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It is not because thoughts are similar that we can evoke them; it is rather because the same group is interested in those memories, and is able to evoke them, that they are assembled together in our minds.

CONNERTON 1989:37

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As a result of research into Postclassic and Colonial Maya cultures, the Maya area on the eve of Spanish contact/conquest can be described as a series of dynamic socio-political alliances and dominance relations, changing religious cults, long-distance exchange, and migrations throughout the area rather than a region of “decline, decadence, and depopulation” (A. Chase and D. Chase 1985:4). This holds true for the Maya of the Yucatán peninsula and Chiapas of México, Belize, and lowland and highland Guatemala. Many of these research programs have taken as their point of departure the various indigenous “prophetic histories” known as the Books of Chilam Balam of multiple towns in northern Yucatán (Bricker and Miram 2002; Edmonson 1982, 1986; Roys 1933; among others) to reconstruct Postclassic, Contact, and Colonial period (ca. A.D. 1200–1830) history in the Maya lowlands.<sup>1</sup> In addition to these documents that record the histories of the diverse socio-political lineage groups, other important sources of information are the records of early Spaniards in the area, the best known of which is that of sixteenth-century Bishop Diego de Landa (Tozzer 1941).

In the mid-sixteenth century, Bishop Diego de Landa identified sixteen northern Yucatán states (Tozzer 1941:17–18), some headed

by different leaders (*cuchcabalob* or *kuchcabaloob*). Each group is described as being a distinct social and/or political group (Roys 1957). During the Late Postclassic period (ca. A.D. 1200–1513), these provinces/territories were under the rule of the League of Mayapán, headed by the Xiws, the Kokoms, and the Canuls, although the Kokoms and Xiws dominated rule and are best documented in the ethnohistoric record (Ringle and Bey 2001; Roys 1972).

According to the *Chilam Balam of Mani*, in K'atun 2 Ajau (A.D. 751?), the Xiw (also Tutul-Xiw) arrived in the Pu'uc region from the west (the land of Tulapan) after stopping in Petén 500 years earlier; there they founded and governed Uxmal (Craine and Reindorp 1970:138–139; Restall 1998:141; however, see Kowalski 1987:56–68 for origins from Tabasco). They joined the Kokom/Itza as part of a *multepal* (joint rule) that ruled Mayapán. Munro Edmonson (1982:x, 24, 45–46) states that the Xiw controlled the western half of Yucatán and had a different ritual calendar from the Kokom/Itza.

The *Chilam Balam of Tizimin* states that the Kokom claimed to have come from Chich'en Itzá after two k'atuns of exile (Edmonson 1986; Roys 1962). The Itza lineage founded Mayapán and seated the *may* (a time period of thirteen twenty-year k'atuns or 260 *tuns* for which a capital city ruled over a given territory [Rice, this volume]) in K'atun 8 Ajau (ca. A.D. 1080–1104 or A.D. 1185–1204) (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003b). The Itza lineage of the Kokom ruled Mayapán for approximately 100 years and in A.D. 1362/82 a revolt brought a different Kokom lineage (the rival Itza) into power at Mayapán (Roys 1962:44–46; Tozzer 1941:26). However, problems soon arose for the Kokom as the Xiw revolted against them, resulting in the Kokom fleeing “by sea down the east coast, and . . . inland to Lake Petén Itza” (Roys 1962:47). Edmonson (1986:58) also states that a migration occurred after the destruction of Mayapán and “they went to the heart of the forest—Chak'an Putun, Tan Xuluc Mul by name.” Chak'an Putun is believed to be located in the territory of Chak'an Itza—the northwest quarter of Petén Itza territory (Jones 1998; Schele and Matthews 1998:204). As a result of the expulsions and revolts, Kokom rulership at Mayapán ended, Mayapán was destroyed, and nobles carried codices to, and built temples in, their homelands—the sixteen independent states (Roys 1962:47; Tozzer 1941:38, 98). Cultures at sites on the east coast and Belize had friendly ties with Mayapán (Kepecs and Masson 2003:43).

In the central Petén lowlands, ethnohistorical research has indicated that the Itza and Kowoj (as well as other sociopolitical groups) occupied territory in the region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Jones 1989, 1998). Spanish documents and Postclassic to Colonial period native histories of these groups (especially the Xiw and the Itza) record their presence, various alliances in Petén, as well as repeated movements to and from northern Yucatán. In the central Petén lakes region, the Itza controlled the southern and western basin of Lake Petén Itzá. Their Late Postclassic ruler, Kan Ek', claimed ancestry from Chich'en Itzá when it fell at

approximately A.D. 1200 (Edmonson 1986; Jones 1998; Roys 1933). The Kowoj controlled the northeastern area of Lake Petén Itzá and the east-central Petén lakes (Jones 1998). They claimed to have migrated from Mayapán around A.D. 1530 (but see Cecil, this volume, for a discussion of earlier migrations) and were the guardians of the east gate of Mayapán (Roys 1933:79). To the west of the central Petén lakes region, the Lacandon escaped European contact until the nineteenth century. They lived in scattered settlements in Chiapas, México, but did have contact with other displaced (as a result of Spanish contact/conquest) Maya populations that included the Itza in Petén (Schwartz 1990). Additionally, the Cholan Maya lived in the Chiapas region before the Spanish Conquest. The Spaniards drove them out and the void was filled by the Lacandon Maya.

Other Maya socio-political groups (such as the K'iche' and the Kaqchikel) lived in the Guatemalan highlands to the south of the Maya lowlands. These groups, as well as others, established and maintained a number of independent states (Carmack 1981; Fox 1987). While maintaining regional capitals in the highlands, the K'iche' and Kaqchikel warred with each other until the Spanish Conquest. Highland Guatemala is still a stronghold for the Maya culture.

From this brief synopsis of the Maya at the time of Spanish contact, it is apparent that there were many different Maya ethnicities throughout México, Belize, and Guatemala. Not surprisingly, the ways that they constructed and understood their worlds was diverse. Consequently, how they dealt with and/or incorporated the contact/conquest experience(s) into their rituals, religions, and cosmologies was as varied.

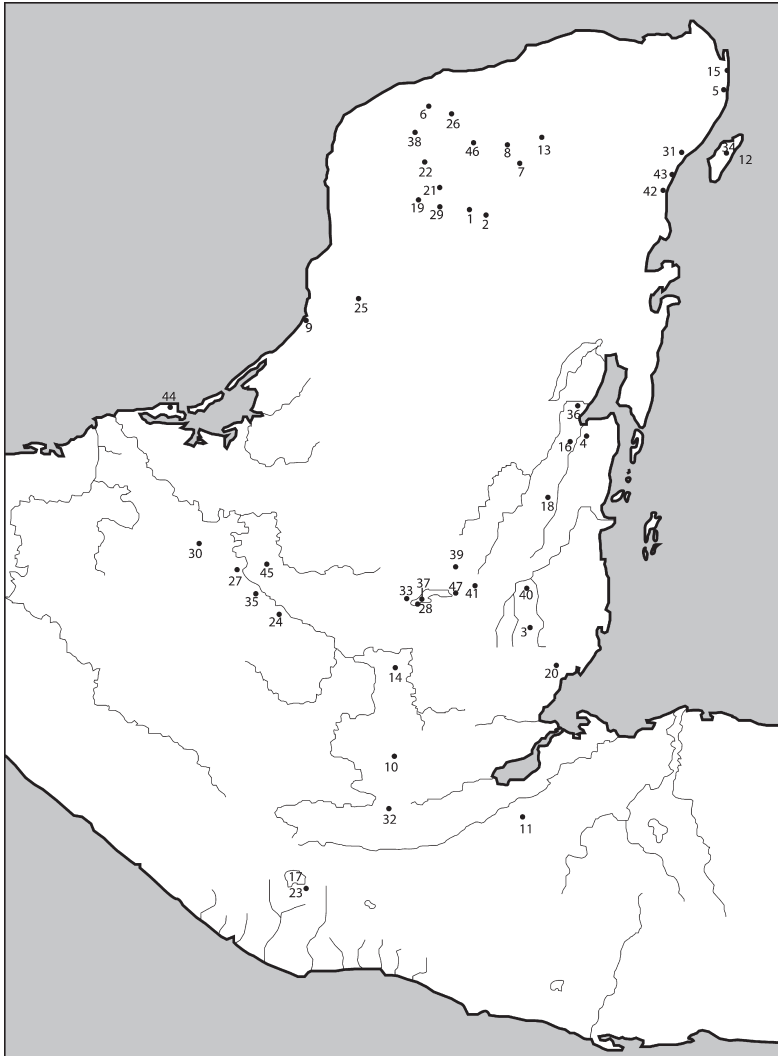
Ritual, religion, and cosmology are essential components of Maya life and Maya worldviews that were affected by Postclassic (ca. A.D. 1200–1513) and Colonial (A.D. 1513–ca. 1830) period indigenous migrations and Spanish Conquest. Various Maya socio-political groups invented unique solutions to cope with “the other” resulting in the (re)shaping of cultural patterns that were established through and reinforced by daily practices and rituals. These modified or new traditions were chosen by the different Maya groups as “metonyms of identity” to which they could consciously attach material culture resulting in “authentic signs of true identity” (Upton 1996:5). Although there are pan-Mesoamerican characteristics describing “Mayaness” (Smith and Berdan 2003a; Robertson 1970; among others), responses to contact/conquest were quite varied, resulting in heterogeneous worldviews rather than a single Maya worldview. This volume presents a regional investigation of archaeological and epigraphic evidence of Maya ideology, landscape, historical consciousness, ritual practices, and religious symbolism before, during, and after the Spanish Conquest that illuminates aspects of Precolumbian Maya worldviews that survived the impact of the conquest as well as contact by other Mesoamerican cultures. The resulting “new” and varied worldviews were the product of processes of conversion, hybridization, resistance, and revitalization of

their different social and political structures that were ultimately reinforced by daily and ritual practice.

The different social and political groups of the Maya and their worldviews described in this volume represent the Postclassic and Historic period Maya of México, Belize, and Guatemala (Figure 1.1). Each chapter presents a unique response to contact and conquest circumstances, their different ramifications on Maya worldviews, and the manner by which those responses were manifest in the material record. For example, some Maya incorporated aspects of the contact culture with their own, resulting in synchronism of multiple worldviews; whereas other Maya resisted the incorporation of the contact culture's worldviews into their own. What becomes apparent with each successive chapter is that each Maya social or political group had a unique solution to contact that resulted in as many different worldviews and different manifestations in the material record. Therefore, rather than attempting to present an all-encompassing Maya worldview, the authors present the different characteristics of Postclassic and Colonial Maya worldviews that resulted from the different responses to contact and conflict with other indigenous Maya groups and the Spanish.

As “culturally organized systems of knowledge” (Kearney 1975:248), worldviews provide people with a sense of place and confidence by taking ideas and beliefs from the past and (re)shaping the present and future (Heylighen 2000; Kearney 1984:5). Worldviews are culturally organized, typically by the elites (but see following), in that they are a collection of social memories and concepts that allow people (such as the various groups of Postclassic/Colonial Maya) to construct an image of the world that provides them with a basis to understand experiences (Heylighen 2000). Many of these accepted worldviews (re)created by the elite Maya (and other Maya) through practice also existed in an already-defined world in which they acted in a certain context (Friedman 1992). In order for that image to be reinforced, it must “depend on the expectations of the participants and the cultural values of the themes presented in these events as shaped in specific social and historical contexts” as well as be “generated and maintained through practice” (Inomata and Coben 2006:21, 25). Social rituals, one form of practice, (re)construct worldviews by creating and maintaining a community reality that “would be nothing without them, for it is impossible to have social relations without symbolic acts” because all performance is an interconnected series of actions across space and time (Douglas 1966:62; Gosden 1994). Through reenactment of the experiences with dances, rituals, the daily practice of making pottery, or providing offerings to personal deities, “remembering strengthens what has been recalled” because to (re)use or (re)enact involves (re)interpretation of the past instituting collective memories and frameworks of explanation—worldviews (Joyce 2003:107).

How people “see” the world in which they live and structure a meaning of that world largely depends on collective memories as well as what the individuals “know’



**II.** Map of major locations (archaeological and historic sites) discussed in the volume: (1) Actun Hom; (2) Actun Kaua; (3) Caracol; (4) Caye Coco; (5) Chacmoool; (6) Chac Xulub Ch'en; (7) Chan Kom; (8) Chich'en Itzá; (9) Champoton; (10) Cobán; (11) Copán; (12) Cozumel; (13) Dzibichen; (14) El Caobal; (15) El Meco; (16) K'axob; (17) Lake Atitlán; (18) Lamanai; (19) Loltun; (20) Lubaantún; (21) Maní; (22) Mayapán; (23) Maya Santiago Atitlán; (24) Mensabak; (25) Mirimar; (26) Motul; (27) Najá; (28) Nojpeten; (29) Oxkutzcab; (30) Palenque; (31) Ppole; (32) Rabinal; (33) San Andres; (34) San Gervasio; (36) Santa Rita Corozal; (37) Tayasal; (38) Tihoo (TiHo); (39) Tikal; (40) Tipu; (41) Topoxté; (42) Tulum; (43) Xel-ha; (44) Xicalango; (45) Yaxchilán; (46) Yaxkukul; and (47) Zacpetén.

as ‘reality’ in their everyday . . . lives” (Berger and Luckmann 1967:15). Their reality is a dynamic interrelationship reflecting knowledge of the past that is replicated in the images of the past to legitimate a present ordering of the universe (Connerton 1989:3; Kearney 1984). When intergroup dynamics/worldviews shift, there is a “synthesis of imposed and adopted characteristics that [are] forged through contact and conflict. It is a role played for the benefit of others. Objects—buildings, dress, foods—are called on to prove that volatile and contingent social identities [and worldviews] are stable and intrinsic personal ones” (Upton 1996:4). Therefore, because people are constantly creating and recreating their world and their place in it, worldviews cannot be so rigid as to deteriorate with changing social, political, cosmological, and/or environmental milieus. Instead worldviews must be able to be altered, individually and collectively, as a result of historical conditions so as to serve their purpose—to provide a means by which people can understand their world in order to make decisions about the past, present, and future. Therefore, every worldview is a “temporary construction, a precipitation of a crystal from thoughts that from day to day are carried in the flowing solution of life’s doings” (Redfield 1989:91).

Worldviews provide a sense of solidarity that results from collective performance, but they do not necessarily imply that all people are of a like mind (Durkheim 1933). As Takeshi Inomata (2006:210) aptly states, ritual events, or theatrical events, used for “ideological campaigns may have been an effective strategy for elites. This, however, does not deny the presence of those who were disinterested in, reluctant to, or opposed to participating in community events. Nor is it likely that all community members blindly subscribed to the elite version of ideology.” Therefore, although the elites may have controlled the restructuring and practice of rituals, thus appearing to be the driving force of the dominant “new” worldviews and the recreating of a collective conscience, individuals have self interests and choices that may run up against the taken-for-granted, “ready-made standardized scheme of the cultural pattern” (Schutz 1964:95; Fischer 1999; Inomata and Coben 2006). The individual cannot be ignored, but the archaeological record often masks/misses these individual choices that may oppose the dominant ideologies because those items of material culture are not reproduced in sufficient quantities to appear to fit within the “accepted” worldviews.

An examination of Maya worldview(s) can provide insight into how they saw and structured their world, but when discussing the worldviews, researchers must ask whose worldview is being examined. Robert Redfield (1989), Michael Kearney (1984), and Elizabeth Graham (this volume) question that, although a worldview is an outlook on life that can have its own internal dynamics, are researchers capable of defining authentic worldviews or are the hypothesized worldviews merely reflections of the researchers’ worldviews being imposed on the cultures being examined? The various authors of this volume present many different aspects of Maya world-



views (self, relationships, space, and time). The core similarities of how the Maya viewed their universe and their place within it allow the authors to present many different concepts of Maya life during the Postclassic and Colonial periods without introducing their own biases.

The Maya structured aspects of their world so as to allow them to understand how the world functioned and their place in it (Heylighen 2000). Faced with changing social, political, and environmental conditions, the Maya responded (overtly and subversively) by recalling their past histories and/or by creating new collective memories and histories. They then incorporated these events into their worldviews through performance (Meskell 2003). Through Maya ethnohistories (and other written records), idols and other forms of pottery, cave art, architecture, visual performances (such as dance and processions), and methods of recording time, researchers are better able to understand the various characteristics that were important to the Maya when constructing their worldviews during times of disequilibrium. These characteristics include how they defined themselves, their universe, and their past, present, and future.

### Us versus Them: Setting Apart “the Other”

One place where adaptations/changes to Maya worldviews can be detected is in the need to securely situate a person with a given social or political group or elite status. This became important when the Spaniards imposed their social order (primarily through *reducciones*) on the Maya communities, thus altering Maya social and political roles. Securing or reassigning social and/or political status was typically achieved by evoking ancestors, supernaturals, animals, architecture, history, and memories used to actively link individuals to a past, a powerful (or important) lineage, an apical ancestor of a kin group, or a significant built landscape.

Throughout Maya history, rulers ensured elite status through genealogical ties to various family lines and many times tied their ancestry to the founding lineage of an archaeological site. For example, Altar Q at Copán displays the unbroken link of ruler Yax Pasaj to the “founder” of Copán, K’inich Yax K’uk’ Mo (Schele and Freidel 1990:figure 8.3). In the same vein, many of the Postclassic Books of Chilam Balam relate “genealogies” of Maya elites to various ancestral groups. William Ringle (this volume) demonstrates how the first generation of native leaders (such as Nakuk Pech) of the Cehpech province formulated a sense of self and place during social and political unrest and a time of identify loss. This was primarily accomplished through the incorporation of the Spanish Conquest into existing narratives of renewal; during the Conquest period, Maya agents walked with their ancestors, thus connecting the two events (past and present) as well as the two lineages. Miguel Astor-Aguilera (this volume) also demonstrates that Yukatek Maya called upon the ethos of their ancestors to establish social and political ties. This act

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was accomplished by “speaking” with their descendants through communicating bundles and talking crosses. These relationships and others were used to establish and continue political and religious connections to the ancestors as they were a classic means by which the Maya traced and established property, privilege, and authority (McAnany 1995:37).

Establishing and maintaining an identity also was important during the Postclassic and Colonial periods because of the constant social and political turmoil that existed as a result of migrating Maya socio-political groups and/or the presence of the Spanish. This was manifest in the style of architecture and pottery. Susan Milbrath and Carlos Peraza Lope (this volume) explain how Xiw (traditional, conservative Pu’uc) and Kokom (a more international flavor) worldviews clashed at Mayapán from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. As a result of the opposing worldviews, the Xiw modified and erected monuments and created mosaics in the Pu’uc style (e.g., the Cenote Ch’en Mul group), whereas the Kokom erected monuments similar to those at Chich’en Itzá (e.g., the Castillo) and introduced an effigy censer cult with Chaak and the long-nosed merchant god as central images. The revitalization of both styles served to evoke past memories through expressive acts, thus reestablishing worldviews that reflected differences in social and political identities. Differences in pottery styles that related to worldviews were also present at the archaeological site of Tipu (Cecil, this volume). The Kowoj (related to a lineage of the Xiw at Mayapán) erected monumental architecture and made and decorated their pottery (red-slipped plates and jars and effigy censers) to distinguish themselves from other, later occupants of the site—the Itza (a lineage of the Kokom) and the Spanish. These sets of symbols demonstrated that the reenactment of history, myths, and national identities were integral factors in establishing and maintaining the different Maya social and political groups, their histories, and their worldviews.

In addition to establishing and maintaining relationships of past and present familial lineages and social/political group affiliations, the Maya also participated in deity veneration to help cement relationships between the “participants and the roles they play” in the different earthly and celestial realms (Inomata and Coben 2006:32). The Maya and their deities interacted on a regular basis through a series of communal and individual social rituals. When performing rituals such as the New Year ceremony and bloodletting, the Maya called upon various deities to ensure rains and good harvests as well as the life and health of the elite and the community. The relationship of the Maya and the cosmos is most apparent in the Maya codices (Vail, this volume), the ideology of pilgrimage centers (Patel, this volume), and the deities that appear as idols or on effigy *incensarios* (Chuchiak, this volume). The Dresden and Madrid codices depict many human-deity relationships that are prominent and enduring (at least from the Late Classic to the Colonial period) features in the daily and ritual life of the Maya. The rituals, and their timing, ensured

proper communication between human petitioners and the deities. One human-deity relationship that was prominent during the Postclassic and Contact periods was that with Ix Chel. Ix Chel (goddess of fertility, childbirth, and medicine) is the Moon Goddess in the codices and serves as the deity for the pilgrimage center at Cozumel (Patel, this volume). At Cozumel, Ix Chel's association with caves and water ties together the Maya primordial past with the present trade and pilgrimage routes, thus bolstering claims to traditional powers and memories of the past. To ensure safe passage, the Maya, and perhaps other traders, gave offerings to clay idols of Ix Chel. These idols and other deity idols are found throughout the Maya region (Chuchiak, this volume; Tozzer 1941), attesting to the human-deity relationship that was an integral feature in Postclassic and Colonial Maya worldviews.

Although many of the associations of the Maya to their past remained relatively unchanged throughout the Postclassic and Colonial eras, Colonial period Maya worldviews also demonstrated a degree of syncretism of Maya and Spanish worldviews. Syncretism was possible because one of the features of worldviews is that a worldview can be changed by a culture in response to historical conditions (as well as possible future conditions) to fit with the present situation (Heylighen 2000; Kearney 1984). Because of this inherent flexibility, "the reformulation, accordingly, may be dramatically revitalizing, or simply sustaining," thus preserving a culture's integrity and ensuring the survival of worldview(s) (Kehoe 1989:123).

The flexibility of Colonial and post-Colonial Tz'utujil and K'iche' Maya worldviews after the Spanish Conquest is demonstrated by the blending of Maya *costumbre* with Catholic saints and events surrounding the conquest. Robert Carlsen (this volume) explains how the Tz'utujil Maya of Maya Santiago Atitlán transformed Judas into Maximón/Mam and used the resulting ideology to enter subversive elements into Maya *costumbre*, thus defining the Tz'utujil as separate from the Spanish/Catholic intruders. Similarly, the *Baile de los Moros y Cristianos* performed by the K'iche' Maya follows the conquest theme but with the addition of local instruments, such as drums and flutes (Howell, this volume). The inclusion of local (and pre-conquest in origin) instruments with embedded meaning (e.g., male versus female and cardinal directions) in the Spanish dances provided a level of meaning that was known to and reenacted by the Maya but went undetected by the Spanish, thus preserving Maya *costumbre*.

Lowland Maya also incorporated aspects of Spanish life into their traditional iconography and mythology without losing a sense of self and community. Various Maya social and political groups were able to "construct a shared understanding of the historical past that enable[d] them to understand their present conditions as a result of their own way of making history," thus creating worldviews that enabled the Maya to incorporate cultural aspects of Spanish worldviews (Hill 1996b:17). Andrea Stone (this volume) suggests that colonial imagery found in caves and in many of the Books of Chilam Balam were not entirely foreign constructions. The

double-headed eagle was prominent in the Greek, Roman, and Persian art and iconography of kingship (and the Spanish coat of arms), but it was also associated with Kablikot, a highland Maya spirit being. Additionally, although circular faces are European in design (circular and frontal features), the Maya may have used them as ersatz hieroglyphs in lieu of Maya calendrical day signs and time periods such as *ajaw* and *k'atun*.

Many Maya groups restructured aspects of their worldviews to accommodate Spanish influence, but the Lacandon Maya of eastern Chiapas, México, and adjacent Petén, Guatemala, created mythologies related to contact and trade with the Europeans. The reason that the Lacandon state that the Ladinos controlled writing, metal tools, money, medicine, and other non-Lacandon goods was because the Lacandon originally had received these items from their gods but had lost them because of laziness (Palka, this volume). Although the Lacandon may have restructured some of their mythology to explain the presence of the Other, they continued to worship deities that had their origin with Precolumbian Maya deities such as Itsamna and Chaak. As these examples suggest, although the Maya were faced with the ever-present yoke of Spanish and Catholic culture, many different Maya social and political groups were able to incorporate their worldviews and practices to either subversively practice *costumbre* or to situate the Other in the Maya world.

## Space

In addition to relationships with ancestors and various deities, Maya worldviews also established and reinforced relationships with space. Maya conceptions of space can be understood by examining how the Maya defined their universe, planned sites, and conveyed directionality through monuments, burials, caches, and dances. According to Dennis Cosgrove (1989:125–127), built landscapes embody the symbolic, verbal, and visual interconnections of history. The creation of the built landscape, or a social landscape that can last many generations, produces a medium through which customs and performances are (re)enacted and become internal to the social being (Gosden 1994:11, 16; Pugh, this volume). As such, the Maya environment (sacred and secular) may have served to recall the images and social order of the past through the physical construction of various structures, the directionality of those structures, and the rituals that took place within the structures (Connerton 1989; Joyce 2003). “The literal construction of built spaces[,] . . . embedded with visual images, channeled the construction of memories over spans far longer than an individual human lifetime” (Joyce 2003:112), and those memories reinforced aspects of Maya worldviews.

The Maya conceived of their universe as divided into three realms: the celestial realm (upper world); the earth (the terrestrial world); and Xibalba (the under-

world). Each part of the universe was associated with a direction relative to the terrestrial level (upper and under) as well as being associated with a series of gods and a number of layers: the celestial realm was composed of thirteen layers and was ruled by one of the thirteen Gods of the Upper World (Oxlahuntiku) and Xibalba had nine layers and was ruled by the nine Gods of the Lower World (B'olon ti' K'uh) (Thompson 1970). The upper world is associated with east and Xibalba with west (Hanks 1990:304–306). The terrestrial realm is typically shown as a turtle, an earth crocodile (Itzam Cab Ayin), a circle, or a rectangle (Sosa 1985; Taube 1988a). All three realms were linked together and Maya living on the terrestrial realm communicated with and were affected by the supernatural beings in the celestial realm and Xibalba.

The Maya displayed directionality through a number of media. The general structure and association of gods in the various realms was portrayed in many of the Maya codices (Vail, this volume). In addition to these pictorial and glyphic representations, migrations of groups of Maya (e.g., the Itza) and supernatural deities with human characteristics (e.g., Kukulcan) are associated with direction-specific journeys across the landscape (Ringle, this volume). *Costumbristas* state that Santiago Atitlán in highland Guatemala is the sacred center of the Maya universe and the surrounding peaks represent the four-cornered world (Carlsen, this volume). Finally, the layout of caches excavated at Caracol and Santa Rita Corozal, Belize, display directionality through the different layers of objects as well as the objects themselves in cache vessels (Chase and Chase, this volume). For example, Xibalba was represented by marine items or figurines of marine animals, and the upper world was represented by perishable items such as beehives. In addition to cache vessels, many caches were offerings of figurines arranged to emphasize the four cardinal directions and the center of the Maya universe.

Site planning and construction were conveyed and sustained by acts that relied heavily on past experiences and knowledge of the organization of the Maya universe and sacred landscapes. By constructing a city, the Maya put their worldviews and collective memories about the past and their identity into action. Built space results from ordered events of social practice (Gregory 1985:78–85). “Landscapes are social products, but are not first and foremost symbolic constructs or landscapes of the mind. Rather, they are spaces carved out by patterns of action, which then help to channel future action. The symbolic aspect of the landscape is derived from the actions carried out in it: a conscious gloss on unthought practice. It is thus the changing pattern of activity as a whole which should form the basis for understanding the human creation of space” (Gosden 1994:81). The typical focus (and/or center) of a Maya site is the ritual architecture (e.g., temples and oratories). It is here where elites interacted with gods of the three realms of the Maya universe (Pugh, this volume). In addition to the focus of a site, Maya worldviews were reinforced through quadrilateral divisions. Structures that faced east typically

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were associated with the living or rituals involving “active” deities, and those that faced west were associated with the dead or dangerous characteristics of deities (Pugh 2001a).

In addition to the directionality of the structures at a city, the Maya displayed their affiliation to a specific social or political group through the types of buildings constructed at a site. There are many similarities in architecture among the Itza at Chich'en Itzá and the Kokom at Mayapán (Milbrath and Peraza Lope, this volume) and between the Kowoj of central Petén and the Xiw at Mayapán (Cecil, this volume; Pugh, this volume). The type of building and associated structures and their place on the landscape reinforces social and political identity and ultimately reflects differences in worldviews. “A familiar landscape is not nature in opposition to . . . culture, but a web of connections which people have become used to warping in special ways” (Gosden 1994:82).

Main structures at a site also were associated with nature. Many structures throughout the Maya region exhibit solar alignments. For example, the niches of the Round Temple and the radial pyramid (Q162) at Mayapán have solar alignments that reflect similar structures and alignments at Chich'en Itzá (Milbrath and Peraza Lope, this volume, 2003b). Milbrath and Peraza Lope (this volume, 2003b) believe that this reflects the commonality of knowledge, memory, and worldviews between the Terminal Classic Maya inhabitants of Chich'en Itzá and those of Postclassic Mayapán. In addition to solar alignments, structures were built near, around, or over cenotes and caves. This placement linked the structure and the social and political groups associated with that structure with the watery underworld and the mythic primordium (Pugh, this volume, 2001a).

Within these directionally oriented structures the Maya performed many of their rituals. Because rituals are commemorative ceremonies that act out a culture's mythology and are formalized and repetitive, they communicate and shape collective memories, making the spaces where they are performed also imbued with historical and mythical significance (Connerton 1989:43–48, 61; Smart 1995:79). Landa (Tozzer 1941:108, 161) stated that the Maya designated separate areas within a site for the manufacture of clay and wooden idols that were used for many of the commemorative rituals. The designation of sacred spaces for idol manufacture and worship continued throughout the Conquest and Colonial periods (Chuchiak, this volume; Pugh, this volume). For example, offerings to Ix Chel at the oracle shrine on Cozumel created that landscape and the act of the pilgrimage as a sacred part of the Maya universe (Patel, this volume). Additionally, Carlsen (this volume) explains that the Footpath of the Dawn, Footpath of the Sun *cofradía* ritual of highland Guatemala employed the sacred landscape and directionality to reinforce their ancestral past in the face of Spanish Conquest. This ritual used the reenactment of moving the sun to refer to prototypical events and persons, reminding the Maya community of their identity and various aspects of their worldviews.



## Time

Marking of time through calendrical associations is a prevalent feature in worldviews of all Maya social and political groups. Time is fundamentally a result of habit and practice and is a means by which present acts create future events. Calendar systems are critical to identity and worldviews because they are linked to religion, claims to land, site planning, ritual, and genealogies (Connerton 1989; Gosden 1994; Kearney 1984; León-Portilla 1988; Milbrath and Peraza Lope, this volume; Rice, this volume). For the Maya, time recorded events (e.g., celestial events, reigns of rulers, and crop-planting times) and was used as a prophetic device to understand the future; it recorded the past, present, and future. “The sages conceived of time itself as the primordial reality, the deity of multiple countenances, periods, and cycles, which in alternating journeys and with the possibility of returns in an never-ending flow, communicates his burdens to all the places and quarters of the world” (León-Portilla 1988:96).

By situating events in the past, the Maya remembered their history, propagated ancestor and deity veneration, and continued a strong sense of *costumbre*. For example, *k’atun* circular faces that were an integral aspect of secret cave ceremonialism during the Colonial period preserved the history of *k’atun* counts and the calendrical system in the face of Spanish domination and survived over 1,000 years. The Maya calendar also located events in the future, which allowed the Maya to incorporate outside sources of change that became prominent during the Conquest and Colonial periods. In addition to past and future events, the Maya marking of time dealt with events and ritual in the present, and different calendar systems were used to highlight differences in social and political groups and worldviews. For example, during the Postclassic period (and perhaps as early as the Terminal Classic period), the *Xiw* and the *Itza/Kokom* used similar calendar systems based on the *k’atun* cycle, but differences occurred at major transition points of the calendar (Milbrath and Peraza Lope, this volume; Rice, this volume), thus reinforcing ethnically specific starts to *k’atun* cycles and ritual timings.

In addition to recording and understanding the past, present, and future, Maya time can be understood as linear and cyclical. Linear time “is rather like an arrow coming out of the past, passing by us here in the present, and traveling on into the future” (Kearney 1984:100; see Rice, this volume, for an alternate view). The Maya Long Count marked linear time as it recorded a succession of events that was essential for documenting divine kingship and daily activities and for timing the planting and harvesting of crops. On the other hand, cyclical time swings back and forth, rhythmically, between repeated events (Kearney 1984:98–99) and provides predictability in the life and history of a culture. A *Kaqchikel* religious specialist, Don Domingo (pseudonym), maintains the 260-day ritual calendar in Tecpán, and Fischer (1999:476) states that Don Domingo believes that “humans make

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sacrifices to propagate the god(s) in order to ensure agricultural and reproductive fertility. Sacrifices must be made for the covenant to continue in order to perpetuate the grand cycle of cosmic and terrestrial existence.” As with Don Domingo and ancient Maya society, cyclical time was featured in the Short Count calendar and was under the purview of ritual specialists and used for ritual expression, thus reinforcing histories and worldviews. Linear and cyclical time are similar to public time (Gosden 1994; Heidegger 1996) in that they are not arbitrary creations but result from problem solving with habitual actions, thus creating power and habitual time with the manipulation of materials, space, and time. Continual ritual practices produce structures of time that connect activities and supply “orientation which does not have to be consciously thought out” and “over time becomes part of what people are, rather than something that they know” (Gosden 1994:124–125).

The connection of public time and Maya worldviews is displayed during the Postclassic period when various Maya social and political groups switched from recording time in both the Long Count and the Short Count to recording time in only the Short Count (Rice, this volume). At approximately the same time the concept of divine kingship was also replaced with multepal rulerships, suggesting a fundamental change in some characteristics of Maya political organization and possibly worldviews. The conquest was also incorporated into the cycles of Maya history, demonstrating the continuity of understanding present history in a similar fashion as did their ancestors (Rice, this volume; Ringle, this volume). As a coping mechanism for these social and political changes, a reinvented temporal cycle was introduced and eventually rose into the collective consciousness of public rituals and daily practice.

Similar to the syncretism seen with ancestor and deity veneration, the Maya also incorporated their indigenous concept of time with Spanish/Catholic time and rituals. Carlsen (this volume) explains that the Footpath of the Dawn, Footpath of the Sun *cofradía* rituals occur during Holy Week in the Catholic calendar, but the Maya saw the five days not related to Jesus but to the five days of *wayeb*. Additionally, the *Baile de los Moros y Cristianos* and the *Baile del Venado* (Howell, this volume) were referred to by local populations as “tun dances” (“tun” means twenty years in the Maya calendrical system), thus demonstrating that various dances reenacting Maya history and memories were tied to the indigenous calendar and reinforced Maya worldviews about time and history. As León-Portilla states:

In adverse, or even in fatal moments, the *chronovision* of the wise men always permitted the discovery of meanings. Perhaps because of this, with the hope of receiving the ancient meaning of existence or finding a new one in its stead, some Maya groups surviving the Spanish Conquest continued or remade as best they could the wheels of the *katuns* and the books of the prophecies. Clinging to the theme of time in order to save themselves, they also bequeathed the word a last



testimony of the ancient *chronovision* which, with all its variants, was the soul of a culture that lived for almost two thousand years. (1988:111, emphasis his)

History, time, space, and self are all essential aspects of Maya worldviews. It is the interrelationships of these components that aided the Maya in understanding and interacting with their environment during socially and politically unstable times. “What exists today is a *sui generis* product constituted by elements of both origins (Maya and European) that have managed to accommodate themselves in a functional whole” (Villa Rojas 1988:114). How the Maya perceived reality, created and explained a model of their world and their place in it, understood their future and alternative paths to that future, defined values, verified their history, and acted in their environment are essential components to their construction of Maya worldviews. Although some aspects of Maya worldviews are shared by the various groups of Maya throughout México, Guatemala, and Belize, these social groups also demonstrate unique responses to contact and Spanish Conquest. Regardless of the situation, each Maya social group had a unique solution to contact that resulted in as many different worldviews and different material cultures. Therefore, the response of the Maya to the Spanish Conquest and contact with other indigenous cultures can no longer be generalized as one of domination by the contacting culture. Instead it must be viewed as a series of unique responses to the various types of contact.

### Note

1. These documents record the histories of various ethno-political lineage groups but are difficult to interpret in Gregorian years because they use the ancient Maya convention of recording time by means of repeating twenty-year units called *k'atuns*. Additionally, they are written as competing histories and/or from the Spanish point of view. Therefore, caution needs to be taken when interpreting these writings.