonial songs implore the various blooming flowers of all the directions to decorate the faces of the Hopi, presumably with pollen. For example, as a portion of one song reported by Voth (1901: 143) stated:

Due westward, blooming butterfly flower,
Decorate our faces,
Bless us with flowers!
Thus being face decorated,
Being blessed with flowers,
We shall be delighted, we shall be delighted,
Ha-o, my mother.

Similar prayer phrases are repeated to the four directions and the above and below (ibid.: 143-144). Notably, in the Powamu song that followed, the Sun Youth Payatamu is mentioned (ibid.: 146-147, fn. 1).

Much like for the butterflies in the prayer above, the decoration of human faces with pollen may be a mimetic act that alludes to similar phenomena in nature where the faces of flower-pollinating creatures such as bees and hummingbirds often are heavily dusted with pollen after having inserted their faces into flowers in order to drink the floral nectar. Clearly, Puebloan dance movements, songs, rituals, and ceremonial regalia are replete with symbolic and mimetic actions and intentions designed to bring forth the idyllic realm of the fertile solar and rain-filled Flower World.

Katsina Regalia and Flowers

The close connection between katsinam and the Flower World is reiterated in the use of flowers on numerous contemporary masks, clothing, and dance paraphernalia. For example, White (1943: 311, fig. 5) illustrated one Hemis katsina mask from Acoma

ornamented at the back with a flower placed between two macaw tail feathers (obvious solar symbolism) and colors and designs that represent “piled up” clouds, storm clouds containing rain, and personified lightning. At Zia, San Felipe, and Santa Ana Pueblos, the A’cuwa katsina mask is portrayed with a prominent sunflower upon the forehead (White 1932: 25, fig. 5; 1942: 231, fig. 18; 1962: 238-239, fig. 29). At Zia, the yellow paint for katsina masks is collected from a plant with a conspicuous four-petalled yellow flower (White 1962: 250). At Tesuque, the Yellow Flower katsina carries upon its head a basket of yellow flowers and distributes them to the dance observers so that they might chew the flowers and spit them upon their body for strength and health (Parsons 1929: 163). At San Felipe, the Huic Da’Ka katsina wears a white squash blossom upon the forehead (White 1932a: 22, fig. 3).

At Zuni, the Downy Feathers Hanging katsina was described by Bunzel (1932b: 1016:

His face is green for the green world. The mouth is painted all different colors for all different kinds of flowers, white and red and blue and yellow and black, so as to have a fine summer with all different kinds of flowers . . . The yellow on the arms is for the yellow flowers and the corn pollen.

The Zuni Na’wisa katsina, known among the Hopi as Shi’phikini (“flowers on side of head”), is ornamented with multi-colored flowers upon the face (Stephen 1936: 426, fig. 233). The Hopi Powa’mū’i katsina wears effigy squash blossoms in his hair (ibid.: 231-232, figs. 141-142) while the Ma’lo and Duck katsinam wear a squash blossom effigy at their ear (ibid.: 215, fig. 131, 472, fig. 260). Cliff Bahnimptewa’s illustrations of Hopi katsinam also depict flowers on woven sashes, kilts, headbands, tabletas, and on cheeks and the side of the face (in Wright 1973: 85, 99, 116, 117, 129, 131, 189, 191, 216).

Taube (2001: 118, fig. 111) pointed out that Hopi katsinam often hold gourd rattles marked with flowers (see Wright 1973: 30, 31) and flower effigies with emanating *hi'ksi* breath feathers that represent the aroma of the flower. These examples are only a few of many.

According to Stevenson (n.d.: Box 1), among the Tewa the rain-makers that hide behind the clouds are referred to as *O'kuwa po'vi* (cloud flowers), a name which alludes to them kicking the flowers in joy as they pass. At San Ildefonso, the clouds are referred to as “cloud flowers [because] the clouds look like flowers when they come out from behind the mountains” (Bunzel 1929: 122, no. 3). This description appears to indicate that the build up of clouds in the sky is analogous to the blossoming of a flower. As the solar breath of flowers comprises the same ethereal breath of life that forms the airy katsina rain and cloud spirits, it is clear that the spread of the katsina rain spirit complex is closely intertwined with the spread of the Flower World complex.

Directional Color Symbolism in the American Southwest and Mesoamerica

The origin and meaning of color symbolism in the American Southwest is a topic of particular note that was addressed at times through the past few decades (Plog 2003; Riley 1963). Most recently, Riley (2005: 12, 89) suggested that the origin and spread of color-directional symbolism in the Southwest accompanied an influx of Mesoamerican belief systems via the Casas Grandes culture around AD 1200 to AD 1300. This time period coincided with the Middle Postclassic period in Mesoamerica. Elsewhere, Riley (1963: table 1) compiled a list of color symbolism, including those from Puebloan groups

in the Southwest such as Zuni, Hopi, Keres, Towa (Jemez), Tiwa (Isleta), and Tewa. Among these groups, directional color symbolism primarily centers upon the colors yellow, blue, red, white, and black (ibid.), in some variation. Thus, Riley's (ibid.) assertion implied that Postclassic period Mesoamerican color symbolism influenced these particular Southwestern color schemes by AD 1300.

What is notable about these five colors is that at the beginning of the Postclassic period (ca. AD 900-1200) in portions of the Maya area of southern Mesoamerica, the color system had witnessed a steep decline in the range of color usage to the point where it was only centered upon a few very basic color elements (Houston et al. 2009: 93, 94, 97). The use of color and content shifted from a naturalistic to a symbolic orientation while the motifs turned from historical scenes to a focus upon the supernatural (ibid.):

In the Early Postclassic, the trend of color reduction begun in the Terminal Classic was carried to an even greater extreme. Surviving paintings from this period use only five colors: blue, yellow, red, white, and a final black line. These are precisely the colors associated with the five directions in Maya thought (ibid.: 94).

Furthermore, the subsequent divergent Late Postclassic color systems as well as the Postclassic International Style were “outgrowths of the Early Postclassic color usage and painting style and also reflect an increased engagement with the other regions of Mesoamerica” (ibid.).

The period that coincides with the Mesoamerican Postclassic period saw the beginning of evidence of Flower World in the Chaco and Mimbres region followed by the full florescence of the Xochipilli-oriented Flower World complex in the Casas Grandes region and the American Southwest, a set of beliefs that were ultimate of

highland Central Mexican origin. Given this fact, one can reasonably speculate that the dramatic changes toward directionally oriented color symbolism centered upon the five basic colors used in the artistic repertoire of certain parts of Mesoamerica might well have been transmitted northward along with the influx of other ideological information associated with the Flower World complex.

It is entirely possible that this directional color palette could have been adopted at the time we see the first evidence of Flower World in the Southwest. Material culture such as carved and painted wood at Chetro Ketl in Chaco Canyon (Vivian et al. 1978) were painted in a variety of colors including black, yellow, red, white, orange, and blue-green. Pigments found at Paquimé consisted of the colors black/gray, yellow, red, white, and blue/green (Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: 425). Furthermore, the basic color palette used for the creation of the spectacular Pueblo IV-period murals at Pottery Mound (ca. AD 1370-1450/1475) in New Mexico was yellow, blue, red, white, and black (Vivian 2007: 81), a sharp departure from the predominant black-and-white color palette of murals and ceramics in the preceding era, but the same directional color palette that characterized the onset of the Postclassic period in parts of Mesoamerica. Variations of the primary colors, likely concocted via experimentation and mixing of these colors, at times produced other secondary color hues in these murals, including different shades of green, pink, brown, purple, and other colors (Hibben 1975: 36-48; Vivian 2007: 81). The presence of butterflies, dragonflies, scarlet macaws, rainbows, and sunflowers in various Pottery Mound scenes (Hibben 1975: figs. 8, 38, 44, 45) that are painted in these five directional colors again reinforces the connection between this color-palette and the Flower World.

The idea that these five colors have directional significance related to the Flower World complex is reflected among the Zuni, where the mouth of the Downy Feathers Hanging katsina “. . . is painted all different colors for all different kinds of flowers, white and red and blue and yellow and black, so as to have a fine summer with all different kinds of flowers” (Bunzel 1932a: 1016). The use of these five standard directional colors to represent all of the different flowers of the world reinforces the notion that these basic colors have some link to the Flower World. Stephen (1898: 265) described the use of color in Hopi ritual, saying, “this pigmentary manifestation may be called chromatic prayer, as it is definitely regarded as a direct appeal to the clouds at the four directions to hasten with rain to the Hopis land.” Similarly, according to Hieb (2000: 29), “The colors of the katsina, yellow, blue, red, and white, are associated with the four directions.” The seeds, which represent “the seed of *all* plants” (Stephen 1936: 215-216), that form the eye of the katsina are said to produce a black pigment when chewed, black representing the color of the above (Hieb 2000: 29).

The associations of multiple colors and chromaticism, the solar realm, and katsinam is also applicable to macaw feathers. According to Tedlock (2000: 165), the Zuni word *tso 'ya* (“beautiful”) is laden with metaphorical associations that crosscuts the visual and auditory domains, and it is a term that is usually applied to “multicolored” katsina songs that themselves are described as being imbued with “chromaticism”. The term *tso 'ya*, thus, is applicable to the multi-colored feathers of the macaw (ibid.). Notably, another Hopi word for “beautiful”, or *loololma*, similarly refers to a design of parrot feathers (Whiteley 1988: 204).

Contemporary Zuni cultural advisors link these five colors to directional symbolism in their ascription of cultural meaning to these same colors found in an archaeological context. At the Davis Ranch Site (AD 1200-1350), in the San Pedro Valley of southern Arizona, five types of pigments were identified, including: (1) kaolin (white), (2) red ochre (red), (3) limonite (yellow), (4) specular hematite (black), and (5) blue malachite (blue/green) (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 181). Zuni cultural advisors indicated that these five colors held great cultural importance as they expressed directional color significance are often used in painting ceramics, bodies, and ritual objects (ibid.: 181-182).

The dramatic transformation in color usage that characterize Pueblo IV kiva murals might well reflect not only directional color symbolism, but it may be characterized as having been essential to conveying the multiple symbolic color associations that comprise the multi-colored chromatic Flower World realm of the Sun Youth. It is notable that the act of re-plastering Jemez kivas involved adding “the pulverized seeds of every plant which blossoms in the area and a bit of every color of mineral pigment provided by nature” to the plastering mud (Ellis 1952: 149; see Solometo 2010: 93-94). It may well be the case that adding the seeds of every flowering plant as well as the spectrum of colored minerals was intended to symbolically evoke the realm of the Sun Youth. This evocation of the multi-colored Flower World may well have been also been realized when painting the multi-colored kiva murals themselves. That the realm of the Sun Youth is symbolically portrayed on painted Pueblo IV-era wall

murals is notable in that this relationship is similar to the Sun Youth's role in Postclassic Mesoamerica as the patron of painters (Pohl 1994a: 9-10).

Flower World and the Cold Season in the American Southwest

While it may appear that the connection between the katsinam and the flowery spirit world is strictly related to the warm half of the year, it is important to recognize that Puebloan thought is based upon the concept of duality, of polar oppositions (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006: 19; Ortiz 1969). While some katsinam, dressed in an array of rainbow-like colors and feathers, "look like a walking prayer for summer" (Wright 1973: 30), others are dressed to reflect colder weather phenomena and might be considered as walking prayers for winter. Thus, just as there are katsinam that produce gentle rains and embody certain birds, butterflies, and insects associated with the warm, summer (female) half of the year during the agricultural growing season, so too are there katsinam associated with the cold winter (male) half of the year during the hunting season.

For example, the Hopi Nuvak'china (Snow Katsina) is a favored katsina that appears during the winter months and whose winter moisture is considered essential for the growth of crops (Wright 1973: 33). Likewise, Horo Mana katsina (Cold Bringing Woman) dresses all in white, implying that she brings the whiteness of winter (ibid.: 34). One of the masks used at Zia is painted white "with icicles on the headdress" because they are said to bring hail and ice (White 1962: 242). The Hopi Buffalo katsina, like all of the other game animal katsinam, perform as a rite of increase for that particular animal, a being associated with the hunt and winter (ibid.: 95). Though only a few examples were

mentioned with regard to winter, the ritual concepts expressed during the course of the year indicate that there are contrasting but complementary components of the katsina complex, each associated with either the generative aspects of moisture in the warm half of the year or the cold moisture produced during the snow and ice-laden winter half of the year.

In the complete cycle of life, it is evident that the generation of flowers and plants in the warm half of the year is heavily dependant upon having abundant snow, rain, cold winds, and hail during the cold season. Conversely, in order for the game animals to survive through the cold months of winter it is necessary for there to have been an abundance of vegetation, fruits, and rains during the warm half of the year. In other words, one half of the year is dependant upon the other.

In considering the qualities of the dichotomy of summer and winter, some Hopi say that the conditions in one predict what will happen in the other as the seasons change (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006: 19). Scholars have noted that Puebloan rites involving sword-swallowing, scalping, warrior-katsinam, stars, weaponry, hunting, wild animal pelts, and the feathers of certain birds of prey that ornament ceremonialists and offerings are strongly related to cold weather, rains, snow, hail, and the production of ice, concepts usually identified with the cold half of the year (Schaafsma 2000a; Mathiowetz et al. 2008). Thus, as Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa (2006: 19) noted, “. . . [T]he Flower World of Greater Mesoamerica is not necessarily absent from the fall/winter half of the year—blood, death, hunting, and warfare are part of that larger complex . . .” Clearly, the

Flower World has dual components that involve the travels of the sun in the warm and cold halves of the year.

The recognition that the Flower World religious complex encompasses both the warm and the cold halves of the year has profound implications for our understanding of the role of the Sun Youth in Puebloan cosmology. The Sun does not simply traverse the sky during the flower-laden summer months from the winter solstice to the summer solstice, but he also traverses back across the sky during the cold, snow-laden winter months from the summer solstice to the winter solstice. What this suggests then is that as a general organizing principle, the Sun Youth, like everything else in Puebloan cosmology, is a dualistic being with opposed characteristics linked to the agricultural/female/warm half of the year as well as the hunting/male/cold half of the year.

This insight would partly help to explain why the Sun Youth Payatamu is linked not just to agriculture and the growth of corn but to activities among Puebloan War and Hunting societies. For instance, among the Northern Tewa, one origin story indicates that the Hunt Chief made a figure of Payatamu from sweet cornmeal dough in order to help the Kossa clowns emerge (Parsons 1929: 148-149). At Zia, upon initiation into the Hunt society, the Hunt Society chief “. . . gives the initiate a corn-ear fetish, a rattle, eagle-wing feathers, the mountain lion image, and the image of Paiyatamo, Sun Youth” (Parsons 1939: 606). Likewise, among the Zia, prayers to Payatamu are offered at the end of the ceremonials of the warrior Knife Society (Stevenson 1894a: 111). Hopi on Second Mesa place the skulls of animals associated with the hunt, such as deer and mountain

sheep, with the offerings made to Payatamu (Wright 2004: 64). At Zuni, Parsons (1939: 308, fn. *) observed: “There are several cave shrines in Corn Mountain, the large detached mesa three miles east of Zuni. The one I visited was devoted to the heads of prey animals deposited by the Hunters society and to Paiyatemu, the musical patron of the Little Firebrand society.” Likewise, at Jemez the shrine to Paiyatamu contains offerings of miniature hunting tools and the heads of mountain lions and bears (Wright 1994: 64). On the morning of the hunt at Cochiti, every member of the Society of Hunters (*Shaiyak*) visits and offers corn meal at sun shrines composed of two concentric circles, in the center of which sits a large stone called *Ocatc-paiyatama*, or “Sun Youth” (Curtis 1907-1930, vol. 16: 133).

While not specifically identified as a warfare-related object, one painted buffalo hide robe (a material related to game and hunting) from Santa Clara portrays an image of the Sun Youth standard, along with a rainbow, clouds, lightning, and a probable tableta headdress (Hill 1982: pl. 20). The Hopi Sun Youth is also related to warfare, as the shield of T’aiowa (Payatamu) bears the symbol of a four-pointed star in the center called Tala’shohü (Morning Star) (Stephen 1936: 24-25, pl. Ib), a stellar being closely related to warfare and hunting (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008). Morning corn-grinding rituals also indicate that the return of the Sun Youth at dawn brings the clouds and initiates the hunt. As a figure in one Keresan tale related, “. . . Now go on, four times push (the muller) up and down. When right in the east it is just beginning to be daylight’, said she, ‘probably Sun Youth will come here. He awakens the storm clouds and he goes to hunt deer from here in the north at the end of the mountain’” (Boas 1928: 100, 255). In Chapter 12, I

detail the close relationship of the Sun Youth to warfare and hunting both in Mesoamerica and in the America Southwest. Given that the Sun Youth is of greater antiquity in Mesoamerica, in all probability the ritually based conceptual metaphors of the Sun Youth that are related to warfare and hunting, along with the dual seasonal components linked to agriculture, likely accompanied the introduction of this being into the Southwest and have their direct roots in the ritual and cosmology of the Sun Youth in the Casas Grandes world.

The duality in character traits of the Sun Youth that is reflective of a winter aspect and a summer aspect implies that the sun draws forth the warm-weather katsina and related beings during his travels in the summer half of the year and draws forth the cold-weather katsina and related beings during his travels in the winter half of the year. Thus, in a sense, it can be perceived that there is a constant tension or “battle” between the forces of the wet/female/agricultural season versus the forces of the dry/male/hunting season. The duality in perceiving cloud and rain spirits as male/winter and female/summer may be reflected in the making of “cloud-topped male” and “water-jar-carrying female” prayersticks that are offered to the Jemez Cloud People (Parsons 1925: 100-101, fig. 11). This perception of warm and cold duality might also be characterized as a tension between the forces of light (day) and dark (night) or between the upperworld and underworld, among other dualisms. While the examination of these concepts will be greatly expanded upon in the following sections, a brief discussion of the path of the Sun Youth during summer and winter and the forms of moisture produced during these seasons will illustrate the opposed but complementary connection between the two. First,

however, is a discussion of feather symbolism linked to the sun that appears to transcend the two seasonal domains.

The Sun and the Dawn: Eagle and Macaw Feather Symbolism in the American Southwest

Among the most ubiquitous, but least discussed, imagery in Pueblo IV kiva murals, rock art, and ceramic symbolism is the depiction of paired macaw and eagle tail feathers. The past importance of this symbol set is evident in the continued use of these paired feathers in contemporary Pueblo ceremonial regalia. In Puebloan cosmology, both macaws and eagles have long been understood to be associated with the Sun (Tyler 1979: 16-84). Thus, it is probable that the use of eagle and macaw feathers as a paired assemblage in dance regalia and in other contexts also has a strong underlying link to solar symbolism.

The identification of macaw and eagle feathers in the iconography is rather straightforward, as these symbols are quite distinct. Eagle feathers are easily recognized as a broad, white feather tipped in black with a black step-like design at the top corner of the feather. In the symbol systems of the Pueblo IV period, macaw feathers are usually just portrayed as a solid red feather. Paired together, these feathers are unmistakable to recognize. As a class, perhaps among the earliest depictions of an eagle feather in ceramics are from the interiors of a Gila Polychrome (AD 1300-1450) bowl, a Kwakina Polychrome bowl (AD 1325-1400), and a Kechipawan Polychrome bowl (AD 1375-1475) recovered from Hawikuh (Smith et al. 1966: figs. 42l, 46c, 49h). Eagle feathers are

also depicted in a Jeddito Black-on-Yellow ware (AD 1350-historic era) (see Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2006: 39, upper left).

In the Rio Grande region, eagle feathers are visible on the interior of Glaze A Yellow wares (AD 1321-1450) illustrated by Kidder and Shepard (1936: figs. 46d, 51d) as well as pendant elements from exterior rim bands and bird tails on Glaze A Yellow wares (ibid.: fig. 48a, 48c). The eagle feather and the hooked beak of these birds led Kidder and Shepard (ibid.: 68) to see a possible close relationship between eagles and macaws: “This leads one to wonder if the Glaze I [Glaze A] birds are not all depictions of eagles. The hooked beak would, of course, be in character. It would equally well, however, suit a parrot or macaw, birds held sacred by the Pueblos, ancient and modern.” Eagle feathers occur in late-fourteenth-century murals at Awat’ovi and Kawaika’a, in mid-fourteenth-century murals at Pottery Mound, and in mid- to late-fifteenth-century murals at Kuaua (dates cited in Adams 2000b: 37). Eagle feather symbolism seems to have emerged roughly contemporaneously both in the Eastern and Western Pueblo regions during the era in which widespread adoption of Flower World rituals occurred.

In the archaeological record, portrayals of this paired feather motif make their first appearance during the Pueblo IV period, precisely at the time that Sun Youth and katsina ceremonialism was florescent. While this motif does not appear in Casas Grandes symbolism, which is largely geometric, it may well be the case that this symbol set developed in the Southwest as the result of the widespread adoption of a new religious ideology from Casas Grandes centered upon the sun. The ubiquity of this motif in a

multitude of thematic and symbolic contexts attests to the heightened importance of the meanings that underlie its use and display.

At Awat'ovi on the Hopi Mesas, the eagle-macaw feather assemblage occurs quite prominently in the kiva murals. Much like for the Pottery Mound examples, Smith (1952: 180) noted that at Awat'ovi, "These [macaw feathers] are used in a variety of ways, the long red ones being especially frequent radiating from the periphery of white disks or 'shields' usually in alternation with eagle-tail feathers." In one instance, Smith (*ibid.*: fig. 47b) described this convention as ". . . the usual radial feathers in red and turkey-tail convention. . . ." While in this instance Smith identified the white feathers as turkey tails, the image to which he refers clearly portrays the distinct eagle feathers couple with the red macaw feather. A number of these radial shields with paired eagle and macaw feathers, which Smith (*ibid.*: fig. 84b) described as "sun shields", exist at Awat'ovi and Kawaika'a.

One mural fragment at Kawaika'a depicts a radial fan of red spatter-work with a number of radiating eagle and macaw feathers (Smith 1952: fig.47a). Spatter-work is a design that resembles many droplets or a concentrated spray of paint. Another "sun shield", surrounded by spatterwork and adorned with a radiating eagle and macaw feather, is placed above a baseband lined with flower blossoms (**Fig. 11.5a**). A figure to the left, himself with an eagle and macaw feather in his hair, faces the shield and holds a feathered prayerstick in his hand. Some of these "shields" with radiating feathers are surrounded or surmounted by birds, including scarlet macaws (*ibid.*: fig. 56a). In one instance, a spotted feline who is half hidden behind a shield with a morning star symbol,

a symbol associated with hunting, warfare, and the dawn, has a spattered radial fan with radial eagle and macaw feathers emerging or placed beneath the tail or rear end (ibid.: fig. 56b). This connection to warfare and hunting is notable, as one hunting scene on a Sikyatki Polychrome produced on the Hopi Mesas, and now housed in the Brooklyn Museum (see www.brooklynmuseum.org, catalogue # 03.325.4328), depicts a hunter wearing the eagle and macaw feather assemblage in his hair.

One Awat'ovi example depicts a circular “shield” with red spatterwork and paired feathers overlying the body of a feline (Smith 1952: 47b). One shield with paired feathers, behind or into which a zoomorphic figure is hidden, overlies the body of a probable plumed serpent baseband with cloud-terrace tail (ibid.: fig. 61b and pl. A). It may well be the case that the plumed serpent is passing through the “shield”. In another example, one human figure stands behind a shield, replete with red spatterwork and the eagle/macaw feather motif, that is set upon a baseband containing a circular flower medallion (**Fig. 11.5b**). One Awat'ovi mural depicts a quadruped, perhaps a feline, apparently passing through a red-spattered sun shield ornamented with radiating eagle and macaw feathers that is situated above a baseband with a floral blossom (ibid.: fig. 89a and pl. B; **Fig. 11.5c**). Another shield with red spatterwork in a center panel at Awat'ovi is situated between basebands supporting bowls of “blossoms” or possibly corn (ibid.: fig. 49b).

Individual figures at Awat'ovi often wear the paired eagle and macaw feather assemblage on top of the head (Smith 1952: fig. 51c). Others wear these paired feathers tied at the back of their waist sash or kilt (ibid.: fig. 52a). Another figure has this paired

feather convention as adornment on weaponry, such as a bow (ibid.: fig. 53b). In another instance at Awat'ovi, the eagle and macaw feather appears to be "planted" into a baseband, perhaps symbolically as a prayerstick (ibid.: fig. 78b). In the Awat'ovi murals, one recognizable Hopi figure wearing a mask with radiating eagle and macaw feathers is Ahul, a figure said to arrive with the morning sun (ibid.: fig. 79a). Another anthropomorphic figure, perhaps with supernatural characteristics in the facial features, has a head surrounded by red spatter and what appears to be a variation on the paired eagle-macaw feather motif (ibid.: fig. 80a).

The spatterwork evident in association with the examples of sun shields and eagle-macaw feather motif is notable and may itself be a signifier of the solar Flower World realm. For example, examples of red spatterwork surround one of the depictions of Flower Mound at Awat'ovi, from which emerges a probable corn plant (Smith 1952: fig. 69d). One example of red spatterwork occurs on the interior of a Sikyatki vessel surrounding a single multi-colored flower (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2006: 39, lower right). One other Sikyatki example depicts spatterwork surrounding two prayer feathers (ibid.: 38, upper left), surely prayers for rain to produce crops and vegetation. Red spatterwork, flanking a probable spirit pathway, also falls as granular rain/corn meal from a Cumulus Cloud Maiden into vessels supported by pairs of women (Smith 1952: fig. 80b).

In the Rio Grande region, the Pueblo IV-period mural art reveals a number of examples of eagle and macaw assemblages. At Kuaua, one image depicts a figure holding a scarlet macaw and wearing a paired eagle and macaw feather likely attached to his head

or hair (Dutton 1963: pl. XVI or XXI, fig. 23). Elsewhere, the eagle and macaw feather assemblage is more widely evident at Pottery Mound. In one example, a cluster of eagle feathers is accompanied by a single macaw feather in the headdress of a horned and plumed serpent (Hibben 1975: fig. 34). A similar headdress is worn by a morning star warrior that overlies the body of this serpent (*ibid.*), much as if the star warrior was being conveyed by the plumed serpent. In one other Pottery Mound example, the so-called “shield” motif occurs beside a rainbow baseband and three scarlet macaws eating kernels or seeds of some sort (**Fig. 11.5d**).

In one Pottery Mound scene, a figure holding a staff stands behind one of these arc-shaped “shields” while accompanied by women carrying water jars with emergent lightning and other imagery including swallows and dragonflies, surely a solar-related scene (**Fig. 11.5e**). This depiction is quite reminiscent of a separate scene at Awat’ovi which portrays a person standing behind a “shield” surrounded by red spatterwork from which radiates a paired eagle and macaw feather (**Fig. 11.5b**). Notably, the red fringe or ruff that spans the top of the Pottery Mound shield (at the base of the feathers) is a motif that occurs in much the same role as the spatterwork around the above-described Awat’ovi shield, a point also noted by Crotty (1995: 239).

These shields with paired eagle and macaw feathers at Awat’ovi and Pottery Mound appear to be conflated with, or at least closely related to, other images from Pottery Mound. In particular, one recently published scene depicts two figures supporting an arching rainbow, the top of which contains red fringe or ruff edging, four sets of paired eagle and macaw feathers, and three cloud terraces (Crotty 2007: fig. 6.7). Other

examples of the “shield” motif with paired eagle and macaw feathers are actually worn as *tablitas* (tablet headdresses) by figures holding scarlet macaws (Hibben 1975: figs. 64-65; **Fig. 11.5f**). In another example, one figure holds what appears to be a one-horned mask ornamented with an abstract eagle feather headdress flanked by two macaw feathers (ibid.: fig. 67). A paired set of eagle and macaw feathers are attached to a hunter or warriors shield in one Pottery Mound kiva scene (Schaafsma 2000a: fig. 3.27). In another Pottery Mound scene, a paired eagle and scarlet macaw feather headdress occurs alongside other headdresses that appear to be situated on a shelf (Hibben 1975: fig. 49, far right). In other words, the appearance of the eagle-macaw feather motif on sun shields, masks, headdresses, warrior shields, *tablitas*, and in other contexts seem to be related phenomena that reference or index a common theme, most likely one relating to the sun.

One peculiar object that occurs in a few Pottery Mound scenes, though not present in kiva murals at Awat’ovi and Kuaua, may provide support to the solar association of the paired eagle and macaw feather motif. In one Pottery Mound mural scene, three black-painted pointed objects with black-and-white stripes accompany a figure standing behind a macaw and eagle feathered sun shield, a figure who is flanked by water-jar bearing women, clouds, lightning, and dragonflies, all solar and moisture-related phenomena (Hibben 1975: fig. 61; **see detail in Fig. 11.5e**). Hibben (ibid.: 83) was unclear on the identification of these objects but characterized them as “ceremonial spears” while Schaafsma (2000a: pl. 12) characterized them as “thick pointed sticks”.

These objects appear in two other murals including the scene of “agriculturalists” in Layer 1 of Kiva 2 (Hibben 1975: figs. 14, 17) and in a portion of a scene on Layer 18 of Kiva 2 (ibid.: fig. 108). Both of these scenes are notable for such solar imagery as clouds, rainbows, a flower, a scarlet macaw, and lightning in the first scene, and water jars, dragonflies, and lightning in the latter scene. Though these striped objects have no anthropomorphic characteristics, they may well be dramatically simplified representations of *koshare* clowns. This tentative suggestion is given some weight by the existence of a flat slab of wood (though with a round top and measuring about 19 inches in height) painted with white stripes that was collected in 1905, most likely from Cochiti, and identified as a representation of a *koshare* (see image in Fane et al. 1991: 155, no. 150). Though the Cochiti objects may be dismissed as mere dolls, it is possible that the same concepts may have been imbued in the objects in the Pottery Mound kiva murals, much as is known for posts or pillars in contemporary kivas.

Parsons (1929: 101, 126) pointed out that two posts or pillars measuring roughly the height of a man, were set into the ground in the kiva at Nambé, painted with black and white stripes, and identified as a representation of the *kossa* (pl.) of the north (Winter People) and the south (Summer People). The tall striped objects in the Pottery Mound kiva murals bear some affinities with this description of the *kossa*. These black-and-white-striped objects at Pottery Mound, some of which occur in the context of an eagle and macaw feathered sun shield, probably were intended as shorthand representations of *koshare*. The identification of these striped objects as probable *koshare*, set within solar and warm-weather contexts in kiva murals makes sense, as the *koshare* are warm-weather

clowns closely related to the Sun Youth (see below). It is likely for this relationship to warm weather that these objects (presumed koshare) do not occur with the scene of hunters and warriors, decidedly cold-weather figures, that is adjacent to the scene of agriculturalists in Kiva 2 at Pottery Mound (see Hibben 1975: figs. 17, 49).

Continuing on, paired eagle and macaw feathers also occur on the ceramics of the Eastern and Western Pueblos. For the Eastern Pueblo region, Harlow and colleagues (2005: 64) characterized the eagle and macaw feather motif, which they generally termed the “shaft feather” motif, as being especially characteristic on mid- to late-seventeenth-century pottery from the Puname area near Zia and Santa Ana Pueblos. In this region, the eagle-macaw motif is portrayed as if hanging downward from the rim of one San Diego Polychrome jar (ca. AD 1640) recovered from a Jemez-related site (ibid.: fig. 4.21). A second San Diego Polychrome jar recovered at a Jemez site has the red fringe and paired eagle and macaw feathers that encircle the neck of the jar (ibid.: fig. 4.24a-b).

In the Western Pueblo region, the red fringe and paired eagle and macaw feather motif makes a prominent appearance in the ceramic assemblage excavated by the Hodge expedition (1917-1923) at the Zuni-related sites of Hawikuh and Kechipawan in New Mexico, now housed at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) at the Smithsonian Museum in Washington D.C. (Smith et al. 1966; **Figs. 11.6a-11.6g**). Though images of scarlet macaws and eagle feathers do occur individually on earlier Kechipawan Polychromes (ca. AD 1370-1450+) (see Smith et al. 1966: figs. 47c, 47d, 47f, 49h) from Hawikuh, perhaps the earliest portrayals of paired eagle and macaw feathers in this assemblage is on matte-painted Matsaki Polychrome bowls (ca. AD 1475-late 1600s),

one of which displays fringe at the base of the paired feathers (ibid.: fig. 55d, 59a). One Matsaki Polychrome jar has sets of paired eagle and macaw feathers with both red fringe and spatterwork at its base (ibid.: fig. 66e; see National Museum of the American Indian, Catalog #101234). Overlapping in time with Matsaki Polychromes, to a limited extent, were Hawikuh Polychromes (ca. AD 1630-1680).

The production of Hawikuh Polychromes signaled a return to glaze paint technologies, probably influenced or reintroduced by Pueblo potters from the Rio Grande region, the production of which terminated at the time of the Pueblo Revolt of AD 1680 (Mills 2002: 90-91). Mills (2007b: 236) further pointed out that the production of Hawikuh Polychrome occurred during the period of Spanish missionization at Zuni. One thing that has puzzled scholars is understanding the rapidity with which Hawikuh Polychrome styles were used at Zuni during this era: “The rapid adoption of a ware associated with Spanish conquest is intriguing, particularly since religious repression was one of the restrictions brought by the Spaniards” (ibid.). The importance of this ware may be reflected in the iconography of these vessels. One Hawikuh Polychrome bowl depicts a large central katsina wearing a headdress of eagle and macaw plumes while another depicts a large flower on a bowl interior, strongly resembling in design the aforementioned katsina mask, also apparently ornamented with an eagle and macaw feather headdress (Smith et al. 1966: fig. 77h; see National Museum of the American Indian, Catalog #105031 and #109404).

What is notable about Hawikuh Polychrome is that the paired eagle and macaw feather motif with red fringe prominently encircles the rim of a number of vessels (**Figs.**

11.6a-11.6f). A similar example occurs on a vessel excavated from the then-contemporaneous Zuni site of Kechipawan (**Fig. 11.6g**). When viewed from above, this motif almost precisely mimics the circular “sun shields” that are evident in earlier murals at Pottery Mound and Awat’ovi and in then-contemporaneous San Diego Polychromes in the Rio Grande region, as noted above.

Some of these “shields” on Hawikuh vessels have triangular designs (right angle or equilateral) in place of or interspersed with the red fringe (e.g., National Museum of the American Indian, Catalog #109674 and #101671). These triangular elements probably also served as a solar signifier. For example, one petroglyph from the Cochiti Reservoir District depicts a sun face half encircled by fringe and half encircled by triangles (Schaafsma 1975a: 77). One Late Sikyatki sherd (mid AD 1400s) from Tsukuvi on the Hopi Mesas depicts a probable sun katsina with a face surrounded by triangles and pendant, red-fringed eagle feathers hanging below the face (Hays 2000: fig. 6.10). These triangular elements and fringe that surround the head of the sun also occur on the head of the Sun Youth as portrayed on Rio Grande Glaze wares from Pecos (Kidder and Shepard 1936: figs. 153c, 192a) and Pa’ako (Lambert 1954: fig. 43k).

Considering that vessels are often perceived as symbolic wombs or caves (see Taube 2006c), if we are to examine the conceptual metaphors that are inherent in having a “sun shield” encircling the rim or opening of a vessel, it may well be correct to state that this symbol set around the rim relates to the sun (shield) rising from the symbolic womb of the earth, thereafter sending forth its rays of light in all directions upon its emergence. If a person were to retrieve food or drink from the vessel by placing his or her

dipper or hand through the “sun shield”, they would essentially be perceived as retrieving their sustenance from the realm of the rising sun.

Looking at this concept from a larger geographic and cultural perspective, Taube (2010c) concluded that the shields in Pueblo IV kiva art act as feather-rimmed passageways or “portals” for spirit beings and are essentially Pueblo versions of the concept known more anciently among the Classic Maya as “*och b’ih*”, or “enters the road.” This phrase refers to the concept of the soul or spirit beings entering the celestial road of the sun. In a sense, the passing of the hand or dipper into the Hawikuh vessels with “sun shields”, and the passing of plumed serpents or animals through these “sun shields” in kiva murals, provides support to Taube’s (ibid.) assessment that passing through these shields symbolically refers to entering the road or realm of the sun, a concept of great antiquity in Mesoamerica (ibid.). Using these large vessels with “sun shield” symbolism in the context of communal feasting would also relate feasting to solar worship, much as is known for other regions in the Southwest and northern Mexico (see Chapter 10).

Moreover, considering that Hawikuh Polychromes were used solely during the Spanish occupation preceding the Pueblo Revolt, it may be possible that these wares, with their overt and heightened presence of solar symbolism, became a ceramic tradition of resistance. In other words, this particular solar symbol set manifest in the ceramic wares likely preserved and strengthened indigenous ideology, flaunted in the face of Spanish oppression, and may have been designed as a covert means of encoding communication within, and beyond, the community’s information networks. In noting

that Hawikuh Polychromes at Hawikuh as a tradeware are indistinguishable from those at Acoma, Harlow and Lanmon (2008: 93) stated, “. . . [I]t is conjectured that all Hawikuh Polychrome vessels found at Acoma had been imported from the Ashiwi [Zuni] people.” Much as knotted cords served as inter-village communicative or counting devices in the period immediately preceding the Pueblo Revolt of AD 1680, such as being the means by which to count down the days to revolt, might widely traded ceramics also have served as communicative devices and as vehicles of an ideology of resistance within and among Pueblo villages during the years of Spanish dominance preceding the great revolt? Hays-Gilpin and LeBlanc (2007: 123) also recently pointed out the communicative potential of painted textiles that were traded within and between individuals or communities.

Returning to the discussion of the paired eagle and macaw feather motif in the Pueblo IV period, the close relationship of this motif to the sun is further evident in a painted rock art image from the Piro region of a running anthropomorphic figure whose head is the sun. This “running sun” is accompanied by other running figures, each painted half-white and half-red (Schaafsma 2000a: fig. 4.8). In opposition to paired blue and yellow colors that are associated with warmth and summer (see Chapter 2), paired red and white colors appear to be affiliated as winter-related colors. Thus, the red and white color combination painted on these running figures may represent a winter-related rite. A similar red and white painted body, though only a fragment remained, was documented in a mural at Kuaua (Dutton 1963: 189, pl. XXX, fig. 5). The sun face in the Piro rock art scene is bordered in red fringe from which radiates four sets of red and white feathers, though the latter does not bear the distinctive step-like black tip of the eagle feather

(ibid.). Nevertheless, given the close affinity with the sun, this symbol-set probably was intended to represent the eagle and macaw feather motif.

Another uncolored Piro petroglyph depicts a running sun with a feathered face and fringe encircling the visage (Schaafsma 2000a: fig 4.9). Schaafsma convincingly correlates these images with ethnographically known races for fertility and also to those examples among the northern Tewa where participants engage in relay races to strengthen the sun for his journey to the south at the winter solstice (ibid.: 117-118).

A brief examination of the symbolism of racing further helps to elucidate the paramount concern of the Sun and the rain among Pueblo people. Parsons (1939: 212) indicated that Hopi and Tiwan relay races help the Sun during his seasonal journey. At Isleta, his diurnal passage is assisted with his son's kick-stick games (Parsons 1932: 368-372; 1939: 212). Parsons (1962: 100) noted that the racetrack at Isleta, and of all Tanoans, lies on an east to west bearing and represents "the road belonging to our Father Sun." Furthermore, during the racing season at Isleta, it is said: "The Town Chief is going to clothe the Sun (give him prayer sticks) and help him run; that is why they run east and west" (ibid.). At Hopi, prior to the beginning of one race, one man dips a gourd in five sacred springs and ". . . just as the sun peers above the horizon, he dashes the gourd on the ground with a prayer that rain speedily fall, and the runners start off at full speed...thus may the rain fall!" (Stephen 1936: 705).

Prior to the races at dawn at Isleta, the Mapuride, the women who assist in the scalp ceremony (a rain ceremony), sweep the racetrack from east to west, all-the-while remaining careful not to turn backward or face west. This sweeping not only symbolically

clears the road of the Sun and ensures that the Sun remains on his proper course, it also earns the women “. . . long life from their Father Sun” (ibid.: 116). The sweeping of the road for the return of rain is strikingly similar to the highland Central Mexican conception of the wind sweeping the road in anticipation of the return of the rain spirits (Sahagún 1997: 156). East-west oriented racetracks were observed in early-twentieth-century Tewa pueblos at San Juan, Santa Clara, and San Ildefonso (Parsons 1929: maps 2-5), and likely were also oriented towards the celestial pathway of the Sun.

Other contemporary Pueblo races involve the return of the katsina/shiwana (rain) and the koshare. At Santa Ana, kickstick racers “. . . holler like shiwana and koshare” (White 1942: 242). In an act of mimesis, as the racers pass through the village, cups and bowls of water are doused upon them by women, an act that “helps bring the rain” (ibid.). According to one Acoma participant, “The katsina use kick-sticks when they come bringing the rain. If you watch the water coming down off of a mesa during a rain, you will see it does not flow evenly; it comes in spurts. That is because the katsina are running along, kicking their *atcawaiyi* [kickstick]” White (1943: 318).

The name of one Tewa man, “Snow kick-stick” (Parsons 1929: Genealogy V chart), suggests that there is a warm/cold seasonal component to kickstick races. That races are often organized as war ceremonies (Schaafsma 2000a: 117), and that races often involved opposed kiva groups (Lange 1959: 334-335), suggests a level of meaning that might partly embody a symbolic conflict between warm-season moisture and cold-season moisture. These dual-seasonal components probably are tied to the movements of the Sun along his diurnal pathway during summer and winter. Parsons (1939: 639, fn. *)

described one Pueblo relay race in similar terms, where if the white-painted racing team (representing the Sun) won, there would be a better season for the animals, while if the red-painted team (representing the Moon) won, there would be a better season for the fruits. In essence, the above-described painted image of a running Sun in the rock art of the Piro region, whose face or mask is comprised of the red fringe and eagle/macaw feather motif, is closely related to a concern with maintaining and strengthening the proper course of the sun and the return of the rains in its different forms during the warm and cold seasons. These ideas appear to have taken form during the Pueblo III- to Pueblo IV-period transition.

Documenting the extent of racetracks in the archaeological record both in the Eastern and Western Pueblos helps in determining the extent of the solar and rain ideology inherent in racing and in these tracks as evident in contemporary Puebloan ideology. For example, a recent study (Russell et al. 2011) identified racetracks and ritual racing as having been an important development during the Pueblo III- to Pueblo IV-period transition, and their appearance coincided with the development of katsina ceremonialism and the shift to plaza-oriented pueblos.

This study, which focused upon the Perry Mesa region of central Arizona, roughly 80 km north of Phoenix, identified 51 potential racetracks (Russell et al. 2011: 382). Their (ibid.: fig. 6) map of Polles Pueblo, located in the Mazatzal Wilderness, illustrated a village with an enclosed plaza as well as a roughly east-west oriented race track positioned just to the south of the community. In fact, all of the confirmed Perry Mesa tracks are located adjacent to areas interpreted as plazas or clearings, with some bounded

by roomblocks and some attached to the end-point of the track (ibid.: 396). It should be noted, however, that while the orientation of ethnographically known tracks in the Eastern Pueblos often was on an east-west axis, the orientation of tracks in the Perry Mesa region demonstrated wider variability (ibid.: 395-396). In addition, large roasting pits for apparent feasting episodes were associated with every racetrack studied (ibid.: 397-398), a presence that suggests that feasting also served the same purpose as elsewhere in the Southwest at this time (see Chapter 10). Although only briefly discussed, it is clearly imperative to understand the development of ritual racing in conjunction with changing cosmologies in the American Southwest during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

Continuing on with the discussion of paired feather symbolism, in the ethnographic record, the prevalence of the eagle-macaw feather motif in ceremonial regalia, such as headdresses, dancer's regalia, and katsina masks, remains widespread. At Zia Pueblo, White (1962: 236-250) noted numerous examples of "parrot tails" and eagle tail feathers attached to the tops and sides of katsina masks individually or as pairs. The paired feathers occur together on the masks of the A'cuwa, Gaiactactaiya, Kaci'na, Wai'oca, Ca'kak, Mai'Dyana, and Berictca katsinam at Zia (ibid.: figs. 29-32, 34). Parsons (1929: 181, pl. 21) noted that Turtle Dancers at San Juan wore a "parrot" feather between two eagle feathers upon the head. She (ibid.: 187, fn. 372) also noted a San Juan Basket Dance (*t'um share*) in which the women wore a macaw feather between two eagle wing feathers upon one side of the head and a squash blossom headdress on the other

side. Another San Juan dance called the *Powinshare* (Three Times Dance) included men who wore a macaw feather between two eagle feathers in their hair (ibid.: 189).

At Jemez, Parsons (1925: 90) described a dance where a long macaw tail feather flanked by two eagle wing feathers rose from the top of the dancers *tablita*. Elsewhere she (ibid.: 112) indicated that eagle feathers and “parrot” feathers are also important in katsina masks and dance paraphernalia at Jemez. For San Felipe Pueblo, a native artist illustrated a number of examples of eagle and “parrot” feather combinations on katsina masks such as those of the Da’wac, Di’Wi Di’Wi K’a, Dya’nyi, Hililika, Huic Da’ka, K’a he ck’a, Ocatc, and Wai’oca katsinam, among others (White 1932: figs. 3, 4, 7, 8).

For Cochiti, Lange (1959: 327) noted that the *malinche* in the Buffalo Dance wore atop her head a long “parrot” tail feather placed between two eagle tail feathers. Paired eagle and “parrot tail” feathers also occur on katsina masks of Hīū’sa-pats, Hīū’shta-kats, Ko’chi-nako, Red-Speckled Dancer, Sun-racing, and Wai’yosh katsinam, among others (ibid.: figs. 27e, 29e, 30a, 33c & 33e). In fact, a special feathered bundle comprised of two eagle feathers and a “parrot” tail feather form a separate object that is at times attached to katsina masks (ibid.: fig. 29f).

For Santo Domingo, White (1935: 113) noted that the predominant types of katsina masks usually have “parrot” and eagle feathers attached at the sides. This feather assemblage is depicted on the I-tsa, Ku-uts, Maho’, Na’wic, and Ro’hona katsina masks, among others (ibid.: figs. 12, 23, 24, 25). A wall painting in the house where Cikame-Squash masks are stored depicts katsina masks with the eagle-“parrot” feather assemblage rising from behind the head (ibid.: fig. 16). At Acoma, the eagle and macaw

feather assemblage occurs on the mask of the Tsai'ya Kac Dek' katsina (White 1932: pl. 7). At Santa Ana, eagle and "parrot" feathers are the most common types used to ornament masks (White 1942: 237), with examples evident on the masks of K'ok'ocili, Waioca, and Wai'yac katsinam, among others (ibid.: figs. 15-17). At Nambé, the katsina chief wears the eagle and macaw feather assemblage atop his head as he is led by the mother of the katsinam (Parsons 1929: pl. 15).

Among the western Pueblos, this paired feather assemblage is also present in the dance regalia. One example from Hopi is worn on the side of the head by the Mucaias mana in the Buffalo dance (Fewkes 1903: pl. XXXI). Other examples are depicted on the heads of the Kae katcina (ibid.: pl. XXXVI) and Antelope, Cow, Deer, Kweo, Kuwan, Marao, and Tasap katsinam, among others (Wright 1973: 161, 164-167, 180, 190). Other Hopi katsinam, such as Citoto and Hopiñyû, simply wear a cluster of "parrot" feathers at the back of the head (Fewkes 1903: pls. XXXIV and XLVIII) or a single macaw tail feather (Wright 1973: 172, 173). One katsina carries a painted stick with a pair of eagle feathers and macaw tail feather attached to the end (ibid.: 164). White (1942: 338, fig. 47) noted that at Santa Ana, a set of two eagle tail and two "parrot" (macaw) tail feathers was inserted into a corn corb and placed on the Hunters Society altar. Similar objects, absent the "parrot" tail feathers, are carried by female dancers at Santa Ana in the Histianyi (Flint) Aiyadots dance, performed to lessen the severity of winter (ibid.: 309, 338-339, fig. 36).

The individual use of macaw feathers (often called "parrot feathers") is also an integral component on katsina masks. In one Zuni tradition, the daughter of a Zuni

katsina priest desires “parrot” (macaw) feathers for the dance regalia, stating: “I need parrot feathers because you are a kachina priest, and there can be no dances without parrot feathers” (Benedict 1935: 1: 185). The close relationship between macaw feathers and the katsinam is evident in that “parrot” (macaw) feathers are described as the “clothing” of the Zuni katsinam (ibid.: 184). Furthermore, much as there were likely journeys to Paquimé to retrieve macaw feathers for katsina dances during the Pueblo IV period, the procurers of feathers in the above-described Zuni story travel far to the south into Mexico “where the parrots live” to retrieve feathers from the “parrot people” or “parrot priests” in exchange for prayer meal (ibid.: 184-186). In this story, the location of travel far to the south probably refers to Paquimé. These are but a few of the many examples of the use of paired or individual eagle and macaw feathers that adorn dance regalia, katsina masks, and other ceremonial objects.

In the Southwestern ethnographic literature, these paired feathers are closely tied to solar symbolism. In her study of Zia Pueblo, Stevenson (1894a: 35, fig. 14) described the mask of the sun:

The sun . . . wears the mask which protects him from view of the people of the earth. An eagle plume with a parrot plume on either side, ornaments the top of the mask, and an eagle plume is on either side of the mask and one is at the bottom; the hair around the head and face is red like fire, and when it moves and shakes the people can not look closely at the mask; it is not intended that they should observe closely and thereby know that instead of seeing the sun they see only his mask; the heavy line encircling the mask is yellow, and indicates rain.

Thus, along with eagle and macaw feathers, red hair (or fringe) encompasses the head and face of the sun.

In fact, red fringe is prevalent in many depictions and descriptions of solar objects. In describing the Hopi Flute standard, said to represent the Sun rising in the east from Flower Mound, Stephen (1936: 791) described the meaning of red fringe attached to the standard: “. . . the red hair fringe, rays of the sun just as it emerges.” On the head of the *oshasha* katsina at Jemez, the face of the sun is portrayed surrounded by red yarn (Dumarest 1919: 178, 180, fig. 22c). At Jemez, the Sun-on-top-of-head (Pehehmiyoe‘) katsina bears a depiction of a solar disc atop the head that is surrounded by red fringe (Parsons 1925: pl. 13b). A painting by Dario Chevarillo of San Felipe Pueblo (in Brody 1997: pl. 52) depicts a female dancer who wears a large sun shield on her back that is comprised of a sun face encircled by a band of red color and a circular spray of white feathers with black tips, presumably eagle feathers. From the top of the shield arises two reddish-colored feathers suggestive of macaw feathers.

Paintings by Fred Kabotie reveal that a similar sun shield assemblage, complete with eagle feathers, red fringe, and a cluster of variegated blue, yellow, and red feathers placed at the top, is constructed for the Hopi Buffalo dance (in Brody 1997: pls. 43, 54). Fewkes’s (1903: 138-139, pl. XXXVIII) illustration of the Sun god Tawa depicts his face surrounded by a circle of eagle feathers girt with a fringe of red horsehair. Wright (1973: 124) noted that another name of Tawa katsina was Sun Shield Kachina, thus implying that Tawa might represent the visible shield or mask of the sun. The female Buffalo dancer at Hopi also wears a large sun disk upon her back with the sun’s face surrounded by eagle feathers and a fringe of red-stained horsehair (ibid.: 124-126, pl. XXXI). Fewkes

(1900c: 998, pl. LX) also described and illustrated the large sun shield worn on the back of a Flute priest as having a face surrounded by eagle feathers and red-stained horsehair.

These examples clearly indicate that the use of red fringe around the eagle-feathered face of the Sun is a very important ornamentation that can provide clues to the meaning of red fringe in conjunction with the radiating eagle and macaw feather assemblage in Pueblo IV kiva mural scenes and rock art. These design elements are closely tied to a solar symbolic complex that permeates Puebloan cosmology and crosscuts themes of warfare and katsina ceremonialism, both of which are interlinked and symbolically tied to rain making and fertility.

In fact, the simple appearance of paired eagle and macaw feathers on dance regalia or in kiva murals, now and in the past, may well be a ritually potent shorthand representation that signifies the sun. While the eagle feathers placed around solar disks may represent the visible sun shield, the macaw feathers likely allude to the presence of the underlying power and creative life-force of the Sun Youth that is hidden within or behind the visible sun mask. This perception appears clearly in Cochiti traditions which indicate that the “Sun-Man” Payatamu hides behind the sun disk and illuminates the world as it travels across the sky (Dumarest 1919: 209). This concept is also evident in a Zuni hide-and-seek tale that describes Payatamu as wearing a macaw headdress as he hides behind the Sun, where he “sat with the Sun, sat behind his back” (Tedlock 1999: 131-132). For Hopi, Stephen (1929: 19, fn. 1) reported that the duties of carrying the shield across the sky rotates between the Sun Youth Taiowa and the Sun Tawa. A similar distinction between the Sun and the Sun Youth Taiowa (Payatamu) is evident for the

Hopi where a dual prayer stick made with images of both the Sun and the Sun Youth Taiowa is said to have been originally used at Palatkwapi, the legendary place of origin in the far south (Stephen 1936: 54, 56, fn. 2 and fig. 37c).

As we are discussing the origin of eagle feather symbolism in relation to Hopi solar worship from far to the south, it is worth noting Fewkes's (1897c: 3, fn. 2) observation that the Hopi word for eagle, or *kwahu*, is strikingly similar to the Nahuatl word for eagle, *cuāhu* or *cuāuh* (Bierhorst 1985b: 101), although it should be pointed out that both are words within the larger Uto-Aztecan language family. Notably, however, the Kwakwantû (Eagle-Agave) society is closely connected to plumed serpent worship brought by the southern Palatkwapi clans to the Hopi Mesas (Fewkes 1902: 30). The locus of origin of these clans was originally thought by Fewkes (*ibid.*: 30, fn. 2) to be in northern Mexico or southern Arizona. A brief description of these eagle-related rites are worthy of note.

In certain ceremonies, the Kwakwantû priests wear a tablet on their back said to represent the sun and carry small slats of wood called *moñkohus* ("chief sticks") that are carved into the form of horned serpents said to represent the plumed serpent Paalölöqangw (Fewkes 1899a: 274, fn. 1; 1902: 30; Fewkes and Stephen 1892b: pl. II, figs. 1-4). Fewkes (1899a: 274, fn. 1) cautioned that these *moñkohus* should not be mistaken for the *moñkohus* carried by other societies. Aside from these small horned and plumed serpent effigies, the chief of the Kwakwantû is said to carry a massive club with an effigy of the plumed serpent Paalölöqangw (*ibid.*). Clubs made of very light agave stalks, roughly three to four feet in length and 4-6 inches in diameter, were carried by the

Kwakwantû priests (Fewkes and Stephen 1892b: 202). One agave stalk mentioned was ten feet long (*ibid.*). Elsewhere, Fewkes (1906: 355) indicated that the agave stalk was also said to represent the plumed serpent. Both the Kwakwantû and the Plumed Serpent worship are said to originate with clans from very far to the south, probably in Mesoamerica. A discussion of the origin of horned and plumed serpent ceremonialism in the Southwest was addressed in Chapter 3.

Essentially, the point of this brief discussion of eagle-related ceremonialism among the Hopi is that it appears to be closely related to Plumed Serpent rites brought by migrating clans from far to the south, an era that other scholars estimated to have occurred around AD 1200 to AD 1300. This period predates the florescence of eagle feather-related rites and symbolic motifs that began to appear in parts of the Southwest with the associated rise of religious beliefs centered upon katsinam and the Sun Youth.

As the Sun Youth is ultimately a deity of Mesoamerican origin, it is worth noting that the concept of a seemingly interrelated association between the visible Sun mask or shield and the invisible life-giving force within the sun in the Southwest likely existed much earlier in time in Mesoamerica, perhaps dating to the onset of the Early Postclassic (ca. AD 900), if not earlier. Taube (1994: 224) noted that, aside from the large solar disk in which he is situated, one of the common traits of the Early Postclassic solar deity is an eagle feather headdress, often depicted simply as a pair of eagle feathers. This convention appears in Maya and Toltec-style solar deities situated inside sun disks at Chichén Itzá (*ibid.*: figs. 17a, 17b) and also on a solar deity in a sun disk portrayed in Toltec-style rock art from Ixtapantongo in the State of Mexico (*ibid.*: fig. 15a). This association between

eagle feathers and the Sun continued with renderings of the sun disk-bearing Late Postclassic solar deity Tonatiuh in highland Central Mexico, as portrayed in the *Codex Borgia* and the *Codex Laud* (ibid.: figs. 17c-e).

Considering that Xochipilli is believed to have existed in the Toltec pantheon and that he continued to be widely important in Late Postclassic highland Central Mexico, particularly in the Mixtec-Eastern Nahuatl-Zapotec regions, it is probable that his relationship to Tonatiuh was much the same as that which is argued for between the Sun and the Sun Youth in the Southwest. Xochipilli in Mesoamerica probably was the largely invisible life-giving force and the creative spirit of dawn that was hidden within or behind the visible solar disk of the eagle-feathered visage of Tonatiuh.

These strikingly similar ideas shared in the American Southwest appear not to have been independent innovations but likely were transmitted northward from Mesoamerica into the American Southwest along with the Flower World complex of the Sun Youth during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV transition. In sum, eagle and macaw feather symbolism appeared in the material culture of the American Southwest during a period of intense social change that saw the adoption of Sun Youth worship across the region. As these feathers are closely related to the sun, it stands to reason that their late appearance was a reflection of this new solar worship. The pairing of these feathers was, and remains, related to two key aspects, namely, the invisible life-giving power that resides within the sun as well as the visible aspect or mask of the sun seen in the sky each day.

The Road of the Sun in Winter and Summer

As the maintenance and proper care of the road of the Sun is a duty of major importance among Pueblo people of the American Southwest, it is worth considering how his pathway is perceived both during the winter half of the year and the summer half of the year. Elsewhere, I examined the symbolic parallels between the playing of notched musical rasps and the grinding of corn on a metate (see Chapters 2 and 4). Southwestern ethnographic data clearly indicate that both of these activities are equivalent in that each represents a microcosmic replication of the travel and arrival of the Sun Youth on his stepped pathway across the sky. Songs, stories, and symbolism further indicate that cloud and rain symbolism are closely related to these activities in that, much as grinding on a metate produces falling corn granules as symbolic rain, so too does the playing of a musical rasp symbolically produce the build-up of clouds and rain (see Chapters 2 and 4). Thus, on a grand cosmic scale, as the Sun Youth “grinds” his way across the sky on his stepped pathway, he symbolically produces the build-up of rain-bearing clouds.

While most of the ethnographic data might suggest that this concept is only related to the production of rain during the warm growing season, given the emphasis of duality in Puebloan cosmology there remains the probability that this concept is also represented in opposing form during the cold winter season. In other words, much as the Sun traverses his stepped pathway during the warm season with the resultant production of rains for the growth of crops, it is probable that his traversal of his stepped pathway during the cold winter season also produces moisture in the form of snow-bearing clouds, ice, and freezing rains. The perception that people or other beings rasp or grind for winter

moisture is evident for the Hopi Nuvak'chin Mana (Snow Maiden), a katsina with snow-white colored hair who plays a notched musical rasp. The Snow Maiden “. . . is an additional prayer for the coming cold weather—the hope that snow may fall and fill the ground with moisture for the coming year” (Wright 1973: 213). Notably, in the illustration provided by Wright (*ibid.*), the tip of the Snow Maiden's rasp terminates in a terraced cloud symbol, which suggests that the movement of the scapula across the notched rasp produces cold-related moisture. The “war track” markings on her cheek (*ibid.*) suggest that, as a cold-related being, she is a symbolic “warrior”, or harbinger, of the winter season.

Much like for the Hopi Snow Maiden, Tewa stories also suggest that grinding on a metate can yield cold-weather moisture and related meteorological phenomena. In one Tewa tale, Pokekwiya (Pour-water Woman), said to be the mother of all katsinam (Parsons 1926: 199, fn. 3), on various occasions instructed Cactus Flower girl to grind corn, only to surreptitiously place large chunks of ice upon her metate instead of corn seeds (*ibid.*: 199-206). With the secret help of Spider Grandmother's medicine, the ice was partially melted and Cactus Flower girl ground the icy water until it filled four water jars. These four water jars may hold directional significance. On one of these occasions, Pour-water Woman returned and commended the completed grinding task saying, “I am so happy you have been grinding. The water you have ground is for you and for all of the people on earth. It is rain” (*ibid.*: 201). In this tale, the act of grinding the ice appears to have the effect of producing cold weather, winds, and snows. For instance, on the evening after completion of a separate episode of ice-grinding, Pour-water Woman

returned in the morning thinking to herself, “The wind was blowing all night. Everything was frozen” (ibid.: 202). On the following night after Cactus Flower girl completed her ice-grinding, Pour-water Woman “. . . [s]oon...heard sounds. It was a heavy wind storm, a heavy snow storm. It snowed all night. All night the wind blew” (ibid.: 202).

Although this tale is esoteric in detail, the point that should be emphasized is that much as corn grinding and rasping yields symbolic rain in the summer months, so too does grinding of corn or “ice” in the winter months yield icy water, cold winds, and abundant snow. Similarly, among the Zuni, the downward rasping of notched sticks during the ‘Hle’wekwe, a war-related ceremony, is said to result in the cold rains and snows that fall to the Earth Mother in preparation for her being embraced by the Sun Father (Stevenson 1904: 479). Thus, much as the symbolic “grinding” of the Sun across his stepped celestial pathway in the warm summer months produces fertilizing gentle rains and a flowering earth, so too does his travels on his stepped pathway in the cold winter months yield fertilizing snows, winds, and icy waters for the future growth of vegetation.

Origin of Katsina Ceremonialism in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest

Scholars have generally agreed that among the earliest and most common depictions of anthropomorphic katsina figures are those with distinctive toothed mouths (Cole 1989: 327; Hays 1989: 300; 2000; Schaafsma 2000b: 64). Hays (2000: 51, 53) noted that early depictions of katsina-like figures in the Mimbres region have the small toothed mouths (**Fig. 11.7a**), often rectangular, found in “typical” katsina depictions in

the fourteenth century. Other early katsina-like images, ones with toothed mouths, appear on a Reserve/Tularosa style jar sherd in the St. Johns area of Arizona (ibid.: 54). While the Reserve/Tularosa style of pottery developed along the Mogollon Rim region in the AD 1100s, these particular jar forms with the katsina faces are thought to date to the mid- to late-AD 1200s (ibid.). Notably, the Hopi Sun katsina, called Tawa, is frequently depicted as a sun disk on historic Hopi pottery, but he makes his first appearance (at times with a toothed rectangular mouth) on ceramics as early as the AD 1300's (ibid.: 50, 60, fig. 1). This suggests that the spread of early katsina ceremonialism likely includes important aspects of sun ceremonialism.

In a discussion earlier in the present chapter, I alluded to the idea that the Sun Youth Taiowa (Payatamu) among the Hopi probably represents an aspect of the Hopi solar deity Tawa in that he is the invisible life-giving force that resides within or behind the visible mask or sun shield that is evident in the sky. This concept would appear to be similar to Cochiti perspectives that Dumarest (1919: 209) noted: "The sun was made by *uretsete* [Utset]. It is a disc of shells behind which is hidden *payatyama*, Sun-man, who illumines the world in his flight through space." In other words, the sun that people see in the sky is a mask, behind or within which is hidden the Sun Youth, the invisible and creative force of life. Thus, the appearance of the solar disk of Tawa in the early-fourteenth-century ceramics of the Hopi region suggests the coexistence of the largely invisible Sun Youth Taiowa (Payatamu) by this time as well.

Among the earliest appearance of katsina masks that appear are those that occur at the onset of the Pueblo IV period in the Homol'ovi cluster of pueblos, primarily at the

largest of sites, along the Little Colorado River drainage by AD 1300 or slightly earlier (Hays 1989: 300, 305). Importantly, both Hopi and Zuni consultants identified these masked figures as katsinam (ibid.: 297). During this era in the Homol'ovi cluster, these toothed figures appear on such ceramic wares as Fourmile Polychromes, Homol'ovi polychromes, Jeddito Black-on-Yellow wares and other ceramic types, and on painted stone slabs from this region (ibid.: figs. 2d, 3d, 4a, 5e).

Hays (2000: 55) indicated that in the fourteenth century in the upper Little Colorado region, the most frequent examples of katsina images appear on Fourmile Polychromes between AD 1325 and AD 1400. One katsina face on a Fourmile polychrome jar from Homol'ovi I (Hays 1989: 302, fig. 3a) bears a suture-style mouth that is also found on Casas Grandes katsina-like figures (see **Fig. 11.7g**). In Chapter 10, I argued that thematic motifs on Fourmile Polychrome begin to include elements of the Flower World complex emanating from the Casas Grandes region. Thus, the first appearance of these katsina images may suggest a linkage between the apparently parallel appearance of both the katsina complex and the spread of the Flower World complex.

It should be noted that the number of known cases of mask symbolism in the Homol'ovi region is rather limited. In her study of Homol'ovi masks over 20 years ago, Hays (1989: 298) noted: "The katsina figures discussed and depicted here are an inventory of all known examples with a Homol'ovi provenience." Significantly, her depictions of possible katsina figures numbered no more than roughly two dozen images. Cole's (1992: 66) later study of katsina imagery argued for a total of 89 mask and katsina depictions that are present in 17 rock art sites in the Homol'ovi region. However, many

of these are very simple in design and some are disputable in their identification as katsinam. Schaafsma (2000b: 76) tallied a total of 67 masks at Homol'ovi II. In regions south of Homol'ovi, such as at Point of Pines in east-central/southeastern Arizona, painted fourteenth- to fifteenth-century sandstone slabs with toothed katsina faces were recovered (**Fig. 10.7d**), one of which is accompanied by a probable dragonfly above the head (Di Peso 1950). Prior to about AD 1300, masked figures are absent in the iconography of the Homol'ovi region and in the larger western Colorado Plateau (Hays 1989: 305).

Notably, the appearance of katsina masks and ceremonialism in the Homol'ovi region also coincided with the transition to plaza-oriented pueblos and the influx of a suite of objects, icons, and ritual behavior from northern Mexico, including sacrificed macaws, copper bells, *Nassarius* shell jewelry, and Hopi-made macaw effigy vessels (Adams and Lamotta 2006:61). As Adams (1991a: 132) noted, "Mexican beliefs, however filtered through Casas Grandes, did contribute to what eventually evolved into the kachina cult." The influx of katsina imagery to the Homol'ovi cluster by AD 1300 also coincides with the appearance of waves of southern Palatkwapi-clan immigrants during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, according to Hopi oral traditions (see Bernardini 2005: 36-37). Given the conclusion that a number of Palatkwapi clan-controlled ceremonies are largely focused upon the Sun Youth and Flower World complex and is closely linked to the northern Mexican Casas Grandes region (see Chapter 12; Mathiowetz 2010a), these northern Mexican influences in the Homol'ovi

region suggest that a nascent form of katsina ceremonialism might also have been present in the Casas Grandes region.

In contrast to the interpretation of the Homol'ovi data, Schaafsma (1999, 2000b; Schaafsma and Schaafsma 1974) argued that beginning in the early-AD 1300s, the Rio Grande region, in contact with the Jornada Mogollon region to the south, also saw a florescence of katsina imagery, albeit on a much more complex scale, diversity, and number (**Figs. 11.7b-11.7c**). In her (Schaafsma 2000b: 64-65) estimation, Southwestern masking traditions represented a major ideological shift that had its origin in a Mimbres-Jornada-Rio Grande continuum. That is, while Schaafsma (*ibid.*) acknowledged that katsina symbolism became widespread across the Pueblo World in the AD 1300s, her position maintained that the Rio Grande region was a central locus for the elaboration of thousands of masked and ceremonial figures, animals, cloud designs, and horned serpents that developed out of earlier traditions present in the southern Southwest, west Texas, and northern Chihuahua, Mexico.

The onset of a “distinctive ideological tradition” that became initially evident in Mimbres (ca. AD 1000-1150) pottery and Jornada Mogollon (ca. AD 1100- 1400) rock art, but which also took form in the Casas Grandes region, signaled a precedent to the major iconographic and religious changes that occurred later in the Rio Grande region (*ibid.*). Likewise, in terms of katsina depictions, Hays (2000: 53-54) noted: “There is probably some kind of historical connection between the Mimbres ceramics, Jornada rock art, Casas Grandes ceramics, and the Pueblo kachina depictions because so many formal

features are shared.” Hays (*ibid.*: 54) further suggested that these resemblances may indicate:

. . . that the earlier and more distant Mimbres and Casas Grandes images inspired the forms of many Pueblo kachinas, that the general meanings and symbolic associations of some kachinas were borrowed with their forms, or even that an entire complex of religious practice was imported to the Pueblo region and adapted to local needs.

As katsina ceremonialism was especially elaborate in the Rio Grande region after AD 1300, Schaafsma (2000b: 68-69) gave special attention to examples of masked figures with small rectangular toothed mouths. These figures represent among the earliest depictions of masked katsina-like figures and make their earliest, but still rare, appearance in examples from the Mimbres region before AD 1150. Following the Mimbres tradition:

Masks with small toothed mouths are also occasional motifs on Escondida, Villa Ahumada, and Ramos Polychrome from Casas Grandes . . . A brief reconnaissance of the rock art in the vicinity of Casas Grandes indicates that this region is an integral part of this ideological interaction sphere . . . (*ibid.*: 69).

In agreement with other scholars, I believe that these figures with small-toothed mouths may well represent the initial horizon of katsina ceremonialism that first becomes evident in the Mimbres region, thereafter in the culturally connected Jornada Mogollon and Casas Grandes region, with evidence then appearing sporadically in different areas in both the Western and Eastern pueblos in the following years. Essentially, this development mirrors the evidence we have for the initial appearance and development of the Flower World complex across the Southwest and northern Mexico.

If it is the case that the Casas Grandes culture played an integral role in the development of katsina ceremonialism and attendant conceptual metaphors centered upon clouds and rain-making, likely in conjunction with Sun Youth ceremonialism, an examination of Casas Grandes material culture, ritual, and symbolism should reveal analogues to katsina ideology within the Casas Grandes symbolic repertoire. In fact, such ideas and metaphors permeate the Casas Grandes Flower World to a much greater degree than previously recognized. I have already discussed the close relationship between ritual smoking in the Casas Grandes region to the breath soul and the production of rain and clouds as evidence for the presence of some form of katsina-related rain ceremonialism. Other evidence in the symbolism and in specific vessel forms strengthen the argument that a nascent form of katsina rain rituals existed in the Casas Grandes region and formed the basis for the adoption of these ideas across the Southwest during the Pueblo IV period.

The presence of toothed katsina-like figures has long been noted in the Casas Grandes region, but little discussed. As noted above, Schaafsma (1994: 69) indicated that toothed figures occur on a variety of Chihuahuan polychromes (see Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 237, 268, 274, 285, 310). Characteristics of some of these Chihuahuan figures that are shared with those in Arizona and New Mexico (**Figs. 11.7d-11.7e**) include a rectangular or hourglass-shaped “block” design between the eyes (likely a nose), toothed rectangular mouths, and almond-shaped eyes (**Figs. 11.7f-11.7j, 11.8a-11.8b**). Some Casas Grandes examples include depictions of katsina-headed serpents, where the head of a toothed human figure is placed on a serpentine body (**Fig. 11.7i**). Other examples include a

macaw-headed plumed serpent with a toothed katsina-like face forming the tail (**Fig. 11.7j**). The placement of katsina rain spirits on the body of a serpent, more specifically the plumed serpent, may have been intended to express the idea that in Casas Grandes cosmology, the plumed serpent was the vehicle that facilitated the arrival of katsina rain and cloud spirits.

While limited examples of the horned and plumed serpent are known from earlier Mimbres symbolism, in the American Southwest and Northern Mexico the concept and depiction of cloud and rain spirits, or closely related beings, on the body of the plumed serpent is first expressed in Casas Grandes symbolism. As other scholars have pointed out, this idea is expressed in later Southwestern ceramic symbolism, rock art, kiva murals, and ritual puppetry where horned and plumed serpents often have cloud-terraces atop the body and tails, droplets of water placed at or spewing from the mouth, or other symbolism and ceremonialism strongly evocative of an affiliation with a water, clouds, lightning, and a wind-related ideology (see Schaafsma and Taube 2006: 265-273; Taube 2001: 116-117). As there are simply no antecedents for this cosmological paradigm in the American Southwest, I agree with the assessments of other scholars (e.g., Schaafsma 2001) in stating that this ritual complex involving the horned and plumed serpent as a vehicle for returning cloud spirits is undoubtedly derived from conceptually identical ideas expressed far to the south in the Mesoamerican Quetzalcoatl complex, the plumed serpent who serves as the road of breath and wind for the arrival of the rain gods.

Other Casas Grandes toothed figures are shown in a figural position that is strongly suggestive of dance (**Figs. 11.9a-11.9c**). With one arm above the head and one

arm pointing down, these images are similar in position to other Casas Grandes figures who I have interpreted as being engaged in the act of dancing. In fact, the identification of this posture as a dance position and as a position of supernatural flight has been established as far back as the Late Preclassic and Classic Maya and the Olmec in Mesoamerica (Taube 2009). In the Casas Grandes region, these dancing beings include a figure wearing pendant feathers upon the arms (**Fig. 11.9d**) and, perhaps most notably, includes all of the Casas Grandes macaw-headed figures that have been interpreted by the author as representing the young sun god dancing out of the underworld at dawn (see Chapter 2). Likewise, these Casas Grandes toothed katsina-like figures, portrayed in a unique dance-like figural position, may well be dancing out of the underworld having just been awoken by the Casas Grandes Sun Youth at dawn. This concept is akin to that of the emerging Sun Youth who awakens the directional cloud spirits at dawn in contemporary Puebloan ceremonialism.

While some of these toothed figures are portrayed on a smaller scale as isolated faces on ceramics, others are portrayed as large, oversized faces on the sides of Casas Grandes jars (**Figs. 11.8a-11.8b**), or on a specially formed effigy “head” on jars, much as if the jar itself was a personified anthropomorphic figure (**Figs. 11.8c-11.8d**). In fact, one of the more unique vessel forms in the Casas Grandes ceramic corpus are anthropomorphic effigy jars. In my estimation, Casas Grandes effigy jars are important to our identification and understanding of a katsina-related ideology in this region.

It should be noted that effigy vessels in the Southwest prior to Paquimé are sparse. Room 25 at Pueblo Bonito held several fragments of animal effigies (Pepper

1920: 100). In Room 38 of Pueblo Bonito at Chaco Canyon, Pepper (ibid: 192) reported fragments from a single human effigy jar. The rarity of effigy vessels led Pepper (ibid.) to conclude: “The Pueblo country has furnished but few such objects for comparison”. One Mancos Black-on-white (AD 950-1150) effigy vessel of a seated male is known from the Mesa Verde area (Townsend 2005a: pl. 64). Moulard (2002: pls. 14-15, 18, 30, 31) illustrated five black-on-white Cibola White Ware animal effigies from the Schenck collection, but noted that these effigies are rare when considered in the larger collection of material culture (ibid.: 59). A Puerco Black-on-Red ware (ca AD 1000-1200) effigy pitcher portrays a possible frog or other animal (ibid.: pl. 16). A Rio Grande White Ware effigy vessel (ca. AD 950-1400) also is known from this collection (ibid.: pl. 19).

For the Mimbres region, Fewkes (1914: 23) noted: “No effigy jar, or animal formed vase, however, exists in any collections from the Mimbres examined by the author.” This statement reveals the scarcity of such vessels in the Mimbres region and material culture. However, Di Peso’s excavation at the Mimbres Mogollon Wind Mountain site in southwest New Mexico revealed a single hollow-bodied animal effigy vessel (in Woosley and McIntyre 1996: 195-196, fig. 6.50). Excavations at the Mimbres-related Swarts Ruin revealed four whole animal effigies plus a few other effigy fragments and led the excavators to conclude: “Black-on-white Mimbres effigy jars are extremely rare” (Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: 75). While pointing out that bowls are the most common form of Mimbres ceramics, Brody (1977: 131-136, figs. 66-70) noted that some “odd shapes” of vessels, such as effigy forms, do exist but that “none are plentiful.” Of

the effigies recovered, human effigies are the rarest form in the Mimbres ceramic corpus and are often only known from fragments.

In contrast, the Casas Grandes ceramic repertoire includes the greatest number of effigy wares from the American Southwest and northern Mexico (**Figs. 11.8c-11.8d, 11.12a-11.12d, 11.13a-11.13d, 11.14a-11.14d, 11.15a-11.15d, 11.16a-11.16d**). Kidder (1916: 256) noted that effigy jars comprised roughly ten percent of the Casas Grandes corpus, a higher ratio than any other Southwestern ceramic tradition. Aside from vessels with appliquéd animal figures, his classification of effigy jars included “true effigies”, or those vessels whose entire shape was modeled into the form of a human being or animal, and “hooded effigies”, or standard jar forms where a “hood” in the form of a human, animal, or bird face or head was added to the rim (ibid.: 256-259).

Casas Grandes effigy vessels often take the form of human males and females, a number of terrestrial and aquatic birds including macaws, quail, owls, and ducks, and animals such as fish, turtles, badgers, horned toads, lizards, and mountain sheep, among other unidentified creatures (VanPool 2003b: 89). With regard to the human effigies, the manner of characterizing an individual’s features and regalia is very distinctive for each vessel so as to suggest that these human effigies may well have been intended to characterize actual Casas Grandes people or ancestors (see VanPool 2003b: 297). In other words, these human effigies may represent personified ancestral figures whereby the vessel itself is the symbolic body of the ancestor. The significance of this observation is discussed below.

Aside from the Casas Grandes culture, animal effigies such as owls, scarlet macaws, and other unidentified birds are known on Salado ceramics (Moulard 2002: pls. 56-59, 62) and bird effigies in Fourmile Polychromes (ibid.: pl. 70). While Crown (1994: 8, 123) asserted that in Salado ceramic assemblages there exist “many” polychrome effigy vessels, the sample of 779 Salado polychromes used in her study only included 15 effigies (11 birds, 1 mammal, and 3 humans).

While the list of human and animal effigies in the Southwest described above is by no means exhaustive or representative of all the regions where effigies are found (see Crown 1994: 126; Kenagy 1986: 319-352), it should be clear that in many areas the presence of effigies is comparably sparse when contrasted with those of the Casas Grandes region. It would appear that the abundance of Casas Grandes effigies represents a more integral, institutionalized, and highly refined component of Casas Grandes religion that is markedly different than ideas that were present or widespread in other effigies in the larger region before AD 1200.

The human and animal effigy ceramics produced in abundance in the Casas Grandes culture may well have been used in the same manner proposed by Fewkes (1904a: 109) for later Southwestern ceremonies. He (ibid.) stated that Hopi bird effigy figures are substitutes for actual species of birds and are “forms of prayer by signatures”. In other words, much as certain bird feathers are used in rituals and regalia to invoke a certain desired outcome, so too would the use of animal effigy vessels in ceremonies invoke certain ritual qualities or rain-making abilities of the particular animal depicted. As described below, the elaborated use of human and animal effigies most intensively in

Casas Grandes religion was likely a precursor of water-bringing rites of contemporary human and animal katsinam in the Southwest. Thus, the conceptual metaphors related to rain-making that underlie this incorporation of animals and effigies are essentially identical in Casas Grandes and Puebloan religion, but it is only in the physical expression of these metaphors in effigy vessels that is superficially different.

Ethnographic accounts from the American Southwest demonstrate that pottery vessels are often viewed as containers laden with layers of metaphors and symbolism associated with many types of moisture, including rain and lightning, clouds, and snow (Schaafsma 2002:56-59; Schaafsma and Taube 2006: 251-255). Pueblo IV-period rock art and kiva murals from the Rio Grande region bear depictions of jars and canteens with rain water emerging forth from the vessel along with emergent lightning bolts connected to clouds (Schaafsma and Taube 2006: fig 13).

Water-pouring rites from jars are important Puebloan mimetic rituals closely connected to katsina rain ceremonialism, as one Hopi account attests, “At the end, uncounted vessels had been filled, and the resulting supply of water was tremendous. The kachinas would carry this water to the Hopiland to produce rain . . .” (Malotki and Lomatuway’ma 1987: 47). A Zuni account indicated that the rain-bringing ancestors “. . . collect water in vases and gourd jugs from the six great waters of the world, and pass to and fro over the middle plane, protected from view of the people below by cloud masks, the clouds being produced by smoke” (Stevenson 1894b: 315). Among the Tewa, the clouds “. . . are the masks behind which the rain makers pour water from water vases or gourd jugs . . .” (Stevenson n.d.: Box 1). Similarly, among the Zuni (Stevenson 1904:

21) the *u'wannami* (rain-makers) pour water that is held in vases and gourd jugs through their cloud masks.

For the Tewa, water-pouring rights have a strong dualistic component tied to warm and cold weather moisture, as Ortiz (1969: 107) described it:

Four days after the Summer chief initiates “Bringing the buds to life,” he conducts the infant water giving ritual . . . eight to twelve days after that the water pouring and finishing rituals are held, at which time the “warm” gods appear in the kiva. After this and only after this may the specifically agricultural rites follow. The analogous flurry of ritual activities follows within the Winter moiety and the Winter chief initiates the work . . .

This account clarifies that water-pouring rites and rain-making have clear dualistic warm and cold components tied to the changing seasons.

Contemporary rain ceremonials performed among a number of Pueblo people continue to incorporate the use of water vessels as highly potent, symbolic bringers/containers of rain (Schaafsma 2002; Schaafsma and Taube 2006: 252). In one Zuni tale, the Earth took a great terraced bowl containing water, spat into it, beat the liquid into froth until foam rose up high like the froth of the soapweed plant, and sprayed “white clouds” down around the bowl so that “my children may drink the waters of life” (Cushing 1920: 347-348). The perception of ceramic vessels as water-filled, womb-like containers is lent more significance in other contemporary Puebloan rites of fertility. Cushing (ibid.: 385-386) described a musical grinding party in which a young man played a long flute, tipped with a mouth comprised of a half-gourd with pendant feathers, that was placed above a sacred medicine bowl of water (**Fig. 11.10a**) such that “. . . the water in the resonous vessel responded to every breath with a melodious ripple and ring.” The playing of Payatamu’s flute over the medicine bowl recalls the Zuni tale of

Payatamu's mist-filled Cavern of the Rainbow in which ". . . the music shrieked and pealed in softly surging unison . . . and the mists played over the medicine bowl around which the musicians were gathered, until the rainbow fluttered his bright garments among the painted flutes" (ibid.: 40).

This rain and moisture-producing act is likely replicated on other occasions, such as the summer flute ceremony of the Hopi at Sun Spring (*Tawápa*), where flutes are played in the center of the spring pool in order to create surface bubbles (Stephen 1936: 815; Taube 2001: 119). In this ceremony, the flute, first held out to the sun, is blown into the pool just as the sinking sun plunges into the earth (Stephen 1936: 815). The ceremony performed at this time may well reflect the larger concept in which the sun, with his phallic flute, is perceived as symbolically copulating with the earth, the result of which is the production of clouds.

Similar cloud-making rites are present among the Zia (White 1962: 233, fig. 27d) and in Zuni initiations of the Shu'maakwe fraternity during which the deputy of the *a'kwamosi* (maker of the medicine water) uses a reed, likely a phallic symbol, to rapidly whip bits of yucca root into a froth within a "cloud bowl" (Stevenson 1904: 538). The overflowing froth is scooped up and thrown around the room and upon the altar (ibid.: 539), much like the dissemination of clouds to the four corners. After this, in a continued act of cloud-making, the *a'kwamosi* inhales from a reed cigarette, bends over the bowl, places his mouth close to the water, and breathes smoke across the surface (ibid.). As the medicine bowl, much like the larger spring, is perceived as the womb-like "emblem of the Earth" (Cushing 1920: 24-25), and the floral flutes of Payatamu are laden with phallic

symbolism, the playing of the flutes above the water and mist-filled vessel, much like the phallus above the vagina, and the subsequent bubbling and frothing, is clearly akin to an act of cosmic coitus and the impregnation of the womb of the Earth by the Sun.

This symbolic copulation is evident in a Tewa musical grinding party song, “Sun father, let your light and warmth embrace our earth mother that she may be made fruitful” (Stevenson n.d.: Box 3). In describing the birth of the Hero Twins, Zuni tradition indicated a similar impregnation of the Earth by the Sun: “Then did the Sun-father take counsel with himself, and casting his glance downward espied, on the great waters, a Foam-cap near to his Earth-mother. With his beam he impregnated and with his heat incubated the Foam-cap, whereupon she gave birth . . .” (Cushing 1896: 381).

A similar concept is expressed in a Tewa emergence story whereby the newly emerged people were instructed not to be afraid of the brilliant sun, “Be not afraid of your Sun father who gives you light and warmth and brings forth from your Earth mother the fruits of her being.” (Stevenson n.d.: Box 1). Ortiz (1972: 144) clarified that these concepts in the Pueblo world are closely related to the Sun Youth:

The sun is everywhere the father and primary fertilizing agent in the cosmos while the earth is the mother. Having separated the two long ago in myth, all the Pueblos devote endless myth cycles to bringing them back together again, through their sun youth symbolism or by other means.

On a smaller scale, this grand cosmological drama is replicated in individual acts of intercourse by males and females each day, with the foam-like mixture created by friction and the combined female fluids and male fluids during this sexual act apparently likened to the creation of foamy clouds that bear the waters of life. That copulation is related to cloud-making is evident in a Hopi petroglyph described and depicted by Fewkes (1892a:

20, pl. 2, no.2) that is comprised of a set of male and female sexual organs surmounted by a cloud terrace.

The idea that the floral, phallic flutes are said to impregnate the earth or make women sexually aroused may well be depicted in rock art from a site in Catron County in west-central New Mexico and from La Cieneguilla, near Santa Fe (**Figs. 11.10b-11.10c**). These images depict maidens, some in an apparent position of copulation, accompanied by flute players with erect phalli. In one of the particularly graphic images from La Cieneguilla, the flute is positioned directly in front of the maiden's vagina (Hays-Gilpin 2002: 10.7a-c). A Pueblo IV-period image of a copulating maiden and phallic flute player was also reported in rock art from the Tewa Basin (www.tbarp.org [figure 3], accessed July 31, 2010).

These images of maidens and flute players might also refer to the mythological episode reported by Cushing (1896: 435-447) at Zuni where the overzealous flute players of the Sun Youth Payatamu coveted the Corn Maidens, thereafter driving them away from the pueblo only to be subsequently retrieved by him. Alternately, these scenes in the rock art may also refer to the general role of the male Sun (with his phallic flute) in fertilizing the female earth. These reproductive acts in the natural, cosmic, and symbolic realms demonstrate that the act of sexual intercourse is related to symbolic cloud-making and closely involves the fertilizing combination of the solar-related phallus (male) and the watery womb of the earth (female).

Puebloan people often view pots as living beings imbued with a spirit (VanPool and Newsome 2009). According to Cushing (1920: 240-241; see Schaafsma 2002: 57)

Zuni women consider that vessels, as “Made Beings”, are containers of life that have “breath” and a conscious personal existence. He (Cushing 1920: 241) further noted, “Water contains the source of continued life. The vessel holds the water; the source of life accompanies the water; hence its dwelling place is in the vessel with the water.” Stevenson (1904: 21) noted that the water held in Zuni vases “. . . symbolizes the life, or soul, of the vase”. These vessels are essentially metaphors for landscape features such as caves that serve as points of contact to the water-filled Underworld. As Schaafsma (2002: 57) pointed out, “This life-giving water, the spiritual source of all life, derives from the land of the dead, the realm of the kachinas.” It is for this reason that the masked katsina rain-spirits, ancestral beings who return as rain, mist, and clouds from the Underworld via watery portals such as lakes, springs, caves, and other sources of water, are conflated with bowls of water (ibid.). These living or personified water-filled bowls represent the katsina rain-spirits that rise from the place of emergence in the womb of the earth (ibid.: 56-58).

The inextricable connection between the Sun Youth and the katsina rain spirits is clear, as it is apparent that the heat of the rising sun warms the land and, through the process of convection, draws forth or awakens the vaporous cloud spirits from the surface of the earth and the watery Underworld. Without the power and heat of the sun, coupled with the assistance of mimetic prayers and supplications of Pueblo people, the billowing clouds as katsina cloud-spirits cannot be drawn upwards to rise from the terrestrial and subterranean realms as moisture to water the earth. It is probably for this reason that Pueblo dancers at times carry symbolic “sun ladders” or “cloud ladders” in their hands

(see Chapter 4). Much as the sun ascends upon his ladder at dawn, so too do the katsina cloud spirits rise and ascend their ladders into the sky along with the sun to water the earth. The idea that the katsinam arrive with the dawning sun is illustrated in an observation by Earle and Kennard (1938: 30), who noted: “The Kachinas dance the first time shortly after sun up.” Put another way, the fully developed katsina complex that appeared across the American Southwest after AD 1300 simply could not exist without the Sun Youth Payatamu, who first appeared in the symbolism of the Casas Grandes culture.

In the archaeological record of the American Southwest, among the earliest evidence identified to date that exemplifies the concept of ceramic vessels as living or anthropomorphized beings are those images found in rock art from the Pueblo IV period. Polly Schaafsma (2002) drew attention to depictions of jars and bowls portrayed as anthropomorphic masks, some amongst a matrix of other symbolism related to the katsina complex, in the Jornada Mogollon region (ca. AD 1000-1400). In this area the art style predates and then largely overlaps with fourteenth-century rock art from the Rio Grande region that appeared in the early part of the Pueblo IV period. In the Jornada region, masks as bowl-like effigy vessels occur in rock art at the site of Three Rivers, New Mexico as well as at Hueco Tanks State Park east of El Paso, Texas (ibid.: 59). Several examples of anthropomorphic pottery vessels in the rock art occur in the Piro and Tompiro Pueblo regions while some occur in the southern Tewa region of the Galisteo Basin in New Mexico (ibid.: 51-52, fig. 1; **Figs. 11.10d-11.10j**). The examples from Cerro Indio in the Piro region date to no later than AD 1425 (ibid.).

That some of the Cerro Indio masks include portrayals of birds, one in the form of a bowl, suggests that in addition to ancestral humans, other beings such as animals, insects, and birds also play an important role in the katsina ideological complex (**Fig. 11.10j**). Ethnographic data indicate that there are a wide variety of nonhuman katsinam, including Bee, Butterfly, Turkey, Snipe, Road Runner, Mocking Bird, Owl, Badger, Duck, Mountain Sheep, Wolf, Antelope, Deer, Buffalo, Fish, Mustard Green, Cactus, Bean, and an uncountable number of other katsina spirits appearing as animals, plants, and weather phenomena in the natural world (Fewkes 1903: 94, 97, 98, 102, 142, 145, 163; Wright 1973: 95, 105, 115, 117, 140, 156). As Ladd (1963: 26) indicated, depending on a variety of factors the spirits of the Zuni dead can return to this world as any number of animal and insect forms, including deer, badgers, mountain lions, lizards, stink bugs, and others.

The plethora of animal katsina spirits and the use of their feathers and pelts in contemporary Puebloan ceremonialism indicate that these animals and their feathers and pelts are widely perceived as being potent rain-making beings integral to the katsina complex. For example, as a portion of one Hopi song reported by (Earle and Kennard 1938: 33) indicates:

So, go yonder to the west.
On the wings of male turkeys [prayer sticks]
The clouds will appear.
This way, my animals [eagles]
Will bring rain
On their flapping wings.

This song indicates that rain and clouds are conjured or brought in association with bird wings or feathers, a concept that surely extends to all animals and their activities in the natural world.

Other examples of animals that are related to cloud-making in the southern Southwest might well be evident on stone animal “fetishes” from the Mimbres Valley, such as those of frogs (Black Mountain site), bears (Byron Ranch site), and mountain lions, where stepped-clouds are incised upon the backs of some animals from the two sites mentioned (Fewkes 1914: 21, figs. 8, 10). This form of animal “fetish” commonly used in medicine societies (see discussion below), though not often ornamented with cloud terrace symbolism, is similar to those found at later sites such as Paquimé in the Casas Grandes region (Di Peso et al. 1974: 4: 572-573; Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: 297-298), the Bayless Ruin in southern Arizona (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007: 181, fig. 181), and those examples found in the early twentieth century among Acoma, Zuni, Hopi, Laguna, and Zia people (Cushing 1883; Di Peso 1974: 3: 717, fn. 137; White 1932b, pl.1a-b).

Clear examples of a variety of animals as rain-making beings are evident in Pueblo IV kiva murals. In the murals at Kuaua, animals such as bison, fish, horned serpents, rabbits, and birds such as swallows, ducks, eagles, and others often have water and lightning spewing from their mouth or body (Dutton 1963: figs. 34, 72-73, 80-82, 86, 89, 92 and pl. XV; **Figs. 11.11a-11.11e**). The emergence of rain and lightning from the mouths of animals appears analogous to the rain and lightning that emanates from clouds and water jars in these same scenes (Dutton 1963: figs. 81, 84, 86, 95 and pls. XV, XVI,

XXII, XXIII; Schaafsma and Taube 2006: 252-253; **Fig. 11.11e**). These moisture associations suggest that many if not all animals have qualities linked to rain-making. The observation that animals (and their feathers and pelts) play a crucial role in rain-making rites is important, and the relationship between animal portrayals in Casas Grandes art and Sun Youth and rain-making ceremonialism is discussed in more detail below.

The preceding discussion of ethnographic and archaeological data indicated that the humans, animals, plants, insects, and natural phenomena that exist on the landscape play a significant role in the cosmology of ancient and contemporary Puebloan people in the American Southwest. As part of a larger ideology of rain-making, water-filled pottery vessels are symbolically perceived as small-scale versions of caves or places of emergence and act as sources of various forms of moisture, rain, and clouds. Fitting into the wider perception of ancestors, animals, and supernatural creatures as water-bearing rain spirits, pottery vessels are equally considered as living beings acting as containers of life-giving water. The significance of this concept is important, as it allows us to draw informed conclusions in our interpretations of cosmology in the Casas Grandes region and the nature of its influence in the wider Puebloan world.

Personified Water Jars in the Casas Grandes World

Among the most distinctive ceramic vessel forms in the Casas Grandes region are effigy vessels, both in human and animal forms. As noted earlier, Casas Grandes jars decorated with large human faces, some of whom have toothed katsina-like mouths or

others that are portrayed exhaling breath feathers, clearly indicates an ideology associated with moisture and the perception of jars as living or ancestral beings. As if expressing a redundant concept, one Casas Grandes human effigy vessel is depicted with a personified anthropomorphic jar balanced atop the head, much as if both vessels were living beings (**Fig. 11.14a**).

That human and animal effigies take form in so many different ceramic types, including Plainware, Playas Red, Corrugated, Carretas Polychrome, Babícora Polychrome, Dublan Polychrome, Escondida Polychrome, Huerigos Polychrome, Ramos Polychrome, Ramos Black, and Ramos Black on White, and Villa Ahumada Polychrome (Maxwell and Antillón 2003: 7; Moulard 2005: fig. 5; Nielsen-Grimm and Stavast 2008: 74, 75, 84, 93, 98, 109, 137; Powell 2006: pls. 21, 30), among other types, indicates that the ideology of humans or ancestors and animals as water bearing katsina-like beings crosscut the duration of the Medio period. These ideas expressed in effigies in various Casas Grandes-related ceramic types indicate that this belief system took form at the onset of the Early Medio period, when Sun Youth rituals first became evident, and continued through the Late Medio period (see Casas Grandes ceramic type seriation proposed in Whalen and Minnis 2009: 147-149, fig. 4.9).

Notably, one other characteristic of these Casas Grandes effigy vessels solidifies the identification of these pots as reflective of an ideology of rain-making on par with metaphors that underlie katsina ceremonialism. On a number of human effigy vessels, particularly the “hooded” variety, some facial features of these figures, such as the mouth or eyes, are not painted or incised upon the face, but rather are intentionally designed as

open, gaping holes (**Figs. 11.12a-11.12d, 11.13a-11.13d, 11.14b**). The aesthetic impressions and the functional qualities that are built into this design clearly indicate that liquids held in these vessels were intended to be captured in the hood of the vessel when tilted and then channeled through the open mouth or eyes of the human portrayed. This poured water is symbolic rain. In other words, these vessels were intended to represent living, personified human beings or ancestors who, much like for later Southwestern katsina bowls and jars, are symbolic containers of the life-giving waters that nourish the earth. These vessels, much like is known in later Southwestern ceremonialism as described above, likely were used in Casas Grandes water-pouring rites as mimetic acts to encourage the deceased ancestral spirits (i.e., katsinam) to return to Casas Grandes communities as rain.

These Casas Grandes hooded effigy vessels, and some true effigies with open mouths, were also manufactured in the form of animals such as a possible rabbit, a possible badger, birds such as macaws and owls, and other unidentifiable creatures (**Figs. 11.15a-11.15d, 11.16a-11.16d**). As will be recalled, while the katsina complex in the American Southwest is most commonly perceived as being associated with deceased human ancestors, this ideological complex also involves all of the animals, birds, and creatures of the earth. Much like for the human effigies, water poured through the mouths of Casas Grandes animal effigy vessels likely served as a ritually mimetic action designed to call forth or replicate that individual animal's power to produce rain. The perception of rain symbolically spewing from the mouths of animals as rain-making

beings in the Casas Grandes ideological realm is conceptually identical to later portrayals of similar phenomena in murals at Kuaua, as described above.

When understood within the context of later Puebloan katsina ceremonialism involving water-pouring rites, it is clear that the antecedents for these ideas reside earliest in the symbolism and metaphors embodied in the Casas Grandes corpus of human and animal katsina effigy jars. The fact that a number of Casas Grandes effigy vessels do not have open mouths that act to channel water is not an overriding issue, the symbolism of the body of the animal or human effigy as a water-bearing being is still retained with or without this feature.

In sum, the mutually intertwined katsina and Sun Youth religious complex that swept across the American Southwest between AD 1250 and AD 1300 was first rooted in the conceptually identical metaphors expressed in the Casas Grandes Flower World complex and its potent solar and rain-making ceremonialism. Evidence for the presence of a ritual complex of rain and cloud-making in the Casas Grandes region is reiterated in the existence of a number of human effigy vessels and stone human effigies with stepped cloud or sun ladder headdresses (**Fig. 11.14b-11.14g**) as well as figures with personified water-bearing jars upon the head (**Fig. 11.14a**). Townsend (2005a: pl. 31) also illustrated two columnar stones with effigy heads and terraced cloud headdresses that are thought to originate in the Casas Grandes region.

Much as warm and cold weather katsinam (including animals and plants) can be considered as symbolic “warriors” or vanguards of the cold or warm-weather season, so too might these early human effigies at Casas Grandes and in contemporaneous

Southwestern societies have been viewed in this same light. For example, one Salado-affiliated Tonto Polychrome from the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century site of Kinishba in east-central Arizona portrays a toothed katsina effigy with two parallel “war track” markings below each eye, likely an indication that this katsina figure is a symbolic warrior (Crown 1994: fig. 8.2). Similar markings that may signify war tracks first begin to appear on the faces of individuals depicted in Mimbres ceramics but are also evident on Casas Grandes modeled human effigies (see Chapter 12).

At Paquimé, it is clear that the ideological underpinnings of katsina ceremonialism are fully present despite no clear evidence of masking traditions comparable to the later full elaborations of masking known among the Eastern Pueblos and to some extent in the Western Pueblos. This conclusion contradicts Adams’s (1991a: 16) assessment, where he noted: “Unless a mask is depicted, the assumption will be that the [katsina] cult was not present.” The full ideological system that underlies the Southwestern manifestation of the katsina complex has its direct origin in northern Mexico at Paquimé with earlier components in the Mimbres region. The greatly elaborated masks commonly associated with the katsina complex in the Southwest are not apparent at Paquimé, at least in the symbolism of remnant material culture. It is probable that these elaborated masks evident after AD 1300 were simply localized creative expressions of Southwestern people that outwardly, and more elaborately, expressed ideas adopted from the larger Casas Grandes region.

The Casas Grandes culture likely influenced Southwestern cultures in a bilobed northeastern and northwestern spatial pattern, as Wilcox (2007: 238) suggested. In

addition, the likely migration of some Casas Grandes-related people to the Hopi Mesas via Homol'ovi occurred along with the movement of Sun Youth and Flower World rituals, katsina ceremonialism, and Casas Grandes-style material culture, as Hopi Palatkwapi traditions and Zuni oral traditions (Mathiowetz 2010a) suggest. Considering these two conclusions may help to account for the appearance of the initial horizon of katsina figures both in the west and east by AD 1300 along with the near-simultaneous shift to plaza-oriented architecture in both regions. In other words, to varying extents, cultural groups in both areas appear to have been participating in the core Sun Youth and katsina ceremonialism emanating from the Casas Grandes and Jornada Mogollon region by the late-AD 1200s and/or early-AD 1300s. However, the Western Pueblos may have been more conservative in the public expression of these ideas while Eastern Pueblos took these ideas and developed them into a much more elaborate graphic and stylized symbolic set, particularly in the rock art.

The difference in this subsequent elaboration of the shared katsina ideology between the west and east may reflect the degree of intensity of contact or level of interaction between Casas Grandes people and both the Western and Eastern Pueblos. The Western manifestation of this complex, as a partial result of it having been brought to the region by migrating Casas Grandes-related people (i.e., the Hopi Palatkwapi clans) in the AD 1200s-1300s, may have involved a much more graphically subdued and conservative display of the katsina symbolic complex, such as with its toothed katsina figures, much as is the low-key or conservative display of these figures in Casas Grandes art.

This interpretation would correspond with Anderson's (1955: 407) suggestion that the original katsina ceremonialism, at least graphically, may well have been "very much simpler than that of today." This simpler portrayal of Casas Grandes katsina ceremonialism that co-occurred with portrayals of the breath spirit, smoking for producing cloud-breath, effigy jars as symbolic rain-bringers, and Sun Youth ceremonialism, may have been more symbolically constrained when adopted in the Western Pueblos but rapidly elaborated upon when adopted in the Eastern Pueblos.

In fact, the use of masks themselves in katsina-affiliated rain ceremonialism might not even have been as important a component in Casas Grandes rain rituals as those examples known later in time in the American Southwest, at least as reflected in symbolic depictions in the remnant material culture. Such symbolism may have even been achieved through the use of face or body paints rather than elaborate masks. The elaborated presence of masks among Pueblo peoples, as evidenced in fourteenth-century ceremonialism, may simply represent the new converts enthusiasm and creativity in how they chose to depict this new or highly refined religion. Masking traditions, of course, are very important in Mesoamerica and are known in Aztatlán material culture, the region from where this religious complex ultimately originated.

Symbolic Warfare and Conflict in the American Southwest and Northern Mexico

Some scholars (e.g., LeBlanc 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003; Plog and Solometo 1997) contend that katsina ceremonialism in the American Southwest was forged within the crucible of dramatic conflict and perpetual physical violence during the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries, an era LeBlanc (1999) described as a time of “crisis and catastrophe.” Others contend that Puebloan warfare societies, imagery, and rituals, now and in the past, are largely if not wholly symbolic in nature and are primarily designed to influence climatic conditions, with a particularly strong focus upon cold weather phenomena linked to the Morning Star (Schaafsma 2000a; Mathiowetz et al. 2008).

While some conflict in the Southwest undoubtedly existed at this time, in my estimation the predominance of warfare imagery, weaponry, shield bearers, and related militaristic imagery that appeared in conjunction with katsina symbolism does not indicate the presence of widespread physical warfare, as some have suggested (e.g., Plog and Solometo 1997: 174). More likely, it reflects an ideology of symbolic warfare, a symbolic “battle” between the opposed forces of the wet season versus the forces of the dry season. In each seasonal realm, a spectrum of katsinam, plants, animals, birds, and weather-related conditions serve as harbingers or “shields” of warm or cold-related phenomena that are led by the Sun Youth either in his summer “agriculturalist” guise or his winter “hunter” guise. Though these phalanxes of “warriors” are by nature opposed in concept, in the larger picture they ultimately form two halves of a complementary, interdependent, and cyclical system of beliefs.

That katsinam are at times ornamented with “war track” markings suggests that they can be perceived as being “warriors” of the winter season or “warriors” of the summer season. The concept of forms of moisture as symbolic warriors is evident in a Zuni prayer to the Uwanammi (rain-makers) who hide behind their “watery shields” carrying their weapons, the lightning (Bunzel 1932c: 662). Bunzel (*ibid.*: fn. 25) further

noted the analogy where “the rain makers cover themselves with clouds as a warrior with his shield.” Cushing (1896: 382) described the Zuni Hero Twins as hiding behind a “fog-shield” made of clouds that were woven like cotton, with thunderbolts as their arrows. Schaafsma (2010: fig. 2.9) illustrated one Pueblo IV petroglyph from the Rio Grande region that depicts a terraced cloud with falling rain, with the cloud bearing a bird head at the top. This depiction may signify the “watery shield” of this particular bird, much as if it were a zoomorphized cloud spirit.

In Chapter 12, I point out that “war track” markings, depicted as two short parallel lines, often appear on a variety of Hopi katsina regalia including on masks, sashes, and girdles worn by both Hopi katsinam and the Sun Youth standard, as well as on the body of the Hopi plumed serpent Palulukon. Though Stephen (1936: 35, fn.1) considered these war markings, often called *Pü’ükoñve’adta*, to be the footprints of the Hopi war twin Pü’ükoñhoya, these markings are also known as *Tai’owave’adta*, ostensibly implying that these marks can also be considered as the footprints of the Sun Youth Taiowa (Payatamu).

Much as warm and cold season katsinam are in constant “battle”, the association of war marks with the Sun Youth suggests that, as herald of the arrival of each phalanx of katsinam during their respective seasons, the warm season aspect of the Sun Youth might also be in symbolic conflict with the cold season aspect of the Sun Youth. In essence, Puebloan ritual might generally be conceived as a perpetual back-and-forth struggle between the forces of the Sun Youth and the katsinam in the summer season and the forces of the Sun Youth and the katsinam in the winter season. By this logic, it may well

be perceived that a cold snap during the summer season could be akin to winter-related katsina “warriors” making a raid into the warm half of the year, much like a heat spell in the winter could be akin to summer-related katsina “warriors” making a raid into the cold half of the year.

Each instance of unusual weather might then hypothetically offer occasion for people to counter-balance the extreme cold (or hot) weather by performing the proper rites using warm (or cold) weather prayers, feathers, or other ceremonial objects. These rites would then bring about the opposite effect in order to offset the “raid” and bring the extreme weather back into balance. For instance, among the Zuni, a Shalako personator uses special cornmeal associated with the warm breath of summer in rites designed to keep away early frosts that occur during the summer (Bunzel 1932b: 910). A similar idea is evident in describing unusual weather phenomena during the cold and warm halves of the year among the Tewa: “When it stays warm late into autumn or cold late into spring it is because the Winter Man has not yet taken the people from the Summer Man, or the Summer Man taken the people from the Winter Man” (Parsons 1929: 89-90). The reference to Winter Man and Summer Man refers to the two caciques (Winter Chief and Summer Chief) in the moiety system among the Eastern Pueblos who each lead the village during one half of the year (see below).

Without the perpetual desire for achieving balance in the weather, the Sun might scorch the earth if he becomes too close in the summer or he might cause the earth to become dangerously cold in the winter by remaining too weak and low on the horizon for too long. The identification of a perpetual “Battle of Winter and Summer” is crucial to

understanding the formation of modern Puebloan cosmology and social organization beginning in the thirteenth to fourteenth century, a topic that is discussed in greater detail below.

Of the actual violence that did occur in the Southwest during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV period, the majority of instances likely were related to localized events such as raids or struggles over land-use rights among other reasons. Some occasions of conflict might have occurred between those who accepted the teachings of the Sun Youth and those who chose not to follow these new religious beliefs. Other instances of violence, in the context of a rapidly changing worldview, may well have been the result of factional squabbles between newly integrated Pueblos, or social groups within them, over who could rightfully be considered to own, control, or correctly perform the newly adopted rituals of the Sun Youth. We must recall that in some Puebloan societies such as the Hopi and Zuni, control of ritual knowledge of the Sun Youth appears to form the basis of social power and social hierarchies (see Chapter 10).

Stories in Red and Black: Red Cloud, Black Cloud, Rain Cloud, Snow Cloud

As the Sun Youth was an integral component of newly developing Casas Grandes and Puebloan katsina ceremonialism, a system of beliefs characterized by dual components of winter- and summer-oriented moisture, one might expect to identify evidence in Casas Grandes symbolism that reflects the symbolic “battle” between the clouds and moisture of winter and the clouds and moisture of summer. Admittedly, the highly geometric and redundant symbolism characteristic of the Casas Grandes symbolic

repertoire might appear to form an impenetrable barrier that effectively conceals much of the information about the Casas Grandes cosmological realm.

However, since the meaning and significance of the Sun Youth has remained remarkably consistent for the past 800 years, with appropriate caution one might be able to examine the ethnographic record of contemporary Puebloan people for clues to understanding the icons present on Chihuahuan polychromes. While recognizing that the design style and meaning of symbols can change over time (e.g., Bunzel 1929), the discussion and interpretation in the following section should be considered as exploratory in the hopes of expanding the discussion towards finding meaning in ancient Casas Grandes symbolism via contemporary Puebloan analogues.

In examining the thematic content of ceramic decorations among Puebloan potters in the first quarter of the twentieth century, Bunzel (1929: 70) noted:

Two general types of associations predominate: those concerning the weather, and those concerning the ceremonies for controlling the weather. An overwhelming number of designs suggest clouds of different kinds, – rain, snow, wind, lightning, flowers “because they come out after the rain.”

The rest of the designs are suggestive of ceremonial paraphernalia related to masked dancers who participate in rain-bringing ceremonies (ibid.). Considering that these cloud, rain, and flower designs on early-twentieth-century Puebloan pottery are likely intimately related to the Sun Youth-oriented Flower World complex, much as were ceramic designs on a number of pottery types during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is reasonable to conclude that the designs on Casas Grandes pottery likely are also predominantly focused upon similar themes of flowers (see Chapter 5) and other elements such as clouds

and moisture-related phenomena. A brief discussion of themes tied to cloud symbolism on contemporary Zuni pottery may well illuminate similar meanings in Casas Grandes art.

Much as contemporary Puebloan ceremonialism is concerned with the duality of the seasons and the duality of moisture-producing clouds during winter and summer, so too was this concept reflected and represented in the ceramic designs by early-twentieth-century Zuni potters. Ruth Bunzel (1929: 112, no. 86), with assistance from Ruth Benedict, obtained the name and meanings of designs from Zuni potters in the mid-1920s. One design description makes clear that the contrasting “battle” between rain-making clouds and snow-making clouds is evident among the Zuni, as certain painted designs and colors of clouds on ceramics indicated: “The snow clouds (black) and the rain clouds (red) are fighting. Therefore there will be no rain.” In other words, the description of one particular black-and-red symbol suggests that if there is perpetual strife and imbalance between the seasons and their respective types of moisture, the rainfall patterns (and the subsequent agricultural patterns) will also then be imbalanced and disrupted. Thus, it would seem to be ideal to have the opposed seasonal clouds and moisture join together (*ibid.*: 96, no. 21), rather than fight, in order to keep the seasons in balance.

For the Zuni pottery designs that accompany the description of opposed rain clouds coming together, Bunzel (1929) illustrated a variety of black and red cloud symbolism that included more than the commonly recognized stepped cloud designs. In one example where the clouds are described as coming together, the illustration depicts a

running band of interlinked red crooks and black crooks (ibid.: 96-97, no. 21; **Fig. 11.17a**). Crook designs are considered as the crooks of the rain priests (ibid.: 96, no. 23), as prayers for rain (ibid.: 94, no. 13), and are also related to the katsina rain spirits (ibid.: 96, no. 22). When the red and black clouds do work together in the seasonal cycle, fertility will abound. For example, one painted design described this concept: “Red clouds and black clouds make flowers grow . . . A prayer that rain and snow clouds may come and make the flowers grow” (ibid: 104, no. 49). One further illustration of red and black clouds or “cloud steps” coming together depicts a running band of a series of red and black right triangles (clouds) that meet in the middle (ibid.: 108-109, no. 67; **Fig. 11.17b**). The significance of this particular design is discussed below.

Another description of symbols used by the Zuni potter suggests that the depiction of one color of cloud (red) can also serve as a means to prevent the other color of cloud (black) from coming together to produce its type of moisture: “The black clouds and the real [red] clouds are coming together. The black clouds are snow clouds and before they come together the red clouds come between them so that they will not meet and make snow.” (Bunzel 1929: 98, no. 26). Another red and black design is described: “A prayer that the rain may not melt the snow clouds” (ibid.: 112, no. 87). Thus, just as a prayer using cornmeal associated with warm weather can keep away an early frost (Bunzel 1932b: 910), so too can the depiction of a certain color of cloud on ceramics act like a prayer to prevent the manifestation of a certain type of weather-related event that is associated with the opposed type of cloud.

In these cases, either the coming together or the “fighting” or struggle between these two types of clouds can result in a number of meteorological phenomena: (1) Clouds can fight and prevent any rain from falling, (2) one type of cloud can intervene in the gathering of the opposing clouds so that their type of moisture (e.g., snow) is prevented from occurring, (3) opposing clouds can meet together to prolong the presence of a certain type of moisture, or (4) clouds can work together to make the flowers grow. In essence, the opposing clouds can either fight against each other or work together to achieve their goals in the production or cessation of moisture. For the present discussion, one of the points that I would like to emphasize is that some Zuni potters from the early-twentieth century considered the opposing seasonal clouds to be red and black in color. In Tewa thought, the colors red and black also stand in opposition to each other, although, in contrast to the Zuni, the color red among the Tewa is considered a “cold” color while black is a “warm” color (Ortiz 1969: 94, 105). Despite this reversal, the point that these two colors are oppositional and reflect a duality based upon cold and warm aspects is important for the ensuing examination of Southwestern and Casas Grandes symbolism.

The onset of the Casas Grandes Medio period saw the appearance of polychromes with black and red paint in the ceramic repertoire (VanPool 2003b: 81). Vanpool’s (ibid.: 109) study of Casas Grandes symbolism and design layouts characterized the Medio-period style as one primarily centered upon the concept of “duality”. Appearing on sixty-five (65) percent of Medio-period vessels, the most common design layout was the running band, with the most common subtype of the running band being those with “interlocking” elements (ibid.: 113-114):

For this banding type, the black band is filled with an upper band of repeating elements (such as scrolls or triangles) that interlocked with a lower band of the same repeating elements but of a different color. For example, the upper repeating designs would have black triangles with scrolls and the lower ones would be red triangles with scrolls. Thus, the upper and lower bands of different colored elements reinforce a sense of duality.

The second most common subtype of running bands that appears on twenty-nine (29) percent of Medio-period polychromes are the “paneled” variety, of which the “two-triangle” motif is the most common (ibid.: 115). These inverted and opposed triangles are often stepped, interlocked, and painted different colors (ibid.: 115, 122), primarily black and red. In fact, interlocking designs of steps and scrolls of opposed black and red colors appear on many, if not most, Medio-period Chihuahuan polychromes.

Interestingly enough, some of the black and red designs identified by Bunzel (1929) as representing snow clouds (black) and rain clouds (red) either coming together or fighting find exact analogues in Casas Grandes symbolism (**Figs. 11.18b-11.18d**). One example of black and red triangles depending from the neck of a Casas Grandes vessel (**Fig. 11.18a**) also finds similar analogues in continuous triangular designs identified as moisture-bearing clouds that were placed around the border of small bowls produced at early-twentieth-century San Ildefonso Pueblo (**Figs. 11.17c-11.17e**). That triangles can be considered as clouds is reinforced in a design from a painted stone tablet from the site of Kinishba in Arizona. This painted tablet depicts a human figure flanked by corn plants while wearing a headdress comprised of triangular clouds from which descends multi-colored zig-zag lightning or rain (see Cummings 1940: pl. XXXIV).

Likewise, designs of triangular clouds with emergent lightning made with corn meal were described and depicted by Fewkes (1899a: 269, pl. XIX) on the winter solstice altar at Hano. He noted that: “The triangle among the Hopi is almost as common a symbol of the rain-cloud as the semi-circle. It is a very old symbol, and is frequently found with the same meaning in cliff-houses and in ancient pictography” (ibid.: 269, fn. 1). Thus, this example of triangular elements in Casas Grandes art might well represent a sky-band of triangular-shaped black and red clouds. Though any interpretation must exercise appropriate caution, it remains possible that the underlying meanings alluded to in these opposed, interlocking black and red symbols or triangular designs might relate to those meanings expressed in Zuni and San Ildefonso cloud symbolism, despite the difference in time.

In my estimation, among the most iconic geometric motifs on Chihuahuan polychromes are the almost cartouche-like interlocking red-and-black inverted stepped triangles (**Fig. 11.18d-11.18e**). To be sure, similar stepped designs occasionally do appear on earlier ceramics such as Classic Mimbres black-on-white (AD 1000-1150) or Chupadero black-on-white vessels (AD 1100-1200) (e.g., Peckham 1990: figs. 13, 85). But these are usually comprised of black and striped designs rather than red and black colors and are much more sparse or sporadic in occurrence when compared to their number and redundancy in Chihuahuan polychromes. While these similar designs may have precedence in earlier wares, I contend that new meanings were attached during the Medio period as reflected in their preponderance in Chihuahuan polychromes and in conjunction with newly adopted rituals of the Sun Youth at Paquimé.

VanPool (2003b: 127) noted the occurrence of these design motifs in the Casas Grandes wares:

The different colors make these designs appear dichotomous, but they are always found in pairs that are intertwined. Thus structurally they form a duality. This pairing or duality of designs is so ubiquitous on Babicora, Carretas, Huerigos, Ramos, and Villa Ahumada polychromes that in my total sample there is not a single exception to the rule.

She (ibid.: 130) further concluded, “It is plausible that the duality expressed again and again on Medio period pots emphasized a shared religious belief in an upper and lower world, as is still prevalent in many native groups through the Americas.”

To clarify, in Puebloan thought, the concept of an upper world and lower world is equivalent to the oppositions or duality of male/female, day/night, warm/cold, and winter/summer, among others. This duality among Pueblo people in the Southwest, as I have emphasized in the present study, to this day remains focused upon the Casas Grandes Sun Youth. Thus, given that the Sun Youth, the Flower World, and incipient breath/cloud/katsina ceremonialism characterizes Casas Grandes cosmology, a cautious interpretation suggests that the duality expressed in red-and-black symbolism in Chihuahuan polychromes might well have been intended to express this same sense of duality that extends to all aspects of life.

While we may never know the precise meanings that underlie each of the individual highly geometric symbols in Medio-period ceramics, we might now more securely propose that, much like designs on contemporary Puebloan pottery, Medio-period red-and-black geometric symbols, including the interlocking steps and scrolls, all collectively relate to the general perception of dualistic warm and cold clouds, rain, and

snow that both fight and cooperate together to help create and bring forth the Flower World of the Sun Youth. The occurrence of circular geometric floral medallions in quantity on Medio-period Casas Grandes red-and-black on buff polychromes lends further credence to this interpretation (see Chapter 5).

Bunzel's (1929) study, which documented the fact that Pueblo potters at times offer different interpretations of the same individual designs from one year to the next, introduced the perception among archaeologists that the apparent lack of stability in meaning of contemporary symbols would ultimately hinder or prevent any interpretations of ceramic designs in the archaeological record. For instance, in one example recorded by Bunzel (*ibid.*: 104, no. 56), the Zuni potter identified a design in 1924 as "the earth covered in flowers" and in 1925 identified this same design as "crooks coming together".

On the surface, and without an understanding of the use of conceptual metaphors in Puebloan religion and symbolism (see Ortman 2000), to some scholars these identifications might not seem to be related. However, to understand that objects can hold many "different" but inextricably related multi-layered meanings (e.g., feathers= clouds= ancestors= moisture= aroma= music= breath= rain= falling corn granules, etc.) is to understand that, in this Zuni example, the coming together of dual aspects of clouds (rain crooks) is conceptually equivalent to the resultant earth being covered in flowers, as noted in the discussion above. In other words, the "different" interpretation of this particular symbol by a Zuni potter was not so different after all.

While a symbol might be interpreted in the ethnography to mean two or many different things, these diverse interpretations in reality can actually express the exact

same concept or metaphor, albeit one that ultimately is oriented towards a single goal. This singular goal is a prayer for clouds of rain to water the earth as part of the act of fertilization. Thus, it would be an error to conclude that two different interpretations of a symbol, such as in Bunzel's (1929) study, render any analysis of ancient symbolism hopelessly impossible. Symbols are created within a cosmological framework, and while the individual designs are subject to change due to an individual potter's whims or inspirations, the cosmological framework in which new symbols are created is often very conservative.

In this case, the overriding cosmological framework in the American Southwest is the idealized, perpetual, unchanging cyclical forces of nature that comprise and bring to life the Flower World of the Sun Youth. Knowing this, we might more confidently assess the content of Casas Grandes geometric symbolic repertoire as likely reflecting nearly the exact same ideas as those expressed in the symbolism of the Flower World in the contemporary American Southwest.

The firm conclusion that stepped, scrolled, and interlocking black-and-red symbols on Casas Grandes ceramics share similar meaning with identical symbols described as clouds in later Zuni symbolism can never be proclaimed with certainty. However, our understanding of the Flower World complex indicates that cloud symbolism and symbols of duality should (if not *must*) equally exist in Casas Grandes Flower World-related art and religion. Thus, without much more explicit or naturalistic depictions, our best hope for identifying these concepts rests in drawing exploratory comparisons between Casas Grandes geometric motifs and other related Flower World

symbolism among later ideologically related Southwestern cultural groups described in the detailed ethnographic record.

As a result of this comparison, I tentatively conclude that the red-and-black, stepped and scrolled interlocking motifs in Chihuahuan polychromes represent dualistic cloud motifs designed to pictorially express the opposing forces of moisture during the cold winter and warm summer halves of the year. These probable black and red snow and rain cloud motifs, and the color combination itself, reinforced the idealized perception that when the opposed forces of nature work together in balance, the Flower World of the Sun Youth springs to life upon the earth.

In early-twentieth-century pottery symbolism from Zuni and other Pueblos, it is unsurprising that pottery designs and styles changed over time through the creative expression and inspiration of each individual potter. Though there are endless variations of designs, nearly all of these are concerned with the interplay of themes related to clouds and moisture, particularly red and black clouds. Given the centuries-long continuity in Sun Youth and katsina ceremonialism, while the individual designs chosen are subject to the whim of the potter, it is apparent that the underlying cosmological fabric that inspired these designs has remained remarkably conservative.

As red-and-black cloud symbolism was important to early-twentieth-century Zuni potters, it is notable that this has been the dominant color symbolism combination for centuries on pottery from the Zuni and Hopi region and other Western and Eastern Pueblo pottery such as Kechipawan Polychrome (AD 1375-1475), Matsaki Polychrome (AD 1475-1650+), Hawikuh Polychrome (AD 1630-1680+), Ashiwi Polychrome (AD

1700-1760), Kiapkwa Polychrome (AD 1760-1840/1860), Zuni Polychrome (AD 1840/1860-1920), Kinishba Polychrome (AD 1300-1350), Awat'ovi Polychrome (AD 1400-1625), Sikyatki Polychrome (AD 1400-1625), certain Rio Grande Glaze Wares (post AD 1300), Pottery Mound Polychromes (late AD 1300s-1400s), Polacca Polychrome (late nineteenth century), Acoma polychromes (with some yellow-orange coloring [AD 1900-1920]), among others (see Hays-Gilpin and LeBlanc 2007: 113, fig. 7.3, 114, fig. 7.6, 115; Lanmon and Harlow 2008; Moulard 2002: pls. 74, 93, 98; Peckham 1990: figs. 90, 92, 101; Townsend 2005a: pls. 138-141).

Aside from the presence of Flower World symbolism in many Southwestern wares (e.g., Sikyatki, Rio Grande glaze wares, etc.) including the nineteenth-century Zuni ceramics described by Bunzel (1929), Flower World imagery centered upon macaws, rainbows, and flowers continues to be an important theme in early-twentieth-century and contemporary Acoma and Laguna pottery (see Dillingham and Elliott 1992: figs. 4.7, 4.8, 5.2, 5.14, 5.15) and Zia pottery (see Harlow and Lanmon 2003: figs. 2.8-2.9, 9.19-9.30, 11.14, 11.18-11.23). Flowers continue to be important motifs in contemporary Cochiti and Santo Domingo pottery (see Verzuh 2008: 82 [fig. 86], 92 [fig. 107], 122 [no. 38141], 134 [no. 11120], 141 [no. 46185], 143 [no. 51117], 146 [no. 54326]).

In my opinion, these motifs are not meaningless designs incorporated simply for the tourist market. Rather, they reflect an ideology that has been present in the Southwest for centuries. Given the continuity and widespread use of red-and-black coloring, it is feasible that the oppositional meanings that underlie this color combination has remained the same or similar during this time. This thematic continuity is centered upon the Flower

World realm of clouds, rain, and the contrasting yet complementary seasonal forms of moisture that join together to make the flowers grow.

In considering the occurrence of red-and-black symbolism in the Western Pueblos, it is pertinent to recall that documented Western Pueblo (Zuni and Hopi) oral traditions and migration accounts are the most explicit in stating that the rituals of the Sun Youth and Flower World complex were directly acquired through migrating clans or by interacting with “strangers”, most likely Casas Grandes-related people (see Bernardini 2005: 36-37; Cushing 1896: 390-398; Mathiowetz 2010a), as I describe in Chapters 2 and 12. Furthermore, in the Western Pueblo region the archaeological record indicates that an influx of northern Mexican-style material culture began to appear in the Homol’ovi region of the Little Colorado River perhaps as early as AD 1250 along with plaza-oriented pueblos and katsina symbolism (Adams 1989a: 157; Adams 1991a: 42-43; Adams and Lamotta 2006: 61). Thus, the acquisition of Sun Youth rituals in the Western Pueblos and the strong evidence for influence from the Casas Grandes region suggests that there are strong cultural ties between these two regions.

In other words, the acquisition of Sun Youth and Flower World rituals from Casas Grandes-related people might also have involved the transmission of cultural meanings associated with the opposition of red and black color symbolism. For example, Hays-Gilpin and LeBlanc (2007: 115) pointed out that Sikyatki (AD 1400-1625) black-and-red on buff designs from the Hopi Mesas may have been influenced by similarly colored Ramos Polychromes of the Casas Grandes culture.

Wilcox (2007: 238) noted the important role of Casas Grandes color combinations that seemed to serve as a precedent for later ceramic ware color schemes in the Southwest:

These color schemes . . . harken back to Chihuahuan polychromes and especially to Ramos Polychrome—which is temporally antecedent to the northern types—but lasts into the 1400s. If, as seems likely, the colors had ideological or metaphoric meanings, we must begin to look much more intently at the “cosmovision” centered at Paquimé to understand what was going on here.

As red-and-black on buff is the color combination *par excellence* of ceramic traditions of the Casas Grandes culture beginning in the Medio Period by AD 1200, it is entirely possible that the red and black color combination on Chihuahuan polychromes in itself might be the earliest reflection of this notion of duality in the seasonal rains and snows that comprise both seasonal aspects of the Flower World complex. Thus, much as there is cultural continuity in the ritual significance of the Sun Youth in these two regions, there may well also be cultural continuity in the meaning of red and black oppositional color symbolism extending back to the Casas Grandes Medio period (AD 1200-1450).

The Sun Youth, Clown Societies, and Medicine Societies

Scholars generally agree that the onset of the Pueblo IV period (ca. AD 1300+) marked the appearance of modern Pueblo worldview and social organization, including the appearance of clown and medicine societies. In the American Southwest, much like in Postclassic-period Central Mexico, the Sun Youth has an association with both austere medicine and curing rites as well as an affiliation with jester-like beings of excess, lust, and vulgarity. For Puebloan societies, Ware and Blinman (2000: 387) noted: “Because of

the close complementary relationship between medicine men and clowns, the two ritual expressions likely had similar origins and diffusion histories.” Due to this close connection, a discussion of the role of the Sun Youth in relation to clown and medicine rites in Mesoamerica will helpfully serve as a prelude to understanding his role in the co-development of similar societies in the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period. As is noted, the similarities across space and time in the relationship between the Sun Youth and clowning and curing societies, as well as to hierarchical political organization, are remarkable.

The Sun Youth, Clowns, and Curers in Mesoamerica

Ritual clowning, comprised of both satirical and sacred components, has long formed an important aspect of prehispanic and contemporary Mesoamerican ceremonialism. Classic Maya ritual humor, through inversion and anti-social behavior, provided a template for understanding what is correct and what is incorrect in Maya society and behavior (Taube 1989: 377). The sacred clowns of the Maya were/are closely linked to periods of chaos that marked episodes of creation and events tied to the first dawning of the sun and to celebrations of the New Year (ibid.: 352-377). For example, clowns among the contemporary Quiche Maya emerge from the Underworld just prior to the first dawning while Tzotzil Maya clowns at Carnival are often identified with the period just before the arrival of the sun (ibid.: 377-378). During Colonial Yucatec New Year’s Festivals preceding the arrival of the sun, the jokes of ritual clowns were burlesques or farces while the focus of attention included revealing misdeeds or scandals

within the community, among others (ibid.: 352). Characteristics of buffoonery in Classic Maya art include portrayals of excessive drinking and vomiting, impersonation of animals through the use of masks, and wearing shabby clothes in contrast to the elaborately feathered and jeweled clothing of the Maya elite (ibid.: 377).

These comedic events were often bawdy, and, with the Yucatec term for farce or comedy being *ta* or *taah* (“excrement”) (Taube 1989: 352), it is clear that no topic was too sacred to address. In Classic Maya art, clowns such as God N appear in palace scenes as subservient to principal lords, and he is also at times portrayed frolicking with nubile women (ibid.: 360). This is similar to other Classic Maya clowning scenes commonly depicted on figurines where a lecherous old clown, at times with phallic attributes, is shown dancing with or sensually caressing a young woman while in the company of musicians (ibid.: 367-371).

In both Classic and contemporary Maya ritual humor, clowns are often depicted in the context of political office, with some portrayed wearing the insignia of Maya rulership (Taube 1989: 376). This conflation of clowns with political offices and positions of rulership is in keeping with Maya perceptions of humor, particularly in regard to rites of passage or change-of-office ceremonies where the young, responsible new rulers are ritually mocked by the diametrically opposed old and “corrupt” officials of the past year (ibid.). In a sense, through rituals of inversion and antisocial behavior, Maya ritual clowns provide a social commentary and delineate the dualistic perception of what constitutes important and correct social behavior, positive moral values and beauty, and proper roles of political officeholders versus the concepts associated with improper

behavior, corrupted moral values and ugliness, and vice within positions of authority (ibid.: 377). These dualistic roles expressed in ritual clowning may well relate to the concept of duality found in many aspects of prehispanic and contemporary Mesoamerican cosmologies and religion, including a proper sense of positive and negative aspects of the social and natural world. The following section examines the role of the young solar deity Xochipilli in relation to clown-like beings of excess and fertility in highland Central Mexico.

During the Postclassic period, ritual clowns played many of the same roles in social and political life. Pohl (2003b: 202, fn. 3) noted that depictions of monkey-like figures with attributes of the Nahuatl deity Ixtilton, a god of dance related to Xochipilli, occur on Tecama phase (AD 1150-1350) ceramics from Cholula. A recent study by Rojas Martínez Gracida (2008b) examined these clown-like beings on Albina Polychromes, a Tecama phase ceramic type from this site. The monkey attributes of these beings were intended to signify clown-like behavior (Pohl pers. comm. 2011).

These figures, similar to the Maya merchant deity God M, have “. . . clown-like attributes with distended lips, oddly shaped heads, and either phallic or pug-shaped noses” (Pohl 2003b: 202, fn. 3). Some of these beings on these polychrome vessels have black-and-white painted faces (see Lind: 1994, color plates 3c, 20a). Notably the face paint around the mouth and eyes is identified as “ash” in codices, a trait that links them to a relationship that resembles that between ash and clowns in the American Southwest (Pohl 2003b: 202, fn. 3). Though perhaps only distantly related to design elements in the American Southwest and Northwest Mesoamerica, one monkey that is depicted on the

central interior of an Aquiahuac-phase (AD 950-1150) polychrome from Cholula (see Lind 1994: pl. 2a [color]) is portrayed with black-and-white stripes upon its body and head, much like the ornamentation of clowning figures in contemporary West Mexico and the American Southwest.

During the Postclassic period in highland Central Mexico, the young solar deity Xochipilli was closely related to and often overlapped with the deity Macuilxochitl, whose name translates to the calendrical date “Five Flower”, sufficient to suggest that they are interchangeable names for the same deity (Miller and Taube 1993: 108). Aside from being the god of palace folk, music, games, and gambling, among other elite past-times, Macuilxochitl was the principal god of the *ahuiateteo*, a series of five gods who are “. . . simultaneously of excess pleasure and of consequent punishment” (ibid.).

According to Miller and Taube (1993: 40), the Ahuiateteo, also known collectively as the Macuiltonaleque:

. . . embodied the dangers and punishments of excessive drinking, gambling, sex, and other pleasures. Each of these five gods bore a calendrical name with the coefficient of 5, *macuil*, a number alluding to excess. Thus according to the Aztecs, the fifth cup of pulque denoted drunkenness and loss of control.

The painting of a five-fingered human hand across the mouth of the Ahuiateteo/Macuiltonaleque reinforced the link to the number five (ibid.). As Seler (1990-1998: 2: 259) noted, “. . . [A]ll of the divinities whose names contain the word macuilli, ‘five’, exhibit a certain family likeness, they seem to officiate, as it were, as brothers or young companions of Macuilxochitl.

Pohl (1998: 197) argued that “. . . the Maquiltonaleque represented malevolent avatars of the transformed gods. The Macuiltonal 5 Flower, in fact, was also known as Macuilxochitl, the benevolent god of feasting, lovemaking, and gambling . . .” In other words, the Macuiltonaleque represented the opposed character attributes, or the dualistic persona of particular gods, a blending of both a positive and negative disposition that characterizes the human social order (ibid.: 202). Physical deformities were identified with the Ahuiateteo/Macuiltonaleque and may have been perceived as punishment for immoderate behavior (Miller and Taube 1993: 75-76).

An example of excess behavior occurs in a scene from page 47 of the *Codex Borgia*. In one scene, various offerings are burnt on braziers before the Macuiltonaleque (Boone 2007: 121), one of which contains an offering of excrement being absorbed or ingested by a Macuiltonali. This suggests that, much like among Classic Maya clown-like figures, the Macuiltonaleque, as beings of excess, might well have been perceived as eaters of filth. As palace and court jesters, musicians, dwarves, and entertainers were often handicapped or deformed, Macuilxochitl’s role as the god of palace folk included a close identification with what are essentially jesters and clowns of excess, lust, and immodest and immoderate behavior (Miller and Taube 1993: 76).

Accoutrements such as the *oyohualli* cut-shell pendant often worn by dance gods such as Macuilxochitl and Xochipilli in Central Mexico are signs of pleasure that “. . . may mark the office of entertainers, such as musicians, dancers, and buffoons” (Taube 1989: 370). *Oyohualli* pendants are also frequently worn by spider monkeys in Postclassic art, an animal often associated with sexuality, drunkenness, dance, and

fertility (ibid.: 360-367). Much as monkeys among the Classic Maya are connected to ritual clowning, so too is the monkey connected to the rituals clowning related to Xochipilli. In fact, Seler (1990-1998: 2: 259) observed: “The eleventh day sign, *oçomatli* [ozomatli], ‘ape’—i.e. the nimble, merry, droll fellow—is supposed to be connected with the god Macuilxochitl or with Xochipilli, who is closely related to him...” Thus, in Postclassic highland Central Mexico, beings of excess and clowning were closely connected to the young Sun God Xochipilli.

According to Nicholson (1971: 417-418; see Boone 2007: 42, table 2) the Macuiltonaleque had a “basic solar nature” and were a part of the Centeotl-Xochipilli complex, a group of youthful solar and fertility deities related to the generative growth of corn who “. . . expressed a lighter side of the sanguinary solar-war-sacrifice cult—plus the fact that their overlap with the maize cult was so obvious and important.” The name Macuiltonal is thought to mean “Five Soul” in the Nahuatl language (Pohl 1998: 4), with the second portion of the name bearing obvious connections to the word *tonalli*, the solar breath of life (see López Austin 1988:1: 204-228). As the Macuiltonaleque are dressed as warriors in *Aubin no. 20*, they are also thought to be deified warriors who accompanied the sun as he rose at dawn (Boone 2007: 119), a quality that links them to the Flower World complex.

In a recent study, Pohl (2007b: 14) argued that the Macuiltonaleque were also closely related to the fierce stellar warriors known as *tzitzimime*, who (1) were identified with the cause and cure of illness and disease, (2) were related to the incitement and punishment of social deviance such as lasciviousness, violence, and drunkenness, (3)

were sought by the rain-bringers to bring (and presumably to end) torrential rains, and (4) who were celebrated by the nobility on a series of moveable feast days associated with the Macuiltonaleque and their female consorts.

In Mesoamerica, the arch-Tzitzimime was Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the personification of Venus as the Morning Star (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008). Notably, northern manifestations of this stellar deity appear in the same lineal trajectory and in the same geographic locations as the Sun Youth Xochipilli does in the symbolism and ritual of Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest (Mathiowetz 2010a, 2010b; Mathiowetz et al. 2008; and see Chapter 6). This similar trajectory suggests that the clown-like aspects of the Sun Youth likely accompanied the northward transmission of the Sun Youth and Morning Star-oriented religious complex.

The Ahuiateteo/ Macuiltonaleque were paired with female counterparts called the Cihuateteo, women who died in childbirth, dwelt in the west, and accompanied the Sun on his pathway from noon to sunset (Boone 2007: 120). The *Codex Founds Mexicanus 20* portrays the 260-day count (described below) along with the five pairs of Macuiltonaleque and Cihuateteo assigned to the four cardinal directions and the center (see Pohl 2007b: fig. 9). Pohl (1998: 197) pointed out that, aside from having a malevolent aspect, there were also beneficent characteristics of these figures oriented towards cloud-making. For instance, on the date 1 Rain in the *Florentine Codex*, the Cihuateteo were portrayed as traveling in the clouds (ibid.: 196, fig. 10c).

Following Serna's (1987: 430) assertion that the Cihuateteo represented the clouds that brought the first heavy showers of the year, Pohl (1998: 197) argued that this

connected them to the worship of deceased Tlaxcalan royalty who were said to be transformed into clouds after death. The Macuiltonaleque also have links to cloud-making, as they were represented as personified ceramic effigy censers (*xantiles*) in Late Postclassic (AD 1300-1500) Eastern Nahuatl art from the Tehuacán Valley in Puebla (Pohl 2007b: 4). These censers were ritually activated with the placement of burning, aromatic copal incense, an action that resulted in billowing clouds of smoke from the open mouth that acted as symbolic prayers to the Macuiltonal (*ibid.*). The symbolic breath clouds that emanated from the effigies perforated mouth, nose, ears, and heart likely also indicated that these effigies were endowed with a life-force (*ibid.*: 5, fig. 1). The clear connection between Tlaxcalan ancestors, clouds of smoke, and clouds of rain are strikingly reminiscent of similar and related themes that underlie the Southwestern katsina complex.

Depictions of the paired Macuiltonaleque and Cihuateteo in Central Mexican calendrical almanacs or codices, such as *Codex Borgia* pages 47ab-48ab and *Vaticanus B* pages 77-79, often have them holding weaponry and bloodletters while ornamented with skeletal imagery, symbols that are evocative of warfare and sacrifice (Boone 2007: 119). Descending pairs of these beings appear in scenes of the 260-day *tonalpohualli* cycle, such as that from plates 49b-53b of the *Codex Borgia*, where they are associated with the four directions and world center, directional trees and birds, directional temple offerings, and the drilling of new fire (see Boone 2007: 122-123, fig. 71).

Notably, the temple of the east in these scenes is the solar house of flowers (*xochicalco*) associated with the sun god Tonatiuh, which is elsewhere (e.g., *Codex Borgia*, pg. 37) associated with Xochipilli. The fifth scene on *Borgia* page 53b depicts

the creation of the central maize plant, the *axis mundi*. In an adjacent scene on this same page, Xochipilli is prominently depicted as a deer. In contrast to the 365-day calendar (*xihuitl*) marking the solar year, the *tonalpohualli* corresponds with both the nine-month human gestation cycle and the average time period between the appearance of Venus as morning star and Venus as evening star, among other astronomical correlations (Boone 2007: 16).

Boone (2007:132) concluded that these almanac scenes, which follow the *Borgia* middle pages that detail how elements of life and the world were established, serve to explain “. . . how major aspects of life and culture [such as polity, rulership, and religious complexes] were subsequently organized according to the directions of the world.” The point of this discussion is to emphasize that in Late Postclassic highland Central Mexico, Macuilxochitl, a being interchangeably identified with the Sun Youth Xochipilli, is the principal solar figure of a group of jester or clown-like beings of excess, lust, pleasure, and immodest behavior.

Thus, much as Maya ritual clowns such as Maximon were created “at the beginning of the world” while other Maya clowns were related to the time of the first dawn (Taube 1989: 377-378), Central Mexican clown-like beings were important components of rituals and ceremonies tied to the human life cycle, the creation of the four directions and center of the world, and the establishment of social, political, and religious organization. In contrast to the ritual role of clowning, the following discussion examines the role of Xochipilli in relation to more austere diviners and curers in Postclassic and Contact-era highland Central Mexico.

Apart from their identification as beings of excess, pleasure, and immodesty that were linked to the solar deity Macuilxochitl (Xochipilli), the Macuiltonaleque were also closely identified in Postclassic-period highland Central Mexico with diviners, curers, palace sorcerers, midwives, and rainmakers (Pohl 1998: 4). As noted above, Late Postclassic (AD 1300-1500) Eastern Nahua ceramic effigy censers from the Tehuacán Valley are portrayals of a Macuiltonal (Pohl 2007b). The Macuiltonal effigy censer that was studied by Pohl (2007b: 4-5, fig. 1) shares character attributes with sculptures of Xochipilli, including the tall crested headdress, the rosette and tassel placed at the side of the head, and the hand painted across the mouth.

Perhaps the earliest examples of this Xochipilli-style headdress were noted by Anna O. Shepard (1948: 44-45, figs. 22h, 27d-f) on Early Postclassic Toltec-horizon Plumbate effigy wares. Late Postclassic examples of Xochipilli with this crested headdress and tassels are also known from a statue from the Aztec Templo Mayor (Solís 2004: 75-76, fig. 77), another from Castillo de Teayo in Veracruz (Seler 1990-1998: 4: fig. 36a), and two Postclassic period alabaster effigy vessels housed in the Museo Arqueológico de Mazatlán in southern Sinaloa among others (see Chapter 6). Other Late Postclassic effigy censers (*xantiles*) from the Mixtec region also portray Xochipilli (Solís 2004: 34, fig. 141).

The fanged mouth on the Eastern Nahua censer studied by Pohl (2007b) is similar to the fanged mouth depicted on a hollow-bodied ceramic effigy sculpture of a Xochipilli-style figure identified as originating in the Puebla-Oaxaca region (see Easby 1966: fig. 92-93, fig. 414). This figure wears the crested headdress and the tassels on the

side of the head that are characteristic of Xochipilli. The fanged mouth is an attribute also shared with the fanged sun god of the Late Postclassic Maya, as evident in portrayals from the northern Maya lowlands in murals at Santa Rita and on a flint sacrificial knife as well as on a turquoise mask of the probable sun god, likely from Chiapas (see Taube 2010a: 161-162, figs. 13c-14). This fanged mouth attribute is also evident in a depiction of the fanged Mixtec sun god on page 10 of the *Codex Nuttall* (ibid.: 161-162). The Xochipilli and sun god-related character attributes of the *xantiles* reinforce the connection of the Eastern Nahua Macuiltonal censors to solar-oriented rituals performed by diviners and curers.

The Nahua censors, some of which were found at the site of Coxcatlán in the context of altars, benches, and platforms, formed part of a visual communication system in the Nahua-Mixteca horizon style by AD 1300 that included the use of screenfold codices, elaborate polychrome pottery, and wall paintings or frescos (Pohl 2007b: 9-10) that formed a shared elite ideology linking together the Eastern Nahuas, the Mixtecs, and Zapotecs. According to John Pohl (1994a; 2001: 97), the shared politico-religious ideology tied to Seven Flower-Xochipilli “. . . embodied the ideology of elite gift-giving and reciprocity that was the focus of Postclassic Mexican alliance networks” which arose after the demise of such Classic Period sites as Teotihuacan and Monte Alban. The northward spread of a feasting complex linked to the Sun Youth was transmitted along Postclassic-period information and economic networks that reached as far as Paquimé and Pueblo communities in the American Southwest in its most fully developed form by AD 1200-1300 (see Chapter 10).

Operating within this ritual program in Mesoamerica that was centered upon a shared symbolic system, ritual feasting, and gift-giving were palace sorcerers, diviners, and curers. According to John Pohl (2007b: 28-29, fig. 17), pages 47-48 of the *Codex Borgia* portray a creation scene depicting the origin of disease in association with the birth of the Macuiltonaleque and the Cihuateteo. In these scenes, these beings are depicted with crippled or deformed limbs, extruding or blinded eyes, and distorted mouths (ibid.: 28). As Pohl (ibid.: 30) argued, “. . . the Macuiltonaleque and the Cihuateteo were magically brought into existence along with disease, social deviance, and other catastrophes at the creation of the world.” This variety of physical ailments and illness led the Macuiltonaleque to be the patron of curers and physicians (ibid.: 31).

For the Eastern Nahua, palace diviners were full-time occupational priests whose job was to administer to the religious practices oriented towards a plethora of deities in the pantheon (Pohl 2007b: 32). A multitude of priests included physicians, sorcerers, soothsayers, animal transformers, rainmakers, hail-casters, and illusionists among others, many of whom had overlapping duties involving the use of plants, animal parts or venoms, alcoholic beverages, stimulants, hallucinogens, and other medicines (ibid.: 33-34, 38).

Among descendants of the Eastern Nahua who now reside in the Sierra de Puebla and Veracruz to the north of the Tehuacán Valley, cultural continuity is evident in indigenous ritual practices involving curing, healing, divining, and rainmaking (Pohl 2007b: 40). Among these groups, the closely related 7 Flower (Chicomexochitl/Xochipilli) and 5 Flower (Macuilxochitl) are still invoked in rites (Pohl 2007b: 40;

Sandstrom 2003: 53). Curing ceremonies at Nahua altars variously consist of the abundant use of multi-colored flowers and marigolds, food and drink, incense, depictions of the sun and the rays of sunrise, and the playing of songs called *xochisonis* or “flower sounds”, among other rites (Sandstrom 2003: 57). The connection to the solar Flower World in Nahua rituals is perhaps most clearly reiterated in the Nahua word *xochitlalia*, or “ritual”, which means “to place flowers on the earth” (ibid.: 60). Among the Nahua in the Huastec region of Veracruz, “Seven-Flower” is the name given to the youthful manifestation of the corn spirit (Sandstrom 2009: fig. 10.1d) while the name Pilsintsi (‘little corn’) is ascribed to the aspect of the corn-spirit as a baby (ibid.: 270).

The name Pilsintsi has a clear connections to the name Piltzintli that is used as an analogue for Xochipilli in highland Central Mexico. Nahua stories from this region in Veracruz describe the name of Seven-Flower as coming from a miraculous corn-plant that bore seven ears of corn (ibid.: 268). This detail immediately recalls the Contact-period Aztec description of the festivals of the young Aztec maize goddess Chicomecoatl, where bundles of seven maize cobs are named Cinteotl, an analogue of Xochipilli (Seven-Flower) (see Chapter 2). Notably, much as Xochipilli in highland Central Mexico has ties to the Macuiltonaleque as stellar *tzitzimime*, it is said that the grandmother of Seven-Flower among the Nahua of Veracruz was a *tsitsimitl*, a sorceress (ibid.: 276).

While the link between Seven-Flower/Xochipilli and curing and medicine rites remains strong in contemporary Nahua traditions, the Nahua story of the origin of corn also draws clear analogues with the birth of the sun and maize from Flower Mountain, a

religious belief of great antiquity in Mesoamerica. Among Nahua villagers of the Huasteca region of Veracruz, the corn-spirit Seven-Flower is said to reside in a sacred mountain named Postectli, a giant basaltic core located north of the village (Sandstrom 2009: 277). After the disappearance of Seven-Flower, and the subsequent failure of the maize crops, the villagers persuaded the underworld water spirits to bring rain and lightning to open up the mountain. As flames engulfed the mountain, the multi-colored corn seeds escaped and became the original seeds of the multi-colored corn plants that grow in the milpa today (ibid.). Viewed from a smaller scale, this story quite probably represents the primordial planting of the maize seed in a symbolic mound of earth where the ancestral rain spirits who reside in the underworld subsequently emerge to water and “open” the mound of earth. This act allows for the escape of the corn, the probable multi-colored corn maidens.

Notably, the fiery escape of these plants recalls the fiery birth of the sun from Flower Mountain. In fact, Nahua of this region engage in pilgrimages to the summit of Postectli where a circular altar is constructed as a representation of the sun-spirit *tonatsij*, an obvious analogue to the solar deity Tonatiuh, with attached streamers representing the emanating rays of light (Sandstrom 2003: 67). In effect, this mountain becomes an enormous altar and model of the universe (ibid.: 68), a model that clearly focuses upon the birth of the sun and maize from Flower Mountain. This description of the watering of the mound/mountain of earth by underworld ancestral rain-spirits and the return of the multi-colored corn with the sun is practically identical to the return of maize with the Sun

Youth through the help of the ancestral katsina rain spirits that is known among Pueblo people in the American Southwest.

Though not directly connected, these extended accounts of the Nahua in the Huasteca of Veracruz reveal a strikingly parallel ideology to that which became manifest in the Pueblo region of the American Southwest in the Pueblo IV period. With a cosmological framework centered upon Flower Mountain, the birth of maize, and the young solar and maize deity, these Nahua rites are intimately related to curing, healing, divining, and rainmaking, much like socioreligious organization in the American Southwest, as described below.

In sum, Flower World-related curing and ritual clowning in Mesoamerica, from the Classic and contemporary Maya to ancient and contemporary highland Central Mexican people, share a number of similar cosmological themes. Clowns serve as comic foils with dualistic roles that delineate proper and acceptable behavior from improper and immoral behavior. In many instances they are the embodiment of social deviance, illness and disease, absurdity, excess, and opposition. It is in this connection that clowns are often considered patrons of healers, diviners, and curers. Clowns in Mesoamerica are closely connected to elites and those in the upper echelons of the political and religious structure. Their role casts them as beings related to the transition from chaos to creation, particularly at the time of the first dawning of the sun. Clowns also have ties to stars and warfare, an association that likely relates to cosmological warfare. Perhaps most pertinent for the following discussion is the close relationship between clown-like beings and their

leader, the young Sun God Macuilxochitl/Xochipilli, during the Postclassic period and among contemporary indigenous people in highland Central Mexico

The Sun Youth, Clowns, and Curers in the American Southwest

Scholars have long been intrigued by the origin and development of clowning societies in the American Southwest, with many drawing comparisons between the manifestations of clowning in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest (Bricker 1973: 211-215; Hieb 1972; Makarius 1970; Parsons and Beals 1934; Steward 1931; Taube 1989: 377). Perhaps the most obvious link between clowning in the two regions is in shared connections with the Sun Youth. Many Pueblo rituals and traditions point to the Sun Youth Payatamu's role as a trickster, a double-talker, a glutton, and patron of clowning societies. Perhaps the clearest synthesis of the Sun Youth's relation to clowning is Wright's (2004) exploration of clowning societies among the Hopi and other Pueblo people. Among Pueblo people in the American Southwest, clowns serve a variety of functions and their roles are intertwined with medicine societies and katsina ceremonialism. For this reason, these groups will be discussed together in this chapter.

Among the Hopi there exist four groups of clowns: the Tsukuwimkya or Chü'kü'wimkya, the Paiyakyamu or Kossa, the Koyemsi, and the Piptuyakyamu (Wright 2004: 7). For the sake of brevity only those with the most apparent links to the Sun Youth, the Tsukuwimkya and the Paiyakyamu, are discussed. The formal, sacred Tsukuwimkya (Chü'kü'wimkya) clowns (or Tsuku when in singular and Tsutskutu when plural) are native to the Hopi, while the sacred Paiyakyamu were borrowed from the

eastern pueblos, perhaps from Tewa migrants to the Hopi Mesas (ibid.: 7-8, 112 fn. 13). According to Wright (ibid.: 13), the Tsukuwimkya are the sacred and not secular clowns of the Hopi whose routines when interacting in the plaza with the crowd and the katsinam are traditionally prescribed and unchanging.

With regard to these ritual clowns, Stephen (1936: 182) noted: “All the Singers and Wu’wuchimtu are Chū’kü’wĩmkya, and Ha’ni, Singer’s Chief, is chief at Walpi.” Elsewhere Stephen (ibid.: 158) again indicated: “All Singers and Wu’wuchimtu are *ex officio* Chū’kü’wĩmkya, and the Singers chief acted as their chief.” Notably, the Singers (or Tataukyamû) and the Wu’wuchimtu societies have as their patron Payatamu (Wright 2004: 63) and are said to have their origin with Palatkwapi clans who came from far to the south (Fewkes 1900b: 595). This relationship between the Chūkū’ and Payatamu, the God of Flowers, might be reflected in one passage describing the floral accoutrements of clowns: “All the [Chūkū’] clowns . . . were decorated with the clown flower (*chükü’ shiadta*) and all wear their hair in side cues” (Stephen 1936: 455).

Among the Tsukuwimkya are the Red-Striped Yellow Clowns, also known as the Paiyatam’ or Paiyatamhoya on Second Mesa, or the Paiyatamu on Third Mesa, who also making an appearance on First Mesa (Wright 2004: 21). This name clearly links these clowns to the Sun Youth Payatamu. Notably, the style of painting the eyes and face of these clowns is said to be “. . . similar to symbolic renditions of the sun rising over the eastern horizon” (ibid.: 22). On Third Mesa at Old Oraibi, there also existed a Paiyata-um Kachina that arrived as the leader of a group resembling the Palhik’ Mana dancers (ibid.: 23, fig. 22).

Members of the Singers and Wu'wuchim society at times volunteer to clown for the katsina as Paiyatamu. In one performance, these Hopi clowns closely resemble in decoration the Zuni Nepaiyatamu (Wright 2004: 22-23), the clowns of the Ne'wekwe whose patron is Payatamu (Parsons 1917: 230). That Payatamu clowns are portrayed by members of the Singers and Wu'wuchim societies is notable in that these societies are closely tied to Hopi governance and warfare. For example, the close connection between the Wu'wuchim and Hopi governance is evident as one Hopi consultant noted, "these [*Wuwtsim*] societies are the Hopi's government" (Whiteley 1987: 701). The connection to symbolic or ritual warfare is evident as initiates into the Singer's society were noted to wear two parallel war-track marks on their cheeks (Parsons 1923d: 186, fn. 71).

The close relationship between the clowns and the Flower World can be found in formal verbal dialogue during the Hopi Clown ceremony (*tsukulalwa*) (Hieb 1972: 170-171). At the initial rooftop entrance of the clowns into the plaza at the start of a katsina dance, they marvel at the view below of a flower-laden paradise (ibid.):

Look down there. There is the light of blossoms, of flowers, down there. Everything is bountiful and beautiful—*seetala*, the light of life (or flowers) in bloom. How can we get down there, it is so precipitous...[I]t is precipitous because this is a commemoration of the fact that as we go through life we will one day encounter the same thing. We will look upon paradise where everything is in bloom, where life is beautiful. But because of our corrupt ways it is going to be very difficult for us to be able to gain that paradise—*seetala*—flower light, the light of life in full bloom. It will be difficult for us to gain it unless we have been faithful and that is a very hard thing to do.

The word *seetala* clearly refers to the recently described Hopi floral paradise called *siitãlpuva*, which variously means "along (or throughout) the flowery land", "along the

field in bloom”, or “the land brightened with flowers” (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006: 14).

Notably, just as clowns associated with the Sun Youth Xochipilli in highland Central Mexico are associated with ash in some instances, so too are the Payatamu-affiliated Tsuku clowns associated with ash. For example, Stephen (1936: 205) described an instance where a group of Tsuku clowns took a pinch of ash from the fireplace and flicked it into the air towards the hatch of the kiva. It is said that through the falling ash the clowns were able to see the arrival of the katsina rain spirits (ibid.). Ash houses are important locales for clown initiations at a number of pueblos (ibid.: 158).

The second group of clowns at Hopi to be discussed is the Paiyakyamu or Kossa (Koshari), referred to by Bandelier (1890) as the “Delight Makers”. The patron of the sacred Tsukutu and Kossa clown societies is the young solar deity Payatamu (also known at Hopi as Taiowa), whose name is variously spelled Payetemu, Paiyachiamu, Paiyakyamu, Paiyetemo, Patyabo, and Tapaiyachiamu (Wright 2004: 57). At Hotevilla, the Paiyatama society and the “clown drama” are owned by the Eagle Clan (Hieb 1972: 133). Notably, the Eagle Clan is one of the clans with connections to Palatkwapi, the legendary place of origin far to the south (Lyons 2003: 88, table 5.1).

Stephen (1936: 158) described the Paiyakyamu/Koshare and noted their relationship to the katsinam:

The Pai’yakyamû, which term [sic] is almost certainly derived from payetemu, Keresan for youth, are banded black and white and wear a corn husk poke headdress. They are the Koshare or Kossa of the East, and at Hano are still called Kossa or Koyala . . . [T]hey consider themselves, as they are considered in the East, the leaders and fathers of the kachina.

Perhaps the mostly widely recognized clown, with their broad black-and-white horizontally striped bodies and horned head, the Koshari is actually of Tewa origin, having been brought to the Hopi Mesas in the nineteenth century (Wright 2004: 35).

According to Lange (1968: 298), “The Ku-sha’li Society is one of the more widely known Pueblo Indian societies . . . Of major concern to the Ku’sha’li Society are weather control, fertility of the animal and plant worlds, and related to these, the supervision of many ceremonies.” Their role as moisture-related beings is evident in the identification of their faux-horns made of corn husks as *sohua*, or mist (Parsons 1929: 126) and in the symbolism of their entrance into the plaza. As Stephen (1936: 553) noted, “The four Pai’akyamu clowns in their typical horn headdress with black and white striped bodies, came out from Pen’dete [kiva], shouting as is their wont and climbing housetops to represent walking over clouds.”

Much as Xochipilli-affiliated clowns of Middle Postclassic highland Central Mexico have some relationship to ash, the Pai’akyamu, who are related to the Sun Youth Payatamu, are said to live in an “ash house” (Wright 2004: 39), a connection that resembles the Tsuku clown’s relation to ash, as described above. Anyone who happens to walk through the symbolic ash house of the Pai’akyamu is initiated into the Koshari clown society (ibid.: 43). A discussion of these sacred clowns both in the Western and Eastern Pueblos further helps to illuminate the role of Paiyatamu in relation to clowning.

Much as the katsinam are divided into warm and cold groups, the Koshari are one half of a pair of clowns collectively known as the Kossa or Koyala, a term that refers to both the winter-related Kwirena clowns and the summer-related Koshari clowns (Wright

2004: 35). Among the Zia, the Koshari and Kwirena societies received their songs and medicine directly from the sun (Stevenson 1894a: 72, fn. 1). Widely present among Pueblos along the Rio Grande, the warm-related Koshari (Ku'shali or Kaishali) and cold-related Kwirena (Quirena or Kurena), along with their patron Paiyatamu, are reflective of a moiety social system that divides the community into a Winter half and the Summer half, each with their respective clown group (Wright 2004: 36). While the Koshari are seen only in dances during the warm spring and summer months (ibid.: 43), the close relationship of the Kwirena with winter and cold is evident in their single "horn" that represents ice, icicles, or an "ice mother" (ibid.: 49).

The Kwirena seem to have a less prominent presence than the Koshare (Wright 2004: 43). Among the Northern Tewa, the Sun Youth Payatamu and the Kossa are important mediators between the Winter people and the Summer people. According to one Tewa tradition (Parsons 1929: 148-149), after the emergence, many of the Winter people who hunted in the mountains and the Summer people who grew crops along the rivers and waterways began to become ill. Seeking a remedy to these problems, the leaders called upon the people to return to the place of emergence, after which it was found that the Kossa had not yet emerged. Upon making an effigy of Tapaiyachiamu (Payatamu) from cornmeal dough, the Kossa emerged as a force of merriment and humor to help redeem the people of their illness and malaise. The Kossa were thereafter divided, with some joining Summer Man, who appears to be the personified version of the warm half of the year, while others joined Winter Man, who appears to be the personified version of the cold half of the year (ibid.). This perception of a personified Summer and

Winter and the ritual divisions based upon a warm and cold dichotomy are important and is a point that informs the discussion of Puebloan social organization later in this chapter.

In other examples, Parsons (1929: 126) indicated that the kossa clowns come out to play in the katsina dances. In one San Juan tale, the katsina and the kossa are said to escape together (ibid.). In another San Juan tale, little boys who are pretending to summon the katsina first paint their bodies black and white, just like the kossa (ibid.). These tales indicate that the kossa clowns and the katsina should be associated together.

Much like the Hopi Tsukuwimkya, the Kossa or Koyala “. . . are the fathers of the kachinas, the purveyors of the village mores, and the keepers of tradition, just as are the Hopi Tsukuwimkya” (Wright 2004: 35). One Hopi clown told Alexander Stephen (1936: 412), “We (Koya’la) are the fathers of all kachina.” As Dumarest (1919: 192) noted, the koshare are said to lead the katsina back to the pueblo at dawn: “At Laguna, the *koshare* are said to come from the east where the sun lives . . . They go ahead of the *k’atsina* at sunrise singing, ‘The *k’atsina* are here, I brought them.’”

In a Hopi tradition reported by Stephen (1936: 333), the Paiyakyamu (Kossa) first dressed the katsina in their elaborate and colorful garments:

All the kachina were assembled for the purpose of choosing each his distinctive characteristic apparel, which was spread on the ground in long rows.

The Pai’yakyamû said, “My sons, who wishes for these fine moccasins, this fine mask, etc.?” lifting up each article as he asked their wishes and giving away everything in turn to the kachina. He gave away all the bright pigments also.

For the Zia, when it was time to ascend to the Upperworld, Kosairi Payatyamo was told to climb a central Douglas spruce upwards in order to prepare the way and strengthen the

tree. Koshare led them up through the earth navel into the present world and did so while doing funny, grotesque, and amusing things (White 1962: 116, 118). In the Santa Ana version of the emergence tale, the tall Sun Youth standard (*kastocoma*) is said to actually represent the spruce tree upon which people climbed upward, after which it was rewarded a headdress of parrot [macaw] feathers for its service (White 1942: 344). It may be for this reason that spruce boughs are often used in dance paraphernalia and regalia, on altars, or held in the hand of dancers (Parsons 1925: 112-113). In sum, the Koshare clowns are closely related to the Sun Youth Payatamu and serve as caretakers of the katsina with diligent observation and care for their appearance (Wright 2004: 4).

According to Parsons (1939: 170, 439), the Black Eyes of Isleta, the Ts'un'tatabo'sh of Jemez, and the Newekwe of Zuni are closely equivalent to the Koshare. According to Stephen (1936: 153, n. 1), "Ka'shaili is Zuni for Koshare, the Keresan clown. [The Hopi] Tai'owa is to be identified with Payatemu, the flute playing Sun youth, patron spirit of the Koshare and of their Zuni homologues, the Ne'wekwe." According to White (1932b: 97), the Acoma K'acale ". . . is the equivalent of the Rio Grande koshare. It is a secret organization with clown and war functions. They are associated with the sun and with Paiyatamo." Initiation into the Koshare society within the Turquoise kiva at Santo Domingo involves an altar upon which is placed "fetishes" of Payatamu (White 1935: 57, fig. 9).

At Cochiti, the Koshari and Kwirena are closely tied to two other societies, the Koshare with the Flint or *Hystiani* curing society and the Kwirena with the *Cikame* hunting society (Wright 2004: 36). Both of these clowning societies together manage

nearly every activity in the pueblo (*ibid.*). These important connections with curing societies, warfare, and dual social organization is discussed in more detail below.

The earliest depiction of a black-and-white striped figure in the American Southwest is a singular example on a Mimbres Classic bowl of a striped human male, with body paint resembling that of a *koshare*, wearing a horned serpent headdress (see Brody 2004: 43, fig. 34). This example is an interesting enigma and deserves further consideration. In the ethnographic literature, very few specifically cited connections are described between Koshare clowns and the horned water serpent, though such a connection may be evident in the general realm of rain-making. In the ethnographic record, one Nambé tale indicates that if a river runs dry or flooded, the *kossa* would call upon Avanyu, the horned water serpent, to take control of the water (Parsons 1929: 127).

In an intriguing drawing of a San Juan ceremony, Parsons (*ibid.*: 128, pl. 17) depicted two striped *kossa*, one of whom (the Summer Kossa chief) holds an effigy image of the Sun Youth Payatamu in his guise as a Kossa, praying to and sprinkling pollen on the horned serpent Avanyu in a call for rain. That the other *kossa* is standing on the body of the Avanyu might suggest that the clowns, as Sun Youth-related rain-bringing beings, travel along the body of the rain-bearing horned serpent, much as the Sun Youth travels on the body of the horned and plumed serpent in some Casas Grandes symbolism. In any case, the Mimbres example is a complicated figure. In the Casas Grandes ceramic assemblage, a singular example of a human male with black stripes on the head and body occurs on a human male effigy jar (see Christman 2002: 177), though

the rarity of this motif in Casas Grandes art renders it unclear if this particular example is authentic or a replica.

Zuni traditions mention Payatamu and his relationship to the Newekwe medicine/clown society in accounts describing the nature of the Zuni esoteric societies and their order of origin at emergence (Stevenson 1904: 407). These stories are very complex, and elements of the origin of the Sun Youth and clowning societies are at times interwoven with stories of the Zuni culture hero Poshayanki.

According to Stevenson (1904: 408), prior to the emergence of the Zuni and prior to the organization of the Zuni fraternities, a group known as Kokkothlanna (Great God) lived in the larger region. Notably, two of these beings in this group are Shits'ukia and Kwelele, who are described as the assistants of the Sun Youth Payatamu (Stevenson 1904: 487; Cushing 1896: 395, 443) in the story concerned with the Zuni acquisition of the Corn or Tableta Dance. Following the appearance of the Kokkothlanna, another group consisting of the culture hero Poshayanki and his associates arrived with the secrets of the Mystery medicine (O'naya'nakia) (Stevenson 1904: 407). It should be noted that although I have elsewhere suggested that the culture heroes Payatamu and Poshayanki are the same figure, at times these beings appear to overlap while at other times they appear to be distinct figures. Notably, only male members who possess knowledge of the Mystery medicine may be initiated into the order of Payatamu, which exists only in the Cimex and Little Fire fraternities (ibid.: 416).

Following the above-described events, the esoteric fraternities of the Zuni were organized. The first society to emerge was the rain-making Shi'wannakwe society while

the second society to emerge was the Newekwe clowns (Stevenson 1904: 408), also known as the Galaxy Fraternity, a society closely tied to their patron Payatamu. These two societies are allied with one another while the Shi'wannakwe are considered as the elder brother of the Newekwe clowns (ibid.: 409). One Zuni tradition indicates that members of the Shi'wannakwe helped to create Paiyatamu, or Bitsitsi, the first of the Zuni Newekwe, as a young boy who was full of life and laughter, and who ceaselessly mimicked even the most sacred of rituals (Parsons 1917: 229-230; Stevenson 1904: 408-409; Wright 2004: 58).

According to Stevenson (1904: 408), this second fraternity (the Newekwe) was led by Payatamu (Bitsitsi) as “musician, entertainer, or harlequin” to the clown society. Interestingly enough, while the first two Zuni esoteric fraternities have close ties to Payatamu, it is noteworthy that members of the third society created, the Hunters society, visit and offer corn meal at sun shrines composed of two concentric circles, in the center of which sits a large stone called *Ocatc-paiyatama*, or “Sun Youth” (Curtis 1907-1936, vol. 16: 133). It remains unclear if similar circular, stone “sun shrines” have been identified or overlooked in the archaeological record of the larger region. These connections indicate that at least three of the first four original Zuni fraternities created have some affiliations with the Sun Youth Payatamu. Furthermore, a number of Zuni fraternities including the A'shiwanni and others use the Payatamu medicine derived from the roots and flowers of the mythical *tenatsali* plant and its multi-colored flowers (Stevenson 1904: 569, fn. a).

That the Zuni Payatamu is closely related to the Newekwe (Galaxy) clown society is evident in carved images of Payatamu that appear standing atop a long bar (perhaps a symbolic skyband) representing the galaxy, replete with cloud symbols, lightning, carved birds, the sun, and Ursa Major, that was constructed across the top of the Galaxy Fraternity altar (Stevenson 1904: 432, pl. CIV). Pendant eagle plumes on this upper band represent the symbolic breath of life of A'wonawil'ona (ibid.: 432). A similar image of Payatamu was illustrated by Stevenson (ibid.: 431, fig. 28) as it was in the process of being carved by a Hopi man for the Galaxy Fraternity (Newekwe). In one gathering, about thirty of the ash-painted Newekwe members had an image of Bitsitsi (Payatamu) depicted on their back (ibid.: 435-436, fig. 30). Being clowns, the Newekwe engage in amusing practices intended to be abhorrent to normal sensibilities, including emptying vessels of urine over each other, and engaging in buffoonery and gluttonous behavior such as eating excrement, filth, objects such as wood splinters, and the heads of living mice, among other items (ibid.: 430, 437). These acts are simply ritual competitions among clowns, the point of which is to outdo each others' depravity (ibid.).

At Jemez Pueblo the *tabö'sh* and *tsunt'ta tabösh* form the phallic clown societies (Parsons 1925: 63-64). The *tabö'sh* are related to the sun and summer while the *tsunt'ta tabösh* are related to the winter and night, as evident in their other name, the "Ice society" (ibid.: 64). Thus, the *tabö'sh* are the "road-makers" for the dancers during summer dances and the *tsunt'ta tabösh* are "road-makers" during the winter dances (ibid.: 63). On the altar of the *tabö'sh* sits a stone image of Patyabo (Payatamu) (ibid.: 107-108, fig. 14). During the parading of the tall Sun Youth standard during the Flute Dance at Jemez, the

tabö'sh play in the plaza (ibid.: 81). In the midst of the dance, every few minutes a *tabö* emerges from the kiva nude, but laden with flowers such as a wreath of yellow blossoms, and garlands of clematis and verbesina around the shoulders, waist, and ankles (ibid.: 83-84), perhaps an allusion to the floral realm of the Sun Youth. During this dance, all of the male participants except the flutist carry stalks of ear-laden corn (ibid.: 83), a scene that recalls a Pueblo IV mural scene at Kuaua (Dutton 1963: 108-109, pl. XIV) where a group of ritual participants dance among upward-growing stalks of corn.

Sacred clown behavior is also strongly sexual in nature. As Stephen (1936: 331) reported, during one Hopi burlesque of a highly sexualized marriage ceremony, the clown as bride and other faux-women are carried off:

. . . the 'women' kicking their legs wide apart and their garments torn off so as to display the imitation vulva that each has fastened between the legs, and the Pai'akyamû and Chükü'wimkya pretend to suck at these vulva. The 'guests' and all the other male personages have had their garments plucked off, all showing an imitation penis. There is an uproar of shouts and laughter . . .

Likewise, a wooden doll representing a Hopi Pai'yakyamû maid that is illustrated in Stephen (ibid.: 939: fig. 478) is decorated with a prominent phallic symbol between the legs.

On the muddy backs of the Chükü' at Hopi were depictions of large phallic emblems that had been drawn with a wet fingertip (Stephen 1936: 947-948, fig. 481). Similarly, elder members of the Hopi Singers society, whose patron is Payatamu, dress the novices of this society in old gowns painted with phallic symbols (ibid.: 971). Stephen (ibid.: 978) noted that during the Wuwuchim ceremony, about thirty members of the Singers society:

. . . came out of the kiva, naked save for breech cloth, bodies entirely covered with chrome coloured clay pigment, these phallic designs rudely done in bright red ochre on back, breast and arms, several had this on back, covering from shoulders to loins, some had it reversed also in front, covering the entire breast . . .

Fewkes (1899b: 534) described this generative phallic symbol, when viewed in profile, as representing a profile view of a budding squash blossom. In his right hand, each of the Wü'wüchĩmtü carried an effigy phallic symbol resembling that described above, called Lü'wa, or "vulva", that is partly fashioned out of pubic hair (Stephen 1936: 979-980, fig. 487).

During the course of the dance called *Kashaile'tibi*, the Wü'wüchĩmtü mercilessly taunt women with bawdy sexual humor and gesticulations and singing obscene songs (ibid.: 981). Notably, it should be recalled that the word Kaishale, which forms a component in the name of this dance, refers to the Koshare clowns whose patron is the Sun Youth Payatamu (ibid.: 981, fn.1, 982). The illustration of vulvae in ceremonial contexts is of some antiquity on the Hopi Mesas, with painted examples appearing in Pueblo IV-period murals from Awat'ovi (Smith 1952: fig. 76d).

Journal entries by Bandelier in 1880 (in Lange 1959: 303) described the sexualized components of Koshare dancers at Cochiti as well as his reaction, common among Anglo observers of the day:

Sodomy, coitus, masturbation, etc., was performed to greatest perfection, men accoupling with each other on the ground or standing , and to the greatest delight of the spectators . . . , men, women, girls and boys, Mexicans and Indians looking on with the greatest ingenuity and innocence, not the slightest indecent look on the part of the women, and applauding the vilest motions. I was terribly ashamed, but nobody seemed to take any concern about it.

The highly sexualized symbolic content of some clown dances, performed as rites of fertility, created much tension between early white observers and native participants based upon gross misunderstandings of the nature and intent of the dances.

In his autobiography, Don Talayesva (1942: 190), a Hopi man, recounted an episode where he angrily confronted an Anglo school principal who was visibly distressed over the sexualized mimicry of a Hopi clown dance:

I walked up to him, shook his hands, and said in Hopi, “Well white man, you want to see what goes on, don’t you? You have spoiled our prayers, and it may not rain. You think this business is vulgar, but it means something sacred to us. This old Katsina is impersonating the Corn Maiden; therefore we must have intercourse with her so that our corn will increase and our people will live in plenty. If this were evil we would not be doing it. You are supposed to be an educated man, but you had better go back to school and learn something more about Hopi life.”

Clearly, the sexualized components of Pueblo clowning are not the embodiment of the misperceived degenerative meanings that were attributed to it by early Anglo observers. Rather, these acts are closely tied to rites of life, beauty, fertility, growth, and abundance.

One of the most common character traits among all Pueblo sacred clowns is the performance of behavioral reversals and the engagement in double-speaking, or talking in oppositions (Wright 2004: 61-62). Much like the Zuni Newekwe, the Jemez *tsun’ta tabösh* clowns speak in reversals (Parsons 1925: 64). Quite in line with Puebloan concepts of duality, clowns can be both warm- and cold-related beings, and can also be considered as beings of both the upper world and the underworld, or spirit world. As Wright (ibid.: 62) noted for the Zuni, “It would appear that the Kossa or Newekwe of the normal world are the reversal of Paiyatamu, who belongs to the Underworld or more

appropriately, the Spirit World, and that he is mutable, depending upon where and when he appears.”

Cushing’s (1896: 439) account of the Zuni beseeching Payatamu for the return of the Corn Maidens describes how they found him in his clown persona reciting his “lying speeches”:

Of a sudden, for the sun was rising, they heard Paiyatuma in his daylight mood and *‘hlimnan* [changed from his Underworld form into a clown]. Thoughtless and loud, uncouth of mouth, was he, as he took his way along the outskirts of the village. Joking was he, as today joke fearlessly of the fearful, his children the Newekwe, for all his words were reversals . . . of themselves and of his sacred being.

At will, Payatamu appears able to shapeshift from his guise as a rude and depraved clown into a figure of beauty and poise: “No longer a clown speaking and doing reversals of meanings-- as do his children (followers) the Newekwe, today,-- was Paiyatuma, as he walked into the court of the dancers . . . Nay, he was tall and beautiful and banded in his own mists” (ibid.: 443). In sum, the development of clowning societies among Pueblo people of the American Southwest appears to have been intimately affiliated with the adoption of Sun Youth rituals from Paquimé.

Clowning in the Casas Grandes World

The meaning of Casas Grandes symbolism, which is often highly geometric, has long been notoriously difficult to discern. The proper manner by which to analyze the symbolism and material culture is to consider the ideological context in which this symbol system arose in northern Mexico. Considering that the Sun Youth in Mesoamerica and his analogue the Sun Youth of the American Southwest are historically

related figures who both are preeminent clowns, one can conclude that clown ceremonials might, nay *must*, have been practiced in the Casas Grandes region, the singular area in Northwest Mexico through which the Sun Youth complex was transmitted. In light of this proposition, evidence for some form of clowning and phallic rites tied to fertility and rainmaking should be discerned in Casas Grandes material culture.

In light of the inextricable relationship between clowns and the Sun Youth both in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, it is probable that some form of clowning existed in the Casas Grandes World. To begin with, one symbol-laden class of artifacts that may hold important clues is ceramics, particularly human effigy vessels. A number of studies have examined Casas Grandes human effigy vessels from different perspectives, including analyses of gender and social differentiation (VanPool and VanPool 2006a) and ritual smoking (VanPool 2003b), among others. However, to my knowledge no scholars have discussed the possibility of the presence or depiction of ritual clowns among these vessels.

If we are to consider the expected evidence for the presence of clowns, one can turn to the Southwestern ethnographic record for clown behavior and ornamentation for analogues. In contrast to the graceful and serene behavior of the katsina, clown behavior among Pueblo people is designed to make people laugh through mockery, buffoonery, and the use of exaggerated displays of emotion or expression (Wright 2004: 3-7), such as puckering the lips (*ibid.*: 33), sticking out the tongue (Ortiz 1979: fig. 5; Wright 2004: 15, fig. 4), or giving wide-mouthed toothy grins (Wright 2004: 21), expressions that often are

depicted in contemporary portrayals of Pueblo clowns. Though it might appear haphazard, the facial and body paint of Pueblo clowns is designed with clear meanings associated with his patron or his own specific persona (ibid.: 7).

Aside from the widely recognized black-and-white stripes of some clowns, examples of facial decorations include the use of arcs of black paint under the eyes and mouth of the Hopi Tsukuwimkya and the Zuni Newekwe (Wright 2004: figs. 1-4, 25), the broad, horizontal stripes of mask-like paint across the eyes and mouth of the Hopi Paiyatam' clowns and others (ibid.: 20, 32, 48), and the use of paint to draw exaggerated outlines around the mouth and eyes (ibid.: figs. 26, 29, 41). Similarly, Hieb (1972: 169) pointed out that in preparation for the Clown Ceremony Hopi clowns "mark smiles on their faces in black." Stephen (1936: 489) indicated that black outlines around the mouth and the eyes are made with black corn smut. In essence, the display of distinctive body or facial paint and the performance of exaggerated facial expressions are some of the traits that might help to signify clowns in the Casas Grandes symbolism.

With these concepts in mind, it is noteworthy that a number of distinctive Casas Grandes effigy vessels with unique, yet redundant, facial expressions and facial ornamentation that are suggestive of a class of clown-like beings have been isolated. In contrast to some Casas Grandes human effigies that portray near-realistic males and females, often with stoic or almost expressionless visages, are a class of figures at times decorated with white-painted faces, black-outlined mouths, open-mouthed and/or toothy grins, masked or banded facial paint, and extruding tongues (**Figs. 11.19a-11.19e, 11.20a-11.20d, 11.21a-11.21e, 11.22a-11.22d**). This complete list of characteristics is

not always present in every example, but a number of these traits seem to overlap in the portraits of this class of individuals on these vessels.

In a number of instances, the faces of the individuals in question overlie a large white, circular background that appears to be designed to indicate a white-painted face. When this style of face occurs on a polychrome vessel, the white circular background slip underlies the black-painted face, a trait that Moulard (1984: 145, pl. 83) suggested was an important attribute when representing these characters. A number of these figures occur on Huerigos Polychromes with some occurring on Huerigos Black-on-White vessels (see Moulard 1984: pl. 83; Von Winning 1986: 34, no. 6). Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 6: fig. 283-6, no. 8) illustrated a fragment of one Huerigos Polychrome effigy vessel bearing a portrait of this clown-like figure.

Oftentimes, the brows of these individuals are painted with a black band that crosses the brow and runs down each side of the face, which then terminates in large volutes on the cheeks (**Figs. 11.19a-11.19e, 11.20a-11.20c**). In one instance, this design is not painted on the face, but instead is modeled in relief (**Fig. 11.21c**). One full-bodied human male effigy has similar black volutes on the face that curls upward from beneath the mouth rather than downward from the brow (**Fig. 11.20d**). The eyes of some of these individuals appear to be heavily lidded while others are wide open, as in a “bug-eyed” expression (**Figs. 11.21d, 11.22b**). The mouths of these individuals can open into a wide grin, at times exposing a large, or garbled, toothy smile that is often modeled (**Figs. 11.21a-11.21e**). Some of these large grins are marked in a black outline or “mask” drawn around the mouth (**Figs. 11.19a-11.19e, 11.20a-11.20d, 11.21a-11.21b, 11.21e, 11.22a**),

a design drawing clear analogues with black-marked facial decorations and exaggerated smiles of contemporary Pueblo clowns, as described above.

One of these figures is portrayed not on a jar, but on a dipper-shaped vessel, leading to the perception that these individuals may at times be related to water-pouring rites (**Fig. 11.20c**). The presence of Casas Grandes clown-like figures on dippers recalls Fewkes's (1898c: 178) observation that depictions of Paiyakyamu clowns are often represented on the handles of late nineteenth-century Hopi dippers. It should be noted that the Casas Grandes dipper also has a black-and-white striped design on the neck of the vessel, an element that may suggest an affinity with clowning. The apparently close affiliation between black-and-white designs and these clown-like figures leads to the suggestion that perhaps black-and-white bichrome pottery in general, such as Ramos Black-on-White or Villa Ahumada Black-on-White, held a special ritual affiliation with clowning societies at Paquimé.

As noted, some of these clown-like figures have wide, almost maniacal grins, often with tooth-filled mouths. Sometimes, the toothy grins are replaced with mouths agape, almost forming what today might be considered to reflect an element of surprise or shock, though this is not necessarily the emotion that ancient potters intended to express (**Figs. 11.21d, 11.22b-11.22c**). At times, these types of figures do not occur with the above-described white faces and scrolled designs on the face, but with black bands of paint across the eyes and/or the mouth (**11.21b, 11.21d-11.21e, 11.22a-11.22c**). This style of decoration results in a mask-like appearance not unlike the manner in which some contemporary Pueblo clowns are portrayed. In some instances, these figures stick

out their tongues (**Fig. 11.22a**), much like contemporary Pueblo clowns. One Casas Grandes effigy, though not clearly forming a part of the preceding group, has black arcs painted beneath the eyes, much as do some Pueblo clowns today (**Fig. 11.22d**). In other words, given the close analogues that can be drawn in contemporary Puebloan clowning behavior and ornamentation, in my estimation this class of beings likely represents portrayals of members of Casas Grandes clowning societies.

In contrast to the very fine expressions and finely painted lines of other Casas Grandes human effigy vessels, the general impression of the features on these human effigies is one of exaggeration, with the painted or modeled designs being reflective of an intentional haphazardness by design. While this appraisal might be construed as implying a lack of artistic skill, it does not. On the contrary, it is suggested that this class of beings, much like contemporary Pueblo clowns, were intentionally portrayed as figures that exist outside the normally accepted bounds of composure and behavior.

In the Casas Grandes world, these beings, probably ritual clowns, likely served in the same manner as Puebloan clowns do today. They were beings of excess, fertility, and humor and were one half of the dualistic aspect of priestly societies tied to the Sun Youth. They served as leaders and caretakers of the katsina rain-spirits, as moderators of proper behavior, and as representatives of the manner of “life as it should not be lived” (Wright 2004: 4). In the Mimbres and Chacoan region, I have found no figures with similar design elements that are comparable to those described and expressed in Casas Grandes representations of clowns.

Phallic Symbolism in the Casas Grandes World

Considering that themes of sexuality and fertility permeate not just clowning societies, but so many aspects of Pueblo ritual tied to the Sun Youth, it is worth considering that these forms of ritual also were present in Casas Grandes katsina, clown, and priestly ritual behavior. Prior to Paquimé, depictions of humans with enlarged phalli do occur on occasion in some Mimbres vessel imagery. One example from the Galaz Ruin portrays a man with an oversized penis that is supported by three smaller men (Brody 2004: fig. 26). Another Mimbres example portrays a mammal holding a rabbit-hunting stick, perhaps a bear, with an enlarged anthropomorphic penis (Brody et al. 1983: fig. 67). One example from the Mimbres Pottery Image Digital Database (MimPIDD) portrays a man with his head seeming to be knocked backwards by his exceptionally large member (MimPIDD #472). Another example in the database conveys a realistic depiction of the act of human intercourse (MimPIDD #1736). Despite these examples, I am unaware of any Mimbres examples of human phalli rendered in portable art as effigies such as the symbolic generative organs used in contemporary Pueblo dances.

Perhaps the most obvious expression of some form of Casas Grandes clowning rites is found in the presence of objects shaped into the form of human phalli. In his excavations at Paquimé, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 4: 559, fig. 346-2; 1974: 7: 303-304) recovered 11 objects of various types of stone that were shaped into distinctive representations of human phalli, none dating earlier than the Medio period. Some of these phallic stones from Paquimé were illustrated in a catalogue of Casas Grandes material culture (Narez 1991: 82, 99, 100). Recently, Whalen and Minnis (2009: 254, fig. 8.11)

recovered a finely made stone phallus from site 242, a presumed administrative center located to the southwest of Paquimé. Considering that contemporary Pueblo clowns use imitation male and female genitalia in their clowning skits and as decoration on their clothes and bodies, it is probable that these objects were used in a similar manner and were perhaps carried around during rites of fertility. Aside from stone, the objects that represent genitalia that were perhaps used in ceremonies in the Casas Grandes region could also have been made of wood, much as is known in contemporary Puebloan rites. Such wooden objects would have long ago disintegrated.

In their studies of Casas Grandes ceramics, VanPool and VanPool (2006a: 70; 2007: 53-54) noted male effigies, at times depicted with “disproportionally large” penises, with three of these males holding their penises or perhaps masturbating. In two of these instances, the males are smoking (VanPool and VanPool 2006a: fig. 7; 2007: fig. 4.9). Considering that both smoking and the manipulation of sexual organs are generative acts, it is my estimation that the portrayal of these two acts on the same vessel was not necessarily meant to imply that Casas Grandes men actually masturbated as they smoked. Rather, these depictions probably are simply redundant symbolic ways of depicting similar conceptual metaphors tied to fertility that are inherent in the act of smoking (i.e., rain and cloud making for fertility of the land) and sexual contact and release (i.e., fertility of the human species), itself an act that connotes rain-making. A separate example of this latter concept can be found in the production of moisture and mist from the phallic flutes of the Sun Youth Payatamu among contemporary Puebloan societies, as described above.

Considering that some important sacred clown societies of Puebloan people are so closely related to the Sun Youth and the katsinam, and given that the Sun Youth and a nascent form of katsina ceremonialism was prominent at Paquimé, as described above, it is difficult not to arrive at the conclusion that clowning was indeed an integral component in Casas Grandes cosmology. Furthermore, considering that the Sun Youth Xochipilli in Mesoamerica and the Sun Youth Payatamu of the Southwest are so intimately linked to clowns, it is likely that a fully developed clowning complex and a related medicine/curing tradition was transmitted northward from Mesoamerica via Paquimé during the Medio period along with the highly refined Flower World ceremonialism of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth. The framework of underlying ideas in this complex would then have been locally transformed or manifested in the Southwest, at least on the exterior, during the Pueblo IV period.

Thus, in a broad overarching sense we might well be able to conclude that the sacred clowns of the Casas Grandes culture are inextricably related to the Sun Youth Payatamu. Much as is known later in the Southwest, Casas Grandes clowns were likely the leaders and fathers of the Casas Grandes katsina rain spirits and they probably also existed in a dualistic form ranging from their sacred form in the Underworld to their uncouth and bawdy form in the Upper World. Given that the Sun Youth and an early form of katsina ceremonialism was fully present at Paquimé, it is probable that sacred clowning in the Casas Grandes region was an integral part of this complex and formed the primary basis of sacred clowning later adopted and locally manifested along with Sun Youth worship across the Southwest during the Pueblo IV period.

In essence, the appearance of phallic imagery at Paquimé, both in the portable art and in conjunction with symbolism of rainmaking (e.g., ritual smoking), coincided with the advent of Sun Youth worship during the Medio period, with the abundance of ideas and symbolism closely tied to clowning, and a virtual explosion of katsina-related ceremonialism and symbolism (i.e., breath feathers, numerous animal and human effigies with associated water-pouring rites, etc.) that far exceeds anything present in the region beforehand.

While the presence of imagery with sexual or phallic overtones in Mimbres art might lead some to conclude that this complex first had its origins during the Mimbres Classic period, I am not readily convinced by the argument that these ideas formed the central tenets of Mimbres cosmology. My perception is that elements of this complex (such as breath clouds, flowers, etc.) probably arrived into the Mimbres region as the first wave of contact with people along the west coast of Mexico became more readily apparent (e.g., Jett and Moyle 1986) but that there is a very distinct disjunction between Mimbres and Casas Grandes perceptions of this complex. Put more simply, though there are some clear similarities or antecedents, I do not believe there to be a unilinear evolutionary development that existed in the Mimbres Flower World expressions and the later, and far more Mesoamericanized, Casas Grandes Flower World complex.

While Mimbres religion incorporated some forms of Flower World imagery, Casas Grandes religion and symbolism, in contrast, appears almost wholly devoted to these ideas on so many different levels. For example, of the 8725 vessels listed in the Mimbres Pottery Image Digital Database, probably no more than a few dozen contain

depictions of flowers, a dozen or so vessel images depict butterflies or insects, about a dozen depict dragonflies, about ten vessels depict hummingbirds (some sipping from flowers), perhaps a little more than two dozen depict parrots or macaws, and there exist perhaps half a dozen horned or plumed serpents, with many for the most part occurring as isolated motifs.

In other words, only about one percent of Mimbres vessels depict clear Flower World imagery, a number that is hardly overwhelming. Casas Grandes symbolism, on the other hand, while entirely eschewing depictions of butterflies or dragonflies, focuses instead on the core themes of the sun, macaws, flowers, the plumed serpent as flower road, the solar breath spirit, smoking as cloud-making, the warm and cold oppositions of the year as reflected in the dominant presence of red-and-black color symbolism, solar observation at the Mound of the Cross, and the related inherent symbolic struggle or “battle” between the dual seasonal components during the year. This “battle” and the bipartite division of the year was manifest in the Mesoamerican ballgame played in the region. These new ideas came into the region accompanied by other foreign material goods and ritual practices from coastal West Mexico. Though rarely portrayed, much like among Pueblo people today, the Sun Youth lies at the heart of this religious ceremonialism.

If one couples these themes with the institutionalized office of Casas Grandes Sun King, along with the probable existence of a priestly retinue who lived atop the symbolic Flower Mountain on Cerro de Moctezuma, it becomes readily apparent that a high level of social complexity tied to the Flower World characterized the Casas Grandes world that

was far beyond anything that ever existed for the Mimbres. The reason that there might mistakenly appear to be an evolutionary continuity in the Flower World from Mimbres to Paquimé is simply because these two cultural traditions were obtaining these foreign ideas during different eras or generations from the same region, namely Aztatlán-era West Mexico, where these beliefs had been florescent for a number of centuries.

The difference is that while Mimbres people began to incorporate aspects or some elements of the Flower World into their cosmology between AD 1000 and AD 1150, it is clear that the second wave of the Flower World complex present in the Casas Grandes region around AD 1200 represented something far more complex, highly developed, and institutionalized than that which existed before. This second wave likely involved a stronger physical presence of West Mexican people, a higher level of interregional interaction and integration, and a more thoroughly developed form of the Flower World complex and ceremonialism that was transmitted to the primary site of Paquimé.

Casas Grandes Medicine Societies

As curing and healing rites are also tied to the Sun Youth Xochipilli in Mesoamerica, it is probable that forms of curing rites are present at Paquimé as well. However, considering that Mimbres populations likely helped to form the multi-ethnic population base of the Casas Grandes region, in all probability some form of syncretism existed in medicine or curing/healing rites. This syncretism may be found in Mimbres and Casas Grandes stone animal effigies that are remarkably similar to so-called

“fetishes”, or miniaturized objects representing wild animals, that commonly are used among historically documented Puebloan medicine societies at Zuni, Hopi, Acoma, Zia, and Laguna (see Cushing 1883; Di Peso 1974: 2: 572-573, fn. 137), among others. Di Peso (1974: 2: 573) remarked that there was a “striking similarity” between the Casas Grandes and Zuni zoomorphic medicine “fetishes”. Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 4: 572-573, figs. 360-2 and 365-2; 1974: 7: 297-301) documented some 80-plus stone effigies at Paquimé that they identified as representing such animals as bears, mountain lions, bighorn sheep, and other unidentifiable animals.

Fewkes (1914: 21, figs. 8-10) also reported several stone animal effigies from southern New Mexico. One of the three figures portrayed was said to have come from the Mimbres region north of Deming at the Black Mountain site, a transition site now known to have both earlier Mimbres and later Casas Grandes connections (*ibid.*). The other two effigies were said to have originated from the Byron Ranch site in the Mimbres region (*ibid.*). These items appear to have connections to rain rites, as terraced clouds were incised in the backs of some of these examples (*ibid.*).

One of the problems in securely identifying the latter two examples with a Mimbres site is that these artifacts were originally looted and housed in a private collection (Fewkes 1914: 21). Thus, it is unclear if the provenience information provided by the collector is based upon first- or second-hand knowledge. It remains to be clarified whether *in situ* examples have been recovered from Mimbres site. In any case, it appears at the moment that such examples are rare in the Mimbres region as compared to the site of Paquimé. Until the temporal and geographic extent of these items are known for the

Mimbres area, it is difficult to discern if a medicine complex existed first in the Mimbres area before being grafted together with newly introduced Sun Youth rites at Paquimé.

The existence at Paquimé of medicine/curing societies appears to be quite similar to what is known of medicine societies of late-nineteenth- to early-twentieth-century Pueblo communities. A detailed discussion of Pueblo medicine societies in relation to the Sun Youth follows below. Other material culture remains at Paquimé may help to substantiate the proposition that medicine societies existed at Paquimé. Evidence for priestly medicine societies in the Casas Grandes culture may be found within certain ritual offerings within the primary site. For example, two unique troves of game animal bones, a number of which are of animals important to Pueblo medicine societies, were recovered at Paquimé from Rooms 22 and 23 of Unit 16 (Di Peso et al. 1974: 8: 59-63). These included long bones of 81 black bear, 17 mountain lion, 5 grizzly bear, 4 human, 1 pronghorn antelope, and 1 mule deer (ibid.). This cache may well represent items that were used by Casas Grandes priestly medicine societies, in much the same manner as game animals and animal body parts are used among Puebloan medicine societies.

Along with this cache, a number of animal bones associated with game and the hunt, including those of white-tailed deer, mule deer, bison, red-tailed hawk, pronghorn antelope, and bobcat, were recovered along with items of copper, turquoise, shell, and stone animal “fetishes” that were placed along a stairwell of Unit 8 that led into a 12.5-meter-deep “walk-in” well (VanPool and VanPool 2007: 27; Walker and McGahee 2001: 199-200). Though originally thought to represent a deposit thrown haphazardly down the

stairs in the wake of the demise of the city, Walker and McGahee (2001: 200) noted that these objects were instead ritually deposited, perhaps in site termination rites.

While this suggestion may be the case, the possibility exists that the placement of probable medicine-related objects along a pathway that led to an important ritual water source may have embodied the same metaphors expressed when Puebloan medicine priests engage in rain retreats by returning to the watery underworld via Shipap (sipapu) in order to retrieve the katsina rain spirits and bring them back to the pueblo. Thus, it may well be the case that traversing this deep stairwell downwards to a ritually imbued well in the depths of the watery Earth was a component of rain retreats of Casas Grandes priests who symbolically and quite literally returned to the watery underworld to retrieve the Casas Grandes katsina rain spirits. That associated objects in nearby rooms included seven of the nine smoking pipes found at Paquimé (VanPool and VanPool 2007: 28) as well as an oversized vessel (see Ravesloot 1988: 70-71, fig. 7.1) ornamented with Flower Road symbolism, comparable to those found holding secondary elite interments in the Mound of the Offerings, attests to the significance of rain-making and Flower World rituals at the well.

That both medicine societies and katsina rain spirits existed as intertwined ritual organizations may be further evident in Casas Grandes effigy vessels. In a recent volume, VanPool and VanPool (2007: 20) observed: “Considerable numbers of bison, hare and rabbit, bear, deer, mountain lion, pronghorn antelope, and canine remains were recovered from Paquimé but were not represented on the pottery . . .” What is notable about this observation is that these animals are game animals that are often closely related to

medicine societies in Pueblo communities. The lack of representation of medicine-related animals on ceramic effigy vessels may signify a distinction between animals associated with private medicine and hunt-related rites and those animals associated with katsina-related rites, such as in water-pouring ceremonies that may have involved animal effigies used in more public displays. For example, while contemporary Puebloan katsina performances are publicly integrative ceremonies, medicine society rites are largely secretive and private (Ware and Blinman 2000: 404). This may well have been the case for ceremonial organization at Paquimé.

In other words, it is probable that medicine societies and katsina rites at Paquimé functioned in the same manner as they do for present-day Pueblo people, a form of ceremonial organization that until now was thought to have had its first expressions at the start of the Pueblo IV period in the American Southwest. However, it appears that this complex was fully present at Paquimé earlier in time before becoming evident more widely across the Southwest. Though clown societies and the Sun Youth Payatamu in the American Southwest have already been discussed, the close connection between medicine societies and katsina ceremonies in relation to the Sun Youth among Pueblo people in the American Southwest is discussed in much greater detail below.

In sum, as I have argued, Casas Grandes solar ceremonialism was based upon a system of solar observation that marked the dual aspects of the seasons at the winter and summer solstices as well as the equinoxes. Observation of the position of the sun on the horizon most likely occurred at Paquimé at the Mound of the Cross, a cardinally oriented cross-shaped effigy mound with astronomical alignments (Pasahow 1993: fig. 1). In other

words, solar observation at Paquimé was an endeavor that partitioned the year into a dualistic warm and cold half, much as is now known among contemporary Pueblo people. In the Puebloan Southwest, much as is probable for the earlier Casas Grandes tradition, just as the katsina rain-spirits rise from the Underworld with the heat of the dawning sun, so too do the sacred clowns of the Sun Youth arise with them to serve as supernatural guides and leaders of the katsinam and enforcers of proper behavior in the performance of these rites. Just as there is a dual division of warm and cold katsinam during the winter and summer halves of the year, so too are there dual divisions of sacred clowns in the Southwest.

This division suggests that just as the sun leads the warm weather *katsinam* northward from the winter solstice point during the summer half of the year, so too do the warm weather clowns rise and serve as proxy leaders of the *katsinam* in their guise as warm-weather moisture. In contrast, just as the sun leads the cold weather *katsinam* southward from the summer solstice point, so too do the cold weather clowns rise and serve as leaders of the katsina in their guise as the cold-weather moisture. This back and forth tension in the dual division of the year and the cyclical nature of these ceremonies helps to explain the warfare component of katsina ceremonialism and clown societies noted by many scholars.

These phalanxes of warm and cold clowns and *katsinam* during the opposed halves of the year engage in a symbolic and perpetual battle of the seasons. These dual divisions are each necessary components for the perpetuation of life, the abundance of

animals and plants, and the social and natural balance brought to fruition in the Flower World of the Sun Youth, first fully evident in the Casas Grandes culture.

At Paquimé, it seems most probable that religion was centered upon a paramount ruler as the earthly embodiment of the dawning sun. Among the primary duties of this leader was to observe the passage of the sun on the horizons through the winter and summer halves of the year in his capacity as paramount sun priest. This ritual leader likely was the symbolic caretaker of the Casas Grandes people. Part of this ritual structure surely involved a class of priestly medicine societies that served to retrieve the katsina rain spirits from the watery underworld via rain retreats. Much like for clowns among contemporary Pueblo communities, Casas Grandes clowns probably served as moral arbiters that preserved the proper performance of these rites and ensured proper behavior in the community. Clowns at Paquimé also likely served as supernatural guides who led the katsinam out of the underworld at dawn. The annual diurnal cycle of the seasons probably was perceived at Paquimé to have been a symbolic battle between the dualistic elements of the warm half of the year versus the elements of the cold half of the year, a perpetual “Battle of the Seasons.” This battle between complementary oppositions ensured fertility and the growth of corn in the living idyll that was, and is, the Flower World of the Sun Youth.

Considering that Hopi migration traditions that describe the origin of their lineage-based ritual sodalities appear to point straight at the Casas Grandes region, more so than migration traditions of any other Puebloan community in the Southwest, it is probable that control of ritual sodalities at Paquimé was lineage-based rather than village-

based, a topic that is discussed in more depth below. In all likelihood, the cosmological framework of the Casas Grandes culture, that was centered on the dual observation of the sun during the winter and summer halves of the year, formed the underlying basis by which social, political, and religious organization was adopted in varying manifestations and in localized historical contexts across the Pueblo world by the beginning of the Pueblo IV period.

Social Organization in the American Southwest

Scholars have long commented upon the nature of dual social organization (dual tribal sodalities or moieties) among the Pueblos, thought to have come to fruition during the social restructuring that occurred at the onset of the Pueblo IV period around AD 1300 (Eggan 1950; Lowell 1996; McGuire and Saitta 1996, 1998; Ware 2002; Ware and Blinman 2000). Most recently, Ware and Blinman (2000) sought to understand the development of Pueblo ritual sodalities and examined how Pueblo clown sodalities, medicine societies, hunting and war sodalities, dual tribal sodalities or moieties, and katsina ceremonialism intersect and how these relate to social power and sociopolitical organization in Pueblo communities.

In this study, they (Ware and Blinman 2000: 382) argued that the reorganization of societies after the depopulation of the Four Corners region served as a means by which socio-ceremonial organization took form:

Pueblo social ceremonial organization is fundamentally syncretic, that most Pueblo ceremonial organizations that survived into the historic period attained their ethnographic form during the late prehistoric period following the depopulation of the Colorado Plateau, and that the dynamics

of structural collapse and migration were instrumental in creating the variety of ceremonial institutions that appeared during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

They (ibid.: 399) further noted:

Iconography depicting warfare, clowning, and masked impersonator [i.e., katsina] themes is rare or nonexistent in Pueblo images from the Colorado Plateau and other peregrination localities, but these themes are common in fourteenth and fifteenth-century contexts within the historic Pueblo crescent.

As both katsina and clown ceremonialism in the Puebloan and Casas Grandes worlds have been discussed above, the following discussion explores how the Sun Youth relates to medicine societies, priestly hierarchies, and Pueblo governance in the context of the dramatic organizational changes that occurred during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV transition.

Pueblo Sodalities, Governance, and Theocracies: Western Pueblos

In a study of Pueblo ritual sodalities and governance, John Ware (2002: 94) observed: “To the extent that the Pueblos are governed at all, they are governed by hierarchies of priests—members of secret sodalities who exercise authority over the ritual and, in many communities, the mundane aspects of everyday life.” The expression of theocratic institutions finds significant variation between the Eastern and Western Pueblos. Among the Hopi in the Western Pueblos, for example, ritual sodalities are embedded in kinship structures, with the position of head priest and control of ceremonies and the attendant ritual paraphernalia owned by certain matrilineal descent groups and head lineages within these groups (ibid.: 94). On the other hand, Eastern

Pueblo sodalities form part of a more centralized form of village political organization that operates outside of kinship structures, “. . . but political, economic, and ceremonial authority is vested exclusively in a priestly hierarchy controlled by the principal medicine-clown sodalities (ibid.: 95).

Explanations for these differences, with Western priestly hierarchies being kin-based and Eastern Pueblo priestly hierarchies being non-kin-based, have been a source of debate among Pueblo scholars for some time (e.g., Dozier 1970; Eggan 1950; Ware 2002). As these debates were thoroughly explored elsewhere, this topic is only discussed in brief detail later in this paper. As is described in the following section, contemporary Puebloan social and political organization is intimately tied to the Sun.

In the Western Pueblos, and for that matter in Eastern Pueblos as well, perhaps the most obvious delineation of time is through solar observation. Reyman (1980: 43) noted:

It seems likely that Pueblo priests use their esoteric knowledge of astronomical phenomena to increase their power and prestige. Predictions of the sun’s reversal of its apparent movement along the horizons are politically important; when successful these predictions increase a priest’s power because they demonstrate his “control” of astronomical phenomena and, to some extent, of the cosmos.

In fact, Reyman (ibid.: 44 [emphasis in text]) concluded: “. . . it seems that the development of priestly power *first* resulted from accurate predictions of seasonal changes . . .” The observation of the position of the sun on the horizon helps to distinguish its most northerly and southerly extents at the solstices, as well as the delineation of time at the equinoxes, and it also helps to distinguish between very basic dual divisions of the year into periods of substinance centered upon agriculture and

substinence centered upon hunting. With these dual divisions are associations between male elements and female elements. These basic divisions extend into all aspects of Puebloan social, ceremonial, and political life.

At Zuni, the year is divided into two seasons, each lasting for six months. Determination of these two seasons is made by the Sun Priest (pekwin) by observation of the rising sun at the solstices in relation to landscape features on the horizon, a date that is subsequently approved by the rain priests (A'shiwanni) (Stevenson 1904: 108-109). The pekwin is the most revered man at Zuni who attains his power directly from the Sun (Bunzel 1932a: 512). He is the priest who officiates at all ceremonies where all of the priestly societies meet and he is the keeper of the ceremonial calendar (ibid.).

One Zuni account describes the duties of Zuni priests and the manner in which they obtained their power. In the Zuni story recorded by Benedict (1935: 2: 66-67) entitled "The Sun's Son":

The man who went to the Sun was made Pekwin. The Sun told him, "When you get home you will be Pekwin and I will be your father. Make meal offerings to me. Come to the edge of the town every morning and pray for me. Every evening go to the shrine at Matsaka and pray. At the end of the year when I come to the south, watch me closely; and in the middle of the year in the same month, when I reach the farthest point on the right hand, watch me closely." "All right." He came home and learned for three years, and he was made Pekwin . . . In eight years he was able to time the turning of the sun exactly. The people made prayersicks and held ceremonies in the winter and in the summer, at just the time of the turning of the sun.

Among the Zuni, membership in priestly societies is hereditary through the maternal family (Bunzel 1932a: 542). Among the most important ceremonies that belongs to the pekwin is the 'Hla'hewe, the Zuni version of the Corn Dance that is closely associated

with the Sun Youth and his fluteplayers (Bunzel 1932a: 513; Stevenson 1904: 180-204). During the course of the pekwin's solar observations, prayers and meal are offered to the rising sun (Stevenson 1904: 108-109). In fact, Bunzel (1932a: 499) indicated that all men who hold sacerdotal or priestly positions offer meal to the sun at dawn.

The medicine used during the course of these ceremonies is the *tenatsali* (Stevenson 1904: 124), a mythical medicine plant associated with Payatamu that bears blossoms of the six directional colors. *Tenatsali* is a medicine that appears to have hallucinogenic properties important for divination. In one Zuni tradition entitled "Divining", a Zuni "witch" ate two sticks of *tenatsali* that he had originally kept in a jar wrapped in buckskin and precious stones (Benedict 1935: 2: 139-140) in order to discern information from the supernatural *tenatsali* concerning a certain girl. Upon eating the sticks, the man cleared everything from his room, lay down upon the center of the floor, drifted off to sleep, and interacted in his dreams with the personified spirits of the two *tenatsali* boys, who are said to live in a place of beautiful flowers (ibid.). Elsewhere in the tale, it is said that the rain priesthood members plant *tenatsali* prayersticks in order to call the rain (ibid.: 140). In the Zuni tale of the absent Corn Maidens, the village priest and the priestly council gathered together and made prayer sticks for *tenatsali* to come and help them find and retrieve the lost Corn Maidens (Benedict 1935: 1: 34). The importance of Payatamu's *tenatsali* medicine is evident in that ". . . people who have *tenatsali* always have the best of everything" (Benedict 1935: 2: 141).

On the occasion of the summer solstice, prayers of the Bow priesthood are addressed in part to Payatamu (Stevenson 1904: 150). In one Zuni tale, Payatamu is the teacher of the songs of the priesthods used during their retreats for rain (Benedict 1935: 1: 204-205). In this story (ibid.: 205), Payatamu taught these songs to his son and also to the daughters of the rain priests:

That night each of the girls taught her father the prayers of the retreat. For four nights they taught their fathers. They called the rain. The eight girls and Paiyatamu made prayersticks, and planted them for rain. They went into their house and prayed. For eight days and eight nights it rained. There was much water. They ended their retreat.

Though this discussion of political and religious organization is very brief, it can be understood on a very general level that a dual division of the year and the calendrical cycle is closely tied to solar observation and a hereditary priesthood that in some instances has close affinities with the Sun Youth.

Perhaps the most thoroughly explored example of social and religious structures that are embedded in kinship systems is that among the Hopi of the Western Pueblos. Ownership of Hopi ceremonies, ritual knowledge, and religious artifacts used in these rites are subsumed under specific clans and lineages. As noted above, control of ritual sodalities is embedded in Hopi kinship systems, with the structure of Hopi religion centered upon three tiers of ceremonial organization. Importantly, control of all of the six first order societies (Wuwtsimt, Aa'alt, Kwaakwant, Taatawkyam, Soysalt, and Marawt) and three of the six second order societies (Sakwalelent, Masilelent, and Lalkont) and ceremonies have their origins with migrating clans from far to the south at Palatkwapi (Lyons 2003: 91-92). In Chapter 12, I argue that these societies and ceremonies have

close ties to Sun Youth ceremonialism and, by and large, are preeminently affiliated with Palatkwapi clans who brought a new form of solar worship from the south. This region to the south appears to be at least partly identified with Paquimé and the larger Casas Grandes region. This conclusion has important implications for our understanding of the development of Hopi structures of governance.

Ceremonial organization, the beginning of Hopi ceremonial rites, and Hopi governance are often tied to the rising sun. In fact, the Wuwuchim, the joint ceremonial organization known to be central to Hopi governance has the Singers chief as its chief (Parsons 1939: 128) and the Sun Youth as its patron. Among the first acts initiating the start of Hopi ceremonies is the erection of the ceremonial standard at dawn. For the Flute ceremony, Stephen (1936: 778) noted: “At sunrise, Si’mo fastened the [flute] standard to the west pole of the ladder, casting meal upon it and towards the sun.” At the beginning of the Hopi Lalakon ceremony, Stephen (*ibid.*: 830): “. . . observe[d] the standard in the hatchway mat of Goat kiva. They tell me Koch’nümsi, the chief priestess, set it there this morning at sunrise.” For Hopi Mamzrau ceremonies: “At the first edge of sunrise she [female participant] goes and sets the standard in the mat . . . She casts a handful of meal to the east on setting the standard” (*ibid.*: 866). At sunrise at the beginning of the Hopi Wuwuchim: “. . . a standard was set up in the hatchway of Goat kiva” (*ibid.*: 960).

Oaqöl kiva ceremonials, or all Hopi kiva ceremonials for that matter, cannot begin until the first dawning of the sun (Voth 1903b: 17):

But as the ceremonial performances in the kiva are, as a rule, not supposed to begin before the appearance of the morning dawn, the dawn is often spoken of and watched in the kiva. Not infrequently some one will be told:

“*Um aokúivato*” (“Go and see, look”)! Whereupon one thus instructed will ascend the ladder to see whether it is already dawning.”

As I noted above, the Wuwuchim, Lalakon, Flute, and Mamzrau ceremonies all have Payatamu as their patron and all are said to have come from far to the south at Palatkwapi, the site or region of tremendous importance in origin stories of a number of Hopi clans.

Hopi stratification is based upon class divisions between the *pavansinom*, the most ritually powerful people, and the *sukavungsinom*, the ordinary people (Whiteley 1987: 699). The *pavansinom* are “. . . members of the core segments of matrilineages who hold principle offices in the ritual order: their authority rests in the conduct of cyclical ceremonies and is repeatedly re-asserted in myth and ritual performance” (ibid.: 700).

The dominance of Palatkwapi-related clans in Hopi accounts of leadership is described in the order of emergence recounted by Yukioma, the leader of the “Hostile” faction prior to the split of Oraibi in 1906. He (in Voth 1905: 19) noted:

So they [the leaders] commenced to climb up the reed, first the different chiefs, the Village Chief (Kikmongwi), who was also at the same time the Soyal-mongwi, the Flute chief (Lan-mongwi), Horn chief (Al-mongwi), Agave chief (Kwan-mongwi), Singer chief (Tao-mongwi), Wuwuchim chief (Kel-mongwi), Rattlesnake chief (Tcu-mongwi), Antelope chief (Tcöp-mongwi), Marau chief (Marau-mongwi), Lagon chief (Lagon-mongwi, and the Warrior chief (Kalehtak-mongwi or Pöökong). And then the people followed and a great many went out.

These leaders are collectively referred to as the Wimmomngwit, the heads of the ritual sodalities (Whiteley 1987: 701).

The word *wimmomngwit* is derived from the word *wiimi*, which refers to ritual objects and practices, and *momngwit*, which means “chief” (Whiteley 1988: 66, fn. 6). The passage noted above suggests that the heads of the ritual sodalities are those that control or own the *wiimi*. Importantly, the Sun Youth has close ties to Hopi *wiimi*. As Stephen (1936: 1298) noted, the altar of Tai’owa “. . . was the first altar. And he had (made) the first *wi’mi* [ceremonies] and he gave to the old people the first *wi’mi*. All the *wi’mi* of the societies come first from him.” Notably, most of the *wimmomngwit* and their ceremonial affiliations have close links to Palatkwapi (see Lyons 2003: 88, table 5.1), the place of origin for important clans and ceremonies from far to the south. As noted above, a number of these ceremonies, at least including the Flute, Singer, Marau, and Wuwuchim, have the Sun Youth Taiowa (Payatamu) as their patron. In other words, it seems apparent that leadership, sociopolitical hierarchies, and governance among the Hopi of the Western Pueblo region is closely intertwined with control of Sun Youth-related rituals in kinship-based ceremonial structures, ideas, and institutions that came with migrating clans from far to the south.

Sun watching and solstice rites that divide the year into opposed but complementary halves are very important in Hopi ritual, particularly among those clans [e.g., Patki] who are said to have their origin far to the south at Palatkwapi. As Fewkes (1898b: 66) noted: “The two solstices are marked epochs in the ritualistic life of the Tusayan [Hopi] Indians, and ceremonials at these times are especially conducted by a priesthood of the Patki people among whom sun-worship is more prominent than among any other.” For Hopi, these rites are embedded in the Flute and Soyal ceremonies. While

Flute altars have been noted as representing the creation of the sun, Geertz (1987: 9) suggested that the Soyal ceremony “. . . might also be a celebration of the creation of the sun.”

Both Soyal and Flute societies are important in sunwatching rituals. As Stephen (1936: 4) noted at Oraibi: “Flute chiefs watched the sun from winter to summer solstice, the Soya’l chief, from summer to winter solstice.” In other words, the Flute Chief has charge of the sun during the warm half of the year while the Soyal Chief has charge of the sun during the cold half of the year. As Titiev (1944: 147, fn. 35) noted: “This establishes a conceptual tie between the Flute and the Soyal groups, both of which are deeply concerned with the sun’s progress.” Flute priests are especially important in making prayer offerings intended to influence the sun on his path from the winter solstice until the summer solstice when more prayer offerings are again made by Flute priests (Voth 1901: 152, fn. 4). The association of the Flute Society with the east and the dawning sun is clearly evident: “The Sun’s eastern kiva houses the Lelent [Flute Society] who play while the Sun rises” (Geertz and Lomatuway’ma 1987: 192, fn. 40). The close connection between the Flute and Soyal ceremonies essentially indicates a strong concern with maintaining the proper course of the sun from solstice to solstice.

Stephen (1936: 1) noted that the Soyal winter solstice ceremony is explicitly concerned with the annual progress of the sun. The Sun Chieftancy and the winter solstice chieftancy and ceremony are under the control of the Patki clan, a group that has their origin far to the south at Palatkwapi. For the Soyal, Stephen (ibid.: 22-24) noted a symbolic battle, a “mimic assault”, that occurred in Chief kiva and involved the carrying

of a sun shield. Other shields used during these rites, some referred to as a “moisture shield (*patü’poota*)”, display imagery of clouds, ice, morning star, and the Sun Youth Taiowa, among others (ibid.: pl. I). During these rites, the sun shield is carried between two lines of Singers, alternating back and forth (or north to south) between them as the sun shield progresses (ibid.). It is worth noting here that the patron of the Singers society is the Sun Youth Taiowa (Payatamu) (Wright 2004: 63). Stephen (1936: 24) described the Soyal:

But although to the observer this so vividly suggests an assault, yet the motive of this primitive drama is quite the opposite; it represents the Sun deity beginning his yearly shield-bearing journey, but hesitating whether or not to travel over the Hopi region, and this religious society of Singers thus display or typify their efforts to constrain him to his accustomed path.

These rites clearly demonstrate a focus upon maintaining the annual and daily path of the sun across the sky.

Pueblo Sodalities, Governance, and Theocracies: Eastern (Rio Grande) Pueblos

Among the Eastern Pueblos, the core component of Keresan sociopolitical institutions and ceremonial organization are the medicine societies (Ware and Blinman 2000: 384). As is noted below, numerous examples demonstrate that the cacique, medicine societies, clown societies, and katsina ceremonialism are closely intertwined, yet one common denominator that intersects all of these is solar observation and the presence of the Sun Youth Payatamu. The centrality of medicine men is reflected in their “. . . management and control of the ceremonial calendar, rainmaking and weather control, the births and deaths of individuals, and the selection and control of Pueblo ritual

leaders” (ibid.). White (1930: 617) noted: “In political of the pueblo, then, the influence of the medicine men is almost paramount; in instances where the selections are not made by the medicine men themselves, or by the cacique shaman, the medicine men must grant their approval of men chosen.” Dozier (1970: 155) further pointed out that political power is concentrated in the medicine societies as the village *cacique* and his assistants are almost always medicine men.

Among the Keresan Pueblos, the organization and control of medicine societies is shared with the Koshari and Kwirena clown societies (whose patron is the Sun Youth Payatamu, as I noted above) and the war societies (Dozier 1970: 153; Ware and Blinman 2000: 385). For example, among the Keresans there is a pairing between the Flint-Koshari and the Shikame-Kwirena medicine and clowning societies (Parsons 1939: 132; White 1932a: 18), with both of these tied to the political structure. Given that the Koshare and the Kwirena respectively are warm- and cold-related beings, the bipartite trait of these clowns may well extend to the Flint and Shikame medicine men. The connection of the Sun Youth to the political structure is evident on the altar of the cacique at the Keresan pueblo of San Felipe, where a green stone with a face said to look “like Pai’yatyamo” was placed along with a number of other stone “fetishes” called by the same name (White 1932a: 12). As Parsons (1939: 120; see Ware and Blinman 2000: 385) indicated, the cacique of the Flint society is also the chief or head priest of the Koshare clowns.

Parsons (1939: 132) also noted: “. . . the Shikani [Shikame] is differentiated into a curing and rain-making society, with the Kurena [Kwirena] limited to the function of

weather control. Koshare have a like relationship with the Flint society.” War societies form a closely related component of this medicine-clown complex in a role subordinate to the medicine societies, with these societies serving in their capacity as guardians of tradition, as monitors of behavior, and as secular extensions of the power of the cacique (Ware and Blinman 2000: 385).

The close link between clowns, the political hierarchy, and warfare may be evident in an example from Jemez where certain katsina masks belonging to the *tabösh* clowns are said to represent the “chief of cosmic beings” and the “war captain of cosmic beings” (Parsons 1925: 108, pls. 13a, 14c). Notably, clown and medicine societies are joined by a structure of dual membership between the two, while parity between the two is so close that Parsons suggested that they are simply two aspects of the same society (Ware and Blinman 2000: 385). This duality may well relate to the ability of clowns to traverse both the Upperworld and the Underworld (Wright 2004: 4) and the ability to change form accordingly.

In seeking to understand the origin of katsina ceremonialism, one cannot overlook the fact that katsina rites are closely tied to the clown and medicine societies. Among the Keresans, the Flint-Koshari society keeps close watch over the conduct of katsina ceremonies (Ware and Blinman 2000: 392). As Parsons (1939: 953) indicated, katsina ceremonialism can not be considered as separate and distinct from society rituals: “In the East there are no distinctive kachina ceremonials, rather the kachina come out as a conclusion to other ceremonials, since the societies while in retreat for rain are supposed to fetch the kachina from the underground Shipap [sipapu].” This passage is important as

it expressly indicates that katsina rites are inextricably intertwined with medicine society rites. Thus, it is probable that these developed co-dependently. Furthermore, this passage expresses the idea that the societies (medicine priests) essentially lead the katsinam out from the underworld.

Freese (1991) suggested that mediation between the Keresan societies and the katsinam was accomplished by the sacred clowns, while Ware and Blinman (2000: 396) suggested that, given the close association between clown and medicine societies, this mediation by the clowns probably was orchestrated by the medicine societies. Keresan-style medicine societies exist in all but the northern Tiwa pueblos and they are so closely related that they likely have similar origin histories (ibid.: 386-387).

Rituals of the Tewa medicine men (*keh*) incorporate carved stone images, called *kayé* or *kaiyé*, including such spirit animals as Bear or Mountain Lion or even hunt “fetishes” such as bones of the mountain lion (Parsons 1929: 250-252). These stone *kaiyé*, or “stone gods”, also include images of the *pachiamu* or *tapayachiamu* (Payatamu), who once took the form of a mound of corn meal dough (ibid.: 252). The presence of stone images of the Sun Youth in curing rites is notable, as other curing rites for a Santa Clara girl that were held at Nambé involved the kossa clowns invoking their patron *tapayachiamu* (Payatamu) to help heal the girl of her illness (ibid.: 226-227). Parsons (ibid.: 128) indicated that among the San Juan Tewa, the Kossa were made at Sun Lake, the place of initiation. While the *oxua* of San Juan (Tewa) are led by the town chief (Winter or Summer), they are directed by the kossa clowns (Parsons 1929: 152).

For the Northern Tewa, katsina ceremonialism is controlled by and subordinate to the moiety sodalites (Dozier 1970: 174; Ware and Blinman 2000: 392). For instance, control of katsina masks and the planning of katsina dances are kept under the ritual jurisdiction of the moiety chiefs (Parsons 1929: 110; see Ware and Blinman 2000: 392). Thus the medicine societies are related to curing and rainmaking while their closely related clown associates are tied to weather control. Much like the clowns, these curing societies in a number of instances appear to have close ties to the Sun Youth.

The Sun Youth, and solar observation, is an important component of curing ceremonialism and of duties in the political hierarchy. In the Eastern Keresan Zia creation story, Koshare Paiyatyamo and Kwiraina (Kwirena) Paiyatyamo were each formed in the shape of a man after the creation of the cacique (*tiamunyi*) and the Flint medicine society chief but before the Cikame medicine society (White 1962: 115-116). Stevenson (1894a: 32) indicated that one of the three divisions of beings made at creation is the category “Pai’-ä-tä-mo”, which includes the Koshari and Kwirena. The first man created was Koshari, the companion, jester, and musician of the Sun who was the intermediary between the people of Earth and the Sun and between the Sun and the katsina (ibid.: 33). This singular being is likely Payatamu, the head of the Koshari.

In Zia social organization, the cacique (*tiamunyi*) is supposed to represent Uttsiti (Ut’set), the mother of the Indians, and is said to be the caretaker of the people (White 1962: 125). Notably, Ut’set was the being who created the first Koshare (Payatamu) (Stevenson 1894a: 33). Furthermore, Utset also instructed the cacique to create the *i’äriko*, or *ya’ya*, the paramount ritual object of the priest societies that is comprised of a

sacred ear of corn wrapped in scarlet macaw and eagle feathers (ibid.: 40, fn. 1 and pl. IX). Might these objects in some way also relate to the Sun Youth? That eagle and macaw feathers alone are closely related to the sun (Tyler 1979: 16-84) suggests a strong solar component. Similar objects at Santa Ana (White 1942: 339), the *ho'nan* at Acoma (White 1932b: 129), and the comparable Zuni *mi'li* (Stevenson 1904: 420) also consist of perfect ears of corn wrapped eagle and macaw feathers. The significance of paired eagle and macaw feathers is discussed earlier in this chapter while the significance of maize ear fetishes in Mesoamerica and the Southwest is discussed in Chapter 6.

One of the important duties of the Zia cacique is his role as sunwatcher. In Zia accounts the cacique is said to watch the sunrise each morning while offering prayer meal (*petana*) just as the sun peeks over the horizon (White 1962: 126). Other accounts state that he only makes observations at the time of summer retreats, harvest times, and during the solar ceremonies of *hanyiko* and *hanyikikya* (ibid.). Another Zia account indicates that the cacique watches the sun at the winter solstice so that he may greet the “new” sun at the beginning of the year (ibid.). These horizon observations are partly accomplished through the visual observation of natural notches and prominent features on the landscape at the eastern horizon (ibid.).

Among the curers at Zia Pueblo, only a Flint or Koshari is qualified to install a cacique into office (White 1962: 128). The Koshari society, at Zia, can perform two of the three functions of curing rites, but the principal medicine societies or full curers (*honawai'aiti*) are Flint, Giant, and Fire (ibid.: 139, 145). However, elsewhere White (ibid.: 168) indicated that the Koshari are full *honawai'aiti* but do not possess the badges

of the curing societies. The Koshare and the Kwirena are complementary clowns that have their home at the place of sunrise (White 1962: 166). Either of these two selects the person who is to carry the Sun Youth standard during the Corn Dance (ibid.: 166). In fact, these two groups are the ones that assemble or “dress” the Sun Youth standard at Zia (ibid.: 313). On a related note, the Koshari also have complete control over the impersonator of Bocaiany in the equestrian-themed dance (ibid.: 168), a being who I suggest may be akin to Poseyemu and Payatamu, although in a Spanish-Catholic manifestation. In other Zia rain ceremonies, such as those among the Zia Snake society, representations of Payatamu are placed upon the altar (Stevenson 1894a: 78). Similarly, during rain ceremonies of the Zia Knife society, prayers and offerings are also addressed to Payatamu (ibid.: 106, 111).

At Zia, the Flint medicine society, which is the highest ranking, conducts rites during the solar ceremonies of *hanyiko* and *hanyikikya* (White 1962: 146). Though some scholars characterized these as solstice ceremonies, White (ibid.: 227-230) characterized these as solar ceremonies that mark the northward turning point of the new sun at winter solstice, with *hanyiko* occurring around November (just before winter solstice) and *hanyikikya* occurring around February, March, or April (after winter solstice). Whatever the case, the timing for the beginning of these ceremonies is determined by solar observations on the horizon by the cacique (ibid.: 228-229).

Rituals associated with *hanyiko* and *hanyikikya* are similarly observed at Santa Ana Pueblo, also an eastern Keresan village (White 1942: 92-93). Among all Keresans, the words “east-south corner” and “north-south corner” are used to describe the winter

solstice and summer solstice points, respectively (ibid.: 205). These corners are two of the four corners of the earth (ibid.). As one Santa Ana resident noted, at the ceremonies marking these points, “all people and all living beings are placed under the sun so that they may get his ianyi [power, blessing]” (ibid.: 205).

There is also a Flint-Koshari and Cikame-Kwirena division in the Santa Ana medicine societies, with the Koshari and Kwirena having their home near sunrise (White 1942: 125). On the Santa Ana sand-painting/altar of the Koshari sit small stone images of Payatamu and other spirit beings (ibid.: 337-338, fig. 46). Furthermore, Flint society curing ceremonies at Santa Ana include images of Payatamu on the altar (ibid.: 325, fig. 39). Other curing altars also include stone figures of Payatamu (ibid.: 336, fig. 45).

Among the medicine societies at Santa Ana, the Kwinic Cikame and the Kwinic Hakawa Cikame appear to have been one society under the first name at the emergence, but then split into two groups sometime in the past (White 1942: 115). According to one consultant, the Kwinic Cikame was the real “maker” of caciques in the past and today holds a position of greater influence at Santa Ana (ibid.: 116). The head of the Kwinic Hakawa Cikame has charge over the Turquoise kiva while the head of the Kwinic Cikame has charge over the Squash kiva (ibid.: 117).

At Santa Ana, the War Priest who represents Masewi joins with the Turquoise kiva while Oyoyewi joins with the Squash kiva (White 1942: 144). Among the Keresans, the War Twins Masewi and Oyoyewi are children of the Sun who obtained the power and blessings of their father (the Sun) at the place of sunrise (ibid.: 304). Though the Santa Ana pueblo cacique has a largely spiritual and symbolic leadership role, the war chiefs

Masewi and Oyoyewi are the most important officers (with Masewi being most important) in their role as guardians of the customs, exactors of punishment, and directors of ceremonies (ibid.: 102-105). Notably, at the Keresan Pueblo of Acoma, the War Twins Masewi and Oyoyewi are the children of the Sun Youth, who instructed them to serve as strong rulers and representatives of the Sun (Stirling 1942: 96-97).

After numerous observations of the rising sun, the proper date for solstice ceremonies is determined by the War Chief Masewi (one half of the War Twins), after which the medicine society heads all gather to agree to perform their rituals (White 1942: 205). The medicine societies control the sun and the seasons in the solstice ceremonies (ibid.: 124). One winter solstice prayer recorded by White (ibid.: 205) appears to suggest that the journey of the sun is intertwined with a parallel journey of the people who follow the path of the Sun:

Mother Sun!
You have gone down
To the South Corner [winter solstice point].
You have taken with you
The hano sicti [common people] of Masewi
They are in your care.
Give them your ianyi [blessing]
So they may pass the winter
And endure its rigors.

This prayer is notable in that it explicitly suggests that the people are under the care of the sun (and one War Chief) as he travels southward between the two solstice points from the winter solstice point at *hanyiko*. The same rites are said to be practiced at the summer solstice *hanyikikya* (ibid.: 207), except now under the guidance of the War Chief Oyoyewi.

Might the involvement of the War Chiefs in moiety ceremonies that involve the dual aspects of the sun during each half of the year allude to these figures as being war leaders in the symbolic “battle” between the forces of the opposed halves of the year, each being a caretaker or guide of the sun during one half of the year? Notably, after the Corn or Tablita Dance at Santa Ana, the tall Sun Youth standard (*kastotcoma*) used by the Turquoise kiva group is returned by Masewi to the head of the Kwinic Hakawe Cikame while the tall standard used by the Squash kiva group is returned to the head of the Kwinic Cikame by Oyoyewi (White 1942: 252-253). The observation that not one, but two separate Sun Youth standards is used by both halves of the moiety system is exceedingly important and strongly implies that there exist two aspects of the singular Sun Youth, one that cares for or leads the pueblo during one half of the year (summer) and the other that cares for or leads the community during the other half of the year (winter). This concept is discussed in greater detail below.

At the eastern Keresan village of Cochiti, one of the duties of the cacique “. . . is to observe the sun and its marches north and south on the eastern horizon . . .”(Lange 1959: 249). Dumarest (1919: 198) indicated that the cacique “makes the sun travel.” The Turquoise kiva at Cochiti , of which the Koshare is affiliated, is said to take precedence over the Squash (Pumpkin) kiva, of which the Kwirena is affiliated, because a Koshare [likely Payatamu] is said to have been the “first man” (Lange 1959: 309). This affiliation is further evident in that it is the Koshare leaders in the Turquoise kiva who are charged with decorating the *tablitas* and the tall Sun Youth standard during the Corn Dance while in the Squash kiva it is supposed to be the Kwirena leaders who decorate their standard

(ibid.: 310, 313). Much like other Keresan Pueblos, the *hanyiko* and *hanyikikya* rites at the solstices involve “‘bringing the sun back’ (from the south) and bidding it farewell following the agricultural season” (ibid.: 321). Finally, during Cochiti curing rites, the patient clutches to his or her chest a small image of “the sun,” *oshasha payatyama* [Payatamu] (Dumarest 1919: 152-153, fig. 15). Notably, Dumarest (ibid.: fn. 2) also pointed out that on the walls of Cochiti homes there is almost always hung “an idol of the sun,” a wooden image of *oshasha payatyama* [Payatamu] (see ibid.: pl. VI, fig. 6).

At Santo Domingo, also an eastern Keresan pueblo, three of the four heads of the Santo Domingo curing societies are said to have their homes in the east at sunrise (White 1935: 31). It is also the medicine men that bring the sun back after he has gone south for the winter (ibid.). During this period, in the ceremony of *hanyiko* (or *haniko*), all four curing societies work together to help “pull the sun” back northward (ibid.: 34). Notably, the connection to the sun is evident during rain retreats and other curing rites where the medicine societies used small stone figures representing Payatamu along with other beings in their altars (ibid.: 93, 121, 122). Flint society altars also include images of Payatamu (ibid.: 123, fig. 29).

The connection of societies to the dawning sun at Santo Domingo is evident in prayers to the medicine society to help cure an ailing person: “Tomorrow with the first rays of of our father Sun will be the first day that we and the invalid will address this supplication to you” (White 1935: 122). While the cacique is a prominent spiritual leader, it is the war captains who impersonate the War Twins Masewi and Oyoyewi, the second in command, who advise the cacique and ensure that he adheres to the customs, such as

those established by Montezuma (*ibid.*: 35-40, fn. 9). Elsewhere I argue that Montezuma is closely intertwined with the Sun Youth (see Chapter 2). The ceremonial division between the Turquoise and Squash kivas, the Flint and Cikame curing societies, and the Koshare and Kwirena are quite like those at other eastern Keresan villages.

Much like at Santo Domingo, one San Felipe consultant noted that the curing societies receive power not just from such animals as bears, eagles, and mountain lions, but from the War Twins and the Sun Youth Payatamu (White 1932a: 43). In fact, a diagram of a San Felipe curing society altar indicates that a small stone figure of Payatamu with three “parrot feathers” in his hair is used on the altar (*ibid.*: 44-45, figs. 12, 13a). After the curing ceremony, a medicine priest takes the figure of Payatamu in his left hand and the medicine bowl in his right hand and offers a drink of the medicine to all of the participants (*ibid.*: 49). During a rain retreat of the Giant Society at San Felipe Pueblo, the curing society members gather in the “mask house” where the katsina masks are stored along with a figure of the Sun Youth Payatamu, prayer sticks, medicine bowls, and other objects (White 1932a: 36-37, fig. 11). After the rain retreats, a katsina dance is held, and one native consultant said: ““they [the medicinemen] have brought the Shiwanna [rain spirits] back with them”” (*ibid.*: 50).

Though being the westernmost Keresan pueblo, and located midway between Zuni and the Eastern Rio Grande pueblos, Acoma typically has been considered to be similar in social structure to the western Pueblos (Eggan 1950: 223). For the sake of simplicity, I will briefly consider solar worship here within the discussion of the other Keresan pueblos. At Acoma, sun watching rituals on the horizon are the duty of the

cacique. Around the summer and winter solstices, the cacique notes the position of the sun via visual markers on the landscape of the eastern horizon and sets the date for the solstices (White 1932b: 84-85). Afterwards, every person makes prayer sticks and takes them to the eastern edge of the mesa to offer them to the sun (ibid.). The medicine men at Acoma are important at naming rites of children that take place at sunrise (ibid.: 133).

At the Towa pueblo of Jemez, an important component of the ritual calendar is the *Pesa*, or “sun work,” rituals that take place both at the winter and summer solstice (Parsons 1925: 75). Among the foremost functions of the cacique is to observe the sunrise in order to determine the date for solstice ceremonies and to conduct those ceremonies when appropriate (ibid.: 59). This role involves gathering the society heads in order to “work for the Sun” and make prayersticks to “dress up the Sun” (ibid.: 60). Parsons (1925: 137) noted: “Then took place what was called *pesa*, when they dress the sun. When they give the sun shirt, stockings and shoes, all that is necessary.”

These alternating solstice rituals are designed to change the seasons from cold to warm and back again in a perpetual cycle. Parsons (1925: 137) continued in her description of the Jemez emergence tradition concerning the *pesa*:

They [the ritual participants] said, “Let us see if we can make the days cold and freezing, to change the year.” So the morning they started it was very cloudy, windy and stormy. The winds whistled, it was very cold. They said, “Again let us try, let us bring forth spring and summer.” Those (society) were called *batash*, they break up the frozen ground and bring to life everything that has been frozen. And so they did. There were flowers, and the birds of summer began to sing, cheerfully. So they had the power for that, too.

Solar observations performed by the cacique at Jemez determine exactly when these events, and the associated rites, are to take place (ibid.). The link between the Sun Youth

and the returning katsinam is further evident at Jemez where the dance involving the Sun Youth standard involves a flute player whose music is said to call on the *dyasa* (Parsons 1925: 122), the rain and cloud people who are equated with the katsinam (ibid.: 124).

The preceding discussion examined a number of different Eastern (Rio Grande) Pueblo communities in order to assess the nature of the relationship between medicine and clown societies and the Sun Youth Payatamu, particularly in the context of Pueblo governance. This discussion makes clear that the Casas Grandes Sun Youth is inextricably bound up in Puebloan social and political organization, much of which is centered upon taking care of the sun and the people during the alternating halves of the year.

Dual Divisions in the Political Structure of the Eastern Pueblos

Ethnographers have long noted that Eastern Pueblo social organization was characterized by a bipartite structure comprised of dual and “antithetical” institutions that, when taken together as a whole, form a complementary sociopolitical and religious organizational system (Ortiz 1969). Ortiz (ibid.: 118) described this social system for the

Tewa:

. . . [T]he entire [social and cultural] system is not rigorously symmetrical, but it is impressively dual and it works. Thus, a change in season (the equinoxes) leads to a change in leadership and a shift in subsistence activities. It is also a time for formalizing changes in life status, as reflected in the moiety initiations. . . In essence, everything that lives and has symbolic value is so classified. In this way, what I mean by Tewa dual organization resounds not only throughout their social and spiritual existence, but into the world of nature as well.

These dual divisions take form in the ritually based moiety system. In her studies of the Tewa, Parsons (1929: 278) pointed out, “. . . the most prominent Tewa social classification is the moiety, and for social organization the most significant habit of mind, the tendency to dichotomize.”

Eggan (1950: 316) similarly concluded: “The organization of social, ceremonial, and political activities in terms of a dual division, and the further conceptualization of this division in terms of winter and summer, and the associated phenomena, suggest a fairly long period of development.” White (1942: 143) noted that Santa Ana moieties are tied to the kivas (Squash and Turquoise) but that the function of these moieties is “wholly ceremonial.” The recognition that the categories of Winter and Summer form a key component of this classificatory system tied to the ceremonial structure is important and underlies much of the following discussion.

Tewa origin stories (see Ortiz 1969: 13-28) describe the beginnings of this classificatory system where the people emerged from *Sipofene* beneath Sandy Place Lake. Upon emergence, the people were divided between the Summer Chief and the Winter Chief, thereafter to be known collectively as the Summer People and the Winter People. The Summer People were those who subsisted by agriculture and wild plant foods while the Winter People were those who subsisted by hunting (ibid.: 15). After coming together to found the mother village near Ojo Caliente, these groups subsequently split and divided into the six present-day Tewa villages, each with their own Summer and Winter People (ibid.: 16). At Santa Clara, the moieties are each associated with their own kivas (Hill 1982: 204). While most Tewa villages distinguish between Summer People

and Winter People, the moieties at San Ildefonso are also distinguished as Turquoise (Winter) and Squash (Summer) (Parsons 1929: 90). Interestingly, these terms are Keresan and Jemez terms, although only among these villages is Squash associated with winter while Turquoise is associated with summer (ibid.: 100).

Notably, there is a link to the Sun Youth in emergence tales at San Juan. Parsons (1929: 126) indicated that after the creation of the *kossa* from meal of sweet corn made into images called *tapayachiamu* (the *kossa* patron *Payatamu*), one *kossa* travelled with the Summer People and one *kossa* travelled with the Winter people. An important corollary to this event involving the Sun Youth *Payatamu* is found in another Tewa emergence tale, where *Poseyemu* is the one to divide “his children”, the Summer people being those on the west side to whom we gave fruits (agricultural products) and the Winter people being those on the east side to whom he gave deer and buffalo (animals of the hunt) (ibid.: 306). This passage suggests a conflation or close relationship between *Payatamu* and *Poseyemu*, an importance that I have elsewhere noted.

Parsons (1929: 126) observed that the *kwirena* seem to be underemphasized among the Tewa and that the *kossa* and *kwirena* do not appear to adhere to the moiety divisions (but see Wright 2004: 36). Nonetheless, the San Juan emergence tradition described above makes it clear that *kossa* clowns of the Sun Youth are divided between the Winter and Summer moieties. In any case, only among the Tewa is there a double-chieftancy where two caciques alternate in rule over the village according to the seasons (ibid.: 89; for Santa Clara political organization see Hill 1982: 181-201).

As one San Juan Tewa account indicated, these chiefs alternately control the seasons: “The Summer Man takes back his people early so winter won’t be so long” (Parsons 1929: 153). One San Ildefonso account describing the separation of moiety members lends support to the perception that one moiety or its related weather phenomena might potentially have some sort of influence over the other’s rites: “We Winter people . . . do not go into their [Summer] kiva” (ibid.: 163). A Nambé account reflects similar sentiments: “. . . [T]he Summer and Winter peoples won’t look on at each others dances, ‘they won’t even peep outside’” (ibid.: 106). Within the dual social classifications is a complex system delineating levels of existence that range from the commoners or “Dry Food People” to the “Made People”, or those members of medicine, clown, hunt, and women’s societies (Ortiz 1969: 17). This hierarchy has exact counterparts in the spirit world. While each pueblo has its own exceedingly complex social structure, for the sake of simplicity I limit the present discussion to the basic bipartite divisions.

Divisions between the Summer People and the Winter People reflect seasonal divergences that permeate ceremonial rites on many levels (see Ortiz 1969: 34; Hill 1982). For instance, one Tewa ceremony that is centered upon an infant’s induction into the Winter Moiety is held in October by the Winter Chief during his term of office as head of the entire village (Ortiz 1969: 34). According to Ortiz (ibid.), objects and colors used in this ceremony reflect winter, such as cholla cactus plants whose spines represent “icicles” and the Winter Chief’s primary symbol of office, which is called the “Ice Governing Stick.” Furthermore, the participants wear clothing such as buckskin that are

evocative of game animals, winter-related objects of the hunt. Ceremonial objects are colored white to represent winter moisture and objects are colored red to represent the hue worn by hunters and warriors, among other signifiers (ibid.).

In contrast, the induction into the Summer moiety that is held by the Summer Chief during his control of the village occurs in February or March and involves oppositional symbolism evocative of the warm half of the year. The female participants are barefoot, the main object on the altar is a rainbow (in contrast to the ice-stick of the Winter Chief), and the green, yellow, and black colors represent vegetation, sunshine, and rain-filled clouds, among other signifiers (Ortiz 1969: 35-36).

Thus, in this single example, it is abundantly clear that dual organization is contingent upon the division between the cold/warm halves of the year, the division between male/female, the division between hunting/agriculture, and so on. Notably, Ortiz (1969: 44-45) pointed out that recruitment into the moieties is not based on kinship but on ritual knowledge and, in giving some case studies, he indicated that there is a level of flexibility in membership so that any imbalance in moiety membership numbers can be evened out through the long-term redistribution of members. For example, if a bride from the Winter moiety is to marry into the Summer moiety she must convert to the Summer moiety. In order to shed her Winter aspect, she is whipped in order to symbolically shed her “icicles” and is then sprinkled with *pose* (dew) and flower petals to bring her over “to the side of warmth” (ibid.: 48) and vice-versa.

The seasonal differentiation between these moieties is reflected in ceremonies where the Summer chief “shouts the emergence path” through “yellow blossoms, amidst

the chirping of orioles and canaries, and the singing of cicadas” while the Winter chief recites the winter moieties’ journey through “areas covered by snow, through the deep snow” (Otiz 1969: 40-41). Likewise, there exists a class of Summer *Oxua* (“cloud beings”) linked to the summer, sunshine, crops, and rain-filled cumulus clouds and a class of Winter *Oxua* linked to cold weather, hunting, and warfare (ibid.: 94). A third class of *Oxua* straddle the line between the moieties and the seasons (ibid.: 95). In one appearance of those beings that appear “in the middle”, the “warm” kossa clown and the “cold” kwirena clown worked together to bring them to the kiva because these beings exist between the opposing seasons (ibid.). Thus, mediation or cooperation is required to bridge the oppositional forces of nature. In essence, those deities that are of the middle serve as “. . . mediators between the Winter moiety, the Winter deities, and the forces of nature which they represent and the Summer moiety, the Summer deities, and the forces of nature which they, in turn, represent” (ibid.).

Although the installation of the Summer Chief is at the summer solstice and the installation of the Winter Chief is at the winter solstice (Ortiz 1969: 104, fig. 10), the alternation of leadership over the village occurs at the equinoxes with the Summer Chief leading from the vernal equinox to the autumnal equinox and the Winter Chief leading from the autumnal equinox to the vernal equinox. Essentially, this divides the village between the summer agricultural cycle and the winter hunting or nonagricultural season (ibid.: 105). Thus, the Summer Chief presides over the warm-weather agricultural cycle and the Winter Chief presides over the cold-weather season of hunting and warfare. The installation of the Winter and Summer Chiefs occurs at the solstices “. . . because these

are the points of the year that epitomize the distinctions between winter and summer and ‘hot’ and ‘cold’” (ibid.: 106). Thus, it can be seen that everything in Tewa life exists in dualistic or oppositional form and is tied to the seasonal and subsistence cycle.

Among the Tewa, important duties for the Summer and Winter Chiefs include solar observation. At San Juan, the Summer and Winter Chief observe the sunrise and the sunset on the horizon in order to determine the precise times of the winter and summer solstices (Parsons 1929: 175-176). At Nambé, the Summer and Winter Chief jointly observe the sun at winter solstice by observing the rays of sunlight that shines through a window onto a deer skin hung up in a ceremonial room or onto a bowl of water (a symbolic Sun Lake) placed beneath the window (ibid.: 176, fn. 355).

Katsina ceremonialism appears to be tied to the Tewa moiety system. In the ceremonialism of the Tewa moiety system at Santa Clara, initiation ceremonies for summer katsinam involve Summer moiety members while initiation of the winter katsinam involve members of the Winter moiety (Hill 1982: 218-2120). Among the eastern Keresan pueblo of San Felipe, the perceived ideal pattern was to have two katsina groups tied to the moiety system, one associated with the Turquoise kiva and one associated with the Squash kiva, though a third smaller group was present that did not belong to either group and had no kiva (White 1932a: 27, fn. 41), a fact that may relate to the above-described group of cloud-spirits that reside between the moiety groups. In sum, it is clear that the concept of dual divisions permeates Puebloan cosmology and social organization.

The Dual Aspects of the Sun Youth: Hunter and Agriculturalist

It is important to recognize that both Western and Eastern Puebloan ceremonial organizations, whether kin-based or village-based, closely intersect with solar worship and with the perception that there are dual aspects to everything that exists in the world. This duality also extends to the Sun Youth himself. For example, it has long been noted that two standards, identified in Chapter 2 as representations of the Sun Youth, are used by the Eastern Pueblo moieties in the widespread Corn or Tablita Dance. Lange (1959: 335, 340, figs. 23a-23b) noted that two versions of the Sun Youth standard are used at Cochiti during Easter Sunday dances, one each affiliated with the Turquoise and Squash kivas. In a journal entry from Easter of 1882, Bandelier (in Lange 1959: 337, fig. 23) indicated that Tablita dances that involved the two moieties included the tall Sun Youth standard, though Lange (*ibid.*: 337) noted that today the tall standard is not used during Easter dances.

Two standards are also used by each kiva group during the very widespread Tablita dance on summer Feast days (*ibid.*: 348, fig. 23a-23b). After the dance, the pole is said to be dismantled and stored in the ceiling of each respective kiva or in community houses (*ibid.*: 348). At Acoma, during the Feast Day dance, the two kiva groups alternately perform, each headed by the tall standard called “sun youth” (White 1932b: 104). Considering the color associations inherent in the Turquoise (blue/green) and the Squash (yellow) kiva groups, one point worth noting is that this paired blue and yellow color combination in and of itself is reflective of a male/female, or cold/warm, duality with strong affinities to the Sun Youth (see Chapter 2). The agricultural component of the

Sun Youth is detailed in Chapter 2 while his hunt/warfare component is described in more detail in Chapter 12.

Other evidence of a warm/cold aspect of the Sun Youth extends to his assistants. Among the Zuni, two important assistants of the Sun Youth Payatamu, Shútsuk'ya (Shits'ukĭa) and his brother Kwe'lele, have a seemingly dualistic nature. Kwe'lele is the element that provide generative warmth to plants while Shútsuk'ya is the "black being of corn-soot, who cries with the voice of the frost wind" (Cushing 1896: 395, 443). Clearly, in this example one of these brothers is a being associated with light, heat, and life and one brother is associated with cold and frost. As a side note, during Zuni winter solstice ceremonies, the ceremonial markings of Shits'ukĭa, etched into his painted body, consist of the cross-hatched or pound sign (#) (ibid.: 133), a sign that the VanPool's observed to be important in a number of males portrayed in Casas Grandes symbolism (VanPool and VanPool 2007: 48). Identical cross-hatched designs were also reported by Stephen (1936: 197, fig. 117a) to mark the bodies of Hopi katsina dancers. These designs may be historically related. In any case, the main point of this discussion is that, much as all animate and inanimate beings in the world are dualistic in nature, so too is the Sun Youth. What remains to be understood then, is why dual social organization in the Western Pueblos is kin-based while Eastern Pueblo social organization is village-based.

The Origin of Kin-based vs. Village-based Social Organization in the Pueblo World

Scholars have sought to provide explanations for the origin of systems of social organization in the Southwest, with much of the interest focused on the development of

kin-based social organization versus village-based dual social divisions, or moities. In my estimation, the differences in kin or non-kin-based (village) control of priestly knowledge, as evident in Western and Eastern Pueblos respectively, most likely lie in the differential, yet near-simultaneous adoption of Sun Youth worship across the Southwest. Published indigenous oral histories in the Western Pueblos, particularly among the Hopi and Zuni, are explicitly clear in stating that groups of new clans arrived in the western region with Sun Youth worship and joined the existing Hopi and Zuni people. Other scholars pointed out that the arrival of Palatkwapi clans, and material culture changes stemming from the Casas Grandes region, indicate that these changes occurred between AD 1200 and AD 1300 (Adams and Lamotta 2006: 61; Bernardini 2005: 177).

As I argue in Chapters 2 and 12, the Hopi Palatkwapi clan traditions very clearly state that the physical movement of people from far to the south involved clans bringing lineage-owned religious ceremonies related to the dawning sun Taiowa/Payatamu, a being also identified here as the Casas Grandes Sun Youth. Zuni traditions, as well, clearly state that new groups of “strangers” taught Sun Youth rituals to the Zuni and thereafter joined with them to work and live together in harmony (Cushing 1896). Among the Eastern Pueblos, very few oral histories are documented or published that are as explicit, as detailed, and as clearly tied to the Mesoamerican Flower World complex as those among the Western Pueblos, particularly among the Hopi, that also describe a substantial northward migration of people/clans with new solar worship.

As a result of these migrations, it is likely that Zuni and Hopi populations consist of larger numbers of remnant populations of Casas Grandes migrants than do the Eastern

Pueblos. Because of this, it might be more accurate to suggest that the kin-based control of religious beliefs, and ritually based political power, in the Western Pueblos (e.g., Hopi) that has origins in the Casas Grandes region is directly derived from the perpetual control of those ceremonies by maternal clans who came with the wave of Casas Grandes people when they arrived to the Hopi Mesas. Though villages on the Hopi Mesas have contingents of people that originate from all directions, including those from the north that migrated off the Colorado Plateau, it is apparent that the southern clans and their knowledge of the Sun Youth came to form a dominant presence in the political hierarchy and the ceremonial cycle. It is probably for this reason that the Western Pueblos are thought by some scholars to have much more complex astronomical systems than the eastern Pueblos (Reyman 1980: 46-47).

The apparent absence of large-scale clan migrations to the Eastern Pueblos from the Casas Grandes region, and the subsequent lack of a kin-based acquisition of Sun Youth ceremonies as in the Western pueblos, resulted in a different mechanism for the formation of political control of this esoteric knowledge among Eastern pueblos. More specifically, the adoption of these solar-oriented ceremonies likely influenced the formation of village-based dual tribal sodalities centered upon the Sun Youth that effectively served to integrate people in the Rio Grande region with new migrants arriving from the Colorado Plateau. This integration appears to have been accomplished by the development of Sun Youth-oriented and ritually based moieties that divided the social, political, and religious responsibilities of the pueblo according to the dual halves of the year.

The lack of strict kin, clan, and society ownership of Sun Youth rites in the Rio Grande, such as is known among the Hopi in the Western Pueblos, likely allowed for a more progressive, or less conservative, outlook in the ownership, adoption, and public and private elaboration of the intertwined Sun Youth and katsina/medicine/clown complex. As an example, this flexibility in expression of religious ceremonies became manifest in the florescence of the Rio Grande Rock Art style and the elaborate katsina imagery that developed in the early-AD 1300s, in contrast to the lack of this elaboration in the Western Pueblos. In a later example, the lack of clan ownership, the perhaps more flexible performance of ritual, and the elaborate portrayal of religious ideas in the public symbolism of the Rio Grande region likely was also a factor in the later development of representations of the Sun Youth as a tall dance standard that is evident in Rio Grande glaze wares in the early-fifteenth century (see Chapter 2), a motif that is entirely absent in the Western Pueblo symbolic repertoire.

Though there is a common core foundation of Sun Youth worship among the Eastern and Western Pueblos, variations in the expression of this religious complex are a result of (1) the differential histories by which this complex was adopted among different linguistic and cultural groups, (2) by the different manner in which it was incorporated into newly forming multi-ethnic communities, (3) by the actions, struggles, and power plays of individual social actors, (4) by the syncretism, exchange, and “re-seeding” of information within and between Eastern and Western Pueblos, and (5) by the acceptance or rejection of this complex by individuals or social groups across the Southwest, among other factors. As Ware and Blinman (2000: 396) concluded, “. . . [A] history of

interaction is preserved within the multiple layers of sacred institutions that comprise the ceremonial organization of any given pueblo. The layers provide, in other words, a history of both the pueblos and the institutions.”

Put another way, the dissemination of the Sun Youth-oriented Flower World complex from Paquimé was mitigated by historical factors and social groups, the histories of which are embedded in Puebloan oral traditions, ceremonial organizations, and ritual performances. As Ware and Blinman (2000: 399) observed, along with the florescence of katsina ceremonialism by AD 1300, “[m]edicine and clown societies, communal warfare and hunting societies, dual tribal sodalities, and perhaps other organizations were appearing at about the same time and perhaps for the same reasons. What were those reasons?” The reason for this co-florescence, in my estimation, was the rise of Paquimé and the subsequent dissemination of Sun Youth ceremonialism to newly forming multi-ethnic communities across the Pueblo world.

The Battle of Winter and Summer

The Battle of the Seasons: Ethnographic Evidence in the American Southwest

Perhaps nowhere in the published literature is the conflict between the personified warm and cold components of the year more evident than in those stories that explicitly describe the symbolic “Battle of the Seasons”, a figurative and literal conflict between the personified forces of nature that explains the origins of Winter and Summer. A few accounts of this struggle exist in the early-twentieth-century Puebloan ethnography, mainly among Keresans and in similar stories among the Northern Tiwa (Boas 1928: 33-

35, 245; Gunn 1917: 217-222; Lummis 1910: 127-129; Pradt 1902: 88-90; Stevenson n.d.: File 3.1 [cited in Fowles 2004: 105-117]. Some scholars in recent years began to incorporate these traditions into archaeological interpretations concerned with the development of moiety systems in the Rio Grande region (Fowles 2004, 2005). Being that this concept of a symbolic battle is at the heart of the present discussion of dualism in Pueblo cosmology, it is worth considering these stories in some depth.

Among the earliest account of the conflict between Winter and Summer is Pradt's (1902) account from the Keresan pueblos of Acoma and Laguna. Lummis's (1910) and Gunn's (1917) versions are quite similar, and may actually be derived from Pradt's version. Boas's (1928) version of this tale is slightly different and was recorded from a Keresan narrator in 1919. Stevenson's (n.d.: File 3.1 [cited in Fowles 2004: 105-117] unpublished works include an account of this battle that is exceptionally detailed and similar in scope to the Keresan versions. The Keresan accounts describe an encounter that involves a battle between the personified "spirit of winter", a stern and violent man named Shakok who lives in the north, and the personified "spirit of summer", a handsome young man named Miochin who lives in the south.

In his analysis of cosmology at Santa Ana, White (1942: 83) indicated that Cakak (Shakok) lives at Kawestima, or "North Mountain", and is said to have the form of a man: "He is the personification of winter." Mayotcina (Miochin), who "helps with the crops", lives at Daotyuma, or "South Mountain" (ibid.: 83). Shakok and Miochin are mentioned with their respective north and south affiliations in ethnographic texts from Santo Domingo, Laguna, Zia, Acoma, and Cochiti (see White 1935: 32, fn. 69), and

likely other pueblos as well. Notably, at Zia, Shakok and Miochin are also affiliated with directional trees, the spruce and the oak, respectively (Stevenson 1894a: 124-125).

Since the summer and winter solstices are located on the northernmost and southernmost points on the eastern horizon, respectively, it may seem an anomaly that Winter is associated with the north and Summer with the south. This seeming contradiction might well be explained by noting that, among some Pueblos, the summer solstice point in the north is actually the turning point of the sun that marks the beginning of the cold half of the year (thus it's association with Winter) while the winter solstice is the turning point where the sun is newly born at the beginning of the warm half of the year (thus it's association with Summer). As discussed below, these factors would help to explain why Shakok swoops down from the north, perhaps symbolically at the beginning of the cold months at the summer solstice, while Miochin swoops up from the south, perhaps symbolically at the beginning of the warm months at the winter solstice, the place of the newly born sun.

Shakok is a figure that is closely associated with winter and cold weather phenomena, his body or shirt is covered in frost and icicles (Pradt 1902: 88). In the place where he lives, the season grows colder and colder, the snow and ice stays longer, the corn does not grow, the flowers do not bloom, and the people live on cold-related plants like cactus (*ibid.*). Miochin, on the other hand, is associated with summer and warm weather phenomena. He lives in the south where the corn and flowers grow all year round. He wears a yellow shirt woven of corn tassels, green leggings made of moss, and moccasins embroidered with images of flowers and butterflies. And in his arms he carries

a bundle of green corn (*ibid.*: 88-89). In Boas's (1928: 33) version, Miochin brings with him the fruits of agriculture, including melons and cultivated plants, and wears parrot (macaw?) feathers tied to his shoes, squash flowers tied to his shirt, and face paint of red and iridescent mica.

The crux of the story involves the wife of Shakok, named Co-chin-ne-na-ko (or Kochininako, the general name of female protagonists), who is tempted by all of the blessings brought by Miochin from his home in the south where it is warm and everything grows plentiful. In Gunn's (1917: 218) version, Miochin attempts to entice Co-chin-ne-na-ko to leave Shakok and come to live with him in the south. When Shakok, the husband of the woman, returns from the north in a blinding storm of snow, sleet, and hail, he is furious to discover the presence of Miochin in the village and proceeds to confront him, saying "Ha, Miochin, now I will destroy you." To which Miochin replied, "Ha Shakok, I will destroy you" (Pradt 1902: 89). The decision was made to hold a great battle between these opposed forces of nature, to be held in four days, with the winner to have Co-chin-ne-na-ko.

In preparation for this battle, each of the contestants gathered their arsenals and, in striking militaristic terms, called all of the animals, insects, and weather phenomena that would support them. In doing so, according to Pradt's (1902: 90) version, Miochin:

. . . called all the birds, insects, and four-legged animals that live in summer lands. All these he called to help him. The bat . . . was his advance guard and his shield, as the tough skin of the bat could best withstand the sleet and hail that Shakok would throw at him.

Notably, the birds that act as the “shields” of Summer include bald eagles, ospreys, golden eagles, red-tailed hawks, swallows, mud swallows, and swifts (Boas 1928: 284; Tyler 1979: 60-61).

Stevenson’s (n.d.: File 3.1 [in Fowles 2004: 113]) account mentioned that the Summer people used “plant shields” in their battle against the Winter People. Citing Taos historic practices recorded by Stevenson [n.d.: Files 2.9 and 2.28], Fowles (2004: 113-114) pointed out that Summer People constructed actual plant shields that replicated those described in the mythological accounts. These five different plants that comprised the shield were said to be resistant to cold weather (ibid.: 114). This plant shield was then used in ceremonies designed to mitigate the cold-related power of the Winter People in order to bring about the abundant growth of vegetation (ibid.).

Continuing on with the Keresan account, in same the moments that Miochin called upon all of his animal helpers for help, newly ignited fires also created darkened clouds in the sky that came up from the south along with Miochin (Pradt 1902: 90). In Boas’s (1928: 34) version, lightning was the weapon of Summer. Stirling (1942: 77) also indicated that Miochin possesses a staff with which he makes lightning and thunder. On the other hand, according to Pradt’s (1902: 90) version, Shakok:

. . . called to him all the winter birds and the four-legged animals of the winter lands. He called these all to come and help him in the coming battle. The magpie was his shield and advance guard . . . In the north the black storm clouds of winter, with snow, sleet, and hail were bringing Shakok to battle.

Other birds that are Winters “shield” include snowbirds, robins, and turkey. The crow belongs to both sides (Boas 1928: 284). In Boas’s (ibid.: 34) version, Winter’s weapons

are hail, ice, and snow. Stirling (1942: 77) indicated that Shakok possesses a staff with which he makes snow. In other words, the personified force of Winter, with his attendant winter clouds and animals, became engaged in a great battle with the personified force of Summer and his attendant summer clouds and animals.

As Pradt's (1902: 90) version continues, the two phalanxes meet for a great clash, each bringing their respective cold and warm forms of moisture:

Each came fast. Shakok from the north; Miochin from the south . . .
Shakok and Miochin were now close together. From the north Shakok threw snow flakes, sleet, and hail that hissed through the air a blinding storm. In the south, the big black clouds rolled along, and from . . . [the] fires still rose up great puffs of smoke and steam that heated the air and melted Shakok's snow and sleet and hail, and compelled him to fall back. At last Shakok called for a truce. Miochin agreed, and the winds stopped and the snow and rain ceased falling.

After the defeat of Shakok, it was agreed that Shakok would rule during half the year and Miochin would rule during the other half. This is the reason for one half of the year being cold and the other half being warm (ibid.). In Boas's (1928: 244) version, because Summer was the victor, he demanded that there be seven months of warm weather and five months of cold weather.

These stories are exceedingly important, as they clearly corroborate my arguments that Puebloan cosmology and social organization, with its dual social divisions, is inherently tied to the opposed but complementary seasons of the year. The forces of nature, especially the Winter and Summer seasons themselves, are conceptualized as personified beings, each associated with weather-related phenomena, plants, and animals that inhabit each respective realm. These forms of weather phenomena and the animals are perceived in militaristic terms and serve as "shields" of

Summer or Winter. In other words, each respective side of the year has a contingent of symbolic warriors comprised of plants, animals, and weather phenomena that serve to counteract the power of their counterparts in the opposed season.

What is particularly noteworthy is that the descriptions of the Winter man and Summer man in the , with their respective staffs that make snow or lighting/thunder, are remarkably similar to the above-cited descriptions of the Tewa Winter Chief, with his “ice governing stick” badge of office, and the Summer Chief with his equivalent badge of office, the rainbow. It is likely that these Tewa chiefs are intended to represent the personified Winter and Summer on earth, each charged to care for the pueblo during one half of the year. Thus, it is probable that the dual-chieftancies of the Tewa pueblos, along with the widespread moiety system evident in the Rio Grande region, formed as a result of the adoption of a new system of beliefs and political and ceremonial structure that was based upon the observation of the Sun Youth on the eastern horizon during the summer and winter halves of the year.

Symbolic battles that involving katsina rain spirits are evident in an account of a ceremony from Acoma by White (1932b: 88-94), that he entitled “The Fight with the K’a’ts’ina”. In this ceremony, rather than arriving with gifts, the phalanxes of katsina attack the village that is to be defended by men of the community. The katsina carry guts filled with blood, and it is said that only the katsina will die in this battle while all of the village men remain safe. During the course of the battle, the katsina blood is spilled upon the ground, where it remains as “a sacrifice to the earth” (ibid.: 92). While the precise

significance of this particular battle is uncertain, it is clear that katsina rain-spirit warriors engage in ritual battles that result in the fertilization of the earth.

*Winter and Summer Dualism in Architecture of the Pueblo III- to Pueblo IV-period
American Southwest*

Having explored the ethnographic record and determined that a prominent underlying theme of Puebloan cosmology and social organization is the symbolic battle between the opposed warm- and cold-related forces of nature, it is pertinent to examine the archaeological record, namely the rock art, kiva murals, and architecture, to discern evidence for the formation and expression of this ritual complex. Recent studies have begun to question the structural-functionalist interpretation of moiety development among the Rio Grande Pueblos as evolving in a process of natural adaptation of social organizations to such variables as changing climate, increasing population densities, and other factors (Fowles 2005: 25). In contrast to these explanations, an emerging viewpoint advocates the consideration of historically contingent factors such as immigration, ethnic conflict, and other variables in the formation of socioceremonial institutions, particularly moiety systems that structure leadership and community ritual among Eastern Pueblo villages (ibid.).

In his analysis of the Northern Tiwa pueblos of Taos and Picurís, villages located in a region where moiety systems have been less well-studied, Fowles (2005: 28) detailed a strong degree of dual social-ceremonial organization in many aspects of pueblo life. At Taos and Picurís, this organization takes the form of a north/south opposition, perhaps most vividly expressed in the north/south architectural division at Taos (ibid.: fig. 2),

with each cluster of architecture being respectively called the “North House” and “South House” (ibid.: 28). Moiety division is not necessarily based on residence patterns, but on membership in kiva groups in either of these sides of the village, a situation expressed in kiva members at Picurís being called either “Northside People” or “Southside People” (ibid.). This dual division also extends to leadership and socioreligious positions within the community with the north group being associated with winter, males, and hunting while the south group is affiliated with summer, females, and agriculture (ibid.: 29-30).

Taos origin traditions recorded by Stevenson (n.d.: File 2.19) described the formation of the community as a result of the migrations and interactions of the Summer People and the Winter People. In his studies of ancestral villages in the Northern Tiwa region, these stories helped Fowles (2004, 2005) to conclude that this system of duality came into being in this region in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. His work at T’aitōna (Pot Creek Pueblo) in the Taos District, which was occupied from around AD 1260-1319, found evidence to support his arguments in certain kiva orientations and in dualism-oriented offerings in a decommissioned kiva at the site (Fowles 2005: 35-38). With regard to the kiva offering, Fowles (ibid.) found that deposits on the northeastern side of the kiva, including such items as deer antlers and leg bones, bison bones, beaver cranium, and dog bones, appear to have formed a northern division centered on game and animals. Deposits on the southeastern side, including such items as corn cobs, a digging stick, and an axe that resembles those used today to clear fields, were thought to represent a southern, agricultural component (ibid.).

In other words, these items seem concordant with a cosmological division between a northern, winter half and a summer, agricultural half. This and other evidence led Fowles (2005: 35-38) to conclude that a moiety system was evident in the northern Tiwa region by the early-fourteenth century. The main thrust of his argument is that these social divisions formed partly as a result of the joining of migrants from the Colorado Plateau with a base population of people already living in the Taos district into a multi-ethnic community (Fowles 2008: 40-41). In other words, moiety systems were thought to have developed as a means to integrate culturally heterogeneous populations in newly formed multi-ethnic pueblos. This hypothesis is entirely plausible, and this may well have been the case for much of the Rio Grande region, but we must still factor in the Casas Grandes variable and the introduction of Sun Youth rituals into the region. The era in which these social changes occurred in the northern part of the Rio Grande Pueblo region, essentially the end of the Pueblo III period and the beginning of the Pueblo IV period, is precisely the time period in which Sun Youth ceremonialism was becoming more widely adopted across the larger Rio Grande region.

However, one issue that needs to be further clarified is the seeming differences between solar worship among Northern Tiwa Pueblos and the rest, or at least the majority, of the Rio Grande Pueblos. To my knowledge, the ethnography of the Northern Tiwa region rarely if ever mentions the Sun Youth. For instance, I have found no single citation or image in this corpus, except for a brief allusion by Ortiz (1972: 144), that demonstrates that the Sun Youth forms any significant presence in Northern Tiwa ritual and ceremony, particularly in his distinctive guise as the Sun Youth standard used during

the widespread Corn Dance. Furthermore, it is unclear if the Sun Youth motif forms any significant presence in the Pueblo IV-period symbolism on ceramics of these northern regions. Likewise, the generally held position among scholars is that katsina ceremonialism did not form a significant component of the ceremonial system in the Northern Tiwa region (but see Fowles 2008: 26-32). These are conclusions that deserve greater attention.

In support of his argument that Northern Tiwa moiety systems developed from the joining of at least two groups of people, Fowles (2008) cited Taos traditions recorded by Stevenson (n.d.: file 2.9) that described a Winter group that came from the north and a Summer group that came from the south. Zuni traditions also describe migrations of northern-affiliated Winter clans and southern-affiliated Summer clans (Cushing 1896: 426). In Taos traditions, the initial contact between these groups eventually led to much strife and a full-scale battle between the two groups, a conflict that resulted in the eventual victory of the Summer people over the Winter people (Fowles 2005: 42). While Fowles interprets this story as a literal historical event, it is worth noting that this tradition is remarkably similar to the mythological Battle of the Seasons reported for the Keresans, as described above, where the Summer man Miochin defeats the Winter man Shakok.

While I am not arguing against the idea that two or more separate groups joined together in the Taos district in the past, an act that helped to shape the formation of the moiety divisions, it may well be the case that the battle said to have taken place was simply a metaphorical cosmological battle, one that resulted in the origin of the seasons

and served as a model for structuring the community along seasonally oriented ritual divisions (i.e, moieties). This ideological “battle” of the opposed but complementary forces of the seasons likely was the framework that shaped the development of social and religious organizations and crosscut every aspect of ancestral Northern Tiwan societies and cosmology, much as in the rest of the Rio Grande Pueblos. It is clear that the pattern of moiety divisions in Puebloan communities was a historically contingent development, the success or failure of which was at least partly dependant upon the willingness of community members to make it work (Fowles 2005: 46).

Winter and Summer Dualism in Puebloan Architecture: An Historic Example

Recent studies examined changes in architectural patterns in the period spanning the years prior to and after the Pueblo Revolt of AD 1680 (Liebmann 2008; Liebmann et al. 2005; Snead and Preucel 1999). The Pueblo Revolt itself was recently characterized as an ideologically rooted ethnogenesis (Preucel et al. 2002). As ideology oftentimes is embodied in architecture and settlement patterns, the tumultuous years surrounding this seminal event are important, particularly as the revitalization movement and changes in architecture that characterized this era help to provide a window into the ideology and cosmological framework of Puebloan people now and in the past. The purpose of the study by Liebmann and colleagues (2005) was to examine how Pueblo architecture changed as indigenous people sought to revitalize their cultural traditions following the overthrow of Spanish colonial authority.

While many people prior to the Pueblo Revolt era were concentrated in mission villages with somewhat dispersed layouts on valley floors, population dislocation following the Pueblo Revolt (ca. AD 1680-1696) entailed a pattern of resettlement and rebuilding in more concentrated, plaza-oriented pueblos, in many instances atop high mesas, in much of the Rio Grande region (ibid.). The Spanish reestablishment of control in AD 1696 reversed these patterns and villages were subsequently reestablished in the valleys (ibid.). Leibmann and colleagues (ibid.) considered this brief era as a period of indigenous revitalization, traceable in the architectural changes, that diminished following the return of the Spaniards.

Following the Pueblo Revolt, the construction of new mesa-top villages adjacent to old ones, some dating to between AD 1250 and AD 1400, reinforced the intent of Pueblo people to reestablish lifeways that predated Spanish and Christian influence in the region (Liebmann et al. 2005: 50). Of the ten post-revolt villages studied, seven contained formal plazas while three contained distinctive double-plaza, double-kiva layouts (ibid.: 51). Villages that contained dual-plazas and double-kivas (such as Patokwa, Boletsakwa, and Kotyiti), in contrast to the more dispersed villages without such ritual architecture as kivas, are thought to have reflected a greater degree of social control and centralized decision-making authority by a cacique or a council of religious leaders (ibid.: 53-55, figs. 5b, 5h, 5i). That some pueblos did not accept this architectural layout might also reveal the heterogeneity among pueblos in accepting or rejecting all of the ideological underpinnings of the revolt (Liebmann 2008: 366).

Perhaps of most importance for the present study, Liebmann and colleagues (2005: 56) noted: “The double-plaza plan of these pueblos attests to the renewed importance of the traditional moieta social organization in establishing social and political balance.” Significantly, following the end of the Pueblo Revolt era and the Spanish reconquest, none of the villages established on the valley floors exhibited a dual-plaza construction pattern; most were dispersed settlements (*ibid.*: 57). This fact suggests that the intensity of the revitalization diminished in some ways as revolt leaders were killed or imprisoned and as the Spanish colonists reasserted their presence.

In their work at the late seventeenth-century village of Kotyiti, Snead and Preucel (1999) concluded that ideology formed a core component of the newly constructed dual-plaza village. The main construction dates ranging from AD 1651-1666 and AD 1680-1691 indicate that the construction of the village occurred during the Spanish missionization period and the subsequent Pueblo Revolt era (*ibid.*: 187). The village itself was an important pan-Pueblo meeting place where members of all pueblos except Hopi and Zuni met for a war council in AD 1681 to determine a response to Otermín’s reconquest efforts (*ibid.*). In considering the form and orientation of the dual-plaza settlement pattern and associated directional shrines, Snead and Preucel (*ibid.*) further related: “The construction and layout of Kotyiti are directly associated with a revitalization movement which underwrote puebloan resistance against the Spanish during the seventeenth century.” As argued below, this revitalization movement was undoubtedly centered upon the Sun Youth.

The reinvention of the ideological landscape at Kotyiti involved the placement of directional shrines inside the village plazas and immediately outside the village, the construction of which can provide clues on the nature of the ideology that was being reasserted. In particular, the east shrine was comprised of a concentration of broken grinding stones and hammerstones. Though at first these items might initially seem to be insignificant refuse, they may well instead have deep ideological significance. It is worth recalling that in many Puebloan traditions, corn grinding is intimately related to the return of the Sun Youth from the east and the production of rain (see Chapter 2). As part of a burgeoning ideological movement, the construction of an eastern shrine at Kotyiti that was laden with grinding stones may imply that the Sun Youth formed an important component of the revitalization movement that characterized this era.

Liebmann's (2008) work at revolt-era sites on the Jemez Province further explored how architecture both shaped and was shaped by the changing ideology exhibited in revitalization movements. Two of the archaeological sites, Patokwa and Boletsakwa, which contain dual-plazas and dual-kivas, were constructed early in the Pueblo Revolt era between AD 1680 and AD 1683 (*ibid.*: 363). These kivas probably reflected a division into Squash and Turquoise kiva groups, much like those known today. In fact, the name Patokwa is translated as "Turquoise Moiety Place" (Liebmann 2006: 388; Sando 1979: 419). The creation of this architectural form, which Liebmann (2008: 365) noted did not exist in prehispanic villages in the Jemez province, is reflective of the "creation of tradition", a term that implies that spatial organization did not precisely reproduce prehispanic architectural layouts.

However, while arguing that this architectural style was constructed to revive ancestral Pueblo ideology, Liebmann (ibid.: 365) also indicated:

There is no clear evidence in the archaeological record of the Jemez Province to suggest that the concept of duality was an important organizing principle in pre-Hispanic Jemez culture at all. More likely, moiety social organization and an emphasis on duality were introduced to the Jemez Province in the wake of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 . . .

These statements appear to contain an underlying contradiction with the conclusions drawn in the present chapter.

As Sun Youth worship, which is inherently centered on the concept of duality, was adopted across the Rio Grande region around AD 1250-1300, this necessarily implies that conceptions of complementary halves *must* have shaped the cosmological framework in the Jemez Province even in the absence of dual-plaza villages. As noted in Chapter 2, images of the Sun Youth (i.e., the “capitan” motif) on fourteenth-century Rio Grande glaze wares are known from the Jemez Plateau (see Hewett 1906: pl. 32f), though it remains to be understood how, if at all, the Sun Youth and Flower World was manifested in Jemez Black-on-white wares (AD 1350-1680), which ceased being produced at the time of the revolt. As Jemez oral traditions indicate, the termination of Jemez Black-on-white wares may have been related to the appropriation of this ceramic type by the Spaniards and the subsequent calls by the revolt leader Popé to rid the Pueblos of all Spanish influence (Liebmann 2008: 366-367).

The creation of dual-plaza pueblos, or what Liebmann (2008) termed an “innovative materiality”, following the Pueblo Revolt may simply have been a new way of expressing or materializing a dual conceptual framework that had existed in the region

for some four hundred years prior since the initial adoption of Sun Youth worship. One possible alternative in the quest to identify duality in the architecture of archaeological sites in the Rio Grande region is to consider that moieties may not always have been situated within a single village, but between two closely related villages. For example, Ortiz (1979: 280) indicated that the Rio Grande served to separate Tewa villages, with those on the west side associated with the summer moiety and those on the east side associated with the winter moiety. Furthermore, San Juan (Tewa) oral traditions and ethnohistoric documents specified that at the time of arrival of Spanish colonists, moieties were spatially separated between the villages of Okeh (home of the winter moiety) and Yungue (home of the summer moiety). The arrival of Juan de Oñate's party in AD 1598 resulted in the displacement of the people of Yungue and the joining of the village population with present-day San Juan Pueblo, located across the river (Liebmann 2006: 387; Ortiz 1979: 280-281). This manner of organizing dual moiety divisions in separate villages may be characteristic of other prehispanic sites in the larger region.

What is perhaps most noteworthy about the florescence of a revitalization movement among Towa (Jemez) and Keresan (Cochiti) villages that incorporated a new form of dual-structured architecture centered on moieties is that the revolt of AD 1680 itself was symbolically spiritually led by the Sun Youth Payatamu. As I noted in Chapter 2, upon capture, a Towa man informed the Spaniards that the leader of the Pueblo Revolt was named "Patyabo", another name for the Sun Youth, while a Keresan captive said that the leader was "Payastimo", a name clearly analogous to Payatamu (Ortiz 1980: 21).

These data indicate that the Sun Youth was already worshipped by Towan and Keresan people (among others) prior to the Pueblo Revolt, and probably for a considerable time-depth. Thus, although the revolt-era revitalization movement did not entail reviving depictions of the Sun Youth motif, such as those portrayed on earlier glaze wares, the construction of dual-plaza communities was instead one way in which the duality-centered religious complex of the Sun Youth was materially remanifested. In other words, a consequence of the Pueblo Revolt was the innovation of a new architectural style among Jemez villages that was emblematic of, or signified, the earlier duality-centered cosmology of the Sun Youth. As noted, the production of ceramics with overt images of the Sun Youth were not similarly revived during this time. The absence of portrayals of the Sun Youth perhaps was a result of an indigenous perspective that the Sun Youth had left the people with the arrival of the Spaniards, though now only his spirit remained instead of his physical presence, much as indigenous oral traditions suggest.

Winter and Summer Dualism in Pueblo IV-period Rock Art

In the prehispanic material culture, evidence of seasonal dualism can be found not just in architecture, but in the rock art symbolism. Polly Schaafsma's (2000a; 2007a) research on Puebloan rock art identified prominent evidence for a ritual warfare complex in the art of the Pueblo IV period along the Rio Grande. In Rio Grande-style rock art and symbolism in kiva murals from Pottery Mound, a number of shared elements related to warfare in these domains include star and raptor katsinam, war gods, transformational

humans or katsinam, shield bearers, warriors, weapons such as war clubs and bow and arrows, eagle feathers, predatory animals such as mountain lions, avian raptors, macaws, dragonflies, cloud terraces, lightning, rainbows, pottery vessels spewing moisture, and a number of other elements (Schaafsma 2007a: 140).

Battle scenes and lines of shield-bearing warriors occur in kiva murals, such as those from Pottery Mound, Awat'ovi, and Kawaika'a (Hibben 1975: figs. 49, 102-104; Smith 1952: figs. 52b, 53b, 65a). Themes of warfare in the ancient and contemporary art and material culture were noted by other scholars (Crotty 1995, 2001; Wright 1976, 1992). Notably, the numerous elements noted above crosscut dualistic themes of warfare and fertility: “. . . [W]ar and fertility have been shown to be inextricably linked since the fourteenth century” (Schaafsma 2000a: 154).

The cosmology underlying this relationship is closely related to the sun. As Schaafsma (ibid.: 155) further noted,

. . . [E]mbedded within Pueblo ideology are explicit linkages between war-related rituals and the movements of the sun, fertility, and weather control. Murals and rock art depicting suns, sun shields, warriors with sun shields, and the like are readily explained by ceremonies presided over by Pueblo War societies to ensure the proper motion of the sun, especially at winter solstice and the equinoxes.

Given that solar symbolism is explicitly tied to a new symbolic complex of warfare imagery that contains underlying metaphors centered upon rainmaking and fertility, it is entirely probable that the warfare complex that increased exponentially in the early-fourteenth-century is tied to the Sun Youth and the symbolic battle of the seasons.

Recalling that certain animals in the “Battle of the Seasons” story are the “shields” or vanguards of Winter or Summer, and that supernatural beings are said to

hide behind clouds with their watery shields while holding weaponry such as lightning, it is likely that the amalgamation of war-related characters portrayed in the Rio Grande rock art are similarly vanguards of either Winter or Summer. These beings in the rock art collectively form a portrait of a cosmological warfare drama that is ritually enacted across the landscape.

As prey animals are considered as supernatural patrons of the societies (Parsons 1939: 186), portrayals of men transforming into felines (Schaafsma 2007a: 8.23) along with depictions of felines standing next to a mountain lion “fetish” (ibid.: 8.18) strongly imply not simply that these are just animal “war chiefs” or “hunt chiefs”, but they reveal a component within the Pueblo IV-period artistic repertoire that is strongly related to medicine societies. Since these groups are closely tied to rain-making and weather control, it is entirely probable that warfare imagery in the rock art and kiva murals relates to the activities of medicine societies in their efforts at interceding in the spirit world in their attempts to bring rain and other forms of moisture back to the pueblos during both the warm and cold seasons.

In fact, some of these transforming figures may well symbolically represent medicine men that are either becoming or adopting the animal form from which they seek spiritual power. For example, Parsons (1939: 189) noted that members of Zuni curing societies are called “animals”, with the chiefs being White Bear, Wildcat, and Mountain Lion. In addition, some Zuni medicine society members have the power to turn into bears (ibid.).

When considering the meaning of certain Puebloan rock art motifs in antiquity, it is probable that mimetic intents lay at the heart of choosing certain imagery or motifs to portray. For example, to choose to depict a dragonfly was in all probability a symbolic prayer for warm weather to return during the summer half of the year. In contrast, to choose to depict a taloned Morning Star-related stellar warrior, with its close connection to cold (Mathiowetz et al. 2008), was in all probability a symbolic prayer for the return of cold weather during the winter half of the year. These prayers are not mutually exclusive but, rather, form two halves of a complementary belief system designed to produce alternating forms of moisture during the annual solar-oriented seasonal and ceremonial cycle.

The Battle of Winter and Summer: The Symbolism of Seasonal Change at Pottery Mound

Since the cosmological framework of duality permeates every aspect of existence in the Puebloan world, it remains to be clarified how this system of beliefs was manifested symbolically not just in rock art and architecture, but in some of the most elaborate art of the Pueblo IV period, namely, polychromatic kiva murals. A logical place to turn to address this problem is the mural traditions that signaled a shift in cosmology that rapidly took form at such sites in north-central New Mexico as Pottery Mound (AD 1370-1475), excavated in the 1950s-1960s. In describing the extent of the intellectual influence of Paquimé in the context of the northeastward extent of El Paso Polychromes, Wilcox (2007: 238) noted the connection between Paquimé and Pottery Mound and concluded: “Pottery Mound was clearly on the northern edge of this interaction sphere.”

Other scholars such as Polly Schaafsma (2007a: 155) noted that there is a close resemblance of some images in Pottery Mound symbolism, such as that of the horned serpent, to those found in Chihuahuan rock art and those portrayed on Casas Grandes-related Ramos Polychromes. To conclude that Pottery Mound was influenced in some way by Casas Grandes religious and symbolic traditions is to conclude by default that the dualism inherent in the Flower World of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth, as described in the present chapter, impacted the symbolism of the cosmology inherent in the Pottery Mound mural scenes.

Among the most symbolically complex scenes preserved in kiva art at Pottery Mound is one that spans the entirety of the four walls of Kiva 2, Layer 1 (see maps in Adler 2007: fig. 3.3; Hibben 1975: 21; Phillips 2007: 256). Though illustrated in segments by Hibben (1975: figs. 14, 17, 49) the complete scene is best viewed as illustrated in Schaafsma (2000a: pl. 12) (**see Figs. 11.23a-11.24a**). As a whole, this scene involves two groups of figures seemingly engaged in a confrontation that Schaafsma (ibid.) described as a “war ritual.” Oftentimes, scholars have taken these scenes of warfare or warriors in a literal sense as evidence of a wide-scale manifestation of actual, physical warfare informed by religious ideology (Plog and Solometo 1997: 174-176). However, the warfare imagery in this mural scene is largely if not wholly symbolic in nature.

The scene in question appears to begin in the southeast corner of the kiva, with one group of figures heading west along the south wall and then turning north along the west wall. The other group begins at the same corner, but instead heads northward along the east wall, turns east along the north wall, and then south along the west wall to meet

the other group at a kiva niche placed in the center of the west wall (Schaafsma 2000a: pl. 12). Thus, the scene encircles the entire kiva. The portrayal of the shield-bearing and weapon-wielding group that adorns the south wall and the southern portion of the west wall clearly relates to themes of hunting and warfare (**Fig. 11.23a**).

Schaafsma (2000a: pl. 12) pointed out that individuals within this group carry shields, quivers (one made of mountain lion skin), bows, and war clubs. One figure wears a cap ornamented with projectile points. A female warrior, with her hair dressed in a distinctive female style on one side and male hairstyle on the other, is likely related to the ethnographically known tales of the Zuni Kothlamana and Hopi Chakwaina, a female warrior whose village was attacked while in the midst of her having her hair put up (ibid.: 132). Another figure in this kiva scene appears as a composite figure that combines attributes of a human and a raptorial bird.

The figure to the far left of the scene is covered in serrated elements, some of which are white, that likely represent sharpness, such that these evoke an association with ice or frost. A line of headdresses are placed above the scene, perhaps placed upon a shelf, and are comprised of feathers of eagles and red-tailed hawks, among others. The scene is filled with snakes of various types. As a whole, the scene is overwhelmed with imagery of weaponry, warriors, and bird feathers and animals associated with hunting, warfare, and winter.

The opposing group is comprised of a set of figures and regalia whose attributes differ sharply from those of the advancing warriors just described (**Fig. 11.24a**).

Schaafsma (2000a: pl. 12) characterized this scene as consisting of individuals with

“atmospheric headdresses” seated on a baseline of rising, billowing black-and-white clouds. The headdresses of a number of the individuals are comprised of rainbows, clouds, and a probable corn plant. Curiously, one figure wears a headdress of ice. One individual appears to be seated atop a basket or bowl while in the “hocker” birth position. Another individual has a long rainbow-shaped body with a prominent sunflower blooming atop his head.

Shooting throughout this portion of the scene are bolts of personified lightning. A number of birds such as a barn swallow, another type of swallow, a scarlet macaw, a whooping crane, and a possible jay are depicted either flying through the air, standing next to the ceremonialists, or perched on their arm or body. The upper register is filled with more billowing black and white clouds while a portion of the upper scene is comprised of hanging cotton textiles, the cotton itself being a likely allusion to clouds. As opposed to the focus of the first group being explicitly identified with warfare and hunting paraphernalia, none of the figures in the second group overtly wield a weapon of any sort.

In essence, aside from the anomalous figure with an ice headdress, the second group is affiliated primarily with warm- or solar-related imagery, including plants and flowers, rainbows, rain-filled clouds, birth, and birds such as macaws and swallows that are usually identified with warm weather. If we consider their role among other Pueblo people such as the Hopi, swallows are birds that appear in summer and at times serve with other birds as scouts who keenly observe and act as guides to help keep people safe in their journeys (Nequatewa 1936: 10-17).

The general sense gathered from this scene is that it is a confrontation between a group of warriors and a group of agriculturalists. Recognizing this division, in their reconstruction of this scene on canvas, the Hopi artists Michael Kabotie and Delbridge Honanie characterized this scene as a “Meeting of the Agricultural and Hunter-Warrior Cultures.” (Kabotie et al. 2006: 56-57). In all likelihood, this scene of hunters and warriors confronting a group of agriculturalists represents the most visually stunning and graphically clear portrayal of the mythological “Battle of the Seasons” between the forces of the cold half of the year and the forces of the warm half of the year. A closer discussion of two key individuals who appear in this scene lends support to this argument.

To my mind, two figures in these murals, one in each group, stand out as being especially distinguished. For the warriors, it is the large seated figure adorned with frost (**Figs. 11.23a [far left], 11.23b**). Among the agriculturalists, it is the man with the rainbow body adorned with a prominent sunflower (**Fig. 11.24a [far right], 11.24b**). Each of these two figures is positioned at the rear of their respective groups while no other individuals among their group share their distinctive character attributes. Considering that the ethnographic accounts in the Rio Grande region specifically identify the seasonal battle to be between the personified forces of nature, it seems reasonable to conclude that the frost-covered man in this Pottery Mound mural represents the personified Winter, a version of Shakok, and the rainbow and flower covered man represents the personified Summer, a version of Miochin.

If we recall from the above-described Keresan traditions, the Winter man Shakok wears a shirt of icicles and frost while the Summer man Miochin wears clothing adorned with flowers and iridescent colors and lives in a place of warmth where corn and flowers grow year-round. Though the ethnographic descriptions of these figures and the ritual battle are not precisely the same as those in the murals, it is plain to see that these beings and these activities represent a variation of this tradition.

The Winter man in this Pottery Mound mural represents the hunting and warfare half of the year while the Summer man represents the agricultural half of the year. The phalanxes of animals and figures that precede each of these leaders in the murals in all probability represent the vanguard forces or “shields” of nature. The snakes, bird feathers of hawk and eagle, raptorial birds, warriors, weapons and projectile points, and frost all allude to these being the vanguards of the cold season. The rainbows, rain-filled clouds, corn, sunflower, scarlet macaw, swallow, cotton textiles, and lightning all allude to these being the vanguards of summer. The swallows flying in the sky on summer’s side may represent their role as “scouts” for Summer man.

The presence of lightning bolts shooting throughout the side of Summer man in this mural is quite similar to the description of the arrival of the personified Summer in the mythological battle described by Pradt (1902: 90), who stated: “Forked blazes of lightning shot out of the clouds that were bringing Miochin.” It is worth noting that the “summer” mural actually covers two and one-half of the four walls while the “winter” mural covers only one and one-half of the four walls. Boas’s (1928) version of the Winter/Summer tale, where summer’s victory enabled him to rule for a longer period of

the year than winter, may be graphically represented in the larger space given for the summer scene in the Pottery Mound mural. The seeming beginning of the mural in the southeast corner may allude to the winter solstice point in the southeast corner of the sky, the point at which the sun is newly born each year.

Dualism in Mesoamerican Cosmology and Ritual: A Comparison

The perception of ritual battles that result in fertility find analogues in the performance of ritually infused ceremonialism, such as in the Mesoamerican ballgame and in ritualized boxing. Much like the ballgame, ritualized boxing matches and the drawing of blood are symbolic battles that are designed to produce thunder, lightning, and falling rain for the growth of crops (Taube and Zender 2009). In Mesoamerica, ritual boxing for the production of rain and crops was known among the Protoclassic and Classic period Zapotec (Dainzu and Huijazoo) and Classic Maya, while these ideas remain evident in present-day Guerrero.

In fact, ritualized boxing at times took place in ballcourts. One relief from a ballcourt at Piedras Negras depicts two men wearing ballgame gear but engaged in a sparring match using handheld combat weapons (Taube and Zender 2009: 175). Likewise, one Protoclassic period (ca. 100 BC- AD 250) ballcourt *maqueta* from the Ixtlán del Río region of Nayarit depicts two men engaged in a fighting match in the middle of the ballcourt (ibid.; see Day 2001: 68-69). Other Protoclassic Comala-style sculptures from Colima depict ritual boxers dealing forceful blows with stone balls, a scene quite akin to those known from the Maya region (Taube and Zender 2009: figs.

7.22a-7.22b). Though these rituals clearly are designed to evoke rainfall, archaeological evidence to date suggests that these rituals are not affiliated with the Sun Youth Xochipilli, a figure who appears to be present in the region only beginning in the Postclassic period.

Considering that the Southwestern solar deity Payatamu is historically related to the Mesoamerican solar deity Xochipilli, it is pertinent to examine the symbolism and rituals of Mesoamerican ritual warfare to find analogues to the ideology expressed in the Pottery Mound battle scene. Students of Mesoamerican religion and symbolism should be quick to notice the striking ideological parallels that exist between the ritual warfare described for the American Southwest and that known for some Mesoamerican societies. Ritual battles, or symbolic warfare, that involves warriors as personified animals, birds, and forces of nature, that is oriented to a Sun God, and that results in the production of a flowery landscape is remarkably similar to the ethnohistorically known “Flowery Wars” (*xochiyaoyotl*) of highland Central Mexico.

Flowery Wars were not limited to the Aztec and the Triple Alliance but also involved other cultural groups, such as kingdoms of Puebla and Tlaxcala (Isaac 1983; Plunket and Uruñuela 1994). Among the earliest sources for descriptions of Aztec “flowery wars” were early-seventeenth-century accounts by Domingo Francisco Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, a descendant of the ruling family of Amecameca whose historical accounts were based upon both pictorial sources and oral traditions (cited in Hicks 1979: 87). These accounts suggest that there was a distinct difference between “real” wars involving physical conflict and the far less violent “flowery wars.”

Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin indicated that in the “flowery wars” of AD 1376 between the Mexica of Tenochtitlan and the Chalca of Chalco Atenco, “the noble Mexica who captured Chalca let them go, and the noble Chalca who captured Mexica let them go, and only some of the commoners got killed” (Chimalpahin 1965: 82-83, 157, 182; cited in Hicks 1979: 88). This account indicates that the “flowery wars” were largely for show, though some injury or death occasionally occurred if events got out of hand (Hicks 1979: 88).

Soustelle (1970: 101) suggested that the Flowery Wars of highland Central Mexico were largely ritual in nature: “Fighting was primarily a means of taking prisoners; on the battlefield the warriors did their utmost to kill as few men as possible. War was not merely a political instrument: it was above all a religious rite, a war of holiness.” Furthermore, he proposed that the surge in the *xochiyaoyotl* in highland Central Mexico during the fifteenth century came about as a response to the terrible famines that ravaged the region (ibid.). This assessment is likely derived from the accounts of Alva Ixtlilxóchitl (1952, vol. 2: 207), who wrote that the wars were agreed upon as a last resort to appease the gods after all material attempts had failed to alleviate the prolonged droughts. Hicks (1979: 90) concluded that “flowery wars” were fought not for conquest, but for “sport”.

A brief consideration of Aztec military regalia, among the most well-documented ethnohistorically, may help shed light on the ritual aspects of warfare. Seler’s (1990-98: 3: 3-61) study of Aztec military regalia and insignia of social rank indicated that in a number of instances, military clothing bore imagery of flowers, cut-

conch wind symbols, butterflies, symbols of Xochipilli/Macuilxochitl, the sun god Tonatiuh (ibid.: 7, no.7 and figs. 1, 3, 30, 37, 42a, 42b), and more obvious war or hunt-related animals such as the skins of pumas, coyotes, wildcats, jaguars, and eagles, among others (ibid.: 7, 10). Head coverings and full-body regalia included such beings as jaguars, coyotes, and feared star warriors known as *tzitzimime*, among others (ibid.: figs. 74-80, 84, 85). Other more curious imagery on regalia of male military members and the nobility included such things as melon cacti, maize flowers, and young ears of maize (ibid.: 7, 8, 14).

Among the more intriguing devices worn by distinguished warriors were head coverings and certain insignia, often covered in feathers and precious metals, that were attached to ladder-like frames and worn on the back (Seler 1990-1998: 3: 21). The elaborate frames worn on the warriors' backs carried large replicas of objects and creatures such as drums, solar disks, arrow points, houses, butterflies, quetzals, turkeys, and herons (ibid.: figs. 90, 105-109, 111, 149-152, 155, 174, 183) and imagery related to deities such as the canine companion to Quetzalcoatl named Xolotl, the god of wind Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl, the patroness of childbirth and weaving Xochiquetzal, the god of spring and regeneration Xipe Totec, the god of frost and cold Itzlacolihqui-Ixquimilli, and others (ibid.: 35, 40, 47 and fig. 157).

A number of deities mentioned in *xochiyaoyotl* rites have clear associations with symbolic battles tied to fertility. For instance, Taube (1988: 331-332) argued that the Contact-period scaffold sacrifice rites of Xipe Totec, the flayed god of springtime and regeneration of the earth, in highland Central Mexico was distantly related to Classic

Maya sacrifice rites that involved the hunt and warfare. In these rites, the drawn blood that fell to the ground was likened to the desire for falling rainfall and the consequent abundance of crops. Similarly, McKeever Furst (2000) pointed out a number of prehispanic and Early Colonial-era examples of mock ritual battles in celebrations of the Central Mexican god of springtime Xipe Totec, many of which involved participants dressed as Xipe who were killed in battle or sacrificed. Nicholson (1961) noted that Aztec kings in battle regalia often appeared as Xipe Totec, the solar-related god of spring and regeneration. In fact, late sixteenth-century accounts by the chronicler Tezozomoc (1944: 388-389) indicated that state portraits of a number of Aztec rulers in stone sculptures at Chapultepec in Mexico City depicted them dressed as Xipe Totec (Nicholson 1961).

Many of the components of Postclassic-period highland Central Mexican ritual warfare described above, such as butterflies, flowers, wind symbols, quetzal birds, drums, and Xochipilli/Macuilxochitl imagery, have clear links to the Flower World. However, battlefield imagery involving stellar warriors and depictions of the god of frost allude to an aspect of warfare that is not solely focused upon warm solar elements of springtime and regeneration but on cold aspects and the winter half of the year as well. It should be noted that ice is not a dominant component of broader Mesoamerican cosmologies, particularly as many prehispanic Mesoamerican cultures existed in more tropical lowland zones and more temperate and drier regions in the highlands.

However, a recent study of warfare symbolism associated with the Morning Star in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest concluded that celestial warfare in both of

these larger regions has prominent components that are strongly related to the production of cold, snow, and frost for future agricultural growth and fertility (Mathiowetz et al. 2008). What is clear from this brief discussion is that religion and rituals are vital components of warfare, whether it involves “real” or symbolic violence. Prominent aspects of prehispanic ritual battle in highland Central Mexico included those focusing upon Flower World, fertility, and symbolism of the warm and cold portions of the year.

In a study of sixteenth-century Aztec song texts recorded in the *Cantares Mexicanos*, Bierhorst (1985a: 3-4, 19), concluded that the lyrics were sung by warrior-singers whose musical performances and the full ritual “. . . seems to have assumed the proportions of a mock battle, where singing, dancing, and drumming were equated with martial deeds” on a celestial battlefield in the flowery solar paradise (but see Lockhart 1991: 141-157). Colonial-period documents indicate that, during battle, warriors sang and danced, while in musical performances the participants often held shields and war clubs (Bierhorst 1985a: 28). Indeed, depictions of battle scenes from the colonial period *Codex Duran* portray musicians and dancers on the battlefield or accompanied by warriors (Gutierrez and Gutierrez 1990: Primer Epoca, Laminas 12, 19a).

Bierhorst (1985a: 36) indicated that in the song texts, plants and plant parts such as rushes, reeds, spines, mesquite, and bulrushes can also be likened to warriors. Much as animals in the Southwest are symbolic “shields”, so too are animals or insects in the *Cantares Mexicanos*. One Aztec war song describes the butterfly as a shield (ibid.: 237):

Flowers are becoming golden in this place of lords. These shields, these butterflies, are scattered. Let them imbibe.

An ensuing line also refers to the shields as “shield flowers” (ibid.). Another song indicates that the activities of warriors in the form of birds, in this case a swan, are closely related to the dawn: “It would seem that you’re a swan for Life Giver, a singer for God, you, the first of these singers to watch for the dawn” (ibid.: 163). In one war song, the warriors are said to “. . . rise warlike on the great road”, a phrase that Bierhorst (ibid.: 433) argued is intended to reference the sun’s road in the sky. Much of the content of the war songs appears to be oriented towards warfare, with various animals and plants being considered in martial terms as warriors or shields, with the intention of bringing to life the flowery solar paradise.

The materialization of ritually oriented cosmological warfare in the archaeological record may well be evident in prehispanic symbolism, such as in mural art, from elsewhere in Mesoamerica. As an example, among the most notable example of ritual confrontation is the elaborate scene in sculptural relief panels on the walls of the Great Ballcourt at Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá (**Figs. 11.25a-11.25c**). The link to themes of warfare between opposing ballgame players is evident in that the players are dressed in some warrior regalia, each donning Toltec-style back shields (*tezcacuitlapilli*) that are usually worn by warriors. Though many of the individuals are not engaged in graphic physical conflict, such as is plainly evident in the elaborate battle scenes at Cacaxtla, the centerpiece of this panel is a scene of decapitation involving the two leading individuals of each group.

Keeping in mind the preceding conclusion that a key element of Southwestern ceremonialism is the ritual battle of the opposing seasonal elements for the production of

moisture and the subsequent growth of flowers, vegetation, and crops, it is notable that the layout of the Chichén Itzá panel scene, with two phalanxes of individuals facing each other, is strikingly similar to the scene of confrontation at Pottery Mound. This suggested similarity does not imply any direct interaction between people in these two regions but only implies that the ideological elements of a ritual confrontation between opposed forces is likely manifest earlier in time in Mesoamerica before becoming evident in the Southwest.

The placement of a scene of ritual confrontation on the central panel of the Chichén Itzá ballcourt is significant for the present discussion. Studies that examined the nature of ideas that underlie the Mesoamerican ballgame concluded that, among other points, ballgame rites are closely tied to the sun, the changing seasons, and a symbolic battle between opposing forces. Cohodas (1975: 110) noted:

The ball game, a game of action and motion, appears to have taken on the connotations of the motion of the sun at the meeting points of the upperworld and underworld, for it represents these points of transition when the sun enters into and exits from the underworld. At the height of its popularity as a cult, the ballgame was probably played on the equinoxes to represent the battle of celestial and infernal forces.

Rather than taking place only at the equinoxes, as this passage suggests, an alternative scenario is that the points of contact between the upperworld and the underworld could very well be at the winter solstice and summer solstice points on the horizon where the sun reaches his most extreme points during the year.

Whether played on the equinoxes or the solstices, both can mark the dual division of the year into the wet season or dry season or the cold (hunting) and warm (agricultural) halves of the year, thus rendering the ballgame a contest between opposed forces of

nature. In any case, Pasztory (1978: 131) also noted that the ballgame “. . . functioned to assure the continuation of the cosmic cycles of the sun, moon, and planets and the alternation of the dry and rainy seasons . . . [It’s aim was] the furthering of agricultural and natural fertility—a general preoccupation in Mesoamerica.” Similarly, Gillespie (1991: 320) argued that the solar component of the ballgame was inextricably related to agricultural fertility and seasonality, with the opposing teams symbolizing the segmentation of sociopolitical categories (ibid.: 343). Using analogies from the Sherente of South America to discuss the Mesoamerican ballgame, Gillespie (ibid.: 343) pointed out that ballgames can serve as a balancing act for social divisions, such as those between moiety divisions, to symbolically maintain boundaries between moieties as well as to symbolically mark divisions tied to periodicity of the seasons.

The idea of ritual confrontation between two groups of ballgame players (or a procession) on the Chichén Itzá ballcourt for the production of agricultural fertility is evident in the central portion of the mural scene where the two opposing forces meet. At this meeting point, the presumed losing team leader is decapitated in a ritual of ballgame sacrifice. From the neck of his headless body spews serpentine blood along with the profusion of a central, flowering and fruiting vine placed amid the swirling volutes of breath and wind that envelop the ballplayers. The swirling volutes that pulse throughout this portion of the mural scene are covered in jade jewels, with some appearing to float freely in the air.

These jewels and flowers, symbolic representations of floral breath and moisture, undoubtedly are equivalent to the recently described “rain of flowers” that is known from

a number of examples of Flower World imagery in Classic Maya art (see Taube 2004b: 78-79; Taube 2005a: 33-34). In fact, the concept of the “rain of flowers” continued in the art of Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá and in Colonial-period Aztec texts (Taube 2004b: 86-87). Along with the central ballcourt panel, at Chichén Itzá the “rain of flowers” also occurs in scenes of Toltec-style warriors standing atop Flower Mountain and other imagery depicting jewels surrounding a solar-related warrior seated within a sun disk (ibid.: figs. 15a-15c).

The close connection between ritual confrontations and the Flower World is also known from reliefs in Hall E (Lower Temple of the Jaguars) of the ballcourt at Chichén Itzá (see Seler 1990-1998: 1: 206-208, figs. 7-10). These scenes portray phalanxes of warriors heavily garbed in battle array while standing upon a baseband of probable mountains exhaling flowering vines, ancestors clinging to the vines or placed within blossoms, and hummingbirds sipping nectar from the blossoms. Qualities of rain-making are important in some battle scenes from Chichén Itzá, as evident by the presence of Maya warriors dressed as the Maya rain god Chac (Taube 1994: 230). Volutes of wind and breath tipped in jade jewels also likely signify the rain of flowers in these battle scenes.

In fact, scenes of the Flower World in the context of martial themes permeate many of the reliefs and façades on the Upper and Lower Temple of the Jaguars, the ballcourt panels along the playing field (as described above), and the North Temple that is placed at the northern end of the Great Ballcourt. For example, the façade of the Upper Temple of the Jaguar is a veritable homage to Flower World warfare, with two large

feathered serpents at the front of the building, portrayals of shields and jaguars, roof ornaments comprised of darts, depictions of Toltec-style warriors standing atop Flower Mountain, and depictions of entwined plumed serpents carrying solar mirrors (see images in Ringle 2009: figs. 3a-3c).

Elaborate battle scenes from the Upper Temple of the Jaguars also depict a plethora of warriors along with images of solar disks and plumed serpents in what appears to be village-wide warfare (see Ringle 2009: figs. 4, 6-10). Ringle (*ibid.*: 21) argued that these battle scenes represent a series of historical conquests. While this may be the case, the context of these images suggests the possibility that these ballcourt battle scenes are versions of the *xochiyaoyotl*, the cosmologically oriented warfare that results in the fertile Flower World. It is notable that the lower registers of all of these battle scenes (except for Ringle 2009: fig. 8) are depictions of distended figures with upraised hands cavorting in a field of flowering vines. Taube (1994: 214-216) argued that these figures represent God N, who often supports the earth and sky and who in this scene is likely supporting the terrestrial battle scene above. It may well be the case that these ritually laden battle scenes served the same purpose as the symbolic battles on the ballcourt. Both may well represent ritual conflicts between opposing forces that are designed to bring the Flower World into existence.

The conceptual metaphors that underlie the scenes of confrontation on the Chichén Itzá Great Ballcourt, particularly the central panel described earlier, suggest that ritual tension or confrontation between opposed forces results in fecundity and agricultural abundance in the form of the flowering and fruiting landscape and the gentle

“rain of flowers”. The divisions of opposed forces (night/day, summer/winter, male/female, underworld/upperworld, etc.) that characterize these “battles” are clearly applicable to the opposed Mesoamerican ballgame teams. These dualities in all probability formed a component of ballgame rites in its northernmost manifestation in the Casas Grandes region of northern Mexico, rites that were introduced along with a new form of solar worship centered upon the young solar deity Xochipilli and the Flower World complex (see Chapter 7).

Cosmological dualism forms a major component of Mesoamerican indigenous thought (van Zantwijk et al. 1990). Other battle scenes in Mesoamerican murals from the Terminal Classic (AD 700/750-900) site of Cacaxtla, in the Central Mexican state of Puebla, reflect this symbolism and ideology of dualism (Graulich 1990). The battle murals at Cacaxtla in Structure B and the portrait of rulers in Structure A are laden with dualistic symbolism (see images in Graulich 1990: figs.1-4).

As Graulich (1990: 94) noted, both sets of murals present “two confronting groups.” The Structure A murals in question portray two rulers, one on the north wall and one on the south wall, flanking an entryway. The ruler on the north wall is dressed as a jaguar and stands upon a jaguar serpent while the ruler on the south wall is dressed as an eagle standing upon a plumed serpent (ibid.: 98). In Mesoamerican cosmology, the eagle is closely related to the sun and the diurnal sky while the jaguar is related to the night and earth (Graulich 1990: 98; see Hays-Gilpin et al. 2010: 132, 135). Likewise, for the Aztecs, north was the direction of the underworld, night, and the rainy season while the direction south was associated with the world of the above, day, and the dry season

(Graulich 1990: 99). This duality was later expressed in Aztec military orders of eagle warriors and jaguar warriors.

According to Graulich (1990: 99), the ruler on the north wall is associated with the jaguar, the north, earth, night, the rainy season and young corn, among other affiliations. In contrast, the ruler on the south wall is associated with the eagle, the south, the day sky and sun, the plumed serpent, the dry season and ripe corn, among other affiliations (*ibid.*). The additional symbolism in these scenes of cascading water emanating from Tlaloc water jars, spear tips dripping with water, large conch shells symbolic of wind, vines of flowers emerging from the body of the jaguar ruler's attendant, a large portrayal of a quetzal bird (a sacred bird of the east), a plumed serpent with a flower-tipped tail (a signifier of Flower Road), and a large maize plant laden with corn cobs, indicates that symbolic opposition has a close connection to the Flower World complex. In sum, the symbolic associations of these murals indicate a focus upon seasonal dualism of the alternating transition between the rainy season and the dry season (*ibid.*: 104). Schaafsma and Taube (2006: 271) described these scenes as portraying a duality based upon the eastern and western directions and the bringing of the rains into the highlands of Mexico.

This duality is also expressed in the famed battle murals in Structure B at Cacaxtla (Graulich 1990: 106-108, figs. 6-7). In these scenes, Maya eagle warriors are portrayed in the process of being vanquished by Central Mexican Jaguar warriors. It is suggested that this elaborate scene, while perhaps being rooted in an actual battle, probably was reinterpreted in ideological and cosmological terms. Given the oppositions

inherent in the symbolism of day and night or rainy season and dry season, it may well be the case that the ideological framework around which these murals were painted was the underlying theme of the Battle of the Seasons and the oppositional forces of nature in the context of the Flower World. Other scholars (Hays-Gilpin et al. 2010: 132-135) also recently suggested that the duality expressed in Cacaxtla murals is similar to the duality inherent in the interdependence and complementarity of warfare and fertility expressed in Puebloan religion.

Cacaxtla is well-known both for its murals as well as for evidence indicating that the inception of the site was closely tied to the arrival of the Olmeca-Xicalanca from the Gulf Coast region of Tabasco, an event that resulted in the vanquishing of the people who lived in the region at their arrival. According to Graulich (1990: 105), in many Mesoamerican cities “the religious and political organization reflected the (real or mythical) fusion of newcomers and autochthons, of victors and vanquished.” The fusion of conquerors and vanquished in these communities often resulted in the development of bipartite governments with dual forms of leadership organizations (ibid.). For example, at the city of Cholula, another city connected to the arrival of the Olmeca Xicalanca, sixteenth-century documents indicated that there were known to be two *indios principales* or “high priests” whose titles were connected to the eagle and the jaguar (Graulich 1990: 105; Rojas 1985: 129-131). Thus, it appears that dual forms of rulership centered upon eagle and jaguar rulers, and affiliated with the rainy season/agriculture and the dry season/war, were formed as a result of historical processes involving the fusion of

two different groups of people that merged at one site (see Graulich 1990: 105-106). This duality is one based at once upon opposition and complementarity.

The concept of dual kingships was noted for other sites in Mesoamerica. For example a late sixteenth century text by Ciudad Real (1873 [1588]: bk. 2: 470-471) indicated that a form of dual kingship was known at the Late Postclassic Maya site of Mayapan in Yucatán, said to be ruled by two principal ethnic groups called the Cocom and Xiu:

. . . a very populous city once existed called Mayapan in which all the *caciques* and lords of the province of Maya resided and there they came with their tribute. Among these were two principal ones, to whom the others acknowledged superiority and vassalage and for whom they had respect, one was called Cocom and the other Xiu.

Mayapan's form of government was considered to be a *mul tepal*, or "joint rule", a system of organization that resulted from the cohabitation of the capital city by local lords of different Maya lineages (Marcus 1989: 202). This form of organization ". . . provided centralized political authority without obliterating distinctions among lineages" (ibid.). The destruction of Mayapan is thought to have been the result of a revolt that resulted in the death of the Cocom lords (ibid.: 202-203).

Lincoln (1994: 187) proposed that a form of dual kingship also existed at the Early Postclassic site of Chichén Itzá. Taube (1994: 244) argued that Chichén Itzá political organization was comprised of Toltec and Maya collaborators in a multi-ethnic government. However, in his view, this dualism was centered upon complementary aspects of rulership that combined the Maya Sun God and the Toltec Plumed Serpent (ibid.). Ringle (2004: 170) also suggested that Plumed Serpent and Sun God pairings in

murals at Chichén Itzá referred not to two co-equal rulers, but to one political office centered upon a living ruler that combined the two deities. More recently, Kowalski (2007: 277) proposed that Toltec and Maya figures in Chichén Itzá symbolism represent complementary members of an Itzá royal council that was subsumed under a paramount centralized divine kingship.

These proposed models may help shed light on our understanding of rulership at Paquimé. As I proposed in Chapter 3, it may well be the case that political organization at Paquimé was centered upon a paramount king, a position where aspects of the Sun God and the Plumed Serpent upon which the Sun travelled were combined into one political office, the “Sun King”. Considering the preceding discussion of the dualities of the rainy and dry season, it is feasible that this paramount position involved the existence of a pair of complementary but opposed dual offices of war captains or war chiefs, who were tied to the Morning and Evening Star as guides of the sun during his travels during the dual halves of the year.

If this proposition is correct, one of these offices would have been in charge of Paquimé during the cold, winter half of the year and the other would have been in charge of the village during the warm, summer half of the year. These positions would have been subsumed under the paramount office of Sun King, a cacique who was the preminent sun priest or sunwatcher and the earthly representative or intermediary of the Sun. This religious position would have encompassed a symbolic role that largely placed him beyond the fray of everyday political duties. This form of political organization would have been very similar to that known among Pueblo societies today.

The formation of dual forms of rulership centered around the conflicting or oppositional rainy (agricultural) and dry season (warfare) at such sites as Cacaxtla draws striking parallels with the formation of dual social organization and leadership among Pueblo people of the Eastern Rio Grande region during the Pueblo IV period. It is instructive to recall that the formation of dual social organization in Mesoamerica at times involved the fusion, real or symbolic, of two or more different peoples into one group that was centered around a system of leadership alternately tied to the rainy season and to the dry season. In the American Southwest, the formation of systems of dual social organization among the Eastern Pueblos of the Rio Grande region may well have occurred with the influx of a major population movement from the Four Corners region into Rio Grande villages where they then joined with people already living in the region. The melding of these multiethnic groups, coupled with the newly adopted rites of the Sun Youth and its seasonal component, likely gave rise to a new form of social organization that divided the community into a dualistic summer half and winter half headed by a Winter Chief and Summer Chief. These communities were perhaps spearheaded by a paramount cacique whose primary symbolic duty was the observation of the Sun during the course of the year.

It is evident that forms of ritual battle that result in growing maize, flowering plants, and general Flower World-oriented fertility, in correlation with ballcourt ceremonialism, the young solar deity, and the plumed serpent, were evident in Late Classic and Early Postclassic symbolism in Mesoamerica, much earlier than the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manifestation of these ideas in the American

Southwest. While it is beyond the scope of the present study, future analyses of other warfare and battle symbolism found in many regions of Mesoamerica through space and time, such as in the Maya area, should reassess the iconographic content for a more complete conceptualization of a ritual complex centered on the perpetual Battle of the Seasons.

This ritual complex, of undoubted Mesoamerican origin, is fully formed and most clearly evident in West Mexico around AD 900 in the Aztatlán tradition, in northern Mexico at Paquimé around AD 1200, and thereafter in the art and ritual of the American Southwest, absent the ballgame component. In sum, though not of direct origin from highland Central Mexico, it seems accurate to characterize the Pueblo IV appearance of symbolic warfare for the production of flowers and fertility in the American Southwest as being the northernmost analogue of the highland Central Mexican *xochiyaoyotl*, a highly symbolic, dualistic cosmological battle that was closely tied to the creation of the floral realm of the youthful solar deity Xochipilli.

Discussion

In recent years, scholars continued to recognize the need for a complete reassessment of Pueblo IV-era social and religious changes set within the context of the development of the Casas Grandes culture. For example, Whiteley (2004b: 150) noted:

The demographic dominance of Casas Grandes in the macro-region . . . should cause us to reevaluate the entire aspect of Puebloan culture during this [Pueblo IV] phase, especially regarding the notion . . . that Pueblo IV sees the emergence of a pan-Pueblo ideology—either of the katsina system or Crown's (1994) Southwest Regional Cult.

In order to understand these social changes, Whiteley (2004b: 155) advocated a strategy that included “. . . upstreaming from the ethnographic present and downstreaming from the salient archaeological past.” As is obvious, to understand the Pueblo IV period archaeologists must understand sociocultural forms that existed before this era, those that existed after this era, and those forms of social organization that exist in the present.

In making interpretations of archaeological data, a key component of upstreaming is the incorporation of ethnographic and ethnohistoric data as well as including indigenous oral traditions. This strategy holds true for seeking to understand the development and demise of the Casas Grandes culture. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric data coupled with oral traditions of Pueblo people and other indigenous groups in the larger region serve as an indispensable base of knowledge that provides clues from which to upstream into a more clear conceptualization of the nature of the Casas Grandes culture. These data ultimately help to discern a better understanding of the social forces of change that occurred during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV periods.

Likewise, a downstreaming of cultural developments, not just from the antecedent Mimbres and Chacoan cultures in the Southwest, but among then-contemporary and antecedent Mesoamerican societies such as the Azatlán and Mixtec cultural traditions can provide clues to the nature of the Mesoamerican aspects of the Casas Grandes culture. In turn, interpretations of each of these Mesoamerican archaeological traditions must also be informed by upstreamed ethnographic and ethnohistoric data and oral traditions of probable indigenous descendants and downstreamed archaeological traditions that existed beforehand in each respective region. These are complicated goals,

but they are achievable. When we consider the social and religious organization that existed in the Southwest among the Mimbres and Chacoan cultures in comparison to Pueblo IV-era societies, it is clear that something dramatic occurred in the interim. The catalyst for these societal changes was the rise of Paquimé and the widespread adoption of the Flower World complex of the Sun Youth.

During the Postclassic period in parts of Mesoamerica, the Flower World complex involved a focus upon Xochipilli, the Sun Youth, a being who was closely connected to the political hierarchy in the form of clowning, curing, and rain and cloud-making. This complex was centered upon a symbolic seasonal battle between opposed forces of nature that resulted in the creation of the idyllic Flower World. Much like in Mesoamerica, in the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period, the Flower World complex involved a focus upon the Sun Youth Payatamu as a macaw-headed solar deity who was closely connected to the political hierarchy in the form of clowning, curing, and rain and cloud-making. This complex was centered upon a symbolic seasonal battle between opposed forces of nature that resulted in the creation of the idyllic Flower World.

In other words, the point is that these disparate cosmological frameworks are, for all intents and purposes, practically identical though differently depicted. Much of the hindrance in recognizing these shared phenomena has been due to the fact that our view has been clouded by the superficial differences that exist in the external localized expression of these ideas that mask the profound unity of thought cross-regionally. In other words, though localized differences do exist within and between these belief systems, the framework that underlies these ideas is remarkably similar. Many of the

differences lie mainly in the external expression of these ideas in the regalia, rites, and symbolism that are partly the result of the creative expression of people through time and space.

The mode of transmission of much of this cosmological framework from highland Central Mexico and Oaxaca to the American Southwest at this time undoubtedly included the Aztatlán culture of West Mexico and the Casas Grandes culture of Northwest Mexico as key cultural nodes. For the American Southwest, careful consideration of the data makes clear that sociocultural change during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV periods, change that continues to profoundly resonate in the present era, was not predominantly dictated by a changing environment anymore so than it is today. As is evident in contemporary global and local issues, religion and ideas are often at the heart of social change and conflict. As such, social change in the American Southwest and Northwest Mesoamerica now and in the past is strongly tied to religion and the forces of history amidst a social landscape populated by people, both individuals and groups, who forged and are forged by conflict and cooperation. For Paquimé, the historical tides of social change arrived not just from the north in the American Southwest, but in a gathering strength and crescendo from cultural influences located far to the south in Mesoamerica.

Conclusion

It is an understatement to say that the preceding discussion does no justice to the complexity and variability in the character of belief systems, the meaning of symbolism, the structure of leadership, and the social, political, and religious organization of

Puebloan people and communities. That being said, a comprehensive analysis of socioceremonial organization of Pueblo communities was not the overarching goal of the present chapter. The intent of this discussion was simply to illuminate various ways that the Sun Youth and cosmological principles of Mesoamerican origin intersects with leadership and political hierarchies, with medicine and clowning societies, with katsina ceremonialism, and with dual social organizations in the political and religious structure of various Puebloan communities on so many different levels.

While there is tremendous variability within and between communities in how the Sun Youth is integrated into these social realms, it is clear that these differences are a result of the historically contingent processes by which these ideas were acquired and incorporated into their cosmological framework. Each community has its own valued traditions that explain the role of the Sun Youth in their lives and each describes the manner in which these beliefs are publicly and privately expressed. In a general sense, however, it can be stated that within this variability there exists common threads. It is clear that Sun Youth worship and solar observations are integral to the traditions and histories of a number of Puebloan people.

In theory, many aspects of Puebloan societies are divided into two halves that correspond to warm and cold, or agricultural and hunting, or male and female components, among others. Some cultural groups link these changes to the equinoxes while others link them to the solstices. In either case, these divisions are closely tied to the everchanging seasons. Some in the Western Pueblos integrate these beliefs into ceremonies that are tied

to kinship structures and owned by lineages while villages among the Eastern Pueblos tie these to non-kinship-based social structures in the village as a whole.

In sum, it is clear that dualistic solar rites of the Sun Youth in both regions, beginning during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV transition, were intimately intertwined with the simultaneous adoption of new rites, or most probably the melding of new and old belief systems, that shaped the formation of the medicine societies, clowning societies, katsina complex, and the development of new forms of political structure, such as dual chieftainships. Given this conclusion, and considering the close relationship of the Sun Youth to all of these components, clearly the cosmology that underlies all of these aspects of modern Pueblo religion and worldview has deep roots in the Casas Grandes region at Paquimé.

Chapter 12:

The Symbolism of Ritual Conflict: Flower World Warfare and the Demise of the Casas Grandes Culture

“ . . . [A] better understanding of Mesoamerican warfare may enable us to place the Southwest in its overall Mesoamerican context.”

-Steven A. LeBlanc (2003: 285).

“It is apparent that the rationale for hostilities was grounded in cosmology and religion, and in typically Pueblo fashion, the fruits of battle were tied to rainmaking and fertility . . .”

-Polly Schaafsma (2000a: ix).

Introduction

The study of warfare and warfare symbolism, which was thought to have dramatically intensified across the American Southwest beginning around AD 1250, has long intrigued scholars interested in the significant social, political, and religious changes that also transpired across the region at this time. Many archaeologists sought to explain these changes as primarily relating to ecological factors including environmental stress, population growth, climate change, and competition for resources. While scholars pointed out that the explosion of warfare in the Southwest during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries coincided with significant religious and ritual changes across the region, only a few explored the ideological components of ritually charged warfare and its relation to rites of fertility. Even fewer scholars examined the role of the important yet enigmatic site of Paquimé in these dramatic ideological changes and the coincident evidence of heightened warfare.

The present research essentially concludes that the archaeological site of Paquimé was the center of a profoundly Mesoamerican version of the Flower World ritual complex during the Medio period (AD 1200-1450), about 50-100 years or so prior to the florescence of similar cosmological principles in the American Southwest. I argue that the Casas Grandes Flower World complex involved knowledge of specific Mesoamerican ritual practices and specific Mesoamerican deities, including the Sun Youth (Xochipilli), the Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl), and the Morning Star (Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli), deities that have their most direct origin in the Aztatlán region of West Mexico. These deities are not evident in the preceding Viejo period in the Casas Grandes region. Scholars long noted that the timing of the dramatic rise in evidence of warfare and the significant ideological changes in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest is remarkably coincident with the dramatic florescence of Paquimé, yet for the most part clear links between the three near-simultaneous occurrences have not yet been drawn.

That Casas Grandes cosmology had a major role in religious change in the Southwest is certain. Its role in the heightened emphasis in warfare symbolism has been less clear. However, Schaafsma (2000a) conclusively demonstrated that Puebloan and Mesoamerican ritual warfare and symbolism is intimately intertwined with rites of rainmaking and fertility. Studies of ancient art and symbolism in the American Southwest reveal that religion and cosmology in the Pueblo Iv period were also intimately related to warfare and fertility. The present chapter examines the spread of the Mesoamerican Flower World ritual complex in the thirteenth century, via Paquimé, in relation to the

coincident spread of ritually charged warfare related to fertility in the American Southwest.

In the following discussion, I first provide a brief description of archaeologists' assessments of the timing and the reasons for heightened warfare and warfare symbolism in the American Southwest and provides a perspective on the limited assessments given thus far of the role of Paquimé and ritual warfare at this time. This chapter also briefly describes important war-related characteristics of the Flower World complex in Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest and discusses the general role of the solar deity Xochipilli, the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl, and the Morning Star Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli in the context of this warfare-related ideology. As these three deities in the American Southwest, Northwest Mexico at Paquimé, Postclassic-period West Mexico in the Aztatlán region, and Postclassic-period highland Central Mexico including Oaxaca are intimately related to the Flower World complex, I examine how these three historically related deities in these disparate regions share remarkably similar roles in religious beliefs and practices related to fertility and warfare.

In light of this examination, I discuss specific native Southwestern oral traditions and ritual practices in order to explore how contemporary traditions can shed light on the appearance of Mesoamerican-inspired rituals associated with warfare. In particular, I draw more focused attention to oral traditions and beliefs of the Hopi Palatkwapi clans and other oral traditions of the Hopi that explicitly suggest that certain clans brought ritual knowledge of these three deities relatively recently from a place or region called Palatkwapi, located far to the south in Mesoamerica.

Following this discussion, I argue that Hopi Palatkwapi rituals focus upon these three deities in question are very closely linked to Mesoamerican cosmological principles associated with the Flower World and themes of warfare, themes that are first clearly evident in the north at Paquimé. In conclusion, I argue that the explosion of ritually infused warfare symbolism across the American Southwest beginning in the thirteenth century is related to the spread of a particularly salient form of the Mesoamerican Flower World complex via Paquimé.

Warfare in the Pueblo III- to Pueblo IV-period American Southwest

Within the last two decades, a number of studies have addressed the topic of warfare and violence after AD 1200 and 1250 in the American Southwest and, more rarely, in northern Mexico¹³. While it is beyond the scope of the present chapter to explore these works in any great detail, a brief background history is in order. In a relatively recent study of warfare in the prehispanic American Southwest, Lekson (2002b) noted that theories of warfare tend to fall into two main categories: those that emphasize external environmental or institutional causes and those that emphasize internal psychological or biological factors. To date, most studies of warfare in the American Southwest tended to favor the former explanation and focused upon environmental factors as the primary driving force in conflict. Among the most prominent of these explanations are those that in part correlate dendroclimatological

¹³ e.g., Adams 1989b; Ellis 1951; Haas and Creamer 1993, 1997; LeBlanc 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003; Lekson 2002b; Lipe 1995; Plog and Solometo 1997; Rice and LeBlanc 2001; Ravesloot 1988: 75-76; Ravesloot and Spoerl 1989; Schaafsma 2000a, 2007b; Turner and Turner 1999; Wilcox and Haas 1994; Wilcox et al. 2007.

reconstructions of climate change and the resultant resource unpredictability in an effort to account for evidence of heightened violence (e.g., LeBlanc 1999: 32-36; Lekson 2002b).

Scholars who study warfare in the prehispanic American Southwest classified three main periods of warfare or violence. LeBlanc's (1999) study defined and described the level and intensity of violence that occurred during the Early period (AD 0-900), Middle period (AD 900-1150), and Late period (AD 1250-Spanish contact). The period between AD 1150 and 1250, which was difficult to characterize, was described as "interim" (ibid.). As it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss the evidence for lower levels of violence and warfare in the Early, Middle, and Interim periods, I focus instead upon the Late period because it is coincident with the timing of the rise of Paquimé. LeBlanc (1999: 197) suggested that beginning around AD 1250, a large region of the Southwest was engulfed in warfare on a level approaching "crisis and catastrophe". Dean (1996) and Lekson (2002b: 612-613) pointed out that, at the same time, long-term seasonal climatic patterns also became extraordinarily disrupted during the period from AD 1250 to 1450, resulting in resource unpredictability. The close timing of this dramatic climate fluctuation and increased warfare led scholars to link the two events.

Evidence suggested for the extreme degree of intensification of violence is largely indirect and includes such things as major population displacement from the Four Corners region around AD 1250/1300 (Lekson 2002b: 619), aggregated communities, "site clustering", the movement of people into larger, defensive settlements (LeBlanc 1999: 200), the securing of domestic water supplies at sites (ibid: 225-226), heightened

line-of-sight communications between communities (ibid.: 226), burned sites, unburied bodies, evidence of scalping or massacres, and historical accounts, among other evidence (ibid.: 228-237). As LeBlanc (1998: 115) noted, the evidence of increased strife first begins in the northern Southwest in the Four-Corners region around AD 1250. Polly Schaafsma (2000a: 9) pointed out that possible warfare iconography in the limited form of shield designs began to appear in this region, although the meanings of these elements remain unclear. Notably, Schaafsma (ibid.: 105) also concluded that the later florescence of Puebloan warfare imagery after AD 1325 did not find inspiration from ideology on the Colorado Plateau.

In his assessment of many of the suggested characteristics of warfare that ought to be recognizable in the archaeological record, Adams (1989b) argued that for the Pueblo IV period there is very limited evidence among the Western Pueblos of such a high degree of warfare and concluded that the archaeological record is “remarkably mute” on the topic. Instead, he (ibid.) suggested that while evidence of scalping or pueblo burning may have more localized explanations, many of the changes in site layout and size coincided with significant changes in ideology and the development of katsina ceremonialism. Thus, many of the remarkable changes in village size, layout, and settlement patterns may instead have had an underlying ideological basis that primarily served to reduce conflict, promote social integration, and to maintain order.

Polly Schaafsma (2000a: 170-171) concurred with Adam’s assessment of the lack of firm or direct evidence of violence, noting: “In spite of the rich body of war iconography from the fourteenth century on . . . the remaining, or more traditional,

archaeological evidence for conflict and hostilities during Pueblo IV is hardly overwhelming” (ibid.: 170). Furthermore, Schaafsma (ibid.: 169) pointed to a very important problem: “It remains to be asked why warfare iconography escalated in equal proportion to religious cults that supposedly offered a solution to social stress.” Similarly, Plog and Solometo (1997: 174-176) noted that the near simultaneous appearance of warfare imagery, katsina symbolism, and motifs associated with fertility indicated that there is an “interconnectedness” between these themes in that warfare promotes fertility.

After AD 1300, the most significant and graphic evidence for warfare in the American Southwest appeared in the extraordinary and unprecedented elaboration of warfare symbolism in kiva murals and in rock art, primarily in the Rio Grande region in the east and to a much lesser extent in the Little Colorado region in the west (Schaafsma 2000a: 105; see map in Schaafsma 1975b, fig. 109). The vastly complex and highly diversified warfare symbolism that appeared primarily in the Eastern Pueblo region was termed the “Rio Grande style” (ibid.: 29). The focus of this style incorporates shields and shield-bearers, weapons, warrior katsinas and human warriors, and it includes themes of warfare such as motifs of star warriors and animal war patrons such as eagles, bears, and mountain lions (ibid.: 30). At this time, kiva painting styles underwent an unprecedented and dramatic change from simple geometric lines to large and elaborate polychrome paintings that covered entire walls (ibid.). Some of these kiva murals, such as those at Pottery Mound and Hopi Jeddito paintings, depict complex war imagery (ibid.)

The Role of Ideology in Warfare

While it is acknowledged that the complexities of warfare can never be explained as having a single cause, scholars also recently began to seek explanations that incorporated ideological factors as a means understanding evidence of violence. In the last decade, scholars began to examine how warfare and religion are closely intertwined in Pueblo societies (Adams 1989b, 1991a: 156, 2006: 59-60; Plog and Solometo 1997; Schaafsma 2000a). Importantly, scholars noted that, beginning around AD 1300 in the American Southwest, the appearance of pictorial imagery depicting both religious elements and warfare symbolism is coeval. Schaafsma (2000a: 129) noted, “Iconography in rock art, kiva murals, and on ceramics indicates that the kachina cult, as well as the complex configuration of war symbolism, appear at essentially the same time in Pueblo prehistory.” This co-occurrence “. . . suggests that the situation giving rise to Pueblo warfare and its concurrent ideological development is more involved than simply environmental factors, growth, and social complexity leading to increased conflict” (ibid.: 105). Furthermore, it was argued that an ideology centered upon warfare became a significant part of Pueblo ritual at this time while a number of social institutions such as warrior societies likely were also formed during this period (ibid.: 162).

The Florescence of Paquimé and the Rise of Warfare Symbolism

Scholars long noted that the increase in evidence of violence in the American Southwest beginning around AD 1250 coincided with the Medio-period florescence of Paquimé. For example, Lekson (2002b: 620) pointed out: “Paquimé’s span from about

1250 to 1450 was remarkably coincident to the first half of LeBlanc's Late period (1250-1600) of village-on-village and alliance-on-alliance warfare across the northern Southwest." While the timing of dramatic evidence of warfare and the rise of Paquimé were noted to occur at roughly the same time period, only a few studies noted the role of this site in the considerable social, political, and ritual changes that took place across the region at this time.

Lekson (2002b: 620) suggested that Paquimé's role in the northern Southwest was probably more commercial than political and that Paquimé probably stayed out of the "troubles" in the north. With regard to the southern regions, LeBlanc (1999: 251) noted a significant point, stating: "The role Casas Grandes played, along with its essential characteristics may turn out to be key to understanding the entire southern area of the Southwest." In a study focused upon the role of warfare at Paquimé, Ravesloot and Spoerl (1989) suggested that direct and indirect evidence indicated that warfare was integral to the development and maintenance of status hierarchies.

While the rise of warfare in the American Southwest did correspond to a time period of significant climate change, it is also important to highlight the fact that the significant increase of warfare and warfare symbolism also corresponded to the appearance of a new ideology at Paquimé specifically focused upon Sun Youth (Xochipilli), Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl), and Morning Star (Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli) worship that was at the heart of the Flower World complex. At Paquimé and in the Southwest, these deities surely were called by different local names. As I argued throughout the present work, this new or highly refined ideology did not develop *in situ*

and was likely introduced in its greatest manifestation to the Casas Grandes region by Mesoamerican peoples from the Aztatlán region of West Mexico, though these deities and this ritual complex are ultimately of highland Central Mexican or Oaxacan and Pueblan origin. Clearly, it is imperative to understand how the spread of this new ideology might have correlated with the simultaneous increase in evidence of conflict and ritually infused warfare symbolism across the region.

The Symbolism of Ritual Warfare in Northern Mexico and the American Southwest

Heightened evidence of both Flower World and warfare imagery is represented in the newly developed symbolic repertoire of kiva murals in the Eastern and Western Pueblo region. For example, Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa (2006: 14) noted that in Pueblo IV-period kiva art in the Eastern and Western pueblo regions, “Some kiva murals at Awat’ovi, Kawàyka’a, and Pottery Mound invoke a flowery spiritual landscape.” While kiva murals at these sites display links to Flower World imagery, Schaafsma (2000a: 72-73) pointed out that war themes are also an important component of some of the murals at Pottery Mound in the Rio Grande region and in those at Kawaika’a and Awat’ovi on the Hopi Mesas.

Beginning in the early-fourteenth century in the American Southwest, iconographic evidence suggests that themes of warfare were closely related to star warriors and the Hopi Morning Star deity Sotuqnangu (Mathiowetz et al. 2008; Schaafsma 2000a:127-128). The widespread occurrence of warfare symbolism focused upon star warriors and the Morning Star beginning around AD 1300, and the coincident

spread of ritual centered on the Sun Youth and the Plumed Serpent from the Casas Grandes region suggests that these three beings may have formed a complete ritual complex in the American Southwest, much as they did in Mesoamerica. This coincidence indicates that the timing of appearance of a foreign ritual complex focused on the Sun Youth, the Horned and Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star in a very Mesoamericanized manifestation is roughly aligned to the timing of the dramatic florescence of Paquimé.

Evidence of warfare symbolism, stars, and warriors in the rock art of the Casas Grandes region is remarkably absent. However, though there is little overt evidence of warrior symbolism in the highly geometric and redundant symbolic corpus of the Casas Grandes culture, this does not preclude the possibility of an ideology of cosmological warfare and fertility from having been central to Casas Grandes belief systems. To the contrary, a study of warfare at Paquimé and in the Casas Grandes region concluded that “[t]here is considerable direct and indirect evidence for warfare as an integral aspect of Casas Grandes society throughout the Medio period” (Ravesloot and Spoerl 1989: 135). Though the subject of ritual warfare based upon the alternating seasons was discussed in Chapter 11, it remains to be understood how each of the three main Mesoamerican deities (Sun, Plumed Serpent, Morning Star) associated with the Flower World complex work together as a group, both among Mesoamerican and Southwestern societies, to promote shared ideological principles focused upon cosmological warfare and fertility. To understand how these three deities work together, now and in the past, one must understand how their roles are manifest within the context of the Flower World complex.

The Flower World and Warfare in Mesoamerica

In a discussion detailing the relationship of the Sun and Venus as the Morning Star in ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica, Miller (1989: 88-90) noted a number of ethnohistoric and ethnographic examples that demonstrate that the close link between the dawning Sun, the Plumed Serpent, and Venus as Morning Star is quite widespread. For instance, among the contemporary Maya of Zinacantan, Chiapas, Vogt (1969: 600) related the following account: “At dawn the sun rises in the east preceded by Venus, the Morning Star, a large plumed serpent called *Mukta ch'on* by the Tzotzil. Venus is the precursor and herald of the sun, and the Tzotzil still identify it with the serpent deity . . .” Coltman (2007: 74) recently drew attention to another Highland Maya account recorded by Tedlock (1992: 180) whereby Venus, known as the sun carrier, preceded the rising sun in the east along a path called the “sun-carrier’s road”.

A similar concept is evident from the Popol Vuh, a document of ancient Quiche Maya oral traditions recorded after the Spanish Conquest. Recinos, Goetz, and Morley (1957: 180; cited in Miller 1982: 89) noted the link between Venus, the rising sun, and the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan in this Popol Vuh account: “They took turns at watching the Great Star called *Icoquih*, which rises first before the sun, when the sun rises, the brilliant *Icoquih*, which was always before them in the East, when they were there in the place called Tulán-Zuiva, whence came their god.” In discussing this account, Miller (1982: 89) further noted that Tulán-Zuiva is the sacred place [in the east] from where Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan was said to eventually return. A separate account in the

Popol Vuh (Recinos, Goetz, and Morley 1957: 173) related a similar link between the Sun and Venus as the Morning Star:

. . . [A]t the same time that they saw the rising of the sun, they contemplated the Morning Star, the Great Star, which comes ahead of the sun, that lights up the arch of the sky and the surface of the earth, and illuminates the steps of the men who had been created and made.

This apparent religious complex that minimally involved these three deities is known archaeologically in Mesoamerica at least by the Early Postclassic period, but probably much earlier in time to some extent. For example, Taube (2011a) recently noted that Maya-style Venus star symbolism occurs in alternation with solar symbolism in murals from Corridor 12 in the Tetitla apartment compound at Teotihuacan. In an analysis of Toltec-style iconography at the site of Ixtapantongo in the State of Mexico, Taube (1994: 223) drew attention to rock art that depicts the pairing of a solar disk and a separate figure entwined with a plumed serpent adorned with stars (**Fig. 3.2b**). This association suggests a close relationship between the Sun, the Plumed Serpent, and Venus as the Morning Star (*ibid.*). For Early Postclassic Chichén Itzá, one mural scene from the Upper Temple of the Jaguars portrays a Morning Star figure ensconced within a Plumed Serpent body. Paired with this plumed serpent and morning star-related being is a solar figure wearing a jester god diadem brow piece often found on solar deities (Taube 1994: 224; see Kowalski 2007: 278-279, fig. 17).

In a recent important study of Flower World symbolism in murals at the Late Postclassic sites of Tulum and Santa Rita in the northern Maya lowlands, Taube (2010a) also noted that symbolism at Santa Rita depicted the sun rising from the plumed serpent maw while accompanied by symbolism of Venus as the morning star. In describing this

scene, he (ibid.: 176) noted: “Rather than swallowing the solar figure, the Santa Rita [plumed] serpent carries him into the sky with the darts of dawn—the shooting rays of the morning star.” As Venus as the Morning Star has widespread and ancient links to warfare in Mesoamerica, these interrelated motifs suggest strong links between themes of Flower World, fertility, and warfare.

A strikingly similar link between these three deities was noted in a recent study of Late Postclassic Aztec cosmology. Coltman’s (2007) study of the famed Aztec “Xolotl” Statuette identified this statue as representing not Xolotl, but the Morning Star deity Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli as a skeletal warrior star-god. Upon the back of this statue is an image of the plumed serpent carrying a large solar disk that represents the sun god Tonatiuh (see image in Fondo Editorial de la Plástica Mexicana 1964: 407-408). Coltman (2007) argued that this statue depicts the Morning Star Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, an avatar of the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl, as a fierce Toltec-style warrior who led the sun out of the underworld in the east.

Furthermore, Burkhart (1992: 96) noted a similar tradition in Colonial-period Aztec songs in the *Psalmodia Christiana* (Sahagún 1583: 107r-v), which are replete with Flower World symbolism. One passage in particular is clearly related to the themes described above:

Let us marvel at the flowery mountains, let us behold the
flowery plains! They lie bursting into bloom, they lie giving
off fragrance. . .

He [Saint John] surpasses the Prophets! At dawn it is begun. Let
there be dancing! Let us sniff the wind [*ehecatl*] that comes giving
off fragrance, that comes giving off scent.

What in a sacred way is fragrance came to emerge
when the sacred messenger, Saint John, was born.

Go ahead, oh our friends! For Venus has come to
emerge! Go ahead! May it be begun! Let ther be dancing!
For he who in a sacred way is Venus has come to emerge,
Saint John!

This passage again draws links between Flower Mountain, the dawn emergence of the sun, Ehecatl (the wind aspect of the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl), and Venus as the Morning Star (i.e., “Saint John”). Notably, Taube (2001: 112) pointed out a Colonial period Aztec account recorded by Sahagún (1950-82, vol. 7: 56) whereby, at dawn, it is the breath wind of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl that first pushed the newly born Sun to rise.

The Warrior Sun God in Mesoamerica

In a recent extensive study of Flower World symbolism, Taube (2010a: 161) noted a close link between the warrior sun god and Flower World: “In ancient Mesoamerica, the sun was often a bellicose being ruling the afterlife floral realm of the brave and virtuous.” Because of this association, in a number of ancient portrayals or ethnohistoric descriptions, the sun is a deity of war and sacrifice and wields various weapons of warfare, including spearthrowers and darts, shields, axes, and lances (ibid.). Taube (2011a) also demonstrated that the Sun God in many Mesoamerican cultures, at least dating to the Classic period in the Maya area and highland Mexico, is intimately related to warfare, blood-drinking, and sacrifice. For example, Structure 10L-16 at Copán portrays the founding ruler K’inich Yax K’uk Mo’ apotheosized as the Sun God who is engaged in a war dance within a solar shield (Taube 2004c). In a mural at the Late Postclassic site of Xelhá in Quintana Roo, the bearded Sun God is portrayed holding a shield and lance (Taube 2010a: 161). Sun Gods at the Temple of the Warriors at Early

Postclassic Chichén Itzá are portrayed holding spearthrowers (Taube 2011a). The Toltec solar deity portrayed on rock art at Ixtapantongo in the State of Mexico also holds a spearthrower and curved club (ibid.). For the Postclassic Huastec, a number of shell carvings contain portrayals of armed human males, some holding spearthrowers or curved clubs, positioned within solar disks (ibid.). In addition, Aztec and Mixtec sun gods often carry spearthrowers (ibid.).

As noted in Chapter 2, in the Late Postclassic highland Central Mexican manifestation of Flower World, perhaps the most important deity associated with this complex was the solar deity Xochipilli, an aspect of the preeminent solar deity Tonatiuh. Among the more prominent attributes of this deity was an identification with the east, the young dawning sun, the personification of the human soul, flowers, birds and butterflies, dancing, music, feasting, games, the generation of maize, and in some instances he is portrayed as a macaw-headed being. While this deity is inextricably affiliated with the Flower World complex, he also has close ties to ritually charged aspects of warfare. For example, among the Aztec, the eastern paradisaic realm of the dawn, over which Xochipilli presided, was the ultimate destination for the souls of warriors who perished on the battlefield or as captives.

Deceased warriors were called *tonatiuh ilhuicac yauh*, or those “going to the sun-heaven, to the eastern sky” (Seler 1990-1998: 4: 133). Seler (ibid.: 132) further noted: “For the sacrificial death is the warrior’s death. And therefore the warriors also belong to the sun. For the souls of the sacrificed ones go to the eastern sky, to the house of the sun.” Furthermore, for the Aztec, the ritually charged Flower Wars had a close affinity to

ancient Teotihuacan cosmology centered on the creation of the Sun: “To the Aztec, the sacred flower wars, the *xochiyaoyotl*, owed their origin to the fiery creation of the sun at Teotihuacan” (Taube 1992a: 78). These rites are described in more detail in Chapter 11. Notably, Colonial-period Aztec conceptions of the creation of the sun indicated that this event was said to have occurred at Teotihuacan at the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, a monumental structure identified as the symbolic Flower Mountain of this site (Taube 2000a: 310-311; Taube 2004b: 88). Many elements in Mesoamerican symbolism through time indicate that the Sun is intimately affiliated with warfare in the context of Flower World.

Musical Instruments and Flower World Warfare Rites

While weaponry and blood sacrifice were considered as important components in the art of warfare in Mesoamerica, other less obvious elements of war, such as music, dance, and performance, held an important place both on and off the battlefield. Being the patron deity of music and dance, the young Sun God Xochipilli played a key role in warfare-related ceremonialism and pageantry. In Chapter 4, an analysis of the symbolism of notched musical rasp instruments determined that these objects are symbolic of the ladder or stepped pathway of the Sun. Far from simply being instruments for accompaniment to festivals or performances, these items also had an underlying relationship to warfare rites and a strong affinity to the young solar deity Xochipilli, the God of Music and the center of Flower World worship. A discussion of how these instruments were specifically related to ritual warfare symbolism is deserved. As is

described below, the complex of ideas and ritual connotations embedded in these musical instruments in Mesoamerica appear to be nearly identical to the ritual significance of these objects in the American Southwest.

In rites accorded to Aztec warriors slain on the battlefield, notched musical rasps (*omichicahuaztli*) were integral instruments in funerary ceremonies. For example, sixteenth-century chronicles among the Aztec indicated that the use of notched rasps was restricted almost solely to funeral ceremonies of warriors (Duran 1967: 2: 154; Tezozomoc 1944 [1598]: 95). Furthermore, Seler (1990-1998: 3: 69) and Beyer (1934) noted that flowers and representations of the patron of the souls of dead warriors were inscribed upon Aztec notched rasps. These images likely allude to the ascent of Aztec warrior's souls along the combined flowery road and solar ladder to the solar paradise of the sun (see Chapter 4).

Along with an association with warfare-related rites, notched rasps were also closely associated with Xochipilli, as I described in Chapter 4. For instance, Von Winning (1959) drew attention to an elaborately inscribed Late Postclassic Aztec notched rasp from Culhuacan, Mexico that depicts an intricate scene of warfare whereby the bloody stream of a victim's blood is portrayed nourishing the solar deity Tonatiuh along his diurnal path (**Fig. 4.1b**). Most notable in this inscribed scene is the presence of a warrior's shield beneath the skyband that depicts a group of four circles known as a *tonallo* symbol that represent the emblem of Macuilxochitl, who is also known as Xochipilli (Von Winning 1959: 90). Given the similarity in etymology, the *tonallo* is

likely closely related to the *tonalli*, the breath soul and life wind that is identified with the sun and heat (Lopez Austin 1988: 1: 204-228; Taube 2001: 105).

Von Winning (1959: 90) suggested that the appearance of the shield with the *tonallo* symbol likely is an expression of war. Thus the shield symbol associated with Xochipilli is affiliated with notched musical rasps, the diurnal passage of the sun along the flowery solar pathway, and rites of warfare. Additional archaeological and iconographic examples of notched rasps and effigy rasps demonstrate a close affinity to Xochipilli. As noted in Chapter 4, Page 24 of the Mixtec *Codex Vindobonensis* depicts 9 Wind (Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl) rasping above a mortuary bundle while Xochipilli sits facing him (**Fig. 4.2e**). Furthermore, notched rasp effigies were also deposited in offerings to Xochipilli at the Templo Mayor along with a number of other musical instruments (see Solís 2004: 21, fig. 77).

Other Aztec musical instruments are also closely associated with ritual warfare, the solar paradisaic realm, and with Xochipilli. Seler (1990-1998: 4: 133-134) noted examples of two types of wooden drums, the *teponaztli* and *huehuetl*, that are played at the dance of the warriors, such as that depicted in the *Codex Duran* (**Fig. 12.1a**). As described below, actual Aztec drums in some instances are decorated with symbols of Flower World and warfare symbolism. Early-twentieth-century examples of *teponaztli* drums from Puebla also have affinities with Xochipilli and warfare. For instance, Gallop (1939: 218) observed a *teponaztli* in Xico, Puebla in the late 1930s that was used at an annual feast held at a ruined chapel called the Tower of Xochipilli that was likely built

atop pyramidal ruins. During this festival, a song addressed to Xochipilli was translated (ibid.) in the following manner:

Xochipile, Xochipile,
To my house, to my house,
Thou art come, O Captain,
Of shields and flowers thou wilt sing.

While the exact meaning of the lyrics are obscure, the guardian of the drum indicated that the last two lines referred to fighting with Indians from Tlaxcala (ibid.).

Being the god of music and dance, Macuilxochitl/Xochipilli is also portrayed as a drum player, while his image, at times, is also inscribed on the sides of these drums (**Fig. 12.1b-12.1e**). Notably, just as Aztec drums are closely associated with the Sun Youth Xochipilli, dance drums at Cochiti (Lange 1959: 349) and Santo Domingo (Curtis 1907-1930, vol. 16: 168) in the American Southwest are named “Paiyatama”, a term that refers to the conceptually identical Sun Youth Payatamu. Such a conception may even apply to the plethora of ceramic drums recovered from Paquimé (see Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 337-340), the home of the Sun Youth in northern Mexico.

For the Aztec examples, Taube (2004a: 18) noted a ceramic model of an Aztec *teponaztli* that depicts Xochipilli in a horizontal position of supernatural flight (**Fig. 12.1e**). A figure in a similar position of supernatural flight who is accompanied by birds and flowers adorns an actual wooden *teponaztli* (**Fig. 12.2a**) along with scenes of Aztec eagle and jaguar warriors. Taube (ibid.) argued that this juxtaposition suggests an affinity between the solar Flower World paradise and warfare. The connection of this figural position to Flower World is notable in that a similar position of supernatural flight appears on page 36 of the *Codex Borgia* where five images of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl

appear within a stream of life-giving wind and music accompanied by flowers, birds, dance staffs, drums, and flutes (ibid.: 17-18) that emanates from a sacred bundle obtained from an aspect of the Sun (**Fig. 12.2b**). This scene depicts Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl in his role in the creation of music at the house of the Sun (ibid.). Furthermore, this stream of wind and music is the embodiment of Flower World (Taube 2001: 115). Thus, the images of figures in supernatural flight described above are closely connected to Flower Road and Flower World symbolism and have additional links to ritually infused warfare (Taube 2001: 115; 2004a: 17-18).

The positioning of figures on the body of a plumed serpent, or in a position of supernatural flight accompanied by a plumed serpent, also has a clear link to Flower World and warfare symbolism evident much earlier in Mesoamerica than in the Southwest. Taube (pers. comm. 2007; see Finamore and Houston 2010: 190-191, pl. 65) drew my attention to an inscribed jade from the Chichén Itzá *cenote* that depicts an image of the bellicose warrior sun god astride the body of a plumed serpent (**Fig. 12.2c**). Similarly, a number of warriors in the symbolism of Early Postclassic Tula and Chichén Itzá are depicted standing upon the body of, or enveloped within, the undulations of the plumed serpent or individually in a position of supernatural flight (**Fig. 12.2d-12.2f, 12.3a-12.3c**).

In addition to plumed serpents paired with warriors in a prone “flying” position in Chichén Itzá and Toltec iconography, similar “flying” motifs are also evident in later Aztec symbolism (**Figs. 12.4a**). The association of the young sun god and warriors in a position of supernatural flight in the flowery realm extends to Early Classic Teotihuacan.

In a recent study, Taube (2005b) noted that Teotihuacan imagery of prone figures with butterfly and quetzal attributes situated before Flower Mountain are closely related to a cult of war involving the young sun god and the souls of warriors as butterflies in the eastern flowery realm of the dawn (**Figs. 12.4b-12.4c**). This figure may relate to an early version of Xochipilli. Similar relationships between Flower Mound and warriors also were noted in later imagery at Chichén Itzá where Toltec-style warriors stand atop images of Flower Mound in the floral solar paradise (Taube 2004b; **Figs. 12.3d-12.3e**).

What is extraordinary about the highland Central Mexican portrayals of deities, such as the young sun god, or warriors in a position of supernatural flight in the realm of Flower World is that this supernatural, horizontal “flying” figural position is remarkably similar to portrayals of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth in a position of supernatural flight (see **Figs. 2.15e-2.15f**). The horned serpent depicted beneath the Sun Youth’s arm in Figure 2.15e likely refers to the young sun traveling along the body of the horned and plumed serpent (i.e., Flower Road), much like in Mesoamerica.

Since depictions of figures in Mesoamerican art in a similar figural position allude to both travel of gods and warriors in the Flower World realm, it is possible that in Casas Grandes cosmology this position of horizontal supernatural flight might also refer both to travel of the Sun Youth in the flowery realm and to a theme of the Sun’s relation to ritual warfare, though no weaponry is evident in this rare scene. This figural position, though prone, is quite similar to how the Sun Youth is portrayed in Casas Grandes art when he is vertical and dancing out of the underworld at dawn on the pathway of the plumed serpent (see **Fig. 2.16a**). Whatever the case, the use of this distinct “flying” figural position

suggests that some Casas Grandes artisans had knowledge of extraordinarily specific and ancient Mesoamerican figural positions and artistic conventions used to graphically depict solar deities or other figures in supernatural flight in the realm of Flower World or along Flower Road.

In examples ranging from the Early Classic, through the Late Postclassic, to the Colonial period, and into early-twentieth-century highland Central Mexico, the youthful solar deity Xochipilli is closely affiliated with ritually infused warfare associated with the flowery paradisaic realm of the sun. In all probability, the association of the young Sun God with Flower World and warfare symbolism likely extended to the Sun God Xochipilli/Piltzintli of the Aztatlán tradition in West Mexico around AD 900, to the Casas Grandes Sun Youth after AD 1200, and to the Sun Youth in the American Southwest thereafter.

Quetzalcoatl and Warfare in the Mesoamerican Flower World Complex

In ancient Mesoamerica, the plumed serpent was a being of wind, rain, and agricultural fertility (Taube 2001: 108) and was often depicted with rain and clouds emerging from its mouth or body. While the feathered serpent of Mexico is traceable to Middle Formative (900-500 BC) Olmec cave paintings at Oxtotitlan and Calixtlahuaca in Guerrero (Taube 1986: 59) and bas-reliefs at Chalcatzingo, Morelos (Taube 2001: 73-74), the first depictions of Quetzalcoatl as a plumed rattlesnake are found at the Early Classic period (AD 250-600) site of Teotihuacan. In Postclassic highland Central

Mexico, plumed serpent imagery continued to be an important motif for the later Toltec and Aztec cultures, among others (see Chapter 3).

While the plumed serpent of Mesoamerica relates to life, breath, fertility, and the flowery spirit world, there is also a militaristic component. As noted earlier, the symbolic Flower Mountain of ancient Teotihuacan was the Temple of Quetzalcoatl (Taube 2006b: 161), the façade of which was constructed around AD 200. While this temple portrays a number of plumed serpents protruding through flowers, these plumed serpents, in addition to the mass sacrifice of warriors beneath the temple, reflect a close affiliation with themes of militarism (ibid.). For example, the plumed serpent bodies on the façade of the temple are vehicles that carry the shell-platelet headdress of the War Serpent (ibid.; **Fig. 12.4d**), a headdress that at times is worn by Teotihuacan warriors. Taube (ibid.: 162) concluded that “. . . the Teotihuacan Quetzalcoatl conjured the War Serpent at Flower Mountain” and further noted that the interment of sacrificed warriors beneath the symbolic Flower Mountain alluded to the afterlife realm of the souls of warriors in the celestial paradise of the sun (ibid.). Thus, the plumed serpent of Teotihuacan, much like for the later Toltec, Chichén Itzá, and Aztec plumed serpent, was closely related to concepts of Flower World and themes of militarism.

The role of Quetzalcoatl during the Epiclassic period (AD 700-900) in Mesoamerica became closely affiliated with the legitimization of political control and rulership (Ringle et al. 1998; Schaafsma 2001). Scholars have argued that during this time period, a “world religion” with strong militaristic underpinnings and focused on Quetzalcoatl spread across Mesoamerica. Furthermore, during the Toltec era (AD 900-

1100+), Quetzalcoatl became associated with political leaders, social elites, warriors, and merchants (Schaafsma 2001: 141). During the Postclassic period, Quetzalcoatl had multiple aspects including his role as the life-giving wind in the guise of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl and his role in warfare in his guise as Tlahuizcalpantecuhli, or Venus as the Morning Star.

As noted above, Late Postclassic- and Contact-period documentary information indicated that the Aztec deities Xochipilli and Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl (9 Wind), the wind aspect of the plumed serpent, were affiliated with Aztec war-related ceremonies. In addition to this affiliation with warfare, the regalia of individuals of differing social and military ranks and martial achievements also reflected insignia indicative of these two deities and Flower World in general. For instance, Seler (1990-1998: 3: 3-61) noted that in the Contact-period *Codex Magliabecchiano*, a number of patterns on shoulder coverings and cloaks (*tilmatlis/mantas*) worn by high-status Aztec individuals bore symbolism including eagles and jaguars (warrior orders), a multi-colored floral sun, butterflies, the insignia of “Five Flower” or Macuilxochitl (also known as Xochipilli), the “wind jewel” symbol of Ehecatl, and the *oyoualli* ornament commonly found on dance gods such as Xochipilli or Macuilxochitl (see Nuttall 1903: 5, 8, 10). The close association of the *oyoualli* pendant and warfare imagery is apparent, as an image of this ornament appears on the shield of Nezahualcoyotl, the Aztec ruler of Texcoco, when he is dressed in his warfare regalia as portrayed on page 106r in the Contact-period *Codex Ixtlixochitl*. The conflation of items associated with the dance god and young solar deity

Xochipilli in conjunction with scenes and regalia of warfare suggests a close affinity between these elements.

In a study centered on Colonial-period Aztec regalia and status in military ranking, Seler (1990-1998: 3: 5) noted that distinctive cloth shoulder coverings, bearing either symbols of flowers or the “wind-jewel” conch shell breastpiece (*ehcailacacozcatl*) of Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl, were bestowed upon a warrior who captured one or three captives respectively (see images in Seler 1990-1998: 3: figs. 1, 3). Similarly, other insignia of distinguishing rank on clothing for officers of higher or princely rank also included the “wind jewel” symbol of Ehecatl (see images in Seler 1990-1998: 3: figs. 6, 19).

Battlefield accoutrements of the Aztec were also evocative of the Flower World, as valiant warriors wore items such as framed devices (*cacaxtli*) on their backs that bore elaborate depictions of butterflies, perhaps referring to the butterfly souls of warriors whose souls dwell in the eastern house of the sun (see images in Seler 1990-1998: 3: figs. 106-107). Other framed devices worn on the backs of warriors bore imagery of the quetzal bird that is also closely associated with agricultural wealth, fertility, and the flowery solar realm (see image in Seler 1990-1998: 3: fig. 109). Thus, it is clear that the insignia, clothing, regalia, and battlefield accoutrements of high-status nobles and warriors were closely linked to Flower World symbolism and to Xochipilli and Quetzalcoatl (along with his wind aspect Ehecatl).

The Sun Youth and Plumed Serpent in Ritual Warfare in the American Southwest

While the adoption of Flower World rituals centered upon the Sun Youth and the Plumed Serpent of Paquimé appears to have occurred across the American Southwest in varying local manifestations, aside from the major aspect of the Battle of the Seasons as described in Chapter 11, it remains to be more-specifically understood how the concurrent explosion of warfare and war-related symbolism across the region at this time related to the adoption of the three major deities of this ritual complex. Elsewhere, however, Schaafsma (2000a; also see Mathiowetz et al. 2008) detailed the role of the Morning Star in warfare symbolism of the Pueblo IV period while Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa (2006:19), pointed out that the Hopi Flower World has strong associations with themes of warfare. In light of these observations, the following sections examine ancient and contemporary ritual in the American Southwest and ancient ritual practices in northern Mexico in order to demonstrate the interconnectedness of Flower World war-related rituals centered upon the Sun Youth, the Plumed Serpent, the Morning Star, and katsina ceremonialism.

Notched Musical Rasps and Ritual Warfare in the Greater Southwest

As noted in Chapter 4 and in the discussion above, the use of notched musical rasps during the Postclassic period in highland Central Mexico was closely connected both to rites of warfare and also to the solar deity Xochipilli, the wind deity Ehecatl (an aspect of the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl), and Flower World. Because of this association, it is striking to note that the timing of appearance of notched musical rasps in

the archaeological record of the Greater Southwest in the Mimbres region was remarkably coincident with the appearance of the earliest iconographic examples of the Flower World complex in its initial manifestation in this region. A number of these items that were recovered from Paquimé dated to the Medio period. It is conspicuous that the appearance of notched musical rasps at Paquimé after AD 1200 and on a wider scale in the archaeological record of the American Southwest during the Pueblo IV period also coincided with the dramatic intensification of Flower World rituals involving the Sun Youth, the Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star. It is feasible to suggest that the use of notched musical rasps at Paquimé might also have had a close affinity with warfare rituals centered upon the three deities in question.

While some specific Mesoamerican rites (e.g., burials interred with notched rasps) are first evident at Paquimé, it remains unclear as to how notched musical rasps might also have played a role in ritual warfare at this site and in the American Southwest. To address this question, an examination of the use of notched musical rasps in the rites of contemporary indigenous Puebloan people of the American Southwest helps to illuminate the contexts in which these instruments were used in the past.

While notched musical rasps in Late Postclassic highland Central Mexico were intimately affiliated with war-related rituals and the Sun Youth Xochipilli, strikingly similar concepts and associations with the Sun Youth are evident among the contemporary Hopi. During the late nineteenth century, notched rasps were used as instruments that accompanied Hopi war dances. For example, Stephen (1936: 1326) noted that notched rasps (*zrükü' npi*) supplied instrumental music for war dance singers at

Oraibi in 1887. Furthermore, among the contemporary Hopi, notched musical rasps are also closely related to deities associated with warfare. In Hopi War Society altars that feature the War Twins Pü'ükoñhoya and Pa'lüñhoya, both of whom often wear “war track” markings on the face, notched musical rasps are important ritual objects placed upon the altar (ibid.: 86; see images in Stephen 1936: 61, 62, 67). In one of the altar scenes, crossed sticks called *tokpela* represent the Morning Star and hang above the war altar (see Stephen 1936: fig. 67).

In a separate example linking notched rasps and warfare, the contemporary Hopi artist Cliff Bahnimptewa illustrated a Snow Maiden (Nuvak'chin Mana) with short parallel “warrior marks” on her cheeks (see image in Wright 1973: 213) who is portrayed using a notched musical rasp that terminates in a terraced cloud symbol. This instrument is used in conjunction with a gourd resonator decorated with cloud symbolism. In Chapter 11, I argued that the use of rasps by figures related to winter is closely tied to rituals that symbolically replicate the road of the Sun in the cold winter months along with the subsequent production of cold weather moisture. These associations cumulatively suggest that there is a close affinity between warfare, notched musical rasps, and rites of fertility associated with cloud-making.

Furthermore, rasps appear to have an affinity with the Sun Youth. Stephen (1936: 1007) noted that during rites celebrating the Hopi Butterfly dance, which was said to be akin to the Eastern Pueblo Corn Dances (ibid.: 147-148, fn. 2), notched musical rasps were placed within a Butterfly shrine mound along with lightning sticks, plant symbols, bird effigies, and a symbolic corn mountain. It is worth noting here that during the Hopi

Butterfly dance in the early twentieth century, a tall standard representing the macaw-headed Sun Youth accompanied the Butterfly dancers (see image in Fewkes 1910: pl. XLVII). Notably, Titiev (1972: 339) pointed out that during the Butterfly dance at Oraibi in 1955, the male dancers had “war track” markings on their cheeks. Thus, there may well be a symbolic affinity between notched rasps, rites of fertility and warfare, and rituals involving the Sun Youth in Hopi Butterfly dances. While it is clear that musical rasps used by the Hopi are related to rituals of warfare and fertility and are used in rites involving the Sun Youth, further analysis is necessary to clarify the relationship between warfare, Flower World symbolism, and the Sun Youth in the American Southwest, particularly in relation to katsina ceremonialism.

The Sun Youth, Ritual Warfare, and Hunting in the American Southwest

While Sun Youth ceremonialism is closely related to the growth of maize and the warm half of the year, a little-discussed aspect of the Sun Youth is his role in hunting and warfare, both of which are decidedly cold season phenomena. War rites among Pueblo people appear to be closely related to the Sun Youth and Flower World, as a number of examples in Puebloan ethnographies attest. For example, Parsons (1939: 966) indicated that the Acoma Warrior Twins Ma'sewi and Oyoyewi reside in their underground abode at Flower Mound. In the Zuni drama of the retrieval of the Corn Maidens, it is the War Twins, who are the first directors of the Bow Priesthood, that appeal to the Sun Youth Payatamu for help in this endeavor (Stevenson 1904: 51, 56). In addition, among the Zuni, members of the Bow Priesthood (*A'pi'läshiwanni*) specifically offer prayers to

Payatamu (ibid.: 150). The Zuni Hunters Fraternity (*'Sän 'iakĭakwe*) perform a dance, said to have been adopted from the Hopi, whereby individuals dressed as game animals dance around a central bowl containing an artificial flowering *tenatsali* plant, the mythical medicine of the Sun Youth Payatamu (see Stevenson 1904: 440 and pl. CV). Curtis (1907-1930, vol. 16: 133) noted that on the morning of the hunt at Cochiti, every member of the Society of Hunters (*Shaiyak*) visit and offer corn meal at sun shrines composed of two concentric circles, in the center of which sits a large stone called *Ocatc-paiyatama*, or “Sun Youth”.

Furthermore, in one Acoma story, the Sun Youth Payatamu impregnated a girl and she gave birth to the Twin War Gods Masewi and Oyoyewi (Parmentier 1979: 615). At Acoma, Payatamu is closely associated with the K'acale society (equivalent to the Rio Grande *koshare* clown society), an organization with both clown and war associations (White 1932b: 97), a subject discussed in more detail in Chapter 11. In fact, some *k'acale* at Acoma are called “Sun Youth”, or *Ocatc paiyatama* (ibid.: 99). At Santo Domingo, the *koshare* are also closely associated with the Sun Youth Payatamu and male initiates into the society carry bows and arrows (Curtis 1907-1930, vol. 16: 142). These attributes suggest a strong conceptual link warfare and to the culture hero Payatamu.

During rites prior to beginning a rabbit hunt, the war chief at Acoma built a fire and laid out corn meal at the center and leading out to the cardinal directions. After placing fresh flowers at the center and along the meal lines to the four directions (perhaps an offering to the God of Flowers Payatamu?) he lit the fire and prayed to the sun, saying: “Sun Father, I wish you to help me to-day” (White 1932b: 102). During the ensuing

rabbit hunt, the Sun was thought to strike or stun the rabbits to “make [it] crazy” just prior to being killed by the hunter (ibid.).

Among the Hopi, the Sun Youth T'aiowa, who is equivalent to the Zuni Payatamu (Parsons 1939: 380), is also affiliated with warfare symbolism. For example, Stephen (1936: 24-25, pl. Ib) noted that the shield of T'aiowa bore in the center a symbol of a four-pointed star called Tala'shohü (Morning Star). Similar four-pointed stars also occur in the rock art of the Galisteo Basin, New Mexico during the Pueblo IV period (see Schaafsma 2000a: figs. 3.11a-3.11b). Recent studies demonstrated that stars, and especially the Morning Star, are important in themes of warfare among Pueblo people in the American Southwest (Schaafsma 2000a; Mathiowetz et al. 2008). Thus, the preceding examples demonstrate a close relationship between the Sun Youth, the Morning Star, and warfare.

Among the Hopi, the short parallel warrior markings that commonly appear on the cheeks and body of war-related persons or deities are labeled as Pü'ükoñve'adta or Tai'owave'adta, which is translated as the tracks or footprints of Pü'ükoñhoya or Tai'owa (Stephen 1936: 35, fn.1). Thus, the names given to warrior markings reveals a close relationship between the Hopi Warrior Twin Pü'ükoñhoya and the Sun Youth Tai'owa. Furthermore, the Hopi Kwan (Agave) society, which is considered a warrior society, has close links to the Wüwüchim (New Fire) ceremony (Fewkes 1902: 30), a ceremony whose patron is the Sun Youth (Parsons 1939: 341).

In fact, the relationship of the Sun Youth to the Wuwuchimtuh is so close that an alternate name of the society/ceremony is Tai'owatuh (Stephen 1936: 929). This

association suggests a close link between rituals involving warrior societies and the Sun Youth. Notably, Wüwüchim society standards are extraordinarily similar to Flute Society standards and likely also represent a symbolic Flower Mound (see images in Geertz 1987: pl. IIa and Stephen 1936: figs. 427, 433). Furthermore, a connection between Flower World rites and members of the Wüwüchim society may be evident in the fact that the Wüwüchim priesthood members wear a wooden headdress called *homimnakwa* that is composed of blossoms or yellow artificial flowers on their forehead (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998: 92; see image in Frigout 1979: fig. 3), a color closely associated with the Sun Youth.

While the Sun Youth is clearly affiliated with rites and symbolism of fertility and warfare in society and katsina ceremonialism in the American Southwest (see Chapter 11), it remains to be more clearly understood how the Sun Youth and ritual warfare symbolism is reflected in Puebloan ceremonial regalia and body ornamentation. This topic is addressed below.

War Track Markings in the Greater Southwest and Northern Mexico

Scholars have noted that a prominent symbol for warfare, most notably among the Hopi, are two short parallel lines called “war tracks” that appear on clothing, faces, or bodies of certain individuals. For the Hopi, war tracks appear on some important deities including the plumed serpent Palulukon (Stephen 1936: fig. 197), the Sun Tawa (Wright 1973: 124), the Morning Star and war deity Sotuqnangu (Stephen 1936: fig. 118), and the

Warrior Twins Pü'ükoñhoya and Pa'lyüñauwüh (Fewkes 1898c: pl. II; Portago and Wright 2006: pls. 38-39; Stephen 1936: fig. 52).

The antiquity of these distinctive markings in the Greater Southwest is unknown, however examples of similar facial markings on human figures make an appearance between AD 1000-1150 on Classic Mimbres vessels. Curiously, while some of these figures are clearly warriors, others are simply mothers, burden-bearers, or bird-trainers, among others. For example, a clear Mimbres example of war tracks ornaments the cheeks of a male hunter/warrior dressed with protective leggings while carrying a shield, an arrow, and a quiver of arrows (see Brody 1977: pl. 14). Another example from a Mimbres black-on-white bowl depicts a figure with probable war track markings on the cheeks who is carrying a burden basket with Tlaloc-like markings (see Schaafsma 1999: fig. 12.8). One Mimbres vessel depicts a group of male and female ceremonialists standing in a circle, with two of the males' faces ornamented with war track markings (see image in Brody 1977: fig. 17).

While some of these marks appear on human and bird-headed figures holding parrots (see Brody 1977: fig. 141; Townsend 2005a: fig. 26), other examples appear on the faces of women holding children on their laps (see Townsend 2005b: pl. 15). Brody (1983: 121, fig. 125) indicated that Hopi men identified facial markings on two figures that are illustrated in a Mimbres vessel as being alternative ways of depicting war tracks. One of these figures has three short, vertical parallel lines while the second has two long parallel but slanting lines on the cheeks. Considering that katsinam in contemporary Puebloan rituals are considered as “warriors” of the summer or winter seasons (see

Chapter 9), it is notable that I have yet to find examples of war track markings on the faces of Mimbres figures with toothed mouths that some scholars have identified as early versions of katsinam. Nor have I identified these facial markings on any Mimbres effigy vessels to date. Thus, it may well be accurate to state that these war track markings may not have become affiliated with katsinam until a later date. This is a tentative conclusion however, and further study of Mimbres symbolism is required.

Following the Mimbres era, an example of facial markings that are suggestive of war tracks appears on the cheeks of a Casas Grandes polychrome anthropomorphic effigy vessel in the shape of a person holding a bowl (**Fig. 12.5a**). Notably, this figure is ornamented with bands of circular medallions that I identified as flowers in Chapter 5. One possible alternative way of depicting war tracks that is similar to the Mimbres examples described above appears on a Casas Grandes plain effigy vessel that depicts a human face with three vertical parallel incised lines on the cheeks (**Fig. 12.5b**). Another possible alternative depiction is of two parallel slanting lines incised on the face of a plain Casas Grandes human effigy (**Fig. 12.5c**).

As described in Chapter 11, these jars likely represent katsinam, much like rock art depictions of katsinam as symbolic water jars or bowls found in the Piro and Tompiro region of New Mexico during the Pueblo IV period (see Schaafsma 1999, 2002). The possible war track markings on the Casas Grandes effigy vessel depicted in Figure 12.5c closely resemble the facial markings of a katsina water jar depicted in the Pueblo IV rock art of the Tompiro region of New Mexico (**Fig. 12.5d**). The combination of probable katsina symbolism along with themes of warfare (i.e., war tracks) and fertility (i.e.,

personified water jar) suggests an affinity between an ideology of warfare and fertility, at least by the Casas Grandes Medio period. These concepts are not mutually exclusive, as Plog and Solometo (1997: 175) suggested that “. . . the early katsinas were strongly tied to warfare, and may have themselves been warriors”. As they further noted, “. . . warfare and warriors, particularly when successful, do not contradict, but *promote* fertility . . .” (ibid.: 176 [emphasis in original]).

The more conventional war track markings appear on the cheeks of a toothed katsina-like figure on a Pinto Polychrome (Pinedale style) dating to about AD 1280-1300 (**Fig. 12.5e**). Other examples occur on the cheeks of a toothed katsina on a Tonto Polychrome human effigy vessel from Kinishba, Arizona (**Fig. 12.5f**). War track markings on a toothed katsina figure also appear on a fourteenth-century Fourmile polychrome vessel from the Western Pueblo region (**Fig. 12.5g**). Fewkes (1898a: 665, fig. 263) depicted a ceramic vessel fragment from the fifteenth-century site of Sikyatki that bears a partial image of a hunter with possible war tracks on the face.

Schaafsma (2000a; 2007a: 146) noted war track markings on warriors or shield bearers and on bird-headed and raptorial figures in Pueblo IV rock art of the Rio Grande region (**Figs. 12.6a-12.6d**). These bird-headed figures with war tracks recall the examples of bird-men from the Mimbres region, as described above. Scholars suggested that short parallel lines that appear on the rims and bodies of jars and pots from seventeenth-century Tabirá black-on-white vessels from the site of Gran Quivira, New Mexico, likely have similar meanings associated with war track marks (see Hayes et al. 1981: 89, fig. 112k). If it can be assumed that the meaning of these short parallel markings has remained

consistent through time, it is reasonable to suggest that the earliest examples of these warrior track marks appear in limited numbers first in southern New Mexico, in northern Mexico in the Casas Grandes region, before then becoming evident elsewhere in the American Southwest. However, it is a key point to note that, to date, the first depictions of these markings in clear association with katsina-affiliated imagery are in the facial markings of Casas Grandes human effigy vessels, likely personified katsina water jars. These are tentative conclusions that deserve further research.

War Track Markings in Puebloan Ceremonialism and Regalia

It is clear that contemporary depictions of war track markings have strong connections to katsinam. As was noted for the Hopi, short parallel lines that mark the body and face of warriors and ritual participants indicate an affiliation with warfare, whether actual or symbolic. Notably, the warrior tracks that are affiliated with the War Twin Pü'ükoñhoya and the Sun Youth Tai'owa in late nineteenth-century Hopi ceremonialism, as described above, also appear very prominently on Hopi katsina regalia. Stephen (1936: 35, fn. 1) and Wright (1973: 35) noted that girdles and sashes worn by nearly all Hopi katsinam are composed of designs that represent the Broad-face katsina mask along with imagery representing blossoms of all types of melons, squashes, flowers, and bean plant representations. However, along with these representations, the war track symbols are also integral parts of the design (Wade and Evans 1973; see images in Stephen 1936: pl. II; Wright 1979: 35).

Though no pre-Contact examples of this regalia are known, perhaps the earliest preserved Hopi example dates to 1879, with one collected by James Stevenson (Wright 1979: 35). What is particularly intriguing for this discussion is that these same katsina sashes or girdles with war tracks are noted to adorn the tall standard representing the Sun Youth Payatamu, likely as symbolic clothing, in contemporary artwork from Zia (Brody 1977: pl. 59), Cochiti (Dunn 1968: fig. 84), Jemez (Dunn 1968: fig. 121), and San Ildefonso (Tanner 1973: fig. 5.78).

The presence of katsina textiles on the dance standard suggests that the clothing worn by the Sun Youth is similar if not equal to those clothing articles worn by dancers. In other words, in these instances the Sun Youth appears to be dressed as a katsina dancer. In fact, White (1932b: 104) pointed out that the Sun Youth standard at Acoma is “dressed just like the dancers”, a fact that suggests a conceptual link between the two. Furthermore, at Santa Ana Pueblo, the Sun Youth standard (*kastotcoma*) is also closely related to the *shiwana* rain spirits. As White (1942: 344) noted, Kastotcoma (i.e., the Sun Youth) “. . . is a shiwana just like Tsaiyaityuwi”. Notably, at Santo Domingo, Tsaiyaityuwi is an important katsina who is said to have been “. . . the first shiwana to come out.”

The close link between the Sun Youth Payatamu and the first emerging katsina rain spirits suggests that there may be a strong tie between the Sun Youth, important aspects of katsina ceremonialism, and ritually infused warfare as evident in the presence of war tracks on katsina regalia. While these connections are evident among

contemporary peoples, it is not far-fetched to suggest that this interconnectedness may be quite ancient, perhaps dating to the onset of Sun Youth worship at Paquimé.

In ethnographic examples from the late nineteenth century and among contemporary Hopi people, war tracks are also very common on images of the plumed serpent Palulukon. For instance, a number of examples of the horned and crested serpent Palulukon, with warrior track marks on its body, occur in a wide array of media ranging from Snake dance kilts, gourd trumpets, rock art, and in effigies (**Figs. 12.7a-12.7d**). War track markings on the body of the plumed serpent also appear in portrayals of the Hopi Kuysiplölöqangw ceremony, as Palulukon is depicted emerging from the center of a water jar or ceramic vessel with war track markings on its body (**Fig. 12.7c**).

Smith (1952: fig. 51e) noted a design of possible war tracks on the body of a snake in a Pueblo IV kiva mural at Kawaika'a, located on the Hopi Mesas (**Fig. 12.7e**). This design recalls depictions of Palulukon on Hopi Snake Dance kilts, as noted above. Directly adjacent to this snake motif were three long red feathers likely representing parrot (macaw) feathers (ibid.). Although the mural fragment depicting the head of the serpent has not survived, the positioning of the macaw feathers leading away from the serpent head suggests that the feathers may represent the macaw feather crest of the serpent (Karl Taube, pers. comm. 2007). As macaw feathers are closely associated with the sun and the dawn in the American Southwest, this example of a plumed serpent wearing macaw feathers upon the head may generally allude to themes of warfare (i.e., war tracks) in association with the plumed serpent and the dawn.

A mural from Awat'ovi with possibly similar themes includes an image identified by Smith (1952: fig. 53a) as a probable Hopi horned water serpent puppet, with the depiction of a shield flanked by a pair of bows and arrows superimposed over the body (see image in Smith 1952: fig. 53a). Based on the similarities with other quadrupeds, Polly Schaafsma (pers. comm. 2008) pointed out that the head of the puppet may be feline in nature. However, this comparison may not conflict with the suggestion that this puppet represents a horned serpent. For example, in one interview, Hopi consultants noted that the horned and plumed serpent Palulukon “. . . bears resemblance to a cat” (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 248). Within the shield (a probable solar disk) that is superimposed on this serpent-like puppet body, a quadruped holds a bow and arrows while a bow and arrows also flank the sides of the solar disk. An image of a macaw is situated directly in front of the horned serpent head. Notably, a blue-gray colored skin, perhaps a fox skin, hangs from the body of the horned serpent.

For the early-twentieth-century Zuni, Stevenson (1904: 94, pl. XIV) pointed out a similar concept whereby the large (five-foot-long) effigy of the Zuni plumed serpent Ko'lowisi, that is brought into the village by impersonators of gods and warriors, also has a fox skin wrapped around its neck. This pelt may refer to Hopi and Zuni oral traditions whereby the gray fox skin was used by the Sun to light up the sky as he first arose in the east at dawn (Benedict 1935: 2: 64; Parsons 1939: 240). Thus, the motif of this Awat'ovi mural fragment may relate to the theme of the horned serpent as the vehicle for the sun disk coupled with themes related both to the dawn (e.g., macaws and the gray fox skin) and warfare.

A similar theme is evident in a mural entitled “Sacred Flying Water Serpent”, which was painted by the San Ildefonso artist Wo-Peen in 1934. This image depicts the Tewa horned and plumed serpent Avanyu coiled around an image of the sun and rising upward on a cloud bank (**Fig. 12.8a**). Notably, the horned and plumed serpent body bears the warrior track markings. These themes collectively suggest a link between the plumed serpent, the sun, fertility, and warfare.

The appearance of the track marks or footprints of the War Twin or the Sun Youth on the body of the Plumed Serpent suggests that the Plumed Serpent in the American Southwest is the road or vehicle of warriors and the young dawning sun, a very ancient concept in Mesoamerica, as described above. Much as the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl in Mesoamerica has a close affiliation with the east, Fewkes (1895b: 138) noted that the Snake chief of the east at Zia and Walpi may be the “. . . equivalent of the Plumed Snake of the East, comparable with Palülüköñ.” As the Sun Youth Taiowa (also known as Payatamu) is a deity that is preeminently associated with flowers and the east in the American Southwest, and as the Plumed Serpent body bears the track marks or footprints of the Sun Youth, might this then suggest that the body of the Plumed Serpent as a vehicle for the Sun (and warriors) represents the flowery diurnal pathway of the Sun rising in the east?

A similar motif of the horned and plumed serpent body bearing the sun is also evident in a watercolor from the 1930s by the San Ildefonso artist Miguel Martinez (**Fig. 12.8b**). This painting depicts the Sun disk atop the body of the Tewa plumed serpent Avanyu along with clouds on the body of the serpent. The description of this painting

expressly notes that this image is a depiction of “the Sun-Disk rising from the body of the Avanyu...” (Alexander 1932: folio 47). Although no warrior track marks appear on the body of the plumed serpent, this image is likely closely related to the previously mentioned mural by Wo-Peen that reflect themes of warfare and fertility in conjunction with themes of the plumed serpent body as the pathway of the Sun. A Zuni mural recorded by Frank Hamilton Cushing in the 1880s also depicts a solar disk superimposed upon the body of the plumed serpent Kolowisi (**Fig. 12.8c**).

Similar themes of the rising sun coupled with the horned and feathered serpent and rising clouds are also evident in a late nineteenth-century Winter Solstice (Soyal) altar recorded at Hano Pueblo (see image in Fewkes 1899a: pl. XIX). This altar is comprised of a “sun-ladder”, the means by which the sun ascends in the morning, that is positioned just behind a central image of the Tewa plumed serpent Avaiyo (Avanyu). Lightning in the foreground of this altar is tipped with projectile points, a clear allusion to warfare. The pairing of these beings in this scene suggests that Soyal altars are partly comprised of the theme of the Sun rising at dawn along the body of the plumed serpent, as described above. Fewkes (1897a: 268-272) elsewhere noted that Hopi Soyal altars contain war symbolism and are centered upon war-related rituals. In earlier chapters, I argued that images of the sun rising on the body of the horned and plumed serpent are first evident in the symbolism of the Greater Southwest and northern Mexico at the site of Paquimé, but this motif and set of beliefs is of much greater antiquity in Mesoamerica.

In sum, the occurrence of war track markings indicates that these motifs in the ritual regalia of contemporary Pueblo people are closely related to katsina rain spirits and

with the intertwined nature of cosmological warfare and fertility. Commonly used katsina girdles and sashes, at times worn by the Sun Youth himself, are ornamented not only with war track markings but also abstract plant designs indicative of a fruitful and bountiful harvest.

In contemporary Hopi portrayals of the plumed serpent Palulukon, the presence of war tracks on the body of the serpent, explicitly labeled as the footprints of either a War Twin or the Sun Youth, indicates that warriors and the sun travel upon the body of the plumed serpent, an ancient concept in Mesoamerica. Perhaps the earliest graphic depiction of war tracks upon a plumed serpent body appears in a Pueblo IV kiva mural from Kawaika'a, although the concept of the plumed serpent as a conveyor of the Sun disk and a feline warrior is evident in a Pueblo IV kiva mural from Awat'ovi. The fullest manifestation of a religious complex that reflects a close relationship between ritual warfare (for fertility) and the Sun, Plumed Serpent, Morning Star, and katsina-like rain spirits occurs at the site of Paquimé during the Medio period.

The Origin of the Sun, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star among the Hopi

The Sun (Tawa) and Sun Youth (Taiowa/Payatamu), the Plumed Serpent (Palulukon), and the Morning Star warrior (Sotuqnangu) are major Hopi deities that, as a group, occur prominently in a number of ethnographic accounts. These deities are most often intertwined in Hopi oral traditions and origin histories and in the rites and ceremonies that are said to have their origin with clans that came from the distant south. Though these supernatural beings are variously known among other Pueblo people, to my

mind there appears to be a special relationship of these deities with Hopi people, particularly the Palatkwapi clans. Considering this fact, and the fact that all of these deities are said to originate with Palatkwapi clans that came from the south, it seems most probable to conclude that these deities have long been interlinked and likely form part of an entire ritual complex, likely one centered on the main tenets of cosmological warfare and fertility.

Presumably, this interrelationship indicates that these deities work together in a system of beliefs that extends back to their most direct and distant points of origin. To understand the origin histories of these deities and the southern location from where these beings arrived to the Hopi Mesas, one must examine these deities in the context of the ritual complex and rites in which they take form. A specific focus on certain ceremonies that involve these deities and these southern clans helps to determine that the Casas Grandes region, and points beyond, played a major role in the origin histories of a number of Hopi clans and their gods.

The following sections examine in more detail the origins of a few Hopi rites of southern origin, namely the Flute ceremonies, the Alósaka tradition, and Women's Basket Dance Society ceremonies (Lalkon and Oaqöl). The origins of these ceremonies and the three major deities mentioned form an important part of these rites and, ultimately, their origin histories appear to be closely tied to the Casas Grandes region. This conclusion allows for us to consider how Hopi traditions can inform interpretations regarding warfare, or more specifically cosmological warfare, and the ritual destruction of Casas Grandes society at the end of the Medio period. As is plainly evident in the

following discussion, native oral traditions and histories are incalculably valuable and extraordinarily accurate sources of information and history. The inclusion of these perspectives and histories in archaeological interpretations will, perhaps unsurprisingly, reshape archaeologists' entire understanding of past and present social change in the American Southwest and beyond.

Hopi Clans, Ceremonies, and their Origin at Palatkwapi

Considering the above assessment of a southern origin for these deities, it is important to examine in greater detail the clan and ceremonial affiliations of these three beings. In doing so, it is my intention to draw more specific links to very important and enigmatic Hopi oral traditions that explicitly indicates that certain clans came from a place or region located far to the south, perhaps in Mesoamerica, and who brought with them a new form of Solar and Plumed Serpent worship relatively recently in time. The following section briefly describes stories of the legendary place of Palatkwapi and notes some of the societies, clans, and ceremonies affiliated with this place of origin. From this discussion, I suggest that the legend of Palatkwapi in part refers to the enigmatic site of Paquimé.

Drawing from a number of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Hopi ethnographic accounts and indigenous oral histories associated with Palatkwapi, Jonathon Reyman (1971, 1995) synthesized data concerning the clans, deities, ceremonial offices, ceremonies, material traits, and ritual practices that came from this place of origin to the south. Reyman (1995: 321) noted that “. . . the Hopi believe Palatkwapi was the source

for many of their most basic, traditional cultural traits.” Of the ceremonies and material objects said to have been brought by these clans are the ceremonial office of Sunwatcher and the Sun Chieftancy, the Palulukon (Plumed Serpent) Ceremony, the Butterfly Dance (akin to the Corn Dance), the Winter Solstice (Soyal) Ceremony, and religious societies including the Lalakon (Women’s Basket Dance) Society, the Kwan (Agave) Society, and possibly the Katsina Society (Reyman 1995: 322, table 16.1; Stephen 1936: 849).

Fewkes (1898c: 192) indicated that four great ceremonials brought by the Patki clan that still exist are centered upon the solstices and the equinoxes, including (1) Tawapaholauni (at Summer Solstice), (2) Soyaluna (at Winter Solstice), (3) Palülükonti (at Spring Equinox), and (4) Lalakonti (at Autumn Equinox). Important clans that came from Palatkwapi include the Patki (Water-Corn), Cloud, Eagle, Sun, Sun’s Forehead, Rabbit, Reed, Sand/Lizard, Tobacco, Sivapi (Rabbit Bush), and Wilted Corn clans, among others (Reyman 1995). Important material traits associated with Palatkwapi include maize (corn), beans, macaws and parrots, shell trumpets, war-god fetishes, and such ritual paraphernalia as birds, rainbows, lightning, frogs and tadpole motifs, and butterflies (ibid.).

The inclusion of corn in this list might refer not to the earliest origin of corn in the Southwest, but more specifically to the arrival of a new form of corn-growing rituals taught by the Sun Youth. As one Oraibi origin story described it, the God of Dew, presumably Payatamu, retrieved the seed corn and practiced new “incantations” during planting rites. This Oraibi story, described below, is rather similar to a Zuni story concerning the origin of Payatamu and the Corn Dance as reported by Cushing (1896).

The Oraibi tradition (Cushing 1923: 168) described the God of Dew and the origin of corn:

There was much lamenting, much discussing, until the God of Dew sent the chimney-swallow back to bring the seed of corn and other foods. When the swallow returned, the God of Dew planted in the ground the seed. Incantations knew the God of Dew. By their power he caused the corn to grow and ripen in a single day. So, for a long time the people in their journey carried no seed with them for food, only such as served for planting. They depended upon their father, the God of Dew, to raise for them in a single day abundance of corn and other things. This father taught even the children of men his power and gave them seed which should grow and ripen in a single day. To the Corn people (clan) he gave this seed, and they were long able to accomplish the raising of corn in a marvelously short time.

In my estimation, the deity in this Oraibi tradition is Payatamu, who is known elsewhere by Zuni as the God of Dew (Cushing 1896: 435).

Notably, with regards to the origin of Hopi clans from Palatkwapi, Fewkes (1898c: 192) indicated that Patki clans brought to Walpi a new form of solar and plumed serpent worship that was much more complex than that which existed before. According to Reyman (1995: 323), in addition to plumed serpent worship, the groups, traits, and practices said to originate from Palatkwapi all “. . . seem to be essentially a single complex centering around the office of the Hopi Sunwatcher or Sun Priest...” Thus, new rituals centered on solar observation and plumed serpent ceremonialism is closely associated with clans that ultimately came from Palatkwapi. It should be noted here that one related but rarely recorded oral tradition describes the ultimate origin of the world and some Hopi clans at a place called Yayniwpu, thought by some Hopi to be located in Central Mexico (Lyons 2003: 87; Washburn 1995: 20-22). These Hopi clans migrated from Yayniwpu to Palatkwapi before continuing on to the Hopi Mesas.

Though the name Palatkwapi is now generally thought to be interpreted as the “Red Land of the South”, there has been some disagreement about its location and whether these stories refer to a region, a time period, or an actual historical city or town. Another point of contention is in whether the rituals and material components that are prominent in the Palatkwapi tradition arrived in the Southwest as single diffused elements, as a single complex, or in groups (Reyman 1995: 321). A number of specific sites in the American Southwest, northern Mexico, and Mesoamerica proper were suggested by native scholars and archaeologists as the location of Palatkwapi (ibid.). Among these are the Casa Grande site or the Salt and Gila River Valleys of south-central Arizona, the site of Wupatki in north-central Arizona, or the Zuni village of Hawikuh (ibid.). Other proposed locations in northern Mexico and Mesoamerica include Paquimé (Casas Grandes) in Chihuahua, Alta Vista and La Quemada in Zacatecas, the Schroeder site and Cañon del Molino in Durango, the Toltec capital of Tula, Hidalgo, and the great site of Teotihuacan in highland Central Mexico (Reyman 1995: 328-329; Secakuku 2006: 55).

Di Peso (1974: 3: 767-779) favored the site of Paquimé as at least partly representing Palatkwapi based on a similarity in the material complexes of the Western Pueblos and Paquimé. In fact, as Lekson (2008: 214) recently noted, “Many Hopis think that Paquimé was their Red City, Palatkwapi.” Reyman (1995) ultimately suggested that the legend of Palatkwapi likely referred to the general area of northern Mexico rather than to a specific site, yet indicated that this interpretation was subject to change based on further research. He based his tentative conclusion on the fact that some of the material

traits said to originate from Palatkwapi, such as maize and beans, clearly are of great antiquity and predate all of the archaeological sites listed as possible locations of origin. Some traits of Palatkwapi (see Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 111, 123) that are suggestive of Paquimé include it being a place of remarkable ritual power, a place where irrigation systems fed the site from a river, a place where a system of taxation existed via donated work in canal-cleaning, and the lack of kivas present in region .

Some traditions indicate that ancestral Hopi sites in the south had ceremonially important rooms, but did not have kivas (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 123):

There were special ceremonial chambers at Palatkwapi, but the Hopi say their ancestors eschewed further use of these when they migrated northward. When the religious societies brought by southern clans were integrated into Hopi society, they started to conduct ritual activities in kivas.

At Paquimé, the preeminence of a ritually powerful belief system centered on the Sun Youth, the lack of kivas at the site, evidence of the complex use of systems of irrigation and water control (Doolittle 1993), and the probable use of *corvee* labor for maintenance of infrastructure such as the elaborate slab-lined drainage system (see Chapter 6) appears concordant with these general descriptions of Palatkwapi.

For Hopi people, the idea of a Mesoamerican origin for many of their clans is a firmly held conclusion. In fact, the Hopi belief in a distant southern origin is so strong that one of the current stated research interests of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (<http://www.nau.edu/~hcop-p/currentProjects.html>) is the investigation of cultural affiliations and past relationships between Hopi people and Mesoamerican societies.

Although for Hopi people there is little doubt of the origin of some of their ancestors deep in Mesoamerica, most doubts now reside only among archaeologists.

Palatkwapi and Hopi Flute Ceremonies

An examination of ceremonies and deities associated with clans said to originate at Palatkwapi suggests that there are deeper links between this site or region and Flower World-related rituals. In particular, the three main deities discussed above, and Flower World concepts in general, are strongly evident in Flute ceremonies, altars, and war-related rituals. Importantly, Hopi advisors indicate that clans that came to First Mesa from Palatkwapi were “seeking Flower Mountain” or *Situkwi* (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 101-103). This suggests that Palatkwapi clans were knowledgeable about Mesoamerican religious beliefs concerned with the Flower World complex.

Most of the main deities closely affiliated with Flute ceremonies have ties to clans and other ceremonies that came from Palatkwapi. It should be recalled that some important traits from Palatkwapi came with groups such as the Patki (Water-Corn), Reed, Eagle, Sun, and Kwan (Agave) clans. For instance, the deity Sotunqangu, a deity closely identified with warfare and who is preeminently affiliated with Venus as the Morning Star, is associated with the Palatkwapi-affiliated Reed and Patki clans (Stephen 1936: 1082). Furthermore, helmets worn by the Kwan (Agave) warrior society, a clan said to come from Palatkwapi, are called Sotunqangu [Cotokinuwû] (Fewkes 1902: 30, fn. 2). In addition to this, Sotunqangu appears on the Lalkon society altar (see discussion below), a society said to come from Palatkwapi (Stephen 1936: 836, fig. 453).

Other war-related ritual figures and ceremonies are also identified with Palatkwapi. For example, the Hopi War Twins, collectively referred to as Palu'ñam, are affiliated with the Eagle and/or Sun clans, both clans being among those said to have come from Palatkwapi (ibid.: 1072, fn. 7). Custody of the Hopi War Twin images is associated with the Reed (and Katsina) clans (Stephen 1936: 1082). Notably, the link between the possession of War Twin imagery and the Reed (Pa'kab) clan is evident in a depiction of a Walpi Reed clan totem used as a signature on a land claim document from 1894. This Reed clan totem depicts a human figure, likely representing a War Twin, with war track markings and a conical extension on the head (see image in Dockstader 1979: fig. 3). At Shipau'lovi, it is the Patki chiefs who are custodians of the arrowheads shot by lightning (Stephen 1936: 1075, fn. 2). Furthermore, the War Chief ceremony held at the winter solstice is closely associated with the Reed clan (ibid.: 83). Thus, a variety of warrior and Morning Star symbolism and rituals are associated with clans that are said to have come from Palatkwapi.

In addition to the links to Palatkwapi found with Sotuqnangu, the War Twins, and warfare, there are also links with the Sun (Tawa), the Sun Youth Tai'owa, and the Plumed Serpent Palulukon. For instance, Reyman (1995: 323) pointed out that the plumed serpent Palulukon and the accompanying Palülükonti ceremony come from Palatkwapi. In addition, an individual Hopi prayer stick intended as an offering to both the Sun and Tai'owa was said to have come from Palatkwapi (Stephen 1936: 54, 56, fn. 2 and fig. 37c). The close link between the Sun and the Sun Youth may also be evident in contemporary Zuni and Hopi narratives and art. Tedlock (1972: 87-132) recorded a Zuni

story whereby the Sun Youth Payatamu is charged with the task of bringing out the Sun each morning. In one scene of the story, Payatamu journeys to the Sun and takes refuge behind him (ibid.: 93): “Payatamu now sat with the Sun, sat behind his back . . . Payatamu’s macaw headdress [was] sticking out from behind the Sun.”

While many deities associated with the Flute ceremonies have links to Palatkwapi, including Sotuqnangu, Palulukon, Tawa, Tai’owa, and Alósaka, it remains unclear how the Flute Society rituals themselves and their underlying cosmological significance, not to mention the clans that own these particular rites, relate to this mythological place of origin. In his listing of Hopi ceremonies, clans, and their associated material and ritual elements, Stephen (1936: 1070) noted that Flute Society rituals were associated with the Horn clan, a clan not noted by Reyman (1995) to have links to Palatkwapi. Lyons (2003: 90) noted that there was some confusion in regards to earlier anthropologists’ (such as Jesse W. Fewkes and Alexander Stephen) discussions of the genealogical information and clan affiliations related to Flute societies. For instance, they listed the names of the Blue and Gray Flute societies as the names of clans (ibid.).

In any case, evidence suggests that there are some important links worth noting between Flute Society rituals and clans originating at Palatkwapi. For instance, as Fewkes (1900b: 590, fn. 1) stated for the Hopi villages of Walpi and Sichomovi, “. . . the Leñya [Flute] clans of the Ala-Leñya [Horn-Flute] group came from Palatkwabi.” Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2006: 105) recently noted that the Flute Society is a religious society associated with the southern Palatkwapi clans.

Furthermore, as noted above, the Morning Star Sotuqnangu, a patron of the Flute Society, is associated with the Reed and Patki clans, both said to have come from Palatkwapi. Stephen (1936: 770) indicated that the Patki clan has some associations with Flute Society ceremonies, perhaps through Sotuqnangu. In addition to this, the Masilelent (Gray Flute) ceremony is owned by the Patki clan at Oraibi, a clan noted to have come from Palatkwapi (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 192: fn. 40). LaVern Siweumtewa, a member of the Patki clan, recently noted that, along with religious societies and knowledge, "we [the Patki clan] brought six songs which are part of the Leelent [Flute Society] rituals" (in Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 105). These affiliations indicate that the Flute Society and its Flower World rituals (as described below) are closely linked to the southern region of Palatkwapi.

Notably, Fewkes (1902: 30, fn. 2) further suggested that the Flute clans [societies?] could "theoretically" come from the same geographic location (southern Arizona or northern Mexico) as the Kwan (Agave) clans, who are said to have come from Palatkwapi. In this light, Geertz and Lomatuway'ma (1987: 193, fn. 40) noted that in an episode from the story of the destruction of Palatkwapi, two human sacrificial victims that were dressed in Flute Ceremony regalia approached the Hopi plumed serpent Palulukon. This suggests that Flute Society ceremonies and the home of the plumed serpent are both linked to Palatkwapi.

Lastly, Bradfield (1973: 2: 226) indicated that the Patki clan ". . . came from where the Sun rises; they had with them the Gray Flute Ceremony." The description of the Patki clans and the accompanying Gray Flute ceremonies as having origins in the

eastern direction at the place of the dawning sun is quite intriguing and may well represent a metaphorical rather than a geographical place of origin. While the Patki clan is traditionally said to have originated from Palatkwapi, a place or region located far to the south, Flute Ceremonies are expressly linked to rituals involving Flower Mountain and the realm of the eastern dawning sun (see Chapter 2), particularly in their intimate relationship to the Sun Youth Tai'owa (Payatamu). Thus, we might speculate that this possible blending of ritual and geographical origination indicates that Palatkwapi may well represent an actual location of origin (i.e., from the direction south) for the Flute Society rituals that are symbolically associated with the dawning sun and Flower Mountain (i.e., from the direction east). As is argued throughout the present work, cosmology at Paquimé was closely centered upon rituals related to the dawning sun and the Flower World complex, both being key to Hopi Flute rites.

In an intriguing discussion of an early-twentieth-century Flute Ceremony at the Hopi village of Mishongnovi, Schaafsma and Taube (2006: 247) noted striking similarities between ritual landscapes that are involved in Flute Ceremony rites and conceptually similar constructed reservoirs at Paquimé. In a description of the Flute rite, which likely relates to rainmaking and ancestors in the watery underworld, the Flute chief dove beneath the bottom of a large artificially constructed pool of water searching for pottery vessels, each containing a sacred fetish (ibid.). During this ritual, the Flute chief is regarded as being in the realm of the clouds and the katsina.

Schaafsma and Taube (2006: 246-247, fig. 10) noted that the artificially built Reservoir 2 at Paquimé is strikingly similar to the artificial pool used in the above-

described Flute ceremonies in that a pottery vessel that contained a ritual cache of turquoise, shell ornaments, and slate was interred beneath a stone slab at the bottom of the reservoir at Paquimé (see image in Schaafsma and Taube 2006: fig. 10). Clearly, these pools of water at Paquimé not only served to provide water to the community, but they also likely held important symbolic and ritual significance. Schaafsma and Taube (2006: 246-247) also pointed out that another artificially built reservoir (Reservoir 1) is located immediately adjacent to the Mound of the Offerings, an important funerary complex that held the interments of the highest-status elites at Paquimé (see map in Ravesloot 1988: fig. 1.2).

The location of this artificial reservoir immediately adjacent to a central ritual complex that contained both the highest-status burials at Paquimé and a felsite human effigy with cloud terrace headdresses (see Braniff Cornejo 2000: 48; **Fig. 11.14g**) suggests an affinity between the “. . . high status dead as powerful rainmakers” along with a striking conceptual similarity to later Hopi Flute ceremony rituals (Schaafsma and Taube 2006: 247) that are centered upon Flower World. Likewise, as I argued in Chapters 4 and 5, the highest-status burials in the Mound of the Offerings at Paquimé contained a ritual object (a notched musical rasp) and iconography on the burial urns that is closely linked to Flower Road symbolism. Thus, at the Mound of the Offerings, the presence of Flower World symbolism in the burial accoutrements of the highest-status elites, coupled with an adjacent reservoir with possible Flute Society and related Flower World associations, suggests that Paquimé may well have been an important source of Hopi Flute Society and Flower World ritual.

Polly Schaafsma's (2007d) recent study of ritual artifacts recovered from a cave in southwestern New Mexico reached similar conclusions regarding the relationship between Flute Society rites and the Casas Grandes culture. U-Bar Cave, an Animas-phase (AD 1200-1400) site in Hidalgo County is commonly accepted as being a Casas Grandes-related ritual site. Within the recesses of this cave were found a number of artifacts including prayer arrows, wooden objects, hunting paraphernalia, forty-plus macaw feathers, and turquoise-colored stemmed flower effigies (ibid.). These stemmed flowers look remarkably like the stemmed flowers that are restrictively used in "flower mound" effigies in Hopi Flute altars today (ibid.). Schaafsma (ibid.) concluded that the location of the cave site high on a mesa to the east of many of the Animas-phase sites, along with the presence of ritual artifacts including macaw feathers and stemmed flowers, indicated that this cave was likely a sun shrine related to the rising sun.

Given its eastern location atop a high mesa, Schaafsma (pers. comm. 2009) suggested that this cave may represent a solar cave of emergence, an assessment with which I agree. Likewise, much as Cerro de Moctezuma was the symbolic Flower Mountain of the primary site of Paquimé (see Chapter 9), I suggest that the U-Bar Cave site located high on an eastern mesa may represent a symbolic Flower Mountain-related cave of origin for these Animas-phase Casas Grandes sites. As Casas Grandes religion was preeminently centered on the rising sun and Flower Mountain, this identification suggests that these distant sites were well-informed and integrated into the Flower World religious complex centered at Paquimé.

The Relationship Between Hopi Flute Ceremonies and the Corn Dance

Among the Hopi, the three main deities of Mesoamerican derivation affiliated with ritual warfare that I have focused upon in this chapter all make a prominent appearance in Hopi Flute ceremonies. As is described below, these ceremonies are thought to be analogues to the widespread Corn Dance. Considering that, Corn Dance ceremonies were argued to have their origin in the Casas Grandes region at Paquimé (see Chapter 2), it is reasonable to conclude that these deities, all clearly stated in oral traditions to be of southern origin, were known at Paquimé along with their attendant ritual warfare ceremonialism.

As described in Chapter 2, the Corn Dance is a prominent public ritual drama among both the Eastern and Western Pueblos of the American Southwest. The ritual drama involving the Sun Youth likely developed from a common ideological source centered at the site of Paquimé. For the Hopi, the ceremonial retrieval of the Corn Maidens and the return of the Flute People appears to be closely related to concepts affiliated with the Mesoamerican Flower World complex. As noted in Chapter 2, this ritual drama involves both the macaw-headed Sun Youth Payatamu, a being that is closely identified with flowers, along with the mythic origin or retrieval of corn in the east at the place of the dawning sun in the east (or southeast).

Among the Hopi, the ritual drama depicted in the Corn Dance was said to be replicated in Flute ceremonies (Fewkes 1896: 254). While this drama at Hopi and among other pueblos surely has roots in ceremonialism at Paquimé, these links deserve to be explored in more depth. Thus, the following discussion examines Hopi Flute Society rites

and the prominent deities and ritual themes that are involved. In this examination, I relate these Flute ceremonies to the Mesoamerican Flower World complex and examine how these rites fit into Hopi origin stories of Palatkwapi. In doing so, I make the argument that Hopi Flute ceremonies likely have origins at Paquimé, much as other lines of data seem to indicate. After this discussion, I examine how Flute Society rites and the deities involved in these ceremonies have an underlying link to themes of ritually infused warfare that involve the Sun, the Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star, as discussed in the preceding sections.

Hopi Flute Ceremonies and the Creation of the Sun at Flower Mound

The Sun Youth of the American Southwest, and by extension the ritual drama involving the Corn Maidens, is surely derived from beliefs and practices at the site of Paquimé. Contemporary Hopi Flute altars serve as a replication of this Corn Dance drama on a microcosmic scale. Among the Hopi, Flute Society altars were documented or described in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century at Oraibi, Micoñinovi, Walpi, Cipaulovi, and were noted to be present at Shumopovi¹⁴.

Flute Society altars are divided into two groups: the Blue Flute Society altars, called Cakwaleñya, and the Gray (Drab) Flute Society altars, called Macileñya. However, Fewkes (1896: 252) pointed out that any differences in Flute altars or paraphernalia were minor ones likely due to local adaptations. In addition, Fewkes (ibid.) suggested that the Flute ceremonies as a whole likely have a common origin. The idea that Flute Society

¹⁴ Fewkes 1894b, 1895, 1896, 1900c; Geertz 1987: 36-37, plates XXXIII-XXXVII; Parsons 1939: 703-708; Stephen 1936: 768-817; Titiev 1944: 146-149, 153-154; Voth 1912a.

ceremonies have a common original prototype parallels Lange's (1957: 72) suggestion that Corn Dance ceremonies, said to represent the same ritual drama, also stem from a singular point of origin. This recognition is significant in that Fewkes (1896: 254) noted that Flute rituals ". . . dramatize the advent of the Flute people, and the coming of the Corn Maids." Thus, as scholars suggest, Flute ceremonies and the Corn Dance appear to be conceptually identical and both are said to derive from a primary source. This source may well have been Paquimé.

What is particularly compelling for this discussion is that the small-scale indoor replication of the Corn Dance ceremonies concerned with the arrival of the Corn Maidens and the Flute people is not limited to the Hopi, but is also apparently evident among the Zuni. The Zuni 'Hla'hewe drama, among the most sacred dramas, reproduces the ceremonies performed at the appearance of the Corn Maidens (Stevenson 1904: pl. XXXIX) and takes place in the interior of the *ki'wi^tsiwe*, an above ground, rectangular structure where ceremonies are performed (ibid.: 180-204). This particular ceremony involves personators of the Corn Maidens and the Sho'ko'we, the flute players closely associated with the Sun Youth Payatamu (ibid.: 180-181). The close association between the group of Zuni flute players (*Sho'ko'we*) and Payatamu is clearly evident as the name of Payatamu's flute is also called *sho'ko'we* (ibid.: 569).

Notably, the sacred flowery medicine (*tenatsali*) of Payatamu is also associated with a variety of traditions involving Zuni fluteplayers, the maize field, and centrality. Stevenson (1904: 192) pointed out that the medicine of Payatamu is composed of the hearts of dragonflies and butterflies and the flowers of the *tenatsali*, a ". . . mythical

medicine plant having blossoms of the colors of the six regions.” It may well be the case that the relationship between Payatamu and his directional-colored medicine refers to his relationship to “all directions” and to the center of the world.

The recitation of a Zuni oral tradition to Tedlock (1972: 110; 1999: 146) described the death of the Sun Youth Payatamu as taking place in a flowery maize field where *tenatsali* flowers bloom:

When he [mole] arrived at their cornfield
at the place where Payatamu’s head had been cut off
flowers were blooming there, *tenatsali* flowers.

Furthermore, the Zuni Flute players who wear the *tenatsali* pollen under their eyes are said to “. . . sing the songs of Payatamu” (Stevenson 1904: 192). These traditions suggest a link not only to the east, but to the flowering maize field, the Sun Youth Payatamu, a realm of butterflies and dragonflies, and a realm of centrality framed by the six directions. As butterflies and dragonflies also assist the Hopi germination spirit *Muy’ingwa* at Flower Mound, might there be a close link between the solar realm of the Hopi *Taiowa* (also known as Payatamu) and the realm of Flower Mound and *Muy’ingwa*?

Considering that the *tenatsali* medicine of Payatamu is worn by Zuni fluteplayers in Corn Dance rites, it is worth noting Payatamu’s close association with the color yellow, as Wright (2004: 63) noted: “Yellow clowns, yellow clays, yellow flowers, yellow pollen, yellow hands, and feet: yellow, the sun’s color is the one most often associated with Paiyatamu.” Furthermore, *Taiowa*’s (Payatamu) altar is hung with yellow

flowers, especially the sunflower (ibid.) while, for the Zuni, any yellow flower or pollen is closely identified with the young sun god (Bunzel 1932b: 860):

[Y]ellow clay is found at Sacred lake . . . he mixes the ground stone with the dried petals of yellow flowers and Paiyatamu medicine which he gets from the society people. The Paiyatamu medicine is made in the winter during the society meetings. The buttercups and other bright flowers are gathered and dried during the summer. Then in winter the society people invite pretty girls to come and grind . . . It is never made in the summer unless they run out of it.

The Zuni consultant of Bunzel (ibid.: 874) further noted,

“It is called *utea’owe* (flower meal) or Paiyatamu medicine. It is made by medicine men in the society houses, and only society people have it. If the kiva chief does not belong to a society he must get this medicine from someone who has it. It is made from the petals of yellow and purple flowers.” All the butterflies go to the bright-colored flowers and people like to pick them. Therefore they make this medicine with bright flowers. They mix it with the paint they use on the masks and body, to make the dancers beautiful. Only the headmen know about this medicine.

The use of this medicine includes prayers to the sun so that he may bring light and clouds from all directions (ibid.)

A remarkable aspect of this latter passage, aside from the emphasis of the color yellow, is that the medicine of Payatamu is specifically connected to masked katsina dancers. This fact suggests the intriguing probability that the near simultaneous appearance of Sun Youth and katsina ceremonialism in the Greater Southwest and northern Mexico was interrelated (see Chapter 11).

The important use of ground yellow flowers as Payatamu medicine may well be of great antiquity in the region. Early ethnohistoric accounts from the mid-sixteenth century described the use of powders of yellow flowers in Zuni religious ceremonies (Hammond and Rey 1940: 286; C. Schaafsma 2000: 127). An anonymous account from

the *Relación de Suceso* dating to the AD 1540s (in Winship 1896: 561) described its use: “Their rites and sacrifices are somewhat idolatrous, but water is what they worship most, to which they offer small painted sticks and feathers and yellow powder made of flowers, and usually this offering is made to springs.” This yellow powder may be pollen or it may be the ground yellow flower petals of Payatamu medicine. All of these themes that evoke the Flower World, including butterflies, dragonflies, flower mounds, and solar symbols such as macaws and sunflowers, are variously evident in Pueblo IV kiva murals in the Southwest and undoubtedly are linked to the spread of the Casas Grandes Sun Youth and Flower World complex.

While Hopi Flute altars are conceptually identical to the Corn Dance, Geertz (1987: 10) noted that the symbolic significance of Flute altars indicated that in these rites, “The creation of the sun and the primordial drama of the emergence are reenacted, as well as the migration of the Flute Society clans. The themes of rain and the dead are also emphasized.” Fewkes (1892b: 114) pointed out that four crooks on the Blue Flute altar of Cipayulovi may have represented the “. . . personified dead members of the Flute Organization.” Stephen (1936: 673) noted a similar concept in the Hopi Antelope society altar where “The crooks . . . represent the old men bent with age, the *wü'wüyomo*, the wise, thinking old men, who have passed away.”

Thus, these items placed alongside Flower Mounds on the Flute altar might then be perceived to represent the deceased members of the Flute Society residing at Flower Mound at the eastern dawning sun. This is important to note and likely relates to Taube’s (2006a) important observation that the Hopi Road of Life leads from the west to the

flowery house of the sun, a concept that is portrayed in one Hopi sandpainting (Taube 2006a; see Voth 1901: pl. XLII).

In considering the Hopi Road of Life, it is notable that the Hopi Village or House Chief, who is in close contact with the cloud people who control the rain, is charged at his appointment with taking care of the people and leading them to the Sun (Ellis 1951: 195) At his instillation, he is told: “Now I make you a chief . . . and now I give you a good path to lead us to the Sun. Now you are our father. Look forward for the good and not for the bad, and see that things go rightly so that we may have good crops and long life” (ibid.). Significantly, in contemporary Hopi art, the Hopi Chief is portrayed as leading his people along the body of the plumed serpent Paaloloqangw (Saturno et al. 2005: 25, fig. 18a).

In describing the Hopi Path of Life, Waters (1963: 233-234) noted the patterns of cyclical birth and rebirth embedded within Hopi thought:

The path of the sun thus coincides with the Road of Life. Like the sun emerging from his sun-house in the east, which serves as a sipápuni leading from the underworld, the newly born also emerge to this earth from the underworld through the sipápuni. Their birth too is associated with the east and the sun . . .

Furthermore, Waters (ibid.) continued:

East, then, is associated with the rising sun, with the birth of day, of the calendar year, of life. West is associated with death and the setting sun. Hence the kiva is set facing east and west. Novices are always seated on the raise to the east, as they are being reborn by ritual initiation . . . The circular course of the path of the sun and the Road of Life is clockwise, but, contrary to expectation, it is represented laterally on the floor of the kiva by a line of cornmeal running west to east, toward the rising sun, which ever heralds the beginning of another new cycle.

These passages suggest that the Road of Life is closely tied to birth and rebirth in the east and that the human path of life follows the path of the Sun. Thus, the presence of crooks on the Flute altar that likely represent deceased members of the Flute Society may in part signify their cyclical rebirth with the Sun at Flower Mound in the nadir of the underworld.

The association between Flute ceremonies and the creation of the sun is explicit in that a Flute Society priest was said to have created the Sun, shortly after the Emergence (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 192, fn. 40). Furthermore, the association of the Flute Society with the east and the rising sun is clearly evident, as these authors (*ibid.*) further noted: "The Sun's eastern kiva houses the Lelent [Flute Society] who play while the Sun rises. This is also enacted during the Flute Ceremonial." The announcement of the arrival of the dawning sun by flute players is conceptually identical to distantly related Late Postclassic Aztec rites involving the arrival of the Sun Youth Xochipilli, who is announced by young men playing flutes during the feast of Tecuilhuitl, a feast set early in the maize growing season (see Boone 1983: 195).

Flute altar paraphernalia is strikingly similar in meaning to ancient Mesoamerican cosmological principles associated with Flower World and Flower Mountain. For example, Flute Society standards were explicitly described as representing the dawn emergence of the Sun from Flower Mound (Stephen 1936: 791). Hopi conceptions of Flower Mound were briefly detailed in Chapter 2 but are worth repeating for the present discussion. In describing Flute standards, Parsons (1939: 328) noted that these items ". . . refer to the creation of the sun." In addition to this, Parsons (*ibid.*: 708) suggested that the

Flute ceremonies dramatized the Emergence. A standard used during the Hopi Wuwuchim ceremony at Oraibi, of which the Sun Youth is the patron, is strikingly similar to Hopi Flute Society standard, and may well represent a symbolic Flower Mound (see Geertz 1987: pl. IIa).

In recent years, Taube (2004b: 90) drew attention to a late nineteenth-century account of Flower Mound as the residence of the god of corn and germination Müiyinwû: “Below sits Mü’inyiñwû on Sihchomo, Flower Mound. He wears a mask of clouds of these five colors, and before it flutter all the sacred birds and all the butterflies” (Stephen 1936: 33). Common items on Flute altars are representations of the ancestral Flower Mounds of the underworld. These mounds, variously called *sichomo* (“flower mound”) or *talactcomo* (“pollen mound”), are depicted in a number of ways including as a mound of sand with flowers, a mound of pollen with an arrangement of flowers in the shape of a plant, and a conical-shaped log with flowers inserted into holes at the top (see images in Fewkes 1895a: pls. I and II; Fewkes 1896: pl. II; Geertz 1987: pl. XIa).

Titiev (1944: 142-149) offered a detailed assessment of the shared significance of Flute and Soyal rites. Much like for the Flute altar, as described above, a strikingly similar conical-shaped log with a number of perforations where flowers might have been inserted also appears on the Walpi Winter Solstice (Soyal) altar, which depicts the plumed serpent Palulukon emerging from a screen of flowers (see Fewkes 1898b: pl. 1). Though Fewkes (1898b) did not describe this object in any great detail, it may well represent Flower Mound, absent the flowers, in association with the emergence of the Plumed Serpent from a flowery realm, a widespread theme in ancient Mesoamerican

cosmology. Notably, the appearance of the *tiponi*, or maize-ear fetish, of the Flute Chief also appears prominently on this Soyal altar, suggesting a link between the Soyal and Flute ceremonials.

While Flute altars were noted to represent the creation of the sun, Geertz (1987: 9) suggested that the Soyal ceremony “. . . might also be a celebration of the creation of the sun.” In addition, both Soyal and Flute societies are important in sunwatching rituals designed to guide the Sun on his diurnal journey between the solstices. As Voth (1901: 152, fn. 4) noted, Flute priests are especially important in making prayer offerings intended to influence the sun on his path from the winter solstice until the summer solstice when more prayer offerings are again made by Flute priests. From the summer solstice until the winter solstice, the care of the sun is under the control of Soyal priests (Stephen 1936: 4).

As Titiev (1944: 147, fn. 35) noted, there is “. . . a conceptual tie between the Flute and the Soyal groups, both of which are deeply concerned with the sun’s progress.” The close connection between the Flute and Soyal ceremonies, with Titiev (ibid.:146) describing them as being “complementary”, offers support to the interpretation that the perforated conical log on Soyal altars might also represent an example of Flower Mound that is similar to those that appearing on Flute altars. Furthermore, the relationship between the two solstice ceremonies is important in that both of these rites, which essentially divide the year between the warm and cold halves, are considered to have their origin from the south with Palatkwapi clans.

Titiev (1944: 150, 153-154) also indicated that Hopi Flute and Antelope-Snake ceremonies were conceptually equivalent, and that both had a strong military nature. One such connection may be evident in the Snake legend, upon which all Snake-Antelope rituals are based. In this tale, a youth named Tiyo traveled to meet the Sun, who is “. . . in the form of a handsome young man, beautifully painted and dressed up as the Flute players at the Flute ceremony are painted and dressed at the present day” (Voth 1903a: 350).

In describing the presence of flower mounds on Flute altars, Fewkes (1896: 245-246, fn. 2) noted that these mounds are important loci for the origin of a number of Hopi priest societies:

In many stories of the origins of societies of priests which took place in the underworld, the first members are represented as erecting their altars before the ‘flower mound’ of Müiyinwû. This was the case of the Flute youth and maid, progenitors of the Flute Society. These mounds, now erected on earth before the figurine of Müiyinwû in the Flute chambers, symbolize the ancestral mounds of the underworld [nadir], the wooden objects inserted in it representing flowers.

These ancestral flower mounds likely refer to the floral spiritual realm of the ancestors noted by Fewkes (1897b: 143) when he stated:

The Hopi . . . look back to a mythic time when they believe their ancestors lived in a “paradise”, a state or place where food (corn) was plenty and rains abundant- a world of perpetual summer and flowers. Their legends recount how, when corn failed or rains ceased, culture heroes have sought this imaginary or ideal ancestral home to learn the “medicine” which blessed this happy land.

These traditions clearly relate to a desire to find and replicate the paradisaic solar realm of Flower World that was known among their ancestors.

For the Hopi, Fewkes (1900b: 595) pointed out examples of the manner in which symbolic “flower mounds” were reconstructed on the altars of certain Hopi societies that are said to be of southern origin:

In most of the Flute altars there are two mounds of sand (*talactcomo*, “pollen mound”) in which artificial flowers are inserted. The construction of similar flower mounds (*atkyasitcomovi*) in the Underworld is mentioned in Piba [Tobacco] and Patuñ [Squash] legends of the origin of their Tataukyamû, Wüwütcimtû, and Mamzrautû societies.

Notably, the Sun Youth Payatamu is the patron of these four Hopi societies (Wright 2004: 63) that are said to have their origin in the realm of flower mounds. Parsons (1939: 1133) noted that there are Marau (Mamzrau) songs about Payatamu. Importantly, Fewkes (1900b: 594-603) noted that the Piba and Patuñ clans in these accounts are said to have a southern origin, having prior settlements in the Little Colorado region of Arizona after coming from the far south at Palatkwapi, the legendary place of origin for a number of Hopi clans that is discussed in more detail below.

Fewkes (1896: 252) further noted that the Flute youth and Flute maid, who often appear standing behind flower mounds on Flute altars, represent “. . . two ancestral personages, parents of the Flute Society and children of Taiowa as recounted in the Flute Legend.” It is important to note that Taiowa is the equivalent of Payatamu (Parsons 1936: 153, fn. 1), the Sun Youth who is important in the Corn Dance. This paired boy and girl, the children of Taiowa, may well represent the young brother and sister (*Nasiwum*) who were offered to appease the plumed serpent at Palatkwapi but who later survived (Nequatewa 1936: 85-102). Under the guidance of the morning star Sotuqnangu, these paired children rejoined the northward-migrating Hopi clans on their journey to Situqui

(Flower Mound) at the Hopi Mesas (*ibid.*), some of whom later settled at Awat'ovi and other villages. However, this proposed identification should be clarified in future analyses.

The arrival of the Flute people is likely portrayed not just in the Flute altars but in public Flute ceremonial processions (see Fewkes 1900c: 996-1000). Along with individual examples of Flower Mound in Awat'ovi and Kawaika'a kiva murals (**Figs. 2.4b-2.4c**), Smith (1952: fig. 58a) pointed out that a pair of flower mounds with two individual figures flanking the sides are depicted in a kiva mural at Awat'ovi, which dates from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (**Figs. 2.4a, 2.4d**).

Although it is difficult to discern the sex of these individuals, this kiva mural may well be early pictorial evidence portraying the Flute people or Corn Maids who are similarly depicted beside flower mounds in the later nineteenth-century Hopi Flute altars. More generally, an alternate interpretation is that this image may be identified with the origin of other Hopi societies at Flower Mound, as noted by Fewkes (1896). These accounts suggest that the Palatkwapi traditions are closely associated with a place where worship of the Sun Youth, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star was prominent. Furthermore, these accounts suggest that the Sun Youth is an important character not just in the Corn Dance, but in both Flute Society ceremonies as well, a detail that is discussed more fully below.

While Flute ceremonies are clearly associated with themes of emergence from Flower Mound, there are links in these rituals to Flower Road, the floral pathway of the sun. As Stephen (1936: 809) noted, Flute ceremony participants travel upon a pollen

pathway adorned with a line of sunflower rosettes on each side of the trail, clearly a symbolic Flower Road. A similar concept may be evident in the use of trails of pollen that are sprinkled on the ground, upon which ritual practitioners travel. These trails of flower pollen may symbolically represent the “pollen” or emerging beams of light of the rising sun, the “trail of dawn”.

This concept may be akin to two excerpts from Navajo songs of Dawn Boy recorded by Cronyn (1934: 88). One line states: “With the pollen of dawn upon my trail, There I wander.” An excerpt from a second song of Dawn Boy described the light of dawn as a trail or pathway:

In the house made of dawn.
In the story made of dawn.
On the trail of dawn.
O, Talking God!

These lines, albeit from Navajo songs, suggest that flower pollen trails upon which Hopi ritual participants and supernatural beings travel might also symbolically represent the “pollen” road is the trail of light from the dawning sun.

The preceding review of Hopi Flute Society altars intended to illuminate a number of key points concerning the meaning behind Flute rituals and their correspondence to the widespread Corn Dance plaza ceremony in the American Southwest. In considering shared ritual components, this discussion sought to demonstrate that both the Flute Society ceremonies and the Corn Dance are essentially cognate ceremonies in that both involve rituals concerned with the advent of the Flute People and the coming of the Corn Maidens.

Notably, the Zuni 'Hla'hewe ceremony also appears to be cognate to Hopi Flute ceremonies as they both replicate the drama of the return of the Corn Maidens and the Flute people. For the Hopi, both the Flute ceremony and the Corn Dance relate to traditions involving the Sun Youth, the realm of the eastern dawning sun, emergence themes, and traditions involving Flower World and/or Flower Mountain symbolism. Perhaps most intriguing is that early ethnographers suggested that Flute ceremonials and the Corn Dance each in their own right seemed to derive from an original common prototype.

Although scholars have yet to draw clear geographical and cultural links for the origin of the Corn Dance and Flute ceremonies, in Chapter 2 of this dissertation I suggested that the Corn Dance drama involving the Sun Youth likely has origins at the site of Paquimé. This suggestion leads to the important question of whether the Flute ceremony might also have a similar origination at this important site in northern Mexico. In order to further explore this question, the following section seeks to understand how the Sun Youth, Morning Star, and Plumed Serpent are manifest not simply in Flute ceremonies, but in Flute altars in order to clarify whether Flute rituals are linked to Paquimé and by extension to temporally and geographically distant Mesoamerican ritual practices.

The Morning Star and Plumed Serpent in Hopi Flute Society Rites

As Hopi Flute Society rituals clearly involve an ideology greatly informed by ancient Mesoamerican cosmological principles associated with Flower World, a

discussion of some of the main deities that appear in Flute Society altars and in Flute ceremonies, coupled with an examination of Hopi oral traditions, sheds light on the ultimate origin of these rites and these beings. As noted above, Hopi Flute altars are intimately affiliated with Muiyinwu, the god of corn and germination who resides at Flower Mound. However, in addition to this, an important deity previously discussed in relation to Flute altars is the Hopi Sun Youth Tai'owa who is akin to Payatamu. For example, as noted above, the Flute youths who appear in Flute altars standing behind flower mounds are described as being the children of the Tai'owa. In his discussion of Gray (Drab) Flute altars from Cipaulovi, Fewkes (1896: 251) noted that the Sun Youth Tai'owa appeared as a central figure on the altar.

The appearance of the Sun Youth as the central figure stands in contrast to the Oraibi Gray Flute altar, whereby the central position is occupied by an image of the deity Sotuqnangu, the lightning god preeminently associated with warfare who is closely akin to Venus as the Morning Star (see images in Fewkes 1895a: pl. I; Geertz 1987: pls. XXXVI). Much as the Sun Youth has ultimate origins in Mesoamerica via Paquimé, so too does the Morning Star deity Sotuqnangu and the Venus warfare complex of the fourteenth-century Southwest have roots far to the south (Mathiowetz et al. 2008). Given the apparent flexibility in these deities occupying a central position in Flute altars, Fewkes (1896: 251) suggested the high probability that Tai'owa and Sotuqnangu have “some intimate relationship” to one another.

The apparent close relationship that these two deities share was noted earlier in this work, as the shield of Tai'owa bears the symbol of the four-pointed star representing

the Morning Star (see Stephen 1936: pl. Ib). Schaafsma (2000a: 113) pointed out that in Pueblo cosmology, this four-pointed star with an expanded center embodies a number of interrelated meanings associated with warfare. She (ibid.: 42) further noted that identical four-pointed stars are common on rock art shields, at times enclosed within circles, in the Rio Grande drainage during the Pueblo IV period. Thus, the shield of the Sun Youth Tai'owa bearing the image of the Morning Star clearly reveals the close relationship of the rising sun and the Morning Star and may well be suggestive of themes of ritual warfare, much as they are in Mesoamerica.

The pairing of the Sun Youth and the Morning Star in Hopi cosmology is strikingly similar to ancient and contemporary Mesoamerican cosmological principles. As mentioned earlier, in Mesoamerican belief systems, Venus as the Morning Star leads the sun out of the underworld in the east at dawn. This concept is parallel to contemporary Zuni conceptualizations of the relationship between the Sun and the Morning Star as reported by Stevenson (1904: 27):

At this time Mo'yächun^hlan'na (Great Star, the morning star), the first warrior to the Sun Father, could be seen, but faintly at first through the delicate showers. When the people saw the star they exclaimed "Our Father comes," but the Divine Ones declared "He is not your Sun Father, but his warrior who comes before."

As illustrated in this example, the close link to the Morning Star, the rising sun, warfare, and gentle showers that water the land is a strikingly similar theme shared among people in ancient and contemporary Mesoamerica and the American Southwest.

Along with the Sun Youth, the Hopi Morning Star Sotuqnangu is also quite important to Flute Society ceremonies, as images of this deity or ritual objects alluding

to this deity appear on Flute altars. As Stephen (1936: 770) noted, Sotuqnangu is the “supernatural patron of the Flute Society.” Perhaps the most prominent evidence of this important role is his central dominating appearance in Oraibi Gray Flute altars. In these altars, a four-foot-tall figure of Sotuqnangu stands with arms outstretched behind a Flute *tiponi* and occupies the central position on the altar (see images in Fewkes 1895a: pl. I; Geertz 1987: pls. XXXVI). In this image he wears his typical conical hat and is decorated along the length of his body with zig-zag symbols that represent lightning.

In describing the Walpi Flute altar, Fewkes (1895a: 272; 1896: 247) noted that along with an image of the sun Tawa, a symbol of the Morning Star Sotuqnangu appeared in the form of two crossed sticks called *tokpela*. Furthermore, in his discussion and illustration of the Blue and Gray Flute altars at Micoñinovi, Fewkes (1896: 249) suggested that the four upright and zig-zag lightning sticks that hung from the top-center or protruding upwards from the bottom-center of the altar also likely represented Sotuqnangu (see images in Fewkes 1896: pls. I and II).

Similarly, in Cipaulovi Flute altars, Fewkes (1895a: 272) noted that four wooden slats hanging from the upper rear of the altar were in the form of four serpent-shaped lightning bolts in four different colors, and he further suggested that these symbolize Sotuqnangu (see Fewkes 1895a: pl. II). In addition to the presence of the Morning Star on Flute altars, the start of a journey to a Flute Ceremony shrine began at the rising of the Morning Star (Reyman 1971: 125; Stephen 1936: 805). Flute Society members are also important in the transformation of the Pongo [Circle] Katsina and his wife into the two stars called Nangösohut (Geertz and Lomatuway’ma 1987: 192, fn. 40; Voth 1905: 65-

71). In other words, the Flute Society is important in the creation of the two stars, the dual aspects of Venus as the Morning and Evening Star (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 192, fn. 40).

Aside from the Morning Star, Flute ceremonials have links to the Hopi plumed serpent Palulukon. In his study of Hopi Flute rituals on First Mesa, Stephen (1936: 789, fig. 425n) indicated that a stone effigy of Palulukon appeared on the Flute altar. Furthermore, the Flute ceremonial rites at Oraibi are held at Leenangwva, one of the two principal springs near the village. This spring where Flute ceremonials are held is traditionally considered as the home of Palulukon. Further links are evident in that this spring is also important in the Palulukon puppet ceremonial (Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 191-192, fn. 37).

Sotuqnangu, the warrior Star God of the Hopi is closely related to the Plumed Serpent Palulukon. In discussing these two deities, Fewkes (1896: 253) commented: "I believe that even if we consider [Sotuqnangu] the Lightning God, that we must associate him with the Sun or the great Plumed Snake Palulukon . . ." Schaafsma (2000a: 155) noted a similar relationship and contended that in Pueblo IV-period rock art, the association of stars (particularly the Morning Star) with horned and plumed serpents is suggestive of warfare.

This concept is clearly evident in a mural from Kiva 7 at Pottery Mound that depicts a horned and feathered serpent with an anthropomorphic star warrior overlying the body of the serpent (see **Fig. 2.6a**). Notably, Taube (pers. comm. 2008) pointed out that a geometric depiction of a flower, similar to those identified in Awat'ovi kiva murals

by Smith (1952: 227, fig. 18, letter II), was portrayed adjacent to the star face and plumed serpent body in this mural. Given these attributes, this particular mural suggests a floral realm in which the plumed serpent is a vehicle that carries the Morning Star warrior. Similar concepts of the plumed serpent entwined with stars are evident in Mesoamerican symbolism (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008; Tozzer 1957: fig. 126). A recent study concluded that Paquimé was an integral waystation for the transmission of Morning Star ceremonialism from the West Mexican Aztatlán tradition into the American Southwest, a transmission of ideas that ultimately took form in the Sotunangu-oriented Morning Star complex (see Mathiowetz et al. 2008).

The similarity between the head of the horned and plumed serpent in the Pottery Mound mural and depictions of horned and plumed serpent heads in the Casas Grandes region (Schaafsma 1998: 37-40) suggests a link between cosmology and artistic programs in the two regions. Given these similarities (Schaafsma 2007a: 153-155, fig. 8.21), one important issue that also must be considered is in determining the extent to which mural traditions in the Southwest might have been influenced by iconographic or mural traditions at Paquimé, if at all.

A complicating factor in exploring this proposition is that no examples of mural paintings are known from Paquimé. However, such traditions may have existed. The earliest written account of Paquimé in AD 1584 by the Spaniard Baltasar de Obregón noted: “The walls of the houses were whitewashed and painted in many colors and shades with pictures of the building” (in Hammond and Rey 1928: 206). This description suggests that some form of mural or picture-painting tradition may have been important

at one time or another at this site. Any such mural traditions may well have had an impact upon the Pueblo IV changes in artistic traditions in the Southwest.

Finally, while Flute Society ceremonies and altars are clearly related to rites of fertility and generation, including the return of the Flute people and Corn Maidens and themes related to the creation of the sun at Flower Mound, it is noteworthy that these ceremonies are also closely linked to themes of warfare. Perhaps the most direct evidence of themes of warfare, as noted above, is the presence of the stellar war god Sotunqangu, a deity also known as “Heart-of-the-Sky” who is affiliated with lightning, stars, sacrifice, scalping, Venus as the Morning Star, and who also serves as the leader of all warriors who pray to him before battle (Schaafsma 2000a: 127-128).

As noted above, Sotunqangu is considered as the supernatural patron of the Flute Society (Stephen 1936: 770). Flute rituals are also affiliated with warfare as evidenced by its association with lightning and with arrow and flint points (*ibid.*: XLVIII, fn. 1). For example, stone arrowheads are often positioned at the end of wooden, latticed objects that represent lightning (see Stephen 1936: 309, figs. 182a, 182b). The Hopi War Twin Pü’ükoñhoya uses an arrowhead that came from the end of lightning, and when the lightning strikes the earth, the arrowhead is to be retrieved by the Flute Society chief (*ibid.*: 137). Furthermore, those who are struck by lightning or whose field is struck by lightning are eligible for initiation into the Flute Society (*ibid.*: 137, fn. 3). These characteristics firmly link the Hopi Flute Society to both rites of warfare/hunting and fertility as well as an association with Flower World symbolism.

The preceding discussion highlighted the presence of particular deities that play an important role in Flute Society rituals, rites that have both a strong connection to the Flower World and a stated point of origin far to the south at Palatkwapi. As Hopi Flute Society rituals are clearly concerned with concepts pertaining to the Mesoamerican Flower World complex, it is notable that the key deities affiliated with these ceremonies are the Sun and Sun Youth, the Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star, among others.

Palatkwapi and the Alósaka Traditions of the Hopi

The Casas Grandes region strongly figures into the origin history of not just Hopi Flute Society rites of the Sun Youth, but it also appears to have been a region of origin for other Palatkwapi clans and ceremonies said to have originated in the south. An examination of the origin traditions of a being named Alósaka, a Hopi figure who also is associated with Flute rites and others, provides further insight into identifying the southern location of origin of Palatkwapi clans and helps to substantiate the proposition that the Casas Grandes region is a key region in these traditions. Alósaka is important in the Aa'alt, or Two-Horn Society, as well as the Flute Society, Wuwtsim, and in Soyal (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 106), all societies or ceremonies said to have come from Palatkwapi.

The name Aa'alt, used interchangeably with Alósaka, refers to the two distinctive horns attached to caps, said to represent the horns of a mountain sheep, that are worn by the Alósaka priesthood members (Fewkes 1899b: 523). Historic photos from the late nineteenth century on the Hopi Mesas depict the Aa'alt performing with the Wuwtsim

society members, all while wearing artificial flowers upon their forehead along with their bighorn headdresses (see Geertz 1987: pls. XLIV and XLV). As a warrior society, the Alósaka members, in certain ceremonies such as the Flute rites, serve as escorts or guardians and lead the columns of dancers and the processions of priests (Fewkes 1899b: 524-525). As escorts in these rites, they lay corn meal pathways upon the ground as a trail and sprinkle meal upon altar objects as these are carried from place to place (ibid.).

Fewkes (1900b: 595-596) noted a special connection between the Alósaka and the Flute Society, a group identified above as having strong Flower World associations. Fewkes (ibid.: 591, 596) drew attention to Hopi oral traditions that indicate that Alósaka and the related Squash (Patuñ) and Flute clans at one point joined together during their migrations in the south and later arrived to the Hopi Mesas. These clans who migrated to the north were said to be seeking Situqui, or “Flower Mountain”, said to be located at present-day Walpi (Nequatewa 1936: 100). Upon arrival to the mesas, the Hopi Flute chief appealed to the chiefs of the Bear and Snake clans, saying: “We are Hopi, our hearts and thoughts are good and our speech is straight, and we carry on our backs the *lenûñ poñ’ya ko’hü*, the wood of the Flute altar, and we can cause the rain to fall” (Stephen 1936: 810). Upon demonstrating their unique ritual abilities, they were allowed to make their home.

The coming of the Flute-related clans, the opening of the symbolic meal barrier to the village by Alósaka, and the acceptance by the Bear and Snake clans who had arrived to the mesas first, is ritually reenacted in the Hopi Flute ceremony at First Mesa where the Horns today provide the town chieftancy (Fewkes 1900b: 590-592; Stephen 1936:

808-811; Tyler 1975: 125-126). This northward journey may be replicated on a smaller scale in Hopi Flute altars. In his portrayal of Flute altars, Stephen (1936: 789-792, figs. 425, 426, 427, 429) depicted a pollen meal trail comprised of “Flute footsteps” that connects a set of Alósaka horns with an altar containing a pair of carved “flower mounds”, the *tiponi* of the Bear, Snake, Flute, Horn, and Patki clans, and other items. It seems probable that these footsteps, and the Flute altar in general, replicates the journey of the Flute-related clans or the people who held knowledge of Flute ceremonies, who were led by Alósaka from Palatkwapi to Flower Mound at Walpi on the Hopi Mesas.

During this migration of Palatkwapi clans, some of these people were said to have gone to Zuni (Nequatewa 1936: 100). Might this movement of some people to Zuni be reflected in the story of the encounter between Zuni people and the “strangers” who taught them new rituals of the Sun Youth Payatamu (see Cushing 1896)? These migration traditions are important and are discussed in more detail below.

As the Aa’alt society was also said to have been present later at Awat’ovi, a site on the Hopi Mesas with Palatkwapi affinities, it is notable that images of both Alósaka (Smith 1952: fig. 90c) and flower mound portrayals (ibid: figs. 58a, 69d) were identified in separate mural fragments from this site. Furthermore, surveys of rock art imagery from around the Hopi Mesas found that images of Alósaka are prolific around Awat’ovi (Dongoske and Dongoske 2002: 125). Interestingly enough, Schaafsma (2007a: 158-159) noted that kiva murals at this site most closely resemble those from Pottery Mound in the Rio Grande region. Furthermore, the rock art around this site, the most complex on the

Hopi Mesas, appears to have been influenced by migrants from the Rio Grande region (ibid.).

Notably, the occurrence of the horned serpent with forward-pointing horn in the rock art imagery near Awat'ovi (Dongoske and Dongoske 2002: 122, fig. 8.2; Schaafsma 2007a: 159) is unique in the Western Pueblo region and resembles those from the Rio Grande region as well as examples from the Mimbres, Jornada, and Casas Grandes regions (Schaafsma 2007a: 152-155, fig. 8.20). The forward-pointing horn and squared-off snout of the horned serpents at Pottery Mound also resemble those to the south from the Mimbres and especially the Casas Grandes region (ibid.: 155), and closely resemble those depicted at Awat'ovi. Given the connections between horned serpent imagery in the Casas Grandes region and Pottery Mound, and the connections between horned serpent imagery at Pottery Mound and Awat'ovi, it is speculative that if some Casas Grandes migrants (artists?) were present at Pottery Mound, the latter site may have been an intermediary point before their arrival at the Hopi Mesas. This suggestion deserves more attention.

Some scholars noted that east-west connections are evident in Hopi and Zuni influence in Pottery Mound kiva murals, pottery decoration, and architecture (Eckert 2003, 2007), sufficient to suggest that Hopi and Zuni migrants lived at Pottery Mound (ibid.). On the other hand, Hays-Gilpin and LeBlanc (2007: 123-127) proposed that migrations of some people from Pottery Mound to Antelope Mesa was also an entirely plausible suggestion. Surely, some of these migrants that contributed towards social change in the Southwest had origins in the Casas Grandes region. Southwestern and

Northwest Mexican archaeologists must factor these Casas Grandes individuals or groups into their reconstruction of Pueblo III- to Pueblo IV-period migrations. In any case, the point I am trying to emphasize is that migrations, and the correlative movement of information with migrants, are almost never directly linear events. Thus, it is useful to consider that the northward migration of some Palatkwapi clans probably involved more circuitous routes rather than directly linear.

Continuing on, that the Alósaka (Aa'alt) are said to represent mountain sheep is evident in a New Fire ceremony that involved the Singers and Wuwutsim: "The Horns (Aaltû) scattered among the cliffs between the terrace and the summit, and bounded constantly back and forth among the crags, faithfully imitating mountain sheep" (Fewkes 1900a: 98). This dance is said to continue until the sun arises over the horizon at dawn (Tyler 1975: 131). Some connection to the Flower World may be evident in the artificial flowers that line each side of the ceremonial screen of Alósaka that was illustrated by Fewkes (1899b: 532, pl. XXVI).

According to Fewkes (*ibid.*: 525), the Alósaka complex originated in the far south with the Patuñ [Squash] clan:

The germinative element of the Alósaka cult, which we may regard as an ancient phase, was introduced into Awatobi and the other Hopi pueblos by a group of clans from the far south. These clans, called the Patuñ, or Squash, founded the pueblo of Micoñinovi, where the Alósaka cult is now vigorous, and were prominent in Awatobi where it was important.

Stephen (cited in Fewkes 1899b: 535-539) recorded an Alósaka tradition that further tied this ceremonialism to Palatkwapi, "At the Red House in the south, internecine wars

prevailed, and the two branches of the Patki [Squash and Rain-cloud] people separated from the other Hopi and determined to return to the fatherland in the north.”

According to Stephen’s account (in Fewkes 1899b: 535-538), in their migrations northward, which led to the Hopi Mesas via Homol’ovi, the Patuñ became lax in their religious observances and were soon punished. After a time, the Patuñ were reminded by a Patki clan member that Alósaka had been with them all along in their migrations in the guise of a male and female set of twins. Enraged to learn that Alósaka had been with them all along through their travails, they killed the twins and thereafter suffered more hardship. In repentance, they carved two stone images of Alósaka and sought forgiveness. Later, during other travails, the Patuñ people carved images of Alósaka from wood for their ceremonies.

For the present discussion, an important point in this story include the fact that the Alósaka complex is said to be associated with clans that came from far to the south at Palatkwapi. A second point is the fact that images of Alósaka were carved from a number of perishable and nonperishable materials including stone and wood. Effigies of Alósaka, and of figures tied to the Alósaka ceremonial complex, remain important in Hopi altars and shrines (Fewkes 1899b: 523, 526; 1900b: 595-596). Portable objects portraying revered figures may have formed a component of this complex and others. For example, Fewkes (1899b: 526) pointed out that a portable representation of Talatumsi (“Dawn Woman”), a figure highly revered by Alósaka priests, was moved in a sacred procession between the kiva and the sacred shrine of this figure where it remained until the next ceremonial cycle.

The account described above indicates that physical representations of spiritual beings in the form of portable art comprised a component of Alósaka rites, and likely other ceremonies as well. Considering that the Alósaka complex has ties to the Palatkwapi tradition as well as to a number of clans and ceremonies affiliated with the Sun Youth, including Wuwtsim and the Flute Society rites among others, it would be reasonable to suggest that evidence of an Alósaka complex should be found in material culture from the larger Casas Grandes region.

The two, prominent backwards-recurving horns worn by Alósaka priests closely resemble the impressively sized curled horns of the Bighorn sheep (*Ovis Canadensis*), a species that once had a large natural distribution during the historic period (ca. AD 1900) ranging across the major mountain ranges along western North America including from southern Canada to northern Mexico. The range of the subspecies *Ovis Canadensis mexicana*, or Mexican bighorn, is more restricted, concentrated in portions of the Chihuahuan desert, and extending from Arizona and western New Mexico southward to northern Mexico, including Sonora, Chihuahua, and Coahuila (Pelz-Serrano et al. 2006). As the Alósaka ceremonial society is said to originate “far to the south”, this distribution would suggest that the furthest possible southern place of origin would coincide with the southernmost natural distribution of this animal, this being parts of northern Mexico such as the northern part of Sonora, Chihuahua, or Coahuila.

As the Casas Grandes culture encompassed a large extent of northwestern Chihuahua and parts of northeastern Sonora, it is reasonable to examine the material culture of this region with these cultural, ecological, and geographical connections in

mind. The proposition that the Alósaka complex might have roots in these region is given further credence if we recall that the Palatkwapi clans are said to have migrated to the Hopi Mesas roughly by AD 1250-1300, the precise temporal period in which the Casas Grandes culture was becoming florescent.

While depictions of animals of the hunt, such as deer, antelope, and mountain sheep, have long occurred individually or as herd animals in the rock art of these larger regions, the portrayal of bighorn sheep in the portable art or as depictions of a person wearing a bighorn sheep headdress seems to be a later phenomenon in the southern range of this animal. Imagery of bighorn sheep in contemporary Alósaka ceremonials takes form as priests wearing bighorn sheep headdresses, as carved wooden representations of Alósaka, as painted representations of Alósaka in kiva screens, and as contemporary portable religious objects in the Alósaka religious complex.

Considering these manifestations, and the fact that images of supernatural beings are also made in the form of portable objects, it is reasonable to suggest that archaeological material culture depicting similar phenomena may provide clues as to the geographic origin of the Alósaka complex. Notably, men who wear bighorn sheep horns take part in contemporary animal dances of the Rio Grande Pueblos, but these occur in the context of a Mountain Sheep hunting dance or a larger Animal dance that involve other game impersonators such as deer, buffalo, elk, and antelope (Hill 1982: 268-278). These contexts don't suggest an individually named supernatural being akin to the Hopi Alósaka.

Along with a number of portraits of a wide variety of animals, bighorn sheep in the archaeological record are depicted on Mimbres black-on-white wares from southwestern New Mexico (e.g., Brody 2004: 25, fig. 15; Fewkes 1914: 34-35, pl. 2, fig. 2; Woosley and McIntyre 1996: 190, fig. 6.35). Much like numerous other portrayals of fish or animals, the bighorns are sometimes portrayed individually, sometimes they are depicted in hunting scenes, and sometimes there are supernatural hybrids with other animals, such as a mountain sheep head combined with a fish body.

The Mimbres Pottery Image Digital Database (MimPIDD) catalogued 76 vessels with depictions of bighorn sheep, the majority of which are simple individual or paired bighorns illustrated in the bottom center of a bowl. One Mimbres effigy jar from the Swarts Ruin may represent a bighorn sheep (Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: pl. 87f). Other Mimbres depictions of bighorns include some with human attributes. Notably, one Classic Mimbres vessel in the MimPIDD (#8642) portrays two upright-standing bighorn sheep with human-like bodies carrying sets of bows and arrows.

One other example from this database (#8668) portrays a similar anthropomorphic bighorn sheep hunting near a herd of deer or antelope. A third example from this database (#5509) portrays the same anthropomorphic bighorn hunting in a herd of other bighorn sheep. A fourth example in the database (#4323) depicts an anthropomorphic figure with human facial features and eight arms (with four of the hands holding rattles) wearing what appears to be a bighorn sheep headdress. These examples appear to represent the earliest portrayals of bighorn sheep with anthropomorphic characteristics in the symbolism of the American Southwest. That some of these figures are holding bows and

arrows likely alludes to a role not just as game, but as hunters or warriors, much as they are conceptualized among contemporary Hopi. These images might also indicate that human hunters dressed or disguised themselves, or even symbolically became, mountain sheep in order to facilitate a more stealthy hunt.

In considering other archaeological material culture, a set of 10 bone awls recovered in southwest New Mexico from the Swarts ruin (Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: 57, pl. 59a-f), with one apparently recovered from another unnamed Mimbres site, were carved on the distal end into the form of mountain sheep horns, a mountain sheep head, or in the form of a complete mountain sheep with body (**Figs. 12.9a-12.9d**). For the Classic Mimbres NAN Ranch Ruin, Shafer (2003: fig. 11.10) noted a handful of similar bone awls with the distal end carved into ram or mountain sheep horns. Portrayals of mountain sheep painted on a ceramic vessel do not necessarily indicate the presence of a religious society centered upon mountain sheep. However, the unique and redundant presence of portable carved bones in the form of mountain sheep heads and bodies, especially when coupled with the depictions on ceramics of humans with bighorn sheep features, may lend some credence to the suggested presence of some form of early bighorn ritualism similar to the Hopi Alósaka complex.

Rock art in the style of the Mimbres-Jornada continuum (AD 1100-1350) depict a couple of examples of a singular human figure wearing a set of bighorn sheep horns. These examples are from the Jornada region in Otero County of south-central New Mexico with one example evident just west of Las Cruces (**Fig. 12.9e-12.9f**). Some scholars may perceive the Otero County example as the representation of human figure

wearing a horned serpent head. The geometric, “V”-shaped facial design on this being suggests the first identification is correct. In the MimPIDD, two examples of a Mimbres bighorn (#3562 from the Osbourne Ruin and #5335 private collection) have a similar v-shaped band on its face and neck as that in Figure 12.9e. Thus, the similar facial banding of bighorns in the symbolism on ceramics suggests that the rock art example with this facial design also represents a bighorn headdress.

Polly Schaafsma (pers. comm. 2010) suggested that examples of humans with bighorn headdresses exist in rock art of the Jornada region but that these are not common. Importantly, Schaafsma (2000b: 69) also indicated that the Jornada and the Casas Grandes regions were participants in the same ideological interaction sphere, an observation that suggests that similar examples of human-like bighorns should exist in Casas Grandes material culture.

Following the Mimbres tradition, and along with the largely contemporaneous Jornada tradition, Casas Grandes art portrays a number of examples of bighorn sheep characterized by large sharply recurving horns, both in effigy vessels as well as in portable art (**Figs. 12.10a-12.10d, 12.11a-12.11c**). Other examples of bighorn effigies or symbolism in Casas Grandes material culture may well have once existed in now-disintegrated perishable artifacts, a statement that might also be true for Mimbres material culture. It is intriguing to note that while a number of wild animal remains were recovered from Paquimé, including bison, bear, mountain lion, antelope and others, the only wild animal represented both on the pottery and in the faunal assemblage of

artiodactyls at Paquimé was the mountain sheep, though these were said to be present in low frequencies in the faunal assemblage (VanPool and VanPool 2007: 20).

The excavations at Paquimé revealed eighty-four stone figurines depicting human beings, animals, birds, and insects (Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: 291, 297). Among these were four effigies of bighorn sheep distinguished by their wide curving horns (ibid.). While only one of these objects was illustrated in the large Casas Grandes site report published by the Amerind Foundation, finely carved stone bighorn sheep effigies said to be from the Casas Grandes region exist in other museum collections. One example housed with the Casas Grandes collections at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture is a reddish-colored stone with a clear portrait of a bighorn sheep with two sharply recurving horns upon the head (**Fig. 12.11a**). The size of the effigy suggests that it may have been a hand-held ritual object or one placed upon an altar as a totem, though it remains possible that this object may have been used as a pestle.

Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 7: 149-150) described and illustrated four stone effigy pestles from Paquimé including a human, a phallus, and one bighorn sheep that resembles the above-described example. In considering the conceptual metaphors inherent in a pestle shaped like a bighorn sheep, it may be accurate to suggest underlying ritual connotations whereby the up and down pounding movement of the effigy bighorn sheep was intended to metaphorically replicate the actual jumping and bucking of the bighorn, much as Hopi Alósaka impersonators mimic the jumping movements of the bighorn during certain ceremonies. These may suggest the same ideological concepts embodied in different artistic media.

Another stone bighorn effigy housed with the Casas Grandes collections at the National Museum of the American Indian portrays a human figure, with clear human facial features, wearing a bighorn sheep mask/headdress upon his head (**Figs. 12.11b-12.11c**). This mask/headdress portrays not just the horns but the face of the sheep as well. The object itself has a groove below the effigy face, suggesting that the object was hafted while in use. The tapered end and use-wear on the end suggests that this object may have been struck upon a hard surface or on the ground when in use, perhaps as a pecking hammer.

In considering reasons for the occurrence of damage upon this object when used in a ritual context, it is possible that the up-and-down movement of the stone bighorn sheep effigy when striking an object such as the ground may also have been intended to mimic the bucking and jumping of the bighorn, much like that postulated above for the mountain sheep effigy pestle. A second option in considering the use-life of such an object is that it may have been a plumb-bob, as four similarly shaped objects, one with a human effigy head and others with similar end-damage, were recovered at Paquimé from Medio-period contexts (Di Peso et al. 1974: 7: 237).

In sum, examples of human males impersonating bighorn sheep occur only in the southern Southwest and northern Chihuahua, Mexico. Though few in number, these images may represent early examples of an Alósaka-related complex located far to the south, much as Hopi oral traditions indicate. This complex may have been present as early as the Classic Mimbres period in southwestern New Mexico or may well have formed somewhat later in the larger Casas Grandes and Jornada region.

If the southern Southwest, and more specifically the larger Casas Grandes and Jornada region, is the source of the Alósaka complex that is closely tied to Hopi Palatkwapi clan traditions, might it be possible that the bighorn sheep traditions of Alósaka actually come from much further to the south with migrating Hopi clans from deep in Mesoamerica? Probably not. Given that the southernmost natural range of Desert Bighorn sheep is in northern Chihuahua, Sonora, and Coahuila, it is reasonable to suggest that the Alósaka complex originates only within the natural range of these animals.

Considering the fact that bighorns are portrayed in earlier Mimbres ritual objects such as in symbolism of ceramic vessels as well as on effigies crafted in bone, it may well be the case that a form of syncretism occurred at Paquimé whereby an earlier local mountain sheep society present in the region merged with slightly later Medio-period Sun Youth and Flute ceremonials in the Casas Grandes region. If so, this suggestion is concordant with Fewkes's (1900b: 590-591) conclusion that "Horn clans . . . evidently united with the Flute people, and from that time the group was composite." This suggestion is also concordant with assessments by archaeologists that Mimbres people helped form the base population of Casas Grandes towns and is further in keeping with Hopi migration traditions that state that Alósaka rites merged with Flute rites before being transmitted with migrants northward to the Hopi Mesas.

That northern Chihuahua may well be the origin of a number of Palatkwapi clans is suggested in details of another intriguing Hopi migration tradition that deserves attention. One Patki clan account of the northward migrations from Palatkwapi recorded by Mindeleff (1891: 31-32) indicated that while living in the south, the *kwakwanti*, a

warrior society known as the One-Horns, made an expedition far to the north and came in conflict with hostile people. After battling for days, “One night the cranes came and each crane took a kwakwanti on his back and brought them back to their people in the South” (ibid.). The idea that cranes returned the men back to their home far in the south in the direction of Palatkwapi is important and may well be tied to the actual geographic extent of migration routes of cranes.

A study of historical migration patterns of sandhill cranes found that these birds most often wintered in Chihuahua and Durango, Mexico with most cranes entering Mexico between El Paso, Texas and Columbus, New Mexico (Drewien et al. 1996), precisely in the larger Casas Grandes region. Of all cranes wintering in Mexico, more than 96% wintered in the states of Chihuahua and Durango (ibid.: 281). In 1947 alone, over 70,000 cranes were spotted in Chihuahua during surveys (ibid.: 277). Might these patterns suggest that Hopi oral traditions that detail the return of Palatkwapi-affiliated Patki clan members to their home in the far south via cranes suggest that this return southward was ultimately to the general Chihuahuan region, the actual geographical territory of wintering cranes? It is also notable that the Hopi Crane clan is said to originate at Palatkwapi (Lyons 2003: 88, table 5.1). Clearly, the details of migration histories in oral traditions provide fascinating clues as to the geographical and cultural context for the movement of people on the landscape.

Palatkwapi and Hopi Women's Basket Societies

As we consider the clans and ceremonies that are said to originate far to the south, an extended discussion of the origin of certain other Palatkwapi traditions, such as Hopi women's basketry societies, further help to illuminate the present focus on identifying the nature and the geographical location of origin of solar rituals linked to this mythological place of origin that figures so prominently in Hopi histories. In a study of Hopi textile and basketry traditions, Webster and Loma'omvaya (2004: 87-88) discussed the origin of the manufacture of coiled basketry plaques found in use among contemporary Hopi Lalkon and Oaqöl women's basketry societies. Archaeologically, the earliest evidence of coiled basketry plaques, particularly those using a bundle foundation with noninterlocking stitches, is not in the north on the Colorado Plateau during the Pueblo III period, but much more commonly they are found in prehispanic sites in southern New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and northern Mexico. Thereafter, these appear during the Pueblo IV period in central Arizona and such Hopi sites as Homol'ovi II and Kawaika'a (Adovasio and Andrews 1985: 108-109; Webster and Loma'omvaya 2004: 87).

Hopi traditional accounts indicate that the Lalkon women's basket society and ceremonies were brought by migrating clans from Palatkwapi to the Hopi Mesas first by way of Homol'ovi in east-central Arizona (Teiwes 1996: 180). That the Homol'ovi village clusters were only occupied between AD 1260-1400 (Adams 2002: 7) suggests that a migration of these clans with these ceremonies from the southern Southwest and northern Mexico during this era may well be linked to the then-florescent Casas Grandes cultural region.

In her study of the origin of Hopi basket-making technology, Teiwes (1996: 173-181) noted that contemporary Hopi coiled basketry technology differs substantially from Pueblo III Anasazi examples in both technique and materials. Furthermore, she (ibid.: 173-187) proposed that southern (southern Southwest and northern Mexico) basket-making technologies, and the ceremonies associated with these baskets, were brought to the Hopi Mesas by northward-migrating clans from Palatkwapi. Before the commercialization of basketry in the twentieth century, the manufacture of Hopi coiled basketry plaques was strictly for ceremonial and ritual purposes, with the Lalkon and Oaqöl women's societies exercising sole control in their manufacture (ibid.: 186).

An examination of contemporary Hopi basket dance society traditions, and basket society traditions of other Puebloan peoples, reveals strong links between these ceremonies and the Sun Youth Payatamu, the young solar deity of the Casas Grandes culture. In his description of the Oaqöl ceremony at the Hopi village of Oraibi, Voth (1903b: 39-40) recorded Morning Songs usually sung at the beginning of certain days of the ceremonial cycle. One song (ibid.) demonstrated a close affiliation to the dawning sun:

The day has risen,
Go I (to) behold the dawn,
Hao! you maidens!
Go behold the dawn!
The White Rising!
The Yellow Rising!
It has become light.

A second song (ibid.), sung while facing the east, shares the same themes:

The white dawn has risen.
The yellow dawn has risen.
That I shall "light embrace."

At 5:00 am on the second morning (i.e., dawn) of the Oraibi Oaqöl, the chief Oaqöl priestess led the female participants to the south-east portion of the village and, facing east: “They hold the sacred meal to their lips, whisper a prayer on it, and then throw it towards to east, where the *qöyángwünūptū* (white-rising or dawn), or sometimes the *sikángwünūptū* (yellow-rising or dawn) may be seen illumining the sky” (Voth 1903b: 16). The mention of the white and yellow dawn is a clear reference to the changing colors of the morning sky at dawn as reflected in other Puebloan traditions, such as among the Zuni (see Benedict 1935: 2: 64).

The beginning of Oaqöl kiva ceremonials, or all Hopi kiva ceremonials for that matter, cannot begin until the first dawning of the sun, as one account (Voth 1903b: 17) noted:

But as the ceremonial performances in the kiva are, as a rule, not supposed to begin before the appearance of the morning dawn, the dawn is often spoken of and watched in the kiva. Not infrequently some one will be told: “*Um aokúivato*” (“Go and see, look”)! Whereupon one thus instructed will ascend the ladder to see whether it is already dawning.

Clearly, Hopi basketry society songs, along with the beginning of kiva ceremonials, are linked to the first appearance of the Sun Youth at dawn.

The ceremonial ornamentation of Hopi Oaqöl and Lalkon maidens also provides clues to deeper connections with the Sun Youth Payatamu. Voth (1903b: 41-42, pl. xviii) described and depicted the process of preparing the female Oaqöl dancers:

Before they are entirely dressed their faces are decorated with a yellow powder prepared from the petals of sunflowers. First water is spurted into their faces . . . and then the powder applied to the wet skin. Their hands are also painted yellow and a ring is made above the wrists with the same material.

The act of applying ground yellow flower petals to the face and skin is similar to that described by Stephen (1936: 853) during the Hopi Lalkon ceremony: “Petals of sunflowers dried and ground are used to paint the face yellow”. A similar decoration is applied on a different day of the Lalkon ceremony (ibid.: 854):

Beside [the bundles of prayersticks was] a yucca basket [that] contained the yellow of sunflower petal. Two young women were being decorated, each by a man: their feet yellow; . . . [their] hands yellow. The man took a mouthful of greenish fluid from a vessel, spurted it over the face of the woman and then rubbed her face thick with yellow pigment.

As noted above, the color yellow, including all flowers and pollens, is preeminently associated with the Sun Youth Payatamu (Wright 2004: 63).

These ground yellow flowers used to decorate performers probably are closely related to Payatamu’s flower medicine, as quite similarly described by Bunzel (1932b: 860) for the Zuni. For example, as Zuni dancers emerge from the kiva into the plaza, the society chief of the kiva puts Payatamu medicine into his mouth and prays: “‘Now my father sun, you make the day beautiful . . . Therefore we have made this paiyatamu medicine from the bright flowers.’ So he says and takes the medicine in his mouth and spits a little of it on each of the dancers as they come out”. The act of placing flower meal on the face is an act of beautification that probably has links to examples of powdering the face with pollen and cornmeal in order to beautify themselves, probably for the Sun Youth. Parsons (1939: 294) indicated that male members of the Hopi Wuwuchim society, of whom Taiowa (Payatamu) is the patron, often rub meal on their face so as to beautify themselves. For the Hopi Lalkon ceremony, Stephen (1936: 840) noted that “a tray of yellow pollen and a smaller basket-basin of white meal is passed around, and all the

women rub a little of the white meal on their hands, then on their face. Then the same is done with the pollen. This...is to beautify.” The rubbing of meal on women’s faces for beautification is also known among the Zuni (ibid.: fn. 1).

Notably, much as bodily decoration reflects a strong connection to the dawning sun, the Sun Youth Payatamu, during the Hopi women’s society ceremonies, so too do ritual offerings. Stephen (1936: 847) indicated that Hopi ritualists create *Tai’owa ta’ka shakwa*’ prayersticks on the eighth day of the Lalkon ceremony. The name *Tai’owa*, that is used to describe this prayerstick offering, likely refers to the Sun Youth Payatamu, who is also known among the Hopi as *Tai’owa*. Lalkon ceremonies have further links to Payatamu in that one function of the society is to cure venereal disease (Parsons 1939: 117; Stephen 1936: 830; Titiev 1944: 168). Parsons (1939: 381) elsewhere noted that Payatamu is closely linked to the cause and cure of venereal disease.

Contemporary Hopi basketry plaques are important in birth, death, and marriage rituals, and these are largely regarded as encoded with symbolism reflective of a Hopi woman’s identity and role in society (Teiwes 1996: 141). Plaques, some wicker or coiled, are given to newborn babies at their birth and at their first katsina dance and are meant to be kept throughout their life. Notably, on Third Mesa, a newborn Hopi girl’s first plaque “. . . always has a traditional sunflower design, which is the same design she will use later when she makes her first plaque.” (ibid.: 142-143). These items, often used to carry cornmeal, are closely linked to symbolism of water, rain, crops and provisions, and fertility (ibid.:150). Other basketry plaque designs that are symbolic of fertility include katsinam, bean sprouts, clouds, turtles, and rainbows, among others (ibid.: 54, 58).

In contemporary Hopi basket dance ceremonies, female dancers stand in a broken circle and hold basketry plaques with both hands in front of their body at mid-torso level (Teiwes 1996: 152; Voth 1903b: pl. XXI). During initiation into the Lalkon basket society, female Hopi initiates are sequestered in the kiva for four days with their godmother, ideally a proficient basket weaver, who spends these four days teaching the initiate the proper techniques for manufacturing basketry (Teiwes 1996: 151). A key component of the basket dances that occurs following the days-long ceremonial includes leading the newly initiated girls, with yellow-painted faces, into the middle of the circle of singing basket dancers (*ibid.*: 153-154). From the middle of the circle of dancers, new initiates distribute bundles of prizes such as fruits, breads, household goods, and basketry trays and plaques to the clamoring crowds surrounding the dancers.

Stephen (1936: 853) noted that the performance of the Hopi Lalkon basket dance commemorated the arrival of clans from Palatkwapi. Interestingly, Lyons (2003: 92) indicated that while the first-order Lalkon comes from Palatkwapi, the very similar second-order Oaqöl ceremony does not. While both ceremonies have clear links to Sun Youth ceremonialism, this discrepancy in origin might well be explained in Hopi accounts.

Titiev (1944: 169-170) reported that Hopi regarded the Oaqöl as being a relatively recent introduction to the Walpi and Oraibi ceremonial cycle, perhaps introduced as late as the eighteenth century at Oraibi. Furthermore, Voth (1903b: 3; see Titiev 1944: 169-170) indicated that this ceremony is a recent innovation that was begun when a Hopi woman learned about these rites from a relative who was temporarily living at

Mishongnovi on Second Mesa. These two women subsequently copied the regalia and started performing these rites at Oraibi (ibid.). For Oraibi, Titiev (1944: 170) recorded a version of this tale from Chief Tawaqwaptiwa that indicated that the woman in question, described as a “witch”, had unscrupulously observed esoteric performances and had incorporated certain parts of these ceremonies into her own such that “. . . spectators frequently recognized in the chants of the Oaqöl women songs that had been ‘stolen’ from their own secret societies.” The resemblance to the Lalkon is evident in that the Oaqöl women dress in identical regalia as the Lalkon, they carry similar basketry, and they dance in the same formation (ibid.). Whatever the case of origin may be, Titiev (ibid.) regarded the Marau, Lalkon, and Oaqöl womens societies as all being closely related rites in the Hopi body of ceremonies.

While Hopi basket dance traditions and technologies are clearly linked to the Sun Youth, other Puebloan basketry plaque traditions also are embedded with solar and moisture symbolism. For example, at San Juan, the Tunshare basket dance is one of the most important springtime ceremonies for promoting fertility in plants and humans (Kurath and Garcia 1970: 145). This basket dance is focused upon the return of the *oxua* cloud spirits at dawn. Songs that accompany the basket dance, cited in Chapter 4, bear clear referants to the dawning sun, parrot feathers, lightning, rainfall, returning cloud spirits, singing, thunder, and girls bearing sacred dew baskets (ibid.: 148, song 1b and 4a). The slow dance portion (*Gwingwendi’e*: “standing dance”) of the San Juan Tunshare ceremony involves a line of women standing in place holding disc baskets (termed, “dew baskets”) up and down in front of their face (ibid.: 145).

Zuni basketry traditions indicate that Payatamu is responsible for inspiring the designs that women weave into their basket plaques. One Zuni story describes a tale involving Payatamu and basket plaque-making women living at a place called Kyakiima, a protohistoric (AD 1350-1600) village just south of *Dowa Yalanne*, or Zuni Corn Mountain, on the Zuni reservation (Tedlock 1972: 85-132; Benedict 1935: 2: 197-199; see map in Ferguson 2007: fig. 19.10). In a very similar version recorded by Benedict (1935: 2: 197-199), the women are living at Ketcipawa (Kechipawan), another protohistoric Zuni village located near Hawikuh.

In the first version, Payatamu seeks revenge on a group of Kyakiima women who had earlier cut off his head. To do this, Payatamu exhales a swallowtail butterfly from his flute and, sprinkling them with his sexually potent butterfly wing-powder, the butterfly is then supposed to lure the women back to Payatamu (Tedlock 1972: 120-122). Upon entering the women's home, the swallowtail alights upon the women's basket plaques. The women exclaimed, "Wait, don't touch him, we'll look at him and use his pattern on our basket-plaques', that's what they said . . . He sprinkled them with his wing powder. They went crazy [sexually]" (ibid.: 121-122). Tedlock (ibid.: 131, notes) indicated that the wing powder of the swallowtail is an aphrodisiac. This Zuni tale clarifies that women's basket-plaque designs owe much to the sensual and sexually potent Sun Youth Payatamu.

Notably, Schaafsma (2009: 674-675) recently drew attention to a previously unpublished Pueblo IV-era mural in Kiva 9, Layer 8 at Pottery Mound that depicts a male figure playing a flute, in front of whom flutters a butterfly (**Fig. 12.12a**). She (ibid.: 675)

suggested that this figure may well represent Payatamu. In one Zuni tradition, a butterfly exhaled from the flute of the Sun Youth as a Newekwe clown served as the inspiration of designs for women to copy in their embroidery (Bunzel 1933: 260). Notably, the exhalation of butterflies from the flute of the Sun Youth Payatamu is conceptually identical to the butterflies exhaled from the red flute played in a later scene by the young solar deity Xochipilli in pages 36 and 37 of the *Codex Borgia* (Karl Taube, pers. comm. 2011). This similarity is notable in that these two solar deity are historically related and are all but indistinguishable in character attributes.

As basket dance traditions in the Puebloan Southwest, including the songs, stories, basketry designs, and ceremonial ornamentation of participants, demonstrate a close connection to the Sun Youth Payatamu, it stands to reason that early symbolic evidence in Pueblo IV kiva murals that depict basket-dancing probably also is connected to the adoption of Sun Youth rituals from the Casas Grandes region. The most elaborate portrayal of basket-dancing in the prehispanic American Southwest occurs in Layer 1 of Kiva 16 at Pottery Mound, a site located on the banks of the Rio Puerco in north-central New Mexico that was occupied between AD 1370 and AD 1475 (see Schaafsma 2007c: 2). Hibben's (1975: 128-129, figs. 99-100) excavation of Kiva 16 revealed a scene of a number of women holding basketry plaques, some flanked by corn stalks, a scene that lends the impression that the dancers encircle the interior of the square kiva (**Fig. 12.12b**).

The presence of corn stalks with ears flanking the dancers is remarkably similar to contemporary Hopi Lalkon traditions in which Lalkon maids gather loads of vegetation

from the fields, including corn stalks with ears attached, and place them within the kiva around the Lalkon altar (Stephen 1936: 838). This altar includes a sand altar painting (ibid.: 839) that portrays a Lalkon maid holding a basketry plaque in a position exactly like those portrayed in the Pottery Mound murals (**Fig. 12.12c**) and probably is meant to invoke the same themes of growth and fertility. A second Pottery Mound mural (Kiva 7, Layer 18) portrays a female basket dancer holding one basket while flanked by two others, one of which appears unfinished, and clearly depicts the use of coiled basketry technology rather than wicker basketry (see Hibben 1975: 45: fig. 29).

If a ritual participant or basket society initiate were to stand or sit within the Pottery Mound kiva during its period of use, the layout of a group of female basket dancers in the mural encircling the kiva would effectively mimic the ethnographically known dance positions and organization of basket dancers in public plazas. In so doing, the ritual participant, much like a new initiate in the public dance (see image in Kabotie and Belknap 1977: 55), would be symbolically situated within the circle of basket dancers within the kiva. Thus, the Pueblo IV kiva scene of a group of basket dancers may well reflect a ritual place where female initiates spent time learning basket making techniques, traditions, stories, and rituals closely linked to newly adopted ceremonialism centered upon the Casas Grandes Sun Youth, particularly in preparation for the more public ceremonial basket dance.

The point of this extended discussion on basket-making technologies is to reiterate that Hopi coiled basketry traditions and related ceremonies are closely linked to clans who are said to have migrated from the far south from the mythological place called

Palatkwapi. The archaeological appearance of bundle-foundation coiled basketry technology in the Southwest suggests that this migration and the movement of this technology from the southern Southwest and northern Mexico occurred roughly around the beginning of the Pueblo IV period (AD 1300+/-).

Abundant ethnographic evidence indicates that Hopi women's basket societies and their ceremonies, and other Puebloan basketry traditions for that matter, are intimately related to the Sun Youth Payatamu, who had his immediate place of origin in the Casas Grandes region. That the Hopi Mesas saw a major influx of ". . . waves of southern [i.e., Palatkwapi] immigrants . . . arriving in the late A.D. 1200's and early 1300's" (Bernardini 2005: 177), precisely the time period that the Casas Grandes culture and Sun Youth worship flourished, reinforces the suggestion that these southern migrants who brought new basket dance ceremonies of the Sun Youth to the Hopi Mesas ultimately came via Paquimé or from a Casas Grandes-related site in the larger region.

Notably, this influx of southern migrants around AD 1300 also coincided with the strong presence of new basketry and textile technologies from the south (Webster 2007; Webster and Loma'omvaya 2004). Webster (2007: 316) noted:

I believe the presence of these southern influences and technologies is best explained by an emigration of people from a number of different regions, including the Mogollon Highlands, into the upper and middle Colorado River and the Zuni and Hopi regions during Pueblo IV.

Likewise, Hays (2000: 56) further noted that, beginning around AD 1300, people on the Hopi Mesas began to produce large quantities of Jeddito Yellow Ware pottery, wares that are strongly evocative of the Flower World complex (Hays-Gilpin and Sekaquaptewa 2006: 15). Given that people on the Hopi Mesas began to create large quantities of wares

with Flower World themes at this time, as noted above, it is important that scholars have recently indicated the existence of clear links between Casas Grandes polychrome vessels and Hopi yellow wares.

In seeking the roots for the development of Sikyatki polychromes, a Jeddito Yellow Ware with designs that became highly elaborate in the mid-1400's (Hays 2000: 58), Hays-Gilpin and LeBlanc (2007: 115-116) noted that Sikyatki and Ramos polychromes share a number of similarities in layout, design, and motifs, such that the latter may have influenced the development of the former. As noted in Chapter 5 and 11, a major thematic content of Ramos polychrome wares from the Casas Grandes region is the Flower World of the Sun Youth.

Though speculative, it may well be the case that migrants from the Casas Grandes region in the AD 1300s influenced the development of certain stylistic and thematic attributes of Jeddito Yellow Wares, particularly in the transmission of a Sun Youth-oriented Flower World ideology that thereafter became much more elaborate in the Late Sikyatki wares during the fifteenth century. For instance, the Museum of Northern Arizona Ceramic Field Identification Manual depicts Early Sikyatki Polychrome sherds with a red-and-black on buff design¹⁵ dating to AD 1375 that resembles color and design styles from Medio-period Chihuahuan Polychromes. The symbolic significance of red-and-black symbolism was addressed in Chapter 11. Thus, both archaeological data and oral traditions suggest that the influx of people from the south during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries and perhaps later, with new knowledge of rituals of the Sun Youth,

¹⁵ For examples of Early Sikyatki sherds with red-and-black on buff design style, see the following:
<http://www.musnaz.org/cfim/JedditoYellowWare/SikyatkiPoly/Images/Early1.shtml>
<http://www.musnaz.org/cfim/JedditoYellowWare/SikyatkiPoly/Images/Early2.shtml>

new textile and basketry technologies, and new influences in Flower World thematic contents and color schemes on certain ceramic wares, strongly points to the burgeoning Casas Grandes region as the probable source area.

In a very brief analysis of Casas Grandes basketry technology, Di Peso and colleagues (1974: 8: 104-107) noted: “Identifiable baskets from Casas Grandes were all coiled, and all fragments were technically similar. All had a one-rod foundation, or variations of one-rod foundations, and non-interlocked stitches.” The foundations of five of the baskets appeared to be comprised of stems or twigs. However, it is unclear what types of stems were used. Teiwes (1996: 174) observed that contemporary Hopi coiled basket-makers “. . . never use any twigs in their foundations” but instead use a bundle foundation of fine galleta grass stems or threaded leaf material along with very fine yucca leaf fibers. The one-inch diameter of the coils in these basket plaques stand in contrast to the earlier Anasazi basketry coils, which measured only about a third of an inch.

Some of the Casas Grandes baskets appear to have used a split rod or rod and bundle foundation (Di Peso et al. 1974: 8: 104). In terms of basket form, “. . . the [Casas Grandes] fragments gave a general impression of rather large, shallow plates or low bowls” while traces of green pigment “seemed to have been applied only to one side” (ibid.: 105). Di Peso’s brief description and analysis of a small sample of Casas Grandes basketry technology is suggestive of the existence of some form of decorated, coiled basketry plates. However, it is unclear if the distinctive technology linked to the Hopi Palatkwapi clans, which is based upon a grass and yucca fiber bundled foundation, was used in the wider Casas Grandes region.

Before any definitive conclusions or comparisons of the methods of manufacture can be drawn, future research requires the need for a more specialized and comprehensive analysis of the range and variation of Casas Grandes and northwest Mexican basketry traditions to determine if any Casas Grandes basketry technology might be technologically similar to those on the Hopi Mesas. Given that the Casas Grandes Sun Youth is so closely related to contemporary Hopi women's societies and basket-dance rituals said to have their origin at Palatkwapi, this remains a plausible suggestion.

What is clear from indigenous oral traditions is that history is deeply embedded within these stories. These historical accounts of individuals, clans, and events such as migrations are couched in cosmologically laden traditions, are tied to the landscape, and are preserved in strict detail in the repetitive ritual dramatization of these events in the ceremonial cycle. The recounting of Hopi Palatkwapi traditions is important in that, much like for oral histories of other Pueblo peoples, these migration events retell the stories of how and where clans travelled and merged with other groups. These oral histories also tell of how their societies and clans came to change through time and how their religious traditions developed.

In considering the reliability and veracity of Hopi oral histories, Whiteley (2002a: 407) described the details of events in these traditions:

These are entrenched features of a corpus of Hopi narratives (serially recorded since the late nineteenth century), and anyone who, say, were to make the reverse claims would be dismissed as a know-nothing: in other words, the account would be subjected to critical standards of historical judgement and invalidated.

Furthermore these histories are embedded in ceremonies: “As assemblages of symbolic meaning, ritual performances and their accompanying mythological narratives are *texts* that encode aspects of the historically lived past” (ibid.: 411).

The point then is that much can be learned about the archaeological record from historical traditions and oral accounts of the descendants of the people whom archaeologists study. When attempting to reconstruct social change in the American Southwest and northern Mexico, archaeologists who discount native traditions or who dismiss the value of indigenous histories simply must reconsider their position. While scientific archaeology may help to provide a general framework by which to understand past social change, it is clear that indigenous oral histories harbor the historical details of that social change.

Warfare and the Ritual Destruction and Abandonment of Paquimé

If we can consider Paquimé and the larger Casas Grandes region to have been such an integral component of so many stories of Hopi clans and their ceremonies that are said to have come from Palatkwapi, might we consider Hopi traditions of the destruction of Palatkwapi and other Hopi sites in our analyses of perhaps the most dramatic and climactic event at Paquimé, the destruction and fall of the paramount center? Warfare has long been described as being among the primary factors in the dramatic dissolution of the Casas Grandes culture.

The earliest account by Obregón in AD 1564 (Hammond and Rey 1928: 208-209) described a traumatic end to Paquimé:

We asked them [the local people] by signs where the farmers and owners of the houses and lands of that town [Casas Grandes] had gone. They replied by signs that they were settled and living six days down the river to the north, and that they had been forced to move away on account of a war waged on them by their enemies on the other side of the mountains.

Following his excavations at Paquimé, Di Peso (1968b: 32) characterized a similar social collapse and end of the Casas Grandes culture:

It would appear that the leaders of Casas Grandes lost control of their people either by default, recall or internal revolt . . . Whatever the cause, the great public areas were taken over by the common folk; the galleries were used as sleeping quarters; the water system was abandoned; and bodies of the dead were placed in these underground channels. The intricate sub-surface palaza drains were permitted to clog . . . A native Opata myth from the Bavispe river area explains that their Chichimecan forbears dealt the death blow to the Casas Grandians out of a hatred of the practice of slavery. One day in the middle of the 14th century this city was indeed burned. Several hundred bodies were left lying about. Temple ornaments of great value were profaned, not stolen but purposely broken and scattered about. Thus it came to an end—a merciful death for the dying!

Though the fourteenth century time frame for these events were proven incorrect (see Dean and Ravesloot 1993), it is a generally accepted conclusion that the Casas Grandes culture met a rather precipitous decline in fortunes in the mid-fifteenth century. Most recently, Casserino (2009) argued against evidence of a massacre at Paquimé and instead suggested that widespread evidence of fires at the site “. . . were more likely tied to ritual closures rather than a site-wide burning that would indicate warfare, massacre, or denial of the site to the enemy.”

In comparison to archaeologists' interpretations of the demise of Paquimé, Hopi accounts indicate that flooding rains brought by the plumed serpent brought about the end of Palatkwapi as a result of misbehavior by the villagers (Nequatewa 1936: 93). Notably,

a similar Tewa account described the horned water serpent Avanyu as being a moral arbiter who flooded a kiva and killed all the occupants after they did not mind the instructions of the Winter and Summer moiety chiefs (Parsons 1929: 274). The similarities of the Tewa account (by a San Juan woman) as compared with the Palatkwapi account are remarkable: “If we do not mind them [the chiefs], they will call us to the kiva, where those *avanyo sendo* will kill us. Those with bad hearts and those with good hearts *avanyo sendo* will know, that is what our mothers say to us” (ibid.: 275). As Parsons (ibid.) further noted, other San Juan tales indicate that “. . . *avanyo* is referred to as sending a flood to swallow up the town unless the townspeople do his bidding.” Similar accounts are known from Nambé and Zuni (ibid.).

Based on the similarities of these traditions among disparate people, might these accounts not necessarily indicate an actual destructive flood at Palatkwapi but a metaphorical one that served as a parable of destruction for those who do not keep balance in their ritual and moral duties? The literal interpretation of the destruction of Palatkwapi by flooding may be incorrect. For example Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, the director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, suggested that many of the published Hopi oral traditions have often been taken too literally with subsequent interpretations all too often missing the point intended by the speaker (in Lyons 2003: 82).

In seeking to explain the dramatic shift in the fortunes of Casas Grandes, some scholars (Foster 1999: 162; Kelley 1993: 248-249) contended that external events, such as the cutting off of Aztatlán trade networks by Tarascans in the early- to mid-fifteenth century, eventually resulted in the decline of Paquimé. In their view, Whalen and Minnis

(2001b: 202-204) viewed the decline of Paquimé as perhaps tied to climatic fluctuations, or linked to a rapid intensification of construction at the primate center and the expansion of social networks at the expense of agricultural production, or even as the result of an inherently destabilized or fragmented political system based on factional competition. Other factors in the decline might have included loss of trade contacts, environmental stress, or pressure from outside groups (*ibid.*: 203). In other words, scholars view the events leading up to the decline of Paquimé as perhaps being tied to multiple local and external factors including climate change and/or loss of agricultural productivity, localized conflicts, the effects of external events such as the collapse of trade networks, and even ritually induced closures.

Considering that the Casas Grandes culture represented the greatest center of a sweeping new religious complex that was integral to the rise of Paquimé, it is important to further consider how ritual and ceremony also may have played a role in the eventual dissolution of Paquimé. In doing so, it is instructive to briefly examine more contemporary evidence of the role of religion and cosmology in termination rituals and the dissolution of communities. Considering that Hopi Palatkwapi traditions appear to be closely connected to the Casas Grandes region, it may well be possible to find analogues in the Casas Grandes decline in what is perhaps the most well-documented dissolution of a Hopi community in the historic period, the Oraibi split of 1906.

The factional split of Oraibi on Third Mesa was the result of a splintering into two groups: the “Hostiles” and the “Friendlies” (Whiteley 1988: 5). The former were traditionalists who were antagonistic towards Anglo governmental policies while the

latter were progressives who were more receptive towards American systems of education and governance. The conventional view holds that this strife came to a head in 1906 based on these divisions and led to the Hostiles being expelled and the resultant formation of new communities such as Hotevilla and Bacavi for those who had left Oraibi. Recently, a more nuanced analysis of the intersection of Hopi religion and politics finds religion to have been a major underlying factor in these divisions (ibid.: 192-291).

In recollections of the founding of Bacavi following the break-up of Oraibi, elder Hopi consultants emphasized that the early founders of the village were *pavansinom*, or extraordinarily powerful people who understood the full responsibilities of Hopi religious societies (Whiteley 1988: 201-203). As one Hotevilla man with ties to Bacavi described it, “If you want my view, Bacavi was founded by the intellectuals” (ibid.: 239). In researching the individuals involved in the split, Whiteley (ibid.: 204-208) indeed found that the numbers of *pavansinom* of Bacavi were disproportionate to the village population. Many of these individuals were affiliated with societies and ceremonies said to have originated with clans who came from Palatkwapi, such as the leaders and officers of the Lalkon, Soyol, Wuwtsim, Flute Society, Kwaakwant, Singers Society and others (ibid.: 204-208), though today Bacavi has largely seen the demise of its religious societies. Hotevilla, another village founded after the Oraibi split, is considered *the* traditional village on Third Mesa, though traditional leadership here has dissipated in recent years. A large portion of the population at Hotevilla do not recognize the more secularized Hopi Tribal Council that arose to counter the power of traditionalists (ibid.: 227, 229, 231, 235).

The point made by Whiteley (1988: 234-235) in his discussion of traditionalists, progressives, and the ‘in-betweens’, is that these interrelationships and divisions are primarily politico-religious in nature, between those with ritually based political power and those without. Among the Hopi, ritually based political power is derived from initiation into Wuwtsim (ibid. 235-236), ceremonies that are closely tied to the Sun Youth.

Discounting explanations of the Oraibi split that emphasize such issues as land-use struggles, or population pressures on the resource base, or even struggles tied to acculturation, Whiteley (1987; 1988: 254-284) stressed Hopi perspectives on the ideological basis for the split and the purposeful decision by ritually powerful Hopi to deliberately destroy the social order in keeping with Hopi prophecy. Hopi *pavansinom* are ideologically richer than the Hopi general public (*sukavungsinom*) in the control of knowledge known as *navoti* (Whiteley 1988: 255). *Navoti* is a multi-layered system of knowledge that crosscuts philosophy, science, and theology and is integral to understanding past events and prophesying future events (ibid.). This knowledge is integral to the present discussion of the Oraibi split and may well be applicable to our understanding of the demise of Paquimé.

According to Hopi prophecy, ceremonialism at Oraibi was destined to be “terminated”. Bacavi versions noted by Whiteley (1988: 256) describe the end of the *wimi*:

The ritualism, all the songs, the ritual prayers and the knowledge were ritually destined to be forgotten. No one will possess these ever again. This is what was done at the time of the Oraibi split. They instructed the people who left Oraibi that as they went into the future, their prayers and

their faith should be through the cornmeal alone, that they should not let this cornmeal go, for this was the most fundamental sacrament of all.

This account suggests that the ceremonial cycle was purposefully ended. An Oraibi version (ibid.: 257) is similar:

Now *wiimi*, that was ended at Oraibi in 1906. They purposefully destroyed it. All the head priests at Oraibi decided that no one should carry it on. Even the people who went away [the Hostiles] made a vow not to practice it. This is what was agreed upon. It was ended . . . The split was carried out based on *navoti*. Using this they planned the destruction of the ceremonies. But after they sat down and talked about it, they saw that they could fulfil the prophecy [on the destruction of Oraibi] easily by taking into consideration that Oraibi was overpopulated, water was scarce, and good farming land was depleted. So the old chiefs pondered and talked about this situation of hardship. It was decided that the only way for the people to survive was to split up. All the chiefs agreed upon it and it was decided upon with no ill feelings toward each other.

These accounts indicate that the effects of the deliberate destruction of the ritual order essentially led to the destruction of the political and social structure as well.

Sekaquaptewa's (1972: 247-248) perspective on the split concluded that "the sanctity of the religious authorities had become subject to more and more abuse as Oraibi grew in size and social complexity so that ritualism began to serve personal edification more than it served communal spiritual needs." This account bolsters Whiteley's (1988: 261) assessment that decadence, corruption, immoral, and anti-social behavior have been at the heart of numerous accounts of the destruction of past Hopi villages (and even the third world below) that occurred after numerous warnings by village leaders. Krutz (1973: 86) characterized the split of Oraibi as relating to the term *diingavi*, an act where a group of people deliberate on a plan and then act upon it. Whiteley (1988: 266) preferred the term *pasiuni*, which also refers to consequences that are the result of intentional acts

or planning by the ritually powerful *pavansinom*. As one Hopi consultant indicated, “This is how Hopi society and politics work” (ibid.).

In the case of Third Mesa, it was the deliberate design of religious leaders to effect a plan to destroy the politico-religious system via bloodless separation at Oraibi (Krutz 1973: 86). As Krutz (ibid.: 87) further noted, “The Oraibi split is seen as a normal process in the developmental cycle of Hopi social organization; Hopi segmentation is an integrative mechanism in which growth of the group is insured.” These traditions indicate a normal process in the act of terminating or dismantling a political and religious system when detrimental moral behavior threatens to diminish the religious power structure.

Hopi prophesy indicates that sometime in the future, Oraibi will flourish again (Whiteley 1988: 270). Notably, much like Rio Grande traditions concerned with the return of Poseyemu/Montezuma and the restoration of native culture, Hopi traditions tell a similar story of the return of Elder Brother from the east during a time of decadence and corruption in the Hopi way of life in order to punish the two-hearted people and initiate a return to the old lifeways, the old road of the ancestors (ibid.: 270-271).

In a Hopi account from Third Mesa, this restoration is strongly related to the ceremonies and religious beliefs said to have been brought by the southern Palatkwapi clans, but the conditions for this to occur seem to warn of a possibility of the potential disintegration of Hopi ceremonial life (Geertz 1994: 204):

Whoever was living here first, the one called Maasaw, he does not own the ceremonials (wiimi). They belong to those clans from the south. Maasaw has of course his own wiimi, but they are for the future! As I told you, those people from the south carry it (their ritual objects), and they are the good ones. And so, when the purification day arrives, they will

survive; but if they do not stick to it, and only evil ones are left, then all is lost.

As the Sun Youth Taiowa (Payatamu) is said to have introduced the first *wiimi*, and as this *wiimi* was first introduced by the southern clans from Palatkwapi and most probably from the Casas Grandes region, it is clear that Flower World rites had and continue to have a profound effect on Hopi politics and the perception of their place in the past, present, and future.

The destruction of societies in the above-described instances has not always been bloodless. Voth (1905: 255-256) described one other tale, with similar undertones as that of the Oraibi split, that involved an Oraibi chief who encouraged the Walpi warrior chief to attack and kill the Oraibi people as punishment for their misbehavior:

This is the way chiefs often punished their children (people) when they became “bewitched.” That is one reason there are so many ruins all over the country. Many people were killed in that way because their chiefs became angry and invited some chief or inhabitant from other villages to destroy their people.

In other examples, Hopi village leaders persuaded the leaders of other Hopi villages, or even the Navajos and Utes, to attack the Hopi village and kill off the male population and themselves (Whiteley 1987: 709). As Nequatewa (1936: 107, fn. 32) described it:

If a Hopi has enemies, or there is someone who is causing him great misery, he becomes so unhappy that he wishes to destroy himself . . . Therefore, he looks about for someone, or some other tribe, who may be bribed to make a sham attack upon him or upon his village during which he will be killed.

In the past, among the communities that were destroyed along the same parameters as Oraibi were the villages of Awat’ovi and Palatkwapi (ibid: 709).

The destruction of Awat'ovi in 1700 followed the reappearance of Franciscan missionaries on the Hopi Mesas (Whiteley 2002b: 147). Of all the Hopi villages, Awat'ovi was the only one to reaccept the church and attempts at conversion (ibid.), a decision that led other Hopi villages to sack the pueblo, kill many of the inhabitants including most of the men, and transfer the ritual practices or *wiimi* to other villages. Much like the second split of Oraibi in 1909, Awat'ovi was destroyed during the period of Wuwtsim initiations (ibid.: 150). This is significant, as Whiteley (ibid.: 153) noted: "Wuwtsim's status and practice appear critically connected to Awat'ovi's destruction as part of a culturalist, even a revitalization movement." Given that the Sun Youth is the patron of Wuwtsim and the generator of the *wiimi*, the destruction of Awat'ovi as part of a revitalization movement following Spanish colonialism clearly is linked to attempts towards the reestablishment and strengthening of religious beliefs centered on the Sun Youth.

Similarly, according to Leigh Kuwanwisiwma (in Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006: 97): "Palatkwapi was dominated by ritual, and its ritual power came to dominate others. There are different types of ritual behavior. Some is negative, and there it began to implode. It had to end . . . They [the people] began to migrate north." This destruction of Palatkwapi was due to gross misbehavior by the people, as Nequatewa (1936: 86) recounted:

While this madness was with the people, men and women of mature age had pleaded with their sons and daughters, telling them of the wrong and the crime that they were doing against their father, the chief, and themselves. But it was of no use, it only caused the younger people to lose respect for them, and then the old people were ill-treated, spit upon and fed on the left overs, which were not very much, for the house duties were

neglected by the young women. All this was unbearable for the aged people and for the Chief.

As a result of this misbehavior, the chief of Palatkwapi arranged for the destruction of the town (ibid.: 85-102).

One common denominator in the destruction of these villages is that the Flower World complex of the Sun Youth, presumably under the domain of the chief priests, was present at these three villages. As I noted above, the Oraibi division was instigated by priestly societies tied to the Sun Youth and the far south, the site of Awat'ovi has murals clearly depicting Flower World and Flower Mound imagery, and the site or region of Palatkwapi is clearly affiliated with the Flower World in a number of Hopi traditions. Considering that the Palatkwapi traditions appear to be strongly connected to the Casas Grandes region and culture, both geographically and temporally, might it not be too far-fetched to suggest that the “normal” processes of cultural disintegration of Hopi villages that occurred in historic examples might also have occurred at Paquimé?

The destruction and dissolution of Paquimé may well have ultimately begun and ended at the behest of the priestly hierarchy, disillusioned with the decadence and disintegration during the waning years of Casas Grandes society and resigned to the fact that the only way to save the people was to initiate a deliberate separation and destruction of the village political and social structure (see Walker and McGahee 2001: 203). If indeed Paquimé was sacked at the end of its existence, much like for historic Hopi examples, might this destruction have involved a concerted effort by the remaining Casas Grandes priestly hierarchy to employ outside attackers to destroy the village, perhaps from the Sierra Madre Occidental, as local oral traditions suggest?

In sum, the ultimate decline of Paquimé and the dissemination of a great majority of its population may have involved a combination of a number of factors including (1) the collapse of the Aztatlán trade networks that first fed the rise of Paquimé (2) the straying from religious duties by priests and commoners (3) the subsequent punishment of villagers moral deviance by the priestly hierarchy (4) the related collaboration of Casas Grandes leadership to arrange for outside groups to attack Paquimé (5) and the repeated attempts at symbolic closure of the site evident in the multiple acts of ritual burning apparent in portions of Paquimé.

Discussion

In the preceding chapter, I sought to disentangle a number of common threads in religious beliefs and practices shared between peoples in Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest. The purpose of this chapter was to examine evidence of warfare and warfare symbolism and to correlate it with the dramatic social, political, and ideological changes that took place across the American Southwest beginning in the thirteenth century. Since a number of scholars pointed out that Puebloan warfare has a strong ritual component centered upon fertility, the present work sought to link knowledge of Puebloan cosmology and ritual warfare to the dramatic florescence of the Mesoamerican Flower World ritual complex at Paquimé beginning around AD 1200 and its decline around AD 1450. In the Casas Grandes world, this complex was focused upon a flowery solar paradisaic realm that was centered upon the macaw-headed Sun Youth and the horned and

plumed serpent. These two deities were modeled after the Mesoamerican deities Xochipilli and Quetzalcoatl, respectively.

During roughly the same time period in which the Mesoamerican Flower World complex flourished at Paquimé, and later became evident in kiva murals and in symbolism on ceramics in the Southwest, there appeared a similar florescence in warfare symbolism centered upon star warriors and the Morning Star deity today known among the Hopi as Sotuqnangu. A recent study concluded that the Southwestern Morning Star deity Sotuqnangu and the Mesoamerican Morning Star deity Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli are so similar in character attributes that they can be considered as historically related cognate beings (Mathiowetz et al. 2008). Thus, a new ritual complex centered upon ritual warfare and focused upon the Morning Star appeared at roughly the same time period as a new form of worship at Paquimé centered upon the Sun Youth and the horned and plumed serpent. Given this coincidence, it is reasonable to suggest that there may well have been a new or highly refined, foreign ritual complex involving these three deities that appeared sequentially in northern Mexico and the American Southwest at roughly the same time period.

This ritual complex at Paquimé, most clearly evident today among the Hopi in their traditions of Palatkwapi, was primarily centered upon Flower World and was focused upon the interrelated themes of cosmological warfare designed to induce the return of the sun, the rains, and fertility. In other words, in my estimation, arguments for the wholesale explosion of actual physical violence across the Southwest during the thirteenth century and later are vastly overstated. During this era, warfare symbolism was

precisely that . . . symbolic. The symbolic warfare complex that was preeminently a manifestation of a newly adopted cosmological framework centered on the Sun, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star, was oriented towards the production of various forms of moisture, the growth of crops, and the abundance of game during both the warm and cold halves of the year. As it is clear that a complex involving these three deities is widespread and ancient in Mesoamerica, the only probable archaeological site that could have facilitated the introduction of this ritual complex during this time period would be Paquimé. The only place from where Paquimé could have obtained this ritual complex was from sites in the Aztatlán heartland that were largely centered along the coastal plain of Nayarit and southern Sinaloa and inland.

In the present chapter, I examined in greater detail the ritual role of the Sun Youth, the Horned and Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star as they are manifested among different Pueblo peoples in order to better understand both how these three deities are interrelated and how they are connected to ancient Flower World symbolism in northern Mexico and the American Southwest. In this regard, it seems apparent that among the Hopi, particularly among the Palatkwapi clans, the ideology of Flower World and Flower Mountain is an extraordinarily well-developed ritual complex. Late nineteenth-century ethnographers noted that a number of clans and priestly societies claim to have their ancestral origin at Flower Mound. The Hopi Sun Youth Taiowa, who is closely linked to the Flower World complex and ultimately derives from the Mesoamerican Sun Youth Xochipilli, is said to have taught the Hopi many of their ceremonies and rituals.

Perhaps most explicitly, the Hopi Flute Society traditions are among the clearest manifestations of the Flower World complex. Significantly, three important deities that have a prominent role in Flute ceremonialism are the Sun Youth Tai'owa, the plumed serpent Palulukon, and the Morning Star Sotuqnangu. For this reason, the present study examined Flute ceremonials in greater detail in an effort to discern the role of these three deities in Hopi Flower World rites and ceremonies related to both fertility and warfare. Significantly, these three deities and their affiliated ceremonies all have ties to the mythological place or region of origin in the far south called Palatkwapi.

In ancient Mesoamerica, the Sun, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star are intimately related to the Flower World complex. In many instances, the Morning Star serves as a warrior preceding the Sun at dawn. Furthermore, both the Morning Star and the Sun are also closely linked in Mesoamerican symbolism and cosmology, particularly as the plumed serpent body serves as the vehicle or the means by which both rise in the morning and travel across the sky. Significantly, deities, warriors, and ancestral beings are also transported along the body of the plumed serpent. Strikingly similar themes of the plumed serpent body as a vehicle for the sun, ancestors, Morning Star, and warriors are evident in the art and ritual of both ancient and contemporary peoples of the American Southwest. Perhaps most importantly, the earliest evidence of the plumed serpent as the vehicle for the Sun and probable ancestral figures is in Casas Grandes symbolism. In fact, the preeminent theme in Casas Grandes cosmology is the emergence and diurnal passage of the Sun Youth along the flowery body or pathway of the horned and plumed serpent.

Given that the Sun, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star are all closely intertwined in the Flower World complex, and that the dramatic florescence in the worship of these three deities is roughly coeval in the Southwest, it is highly probable that these three deities form a ritual complex. Furthermore, it is impractical to suggest that any exceptionally detailed ritual knowledge of these three deities came into the Southwest individually. Granted, although horned and plumed serpent imagery appear in limited numbers during the Classic Mimbres, it is not until the rise of Paquimé that specific examples of the plumed serpent as Flower Road as a conveyor of the macaw-headed Sun Youth become evident. The symbolism of the plumed serpent as Flower Road is one of the key signifiers of the presence of the Flower World complex.

Furthermore, along with the earliest evidence of the macaw-headed Sun Youth, perhaps the earliest version of the Morning Star deity or a closely related warrior, identified by the dart protruding from the head, is portrayed in a single example on a Casas Grandes-affiliated Chihuahuan polychrome (see **Fig. 6.6a**). Thus, given the timing and the degree to which these deities and the underlying ideas and conceptual metaphors are closely intertwined, it is most probable that Casas Grandes cosmology was centered upon a triumvirate of deities that included the Sun Youth, the Horned and Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star. In other words, Medio-period Casas Grandes cosmology was based upon a foreign political and ritual complex centered upon a manifestation of Flower World that did not develop *in situ*. This ideological complex was an imported belief system from the Aztatlán region of West Mexico that was based upon specific knowledge of the Mesoamerican deities Xochipilli, Quetzalcoatl, and

Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, a system of beliefs that was subsequently adapted to local needs and depicted in local styles at Paquimé and in the American Southwest.

Conclusion

Beginning in the middle- to late-thirteenth century, the American Southwest experienced dramatic and near-simultaneous changes in religion and ritual, sociopolitical organization, settlement patterns, along with heightened evidence of warfare symbolism. While Paquimé has long been recognized as being a very important site with evidence of Mesoamerican influence, only recently have scholars begun to examine the role that this site played in the coincident and significant changes that unfolded across the Southwest around AD 1250 and thereafter.

Within the last decade, scholars drew attention to evidence of Flower World first in the art and symbolism of the Classic Mimbres culture and later and more clearly during the Pueblo IV period in various parts of the Southwest. However, only recently was attention given towards discerning evidence of Flower World among the Casas Grandes culture in northern Mexico. In the present research, I argued that a specific Mesoamerican-style manifestation of Flower World first prominent at Paquimé dramatically influenced changes in ideology, symbolism, architecture, and politico-religious organization across the American Southwest. The historical details that explain the adoption of this new belief system are enshrined in local indigenous histories that are scrupulously told and retold in oral traditions and migration accounts and replicated in a ceremonial cycle of performances during the course of the year.

Significantly, Paquimé appears to have an important place in the traditions of Palatkwapi, the legendary place of origin of a number of Hopi clans, ceremonies, and deities, including many that are closely related to Flower World. Along with a ritual complex involving three Mesoamerican deities (the Sun, Plumed Serpent, and Morning Star) the knowledge of a number of specific ritual practices and artistic conventions associated with Flower World suggests the high probability that some Mesoamerican people, likely from West Mexico, were present at Paquimé. Some of these people likely were high-status individuals with knowledge of Mesoamerican deities, a variety of integrated rituals related to symbolic warfare and fertility, and a familiarity with specific Mesoamerican artistic traditions.

In my estimation, a large body of evidence suggests that the descendants of a class of high-status individuals at Casas Grandes, with probable roots deep in Mesoamerica, likely can be found among the Hopi *mongsinom* (the leaders of kivas, priests, and high priests) and the *pavansinom* society members who profess to ownership of rites with clear ties to the Flower World and the Sun Youth that originate far to the south, as told in a number of Hopi oral histories. In all probability, much as Hopi oral histories explicitly suggest, this lineage extends backwards in time and space into Mesoamerica and likely spans a great geographical distance, from the Aztatlán tradition of West Mexico, to the Mixtecs of Oaxaca, to highland Central Mexican traditions, and perhaps even as far back to Teotihuacan and Copán where antecedents of the Sun Youth are early evident in the Classic period. In other words, the cultural genealogy of Flower World rites in the American Southwest is traceable deep into Mesoamerica.

When considering the Casas Grandes tradition, the likely presence of some Mesoamerican people at Paquimé after AD 1200 dramatically influenced the sociopolitical, ideological, architectural, and artifactual changes at this site and across the American Southwest during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV period. Knowledge of these changes continues to reside in indigenous Puebloan perceptions of their place in the past, present, and future. Casas Grandes influence in the realm of Southwestern politics and religion was reshaped into various manifestations and lives on in the art, ritual, and oral traditions of numerous contemporary Puebloan cultural groups.

Chapter 13:

Conclusion

“The traditional attitude of Americanist[s] in the recent past has been to consider the Pueblo IV developments as completely indigenous . . . On the other hand, in the presence of changes which are apparently both extensive and abrupt I believe that we should seriously consider the possibility of strong outside influence.”

-J.O. Brew (1944: 243-244)

“I find in certain quarters a tendency to deny Mexican influence on Pueblo mythology and ritual. This attitude of mind is, I believe, unscientific, because comparatively little is known of the rites of the Pueblos, and the cultus of the ancient people living between them and those of Old Mexico is practically terra incognita. The scientific man can hardly affirm or deny anything about a relationship where data are so fragmentary.”

-Jesse Walter Fewkes (1898b: 66, fn. 2)

Introduction

Social change in Northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, most specifically after AD 1200, should be viewed through the prism of the newly adopted worship of the Sun Youth and a highly Mesoamericanized version of the Flower World complex. The historical factors that led to these social changes have deep roots in Mesoamerica, roots that run through the Aztatlán region in coastal and highland West Mexico after AD 900. To understand how and why Southwestern and Northwest Mesoamerican societies reorganized during this era, scholars must seek to understand and interrelate social change on the local, regional, macroregional, and continental levels.

The Postclassic period (AD 900-1521) in Mesoamerica was an era of internationalism, a time period that saw the expansion of social, economic, political, and

religious information and interaction networks that stretched far northward to the American Southwest. In order to study archaeological cultures in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest that existed during an era of internationalism, archaeologists must themselves become internationalists. To accomplish this task, one must engage in a research approach that eschews academic, intellectual, and modern geographic provincialisms that have hindered our understanding of social change, both locally and regionally, in the distant past. In conjunction with this approach, the respectful inclusion of contemporary Native American oral traditions and perspectives of the past promises to be integral to future archaeological interpretations of past social change (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Swindler et al. 1997). Unfortunately, this inclusionary perspective is not fully accepted by all archaeologists (see Mason 2000: 186-191).

The Postclassic Period and Social Change in Northwest Mesoamerica

Two broad cycles of expansion and diversification in economic and communication networks helped to stimulate social change across all of Mesoamerica. First, the decline of the great Classic period highland Mexican cultures of Teotihuacan and Monte Albán, coupled with the dissolution of the Classic Maya centers in southern Mesoamerica, helped to create the new forms of social, political, economic, and religious organization that characterized the Epiclassic and subsequent Early Postclassic periods. It was during this latter period that parts of West Mexico began to be drawn into the central Mesoamerican “economic and religious orbit” (Smith and Berdan 2003: 4).

A second great cycle of change and expansion occurred beginning in the twelfth century following the collapse of Tula and Chichén Itzá, a period that encompassed the Middle and Late Postclassic periods (Smith and Berdan 2003: 4). Major changes during the Postclassic period in Mesoamerica included:

. . . an unprecedented population growth, a proliferation of small polities, an increased volume of long-distance exchange, an increase in the diversity of trade goods, commercialization of the economy, new forms of writing and iconography, and new patterns of stylistic interaction. Together, these processes stimulated the integration of the diverse regions of Mesoamerica into a single world system (ibid.: 6).

These two great cycles appear to correlate with the Early and Late Aztatlán eras that were characterized by Kelley (2000) as well as to the general development of the Chacoan and Casas Grandes regional systems.

These major changes in Mesoamerica had a profound impact on social developments across the region that ultimately led to the formation of more integrated interaction networks during the Postclassic period that can be correlated with efforts at social reorganization as far north as the distant American Southwest. It would be a mistake, however, to presume that only northern social change had roots in events to the south. It would be equally accurate to state that social change in the far north, and points in between, also had an impact on far southern social developments. In other words, a holistic and multi-regional relational approach that considers both ends of this continental-scale interaction sphere, and cultural traditions in intermediate regions, is required to more clearly understand social change during this dynamic era.

Cultural change was examined in some detail in four separate cultural regions during the Postclassic period, namely (1) Highland Central Mexico and Oaxaca, (2) West

Mexico, (3) Northwest Mexico, and (4) the American Southwest, in order to better discern the nature and extent, and similarities and differences, of these changes. The main premise around which this dissertation is constructed is the idea that the expansion of Postclassic period social, economic, and information networks in Mesoamerica had tremendous ramifications on social change in Northwest Mesoamerica and the American Southwest. The northward expansion of these interaction networks from highland Central Mexico and Oaxaca involved the transmission of the Flower World religious complex, a suite of ideas that is minimally centered upon three main Mesoamerican deities known in central Mesoamerica as the Sun Youth (Xochipilli), the Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl), and Venus as the Morning Star (Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli), but this complex also intimately involved the Rain God (Tlaloc) and the Corn Goddess (Chicomecoatl), among others.

The Xochipilli-oriented Flower World religious complex became manifest around AD 900 in a core coastal zone of the Aztatlán cultural region in West Mexico after having been acquired from elsewhere in highland Central Mexico, most probably from Puebla and Oaxaca, via a Pacific coastal route. From there, aspects of this religious complex initially became manifest among the Mimbres and Chaco Canyon cultures, particularly as Southwestern social groups or individuals began to become increasingly intrigued with the new social developments taking form along the coast of West Mexico.

Around AD 1200 in the Casas Grandes region of Northwest Mexico, this highly Mesoamericanized religious complex and a new form of sociopolitical organization became most fully manifest at the site of Paquimé, a primary regional center with strong evidence for heightened interaction with the Aztatlán region. This cultural change did not

evolve *in situ*. From Paquimé and the larger Casas Grandes region, this new cosmological framework was disseminated across the American Southwest in a bimodal pattern among the Eastern and Western Pueblos, an occurrence that transformed Puebloan social organization in every regard. This new religious complex appears to have been closely tied to expanding economic networks, particularly the acquisition and trade of turquoise from the Southwest into Mesoamerica via Pacific coastal trade corridors.

Social Change in Postclassic-period West Mexico

The arrival of the Xochipilli-oriented Flower World complex in West Mexico in the Early Postclassic period marked a significant cultural disjunction from earlier Protoclassic Shaft Tomb traditions and Classic cultures in the region. By AD 900, important regional centers such as La Quemada and Alta Vista in Zacatecas and the Teuchitlán or Guachimonton tradition in Jalisco had dissolved. At this important transition point, major regional reorganization occurred in which a series of large temple-town civic-ceremonial centers developed along major drainages and along highland routes of communication across a large swath of the Pacific coast, from north and central coastal Sinaloa to central coastal Jalisco. These centers were likened to city-states and it is probable that cultural provinces such as those known at contact also were evident in the Aztatlán era. It is important to note that the primary center of the Aztatlán tradition was the core coastal and inland zone of southern Sinaloa, Nayarit, and northern Jalisco.

The impact of this reorganization, and the adoption of the Flower World complex at this time, is manifest in a number of interrelated material culture changes. From the

outset, changes in symbolism marked a significant shift in worldview. Depictions of the Sun Youth, Venus as the Morning Star, and the Plumed Serpent (with related cut-conch motifs) are evident in the symbolic corpus on Aztatlán ceramics or other media, primarily in Nayarit. The portrayals of the latter two deities are more prominent than the former, though this may be related to the perception of the Sun Youth as being a largely invisible figure who resides within or behind the visible solar disk. Despite the limited numbers of overt portrayals, the Sun Youth is at the heart of this system of beliefs at this time.

The appearance of these deities co-occurred temporally with the appearance of Toltec-related lead-glazed Tohil Plumbate wares and other locally made but Toltec-style Mazapan figurines in the same region during the Early Aztatlán phase. Other depictions of highland Central Mexican deities on ceramics in this region during the Postclassic include clearly identifiable portrayals of the rain god Tlaloc, the solar deity Xipe Totec, who is the god of spring, regeneration, and metallurgy, and the earth goddess Tlaltecuhli. A second period of highland Central Mexican and Oaxacan influence, coincident with the Late Aztatlán phase, saw the influx of locally made West Mexican pottery with variants of the Postclassic International style, or codex-style, and a number of symbolic motifs of clear southern origin. This second phase may well have been tied to the establishment and expansion of the Pacific-coastal Mixtec empire centered at Tututepec. This northward expansion of cultural influence appears to have been correlated with the desire to obtain exotic goods such as turquoise to feed burgeoning palace feasting networks centered upon Xochipilli rituals among *cacicazgos* in Oaxaca and Puebla.

Along with the portrayal of highland Central Mexican deities, a dramatic shift took form in the Aztatlán ceramic wares themselves, with a variety of polychrome ceramic traditions emerging that differed sharply from that which existed in the region beforehand. One of the more unique, yet redundant, motifs that became present on a variety of these wares was the lobed-design that encircled the exterior of the vessels themselves. These designs marked vessels as symbolic open floral blossoms. In fact, a variety of motifs that are evocative of the solar Flower World became evident through time, including portrayals of ancestral figures as floral blossoms and ceremonialists dancing in a pollen-filled solar realm. These floral serving vessels likely were important in Xochipilli and Flower World-oriented feasting networks among temple-town centers that served to cement political or marriage alliances, and to facilitate trade, exchange, and gift-giving. This style of feasting is akin to that which existed in the Mixtec-Eastern Nahua-Zapotec region during the Postclassic.

Among the more intriguing developments related to the Flower World was the appearance of tall cylinder vessels and globular tripod ollas that most likely were intended for the consumption of cacao in rituals dedicated to the Sun, other deities, and the ancestors. In this early period, cacao likely was grown in communities along the Bay of Matanchen, located just south of major centers located on the Nayarit coastal plain. This production zone likely served as the origin of the cacao that was recently found to have been imported to the Chaco Canyon region.

At some of these major centers on the Nayarit coastal plain, such as Amapa and Chacalilla, architectural mound complexes were constructed that were dedicated to solar

observations on the eastern horizon. These served to mark the equinoxes and solstices and the diurnal path of the sun across the sky during the dual halves of the year. A bipartite ceremonial cycle that marks the dual halves of the year is one that divides the year between the wet and dry seasons. The establishment of this new form of ceremonialism appeared to mark the earliest roots of a *mitote*-style ritual system centered not just upon the hunting and agricultural halves of the year, but on a new form of maize agriculture ritualism centered upon the cyclical departure and return of the multi-colored Corn Maidens, much as is known among Huichol and Cora today.

While evident in the larger region much earlier in time, large I-shaped ballcourts also were constructed at some of these Aztatlán regional centers and on a smaller scale in the surrounding region. In my estimation, the ballgame during this era probably adopted new ideological undertones and was played in relation to the newly burgeoning solar rituals set within the context of the Flower World complex.

During the Postclassic period, other changes in the material culture included the widespread appearance of smoking pipes, spindle whorls (as evidence of cotton production), and copper ornaments and tools, among other items such as obsidian blades. The proliferation of smoking pipes was tied to the appearance of an ideology of rainmaking and the ancestral cloud and rain spirits, a version of the ideology that underlies the later katsina rain complex that appeared most fully formed in the American Southwest around AD 1300. While cotton and copper were known prior to the development of the Aztatlán tradition, it appears that during the Postclassic period the

new ideology and conceptual metaphors of the Flower World became imbued in these material goods.

In terms of political organization, Aztatlán societies probably were quite similar to ethnohistorically known *cacicazgos*, a form of political organization generally centered upon a paramount ruler, or *cacique*, who was the head of political, military, and religious organizations. As was known among the Cora in Nayarit in the early Contact period, it is probable that the *caciques* of Aztatlán temple-town centers were paramount rulers as a personified or earthly version of the Sun, a living Sun God per se.

In my view, the acquisition of this entirely new form of political, religious, economic, and social organization, that penetrates to the very core of indigenous life and worldview in the region then and in the present day, was far too vast and complex to have been acquired through a largely anonymous and down-the-line form of interaction. It is most probable that some Aztatlán people were quite familiar with highland Central Mexico and Oaxaca and some highland Central Mexicans and Oaxacans were quite familiar with the Aztatlán region. This ideology appeared not to have spanned the entire length of the Pacific coast in an unbroken chain. In other words, people in these two disparate regions appear to have been interacting at some level over long distances along the Pacific Coast. It is my perception that people from these southern regions and their descendants probably were integral to the development of Aztatlán societies and the expansion of the Aztatlán interaction sphere, including into the American Southwest and northern Mexico later in time.

Given the burgeoning internationalism of the Postclassic period, it is probable that many ethnic groups were involved in developing an expansive Pacific coastal trade network that extended up into West Mexico and beyond. It is important to recall that during this early era, lead-glazed Tohil Plumbate wares, that were manufactured along the Pacific coast of Guatemala, made their way up into Nayarit, the heart of the Aztatlán region. This fact indicates that the core coastal zone during the Early Aztatlán phase was part of a far flung interaction sphere that extended at least to coastal Guatemala. Given our understanding of extensive waterborne interaction along the Pacific coast that extended from West Mexico to as far as South America (Anawalt 1992, 1998; Furst 2005), scholars must remain open to the idea that Aztatlán populations through time likely were quite diverse, perhaps comprised of multi-ethnic groups both from the local region and by migrants, visitors, travelers, and traders from distant southern or northern regions.

Indigenous oral traditions from this region in coastal West Mexico are vital to our understanding of how and why this new worldview came to be acquired. Very few if any contemporary ethnographies approach this subject. Early ethnohistoric accounts, on the other hand provide tantalizing clues, especially a brief account from the town of Acaponeta in northern coastal Nayarit that indicates that passing Central Mexicans brought worship of their oracle Sun God Piltzintli/Xochipilli. In other words, it is entirely probable that this entire, fully formed Flower World religious complex was brought to the core coastal zone of the Aztatlán tradition from far to the southeast.

The Azteatlán Tradition and Social Change in the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico

Azteatlán Influence and the Chaco Canyon and Mimbres Cultures

The Early phase of the Azteatlán tradition roughly coincides with two major cultural developments in the Southwest, the proliferation of Great House construction at Chaco Canyon and the rise of the Classic Mimbres culture with its highly expressive art. Chacoan Great House construction began around AD 850-900 and reached its peak between AD 1020-1125 (Lekson 2008: 123). This period of change in the Southwest roughly coincided with major social developments in the Azteatlán tradition, which some have suggested may have even begun as early as AD 850, and lasted roughly until the transition point to the Late Azteatlán phase. Despite over a century of research, there remains a variety of interpretations and disagreements concerning the nature of the Chacoan phenomenon, that at its core consisted of a dozen sandstone masonry buildings called Great Houses (ibid.).

Great Houses during this era were massive buildings, the construction of which was labor-intensive and extravagant. Some scholars considered these structures to be monumental-scale versions of typical Southwestern unit pueblos, a smaller domestic compound that consisted of six rooms and a kiva, that were known earlier in time across the region (Lekson 2008: 123-124). Southwestern scholars hold differing interpretations of these monumental Great Houses, with some considering them as palaces for Chacoan elites and competing political factions (ibid.: 124-127), a conclusion not agreed upon by all.

A question that will need to be addressed by Chacoan scholars in the future is how the period of elaborate Great House construction may or may not have been affiliated with the rise of the Aztatlán tradition and the expansive Early Postclassic interaction networks. Chaco Canyon was at the northern extreme of a great macroregional economic system that funneled turquoise from the mines of Cerrillos, New Mexico south to Mesoamerica proper, ostensibly through the Aztatlán region. The period of intensive construction in Chaco Canyon from AD 1020-1125 saw the appearance of Mesoamerican architectural elements such as column-fronted galleries, or colonnades, dating to about AD 1105 at Chetro Ketl (Nelson 2006), as well as the recently discovered evidence for cacao consumption in Mesoamerican-style cylinder vessels at Pueblo Bonito and the surrounding region dating to around AD 900/1000-1125. Likewise, copper bells from West Mexico also made their way to Pueblo Bonito perhaps as early as AD 900 (ibid.).

As noted in Chapter 8, copper and cacao were closely related commodities in the Flower World complex, and it appears that high-status Chacoans were deeply intrigued by the social changes taking place in West Mexico at this time. The acquisition of Flower World-related goods, and the rare construction of items such as wooden flowers that were found in caches, suggests that some Southwestern people wanted to affiliate themselves with this southern ideology, perhaps as a means to legitimize their social position.

The point of this discussion is that Chacoan people were clearly involved in West Mexican Aztatlán interaction networks from where they obtained their cacao and copper items, among other goods. This southern region was likely where they acquired

technological knowledge for constructing colonnades. Knowledge of colonnade construction techniques at Chetro Ketl may have been inspired by highland Aztatlán sites such as Ixtlán del Río in Nayarit, where highland Central Mexican-style colonnades were constructed in the Postclassic. This is a topic worthy of further investigation. It is highly improbable that the exchange of information, goods, and technological know-how between Chacoan and Aztatlán people occurred without individuals from these regions interacting with and visiting one another. It is worth recalling that the Great Gambler, a prominent political figure who was affiliated with Chaco Canyon in Puebloan and Navajo oral histories, was said to have been a foreigner, perhaps from Mexico. While the discussion of these topics does not necessarily imply domination, it does suggest a certain level of interaction and integration that deserves more attention by scholars.

On the other hand, during the same era in the Mimbres region of southwestern New Mexico, Flower World symbolism and metaphors, though rare, began to appear in Classic period (AD 1000-1150) floral and breath cloud motifs and in the presence of a few notched musical rasps. As designs of sea-life on ceramics suggest, Mimbres people were also interacting with people along the Pacific coast and likely were traveling to the coastal region. While some Mimbres ceramics do reflect an incorporation of Flower World symbolism, the initial appearance of katsina-like toothed figures, and a few depictions of Mesoamerican-related horned serpents, this ideology seems to have been an early stage of the Flower World complex that is far less-developed than that which became known in the Casas Grandes region and later in the Southwest during the Pueblo IV period.

The era in which Chacoan and Mimbres people interacted with Aztatlán people was the Early Aztatlán phase with its Toltec-related influence, while the era in which Casas Grandes people interacted with Aztatlán people (to be discussed below) was the Mixtec-related Late Aztatlán phase. These differences appear to bear some significance. This early period in the Aztatlán region was a time in which the Flower World was initially becoming accepted across the region, a period of transition that likely involved a hybridization in some places between older local ideologies in West Mexico and the new Flower World ideologies. The nature of the relationship between Chaco Canyon, Mimbres, and Aztatlán societies is a highly relevant topic that is worthy of future research and debate. Clear conclusions can not be drawn until archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic research in the Aztatlán region is amplified.

The Aztatlán Tradition and the Rise of the Casas Grandes Culture and Paquimé

The onset of the Medio period of the Casas Grandes culture marked a watershed moment that began an era of transformative social change across the entire American Southwest. It was here that the adoption of the Flower World complex reached its most Mesoamerican form. In the wake of Charles Di Peso's initial, but influential, arguments for strong external influence by Mesoamerican people in the florescence of Paquimé, some Casas Grandes scholars sought to dismantle piecemeal his arguments for strong external cultural influence. The present work concludes that Di Peso was not so far off the mark in his conclusions and was generally correct in his core assessment, but as one Southwestern scholar (Lekson 2001: 221) noted, “. . . he got the story wrong.”

Rather than there having been a strong and direct Toltec role in the development of the site, it was a strong Aztatlán influence that rapidly brought the site into prominence. More specifically, it was the physical presence of some Aztatlán people at Paquimé, in conjunction with local Casas Grandes people, that led to the profound political, social, and religious reorganization of the site and the region.

Indigenous and local oral traditions from the Casas Grandes area tell of a powerful ritual leader who arrived from outside of the region into the Casas Grandes valley and used coercion to force the local people to help construct the paramount center of Paquimé. This leader, later known in local lore as Montezuma, was said to have lived in an elite architectural compound atop Cerro de Moctezuma, the highest peak in the valley. Such stories may account for the Mesoamerican flavor of architecture that was constructed using local Southwestern building techniques. These traditions have been little noted by contemporary Casas Grandes scholars and do not play much of a role in reconstructions of the regional cultural history. This, I believe, is a significant oversight, a subject that will be discussed in more detail below.

At the beginning of the Medio period, a suite of changes in the material culture signified the arrival of the Xochipilli-oriented Flower World complex. Perhaps most significant was the portrayal of the young solar deity himself wearing a scarlet-macaw headdress, much as he does in significantly earlier examples in highland central and southern Mesoamerica and other regions. Much like in other parts of Mesoamerica and later in the Southwest, the Casas Grandes Sun Youth was responsible for the return of the Corn Maidens each year to the community. The depiction of the Sun Youth is notable in

and of itself, but it is the probability that this figure represents not just a solar deity, but a paramount ruler as personified Sun King that holds special significance. For it was in the *de novo* arrival of this deity, and in this new form of political organization and political office from West Mexico, that significant substance can be added to local oral traditions that described the arrival of a foreign ruler to the region.

Political organization of Medio-period Paquimé was centered around the paramount office of Sun King, a position that probably was hereditary. This form of political organization likely paralleled that known for Sun Kings among the Cora and political systems of Aztatlán communities in West Mexico, the region from where this complex originated. Much as local oral histories suggest, these rulers and a priestly retinue at Paquimé likely lived alternately in the ritual and domestic compound atop Cerro Montezuma and perhaps as well in the detached compound known as Unit 11 in the southwestern part of the main site. In keeping with Mesoamerican tradition, this prominent hill set upon the sacred landscape represented a symbolic Flower Mountain, the mythological abode and dwelling place of rulers and deceased ancestors. It is probable that religious, political, and military control fell under the domain of the Sun King, much as was known for ethnohistoric Cora Sun Kings. It is clear that Casas Grandes rulers were very well-versed in Mesoamerican religion and political organization. For all intents and purposes, political organization at Paquimé looks and acts like a Mixtec or Aztatlán *cacicazgo* in the Chihuahuan desert.

While symbolism on Chihuahuan polychromes during the Medio period was predominantly geometric in nature, the primary theme of the slightly more naturalistic

depictions was a central and redundant focus upon plumed (and horned) serpents and macaws. This redundancy, in my view, is related to the dawning sun and the power of the plumed serpents as rain-bringing beings. Furthermore, rare depictions of the Sun Youth astride the undulating body of a plumed serpent clearly confirms that the Mesoamerican conception of the plumed serpent as the symbolic road of the Sun was very much evident first at Paquimé. Although the plumed and horned serpent first makes an appearance in Mimbres symbolism, it is not until its appearance in Casas Grandes symbolic repertoire that we see the full Mesoamerican qualities ascribed to this being. Foremost among these attributes is the conception of the plumed serpent as the floral road of the sun.

In Medio-period symbolism, one of the more redundant abstract designs to occur on pottery are circular medallions in a variety of forms, but perhaps most commonly as a simple circle with a central dot. These medallions represent abstract depictions of blossoms. A unique, but related motif that occurs on some Chihuahuan polychromes is a running band or chain of these floral blossoms. This design is a symbolic representation of Flower Road, the road of the sun. This motif is noteworthy as it appears on the bodies of plumed and horned serpents portrayed in symbolism on ceramics. These designs mark the earliest portrayal in the region of the Mesoamerican idea of the plumed serpent body as a floral road. Perhaps most notably, this Flower Road design was placed upon some of the highest-status burial urns in the Mound of the Offerings and on another large, high-status burial urn found at the site.

Conceptual metaphors of Flower Road were also expressed in other Mesoamerican-style objects at Paquimé, namely notched musical rasps, which do have

antecedents in some Mimbres sites. These rasps symbolically represented the stepped road of the Sun and the returning rain spirits. Within the Mound of the Offerings, the Mesoamerican-style interment of a notched human bone rasp, the only one of its kind found in the entire American Southwest and northern Mexico, signifies that high-status individuals at Paquimé were familiar with specific Mesoamerican burial practices. This unique interment of an item imbued with Flower Road symbolism is evidence for a close connection between Casas Grandes elites and the Flower World and represents a new Mesoamerican funerary rite not known in the Mimbres region.

The metaphor of the stepped road of the Sun and the returning rain spirits was also embedded in the metates that formed part of a well-organized industry during the Medio period at the site. Much like for musical rasps, grinding on metates at Paquimé encouraged the return of the Sun and the ancestral rain spirits. The connection between the ancestral rain spirits and the Sun was a core part of the Flower World complex at Paquimé, a complex that was the precursor of the katsina rain spirit complex that flourished in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest. In other words, the fourteenth-century katsina complex in the Southwest could not have existed without the Casas Grandes Sun Youth

At Paquimé, the ideology of ancestral rain spirits is embodied in breath soul imagery and cloud-making that is evident in the symbolism of feathers emanating from the mouth of human smoker effigy vessels. Perhaps most clearly, the ancestral rain spirits are embodied in the human and animal effigy vessels, particularly those as personified water jars, that are characteristic vessel forms in the Casas Grandes ceramic corpus. The

Sun Youth in the Casas Grandes region and in the American Southwest awakens the directional ancestral cloud spirits at dawn.

In conjunction with solar and plumed serpent worship, Paquimé was the locus of a new Morning Star complex that was and remains inextricably intertwined with the Sun and Plumed Serpent. Though not as extensively depicted in Casas Grandes symbolism as the other two main deities, our understanding of Mesoamerican and Southwestern cosmology clearly indicates that this being must have been important at Paquimé. The Morning Star in the Aztatlán tradition served as the precursor of the Morning Star of the American Southwest, who appeared around AD 1300. The only means by which knowledge of this being could have been transferred to the Southwest was via Paquimé.

Among the most clear-cut examples of Mesoamerican influence in the Casas Grandes region is the presence of I-shaped ballcourts and their associated sacrificial components. The arrival of the ballgame into this northern region coincided with the adoption of the Flower World, particularly with worship of the sun and plumed serpent. The ballgame was closely tied to agricultural ceremonialism and the dual divisions of the year as well as to the road of the sun in his winter hunting aspect and summer agricultural aspect. This division was demarcated on the ballcourt in conjunction with the solstitial- and equinoctial-oriented Mound of the Cross. As a whole, the ballgame was part of an entire complex that involved feasting and ritualism centered upon the symbolic “battle” between the opposed wet and dry seasons, much as was the case in Aztatlán-era West Mexico from where this belief system originated.

The Casas Grandes Culture and the Pueblo IV-period Florescence

Paquimé was the prime mover of social change in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest. During the late Pueblo III to Pueblo IV period, Southwestern social changes that bore important connections to the adoption of Casas Grandes Sun Youth rituals included (1) the depopulation of the Four-Corners region and the subsequent period of migrations, (2) the architectural shift from great kivas to plaza-oriented pueblos, (3) the change in location and ritual significance of corn-grinding facilities, (4) the widespread feasting complexes evident among the Eastern and Western Pueblos, (5) the development of Flower World thematic motifs on a number of polychrome ceramic traditions, (6) the appearance of elaborate kiva murals focused upon thematic content related to Flower World, (7) the appearance of ritual warfare symbolism in kiva mural imagery and rock art, (8) the spread of glaze ware technology in the Southwest, (9) the widespread use of notched musical rasps, and (9) the development of ritually based social inequality centered upon ritual knowledge of the Sun Youth. During the historic era, Casas Grandes religion and the Sun Youth played a major role in the revolution and revitalization movement of the Pueblo Revolt of AD 1680 that overturned religious suppression by the Spaniards and it continues to play a role in Puebloan ceremonialism and in various oral traditions that foretell a coming era of the revitalization of ancestral Puebloan lifeways.

The Mesoamerican religious complex that arrived into the American Southwest has roots that extend in a sequence from the Casas Grandes culture, to the Aztatlán culture, and southward to Oaxaca and highland Central Mexico. Though now known in the Southwest by different names, the Mesoamerican deities at the center of this complex

include Xochipilli, Quetzalcoatl, and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, or more generally as the Sun Youth, the Plumed Serpent, and the Morning Star.

Of all Puebloan people in the American Southwest, the Hopi of Arizona, and particularly the Palatkwapi clans, seem to have had a unique role in these great social changes. For it is in the Palatkwapi clan histories that we find the most explicit descriptions of the far southern origin of Hopi ancestors who came from deep within Mesoamerica and brought to the Hopi Mesas a new form of Solar (Tawa/Taiowa), Plumed Serpent (Paalölöqangw), and Morning Star (Sotuqnangu) ceremonialism. These deities among the Hopi are directly and historically related to those known in the Casas Grandes region, earlier in time in the Aztatlán region, and still earlier in highland Central Mexico and Oaxaca. To my mind, it is undoubtedly clear that the northward transmission of knowledge of these deities, and the entire ritual complex that surrounds these beings, was partly effected by the interregional movement of Hopi-related Palatkwapi clans and their descendants over a great span of time and distance, precisely as clan histories indicate. These historical events certainly did not involve a simple and straightforward movement of people but surely involved complex migration histories that spanned generations and thousands of miles.

Rethinking the Northern Extent of Greater Mesoamerica

The onset of the Medio period in northern Mexico and the subsequent Pueblo IV period in the American Southwest signified the height of Mesoamerican intellectual influence in the larger region. It was during this transformative era that social, political,

economic, and religious organization and worldview essentially broke from previous eras to be largely merged with, or partly replaced by, a new form of social organization derived from West Mexico that was and remains primarily centered upon the young Sun God Xochipilli. This new worldview structured Puebloan peoples lives from the time of their birth and their presentation to the sun until the time of their death and the transformation of their soul into an ethereal katsina rain spirit.

Without intending to denigrate or diminish the cultural achievements of Puebloan people, it is entirely accurate to state that the Puebloan Southwest at this time represented the northernmost extent of a Greater Mesoamerican intellectual sphere. This conclusion should force scholars to reconsider the nature and northernmost extent of the Mesoamerican cultural region proposed by Paul Kirchhoff (1943, 1952). The assertion that southern people from parts of Mesoamerica impacted social developments in the Southwest does not imply that Southwestern people were incapable of developing complex societies, whether in Chaco Canyon or at Paquimé. But it merely reiterates what oral histories among Pueblo people such as the Hopi themselves claim, that people came from far to the south, deep in Mesoamerica, and brought with them new forms of worship and sociopolitical organization. The present interpretation of the archaeological material culture and symbolism within this dissertation merely substantiates these long-held native accounts.

An Indigenous History of the American Southwest and Northwest Mesoamerica

The practice of archaeology in the American Southwest, Northwest Mesoamerica, and beyond requires a different way of thinking about the past, one that does not exclude or divide contemporary indigenous peoples from their history and the lives and actions of their ancestors. Knowledge of belief systems and past political, social, and economic organization that comprised the lifeways of their ancestors is preserved not just in the archaeological material remains, but in the memories and oral histories passed down through generation upon generation.

The present work did not involve interviews or direct consultation with native people, an obvious shortcoming. But this shortcoming does not mean that native perspectives are absent in these pages. Rather, the voices of native people that are expressed in their songs, poems, stories, objects, imagery, art, recorded oral histories, and ethnographies permeate nearly every aspect of this dissertation. The interpretation of past social change presented throughout this work would have been impossible to formulate without having considered indigenous voices and their invaluable perspectives. The results of this dissertation should render it plain to see that it is long past time for archaeologists to develop sustained and meaningful collaborations with native people and strive to incorporate native histories at every turn into their reconstructions of the distant past. The full inclusion of unheard native voices will predictably have a revolutionary impact upon the discipline and will undoubtedly change our entire understanding of ancient Southwestern and Northwest Mesoamerican cultural history.

The inclusion of native traditions and histories in archaeological interpretations will benefit not just archaeologists, but native people themselves. For example, a detailed reconstruction of the nature and extent of prehispanic indigenous ritual landscapes in West Mexico (e.g., Liffman 2011), Northwest Mexico, and the American Southwest (e.g., Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006) surely will be important in substantiating indigenous claims of historical territoriality, particularly when set within the context of a seemingly endless era of conflict over native land rights and the ceaseless infringement upon native sovereignty. The results of such works will surely help to engender social equity and justice for historically marginalized native peoples.

The Flower World Complex: A World Religion in the New World

Spanning over 2,000 years in Mesoamerica and up to 1,000 years in northern Mexico and the American Southwest, the Flower World complex is perhaps the most enduring and most expansive “world religion” in the history of the indigenous Americas. It is an understatement to conclude that the Flower World deserves its rightful and respected place as one of the truly great religions of the ages alongside Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and many others the world over that have provided spiritual meaning and guidance in peoples lives.

Chapter 14:

Afterword

“Today I have become Po-say-yay-moo. Hence from this day forward I am your way of life. I am now your protector, and your savior. You are now my people . . . Today you have all become my children and as children I shall lead you. Hand in hand, step by step we shall see eternal life . . . You are now on the eve of redemption.”

-Speech by Poseyemu to Tewa people (in Parmentier 1979: 612).

“He [Poseyemu] said that some time he was going to come back . . . I do not know when that time will be. That will be our rich time.”

-Tewa man (in Parsons 1926: 113).

Cultural Revitalization in the American Southwest and Northwest Mesoamerica

Suyanis'qatsi: A Life of Balance

While some scholars rightly contend that Southwestern and Mesoamerican indigenous worldviews and religious beliefs have undergone irreversible change due to centuries of colonialism and Old World disease (e.g., Dockstader 1979: 531; Mason 2000: 186-191), the present research modifies these assertions to a degree and demonstrates the remarkable resiliency and continuity of traditional histories, religious beliefs, and ritual practices in the American Southwest and Northwest Mesoamerica. The system of beliefs that is specifically centered upon the Sun Youth extends 800 years in the past in Northwest Mexico at Paquimé and 700 years or so among Puebloan communities in the American Southwest, with evidence of some antecedents of this belief system dating up to 1,000 years among the Mimbres and Chacoan cultures. This cosmological framework, centered upon Flower World and the young solar deity Xochipilli, spans roughly 1,100 years among Aztatlán towns in West Mexico. In central

and southern Mesoamerica proper, portrayals of the young sun god, probable antecedents to Xochipilli, extend back in time some 1,600 years to the great cities of Teotihuacan and Copán. Even today, among contemporary indigenous people of these regions, the Flower World of the Sun Youth continues to be a veritable world religion in the New World.

Since the time of first contact and conquest, and through the ensuing resistance and revolutionary movements, many indigenous people from the Puebloan Southwest to West Mexico and beyond have struggled to assert their right to religious, cultural, and political autonomy in the face of Colonial oppression, a struggle that has continued until the present day. The cultural traditions at the heart of this struggle are inextricably centered upon the Sun Youth.

As various indigenous oral traditions tell us, at one time in the past the Sun Youth gave people instructions for how life should be lived. Since his subsequent departure, it has been the responsibility of people to work together, to behave morally, and to perform the proper rituals that bring to life the idyllic Flower World that serves to maintain balance in society, in individual people, and in nature. From this point in time since the departure of the culture hero, it has remained the duty of people to be proper stewards of the earth and its creatures.

This unified system of beliefs, the Flower World of the Sun Youth, predates the era of Spanish, Mexican, and American domination, it has withstood the corruptive effects of Western society on indigenous lifeways, health, and diet, and it has survived the consequent negative impact that colonial oppression has left upon indigenous social, cultural, and spiritual cohesiveness. In reality, despite these negative influences, the

Puebloan and Mesoamerican Flower World religion will always thrive, as this shared set of beliefs is ultimately tied to the perpetual and endless cycle of life and death and life again. To glimpse this floral spiritual realm, one need only observe the rising Sun at the beginning of day and welcome the attendant arrival of the ancestral rain and snow-filled clouds upon the landscape during the alternating seasons in the course of the year.

For Puebloan people, the Flower World and life is inextricably intertwined with the forces of nature. It is inherent in the warm breath of the life-giving Sun, in the young sprouting corn plant, in the rains that drench the earth, in the lightning that strikes the maize field, in the winds that scatter the flower pollen in spring and summer, and in the act of grinding corn meal by women each morning. It is found in the tumultuous gales that strip leaves from the trees in fall and winter, in the snows and ice that cover the earth, in the hunting and war parties of men, and in the birds of prey and the wild game animals. It is replicated in the games played each day in vigor, in the songs, stories, poems, and histories retold by men, women, and children, in the meal cast at dawn towards the sun, in the prayers uttered privately and silently by Pueblo people, and in countless other ways each day. In a phrase, Puebloan religion is life itself. It is a worldview that privileges humility, compassion, social responsibility, equity, and reciprocity. It is a system of beliefs that does not elevate or remove human beings from nature but, rather, ties the existence of people and all creatures to the natural cycles of life and the fundamental elements of the earth and its bounty.

Despite the most profound and penetrating efforts of colonialism and military incursions, despite the theft of land and natural resources without compensation, despite

the massacres of native people, despite the demolition of homes and villages, despite the destruction of sacred objects, despite the heavy hand of conversion efforts by countless missionaries, despite the assaults of Old World disease epidemics, despite forced reeducation and resettlement programs and the separation of families, despite the crushing weight of poverty, despite the deprivation inherent in the forced social status as second-class citizens in their own lands, and despite profound efforts by the Western world to rend divisiveness and dissolution, the roots of Puebloan and Mesoamerican religion centered upon the Sun Youth remain steadfast. The taproot of the Flower World complex in Mesoamerica predates the origins of Christianity and this system of beliefs was well-established across a large swath of the Americas long before the arrival of Westernized religious, political, and social institutions.

Communal ethics, such as those that underlie Hopi philosophy, stand in contradistinction to Western rationalist and individualist philosophical systems. As Glowacka and Sekaquaptewa (2009: 178) noted:

Hopi collective ethics has a foundation in the conception of a pure heart that strives to free itself from negative influences in order to unite with other hearts in harmony, humility, and compassion for all living things. Rational, monadic, and competitive individualism centered mainly on one's own temporal existence, as promoted in Western intellectual traditions, stand in contrast with this Hopi ethical system based on mutual care and reciprocal relationships within a kinship system that extends beyond the human world. In this system a human being is more human the more he/she develops qualities of the heart/*unangwa* that help to maintain social cohesion and a harmonious universe, the condition described in the Hopi language as *suyanis'qatsi*, "life of balance."

The Flower World of the Sun Youth is a system of beliefs that provides balance in the natural and social worlds.

For many Puebloan and Mesoamerican people, the past, present, and future are collectively bound together. To know where one is going in life is to know where one has been. As one Hopi Tribal Chairman (in Ferguson et al. 2000: 58) stated:

[I]t is true that . . . early in life . . . when we are taught to plant, the elders would tell you that if you want to plant a straight row of corn, you have to first pick where you are going to be going, where you wish to end up at. And then you start planting, but every so often you have to look back. Because it is what happened that tells you where you are at, and where you are going . . . Because you will never know who you are unless you know where you came from. You never know where you are going unless you understand where you have been.

To know the past then, is to know the present. To know the future then, is to know the past. According to various Puebloan oral traditions, when the balance of life is awry and when the suffering of the Earth and its people is unbearable, the beauty and balance that was known in the past at the time of emergence can yet be restored.

Much like when planting a straight row of corn, to know and understand the correct way of living, one must be able to look backwards in time in order to recognize the correct path from which one has strayed. It is in looking backwards that one may find guidance for moving forward along a straight and proper road in life. Although the Sun Youth in the past taught the basics of cultural and ritual knowledge and spoke of social, moral, and cultural balance, he nonetheless removed himself from the view of Pueblo people in the dissipating mists at dawn. As Puebloan oral traditions tell us, while observing the world patiently from his home at the eastern rising sun, and though absent physically, the Sun Youth has long continued to hear and see the supplications of his children.

Just as the Sun Youth of Puebloan people in the American Southwest is said to have once lived among the people and taught them their proper cultural behavior only to subsequently disappear from their view, so too do the Huichol of West Mexico similarly conceive of the first appearance of the sun at dawn and his subsequent departure. The first appearance and subsequent departure of the Sun God was described by Juan Negrín (1975: 52):

He [the dawning sun] rose slowly in the sky, pausing at four stages in his ascent when he could not climb any higher. At the same time his heat became so intense that rocks melted and plants were set afire... The first new growths of the plants, which had been scorched, sprouted from the earth. Tears flowed down his face at his great distance in the sky, for he was never to be among his people again. Yet, the spirit of his presence would remain on earth among the Indians to whom he had bestowed his sacred instruments.

Happily, much as contemporary Pueblo people envision a time when the present world will end and a new era will begin with the restoration of the Flower World of the dawning sun, so too do Huichol envision the restoration of an era associated with the First People and the paradisaical flowery world of the sacred eastern lands of Wirikuta, the Land of Dawn.

In describing this era, Myerhoff (1976: 24) noted: "Wirikuta is not only the world as it existed before Creation but it is also the world that will reappear at the end of Time, after this epoch has been completed." As one Huichol consultant described this period: "One day all will be as you have seen it there in Wirikuta. The First People will come back. The fields will be pure and crystalline . . . One day the world will end and that beauty will be here again" (ibid.). When this period takes form, "All will be in unity, all will be one" (in Myerhoff 1978: 232). Clearly, indigenous people of West Mexico and

the American Southwest envision a coming spiritual purification and restoration of the sacred realm of the Sun Youth and the ancestors here on earth.

In the Puebloan world, the eastern horizon is carefully watched at dawn for the prophesied return of their culture hero. When he is called, when the time is right, and when the situation appears to be most dire, the Sun Youth will return to his children in the fiery light of dawn to restore balance and equity in his rightful and everlasting domain on this earth. When this era begins, this will be the rich time.

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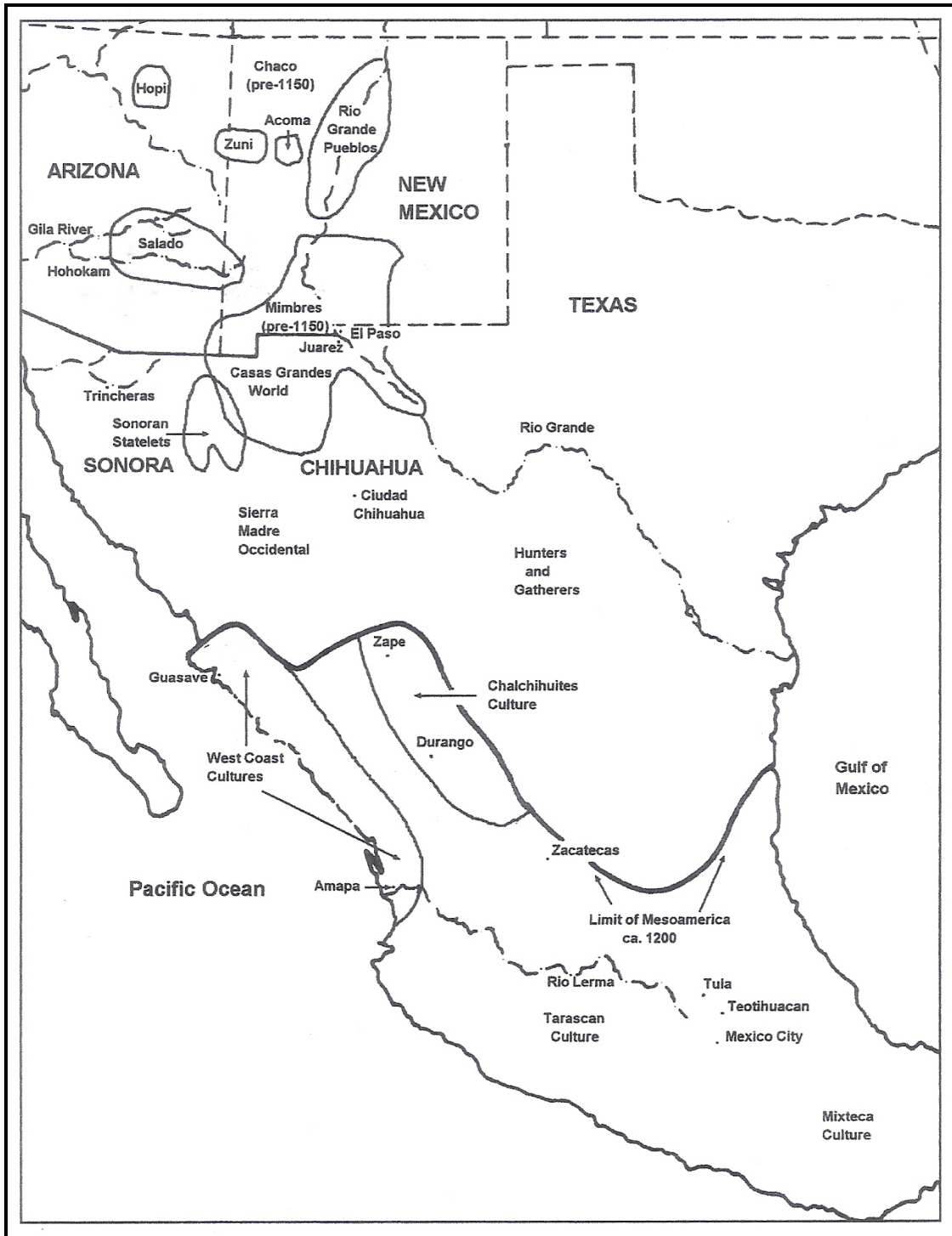


Figure 1.1: Map of Mesoamerica and the American Southwest (Reprinted and adapted from Schaafsma and Riley 1999b: fig. 2).

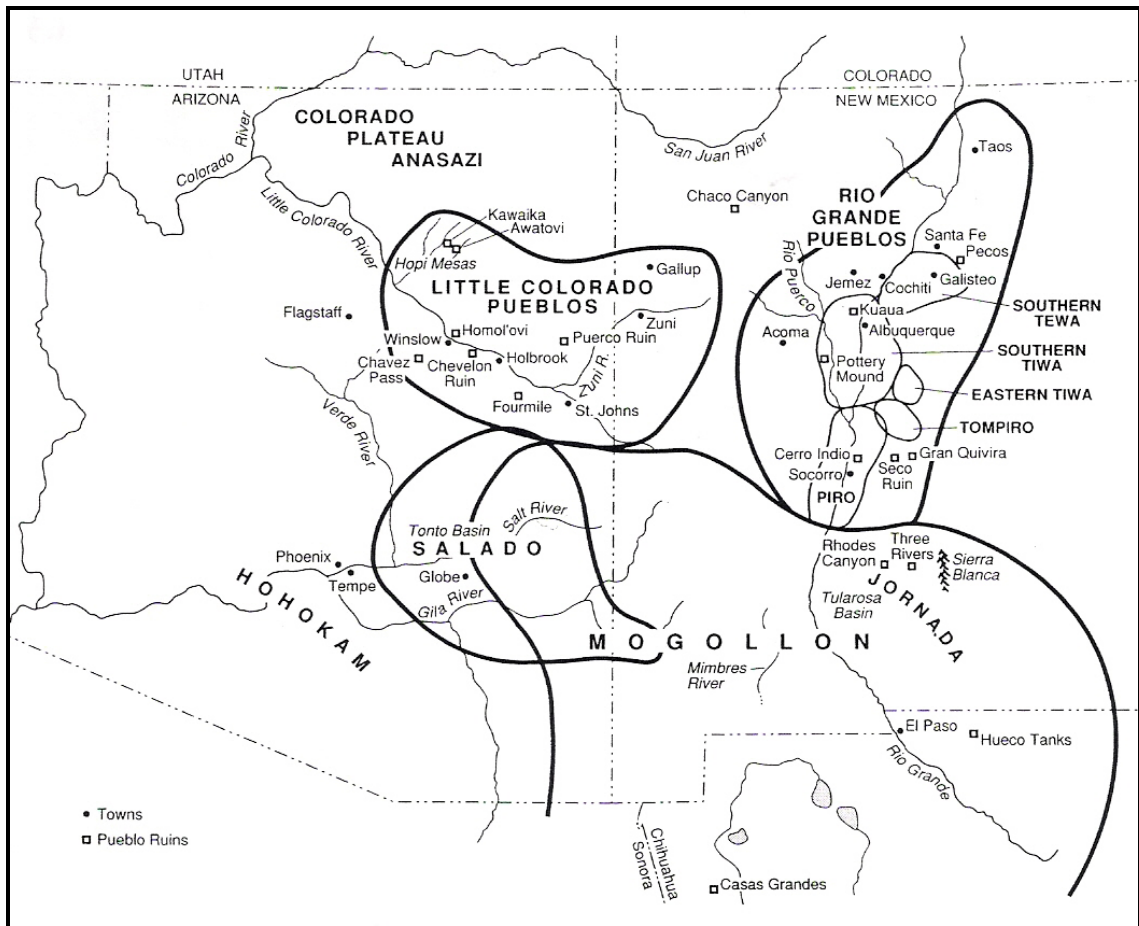


Figure 1.2: Regional Map of Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest (Reprinted from Adams 2000b: fig. 5).

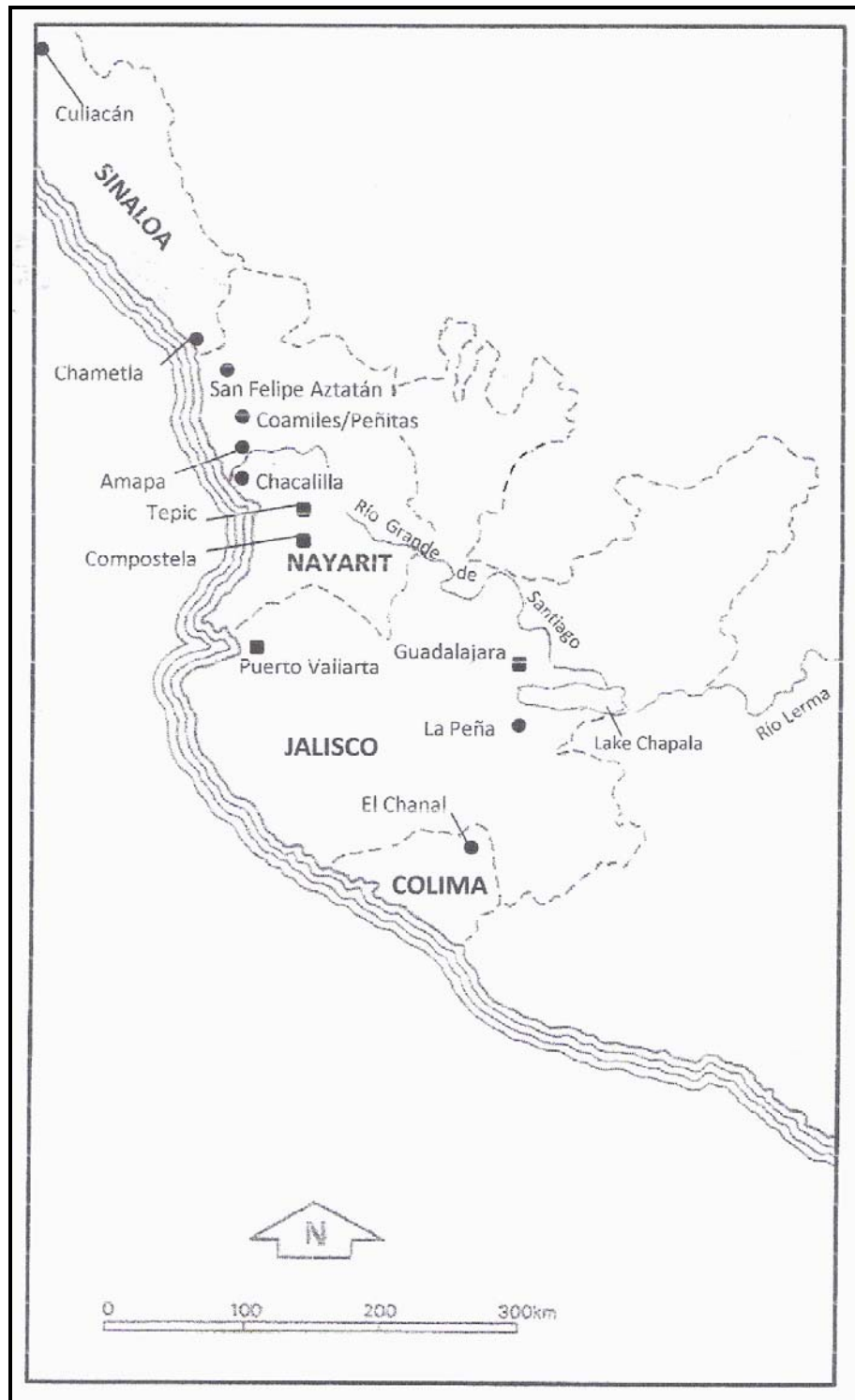
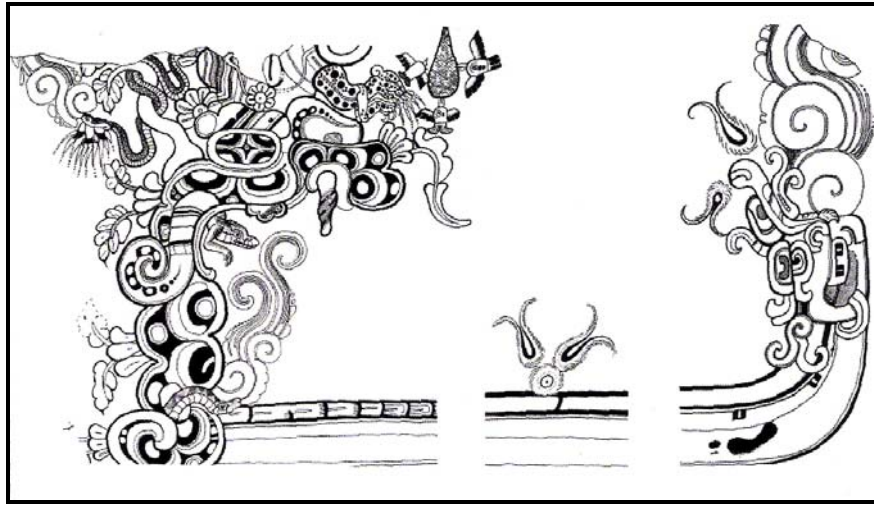
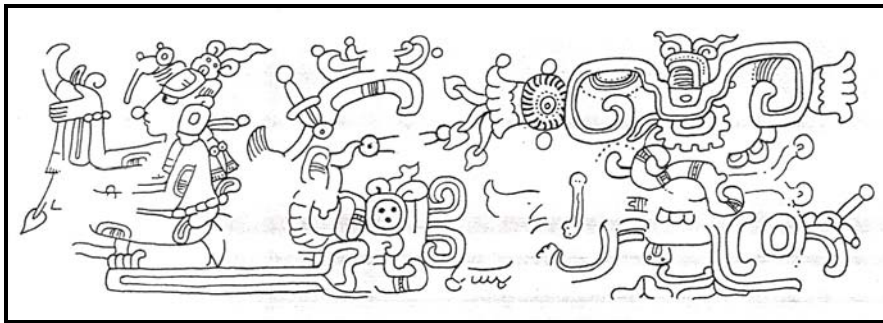


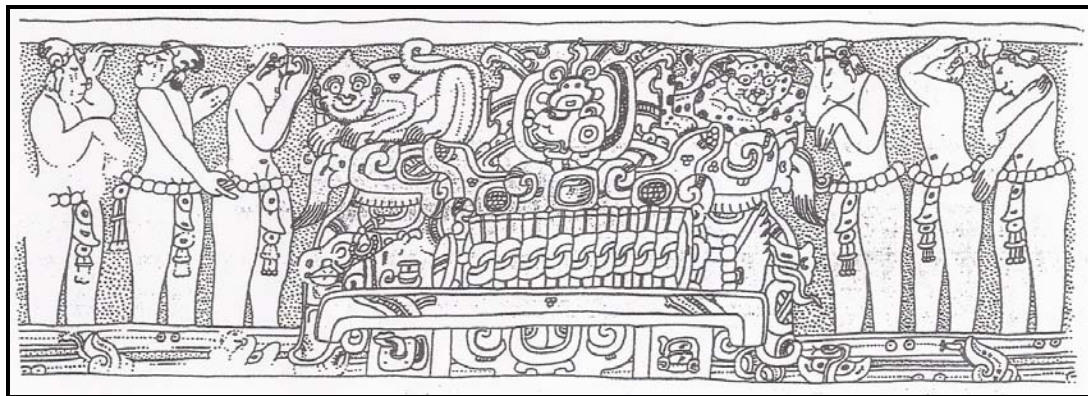
Figure 1.3: Regional Map of West Mexico
 Note Aztatlán-affiliated archaeological sites (circles) and modern cities (squares) in Jalisco, Nayarit, and Sinaloa (adapted from Hosler 1994: fig. 3.2).



A



B



C

Figure 2.1: Flower Mountain in Mesoamerica

(a) Flower Mountain. Detail of emergence scene from Late Preclassic Maya murals, San Bartolo, Guatemala (from Saturno et al. 2005: Fig. 12).

(b) Sun god in maw of serpent emerging from Flower Mountain, Early Classic period, Kaminaljuyu (from Taube 2004b: fig. 10d).

(c) Scene depicting solar cartouche with face of the Sun god rising over the bundled maize god and Flower Mountain (from Taube 2004b: fig. 9b).

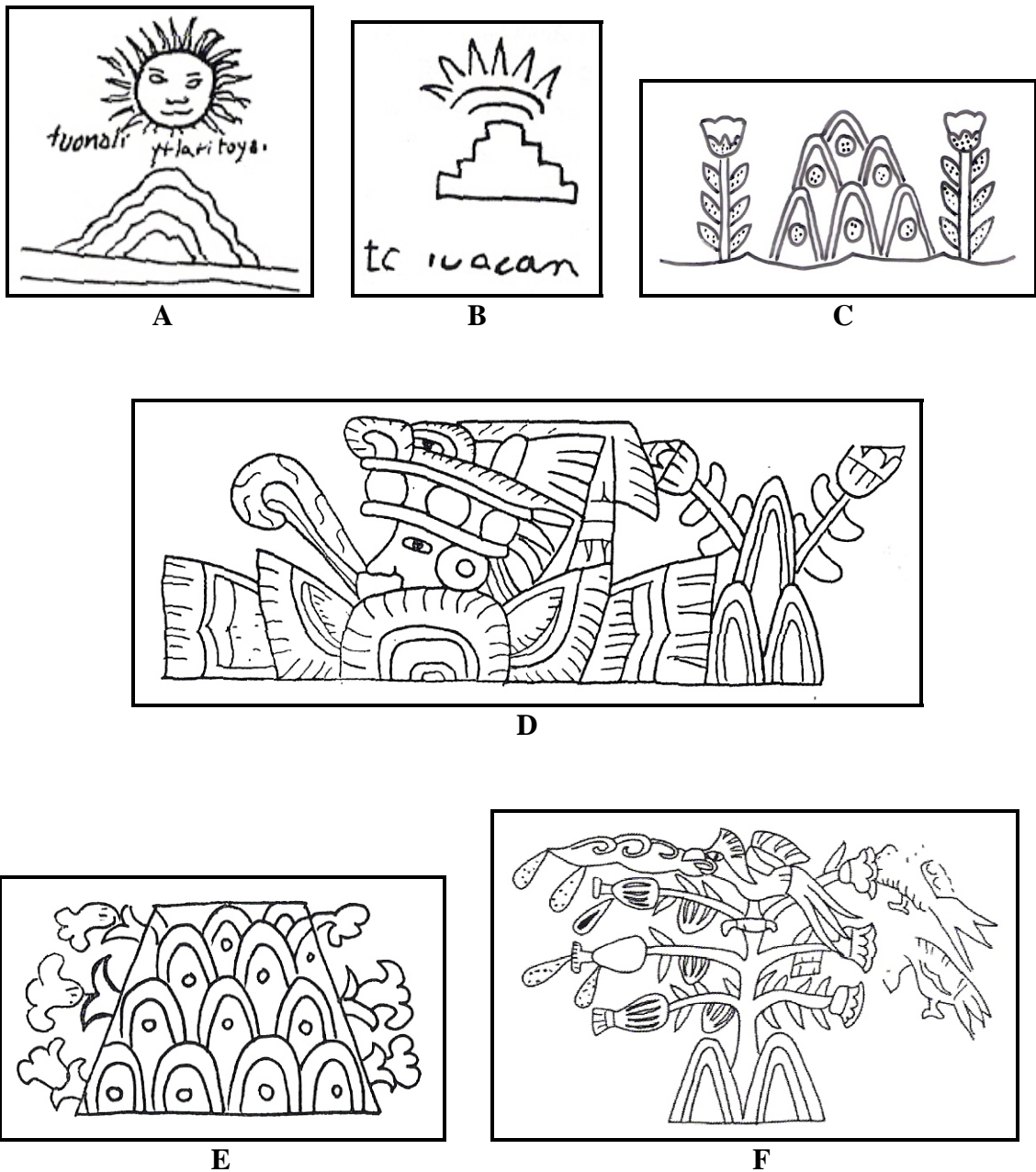


Figure 2.2: Flower Mountain at Teotihuacan

- (a) Detail of early Colonial-period portrayal of sun rising over the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, *Plano de San Francisco Mazapan* (from Taube 2000a: 312, fig. 10.23b).
- (b) Toponym for Teotihuacan. Note the sun rising over the stepped pyramid (from Taube 2000a: 312, fig. 10.23c).
- (c) Flower Mountain. Early Classic period, Teotihuacan vessel (after Seler 1990-1998: 6: 240, fig. 178c).
- (d) Portrayal of figure with butterfly attributes before Flower Mountain, detail of Early Classic period ceramics (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.20c).
- (e) Mountain with emerging blossoms, detail of Early Classic-period Teotihuacan vessel (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.20b).
- (f) Flowering tree with quetzal bird depicted protruding from center of mountains, detail of Early Classic-period Teotihuacan vessel (from Taube 2005b: fig. 2d).

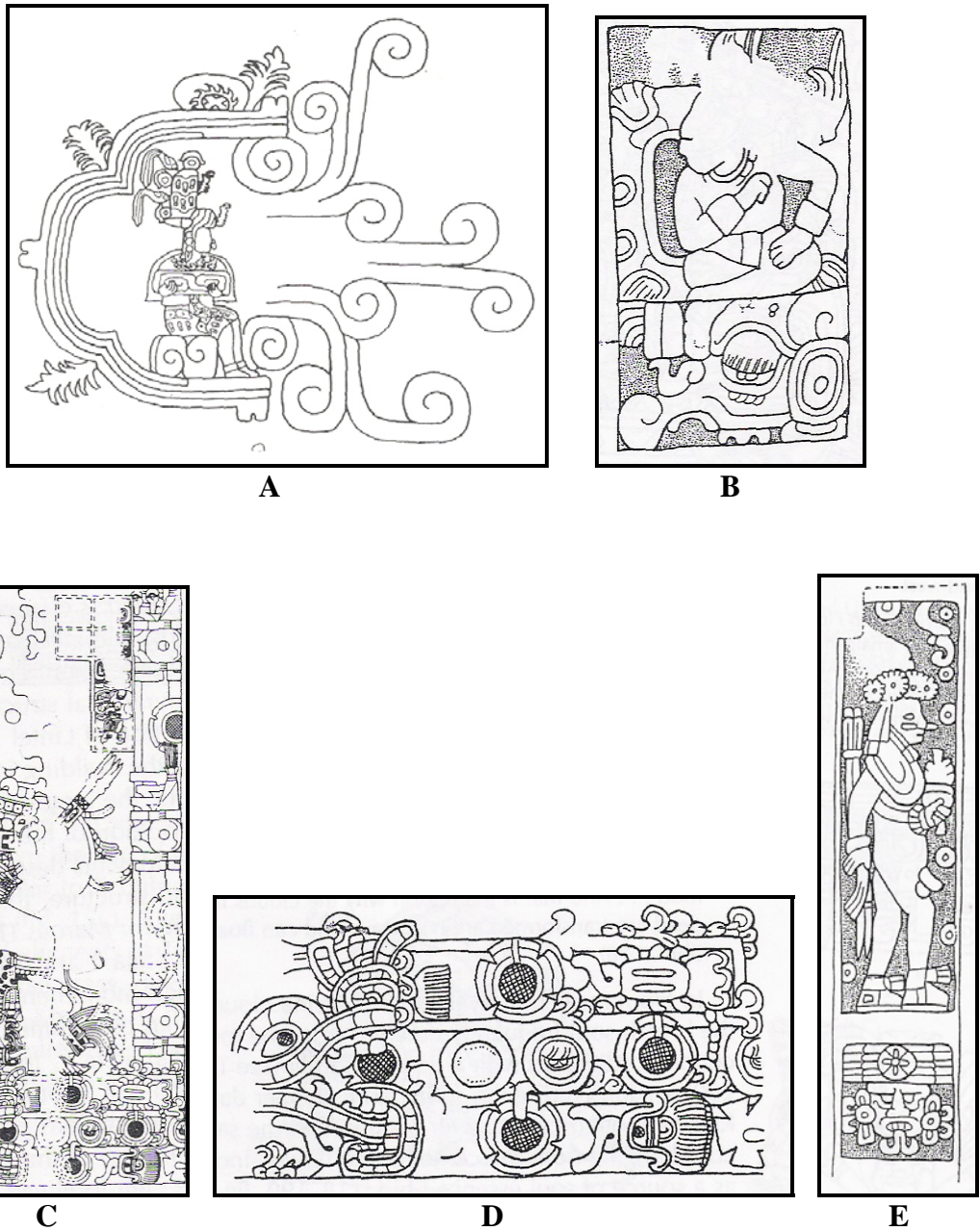


Figure 2.3: Rulers, Esteemed Ancestors, and Heroic Warriors at Flower Mountain in Mesoamerica
 (a) Noble woman holding ceremonial bar while seated inside a quatrefoil cave ornamented with bromeliads. Note exhaling breath from cave (from Taube 2001: 106, fig. 73).
 (b) Ancestral figure portrayed as the sun seated on Flower Mountain, El Chicozapote Lintel 1. Note flower on brow of mountain (from Taube 2004b: fig. 10b).
 (c) Ruler seated atop Flower Mountain, Lintel 2 of Tikal Temple 1 (from Taube 1992a: 68, fig. 12).
 (d) Detail of Figure 2.3c of Flower Mountain portrayed as stepped platform ornamented with cactus, rushes, and flowers. From Lintel 2 of Temple 1, Tikal (from Taube 2004b: fig. 17c).
 (e) Noble warrior standing atop Flower Mountain, detail of carved pilaster at Chichen Itza (from Taube 2004b: fig. 15c).

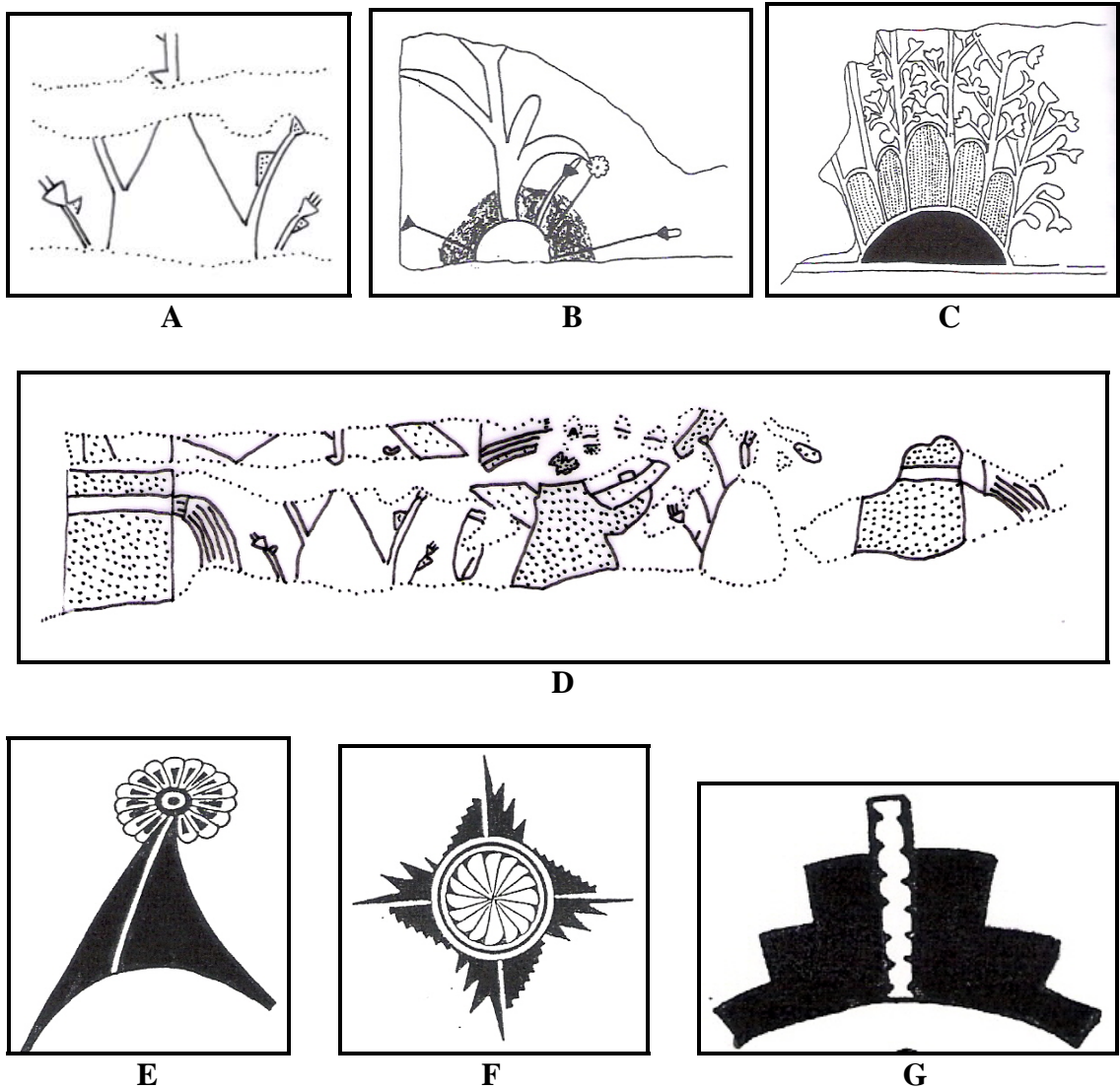


Figure 2.4: Flower Mountain and Spirit Paths in the American Southwest

- (a) Flower Mound. Detail of Awat'ovi kiva mural (also see Fig. 2.4d) (after Smith 1952: fig. 58a).
- (b) Flower Mound. Detail of Awat'ovi kiva mural fragment (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.28b after Smith 1952: fig. 69d).
- (c) Flower Mound. Detail of Kawaika-a kiva mural fragment. Note five-directional maize cobs projecting from mound (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.28c after Smith 1952: fig. 76a).
- (d) Awat'ovi kiva mural depicting two figures flanking flower mounds (after Smith 1952: fig. 58a).
- (e) Flower Mountain with central "spirit path". Note flower emerging from top. Detail of Mimbres bowl (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.29a).
- (f) Directional stepped mountains or stepped clouds radiating from central flower. Note directional spirit paths. Detail of Mimbres bowl (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.29d).
- (g) Stepped mountain or cloud motif with central "spirit path", detail from Mimbres bowl (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.29c).

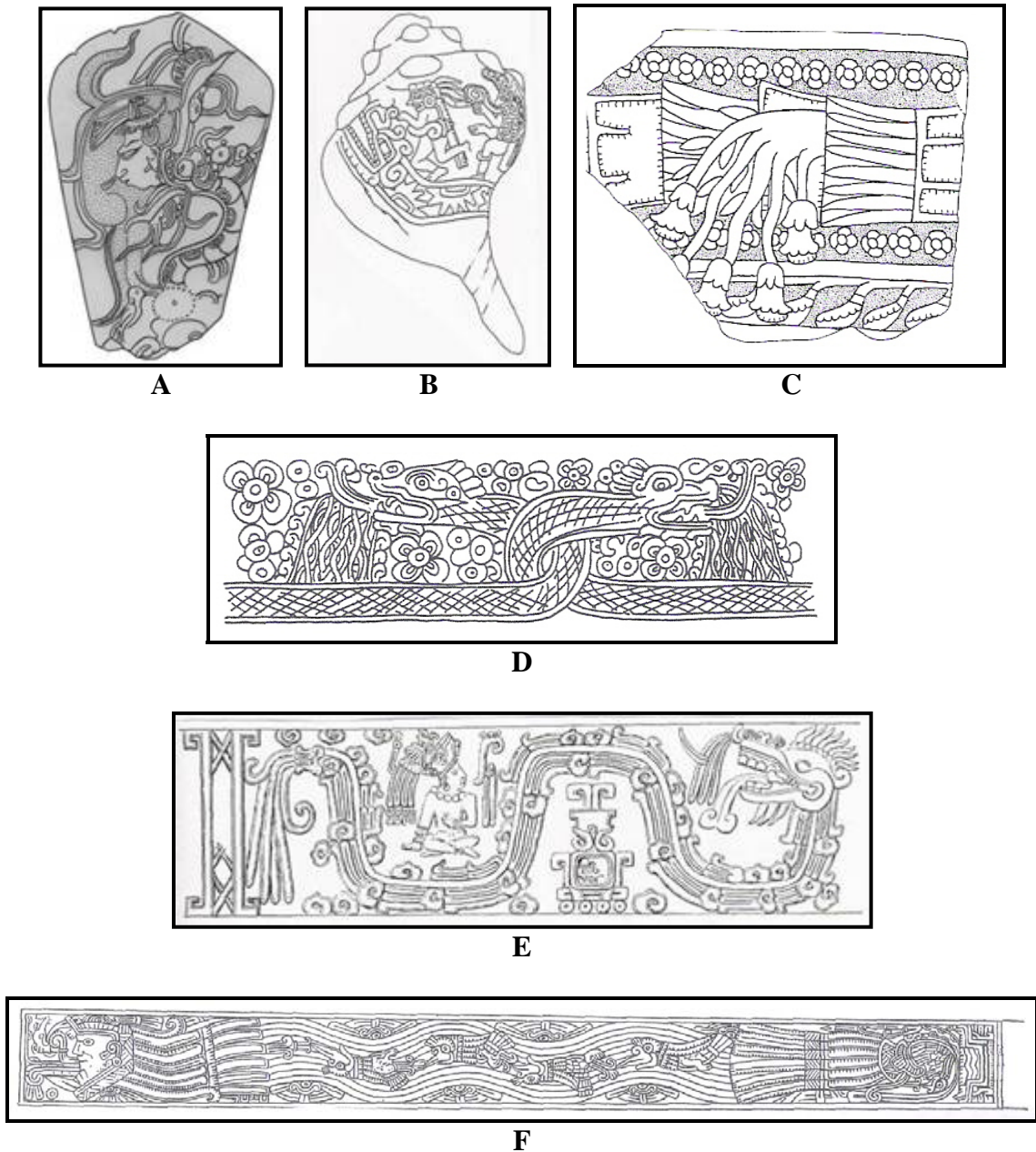
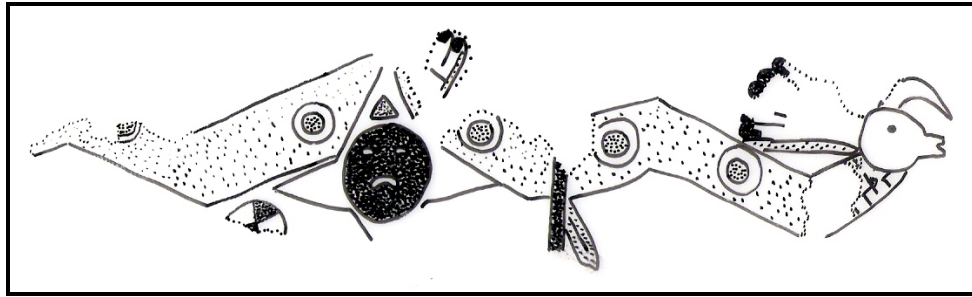


Figure 2.5: The Plumed Serpent as a Vehicle for Supernatural Beings in Mesoamerica

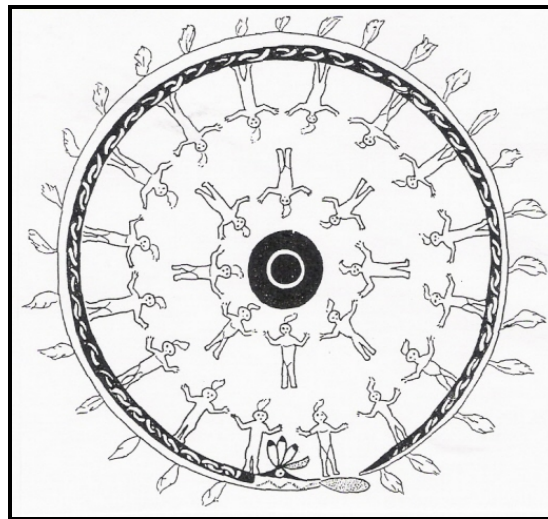
- (a) Plumed serpent emerging from flower with ancestor in maw, Late Classic Maya site of Aguateca, Guatemala. Line drawing of carved bone by Alfredo Roman from Aguateca Archaeological Project (from Ishihara 2009: fig. 7.49).
- (b) Detail of Teotihuacan-style carved conch shell depicting plumed serpent as vehicle (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.16e).
- (c) Doorway border fragment depicting flowers attached to the body of the plumed serpent. Techinantitla murals, Teotihuacan AD 600-750) (from Taube 2010b: fig. 33).
- (d) Entwined plumed serpents in scene set amongst flowers, note water spewing from mouth. Detail of Early Classic incised vase from Tikal (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.16c).
- (e) Detail of plumed serpent from Temple of the Plumed Serpent, Xochicalco. Note probable Maya ruler/noble seated on the serpent's body (Reprinted from Ringle et al. 1998: 208, fig. 21a).
- (f) Plumed serpent carrying sun god into sky from watery earth. Note chain of hummingbirds along serpent body, likely souls of deceased warriors sipping flowers. Scene from wooden spearthrower, Aztec (from Taube 2010a: fig. 27).



A



B



C

Figure 2.6: The Plumed Serpent as a Vehicle for Supernatural Beings in the American Southwest
 (a) Kiva mural depicting horned and plumed serpent with circular medallions (probable flowers) on body. Note quadripartite circular blossom adjacent to star. Also note serpent as vehicle for Morning Star warrior. Pottery Mound Kiva 7, Layer 9, West Wall (after Hibben 1975: 48, fig. 34).
 (b) Kiva mural depicting supernatural beings standing on probable plumed serpent as floral road. Note circular floral blossoms on body and portion of cloud-terrace tail. Awat'ovi Room 788 (after Smith 1952: Fig. 81b).
 (c) Zuni kiva initiation sandpainting of Kolowisi. Note plumed serpent body as vehicle for supernatural beings (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.23).

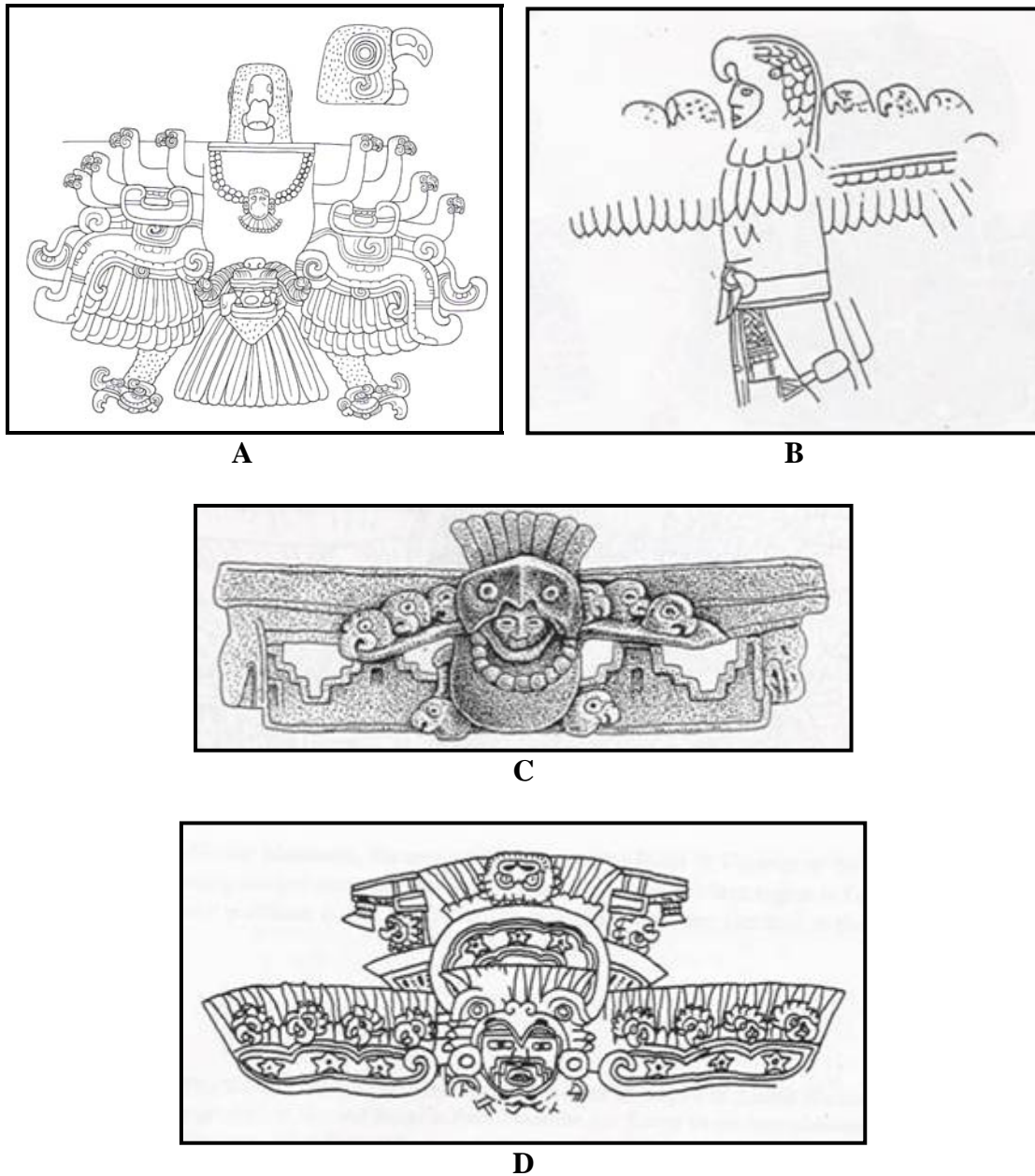
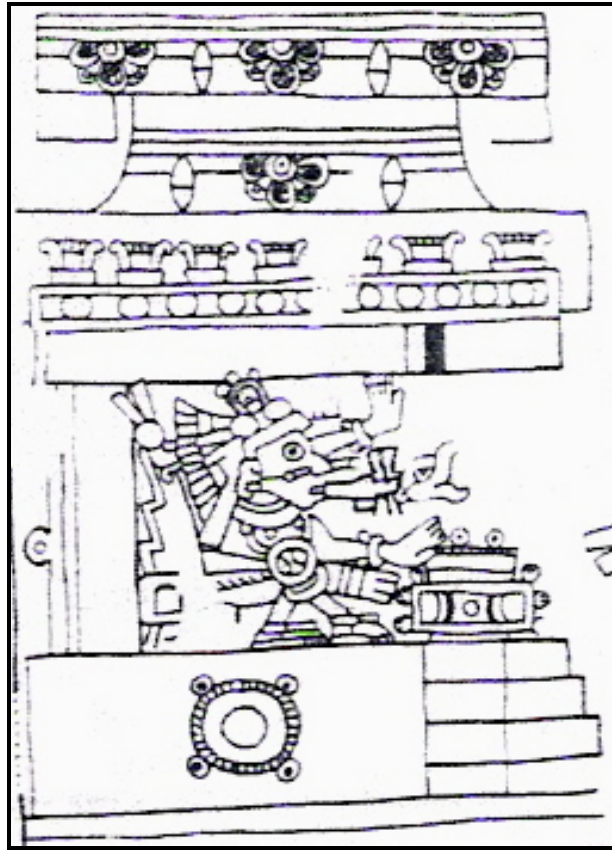
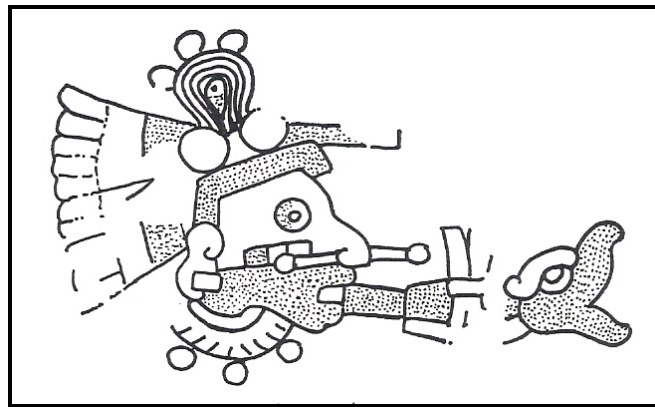


Figure 2.7: Mesoamerican Sun Gods with Scarlet Macaw Attributes

- (a) Portrayal of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', founder of the Copán dynasty, dressed as a scarlet macaw while astride a Teotihuacan-style plumed serpent (at loins). Depiction indicates ruler as a personified young Sun God of the east. Note macaw heads emerging from wings. Stucco façade at Copán, Honduras (Reprinted from Fash and Fash 1996: fig. 3).
- (b) Macaw-headed figure solar figure. Note multiple macaw heads on wings. Detail of column from El Tajín, Veracruz (from Taube 2005b: fig. 4d).
- (c) Solar bird with macaw and quetzal attributes. Note macaw heads emerging from the wings. Detail of Early Classic Teotihuacan-style ceramic censer from Escuintla region, Guatemala (from Taube 2005b: fig. 6e).
- (d) Descending solar deity with macaw and quetzal attributes. Note scarlet macaw heads on wings, ankles, and tail. Detail of mural from Zone 5-a, Teotihuacan (from Taube 2005b: fig. 4a).

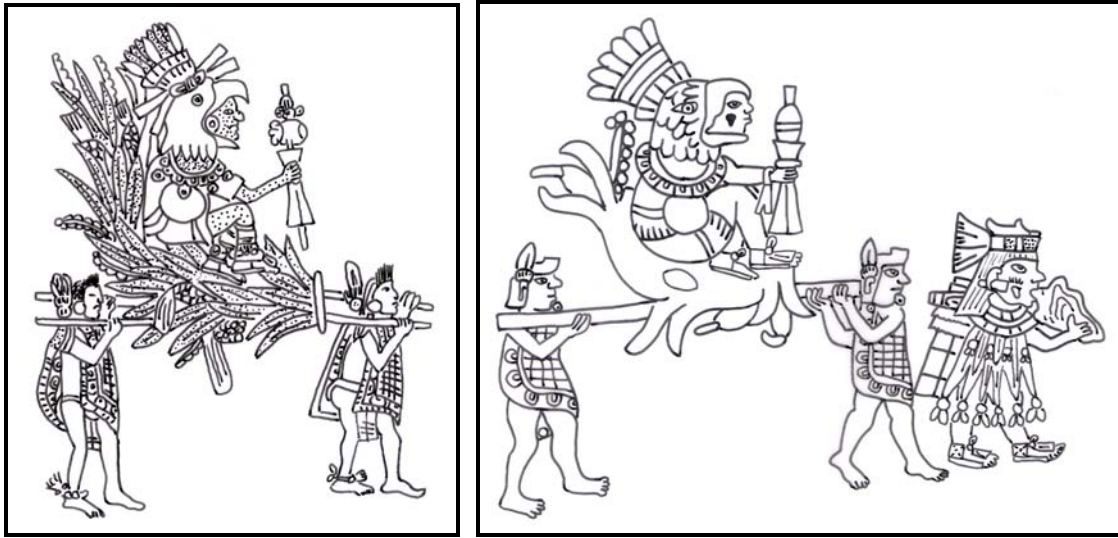


A



B

Figure 2.8: The Sun Youth Xochipilli in Highland Central Mexico
 (a) Xochipilli, seated within a solar "House of Flowers" (*xochicalco*), playing a drum and a red flute, Late Postclassic. *Codex Borgia*, p. 37 (detail from Taube 1986: fig. 10).
 (b) Detail of Xochipilli playing a red flute. *Codex Borgia*, p. 37 (from Taube 2004a: fig. 7b).



A

B



C

Figure 2.9: The Sun Youth Xochipilli with a Scarlet Macaw Headdress

(a) Scarlet macaw-headed Sun Youth Xochipilli seated on a litter of maize during feast of Tecuilhuitl, *Codex Magliabecchiano* p. 35 (after Nuttall 1903: 23).

(b) Procession of the scarlet macaw-headed Sun Youth Xochipilli during feast of Tecuilhuitontli. Note litter of maize (after *Codex Tudela* p. 17r).

(c) Depiction of scarlet macaw-headed Sun Youth Xochipilli during feast of Xochihuitl (after *Codex Tudela* p. 29r).

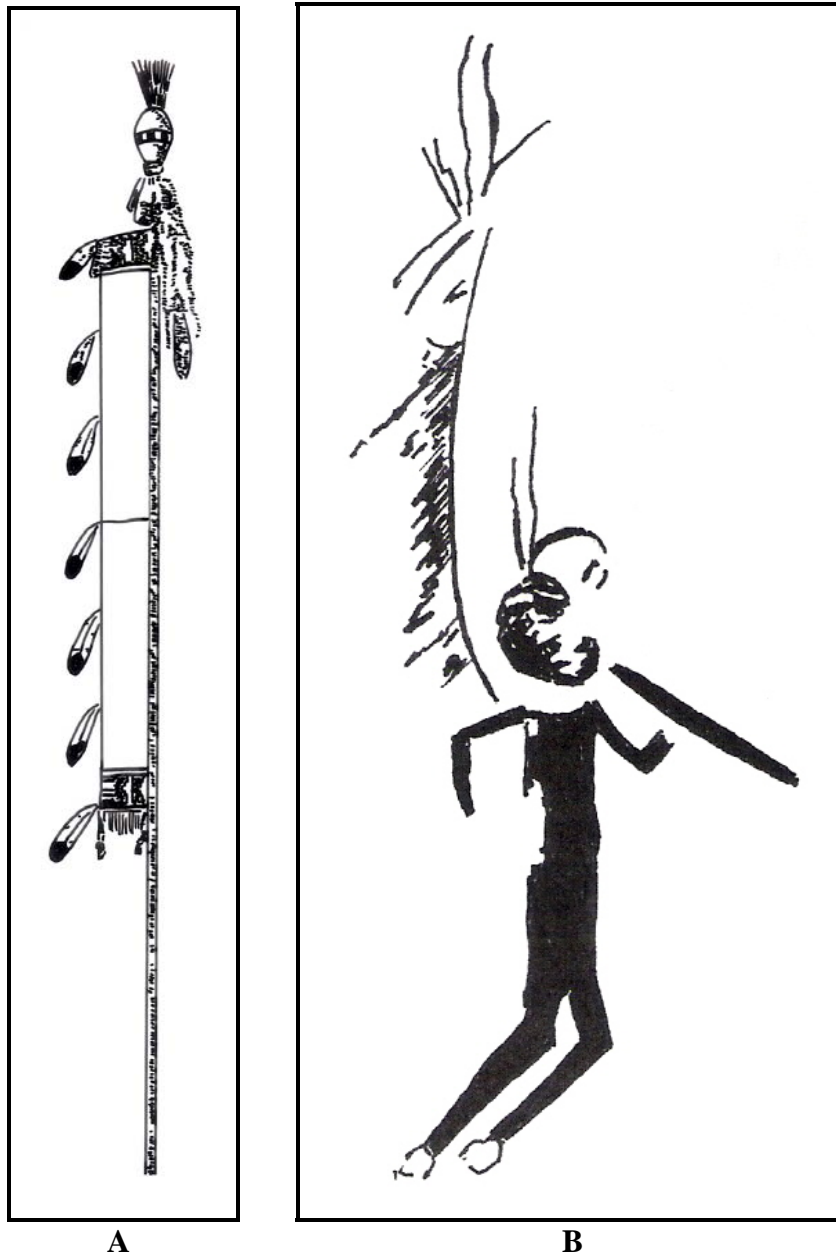


Figure 2.10: The Dance Standard of the Sun Youth Payatamu
 (a) Sun Youth standard, Santa Ana Pueblo. Note gourd “head” and cluster of macaw feathers representing the headdress (after White 1942: fig. 52).
 (b) Rock art painting possibly depicting the Sun Youth with tall dance standard and flute, Piro region, New Mexico (AD 1325-1600) (from Schaafsma 2000a: 36, fig. 3.6).

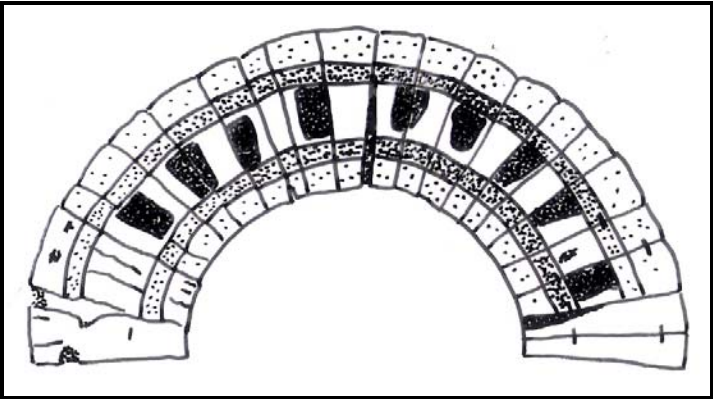
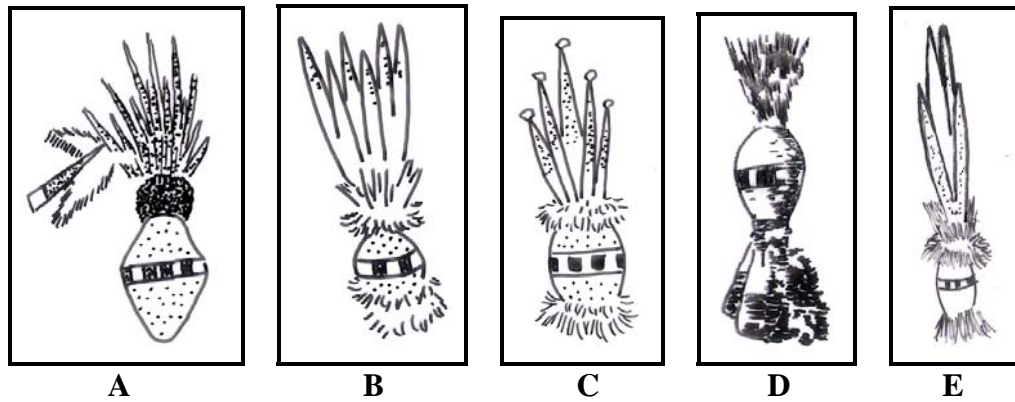


Figure 2.11: Turquoise and Black-and-White Block Design Affiliated with the Sun Youth
 (a) Detail of “head” of Sun Youth standard. Note turquoise gourd bisected by black and white block pattern. From painting by Oqwa Pi (after Sweet 2004: fig. 5).
 (b) Detail of “head” of Sun Youth standard. Note turquoise gourd bisected by black and white block pattern. From painting by Velino Shije Herrera (after Brody 1997: pl. 59)
 (c) Detail of “head” of Sun Youth standard. Note turquoise gourd bisected by black-and-white block pattern. From painting by Awa Tsireh (after Sotheby’s catalog 2000: No. 477).
 (d) Top of Sun Youth standard from Santa Ana Pueblo. Note block pattern on gourd (after White 1942: 344, fig. 52).
 (e) Top of Sun Youth standard. From painting entitled *Pine Tree Ceremonial Dance*, by Jose Rey Toledo, Jemez Pueblo, Note block pattern on gourd (after Dunn 1968: 346, fig. 121).
 (f) Gourd rattle with Sun Youth design made by Hopi Spider clan member (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 265084, Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
 (g) One half of a circular wood object painted with design elements now commonly associated with the gourd “head” of the Sun Youth. Object recovered from Room 93 at Chetro Ketl, Chaco Canyon (after Vivian et al. 1978: fig. 2.8).



A



B

Figure 2.12: The Corn Plant and the Gathering of Pollen

(a) Collection of pollen from corn plant. Painting by Gilbert Atencio, San Ildefonso Pueblo (Courtesy of Indian Arts Research Center, Catalog No. SAR 1989-28-29).

(b) Collection of pollen from corn plant. Painting by Gilbert Atencio, San Ildefonso Pueblo (Courtesy of Indian Arts Research Center, Catalog No. 1985.20).

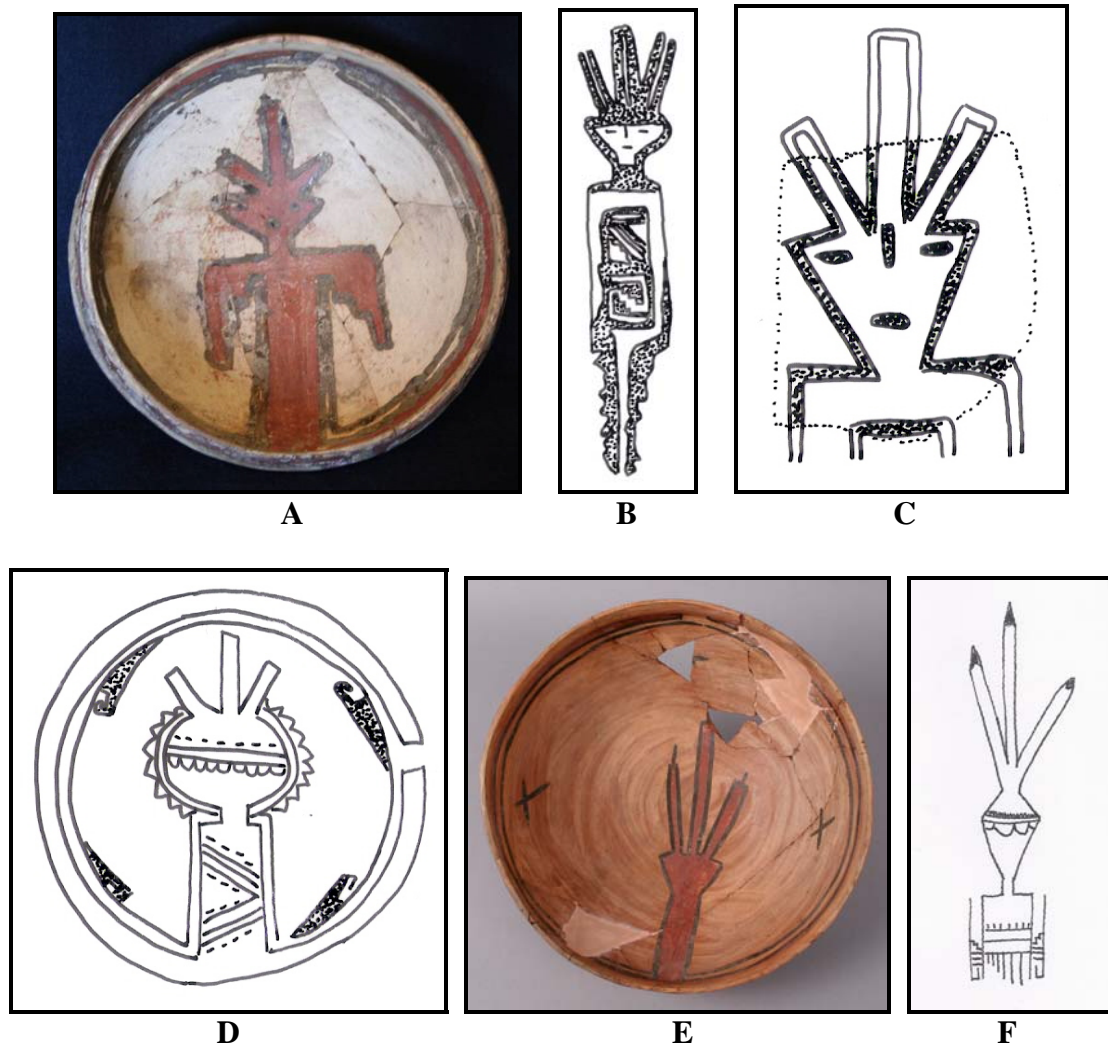


Figure 2.13: Depictions of the Sun Youth on Rio Grande Glaze Wares

- (a) Rio Grande Glaze D vessel with portrayal of the Sun Youth and facial features, Pecos Pueblo (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 2272. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz.
- (b) Glaze E bowl exterior with Sun Youth motif and facial features. Pecos Pueblo (after Kidder and Shepard 1936: 234, fig. 202d).
- (c) Glaze D bowl exterior with Sun Youth motif and facial features. Pecos Pueblo (after Kidder and Shepard 1936: 200, fig. 170e).
- (d) Sun Youth motif, interior of Glaze D bowl, Pecos (after Kidder and Shepard 1936: 179, fig. 153c).
- (e) Rio Grande Glaze D bowl depicting probable Sun Youth standard surrounded by possible insects (Courtesy of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico—Photo by Michael Mathiowetz, Catalog No. 83.27.05).
- (f) Interior of bowl excavated from Kuaua Pueblo depicting image of Sun Youth standard. Note two abstract macaws at bottom (Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, NM, Catalog No. L132.037. Drawn by Michael Mathiowetz).

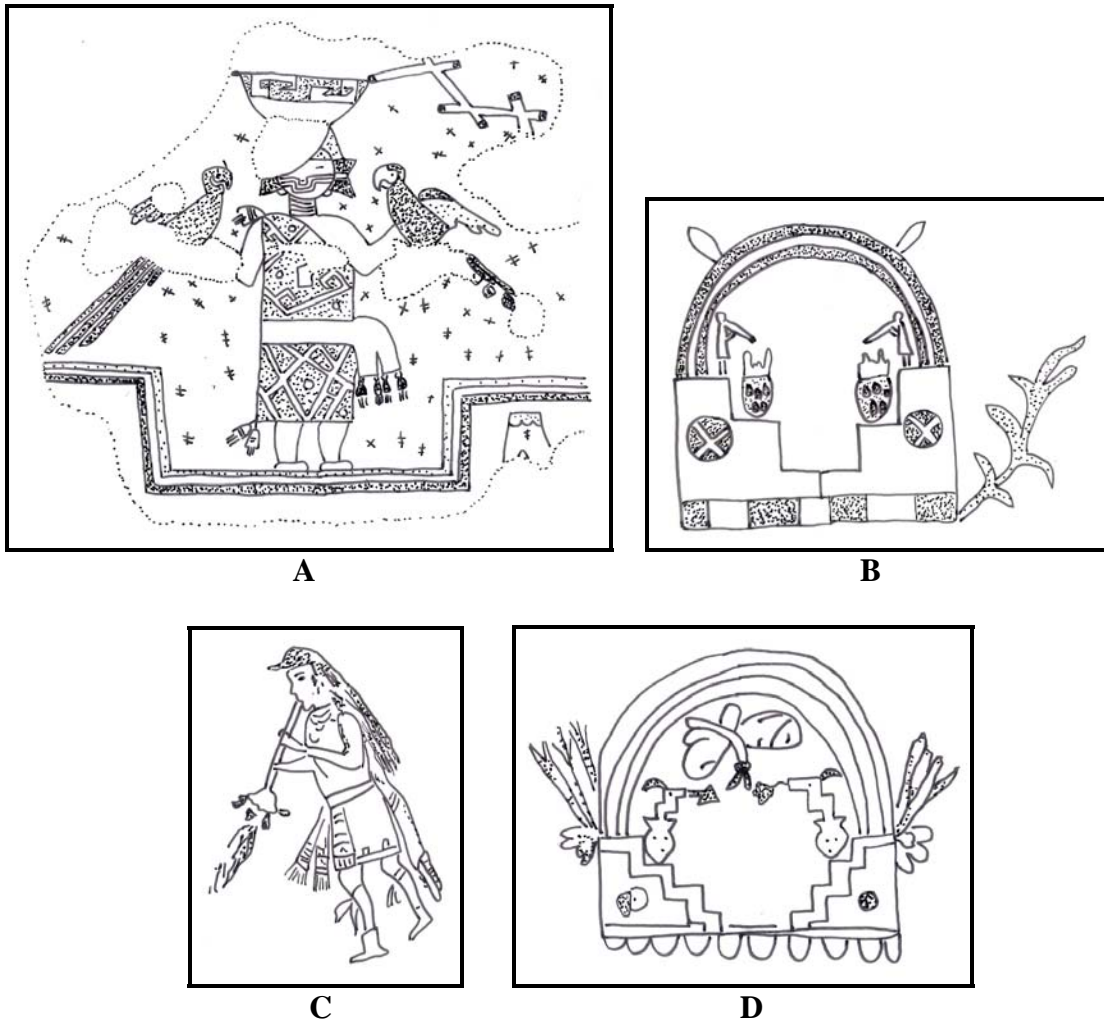


Figure 2.14: The Realm of the Sun Youth in Kiva Murals

- (a) Pottery Mound kiva mural (Kiva 9, Layer 2, South Wall) depicting a female ritualist holding scarlet macaws while surrounded by lightning, dragonflies, and probable cross-shaped insects (after Hibben 1975: fig. 45).
- (b) Detail of mid nineteenth century Jemez kiva mural of the fluteplaying “adjutants of Montezuma” beneath rainbow, likely a reference to the fluteplaying Sun Youth Payatamu and his Cavern of the Rainbow (after illustration by R.H. Kern, image accessed on Nov. 6, 2009 in Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia archive at www.ansp.org/library/getty_findaid/kern146.xml).
- (c) Detail of early-twentieth-century incised Jemez flute with portrait of figure playing floral flute of Payatamu (after Parsons 1925: fig. 8).
- (d) Detail of Jemez flute portraying rainbow and butterfly. Compare to Fig. 2.14b (after Parsons 1925: fig. 8).

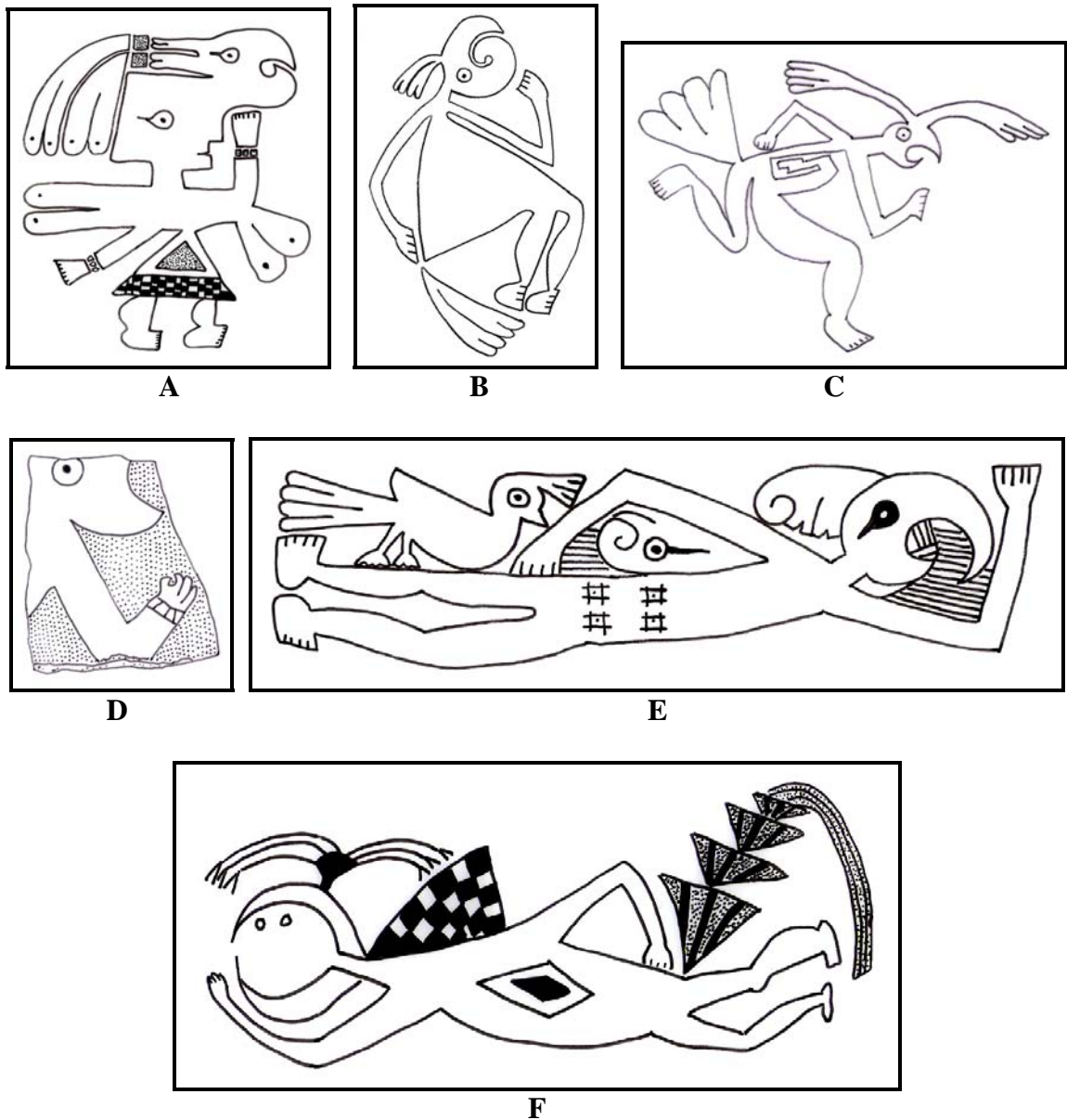
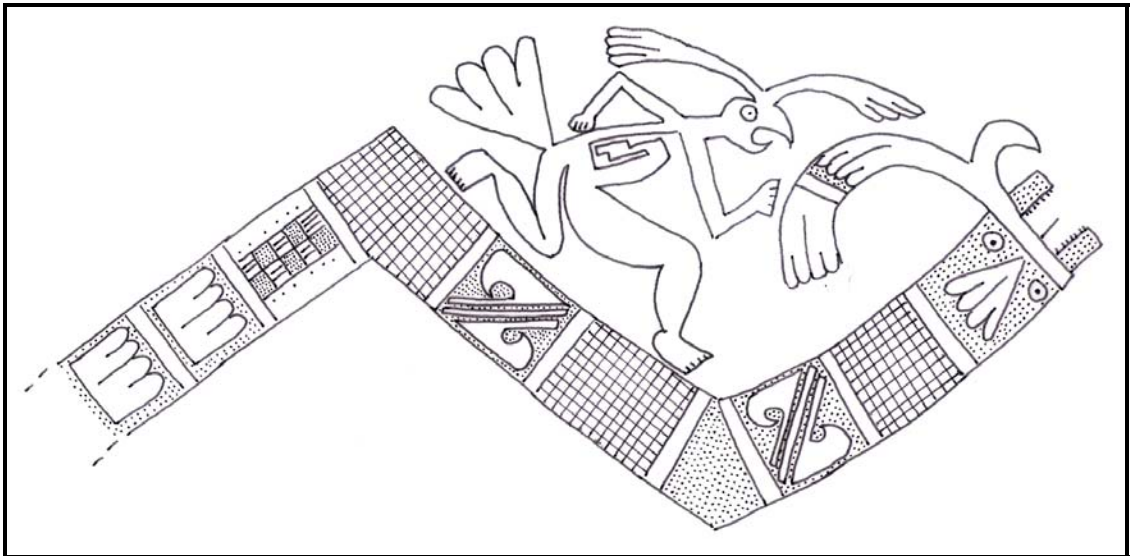


Figure 2.15: The Casas Grandes Macaw-Headed Sun Youth
 (a) Sun Youth wearing macaw headdress, Casas Grandes culture (after Stuhr 2002: 76).
 (b) Macaw-headed Sun Youth, Casas Grandes culture (Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz after El Paso Museum of Archaeology, Catalog No. 59.9.57).
 (c) Macaw-headed Sun Youth in dance-like position, Note that horned and plumed serpent beneath feet remains unillustrated (see Fig. 2.16b). Ramos Polychrome, Dallas Museum of Art (Drawn from photos courtesy of John Pohl).
 (d) Depiction of anthropomorphic macaw-headed figure, the probable Sun Youth. Sherd excavated from Paquimé (after Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 285, fig. 295-6).
 (e) Depiction of macaw-headed Sun Youth in position of supernatural flight. Note horned serpent tucked under the arm, a motif that likely alludes to the young sun rising on the body of the horned serpent (after VanPool and VanPool 2007: 72, fig. 5.2).
 (f) Abstract depiction of prone macaw-headed Sun Youth in position of supernatural flight or dance. Note long red tail feathers (after Townsend 2005a: 86, pl. 45).

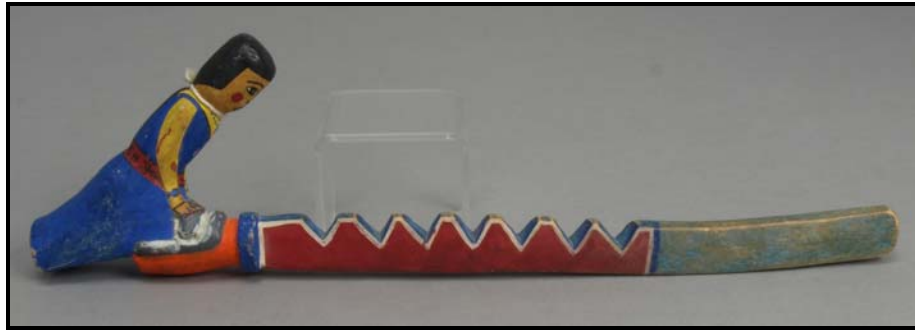


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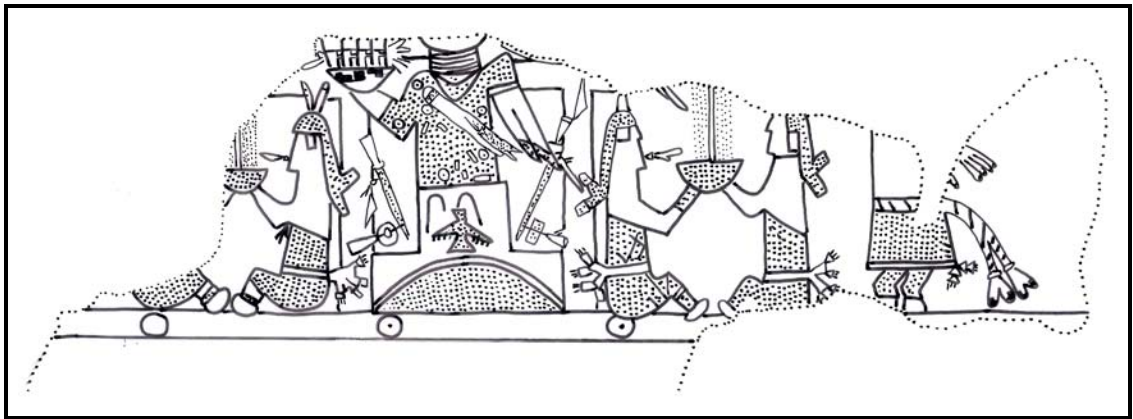


B

Figure 2.16: The Casas Grandes Macaw-Headed Sun Youth
 (a) Macaw-headed Sun Youth shown in a "dance" position along with the horned and plumed serpent. Scene likely alludes to the young sun dancing out of the underworld along the pathway of the horned and plumed serpent. Rollout photograph of Chihuahuan polychrome. Photograph © Justin Kerr, K1548, from private collection.
 (b) Portrayal of macaw-headed Sun Youth dancing on body of plumed serpent, Chihuahuan polychrome, Dallas Museum of Art (Reconstruction and drawing from photos courtesy of John Pohl).



A



B

Figure 2.17: Corn Grinding in the American Southwest

(a) Notched wooden rasp with portrayal of woman grinding on a metate, San Juan Pueblo (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 56409/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(b) Awat'ovi kiva mural depicting Cumulus Cloud Maiden (center) on stepped cloud dispensing falling rain/cornmeal into baskets held by pairs of seated women. Note spirit path for katsina rain spirits within falling corn granules. Room 788, Left Wall Design, number 3 (after Smith 1952: fig. 80b).

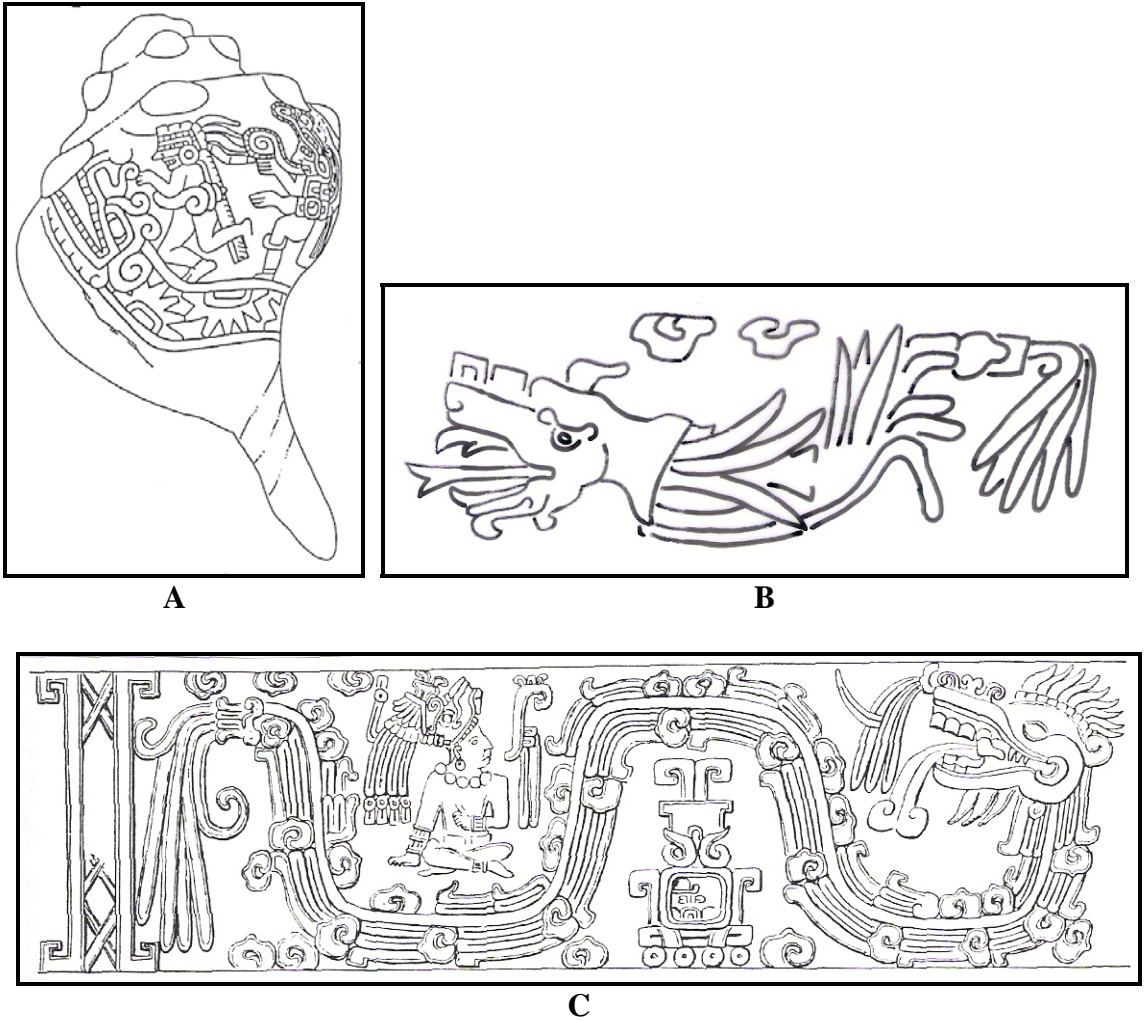
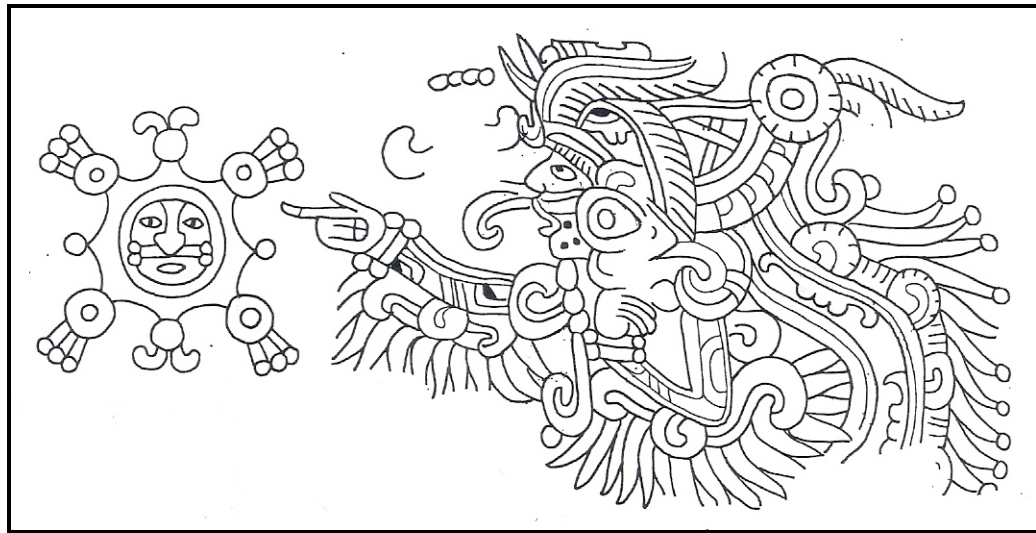


Figure 3.1: The Plumed Serpent and Conch Shells in Mesoamerica

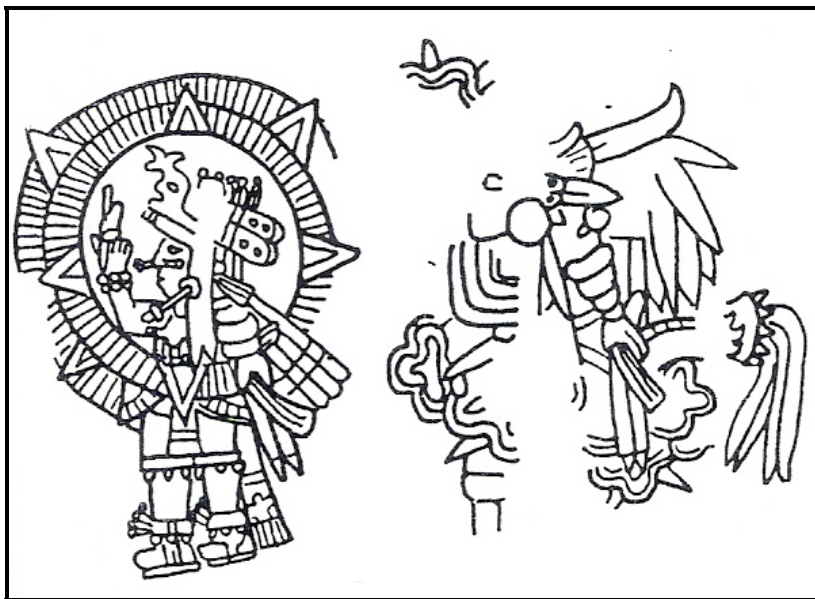
(a) Conch shell inscribed in Teotihuacan style. Scene portrays a plumed serpent as a vehicle for supernatural beings (Saturno et al. 2005: fig. 18d).

(b) Plumed Serpent with cross-sectioned conch shells above body. Detail of heel of sandal of Atlantean figure, Tula (after Seler 1990-1998: 2: 88, fig. 67).

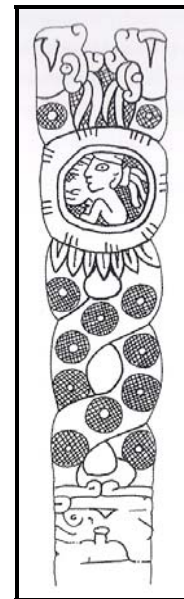
(c) Undulating plumed serpent as wind and conveyor of soul of Maya-style noble. Note cross-sectioned conch shells lining the plumed serpent body (Seler 1990-1998: 2: 75, fig. 4).



A



B



C

Figure 3.2: The Plumed Serpent and the Sun in Mesoamerica

- (a) Winged and feathered Maya-style Sun God emerging from the maw of a plumed serpent. Note *en face* portrayal of glyphic sign for a solar disk or the face of the Sun God. Detail of a Classic Maya-style vessel from the Teotihuacan region (from Taube 2011a: fig. 11a).
- (b) The paired feathered serpent and sun disk. Note stars surrounding plumed serpent figure. Detail of rock painting from Ixtapantongo, state of Mexico. Note stars lining feathered serpent body, a probable allusion to the Morning Star (from Taube 1994: fig. 15).
- (c) Pair of entwined plumed serpents carrying solar disk upwards while rising out of earth monster. Detail of Postclassic-period carved bone from Tomb 7 at Monte Alban (from Taube 2010b: fig. 30).

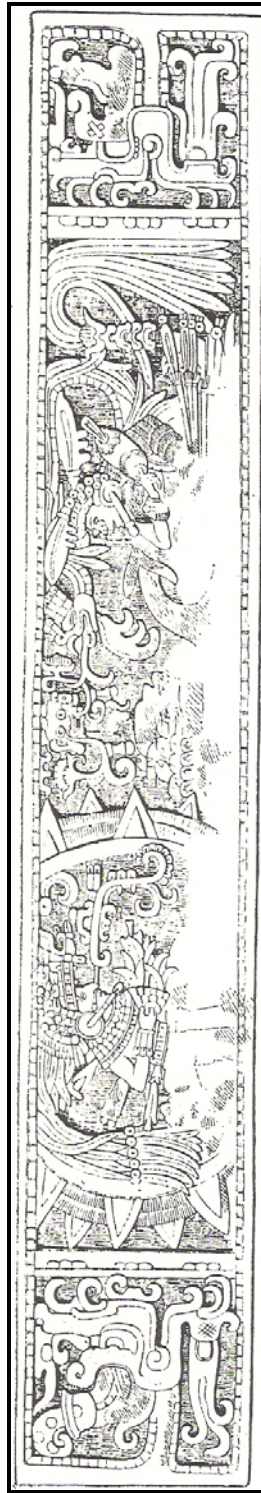
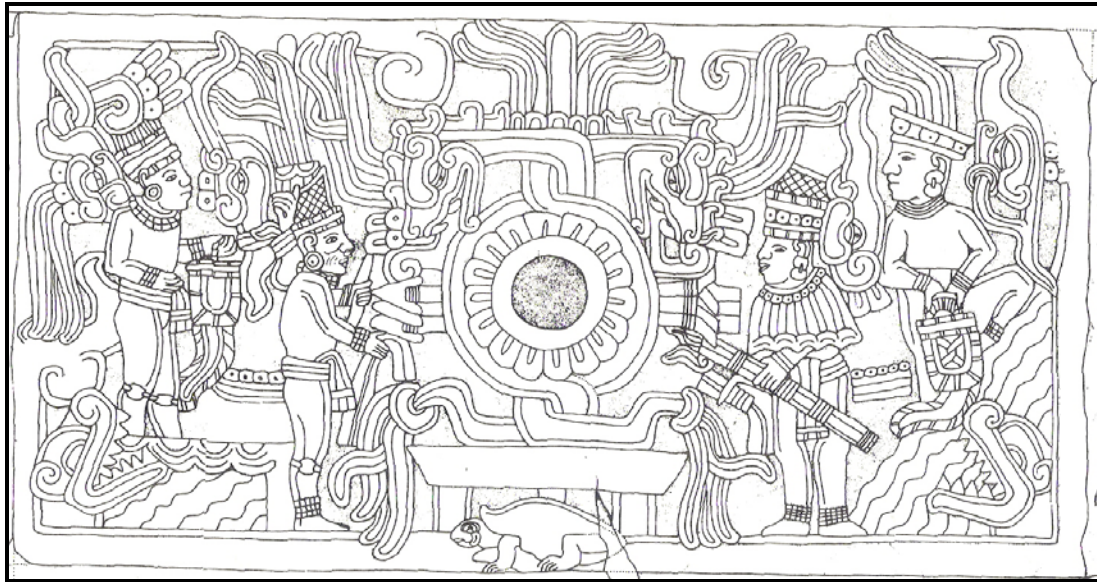
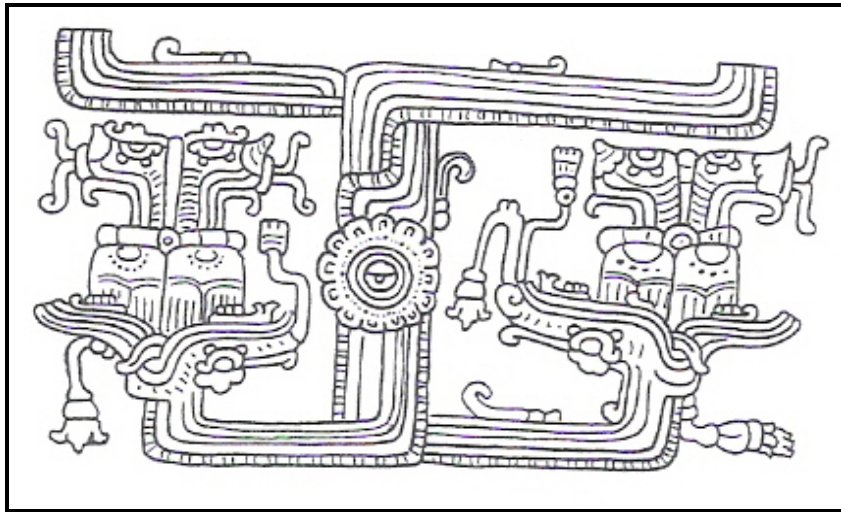


Figure 3.3: The Plumed Serpent and the Sun in Mesoamerica
Paired solar (“Captain Sun Disk”) and plumed serpent figures (“Captain Serpent”) in lintel. Note two plumed serpents as framework for scene, Upper Temple of the Jaguars, Chichén Itzá (Reprinted from Seler 1990-1998: 6: 80, fig. 121a).



A



B

Figure 3.4: The Plumed Serpent and the Sun in Mesoamerica
 (a) Entwined plumed serpents carrying floral disc upward. Note torch bearer at right and cavity at center of flower. El Tajín (Reprinted from Castillo Peña 1995: 522, piece 184).
 (b) Pair of entwined plumed serpents carrying flower upon their bodies, Tulúm Structure 16 (from Taube 2010a: fig. 24a).

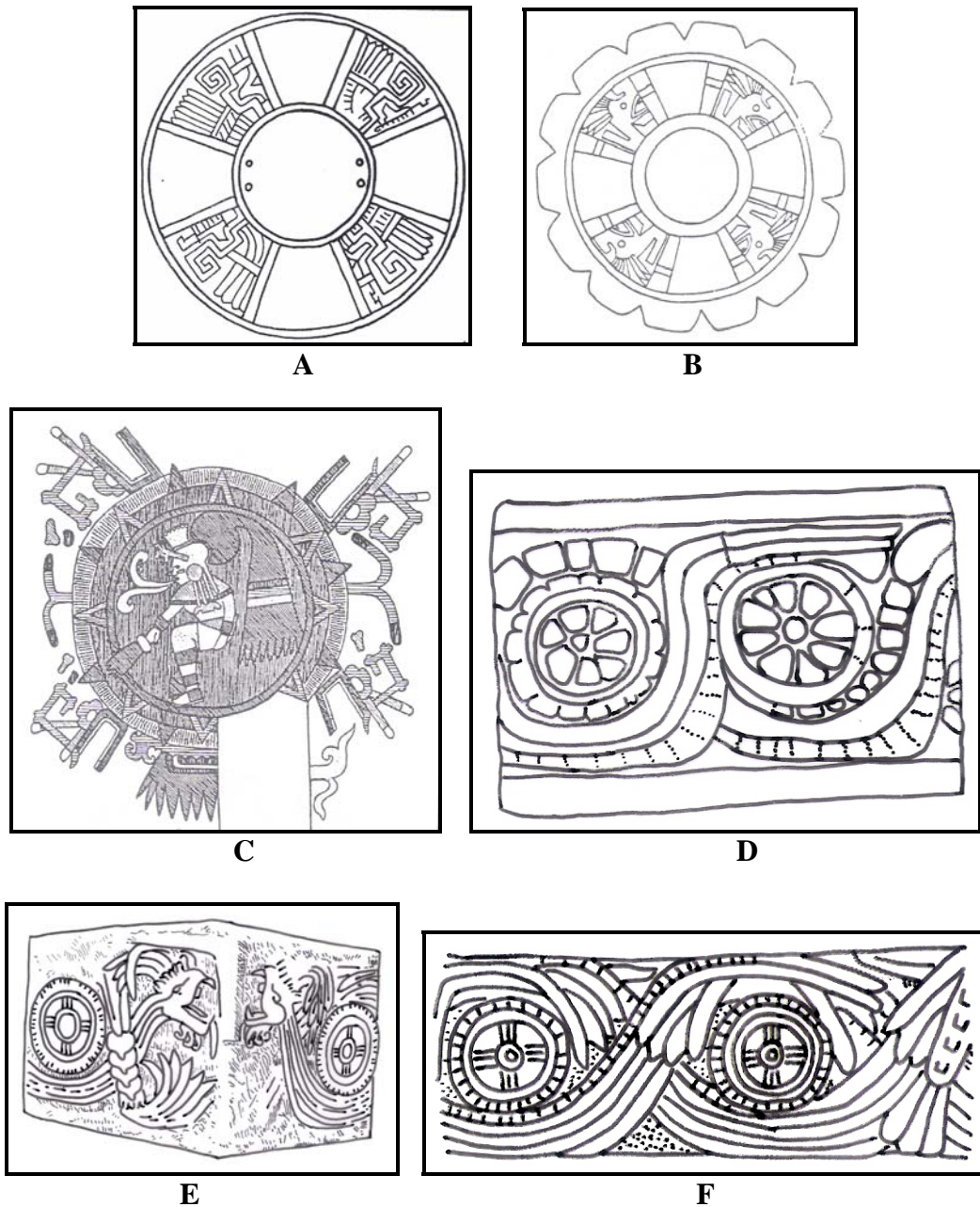


Figure 3.5: Plumed Serpents and Solar Mirrors in Mesoamerica

(a) Tezcacuitlapilli with directional *xiuhcoatl*, Casas Grandes culture (from Taube 1994: fig. 30a)

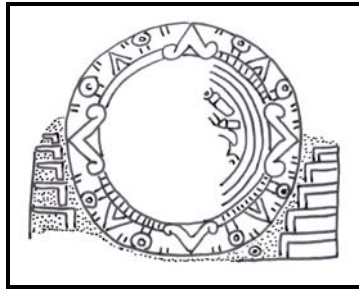
(b) Tezcacuitlapilli with directional *xiuhcoatl*, Temple of Chaac Mool, Chichén Itzá (from Taube 1994: fig. 31a).

(c) Solar disk framed by directional *xiuhcoatl*, Upper Temple of the Jaguars, Chichén Itzá (from Taube 1994: fig. 31b).

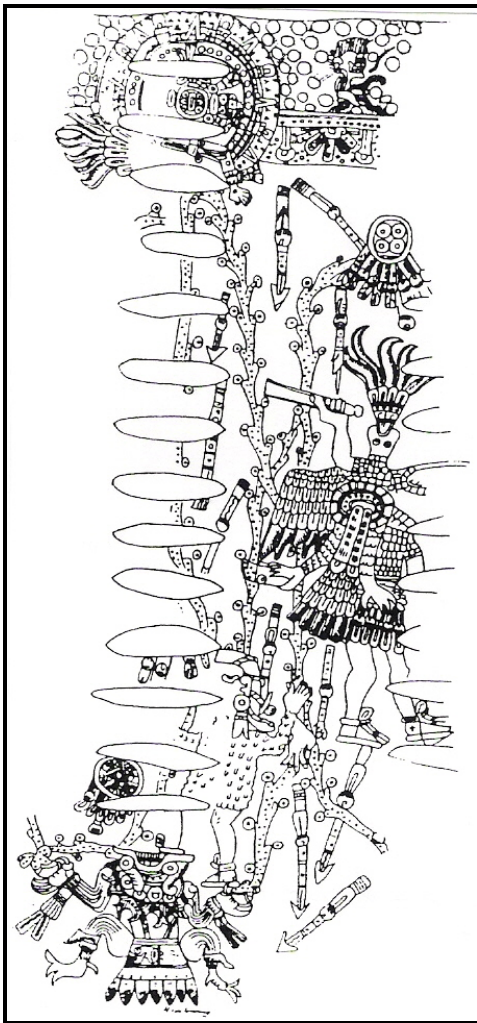
(d) Entwined serpents carrying solar mirror (*tezcacuitlapilli*). Detail of Northeast Colonnade, Chichén Itzá (after Tozzer 1957: 89).

(e) Entwined plumed serpents carrying solar mirrors (*tezcacuitlapilli*). Detail of corner piece from Temple of the Jaguars, Chichén Itzá (after Selser 1990-1998: 6: fig. 88).

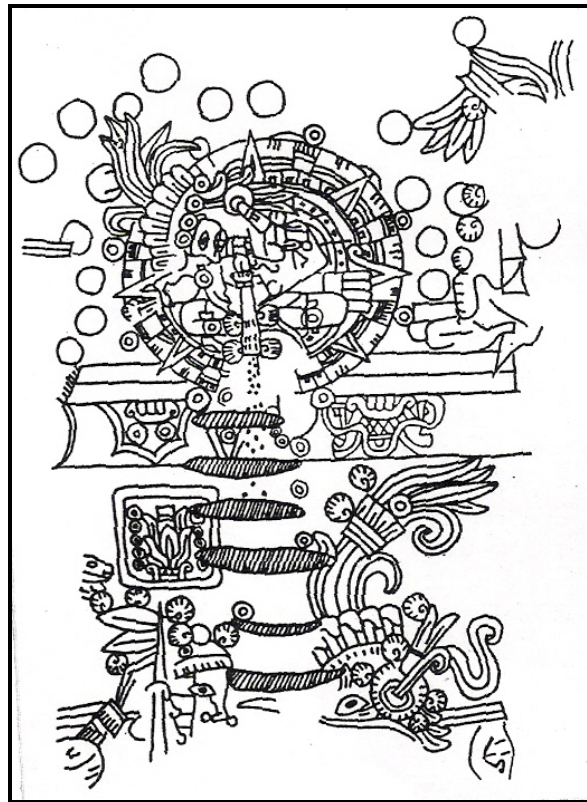
(f) Entwined plumed serpent bodies carrying solar mirror (*tezcacuitlapilli*). Detail of frieze from Temple of the Jaguars, Chichén Itzá (after Selser 1990-1998: 6: fig. 89a).



A



B



C

Figure 4.1: Solar Ladders and Notched Musical Rasps in Postclassic-period Highland Central Mexico
 (a) Detail of painting from Palace IV, Mitla, Oaxaca. Solar disk centered between pyramidal stairway elements (after Furst and Scott 1975: 19, fig. 5).
 (b) Detail of incised human femur rasp, Culhuacan. Note notches of rasp (as path of the sun) connecting the solar disk (top) with the earth monster Tlaltecuhli (bottom) (Reprinted from Von Winning 1959: 88, fig. 2).
 (c) Detail of inscribed scene on Central Mexican rasp. Note alignment of the sun along the rasp notches (from Cepeda Cárdenas and Martín Arana 1968: fig. 11).

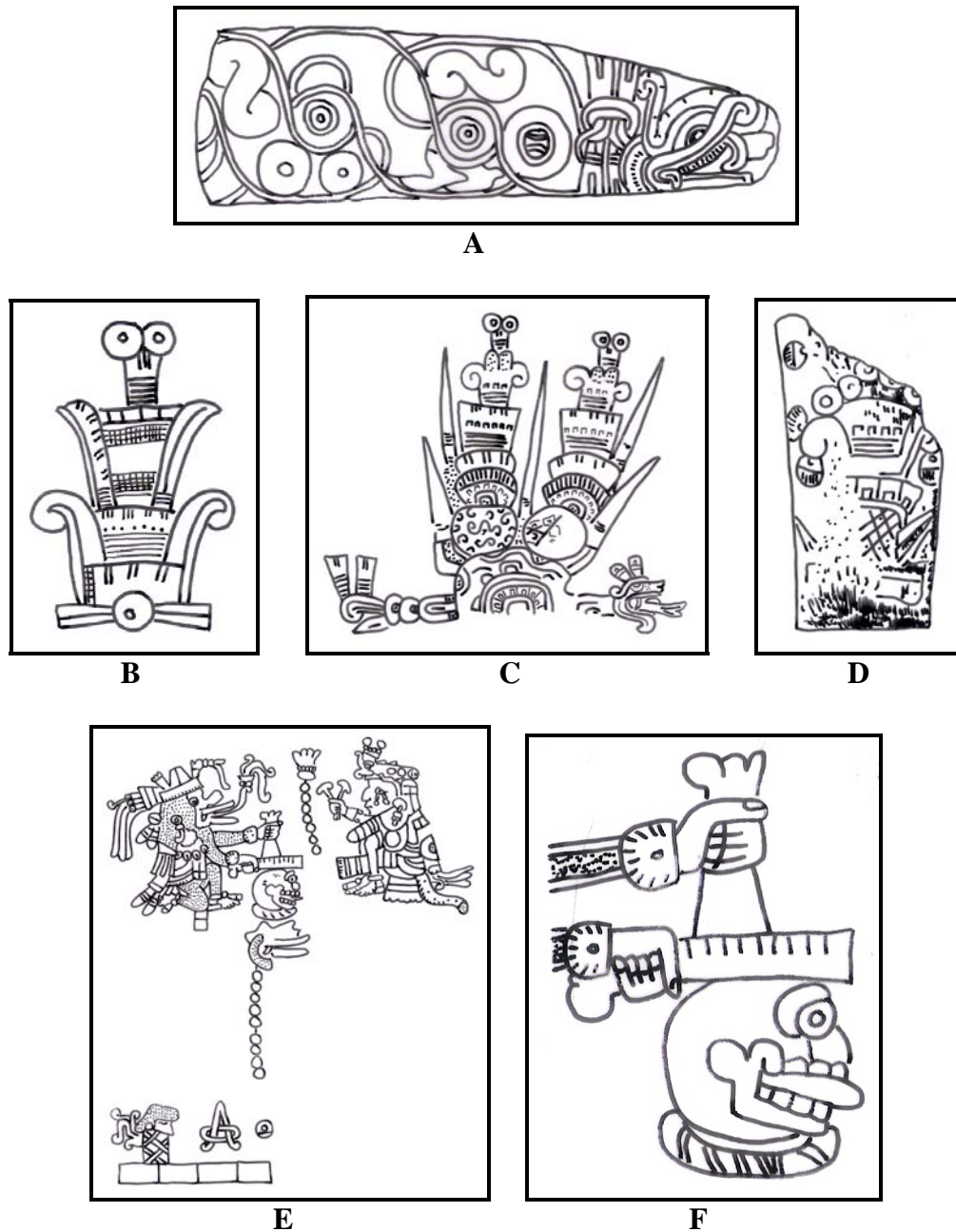


Figure 4.2: Notched Musical Rasps in Postclassic-period Highland Central Mexico

(a) Detail of notched musical rasp fragment, Aztec. Note entwined rattlesnakes and possible cloud scrolls on body (after Beyer 1934: 346, fig. 16).

(b) Detail of incised flower image from notched musical rasp, Aztec (after Beyer 1934: 340, fig. 10).

(c) Detail of flowering spiny plant, from incised notched musical rasp, Aztec (after Beyer 1934: 342, fig. 13).

(d) Detail of flowering spiny plant, from incised notched musical rasp, Aztec (after Beyer 1934: 342, fig. 14).

(e) Detail of funeral ceremony in *Codex Vindobonensis* pg. 24. Note images of 9-Wind (Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl) rasping alongside Xochipilli and mortuary bundle at lower left (after Beyer 1934: 336, fig. 6).

(f) Detail of notched bone rasp on skull resonator used by 9-Wind (Ehecatl-Quetzalcoatl), *Codex Vindobonensis* pg. 24 (after Pereira 2005: 296, fig. 2).

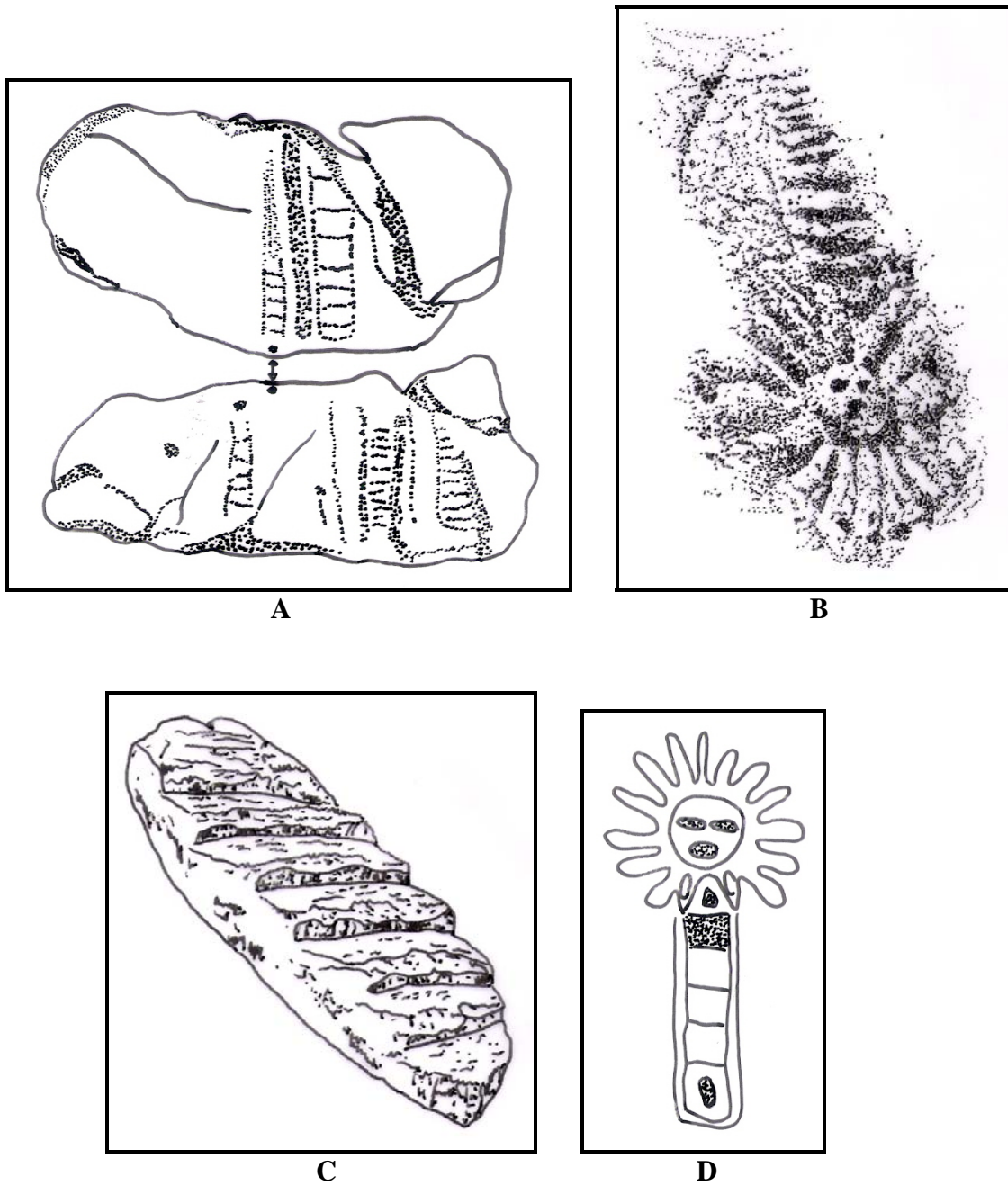


Figure 4.3: Solar Ladders in Ancient and Contemporary West Mexico
 (a) Ladder-like petroglyphs at the coastal site of La Coba, Nayarit. Note solitary pits at the tops of some ladders (after Mounjjoy 1987: fig. 3:10).
 (b) Petroglyph of Sun on ladder element (*imúmui*), site of Los Monos along Río Acaponeta, Nayarit (after Jáuregui and Magriña 2007: 72 [original photo in Furst and Scott 1975: 16, fig. 2]).
 (c) Ancient *imumui*, "staircase of the gods" (35 cm.), found near Huichol community of San Sebastian (after Lumholtz 1900: 62, fig. 49).
 (d) Detail of yarn painting by Ramón Medina Silva depicting Sun on ladder (*imúmui*) (after Furst and Scott 1975: 18, fig. 3).

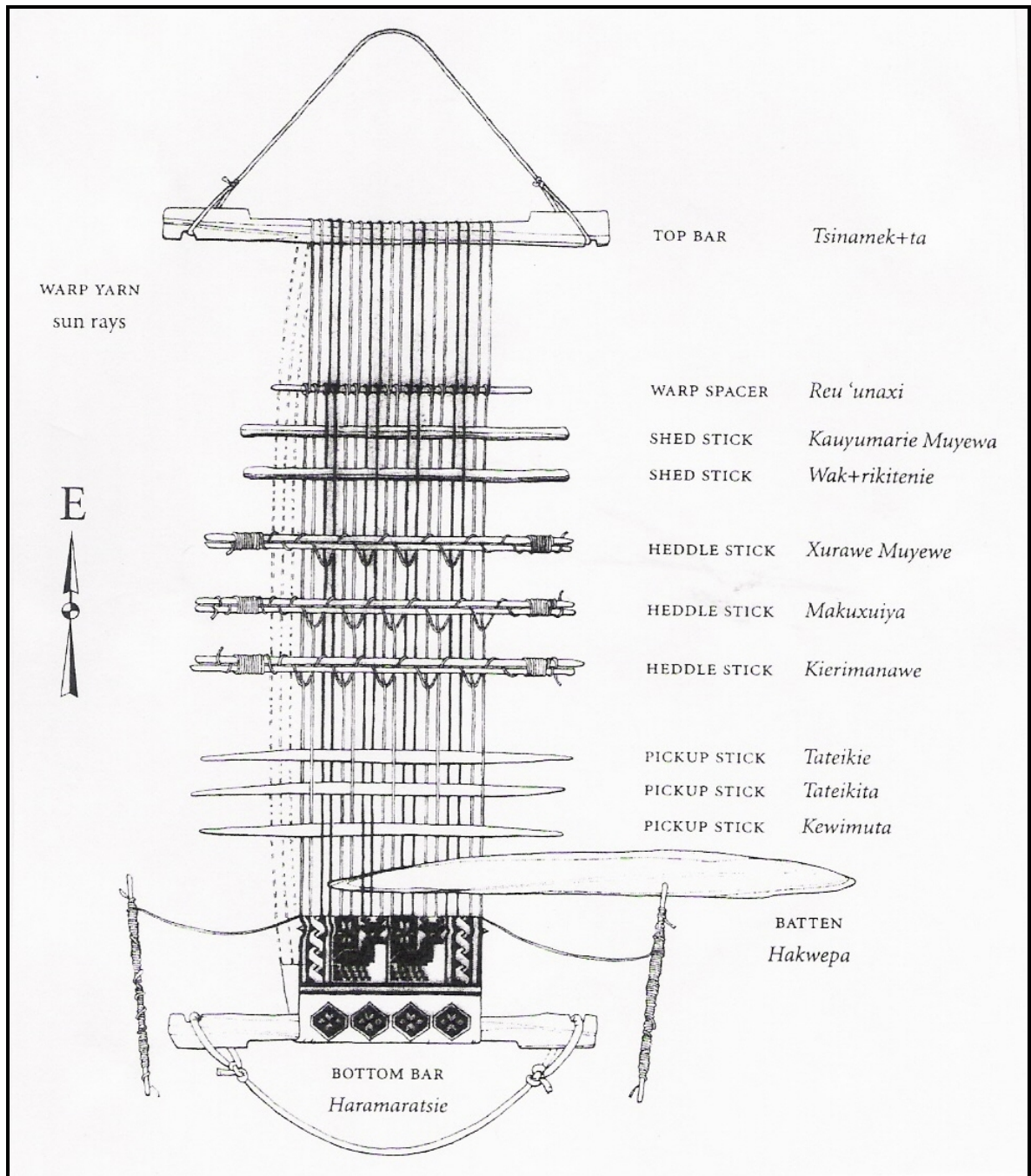


Figure 4.4: The Huichol Loom as a Symbolic Solar Ladder

Huichol backstrap loom as symbolic path of the sun. Note bottom bar representing west (Haramaratsie) and top representing the sun rising in Wirikuta at Reu'naxi (or Paritecua) in the east. Note crosswise loom sticks representing sacred places, or steps on the "ladder", upon which the Sun ascends and travels across the sky (Reprinted from Schaefer 2002: 217, fig. 41).

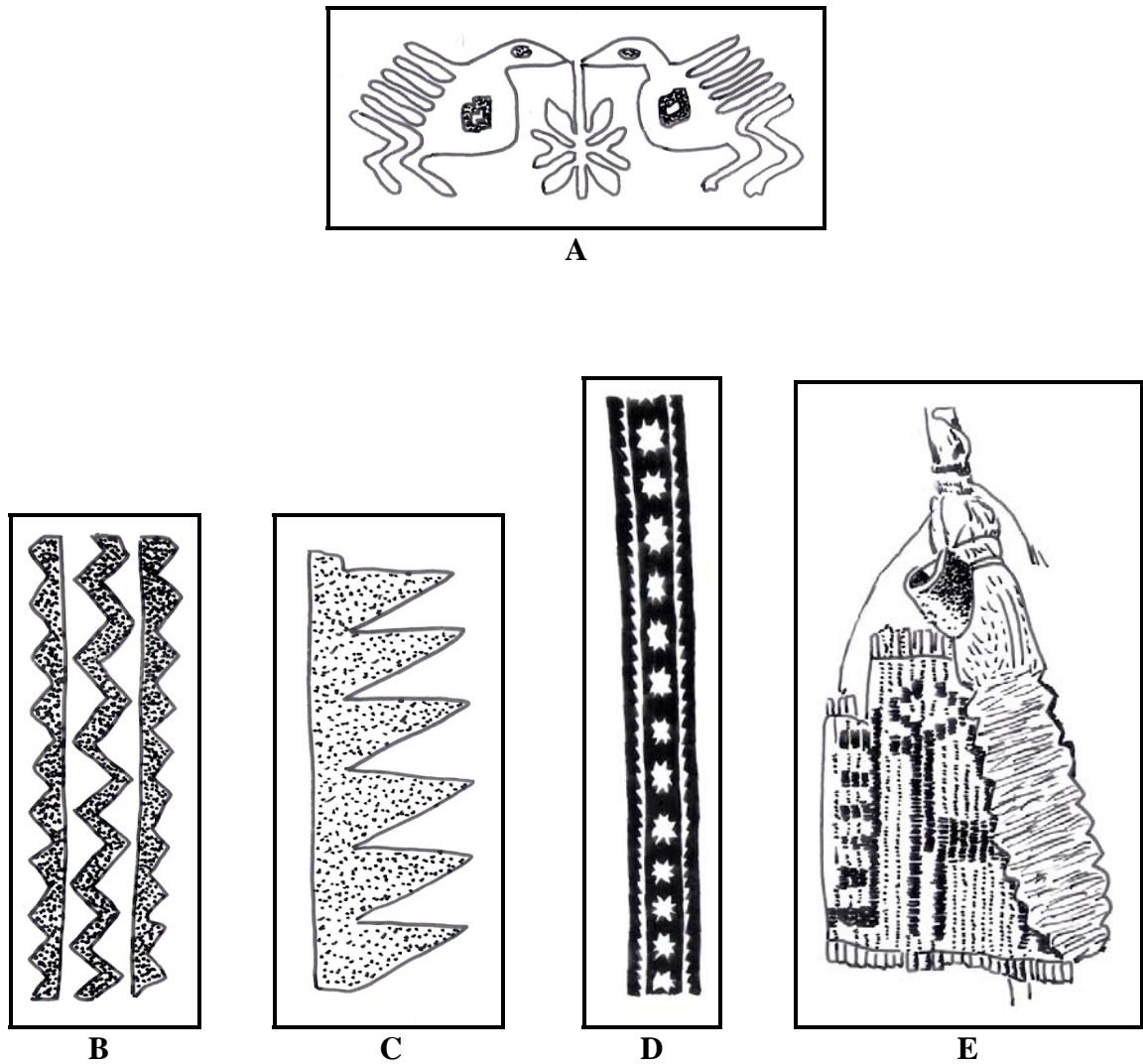
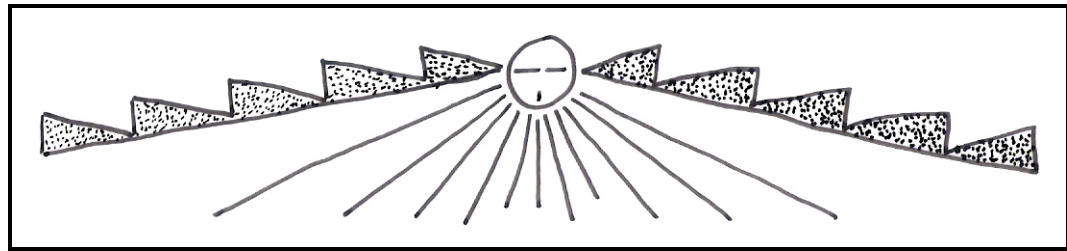
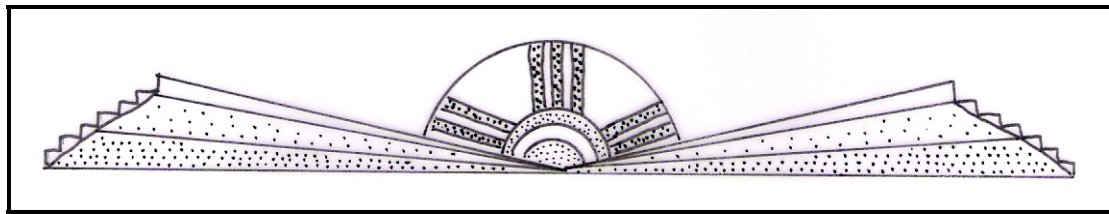


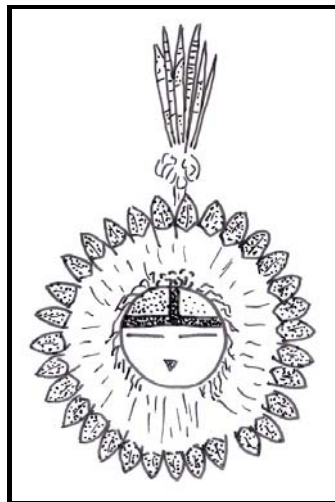
Figure 4.5: Notched Musical Rasps and Flower World in the Ethnographic Material Culture of West Mexico
 (a) Detail of "hummingbirds-sipping-flower nectar" motif on Huichol textile (after Lumholtz 1904: 305, fig. 435).
 (b) Detail of notched deer bone design commonly found as border of Huichol textile pouches (after Lumholtz 1904: 297, fig. 406).
 (c) Huichol notched stick design representing the notched deer bone. Commonly found on textile borders (after Lumholtz 1904: 297, fig. 404).
 (d) Detail of Huichol textile depicting a band of *toto* flowers and notched deer bone motif along border, a motif that suggests the notched rasp as a "flower road" (after Lumholtz 1904: 321, fig. 510).
 (e) Miniature wooden object attached to a Huichol prayer arrow. Object represents the notched deer bone (after Lumholtz 1904: 297, fig. 405).



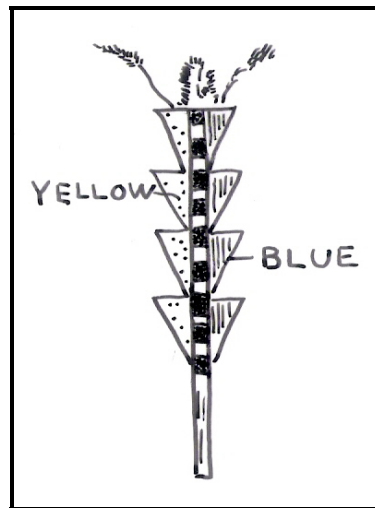
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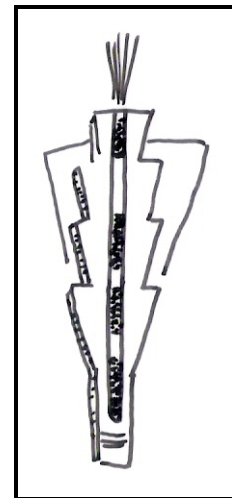
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Figure 4.6: The Ladder of the Sun in the Ethnographic Material Culture of the American Southwest

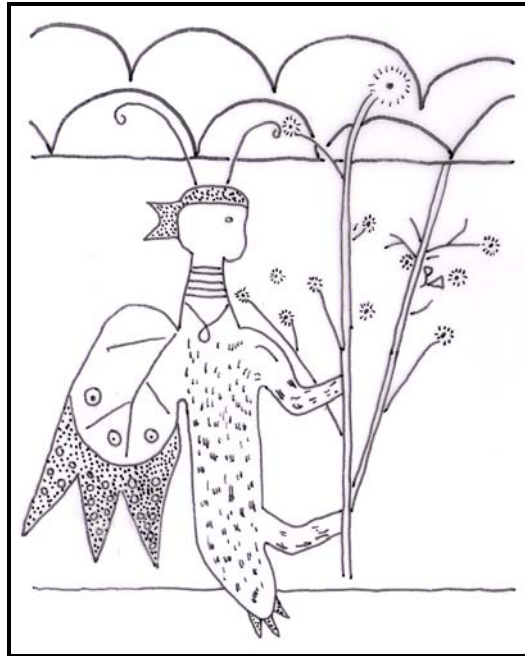
(a) The ascent and descent of the sun along a stairway element. Detail of painting by contemporary San Ildefonso Pueblo artist Romando Vigil entitled *Legend of the Game* (after Tanner 1973: 109, fig. 5.18).

(b) The ascent and descent of the sun along a stairway element. Detail of an early-twentieth-century painting from Zia Pueblo artist Ma-Pe-Wi entitled *Buffalo Hunt* (after Dunn 1968: 238, fig. 91).

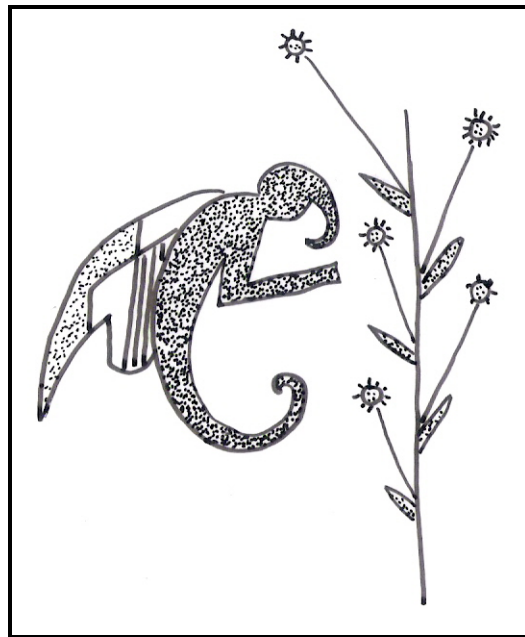
(c) Detail of painting of Sun disk (*Tawa*) with bundle of feathers behind head possibly representing the headdress of the Sun Youth, Hopi Buffalo Dance painting by Fred Kabotie (after Kabotie and Belknap 1977: 51).

(d) Hopi "sun ladders" used in Buffalo Dance. Item painted half blue and half yellow (after Parsons 1923b: 23, fig. 2c).

(e) Hopi "sun ladders" used in Buffalo Dance. Item painted half blue and half yellow (after Stephen 1936: 125, fig. 80).



A



B

Figure 5.1: Flowers in the Archaeological Material Culture of the American Southwest
 (a) Detail of butterflies or insects carrying flowers. Note depiction of flower as a circle with a central dot and peripheral tick-marks. Pottery Mound Kiva 1 (after Hibben 1975: fig. 8).
 (b) Detail of Sikyatki ceramic vessel from Awat'ovi depicting hummingbird or insect alighting on flowers. Note depiction of flowers as central solid circle with peripheral, petal-like tick marks (after Smith 1952: fig. 17f).

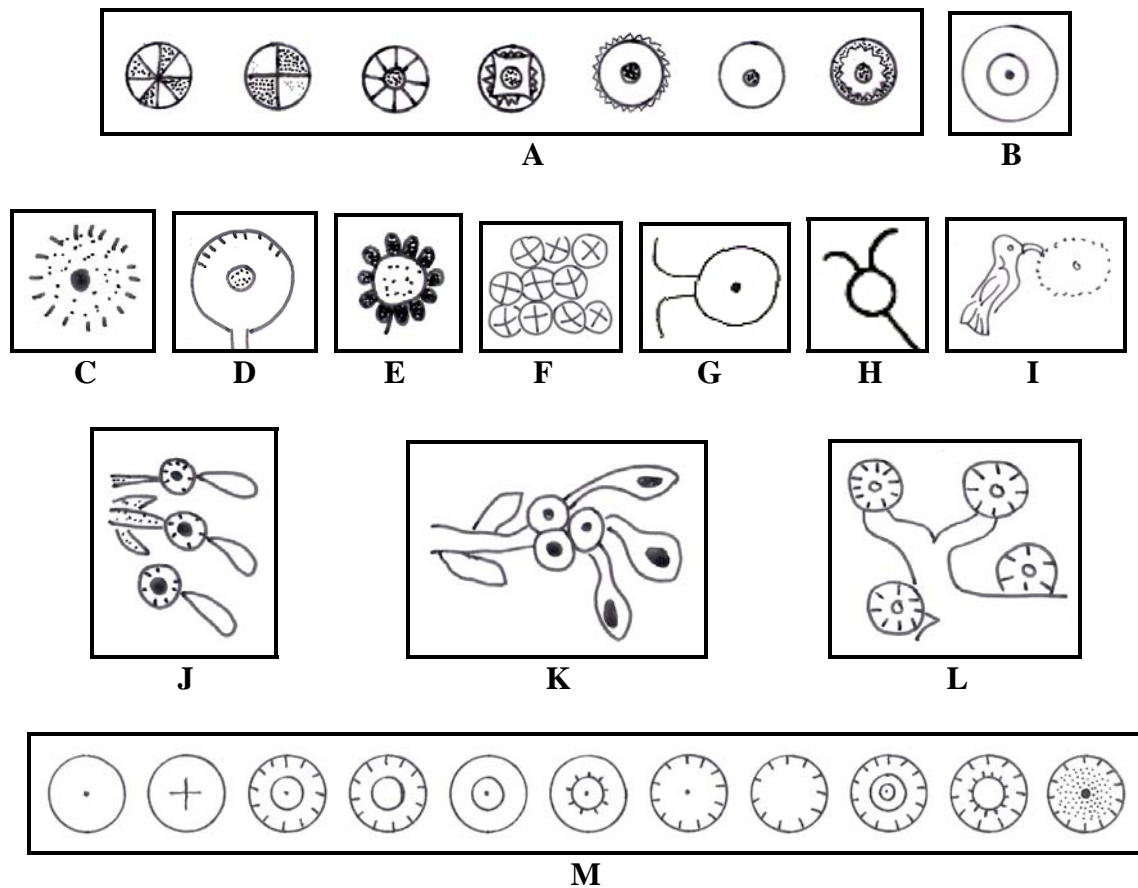


Figure 5.2: Flowers in the Archaeological Material Culture of Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest

(a) Detail of flowers found on plumed serpent basebands. Awat'ovi kiva murals (after Smith 1952: fig. 18kk-qq).

(b) Detail of flower from baseband of Awat'ovi kiva murals, Room 529 (after Smith 1952: fig. 61a).

(c) Detail of flower from Pottery Mound kiva murals, Kiva 1, Layer 1, North Wall (after Hibben 1975: fig. 8).

(d) Detail of sunflower, Pottery Mound kiva mural, Kiva 2, Layer 1, North Wall (after Hibben 1975: fig. 14).

(e) Detail of flower on Sikyatki polychrome from Awat'ovi (after Smith 1952: fig. 17f).

(f) Detail of artificial cornflowers from Hopi winter solstice altar (after Fewkes 1898b: plate 1).

(g) Flower with breathlike fragrance. Detail of Olmec jadeite earspool, La Venta (from Taube 2001: 108, fig. 81).

(h) Flower with emerging breath or aroma. Detail of incised Olmec celt (from Taube 2001: 109, fig. 84).

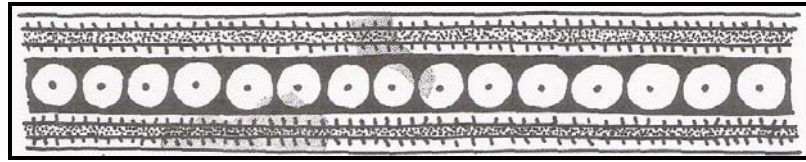
(i) Detail of flower. Drawing of carved bone from Late Classic Maya site of Aguateca, Guatemala (after line drawing by Alfredo Roman, from photo by Dr. Takeshi Inomata [Aguateca Archaeological Project]. Courtesy of Reiko Ishihara (2009: fig. 7.49).

(j) Detail of flowering tree, Techinantitla, Teotihuacan. Note flowers depicted as circle with central dot and tick-marks (after Berrin et al. 1988: 155, fig. VI.8b).

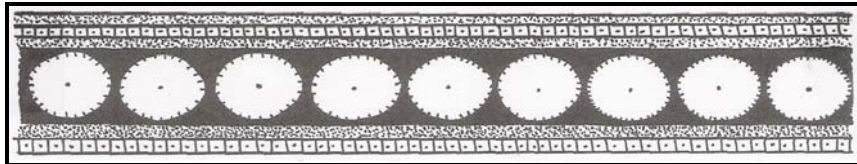
(k) Detail of flowering tree, Techinantitla, Teotihuacan. Note flowers depicted as circle with central dot (after Berrin et al. 1988: 151, fig. VI.5a).

(l) Detail of flowering tree. Note flowers depicted as circle with central dot and tick marks (after *Codex Borgia*, pg. 30).

(m) Proposed flowers on Casas Grandes Medio-period ceramics. Drawn by Michael Mathiowetz.



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G

Figure 5.3: Flower Road Symbolism on Casas Grandes Ceramics

(a) Ramos Polychrome design layouts comprised of a running band of circular motifs representing probable “flower road”. Reproduction of an original illustration published in Casas Grandes Volume 6, page 262, Figure 290-6, No. 1/ Courtesy of The Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Artist (Di Peso et al. 1974).

(b) Ramos Polychrome design layouts composed of a running band of circular motifs representing probable “flower road”. Reproduction of an original illustration published in Casas Grandes Volume 6, page 262, Figure 290-6, No. 2/ Courtesy of The Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Artist (Di Peso et al. 1974).

(c) Ceramic vessel with running band of circular motifs, Chihuahuan polychrome (Catalog No. A323853. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(d) Ceramic vessel with running band of circular motifs. Chihuahuan polychrome (Catalog No. A323908. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(e) Ceramic vessel with running band of circular motifs. Chihuahuan polychrome (Catalog No. A375820. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(f) Bowl exterior ornamented with floral medallions (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 6332. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(g) Bowl exterior ornamented with floral medallions. Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 20642/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

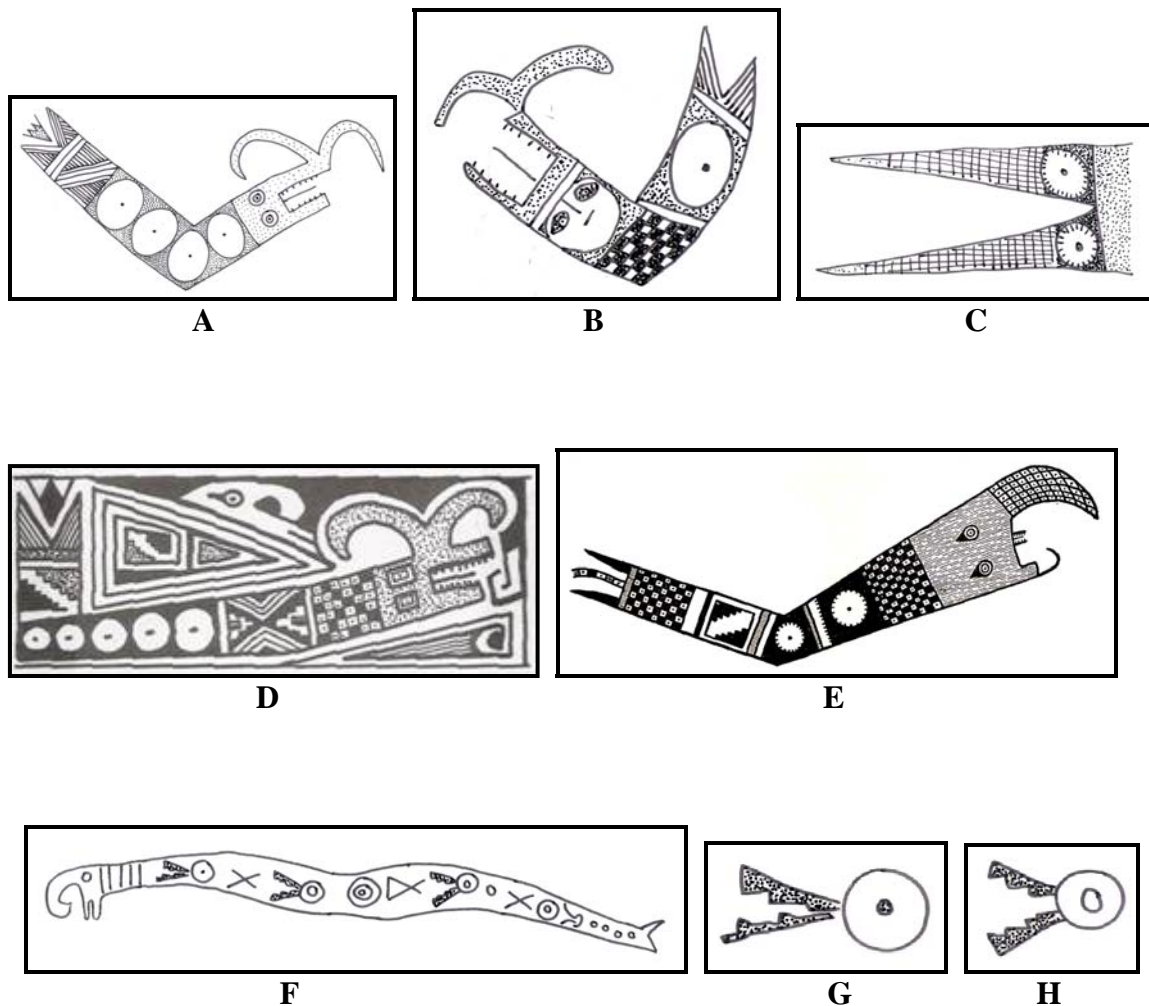


Figure 5.4: Casas Grandes Horned and Plumed Serpent as Flower Road

- (a) Running band of circular motifs on plumed serpent body, Chihuahuan polychrome. Catalog No. A323830, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution., Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz.
- (b) Plumed serpent with circular floral medallion and human face on body, Chihuahuan polychrome (Moulard 1984: pl. 87).
- (c) Detail of floral elements on tail of plumed serpent, Chihuahuan polychrome (after VanPool and VanPool 2007: 109, fig. 7.1b).
- (d) Plumed serpent with running band of circular motifs, Chihuahuan polychrome. Reproduction of an original illustration published in Casas Grandes Volume 6, page 266, Figure 290-6, No. 26, as cropped in attached sample./ Courtesy of The Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dagoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Artist (Di Peso et al. 1974).
- (e) Horned serpent with floral medallions on body, Chihuahuan polychrome (Reprinted from Kidder 1916: fig. 7).
- (f) Horned serpent with probable circular floral elements on body. Pictograph from Picture Cave, Hueco region, west Texas (after Cosgrove 1947: fig. 44.24).
- (g) Probable flower located on body of horned serpent. Note terraced motif likely indicating aroma. Detail of pictograph from Picture Cave, Texas. Also see Fig. 5.4f (after Cosgrove 1947: fig. 44.24).
- (h) Probable flower located on body of horned serpent. Note terraced element likely indicating aroma. Detail of pictograph from Picture Cave, Texas. Also see Fig. 5.4f (after Cosgrove 1947: fig. 44.24).

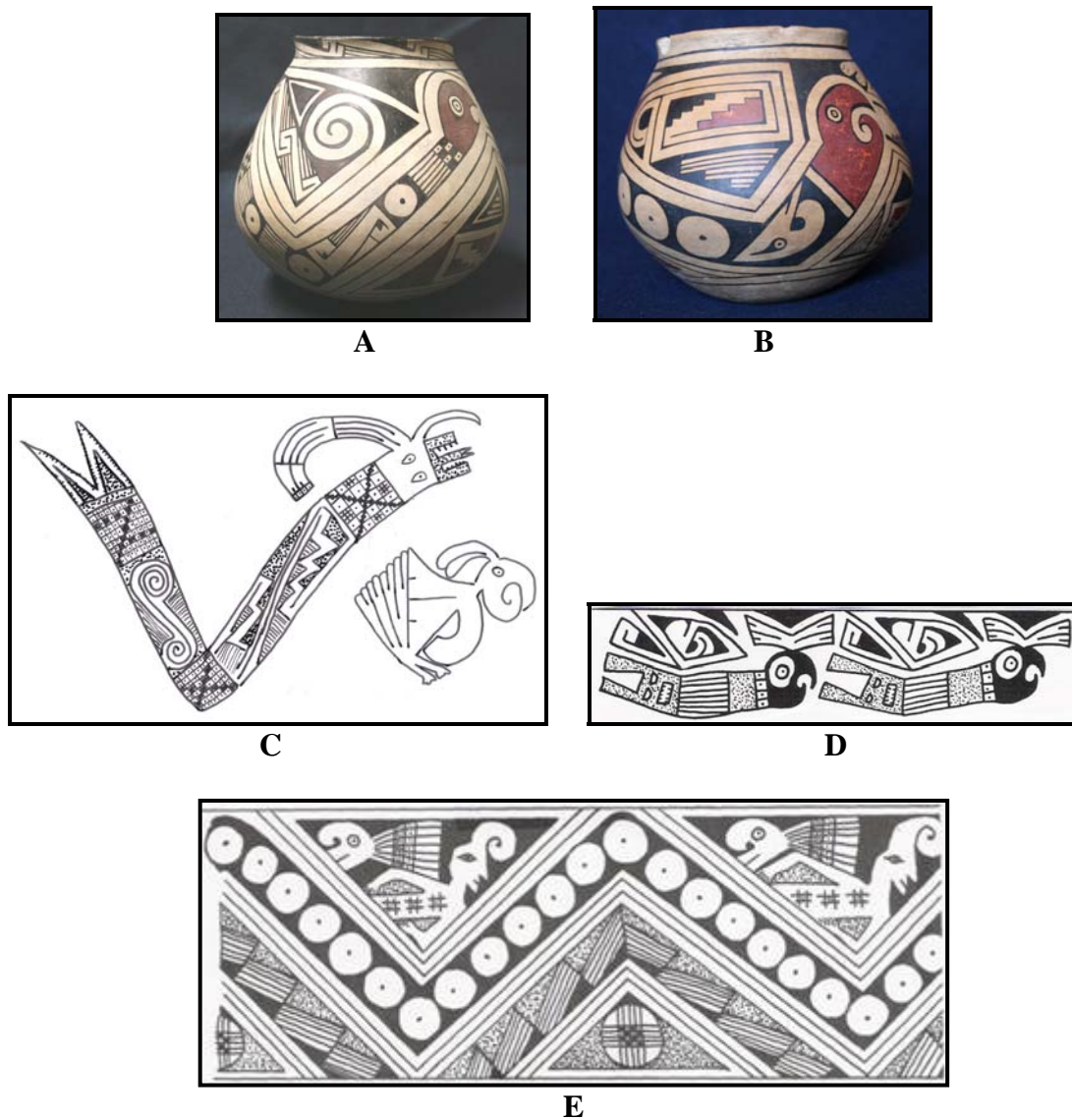


Figure 5.5: Macaws, Plumed Serpents, and Flower Road in Casas Grandes Symbolism

(a) Ceramic vessel with running band of circular motifs on body of macaw-headed serpent (Catalog No. A323932.

Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(b) Jar depicting macaw-headed serpent. Note running bands of circular elements along body (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 1335. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(c) Detail of one of two pairs of macaws and horned and plumed serpents, Chihuahuan polychrome (after Townsend 2005a: 117, plate 57b).

(d) Depiction of macaw as a plumed serpent. Note toothed katsina figure on the tail. Reproduction of an original illustration published in Casas Grandes Volume 6, page 274, Figure 290-6, No. 62, as cropped in attached sample./ Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Artist (Di Peso et al. 1974).

(e) Rollout drawing of design on high status burial urn found in the House of the Walk-in-Well. Note zig-zag running band of circular floral motifs that likely represent the body of the plumed serpent and Flower Road. Also note human figure within the undulations of the serpent body. Reproduction of an original illustration published in Casas Grandes Volume 6, page 272, Figure 290-6, No. 54./ Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Artist (Di Peso et al. 1974).

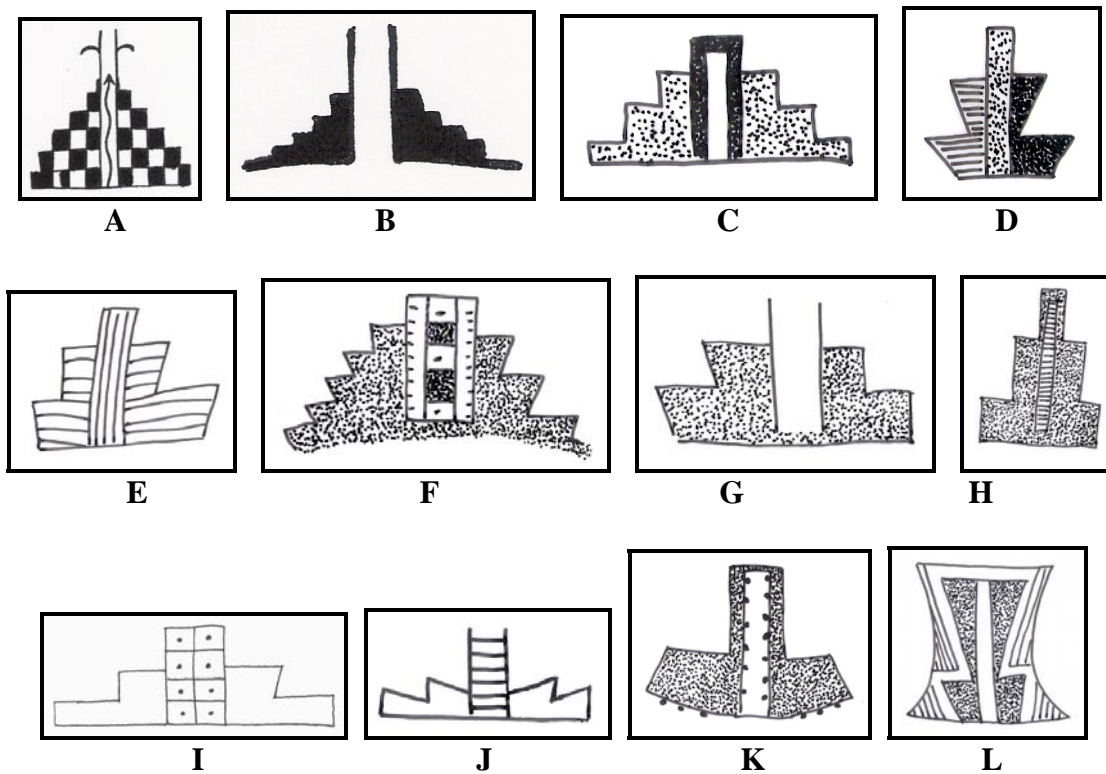


Figure 5.6: Spirit Paths in the American Southwest and Northern Mexico

- (a) Stepped mountain or cloud motif with central "spirit path". Detail of nineteenth-century Cochiti ceremonial vessel (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.29g).
- (b) Stepped mountain or cloud motif with central "spirit path". Detail of Pueblo IV Hawikuh vessel (from Taube 2010c: fig. 25.9e).
- (c) Detail of stepped mountain or cloud motif with "spirit path", Chihuahuan polychrome (after Christman 2002: 53).
- (d) Stepped mountain or cloud motif with "spirit path". Detail of Ramos Polychrome (after Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 264, fig. 12).
- (e) Stepped mountain or cloud motif with central "spirit path", Detail of Ramos Polychrome (after photo in Townsend 2005a: 60, pl. 28a).
- (f) Stepped mountain or cloud with central "spirit path", Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (after Fields and Zamudio-Taylor 2001: 25, fig. 5).
- (g) Stepped mountain or cloud with central "spirit path", Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (after Fields and Zamudio-Taylor 2001: 25, fig. 5).
- (h) Stepped mountain or cloud with central "spirit path", Detail of Escondida Polychrome (after photo in Townsend 2005a: 107, pl. 51).
- (i) Stepped mountain or cloud with central "spirit path" comprised of dot-in-square maize motif, Detail of Escondida Polychrome (after Townsend 2005a: 137, pl. 73).
- (j) Detail of common ceramic design layout depicting stepped mountain or cloud and "spirit path", Casas Grandes (after Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 13, type I.H.3).
- (k) Stepped mountain or cloud and "spirit path", Detail of Escondida Polychrome (after Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 234, fig. 13).
- (l) Stepped mountain or cloud and "spirit path", Detail of Escondida Polychrome (after Townsend 2005a: 140, pl. 76).

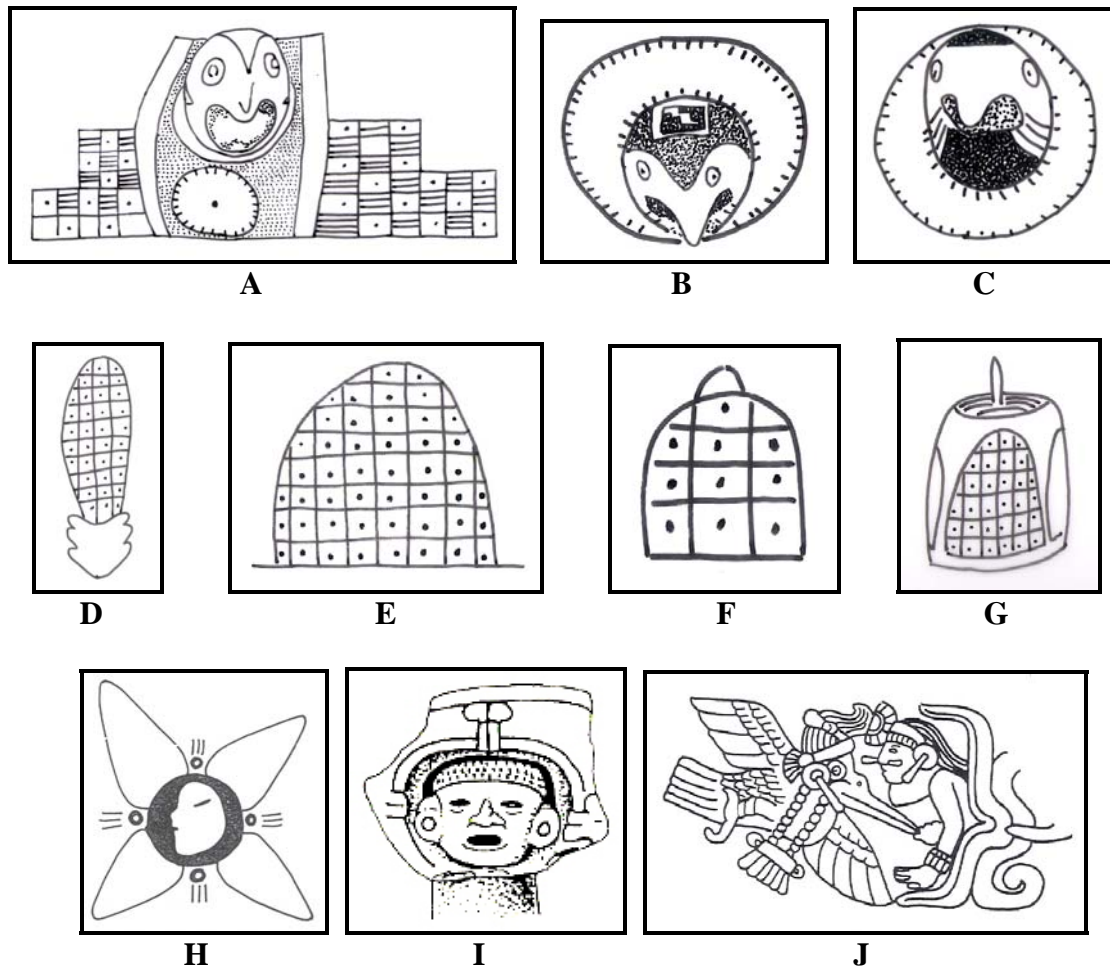


Figure 5.7: Spirit Paths and Flowers in Casas Grandes and Mesoamerican Symbolism

- (a) Stepped mountain or cloud with macaw head and flower positioned within the central "spirit path". Note the probable dot-in-square maize motif within the stepped mound. Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome, reconstructed and drawn after Christman 2002: 24).
- (b) Macaw head protruding from probable flower blossom, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (after Christman 2002: 31).
- (c) Macaw head protruding from probable flower blossom, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (after Townsend 2005a: 71, pl. 32b).
- (d) Depiction of maize cob with dot-in-a-square motif representing the kernels, Awat'ovi kiva murals (after Smith 1952: 227, fig. 18g).
- (e) Depiction of maize cob with dot-in-a-square maize motif, Awat'ovi kiva murals (after Smith 1952: 227, fig. 18f).
- (f) Depiction of maize cob with dot-in-a-square motif. Detail from katsina mask (after Colton 1949: 18).
- (g) Hopi *ti'poni* with directional maize comprised of dot-in-a-square motif (after Stephen 1936: 799, fig. 434).
- (h) Depiction of human face in the center of a four-petalled flower blossom, Olmec. Painting 1-a, Oxtotitlan Cave (image courtesy of Karl Taube).
- (i) Detail of censer chimney depicting human face in the center of a flower, Teotihuacan (from Taube 2001: 108, fig. 82g).
- (j) Depiction of human emerging from flower. Note hummingbird in front of flower. Hall E, Chichén Itzá (from Taube 2011a: fig. 18a).



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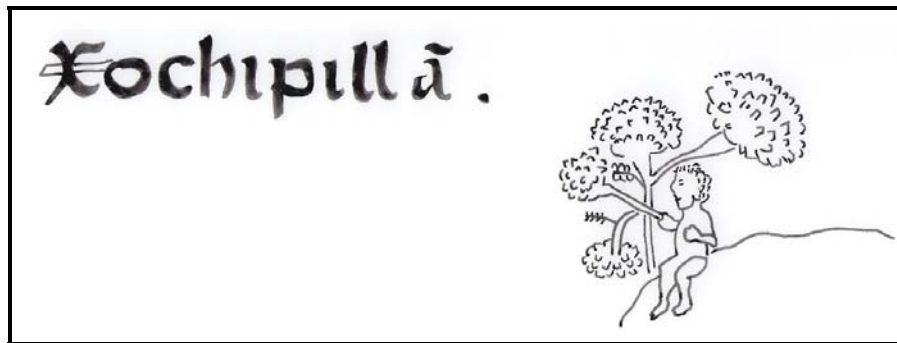
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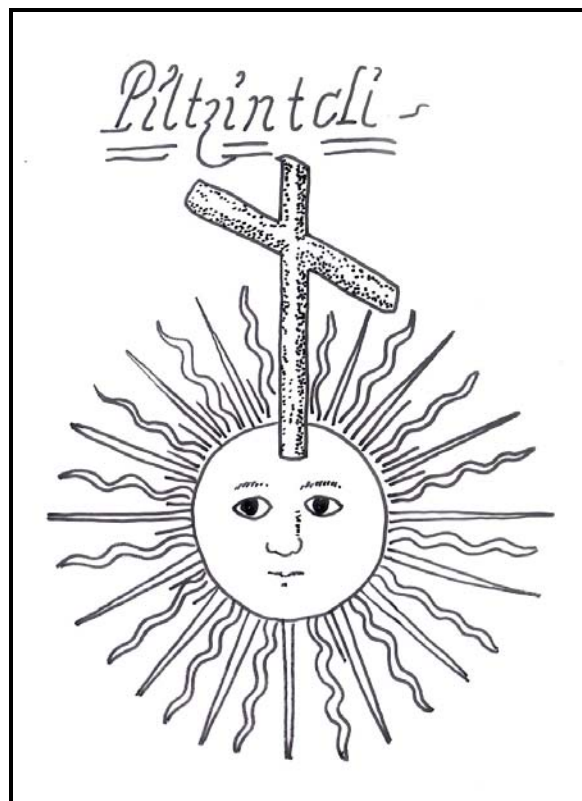
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Figure 6.1: Xochipilli in Postclassic-period Mesoamerica

- (a) Alabaster or travertine vessel with portrayal of Xochipilli. Note seated position, crested headdress and tassels on side of head. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz, Museo Arqueológico de Mazatlán, Sinaloa.
- (b) Alabaster or travertine vessel with portrayal of Xochipilli. Note seated position, crested headdress and tassels on side of head. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz, Museo Arqueológico de Mazatlán, Sinaloa.
- (c) Stone sculpture of Aztec deity Xochipilli excavated from Templo Mayor in Mexico City. Sculpture was surrounded by musical instruments, some in the form of flowers. Note seated position, crested headdress, and tassels at sides of head (Reprinted from Solís 2004: fig. 77).
- (d) Portion of ceramic sculpture depicting Aztec deity Xochipilli. Note crested head and tassels at side of head (Reprinted from Solís 2004: fig. 331).
- (e) Seated figure with crested headdress and tassels on head, Huastec region near Tamuín, San Luis Potosí (Reprinted from de la Fuente and Solana 1980: 169, fig. 2).
- (f) Ceramic head of figure, likely Xochipilli, with prominent head crest and a pair of tassels on each side of the head, Veracruz AD 1000-1400 (Reprinted from Von Winning 1996: fig. 257).



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Figure 6.2: Ethnohistoric Portrayals of the Solar Deity Xochipilli/Piltzintli in West Mexico
 (a) Detail of toponym for town named “Xochipilla”, likely of modern town of Juchipila, Zacatecas. Note depiction of young deity Xochipilli holding marigold flowers, Lienzo de Tlaxcala (after Chavero 1979 [1892]: pl. 58).
 (b) Eastern solar deity Piltzintli. Detail of Cora solar calendar recorded by Fray Antonio Arias de Saavedra, AD 1673. Note Christian cross emerging from forehead (after Neurath 2011: 64).

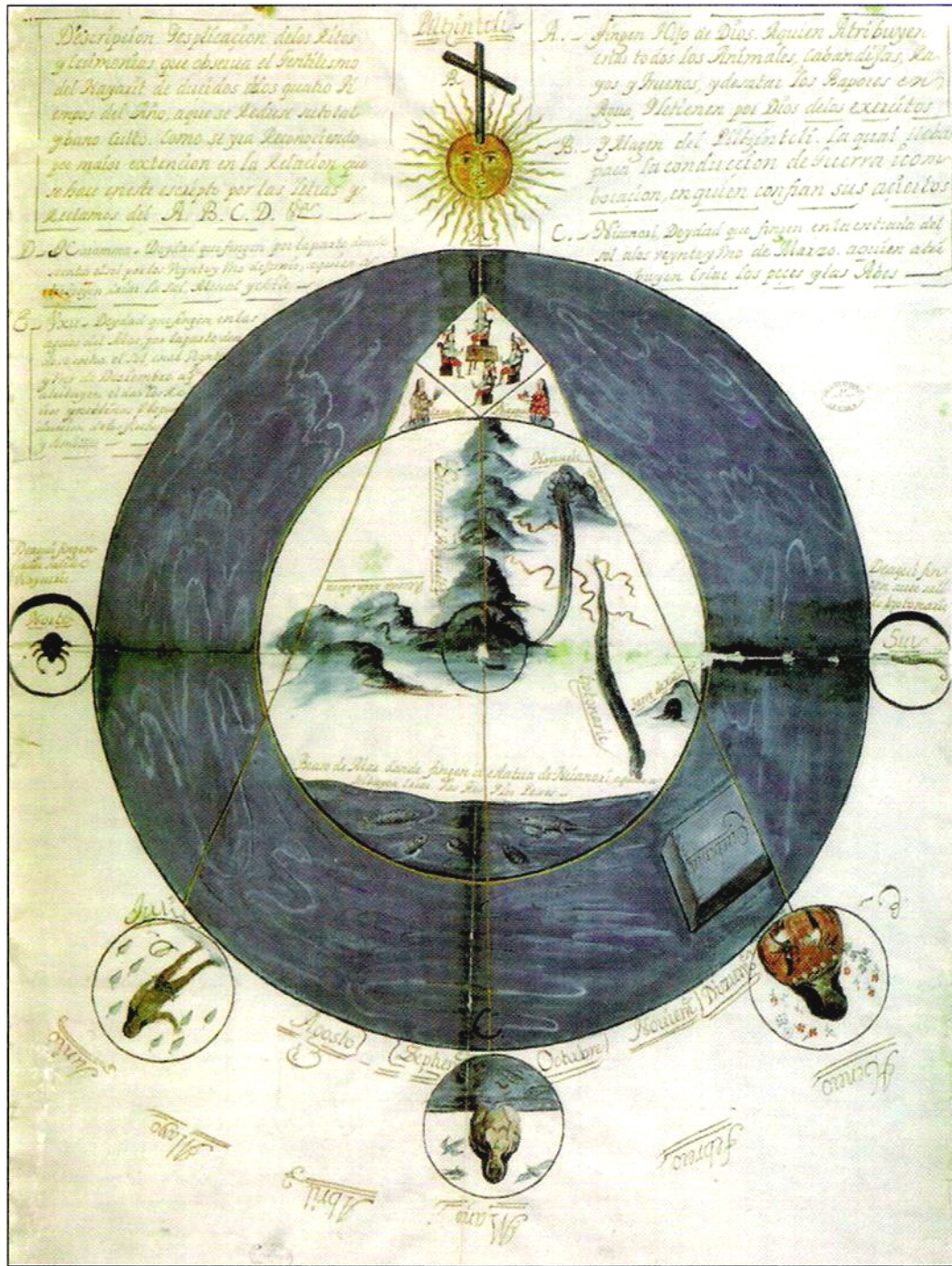


Figure 6.3: Cora Solar Calendar in West Mexico
 Cora solar calendar accompanying report of Fr. Antonio Arias de Saavedra [1673] that portrays the eastern solar deity Piltzintli. Note depiction of lineage of four deceased Cora priest-kings seated around table in cave at Mesa del Nayar, Nayarit (Reprinted from Neurath 2011: 64).

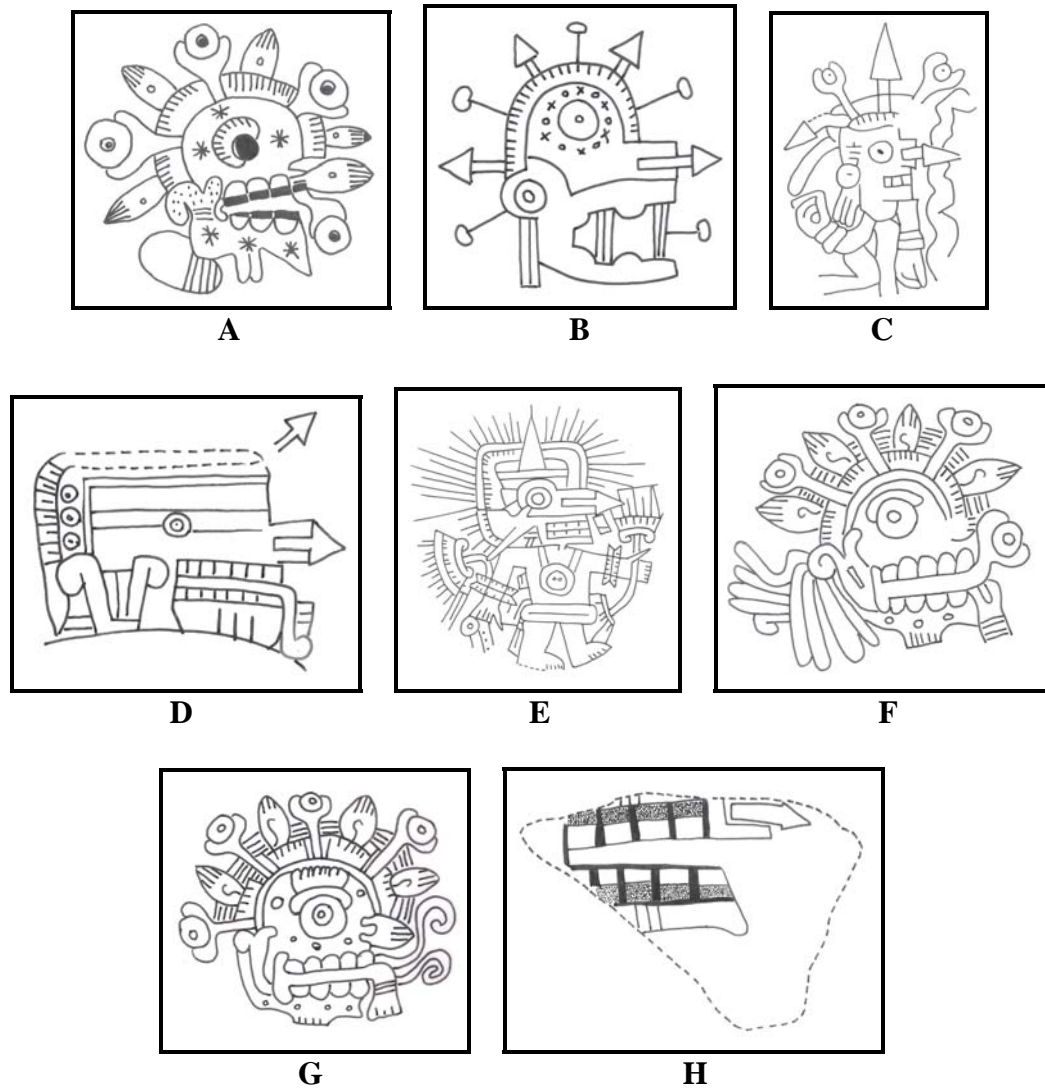


Figure 6.4: Representations of Venus as the Morning Star in Aztatlán Symbolism

- (a) Detail of interior of vessel with representation of skeletal Morning Star deity. Note crested head and flint knives and circular stellar eyes emanating from head and face, Museo Regional de Nayarit. Cerritos Polychrome (AD 900-1100). Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz.
- (b) Depiction of head of skeletal Morning Star with darts and circular stellar eyes emanating from the head and face. Detail of interior of Ixcuintla Polychrome. Amapa, Nayarit (after Bell 1960: fig. 51).
- (c) Engraved stone slab depicting Morning Star deity. Note skeletal face, protruding darts from head and nose and protruding stellar eyes. Amapa, Nayarit (after Meighan 1976: 321, pl. 15).
- (d) Morning Star deity. Detail of side panel on engraved back mirror, unknown West Mexican provenience. Museo de Arqueología del Occidente de Mexico, Guadalajara, Jalisco. Drawn by Michael Mathiowetz.
- (e) Morning Star deity. Detail of central panel of back mirror, unknown West Mexican provenience. Museo de Arqueología del Occidente de Mexico, Guadalajara, Jalisco. Drawn by Michael Mathiowetz.
- (f) Skeletal Morning Star deity with crested ruff on head, projecting flint blades and stellar eyes. Note stellar eye emerging from mouth. Detail of vessel in Museo Regional de Nayarit. Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz.
- (g) Skeletal Morning Star deity with crested ruff, projecting flint blades, and stellar eyes, Museo Regional de Nayarit. Note breath/song scroll emerging from mouth. Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz.
- (h) Skeletal mandible and face with dart protruding from nose, detail of Iguanas Polychrome sherd, unspecified Nayarit provenience, West Mexico. Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz.

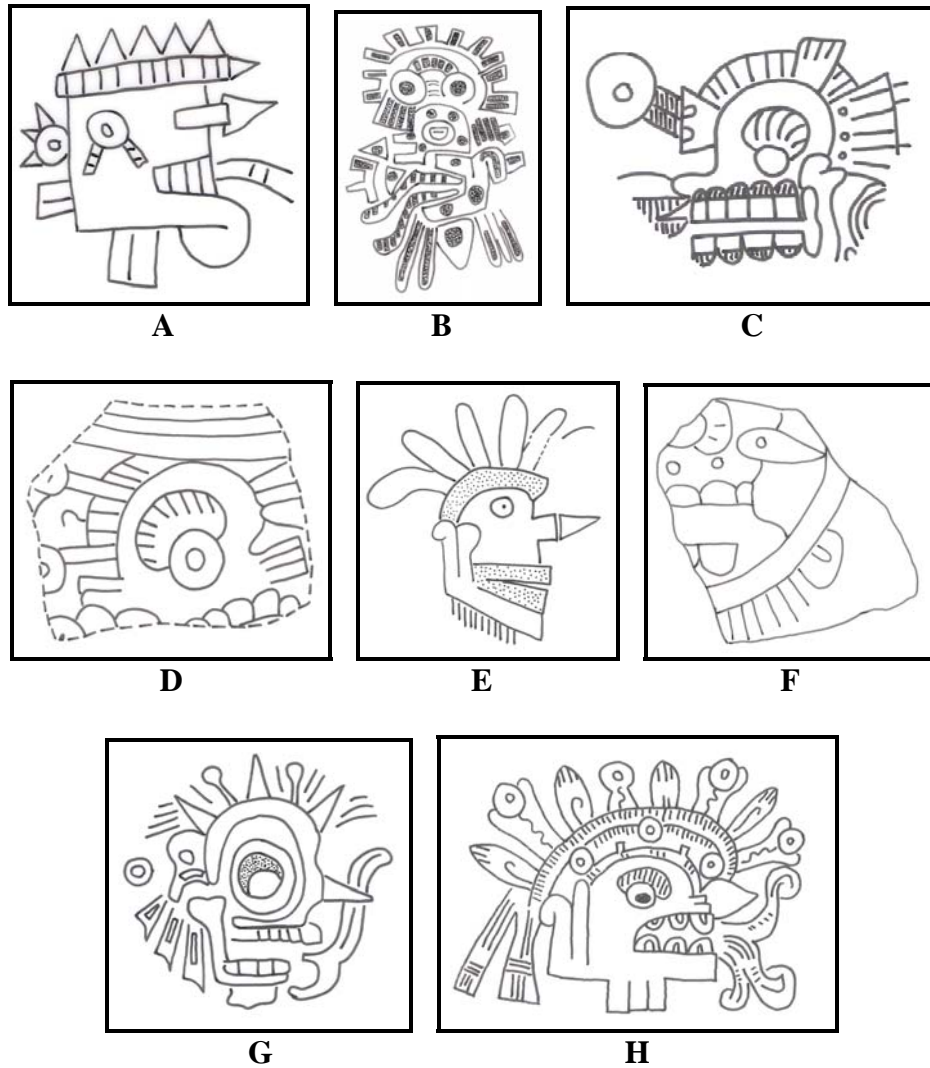


Figure 6.5: Representations of Venus as the Morning Star in Aztatlán Symbolism

(a) Inscribed stone depicting Morning Star deity with arrow shooting from nose. Museo Local de Historia y Antropología e Historia de Compostela, Nayarit. Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz.

(b) Skeletal Morning Star with mandible, dart shooting from nose, and circular disks in headdress. Detail of effigy vessel from El Chanal, Colima (after Fields and Zamudio-Taylor 2001: Fig. 6).

(c) Ceramic sherd from Culiacan, Sinaloa with image of skeletal Morning Star with protruding circular stellar eye (after Kelly 1945: 107, fig. 58c).

(d) Skeletal Morning Star with crested head, probable stary eyes and flint dart emanating from head. Detail of Tuxpan Red-on-Orange sherd (Cerritos Phase AD 900-1100) Probable Nayarit provenience, West Mexico. Drawn by Michael Mathiowetz after photo by Mauricio Garduño Ambriz.

(e) Morning Star deity with skeletal mandible and dart shooting from nose. Detail of vessel from La Peña, Jalisco. Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz.

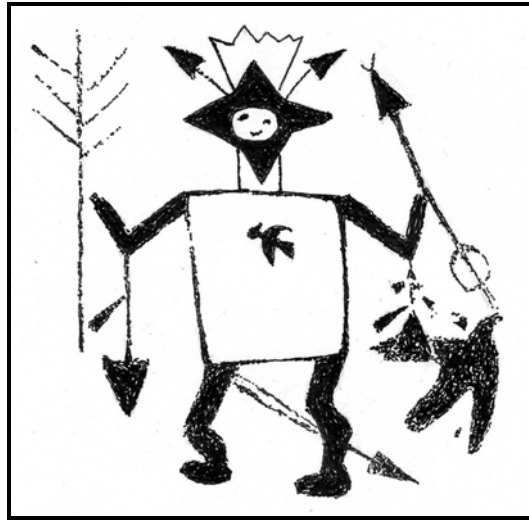
(f) Aztatlán-era sherd depicting portion of skeletal Morning Star deity with flint knife projecting from nose. From unspecified site near Tepic, Nayarit. Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz.

(g) West Mexican-style gold disk from Oaxaca with representation of Morning Star as a skeletal being with darts and stars emanating from head. Note breath or song scroll emanating from mouth (after Aguilar P. et al. 1989: 201).

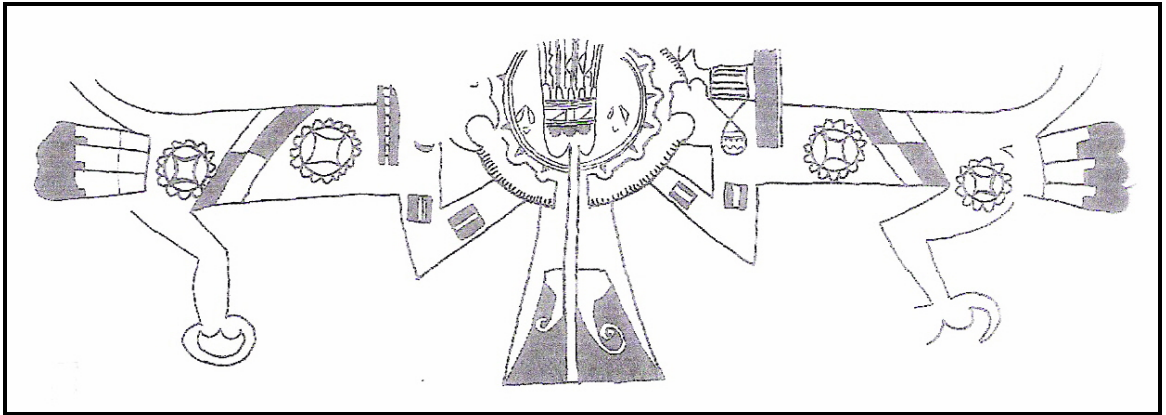
(h) Detail of Late Postclassic International Style vessel with portrait of skeletal Morning Star deity with flint knives and stary eyes emanating from head. Note distinctive crested head and breath scroll emanating from mouth, Veracruz. Drawn by Michael Mathiowetz from photo by Karl Taube.



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Figure 6.6: Morning Star-related Figures in Northwest Mexico and the American Southwest

(a) Probable Morning Star-related figure with dart emanating from head, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome, El Paso Centennial Museum, University of Texas, El Paso, Catalog No. A36.85.18. Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz.

(b) Rio Grande rock art of Morning Star Sotunqanu with star face and darts at head, elbow, hand, and leg. Note probable stalk of maize in hand. Drawing courtesy of Polly Schaafsma.

(c) Depiction of twin human-headed star-marked felines carrying solar disk with central *tiponi*. Note portions of human heads with long hair and necklace behind each feline head. Scene likely refers to War Chiefs or feline Hero Twins as guardians or escorts of the Sun. Detail of Awat'ovi kiva mural (Test 14, Room 3) (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.25c).

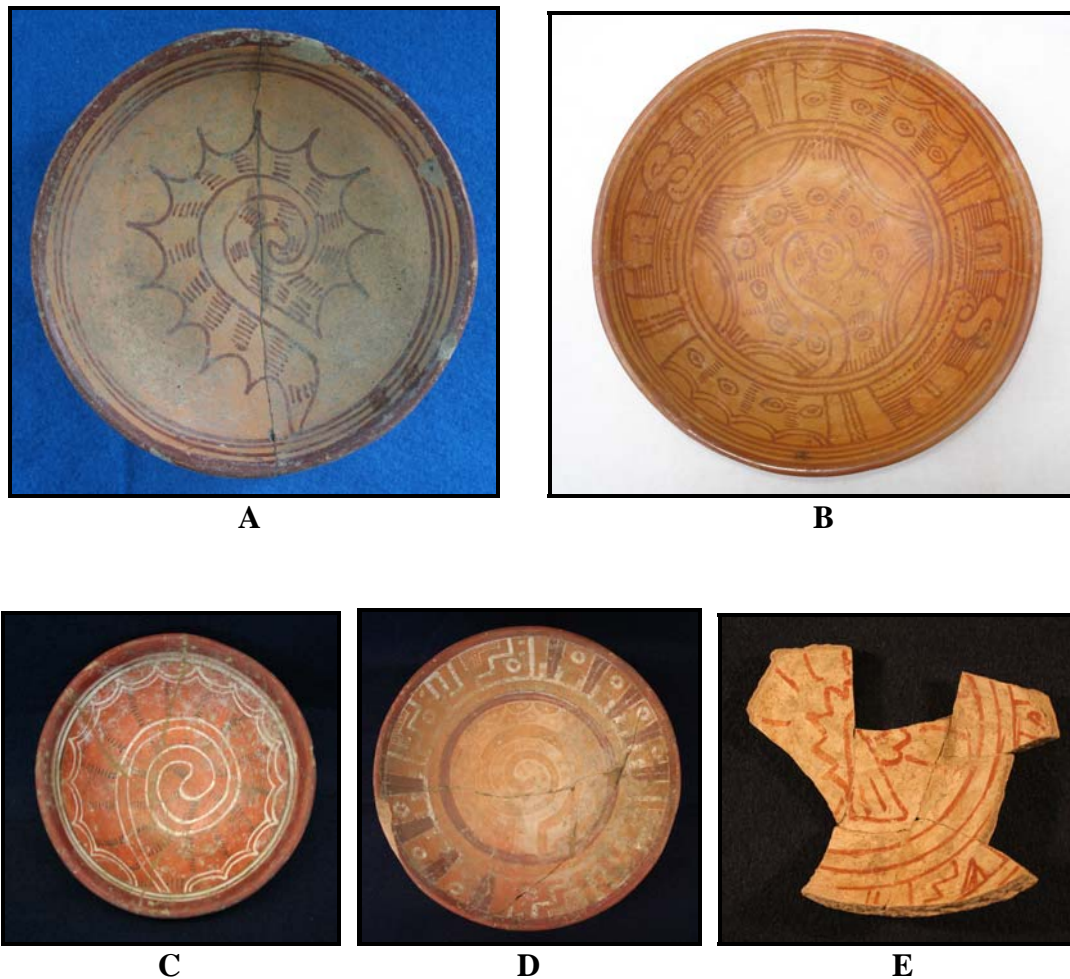


Figure 6.7: Cut Conch Symbolism in Vessel Interiors in Postclassic-period West Mexico

(a) Cut conch, Sentispac Red-on-Buff (AD 900-1100), El Pirul, Nayarit. Courtesy of Museo Regional de Nayarit, Catalog No. 10-97594.

(b) Cut conch, Tuxpan Red-on-Orange (AD 900-1100), Coamiles, Nayarit. Photo courtesy of Mauricio Garduño Ambríz.

(c) Cut conch, Mangos Polychrome (AD 900-1100), Amapa, Nayarit (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246-3135. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(d) Cut conch, Ixcuintla Polychrome (AD 1100-1350), Amapa, Nayarit (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246-3160. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(e) Cut conch, Botadero Red-on-White (AD 900-1100), Amapa, Nayarit (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246 [unnumbered fragment]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

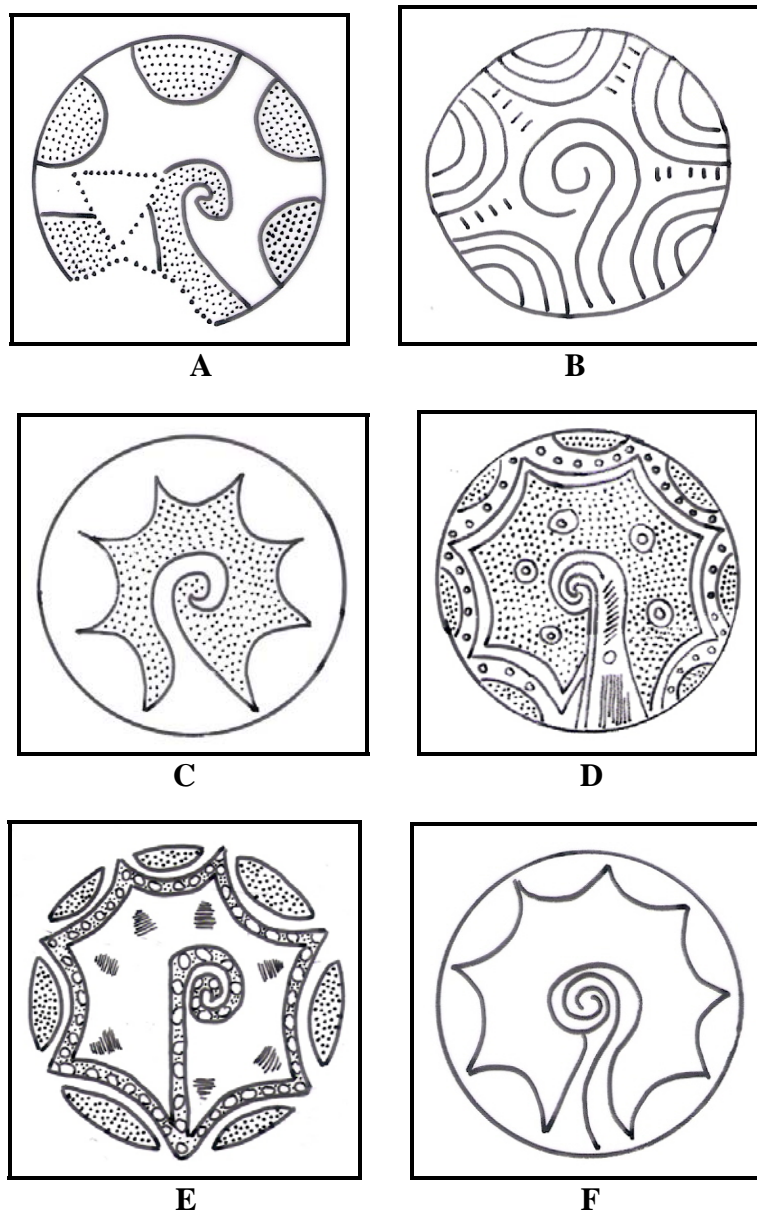


Figure 6.8: Cut Conch Symbolism in Vessel Interiors in Postclassic-period West Mexico, Oaxaca, and Puebla
 (a) Cut conch, unidentified Aztatlán ceramic type, Chicoche/El Quemado, Nayarit (after Bojórquez Diego 2010: fig. 10).
 (b) Cut conch, Cojumatlan Polychrome, Tizapan el Alto, Jalisco (after Meighan and Foote 1968: pl. 15b).
 (c) Cut conch, unidentified Aztatlán ceramic type, Siqueros, Sinaloa (after Bojórquez Diego 2010: fig. 10).
 (d) Cut conch, unidentified Aztatlán polychrome, Guasave, Sinaloa (after Ekholm 1942: fig. 4h).
 (e) Cut conch, unidentified ceramic type, Teotitlan del Camino, Oaxaca (after Seler 1990-1998: 2: fig. 27).
 (f) Cut conch, unidentified ceramic type, Cholula, Puebla (after Bojórquez Diego 2010: fig. 10).

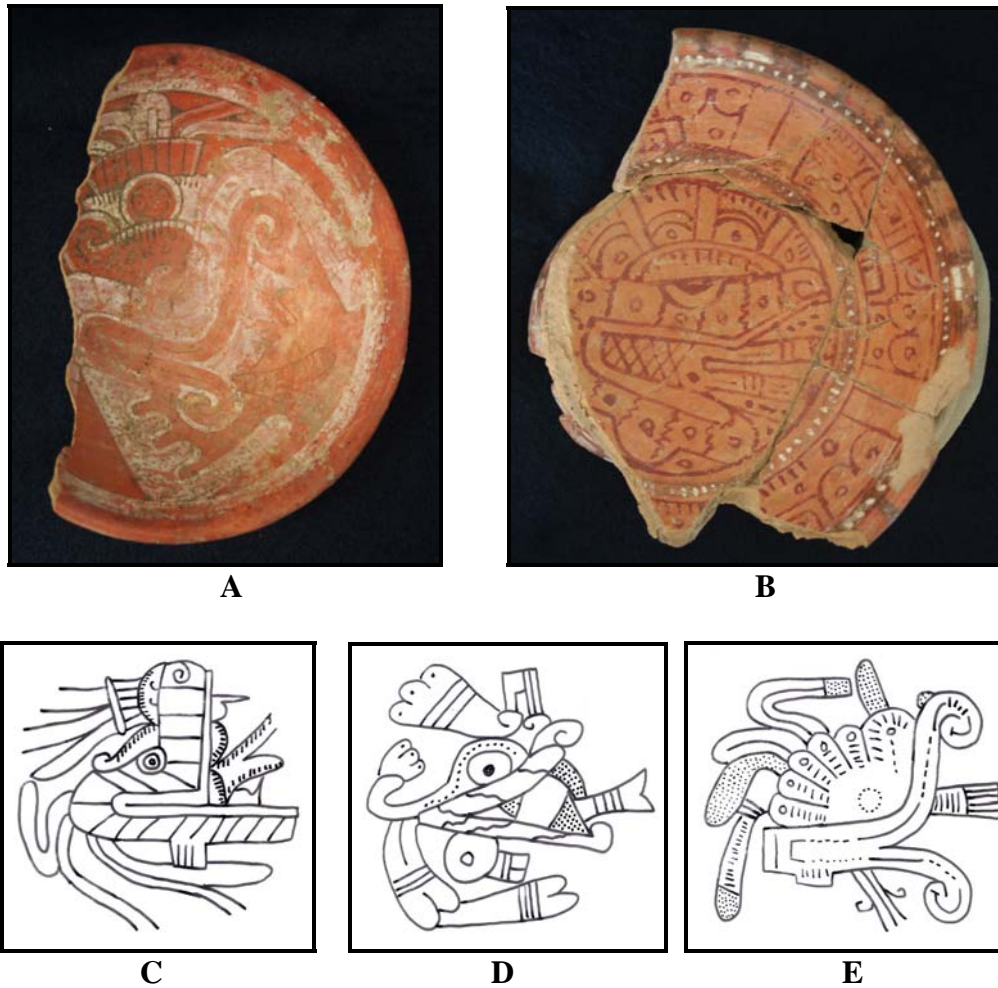


Figure 6.9: Plumed Serpents in Aztatlán Symbolism

- (a) Plumed serpent head, Mangos Polychrome (AD 900-1100), Amapa, Nayarit (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246-761. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Plumed serpent head, Iguanas Polychrome (AD 900-1100), Peñitas, Nayarit (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 184-352. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Plumed serpent head, Ixcuintla Polychrome (AD 1100-1350), Amapa, Nayarit (after Bell 1960: fig. 27).
- (d) Plumed serpent head, unidentified ceramic type, Amapa, Nayarit (after Bell 1960: fig. 26).
- (e) Plumed serpent or butterfly head, Ixcuintla Polychrome (AD 1100-1350), Amapa, Nayarit (after Bell 1960: fig. 25).

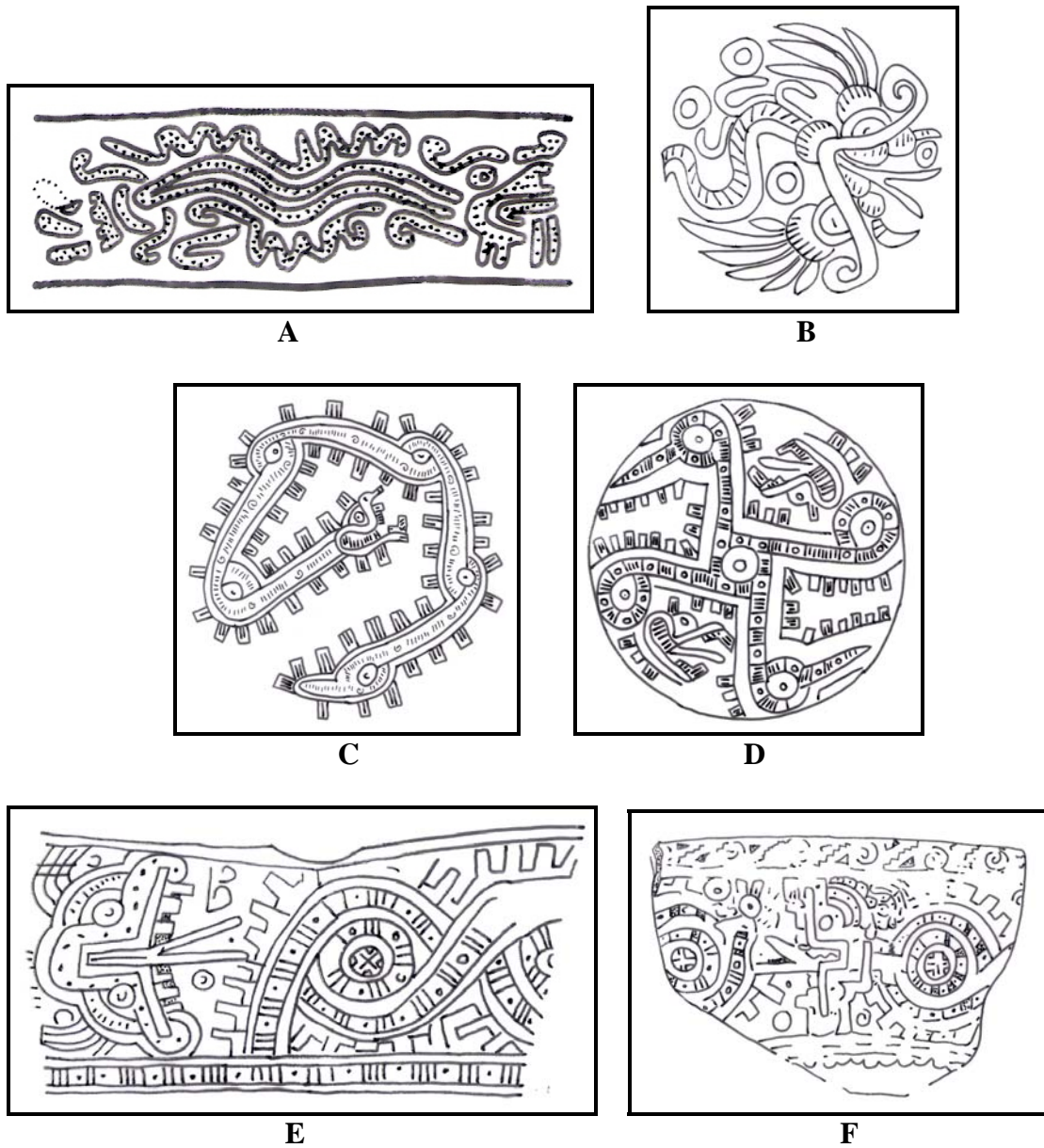


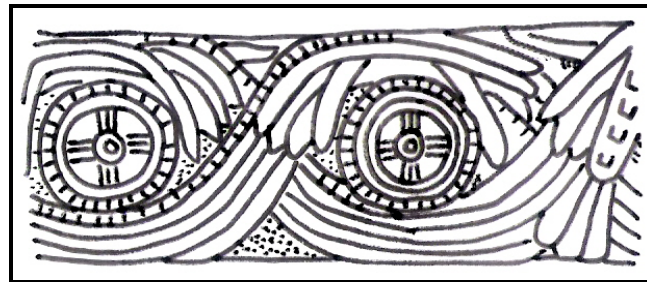
Figure 6.10: Plumed Serpents and Solar Mirrors in Aztatlán Symbolism

- (a) Plumed serpent portrayed on a roller stamp, Ixtlán del Río, Nayarit (after Gifford 1950: 234, fig. 19m).
- (b) Plumed serpent. Note split-view head and bifid tongue, unidentified ceramic type, Mochicahui, Sinaloa (after photo by John Carpenter).
- (c) Plumed serpent with tab-like feathers, Tuxpan Engraved (AD 900-1100), private collection, Nayarit (after Stern 1977: fig. 2).
- (d) Entwined plumed serpents with tab-like feathers, Ixcuintla Polychrome (AD 1100-1350), Amapa, Nayarit (after Stern 1977: fig. 1).
- (e) Entwined plumed serpents carrying solar disk/mirror (*tezcacuitlapilli*). Note split view of serpent head and tab-like feathers. Santiago Engraved (AD 1350+), Coamiles, Nayarit (after Favarel-Garrigues 1995: fig. 43).
- (f) Entwined plumed serpents carrying solar disk/mirror (*tezcacuitlapilli*). Note tab-like feathers. Santiago Engraved (AD 1350+), Peñitas, Nayarit (after Bordaz 1964: pl. 47).

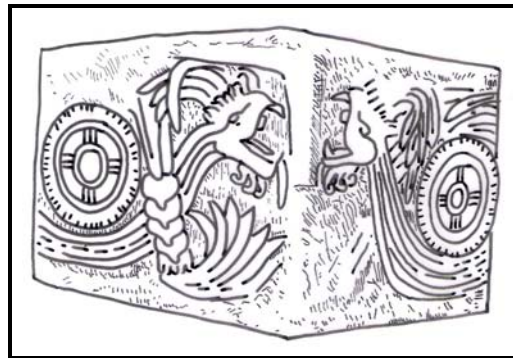


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Figure 6.11: Plumed Serpents and Solar Mirrors in Aztatlán Symbolism and at Chichén Itzá

- (a) Entwined plumed serpent bodies carrying solar mirror. Note tab-like feathers. Santiago Engraved sherd (AD 1350+), Peñitas, Nayarit (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 184 [loose sherd]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Entwined plumed serpent bodies carrying solar mirror (note tab-like feathers on serpent body). Santiago Engraved (AD 1350+), Peñitas, Nayarit (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246 [loose sherd]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Entwined plumed serpents carrying solar mirrors (*tezcacuitlapilli*). Detail of corner piece from Temple of the Jaguars, Chichén Itzá (after Seler 1990-1998: 6: fig. 88).
- (d) Entwined plumed serpent bodies carrying solar mirror (*tezcacuitlapilli*). Detail of frieze from Temple of the Jaguars, Chichén Itzá (after Seler 1990-1998: 6: fig. 89a).

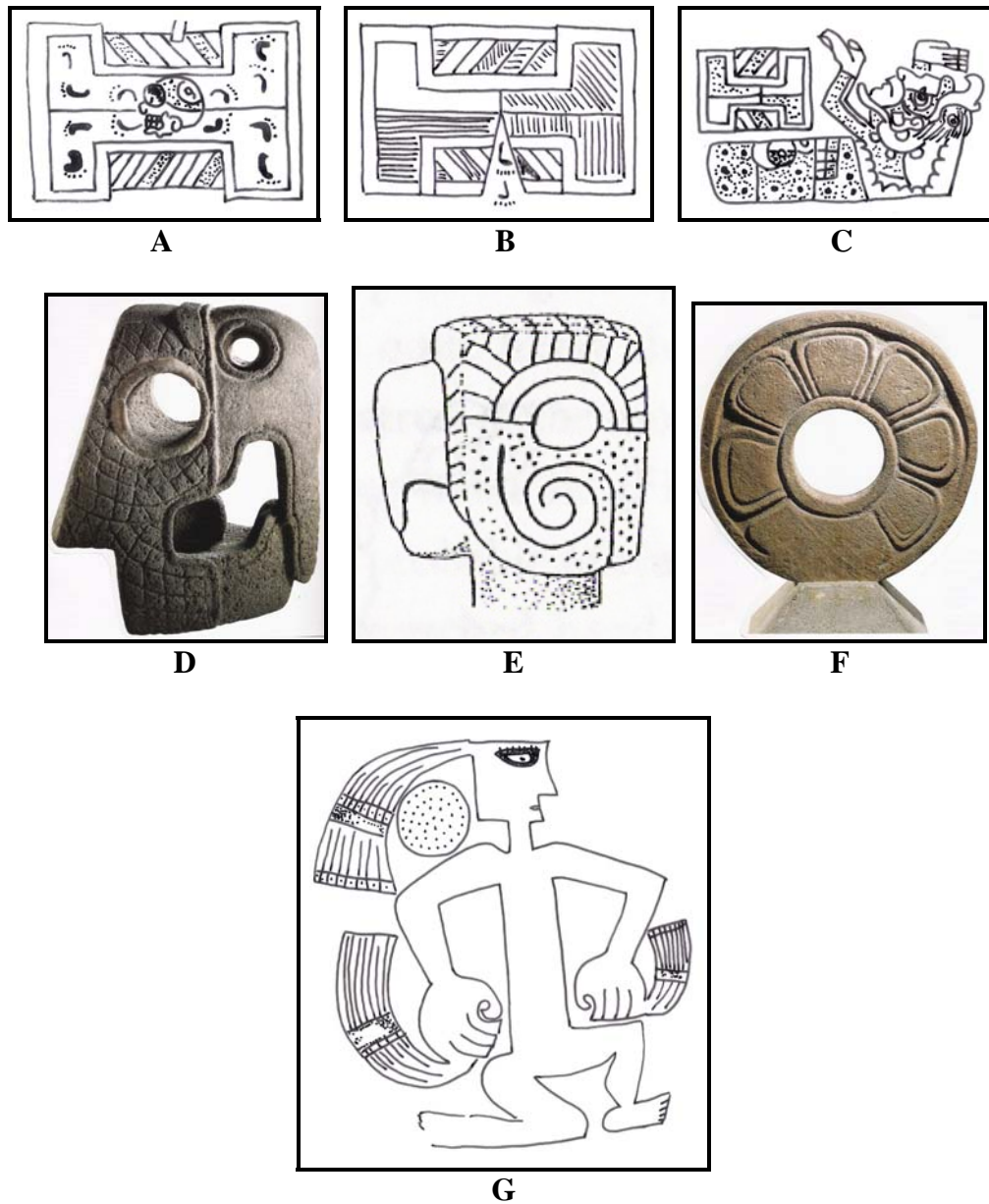


Figure 7.1: Ballgame Imagery in Mesoamerica and Northwest Mexico

- (a) Depiction of I-shaped ballcourt with central skull marker and emerging directional footprints, *Codex Nuttall* pg. 4 (after Nuttall 1975).
- (b) Depiction of ballcourt with cleft center and emerging footprints (after *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I* pg. 19b).
- (c) Depiction of human figure emerging from earth beside I-shaped ballcourt, *Codex Nuttall* pg. 1 (after Nuttall 1975).
- (d) Late Classic ballgame *hacha* in form of macaw head, Xochicalco, Morelos (Reprinted from Whittington 2001: pl. 35).
- (e) Early Classic Maya ballcourt marker with macaw and quetzal attributes, Copán, Honduras (from Taube 2003: fig 11.3f).
- (f) Late Postclassic ballcourt marker in form of flower, Aztec (Reprinted from Whittington 2001: pl. 115).
- (g) Depiction of Casas Grandes ballplayer in classic figural pose indicative of the ballgame, Chihuahuan polychrome (after Townsend 2005a: pl. 40a).



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Figure 8.1: Shell Pendants at Paquimé and in West Mexico
(a) Incised triangular *Melongena patula* shell pendant from Paquimé, Courtesy of Museo de las Culturas del Norte. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz.
(b) Detail of probable *Melongena patula* triangular incised shell pendants, Courtesy of Museo Local de Historia y Antropología e Historia de Compostela, Nayarit. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz.



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Figure 8.2: Aztatlán Cylindrical Vessels

- (a) Unknown provenience, southern Sinaloa/northern Nayarit. Unknown ceramic type, Aztatlán complex (Courtesy of Casa-Museo Vladimir Cora. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Unknown provenience, southern Sinaloa/northern Nayarit. El Taste Satín (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Museo Arqueológico de Mazatlán, Sinaloa. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Amapa, Nayarit. Ixcuintla Polychrome (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246-1929. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Unknown provenience, Nayarit. El Taste Satín (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Museo Regional de Nayarit, Catalog No. 10-636656. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 8.3: Aztatlán Cylindrical Vessels

- (a) Unknown provenience, southern Sinaloa/northern Nayarit. Tuxpan Engraved (AD 900-1100) (Courtesy of Museo Arqueológico de Mazatlán, Sinaloa. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Unknown provenience, southern Sinaloa/northern Nayarit. Note motif of stellar eyes and flint knives depending from skyband, a likely reference to Morning Star ritualism. Cerritos Polychrome (AD 900-1100) (Luciano Sandoval collection. Photo courtesy of Mauricio Garduño Ambriz).
- (c) Amapa, Nayarit. Tuxpan Engraved (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246-2431. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Unknown provenience, southern Sinaloa/northern Nayarit. Note codex-style depiction of human with terraced nosepiece. Iguanas Polychrome (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Museo Arqueológico de Mazatlán, Sinaloa. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

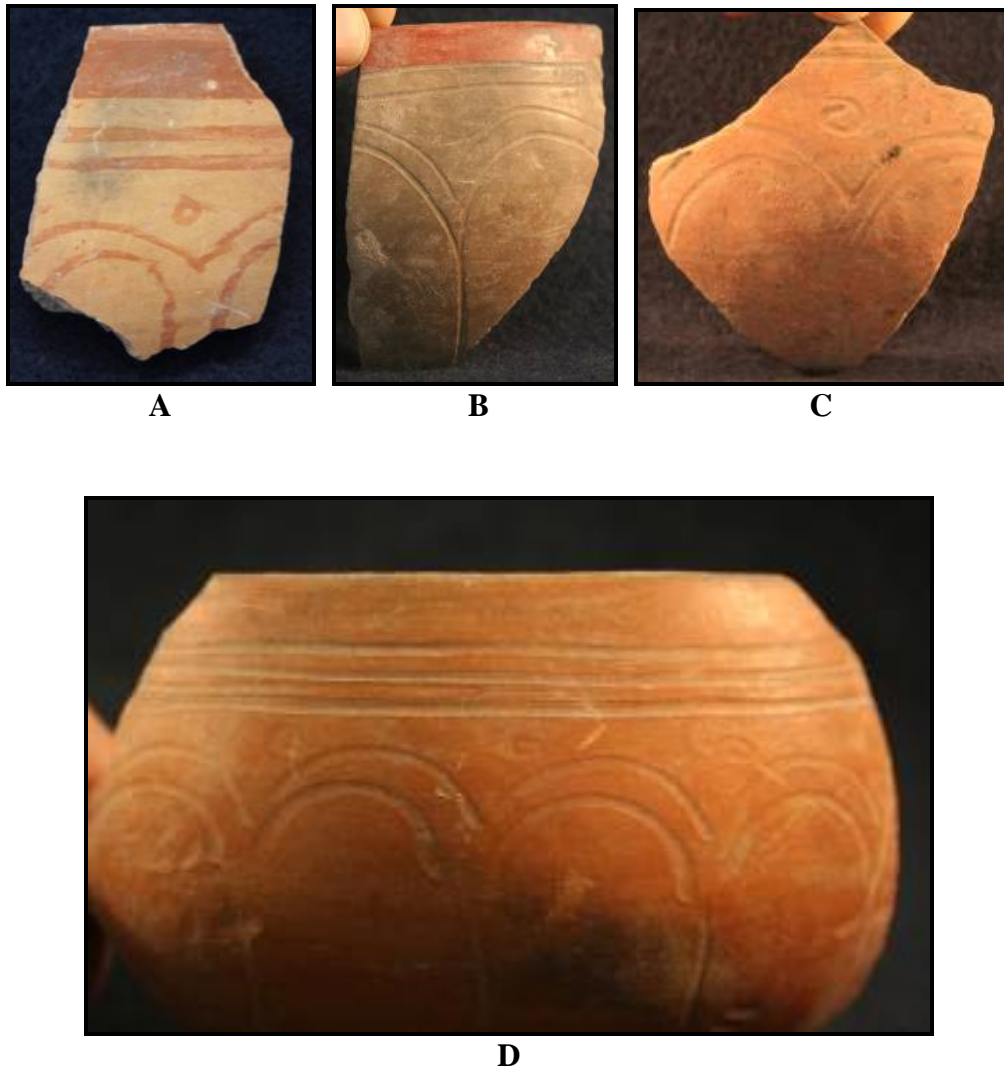


Figure 8.4: Azatlán Sherds with Lobe-like Flower Motifs

- (a) Sherd with lobed design, Peñitas, Nayarit. Note small circles over floral lobes. El Taste-Mazatlan Red-on-Cream (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 184 [loose sherd]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Sherd with lobed design, Peñitas, Nayarit. El Taste Complex (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 184 [loose sherd]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Sherd with lobed design, Peñitas, Nayarit. Note spiral elements above floral lobes. Unknown type (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 184 [loose sherd]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Rim sherd with lobed design, Peñitas, Nayarit. Note spiral elements above floral lobes. El Taste-Mazatlan Complex (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 184 [loose sherd]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 8.5: Aztatlán Sherds with Lobe-like Flower Motifs

- (a) Sherd with lobed design, Chacalilla, Nayarit. Cerritos Engraved (AD 1100-1350).
- (b) Sherd with lobed design, Ixtlán del Río, Nayarit. Tuxpan Engraved (AD 900-1100) (Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, Catalog No. 30.2-5462. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Sherd with lobed design, Sentispac, Nayarit. Note spirals above lobes. Cerritos Engraved (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of the William Byron Collection, California State University, Los Angeles. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Sherd with lobed design, Mazatlán area, Sinaloa. Tuxpan Engraved (AD 900-1100), (Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, Catalog No. 30.2-5485. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 8.6: Aztatlán Vessels as Open Flowers

- (a) Bowl as open flower with spiral aroma, Amapa, Nayarit. Note spirals over floral lobe motif. Cerritos Engraved (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246-1785. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Bowl as open flower, Guasave, Sinaloa. Aztatlán complex (Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, Catalog No. 30.2-4907. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Bowl as open flower, Mazatlán area, Sinaloa. El Taste Red-on-White (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico de Mazatlán. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz)



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Figure 8.7: Aztatlán Vessels as Open Flowers

- (a) Bowl as open flower, unknown provenience. El Taste Red-on-Orange (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of the Museo Regional de Guadalajara. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Bowl as open flower, Amapa, Nayarit. Tuxpan Engraved (AD 900-1100) (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246-3117. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Bowl as open flower, southern Sinaloa/northern Nayarit. Note circles with central dot above floral lobe motif. Tuxpan Red-on-Orange (AD 900-1100) (Courtesy of Casa-Museo Vladimir Cora. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



Figure 8.8: Aztec and Southwestern Vessels as Open Flowers

(a) Tripod globular vessel used for cacao consumption. Note foaming cacao, *Codex Nuttall* pg. 13 (after Nuttall 1975).

(b) Tripod vase as open flower, southern Sinaloa/northern Nayarit. Aguaruto Incised Exterior (AD 900-1100) (Courtesy of Casa-Museo Vladimir Cora. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(c) Tripod vase as open flower, Amapa, Nayarit. Sentispac Buff or El Taste Satin (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246-292. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(d) Tripod vase as open flower, Guasave, Sinaloa. Aztatlán complex (Courtesy of Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(e) Classic Mimbres (AD 1000-1150) bowl as open floral blossom (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 55600/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(f) Hawikuh polychrome bowl as open flower (AD 1475-1680) (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 8-6931. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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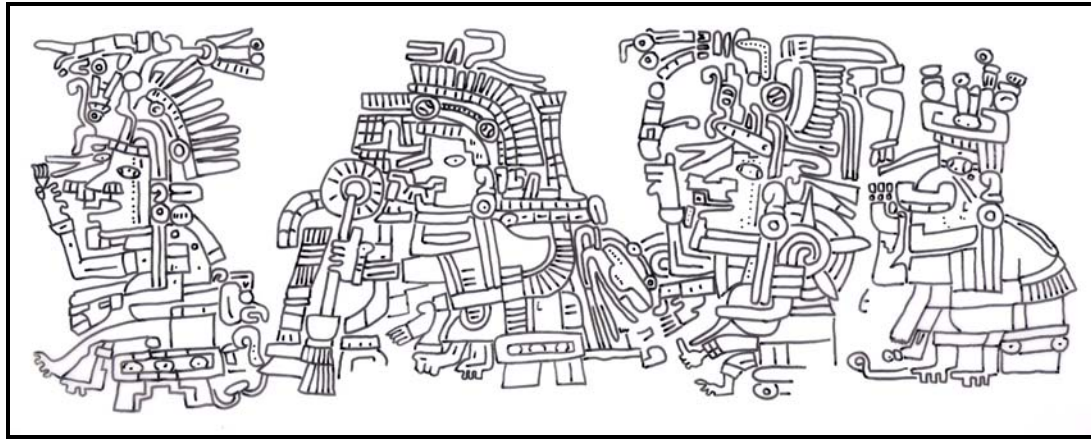
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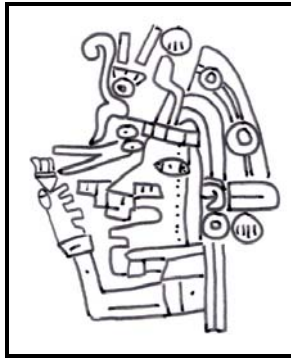
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Figure 8.9: Azatlán Pipes as Open Flowers

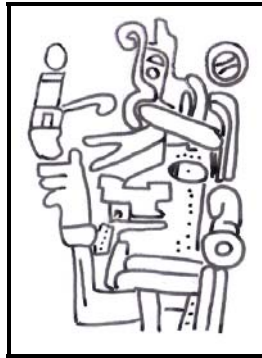
- (a) Pipe with bowl as open flower, unknown provenience, Nayarit. El Taste Satín (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Museo Regional de Nayarit. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Pipe with bowl as open flower, unknown provenience, southern Sinaloa/northern Nayarit. Azatlán complex. Courtesy of Néstor Chávez Gradilla collection. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz.
- (c) Pipe bowl as open flower, note spiral aroma above petalled lobes, unknown provenience, northern Nayarit. El Taste Red-on-Cream (AD 1100-1350) (Courtesy of Néstor Chávez Gradilla collection. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Pipe with bowl as open flower, unknown provenience, southern Sinaloa/northern Nayarit. El Taste Satín (AD 1100-1350) (Chametla community museum. Photo courtesy of Bridget Zavala).



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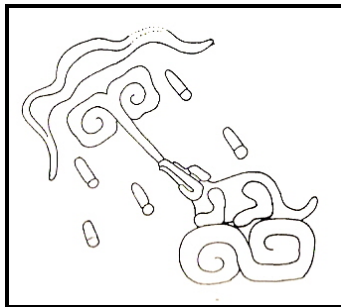
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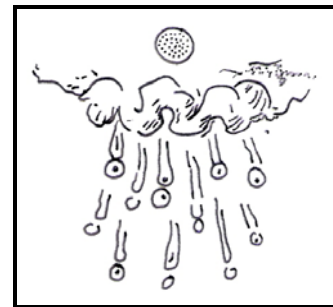
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Figure 8.10: Pipe Smoking and Rain Symbolism in Mesoamerica

- (a) Scene of four individuals seated upon stools engaged in the act of ritual smoking, Iguanas Polychrome, Nayarit (after Von Winning 1977: fig. 2).
- (b) Detail of figure holding smoking pipe, Iguanas Polychrome, Nayarit (after Von Winning 1977: fig. 2).
- (c) Detail of figure holding smoking pipe, Iguanas Polychrome, Nayarit (after Von Winning 1977: fig. 2).
- (d) Detail of figure holding smoking pipe, Iguanas Polychrome, Nayarit. Note raindrops in the form of exclamation points (after Von Winning 1977: fig. 2).
- (e) Crocodile earth atop cloud scroll exhaling breath and falling rain. Note exclamation-point shape of raindrops. Detail of Monument 14, Chacaltzingo, Morelos (from Taube 2001: fig. 74).
- (f) Rain God Tlaloc surrounded by exclamation point-shaped raindrops (after *Codex Tudela* pg. 26r).
- (g) Depiction of falling rain on calendrical date One Rain, *Florentine Codex*. Note “exclamation point” form of raindrops.



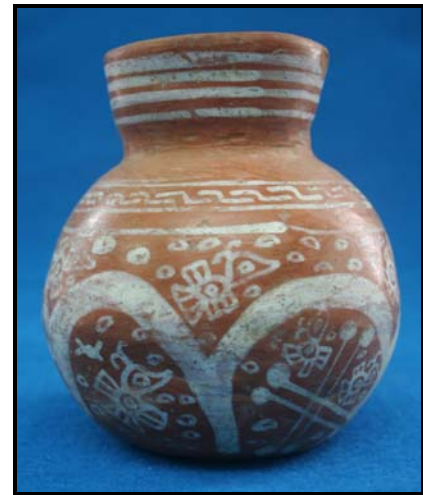
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Figure 8.11: Hummingbirds in Aztatlán Symbolism

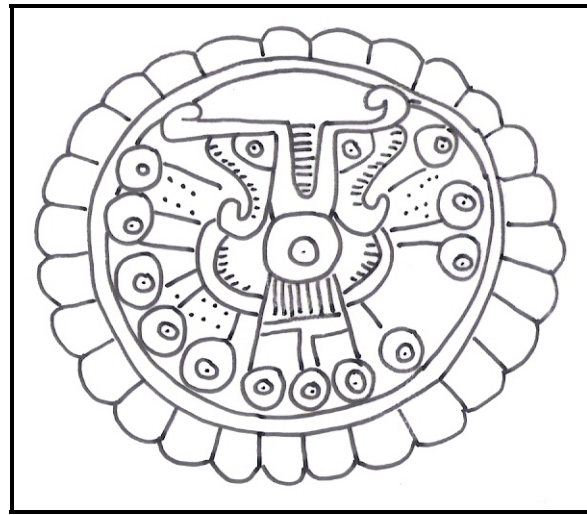
- (a) Hummingbird. Peñitas Engraved sherd (AD 1100-1350), Peñitas (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246 [loose sherd]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Hummingbirds. Note spiraling wind/aroma elements. Sherd of probable Santiago Engraved (AD 1350+), Amapa (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246 [loose sherd]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Hummingbirds. Note spiraling wind/aroma elements. Sherd of probable Santiago Engraved (AD 1350+), Amapa (Courtesy of Fowler Museum at UCLA Archaeological Collections Facility and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Catalog No. 246 [loose sherd]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Hummingbirds fluttering around lobed motif, a probable flower. Ixcuintla White-on-Orange (AD 1100-1350), unknown provenience, Nayarit. (Courtesy of Museo Regional de Nayarit, Catalog No. 10-366782. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 8.12: Flowers in Aztatlán Symbolism

- (a) Probable human ancestor as a personified flower. Note detailed depictions of structural component parts of flower including the receptacle, the perianth (sepal or petals), the pistil (ovary, style, and stigma), and the stamen (anther and filament). Detail of Peñitas Engraved (AD 1100-1350), Biblioteca Publica, San Felipe Aztatlán (Photo courtesy of Mauricio Garduño Ambríz).
- (b) Probable human ancestor situated within an *en face* blossom. Note volutes and feathers around face and probable breath element at mouth. Detail of Ixcuintla Polychrome (AD 1100-1350), Amapa, Nayarit (after Meighan 1976: pl. 148a).
- (c) Split-view of bird situated within an *en face* blossom. Note distinctive circular-shaped thorax, small rounded wings, and angular-shaped tail. Detail of Ixcuintla Polychrome (AD 1100-1350), Amapa, Nayarit (after Meighan 1976: pl. 148a).

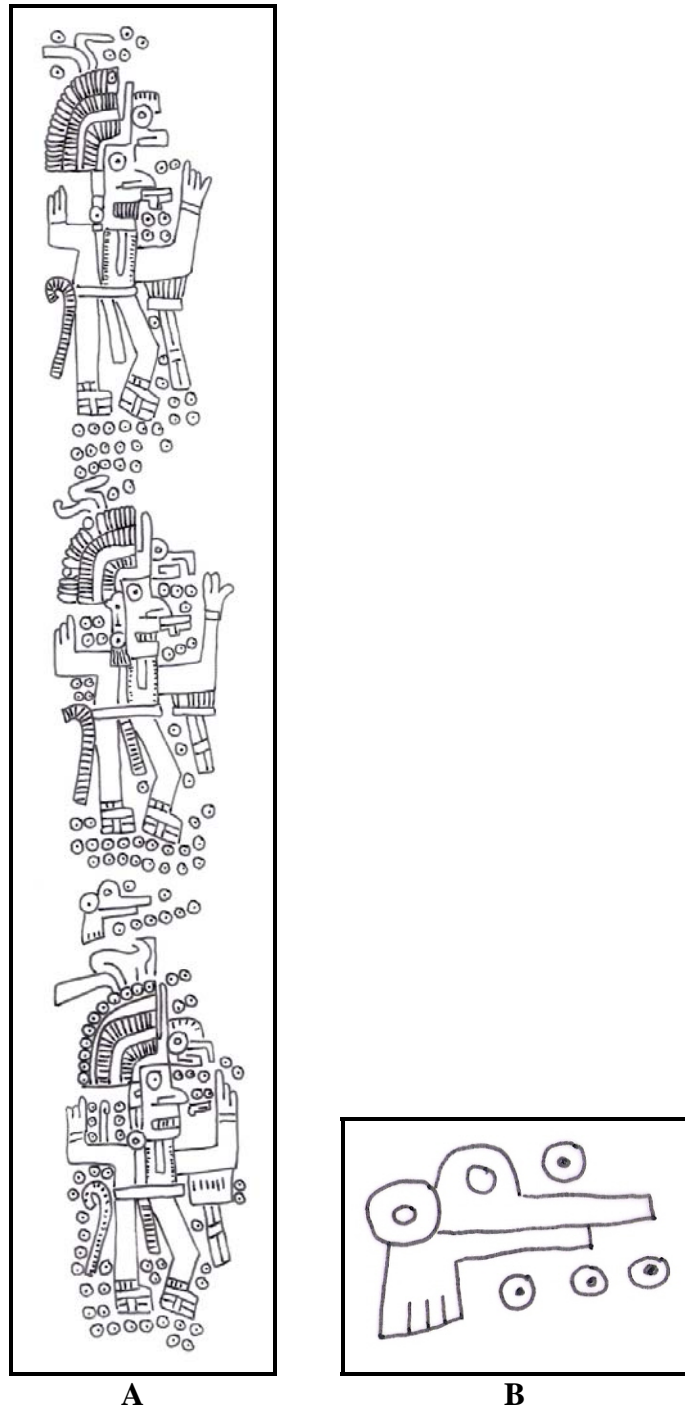


Figure 8.13: Azatlán Ceremonialists Dancing in Solar, Pollen-filled Realm

(a) Group of Azatlán males wearing bird headdresses and dancing in a realm of probable pollen. Note hummingbird above head of individual at bottom. Unidentified vessel type, Coamiles, Nayarit (after Favarel-Garrigues 1995: fig. 35).

(b) Detail of hummingbird fluttering among dancers and circular elements, likely pollen. Note circular thorax and small squarish-shaped wing (after Favarel-Garrigues 1995: fig. 35).

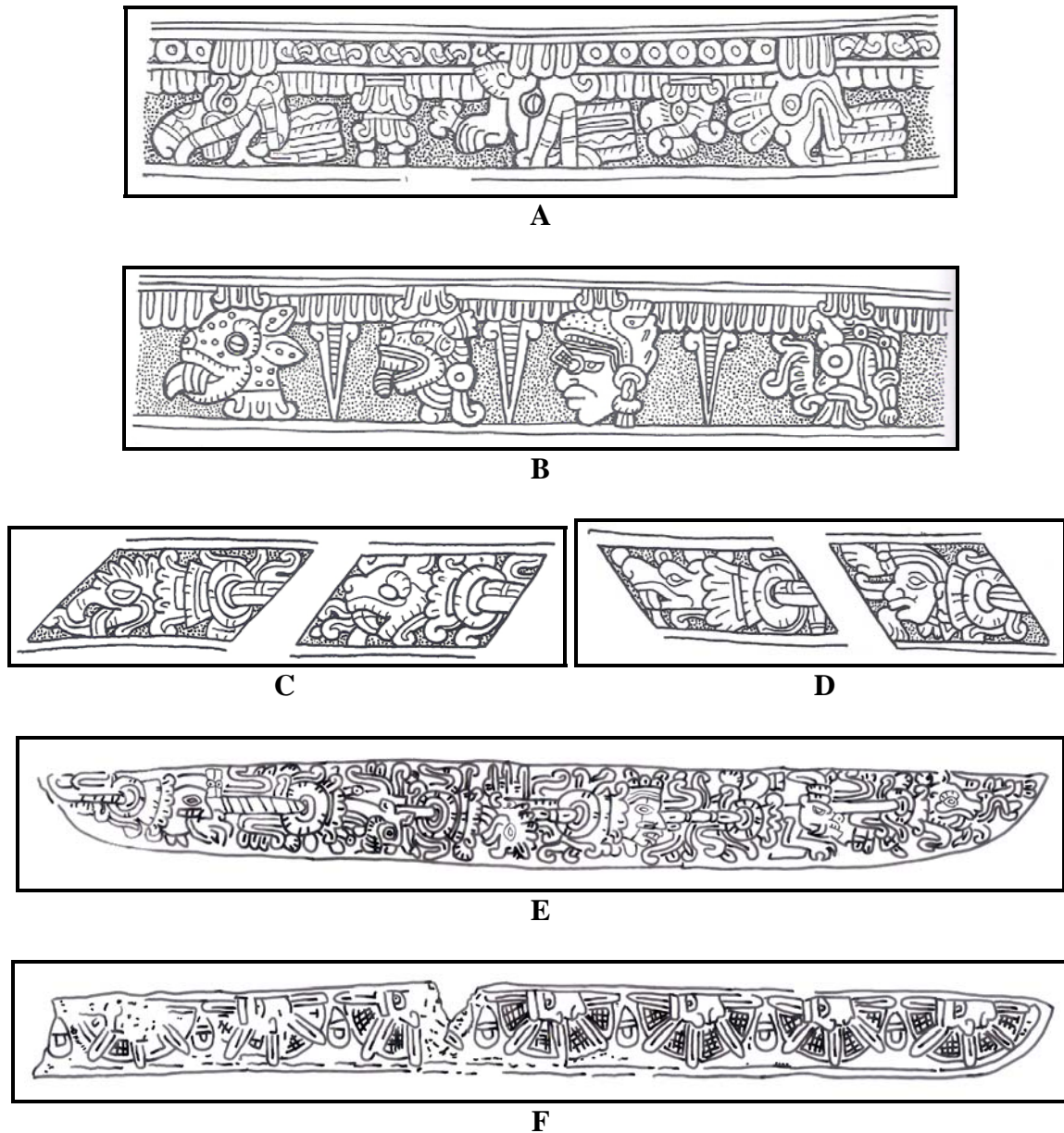
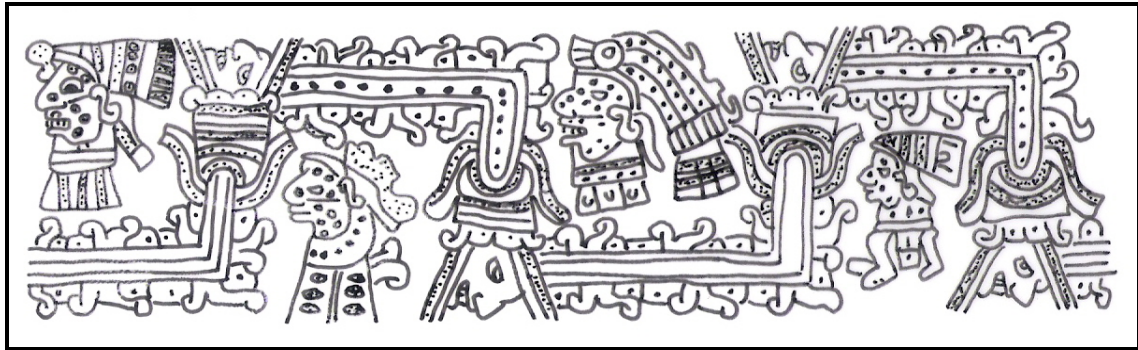
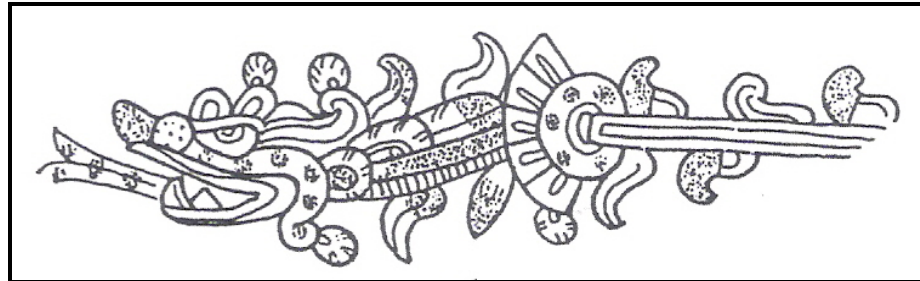


Figure 8.14: Postclassic Mixtec Weaving Tools and the Flower World

- (a) Animals emerging from flowers in celestial skyband. Detail of carved bone weaving batten from Tomb 7, Monte Albán (from Taube 2010a: fig. 22a).
- (b) Animal, human, and deity (Tlaloc) heads attached to blossoms in solar skyband. Detail of carved bone weaving batten from Tomb 7, Monte Albán (from Taube 2010a: fig. 22b).
- (c) Animals emerging from blossoms. Detail of carved bone weaving batten from Tomb 7, Monte Albán (in conjunction with Fig. 8.14d) (from Taube 2010a: fig. 22c).
- (d) Animal and human emerging from blossom. Detail of carved bone weaving batten from Tomb 7, Monte Albán (in conjunction with Fig. 8.14c) (from Taube 2010c: fig. 22c).
- (e) Carved bone weaving batten depicting humans and animals emerging from chain of flowers. Detail of carved bone from Tomb 7, Monte Albán (after Caso 1969: fig. 202).
- (f) Carved bone weaving batten depicting probable deceased stellar warriors in skyband. Detail of carved bone from Tomb 7, Monte Albán (after Caso 1969: fig. 193)



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Fig. 10.1: Flower World Symbolism in the Mixteca Region

(a) Scene from Yagul polychrome (Oaxaca) depicting probable ancestral figures emerging from a chain of flower blossoms. Note mist/aroma emerging from chain of flowers (after Paddock 1966: pl. 31).

(b) Plumed serpent emerging from petalled ring, a probable flower. Detail of Mixteca-Puebla vessel (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.19d).

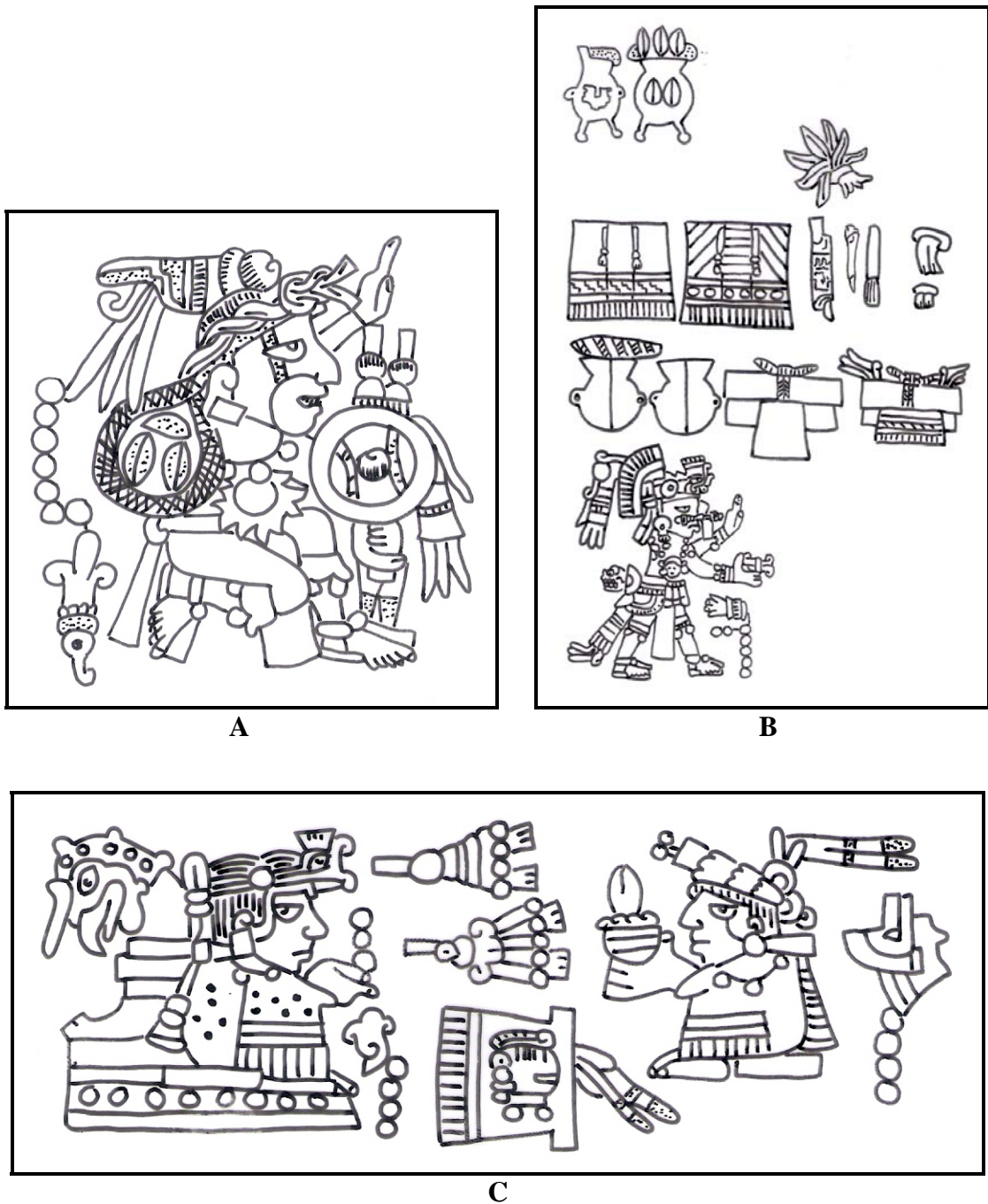


Figure 10.2: Cacao Symbolism and Seven-Flower/Xochipilli
 (a) Depiction of Seven-Flower/Xochipilli as a cacao merchant, *Codex Nuttall* pg. 68 (after Nuttall 1975)
 (b) Depiction of Seven-Flower/Xochipilli with crafts and objects of his patronage including paintbrushes, textiles, and stone-working tools. Note jars of pulque and cacao pods at upper left, *Codex Vindobonensis* 15 (after Pohl 1994a: fig. 10).
 (c) Scene of Mixtec lord presenting small hemispherical bowl or gourd containing cacao (note cacao pod) to oracular priest Seven Flower-Xochipilli, *Codex Bodley* 31v. Also note toponym for the shrine at the Hill of the Turkey, at left (after Pohl 2005: fig. 8b).



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Figure 10.3: Annular-based Goblets or Gourds as Drinking Vessels and their Use in Cacao Frothing
 (a) Drinking goblet ornamented with Flower World imagery, including hummingbird heads and flowers, unknown provenience, Puebla. Note aromatic volutes on links between blossoms (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 23/4248. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
 (b) Sixteenth-century scene depicting cacao frothing using goblet or gourd with annular base (Reprinted from *Codex Tudela* pg. 3r).
 (c) Cacao seller frothing cacao by pouring it between annular-based goblets or gourds, *Florentine Codex* (after Sahagún 1950-82, Book 10, fig. 144a).



Figure 10.4: Casas Grandes Annular-based Goblets

- (a) Black annular-based goblet (Catalog No. 324082. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Annular-based goblet (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 11/9793. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Annular-based redware goblet (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7388. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Annular-based goblet (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 9367. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (e) Annular-based goblet, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 20595/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 10.5: Casas Grandes Hemispherical Bowls and Flower World Symbolism

- (a) Hemispherical bowl with floral medallions, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 20721/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Hemispherical bowl with floral medallions (Image courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Catalog No. A-32540).
- (c) Hemispherical bowl with floral medallions (Courtesy of the Centennial Museum at the University of Texas, El Paso [UTEP], Catalog No. A56.36.4. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Hemispherical bowl with floral medallions (Courtesy of Western New Mexico University Museum. Richard C. Eisele Collection of Prehistoric Southwest Pottery, Accession No. 1973.08.05. Silver City, New Mexico, USA. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

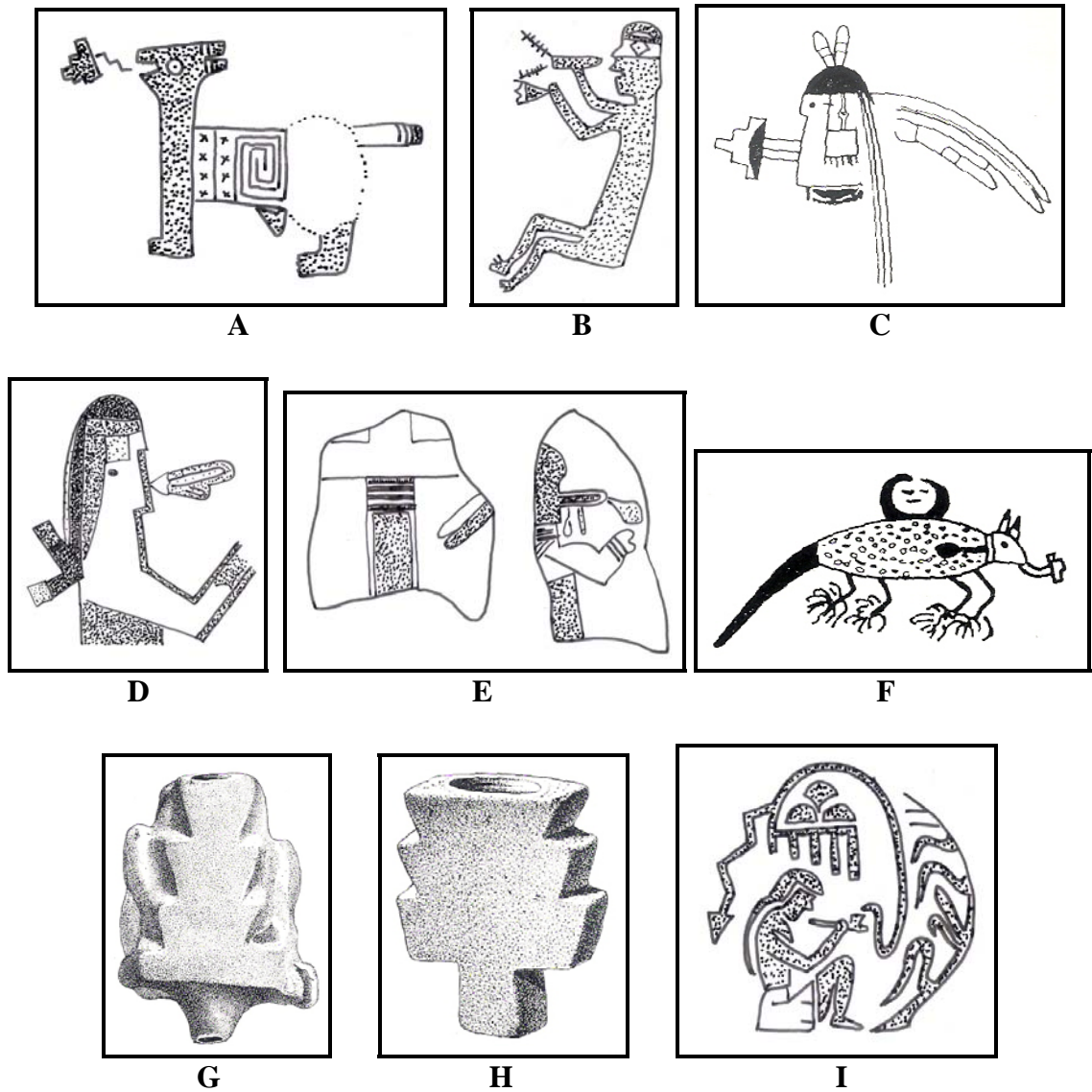


Figure 11.1: Rain and Moisture Symbolism in the American Southwest: Breath, Smoke, Clouds, and Feathers
 (a) Breath as cloud terrace, image from Mimbres Classic vessel, AD 1000-1150 (after Carlson 1982: fig. 3d).
 (b) Detail of Classic Mimbres smoker with smoke as feathers, AD 1000-1150 (after Carlson 1982: fig. 3c).
 (c) Detail of human with cloud-terrace breath, Awat'ovi, Room 788 mural (from Taube 2001: fig. 109).
 (d) Detail of person with breath feathers, Awat'ovi Room 788, Left Wall Design 3 (after Smith 1952: pl. F).
 (e) Human standing next to cloud terrace while smoking a pipe with emanating particulate matter, Awat'ovi, Room 529, Design 4 (after Smith 1952: fig. 90a).
 (f) Animal with cloud-terrace breath. Detail from Matsaki Polychrome bowl from Hawikuh (from Taube 2001: fig. 108).
 (g) Ceramic pipe modeled in the form of a terraced cloud, Pecos Pueblo, NM (from Schaafsma and Taube 2006: fig. 20b).
 (h) Ceramic pipe modeled in the form of a terraced cloud, Pecos Pueblo, NM (from Schaafsma and Taube 2006: fig. 20b).
 (i) Hopi silverwork depicting kiva chief blowing smoke into the clouds to make rain for the corn crops. Made by Lawrence and Gracilda Saufkie of Shungopavi, 1973 (after Kennard 1979: fig. 14).

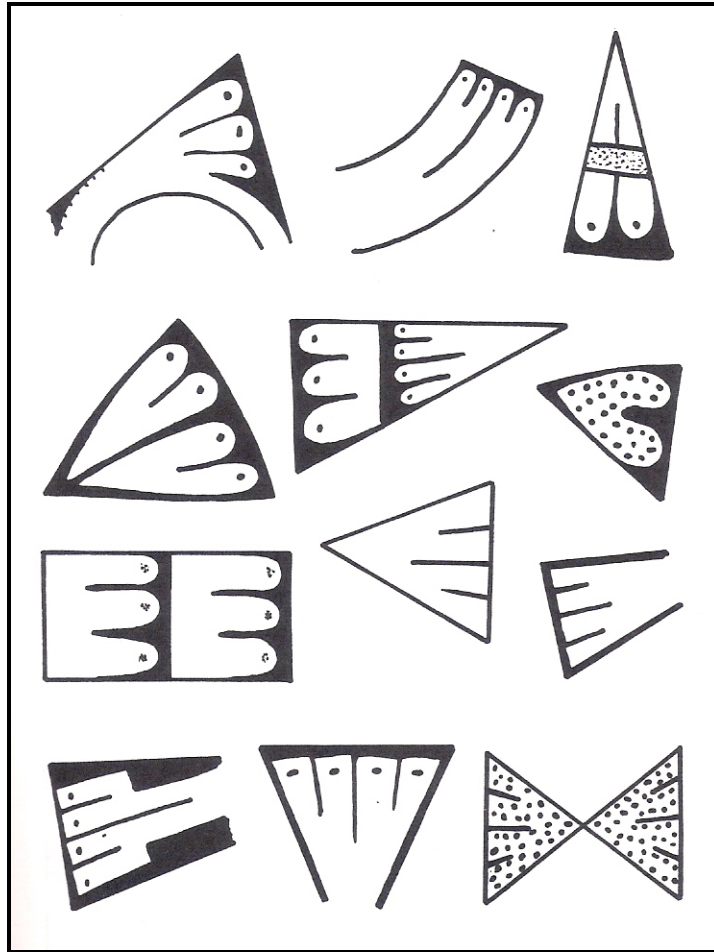


Figure 11.2: Portrayals of Feathers in Casas Grandes Symbolism

Feather motifs found in symbolism on Casas Grandes Medio-period ceramics. Reproduction of an original illustration published in Casas Grandes Volume 6, page 285, Figure 294/6. Courtesy of The Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Artist (Di Peso et al. 1974).

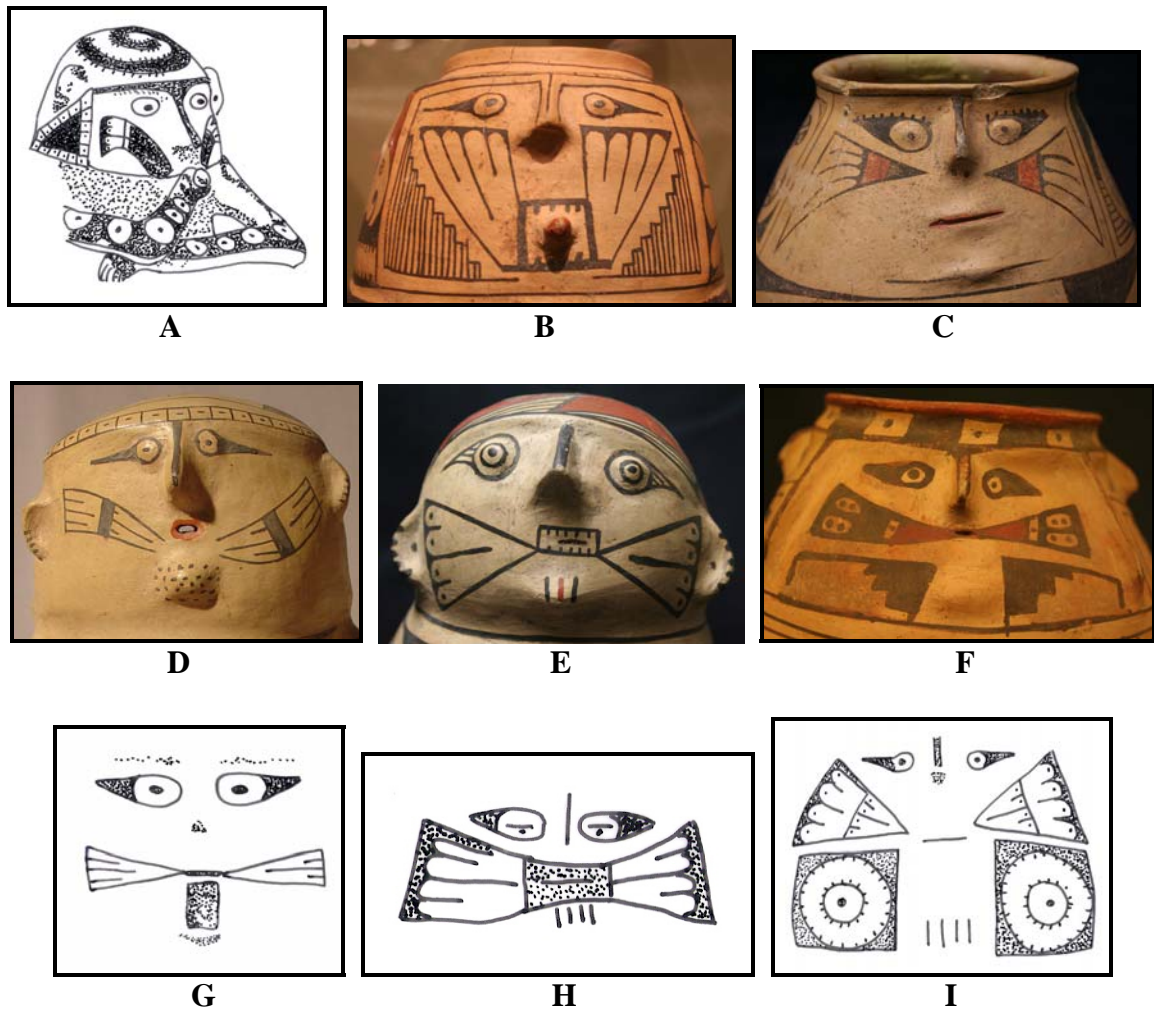


Figure 11.3: Casas Grandes Smoke and Breath Feather Symbolism

- (a) Breath feathers emanating from mouth of ritual smoker, Detail of Villa Ahumada Polychrome (after Moulard 1984: pl. 81).
- (b) Breath feathers emanating from mouth of ritual smoker, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 60569. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Breath feathers emanating from nose of human effigy, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of The El Paso Museum of Archaeology, Catalog No. 59-9-322. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Human effigy with breath feathers, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Image courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Catalog No. 20676).
- (e) Breath feathers emanating from corners of mouth of human effigy, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Catalog No. A323757. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (f) Breath feathers emanating from the mouth of a human effigy, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 6-571).
- (g) Detail of facial features on human effigy. Note breath feathers emerging from mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (after Von Winning 1986: 34, no. 7).
- (h) Detail of facial features on human effigy. Note breath feathers emanating from mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (after Cordell 2001: fig. 59).
- (i) Detail of facial features on human effigy. Note breath feathers emerging from mouth and circular floral medallions on face, Ramos Polychrome (after Townsend 2005a: pl. 39).

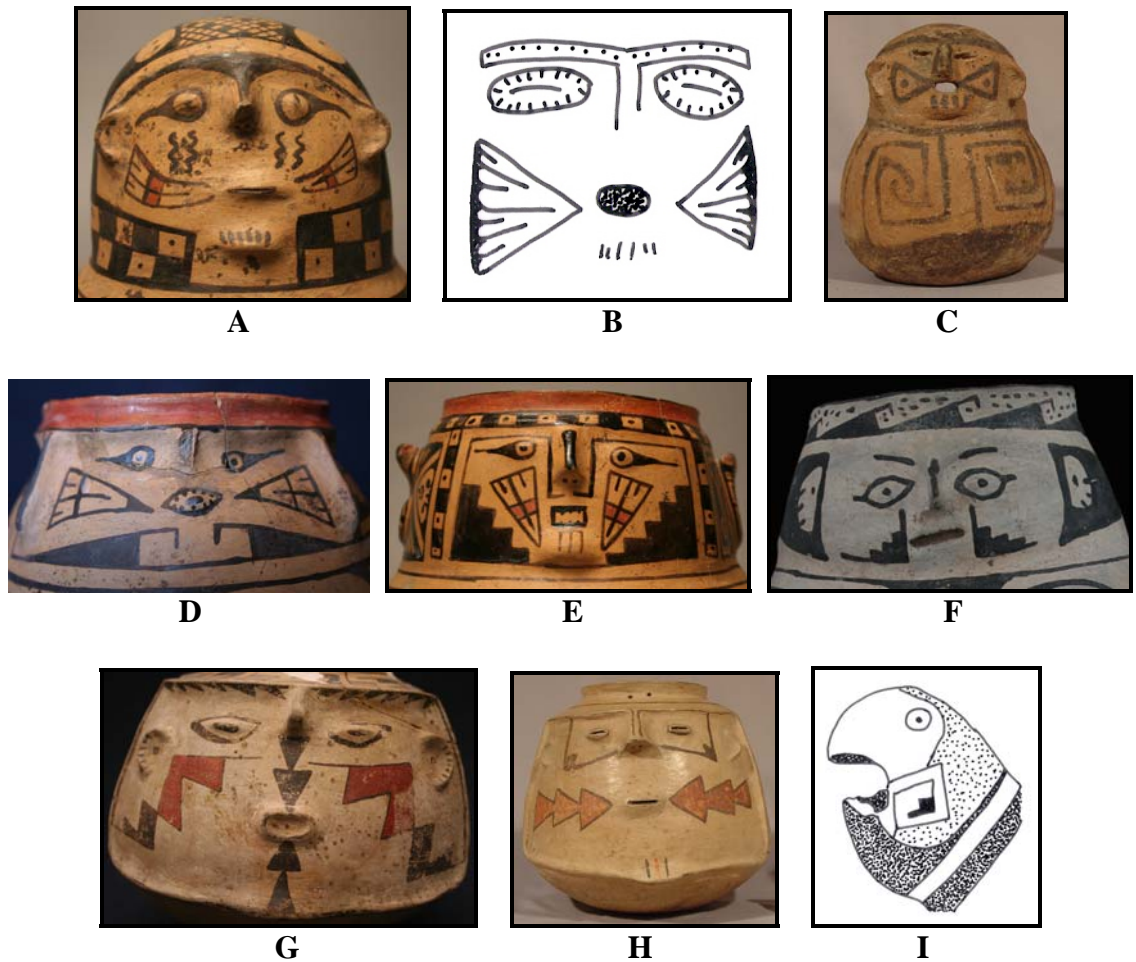


Figure 11.4: Casas Grandes Breath Feather and Cloud Symbolism

- (a) Human effigy with breath feathers emerging from mouth, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 20697/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Detail of human effigy with breath feathers emerging from mouth. Note mouth hole as spout, Chihuahuan ware (after Christman 2002: 69).
- (c) Human effigy with probable breath feathers emerging from mouth, Chihuahuan ware (Image courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Catalog No. GP38498).
- (d) Detail of human effigy with breath feathers emerging from mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7101. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (e) Detail of human effigy with breath feathers beside mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 20679/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (f) Detail of human effigy with mouth positioned in spirit path between two half-terraced cloud designs, Chihuahuan ware (Image courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Catalog No. 20626).
- (g) Detail of human effigy with terraced/triangular breath clouds emerging from top and bottom of mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico—Photo by Michael Mathiowetz, Catalog No. 67.4.34).
- (h) Human effigy with terraced/triangular breath clouds, Chihuahuan polychrome (Image courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Catalog No. GP38465).
- (i) Detail of macaw effigy vessel depicting profile of macaw head with cloud terrace emanating from mouth as breath spiral, Escondida Polychrome (after Townsend 2005a: pl. 85).

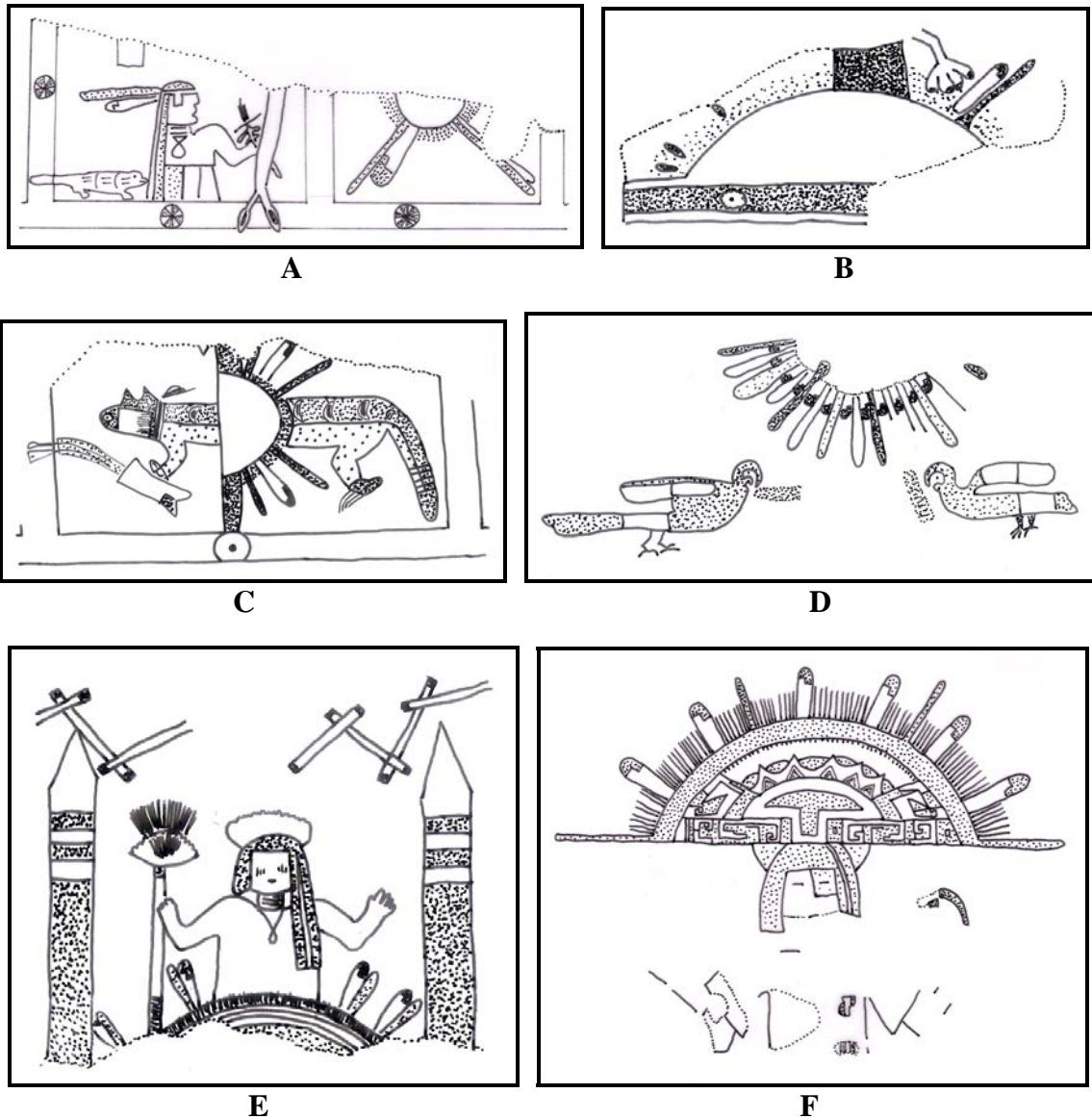


Figure 11.5: Eagle and Macaw Feather Symbolism

- (a) Detail of “Sun Shield” with eagle and macaw feathers positioned over a baseband with floral medallions. Note human figure with eagle and macaw feather in hair holding feathered prayer stick. Kawaika-a, Test 5, Room 4, Right Wall Design 6 (after Smith 1952: fig. 84b).
- (b) Detail of person standing behind “sun shield”. Note eagle and macaw feather, spatter-work around shield, and flower in baseband. Awat’ovi, Room 788, Right Wall Design 3 (after Smith 1952: fig. 80a).
- (c) Animal passing through “sun shield” placed above baseband with floral medallions. Note eagle and macaw feathers and red spatterwork around shield. Awat’ovi Room 788, Left Wall Design 8 (after Smith 1952: fig. 89a).
- (d) Detail of mural depicting scarlet macaws eating beneath a “sun shield”. Note eagle and macaw feathers around shield. Pottery Mound Kiva 10, Layer 29, East Wall (after Hibben 1975: fig. 44).
- (e) Detail of person standing behind “sun shield”. Note paired eagle and macaw feathers and red fringe around shield. Pottery Mound, Kiva 2, Layer 13, West Wall (after Hibben 1975: fig. 61).
- (f) Detail of woman holding scarlet macaw and wearing “sun shield” tablet headdress comprised of paired eagle and macaw feathers and fringe. Pottery Mound, Kiva 9, Layer 1, West Wall (after Hibben 1975: fig. 64).

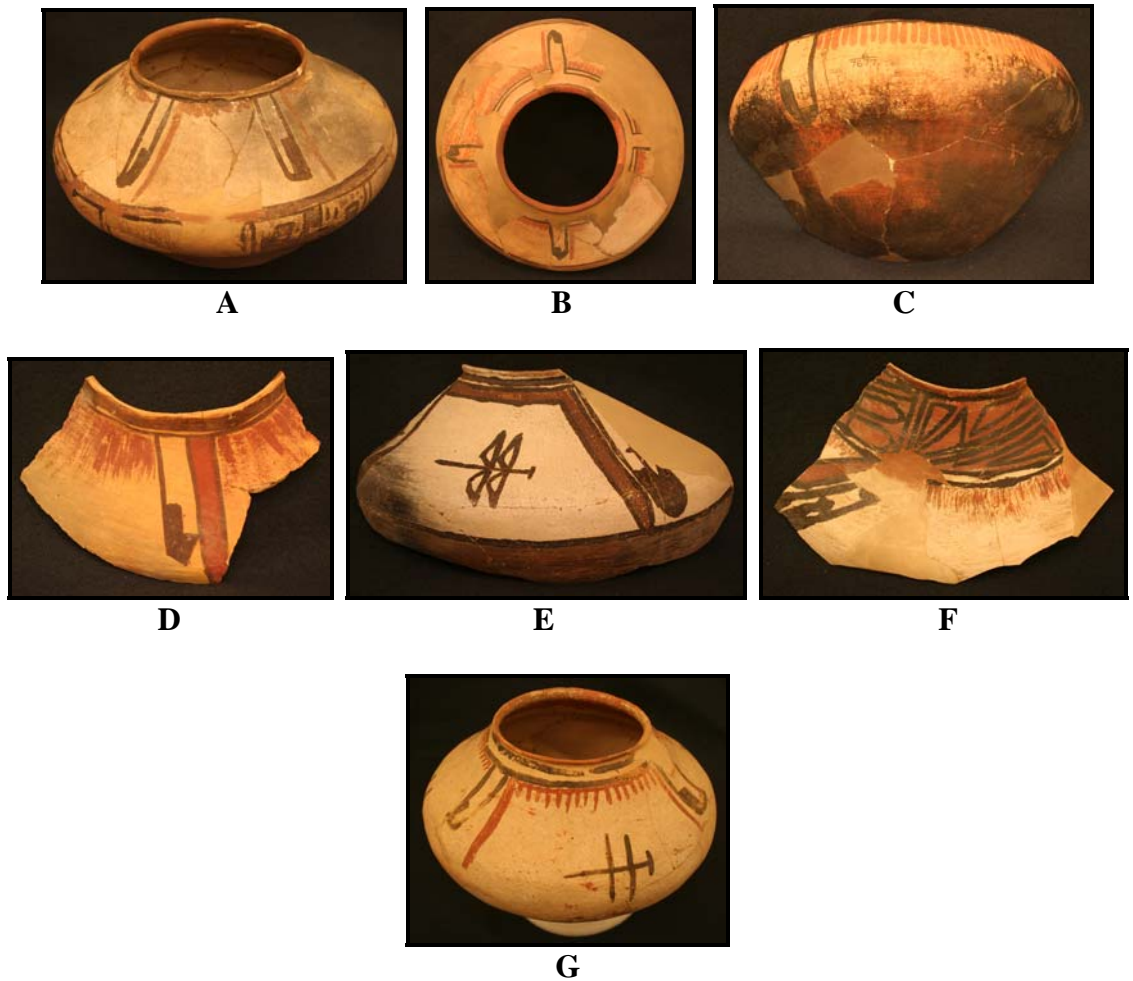


Figure 11.6: “Sun Shields” with Paired Eagle and Macaw Feathers from Zuni Historic-period Ceramics

- (a) Polychrome jar from Hawikuh, New Mexico. Note paired eagle and macaw feathers and red fringe encircling the rim (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 81504. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Top-view of polychrome jar from Hawikuh, New Mexico. Note paired eagle and macaw feathers encircling and radiating from the rim (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 105894. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Fragment of polychrome bowl from Hawikuh, New Mexico. Note red fringe and paired eagle and macaw feathers around rim (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 67677. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Fragment of polychrome jar rim from Hawikuh, New Mexico. Note red fringe and paired eagle and macaw feather (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 109431. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (e) Fragment of polychrome jar from Hawikuh, New Mexico. Note paired eagle and macaw feather and dragonfly (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 133698. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (f) Fragment of polychrome jar rim from Hawikuh, New Mexico. Note red fringe and paired eagle and macaw feather (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 109788. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (g) Polychrome jar from Kechipawan, New Mexico. Note eagle and macaw feather motif and red fringe encircling rim (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 97203. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

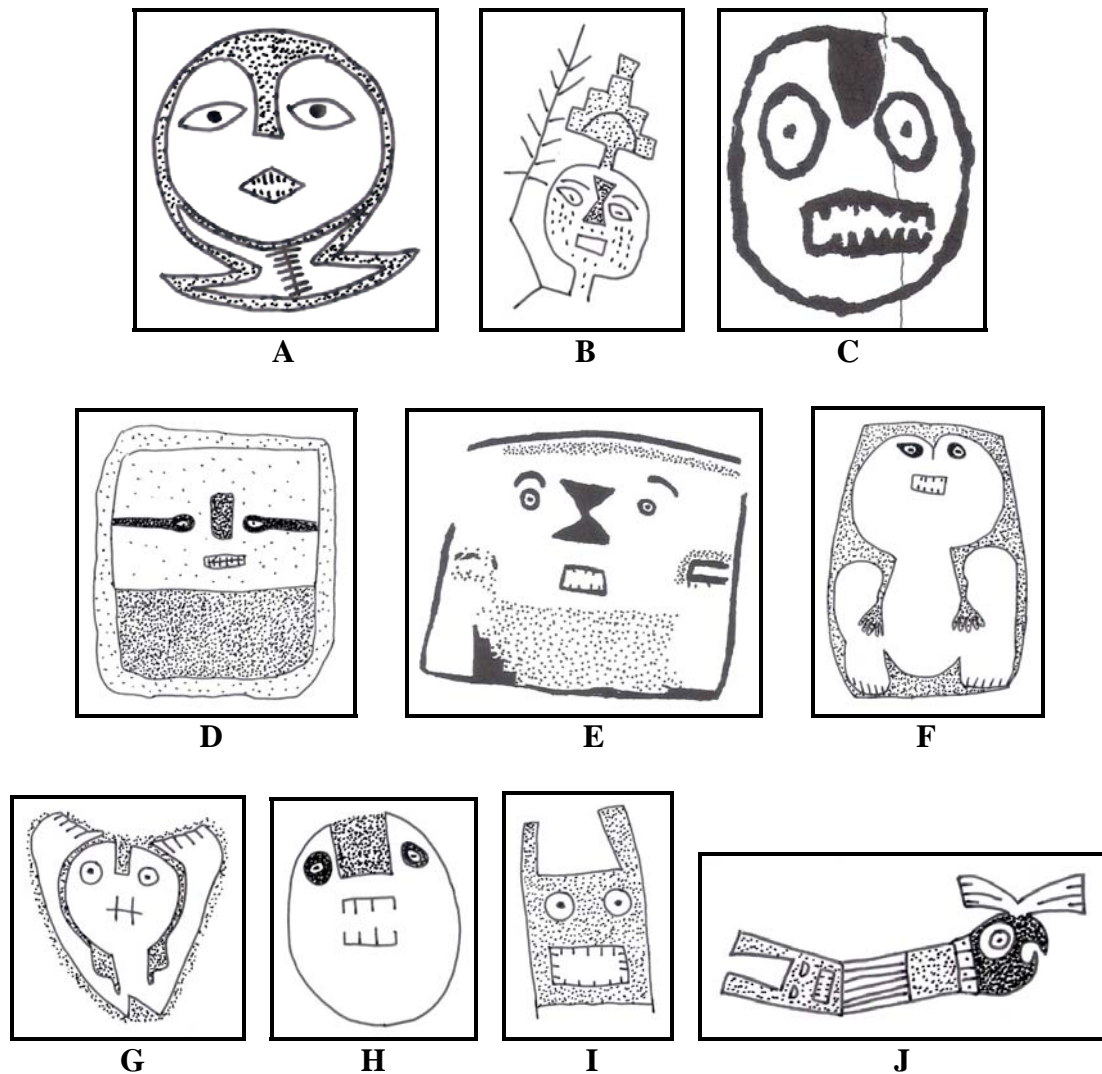


Figure 11.7: Toothed Katsina-like Beings in the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico

- (a) Mimbres mask-like figure with toothed mouth, Rock Point Ruin, NM (after Hays 2000: 53, fig. 6.5).
- (b) Jornada-style toothed katsina with cloud-terrace headdress (AD 1000-1400), Three Rivers, NM (after Schaafsma 2000b: fig. 7.2).
- (c) Jornada-style toothed katsina. Three Rivers, NM (from Schaafsma 2000b: fig. 7.3).
- (d) Detail of Stone slab painted with image of toothed katsina figure, Point of Pines, AZ (Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz after Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 1813, Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, AZ).
- (e) Square mask with toothed mouth, Jornada style petroglyph from Seco Site near Gran Quivira, NM (AD 1250-1300) (Schaafsma 2000b: fig. 7.5).
- (f) Figure with small toothed mouth, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz after National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 20-6705).
- (g) Figure with small “suture-style” mouth. Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz after National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 11-9943).
- (h) Figure with rectangular toothed mouth. Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz after National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 11-9946).
- (i) Head of figure with small toothed mouth on serpentine body, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz after University of Texas at El Paso, Catalog No. A36.1.131).
- (j) Macaw-headed plumed serpent with katsina-like figure with small toothed mouth on tail, Detail of Chihuahuan Polychrome (after Di Peso et al. 1974: 6: 274, no. 62).



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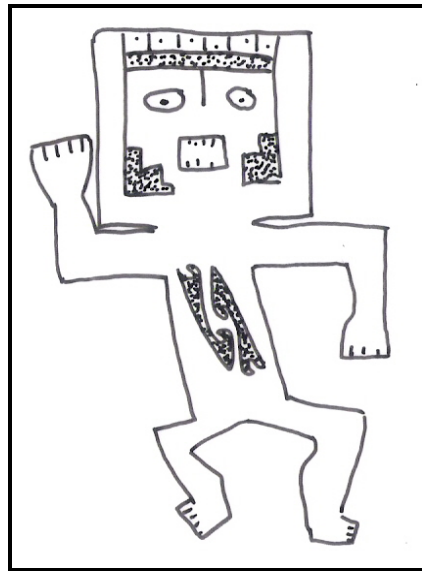


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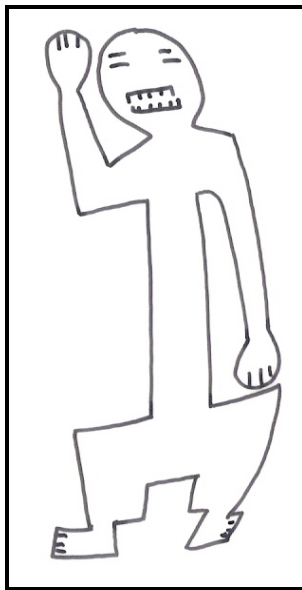
Figure 11.8: Casas Grandes Figures with Katsina-like Toothed Mouths
 (a) Jar with portrayal of large face with toothed mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 9337. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dagoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
 (b) Jar with portrayal of large face of figure with toothed mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 6-560. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
 (c) Effigy jar depicting human figure with small toothed mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 6-566. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
 (d) Effigy jar depicting human with small toothed mouth. Note running band of circular flowers. Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 3- 9543. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



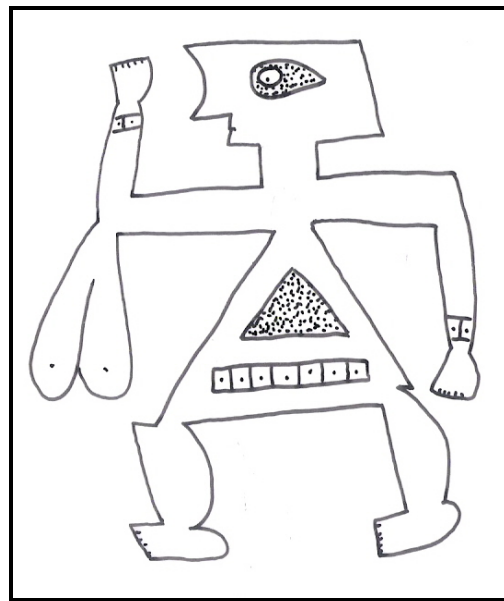
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Figure 11.9: Casas Grandes Figures with Katsina-like Toothed Mouths and/or Dance-like Figural Position
 (a) Human figure with small toothed mouth in a dance-like figural position. Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz after National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 11-9747).
 (b) Katsina-like being with toothed mouth in dance-like figural position. Detail of Chihuahuan ware (after Kidder 1916: pl. 7, no. 7).
 (c) Katsina-like figure with toothed mouth in a dance-like figural position. Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (after Woolsley 2001: fig. 152).
 (d) Human with pendant feathers at elbow in a dance-like figural position. Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (Drawn from photo by Michael Mathiowetz after National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 22-5261).

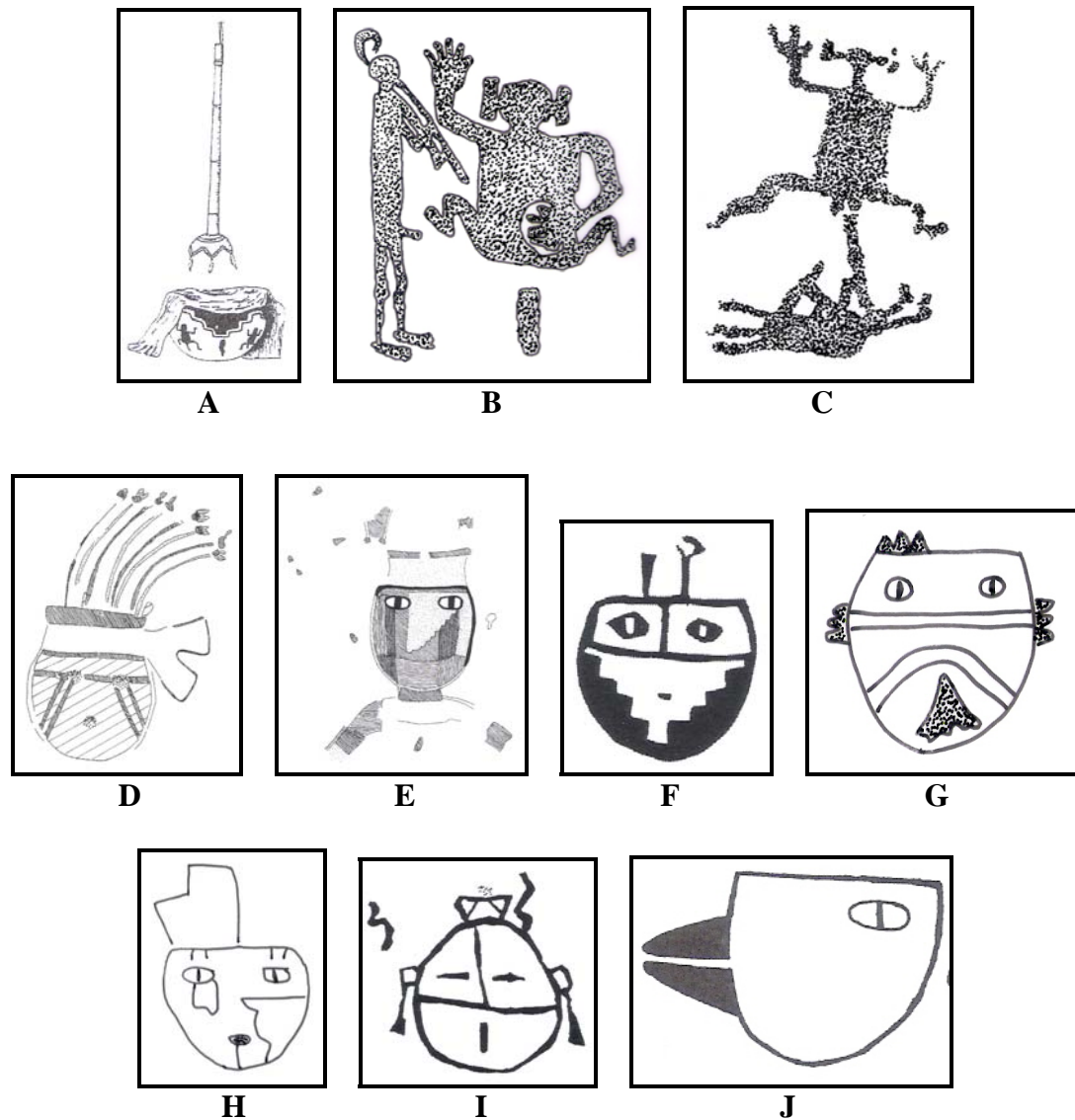


Figure 11.10: Personified Bowls and Vessels as Symbolic Female Wombs in the American Southwest

(a) Zuni flute of Payatamu placed (and played) above medicine bowl containing water as part of rain-making ceremonialism (from Taube 2001: fig. 113).

(b) Petroglyph depicting maiden paired with phallic flute-player. Catron County, NM (after Hays-Gilpin 2002: fig. 10.7a).

(c) Petroglyph depicting maiden paired with phallic flute-player. Note flute positioned directly in front of enlarged female genitalia. La Cieneguilla, near Santa Fe, NM (after Hays Gilpin 2002: fig. 10.7c).

(d) Petroglyph of mask as personified bowl, Abo locale in Tompiro region, NM (from Schaafsma 2002: fig. 2).

(e) Petroglyph of mask as personified bowl, Tompiro region, NM (from Schaafsma 2002: fig. 3).

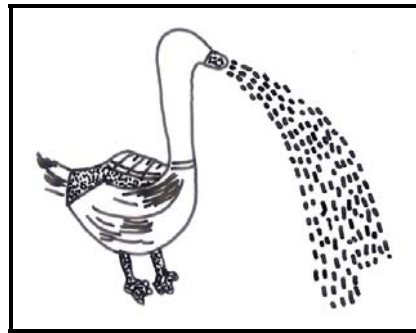
(f) Petroglyph of mask in form of personified bowl, Cerro Indio, Piro province, NM (from Schaafsma 2002: fig. 4).

(g) Petroglyph of mask in form of personified bowl, Cerro Indio, Piro province, NM (after Schaafsma 2002: fig. 5).

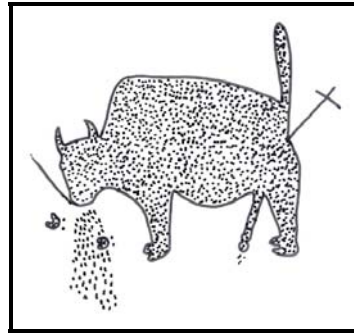
(h) Petroglyph of mask in form of personified bowl, Cerro Indio, Piro province, NM (after Schaafsma 2002: fig. 5).

(i) Petroglyph depicting mask as personified canteen, Southern Tewa, Galisteo Basin, NM (from Schaafsma 2002: fig. 6).

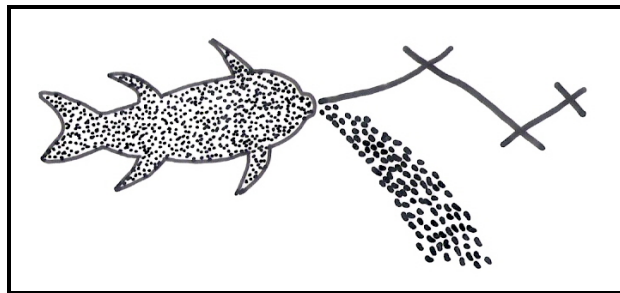
(j) Petroglyph depicting bird mask in the form of a bowl, Cerro Indio, Piro province, NM (from Schaafsma 2000a: fig. 7.8)



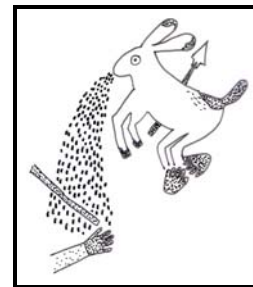
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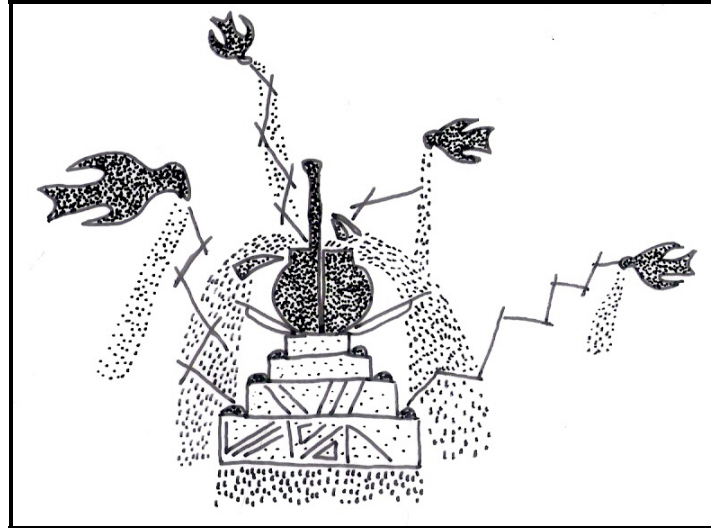
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Figure 11.11: Animals as Rain-Makers in Kuaua Kiva Murals

- (a) Goose or duck with water pouring from beak, Kuaua mural, Layer N-41 (after Dutton 1963: fig. 94).
- (b) Bison with water pouring from mouth and phallus and lightning lattice emerging from mouth and anus. Kuaua mural, Layer M-40 (after Dutton 1963: fig. 89).
- (c) Fish with water pouring from mouth, Kuaua mural, Layer J-34 (after Dutton 1963: fig. 80).
- (d) Rabbit pierced by arrow with water pouring from mouth. Kuaua mural, Layer E-19 (after Dutton 1963: fig. 34).
- (e) Swallows, terraced cloud, and water jar spewing moisture and lightning. Kuaua mural, Layer M-40 (after Dutton 1963: pl. XI).



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Figure 11.12: Casas Grandes Human Effigies with Hole in Mouth

- (a) Human effigy, note hole in mouth as spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Catalog No. A323759. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Human effigy, note hole in mouth as spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7195. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Human effigy, note hole in mouth as spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 4-7075. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Human effigy, note hole in mouth as spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of The El Paso Museum of Archaeology, Catalog No. 93-44-3. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 11.13: Casas Grandes Human Effigies with Hole in Mouth

(a) Human effigy, note hole in mouth as spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 6-582. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(b) Detail of human effigy, note hole in mouth as spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 4-5510. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(c) Detail of human effigy, note hole in mouth as spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7150. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(d) Detail of human effigy, note hole in mouth as spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 8325/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



Figure 11.14: Casas Grandes Figures with Cloud Terrace Headdress

- (a) Human effigy vessel with anthropomorphic vessel atop head, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 45520. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Human effigy with holes in eyes and mouth. Note probable triangular cloud terrace painted on forehead, Ramos Polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 20650/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Human effigy with terraced headdress, Ramos Polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 8321/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Human effigy vessel with terraced headdress, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 8315/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (e) Stone effigy head with terraced headdress, Casas Grandes culture (Courtesy of Museo de las Culturas del Norte, Chihuahua. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (f) Stone effigy with terraced headdress, Casas Grandes culture (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 41911/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (g) Stone effigy of figure with terraced headdress recovered from Mound of the Offerings, Paquimé (Courtesy of Museo de las Culturas del Norte, Chihuahua. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 11.15: Casas Grandes Animal Effigies with Hole in Mouth

- (a) Macaw effigy with hole in mouth for spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 6-552. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Macaw effigy with hole in mouth for spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 20816/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Macaw effigy with hole in mouth for spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the Centennial Museum at the University of Texas, El Paso, Catalog No. A36-2-18. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Detail of macaw effigy with hole in mouth for spout, Chihuahuan ware (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7104. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 11.16: Casas Grandes Animal Effigies with Hole in Mouth

(a) Macaw effigy with open mouth as spout. Note running band of flowers around body, Chihuahuan ware (Image courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Catalog No. GP38463).

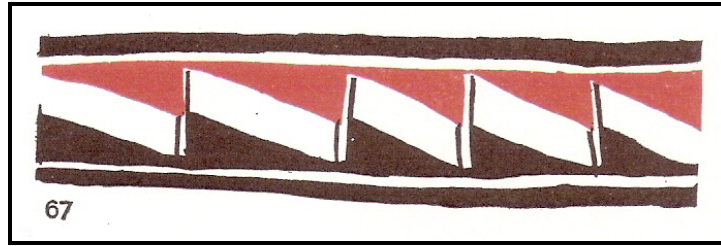
(b) Animal effigy with hole in mouth for spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 6-602. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

(c) Rabbit effigy with hole in mouth for spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 56269/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).

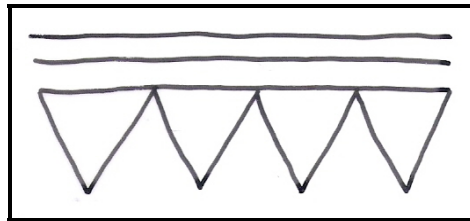
(d) Animal effigy with hole in mouth for spout, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Western New Mexico University Museum. Ike Smalley Collection of Prehistoric Casas Grandes Pottery, Accession No. L2007.04.36. Silver City, New Mexico, USA. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



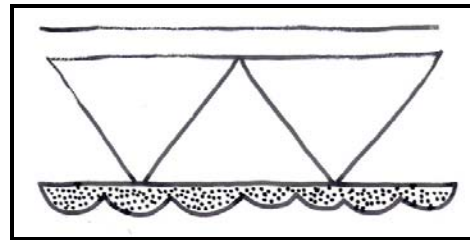
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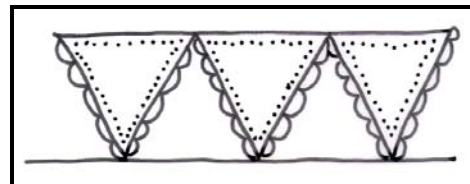
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Figure 11.17: Clouds and Red-and-Black Color Symbolism

- (a) Zuni red and black crooks, or clouds, coming together (Reprinted from Bunzel 1929: 97, no. 21).
- (b) Zuni red and black clouds coming together (Reprinted from Bunzel 1929: 109, no. 67).
- (c) San Ildefonso triangular shaped clouds along border of small bowl (after Bunzel 1929: 123, no. 2).
- (d) San Ildefonso triangular shaped clouds along border of small bowl (after Bunzel 1929: 123, no. 4).
- (e) San Ildefonso triangular shaped clouds along border of small bowl (after Bunzel 1929: 123, no. 5).



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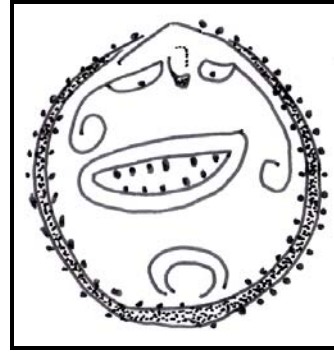
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Figure 11.18: Clouds and Red-and-Black Color Symbolism

- (a) Design of red and black triangles depending from vessel neck, Chihuahuan polychrome. Compare to Figs. 11.17c-11.17e. (Courtesy of The El Paso Museum of Archaeology, Catalog No. 59.9.474. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Red and black interlocking scroll design, Babicora Polychrome. Compare to Fig. 11.17a. (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog no. 56952/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Red and black interlocking scroll design and other interlocking elements, Babicora Polychrome. Compare to Fig. 11.17a. (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 54538/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Chihuahuan polychrome, note red and black band encircling vessel. Compare to Fig. 11.17b. (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 3678. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (e) Chihuahuan polychrome, note red and black cartouche-like interlocking step design (Catalog No. A375805. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 11.19: Clowns in the Casas Grandes World

- (a) Human effigy with white-painted face, brow to cheek scroll, and black-outlined mouth with wide grin, Chihuahuan ware (Image courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Catalog No. GP3777).
- (b) Detail of face of human effigy with haphazard decoration, including white face, brow to cheek scrolls, and black-outlined toothy grin, Chihuahuan polychrome (after Christman 2002: 70).
- (c) Human effigy with white-painted face, black cheek scrolls, and large black-outlined toothy mouth with wide grin, Huerigos Polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 60578. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Human effigy with white-painted face, brow to cheek scrolls, and black-outlined toothy mouth with wide grin, Huerigos Polychrome, Casas Grandes, Mexico (Courtesy of Denver Art Museum [Gift of Mr. James P. Economos], Catalog No. 1975.59. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz)
- (e) Human effigy with white-painted face, brow to cheek scrolls, and black-painted line around mouth, Huerigos Polychrome (Courtesy of Western New Mexico University Museum. Ike Smalley Collection of Prehistoric Casas Grandes Pottery, Accession No. L2007.04.39. Silver City, New Mexico, USA. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 11.20: Clowns in the Casas Grandes World

- (a) Human effigy with white-painted face, brow to cheek scrolls, and black-outlined mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7315. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Human effigy with white face, brow to cheek scrolls, and black-outlined mouth, Chihuahuan ware (Catalogue No. A375847-0, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Human effigy dipper. Note white face with brow to cheek scrolls and black-outlined mouth. Note black-and-white striped design on neck of vessel, Chihuahuan polychrome (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7364. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Human effigy with white body and face, face scrolls, and black outlined mouth, Chihuahuan ware (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7157. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



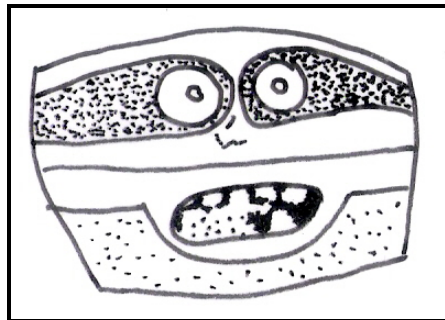
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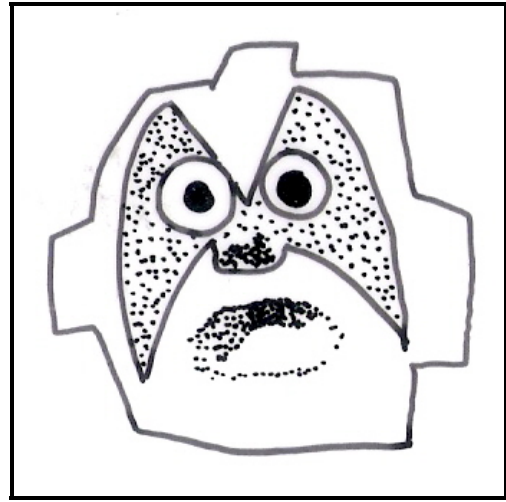
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Figure 11.21: Clowns in the Casas Grandes World

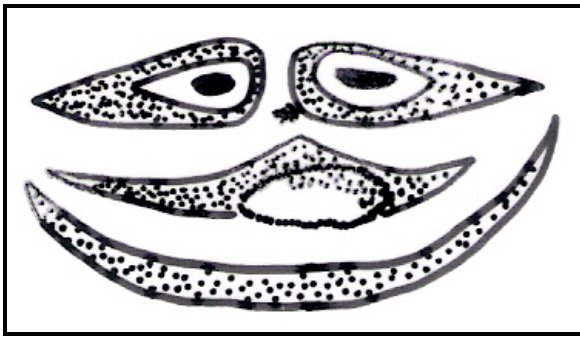
- (a) Human effigy with open toothy grin. Note black-outlined mouth, Chihuahuan polychrome (Catalog No. A323779-0. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Human effigy with wide-open, toothy mouth. Note black eye mask and black paint around mouth Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of The El Paso Archaeological Society, Naylor collection [no catalog number]. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Human effigy with open, toothy grin. Note scrolls from brow to cheek, Chihuahuan ware (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 37785/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Human effigy with wide-eyed, open-mouthed toothy expression. Note black mask-like decoration across eyes, Detail of Chihuahuan polychrome (after Christman 2002: 132).
- (e) Human effigy with open toothy mouth. Note black mask-like markings across eyes and mouth, Chihuahuan ware (Courtesy of the Centennial Museum at the University of Texas, El Paso, Catalog No. 37.5.1). Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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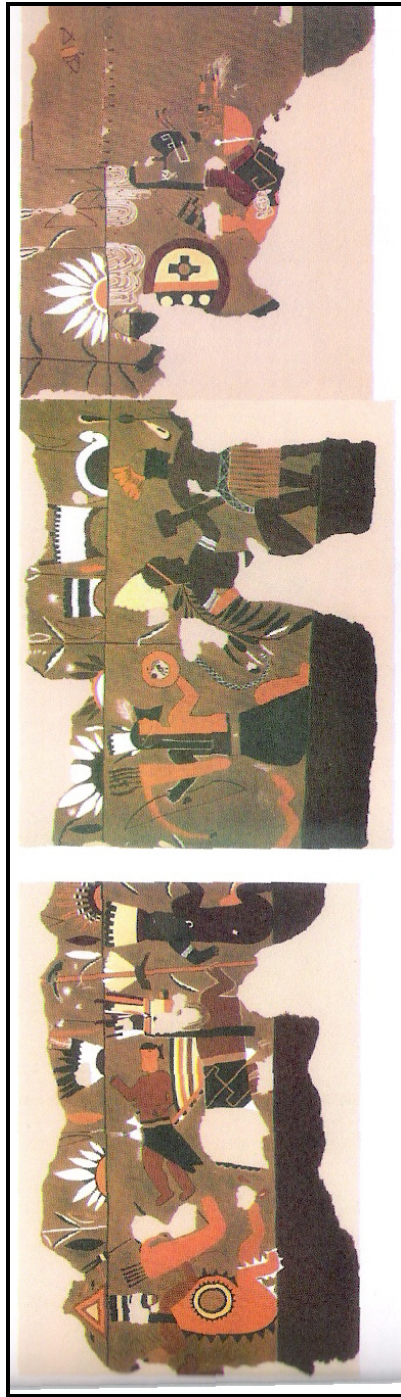
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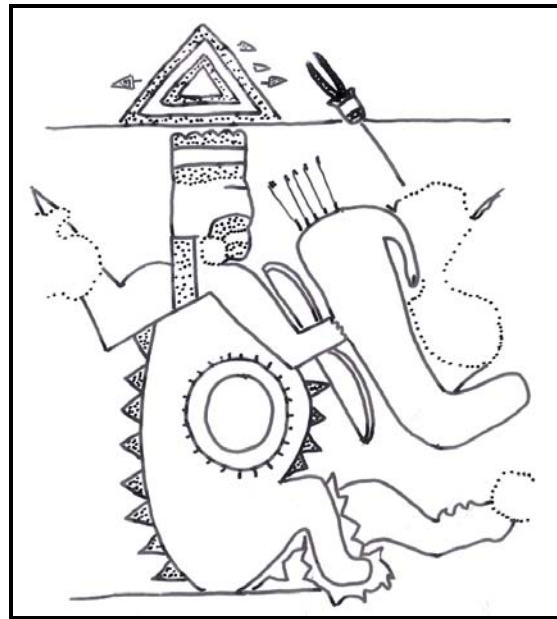
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Figure 11.22: Clowns in the Casas Grandes World

- (a) Human effigy with open mouth and protruding tongue. Note black mask-like decoration around mouth and eyes, Chihuahuan polychrome (Catalog No. A323763-0. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Human effigy with wide-eyed gaping-mouthed expression. Note black mask-like decoration around eyes, Chihuahuan polychrome (after Christman 2002: 142).
- (c) Human effigy with open-mouthed expression and black mask-like eyes, Chihuahuan polychrome (after Christman 2002: 143).
- (d) Human effigy with black crescents painted beneath the eyes, Chihuahuan polychrome (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7200. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



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Figure 11.23: The Battle of Winter and Summer: The Warriors of Winter

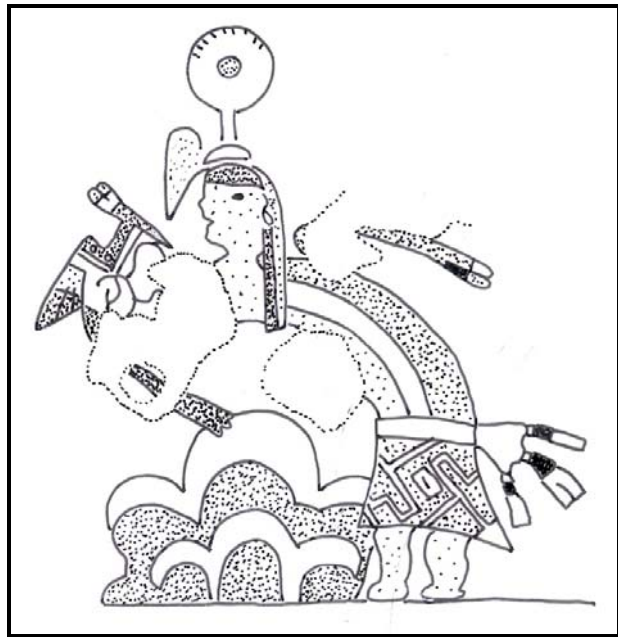
(a) Portion of Pottery Mound mural from Kiva 2, Layer 1 depicting symbolic “battle” between two opposing phalanxes.

This segment depicts procession of warriors and hunters in the cold season. Note male figure, the probable personified Winter Man, at far left of scene with body covered in icicles or frost (Reprinted from Hays-Gilpin, Newsome, and Sekaquaptewa 2010: fig. 6.6).

(b) Detail of probable personified Winter Man (after Hibben 1975: fig. 49).



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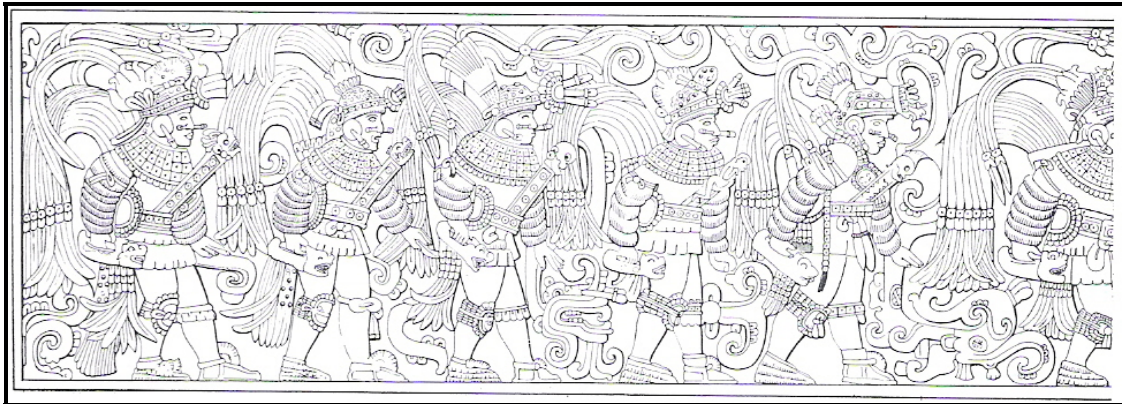
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Figure 11.24: The Battle of Winter and Summer: The Warriors of Summer

(a) Portion of Pottery Mound mural from Kiva 2, Layer 1 depicting symbolic “battle” between two opposing phalanxes.

This segment depicts procession of agriculturalists in the warm season. Note male figure, the probable personified Summer Man, at far right of scene with rainbow body and sunflower atop head (Reprinted from Hays-Gilpin, Newsome, and Sekaquaptewa 2010: fig. 6.6).

(b) Detail of probable personified Summer Man (after Hibben 1975: fig. 14).



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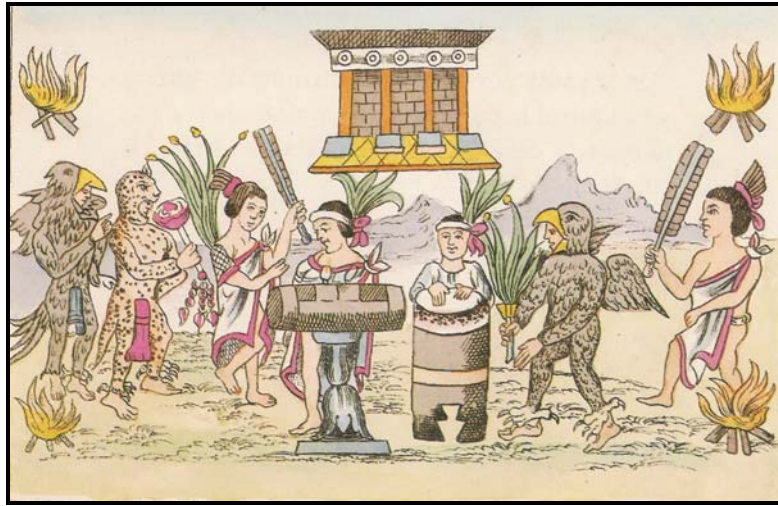


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Figure 11.25: Ritual Confrontation in the Great Ballcourt at Chichén Itzá
 (a-c) Central panel from west wall of Great Ballcourt at Chichén Itzá depicting opposing phalanxes of ballgame players. Note decapitation scene at center (section B) with flowering and fruiting vine emerging with the serpentine blood of the sacrificial victim. Also note jewels amid swirling volutes in right-hand (Section C) portion of panel (Reprinted from Kowalski 2007: fig. 24 [after Tozzer 1957: 2: fig. 474]).



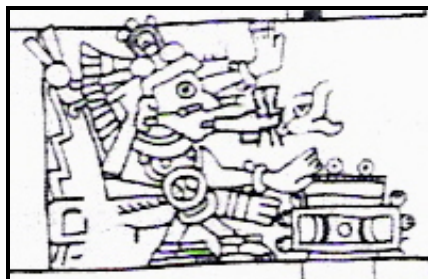
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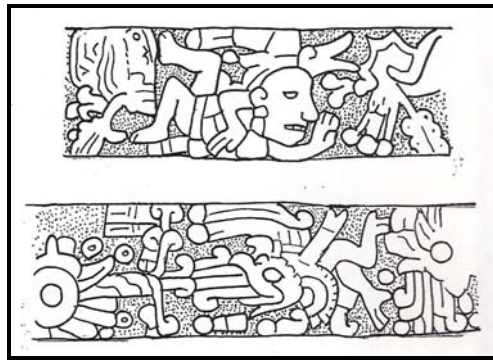


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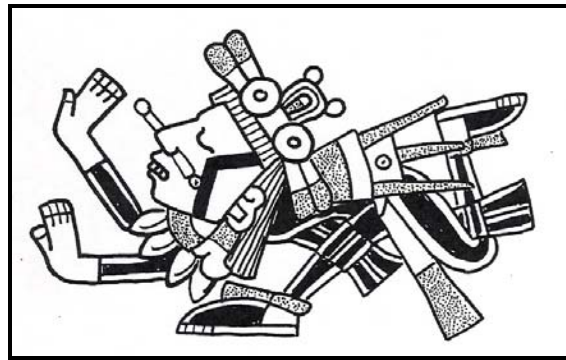


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Figure 12.1: Highland Central Mexican Musical Instruments and Flower World Warfare
 (a) Scene depicting Aztec warriors and musicians. Note *teponaztli* and *huehueltl* drums, *Codex Duran* (Reprinted from Gutierrez and Gutierrez 1990: lam. 19a).
 (b) Stone effigy Aztec *teponaztli* drum with depiction of face of Macuilxochitl/Xochipilli (Reprinted from Solís 2004: 58, fig. 256).
 (c) Macuilxochitl/Xochipilli playing drum. *Codex Borbonicus* pg. 4.
 (d) Xochipilli playing a drum and a red flute in the flower house of the sun (*xochicalco*), *Codex Borgia* pg. 37 (detail from Taube 1986: fig. 10).
 (e) Detail of ceramic drum with image of Xochipilli in a position of dance or supernatural flight (from Taube 2004a: fig. 7d).



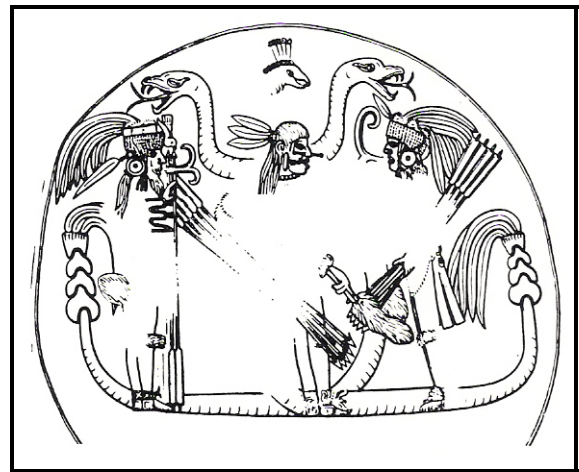
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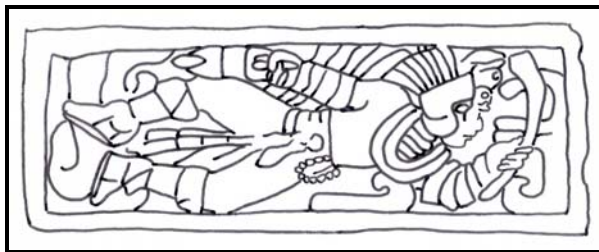
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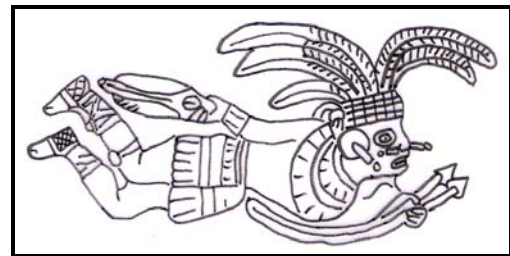
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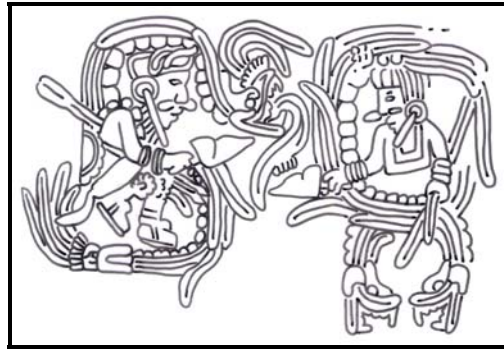
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Figure 12.2: Flower World and Warfare Symbolism in Highland Central Mexico

- (a) Detail of scene on Aztec drum depicting figure in supernatural flight with birds and flowers (from Taube 2004a: fig. 7e).
- (b) Detail of Quetzalcoatl in supernatural flight within a stream of wind, *Codex Borgia* (from Taube 2004a: fig. 7c).
- (c) Warrior Sun god astride body of plumed serpent. Scene from an inscribed jade, Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichén Itzá (Reprinted from Proskouriakoff 1974: 190, pl. 78a).
- (d) Warriors standing atop plumed serpent body, Chichén Itzá (Reprinted from Tozzer 1957: fig. 681i).
- (e) Warrior in supernatural flight, Chichén Itzá (after Tozzer 1957: fig. 575).
- (f) Warrior in supernatural flight, Chichén Itzá (after Proskouriakoff 1974: 106, fig. 6).



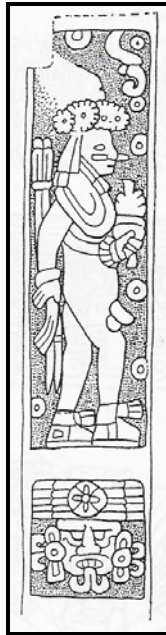
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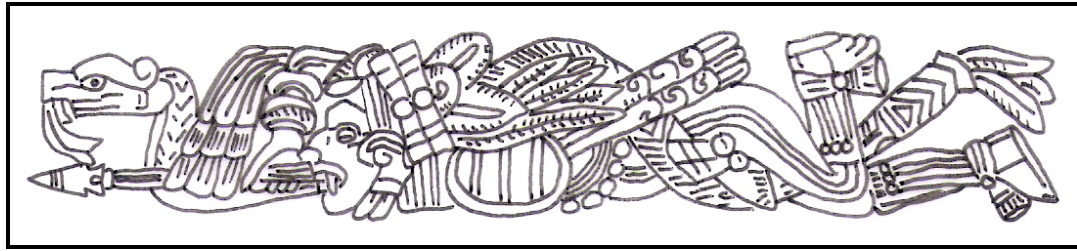


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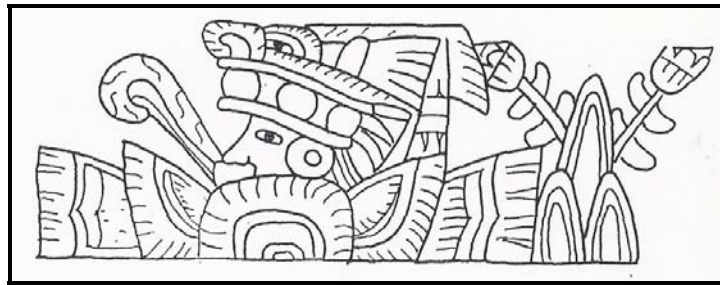


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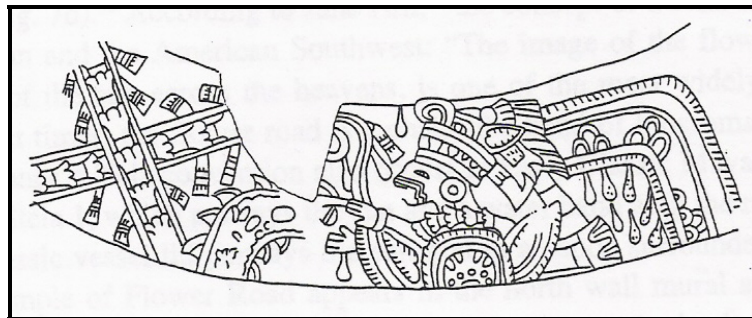
Figure 12.3: Warriors and Flower World Warfare Symbolism in the Art of Chichén Itzá and Tula
 (a) Warriors entwined in plumed serpent body, Chichén Itzá (after Tozzer 1957: fig. 273).
 (b) Warrior in supernatural flight on body of plumed serpent, Tula (after Tozzer 1957: fig. 132).
 (c) Warrior in supernatural flight on plumed serpent body, Tula (after Tozzer 1957: fig. 132a).
 (d) Warrior standing atop Flower Mountain, Tula. Note blossom on brow of mountain (from Taube 2004b: 87, fig. 15c).
 (e) Warrior atop Flower Mountain, Tula. Note blossom on brow of mountain (from Taube 2004b: 87, fig. 15b).



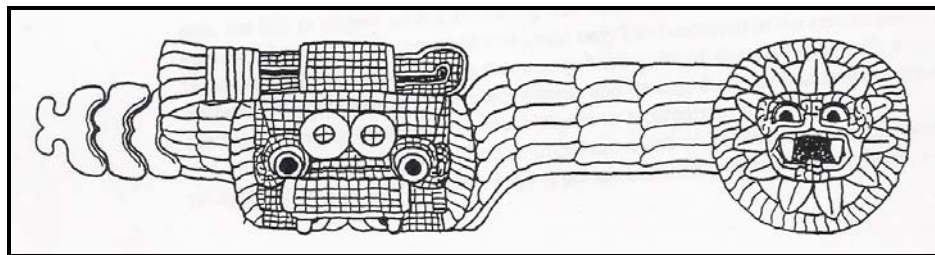
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Figure 12.4: Flower World Warfare Symbolism in Highland Central Mexico

- (a) Warrior in supernatural flight on plumed serpent body, detail of Aztec spearthrower (atlatl) handle (after Pasztory 1983: 275, pl. 293).
- (b) Teotihuacan butterfly warrior in supernatural flight before Flower Mountain. Detail of Teotihuacan stucco-painted ceramic vessel (from Taube 2010c: fig. 5.20c).
- (c) Young solar butterfly deity in flight emerging from portal before Flower Road. Detail of Teotihuacan stucco-painted ceramic vessel (from Taube 2006b: 163, fig. 7b).
- (d) Plumed serpent with a War Serpent headdress superimposed upon the plumed serpent body. Detail of façade of Temple of Quetzalcoatl, Teotihuacan (from Taube 2006b: 161, fig. 6).

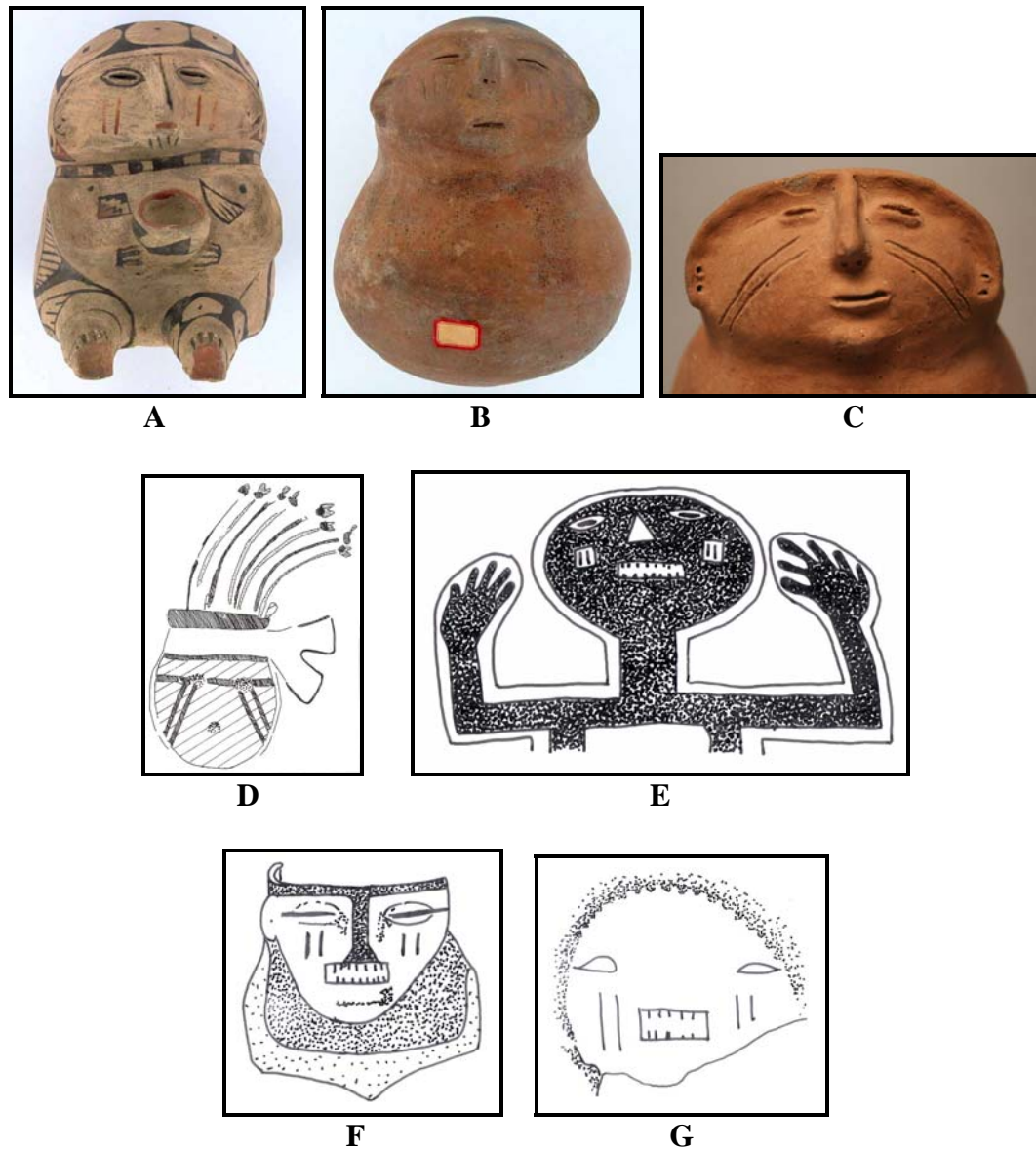


Figure 12.5: War Track Markings in Northern Mexico and the American Southwest

- (a) Human effigy with war tracks on cheeks and probable Flower Road imagery on head and leg, Chihuahuan polychrome (Catalog No. A323764. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo courtesy of Smithsonian).
- (b) Possible alternative form of war track marks on human face (three parallel vertical lines) on cheeks, Casas Grandes plainware (Catalog No. A323797. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Photo courtesy of Smithsonian).
- (c) Possible alternative form of war track marks on human face (two slanting parallel lines) on cheeks, Casas Grandes plainware (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 8335/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Possible war track marks on face of katsina in the form of a water jar, Tompiro region, New Mexico (from Schaafsma 2000a: 182, fig. 12.19).
- (e) War track marks on cheeks of toothed-katsina figure, Pinto Polychrome (after Moulard 2002: pl. 49).
- (f) War track marks on cheeks of toothed-katsina figure, Salado Polychrome, Kinishba (after Young 1982: 43, fig. 6h).
- (g) War track marks on cheeks of toothed-katsina figure, Fourmile Polychrome (after Ferg 1982: 16, fig. 2d).

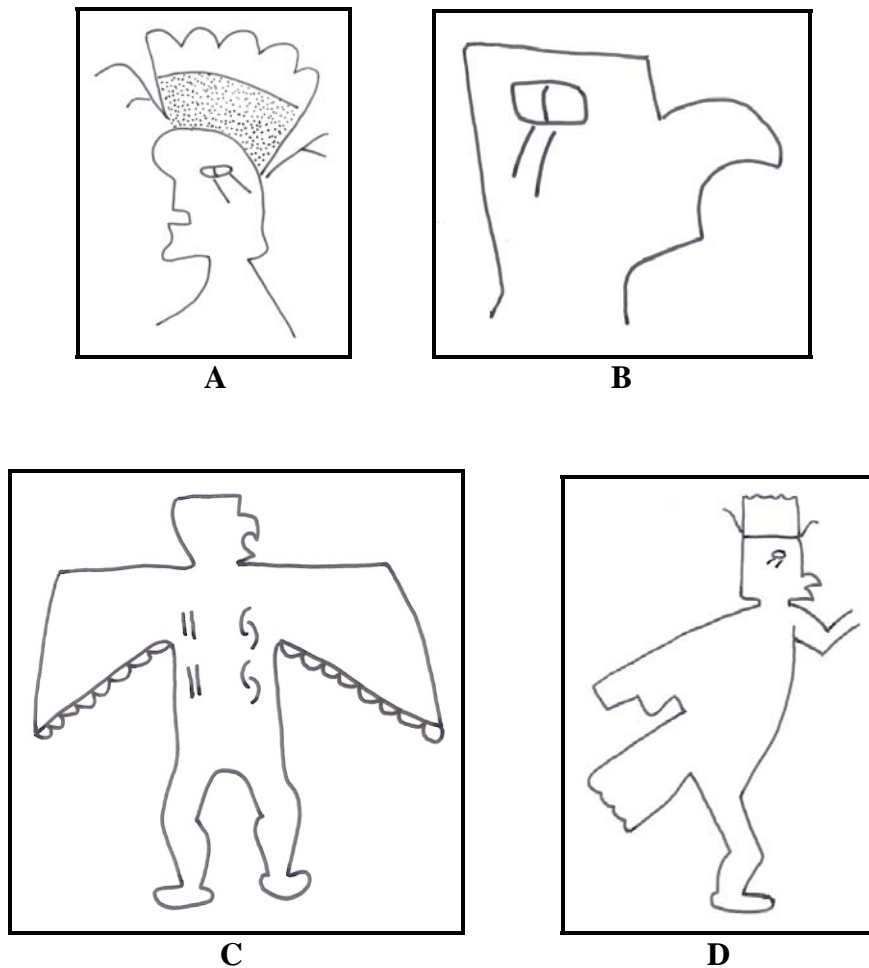


Figure 12.6: War Track Markings in the Pueblo IV-period American Southwest
 (a) Rock art depiction of warrior figure with war tracks beneath eye, Rio Grande region (after Schaafsma 2000a: 51, fig. 3.15c).
 (b) War tracks on cheeks of raptor figure, Southern Tewa region rock art (after Schaafsma 2000a: 56, fig. 3.18).
 (c) War tracks on body (left) of raptor figure, Galisteo Basin rock art (after Schaafsma 2007: 147, fig. 8.8a).
 (d) War tracks on cheek of raptor figure, Galisteo Basin rock art (after Schaafsma 2007: 147, fig. 8.8b).

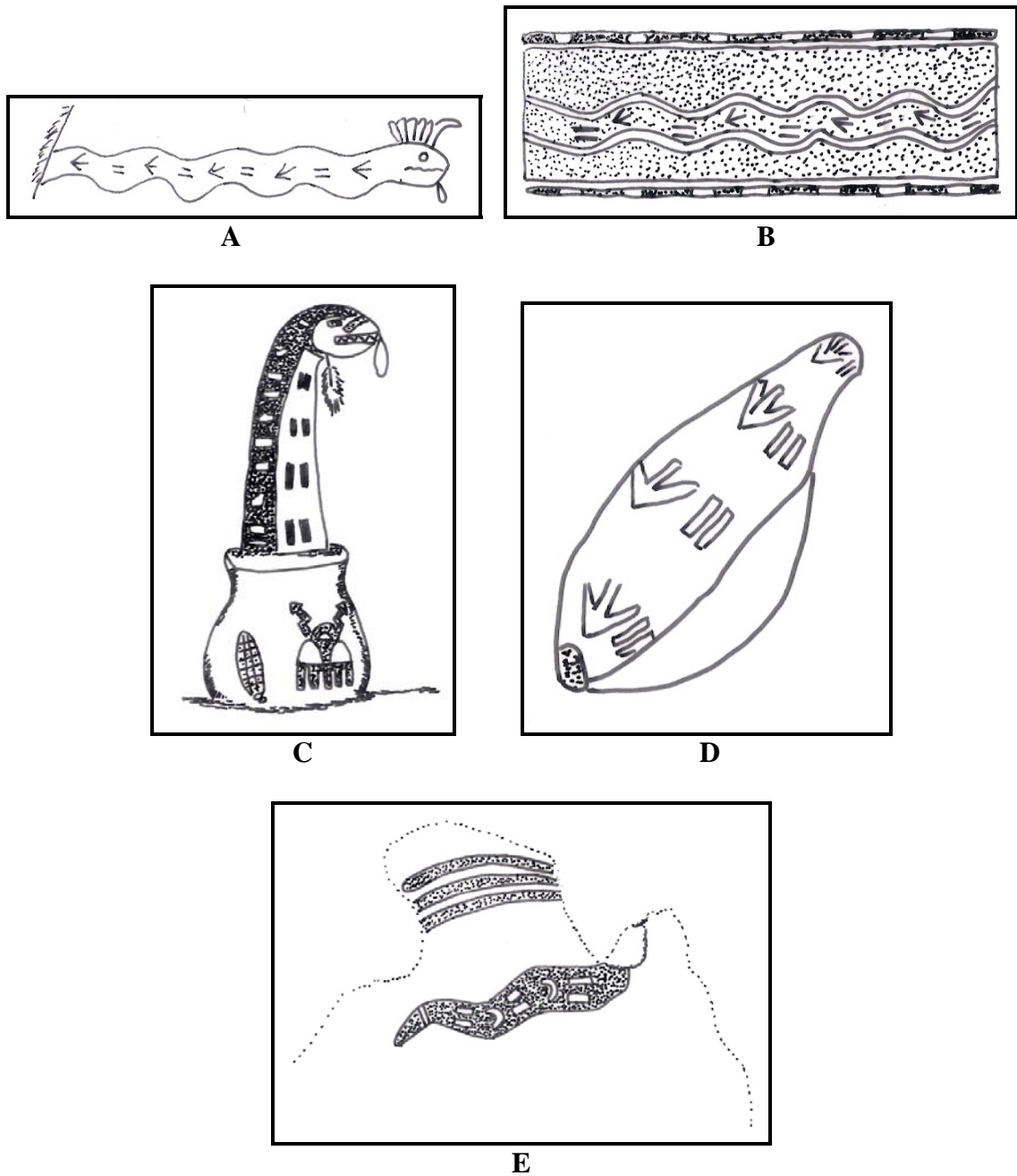
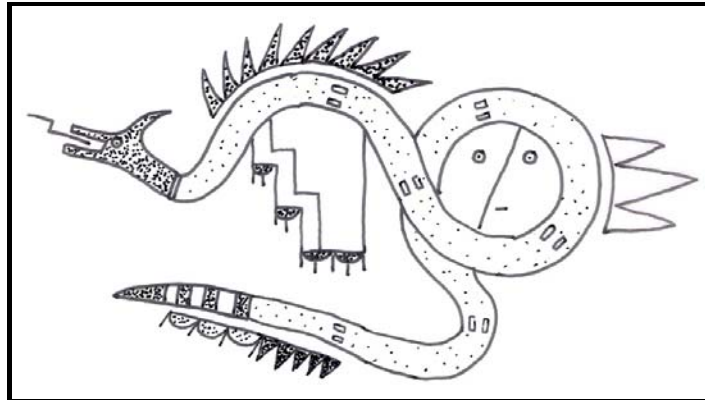
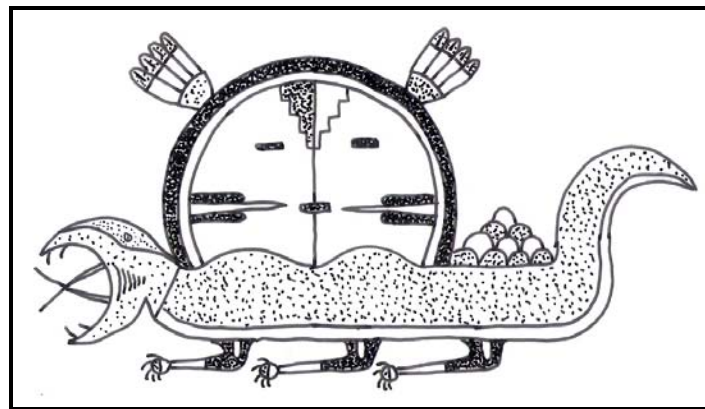


Figure 12.7: Hopi Plumed Serpents with War Track Markings

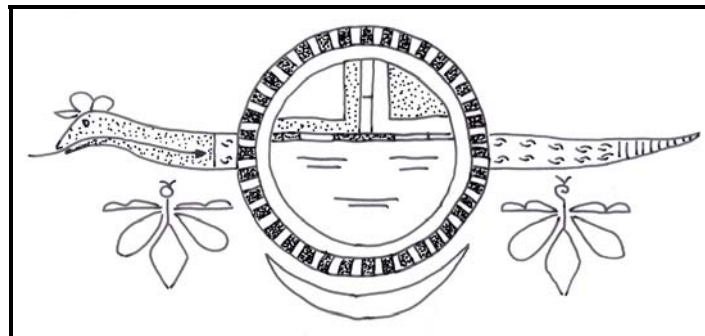
- (a) Hopi rock art of Palulukon with war tracks on the body (after Stephen 1936: 1011, fig. 496a).
- (b) Hopi Snake kilt with Palulukon imagery and war track marks on serpent body (after Stephen 1936: pl. XIX).
- (c) Hopi Palulukon with war track imagery emerging from a jar, Kuysiplölöqangw ceremony (after Geertz and Lomatuway'ma 1987: 249).
- (d) Gourd trumpet with Palulukon symbolism and war track imagery (after Stephen 1936: 296, fig. 172d).
- (e) Kawaika'a kiva mural fragment with probable Palulukon image bearing possible war track imagery on body. Note scarlet macaw feathers extending from serpent head (after Smith 1952: fig. 51e).



A



B



C

Figure 12.8: Plumed and Horned Serpents and the Road of the Sun in the Historic-period American Southwest
 (a) Mural by San Ildefonso artist Wo-Peen depicting the horned and feathered serpent Avanyu rising on a cloud bank and Sun within its coils. Note war track markings on the body of the horned and feathered serpent (after Dunn 1968: 318, fig. 114).
 (b) Painting by San Ildefonso artist Miguel Martinez depicting “the Sun rising from the body of Avanyu”, the plumed serpent. Note clouds on the body of the serpent (after Alexander 1932: folio 47).
 (c) Late-nineteenth-century Zuni mural depicting the plumed serpent Kolo’wisi with Sun superimposed on the body. Note dragonflies flanking the face of the sun (after Green 1979: 75, fig. 11).

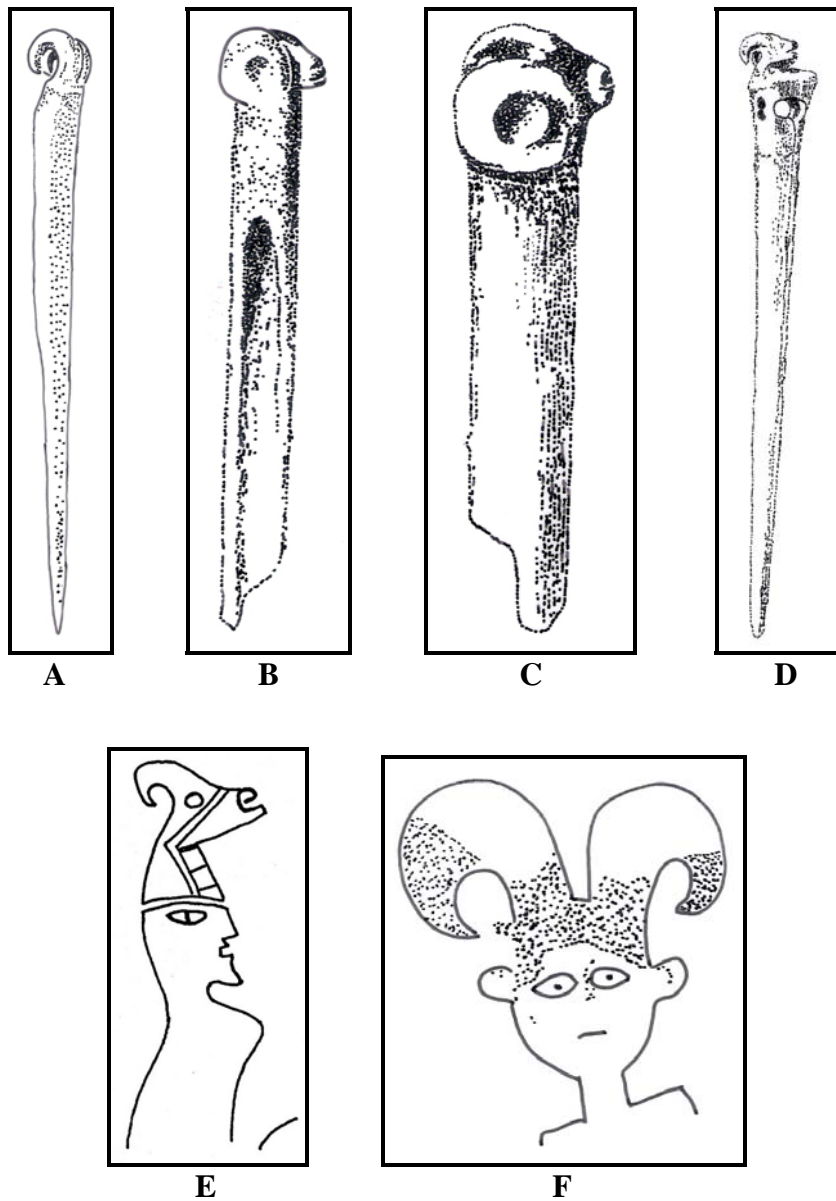


Figure 12.9: Bighorn Sheep in Mimbres and Jornada Art

- (a) Bighorn sheep effigy awl depicting horns, Swarts Ruin, Mimbres culture (after Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: pl. 59a).
- (b) Bighorn sheep effigy (head with horns) awl, Swarts Ruin, Mimbres culture (after Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: pl. 59d).
- (c) Bighorn sheep effigy awl (head with horns), Swarts Ruin, Mimbres culture (after Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: pl. 59e).
- (d) Bighorn sheep effigy (complete animal) awl, unidentified Mimbres ruin (after Cosgrove and Cosgrove 1932: pl. 59b).
- (e) Human male with probable bighorn sheep headdress, Mimbres/Jornada-style rock art near Las Cruces, NM (Courtesy of Polly Schaafsma).
- (f) Human male wearing bighorn sheep headdress, Jornada rock art (after Schaafsma 1975b: 115, fig. 97.)



A



B



C



D

Figure 12.10: Bighorn Sheep in Casas Grandes Art

- (a) Bighorn sheep effigy vessel, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico—Photo by Michael Mathiowetz, Catalog No. 79.40.4).
- (b) Bighorn sheep effigy vessel, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 119963. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Bighorn sheep effigy vessel, Chihuahuan polychrome (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miacalab.org], Catalog No. 37772/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (d) Bighorn sheep effigy vessel, Chihuahuan polychrome (Digital image of Amerind Foundation Catalog No. 7211. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



A



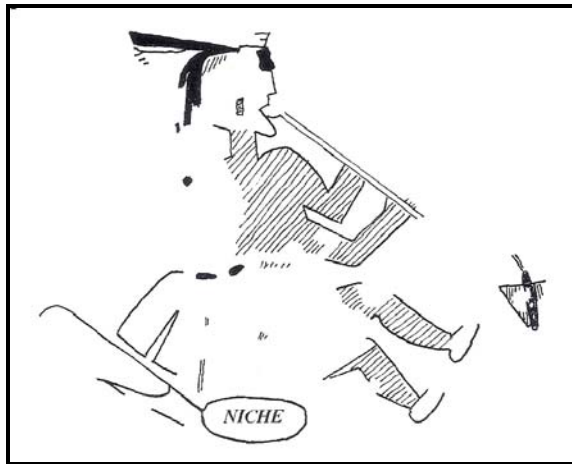
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Figure 12.11: Bighorn Sheep in Casas Grandes Art

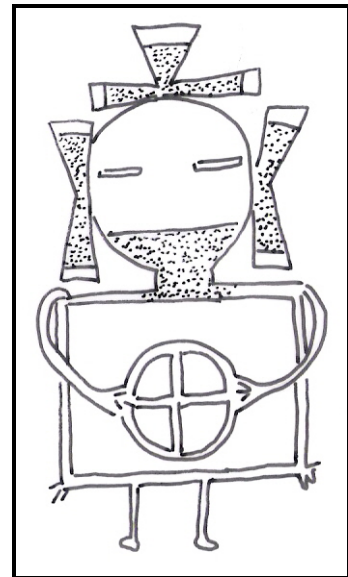
- (a) Bighorn sheep effigy, stone. Possible pestle, Casas Grandes culture (Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology [www.miaclab.org], Catalog No. 13575/11. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (b) Bighorn sheep effigy, stone. Possible plumb bob, Casas Grandes culture (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 178033. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).
- (c) Detail of bighorn sheep effigy, Casas Grandes culture (Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog No. 178033. Photo by Michael Mathiowetz).



A



B



C

Figure 12.12: Basket Dances and Ceremonialism in the American Southwest

(a) Fluteplayer with butterfly fluttering near end of flute, Pottery Mound, Kiva 9, Layer 8 (from Schaafsma 2009: fig. 12).

(b) Detail of one of a series of basket dancers in mural that encircles Kiva 16, Layer 1 at Pottery Mound, NM. Note corn stalks flanking dancer (after Hibben 1975: 128-129, figs. 99-100).

(c) Detail of Hopi Lalkon basket dancer from kiva altar sand painting. Note position of basket held in front of the body (after Stephen 1936: 839, fig. 454).