



September 15, 2021 • Modern K'iche' Maya Long Count: 0.0.8.15.10 • 9 Oc 8 Chen • G4

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Inside this issue:

In Memoriam: Ruth Gubler, by Steve Radzi 2

Peru's Incan Rope Bridges Are Hanging by a Thread 3,5

Two Early Classic Elite Burials from Buenavista del Cayo, Belize, by Kathryn Brown & Jason Yaeger, (cont. from pg. 1) 4,5,6

Unbundling the Past: Events in Ancient and Contemporary Maya History for September by Zach Lindsey 6

IMS Live Streaming Event; Membership Application 7

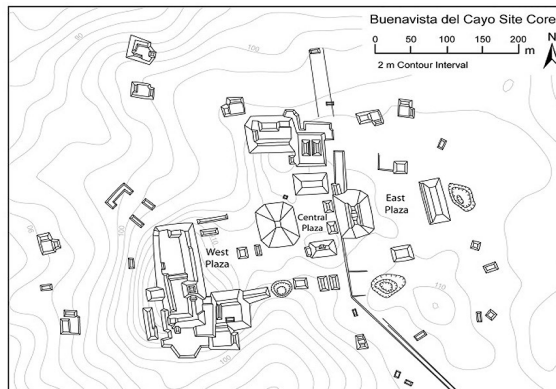
Plumeria Alba: Sacred Flower of the Maya, by Jim Reed, (cont. from August) 8

Editor's note: Kathryn and Jason will be our IMS zoom presenters on September 15. When they submitted this article (which is just a portion of their full paper posted on *acadmeia.edu*), they asked me to focus on the burial crypt and the incised shell gorget that they will mention during their presentation. *Enjoy!*

Two Early Classic Elite Burials from Buenavista del Cayo, Belize by Kathryn Brown & Jason Yaeger

Also Christophe Helmke, Marc Zender, Bernadette Cap, Christie Kokel Rodriquez, and Sylvia Batty

Fig. 1: Buenavista del Cayo site map.



The upper Belize River valley was one of the regions in the Maya Lowlands that witnessed the early development of sociopolitical complexity. The presence of three-tier settlement hierarchies, monumental architecture including E-Groups and triadic complexes as tall as 28 meters, and carved stelae, all suggest a high degree of political complexity by the end of the Late Preclassic period at sites across the region, including Blackman Eddy, Buenavista del Cayo (Buenavista hereafter), Cahal Pech, Actuncan, Pacbitun, and Xunantunich (Brown et al. in press). The following Early Classic period saw the establishment of royal dynasties at some Maya sites, including Buenavista, as we discuss here.

Buenavista's Central Plaza sits at the heart of the site (**Fig. 1**). Although it is the smallest of the site's plazas, it is framed by the two tallest structures, the pyramidal Structures 1 and 3, which rise 21 m and 17 m above the plaza's surface respectively. The presence of these structures and

several stelae documented by Joseph Ball and Jennifer Taschek (2004) suggest that the Central Plaza was the most ceremonially charged public space at Buenavista.

Excavations at Buenavista in 2014 revealed two elite burials in the site's Central Plaza. Both contained ceramic vessels dating to the Early Classic period. The upper burial was placed in a formal masonry chamber that was reentered in antiquity. Most of the contents were removed at that time, and the chamber was refilled. The elaborate architecture coupled with the presence of small bone fragments, *Spondylus* shell beads, and small pieces from mosaic jewelry suggest that the tomb originally contained an important person(s), perhaps royalty.

Below this chamber was an elaborate crypt that was discovered intact. The individual interred therein was buried head to the south. The crypt's contents included several ceramic vessels, including a slab-footed tripod vase with lid and a basal flange dish.

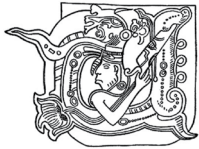
**IMS Streaming:
Sept. 15, 8 pm ET**
A History of Ancient Maya Ancestor Veneration and Political Authority in the Mopan Valley of Western Belize
with Kathryn Brown & Jason Yaeger

continued on page 4



**Jim Reed,
Editor**

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In Memoriam
Ruth Gubler
 by Steve Radzi

As many of you have heard, Dr. Ruth Gubler recently passed on. I was asked to write a few words in remembrance. Ruth, whom we called "Ruthie," was a dear friend and colleague. She was a Maya scholar and a generous and decent person.

I first met Ruth in Miami at lectures presented by The Institute of Maya Studies in 1995. Ruth was President of the IMS at the time and was preparing an annual IMS conference entitled, "LAND of the PHEASANT and the DEER" that was to be held at The Miami Museum of Science and Planetarium. Many luminous scholars from the U.S. and Mexico spoke at the conference, such as John Carlson, Jeff Kowalski, and George Andrews. I can still see my impression of her at that conference, dressed in a spectacular entirely-white embroidered Yucatecan *huipil*. Ruth was also the editor of the final scholarly publication that the IMS released in print.

Ruth requested that I design the poster for "LAND of the PHEASANT and the DEER" and after seeing some of my sketches from Mexico and Guatemala, she also invited me to exhibit my work. Thereafter, we became close friends.

Ruth was very fond of cats and when her beloved kitty passed while she was still living in Key Biscayne, (Miami) Florida, I created a portrait illustration of her dear cat as a memento. Her villa in Merida these past few years contained a menagerie of her little furry feline friends.

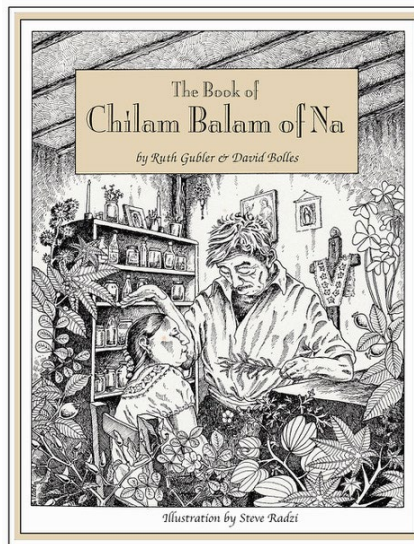
On a balmy afternoon during a visit to Merida a couple of years ago, we had tea and chatted in the courtyard about all things Maya. It was at that time I began to realize how much glaucoma had deteriorated her eyesight.

Ruth was a tireless worker. Her main area of study and documentation involved Maya herbal medicine and shaman healing ritual. During her last few years, she translated the anthropological papers of other scholars and helped to plan and coordinate INAH conferences.

Unfortunately, Ruth's failing health included blindness. According to Sid Hollander, former IMS President and a very close friend of hers in Merida, Ruth became overwhelmed and was unable to complete much of her work. To quote



Ruth Gubler with Steve Radzi during his visit to her home in Merida two years ago.



Steve's cover design for *The Book of Chilam Balam of Na* by Ruth Gubler and anthropologist David Bolles.

Sid, "I think she 'gave up' on it for health reasons." Sid, suggested to Ruth that he was keen to find a graduate student interested in organizing her notes. This project, however, never came to fruition.

On a personal note, Sid also mentioned that Ruth spent many major holidays with his family and always loved to visit and talk with Peter Schmidt and his wife when they were there. She became very close to Sid's grandson, who provided much support to her in her last years. – Steve Radzi. 🌱



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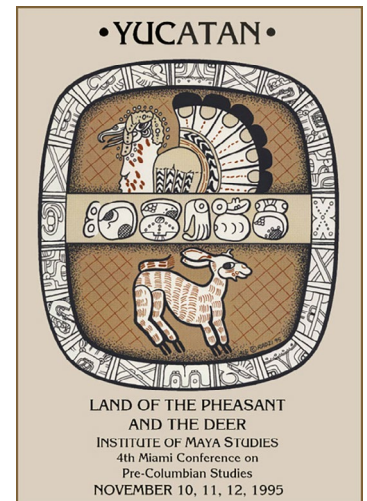
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Steve's beautiful poster design for the 4th IMS Miami Conference of Pre-Columbian Studies, coordinated by Ruth Gubler.

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Peru's Incan Rope Bridges Are Hanging by a Thread

by Lidio Valdez and Cirilo Vivanco

Reproduced with permission from Chip Colwell of SAPIENS online magazine.

One early January morning in the mid-1980s after a daylong journey from Ayacucho (formerly “Guamanga”), I (Lidio) found myself being guided across a small rope bridge hanging across the Pampas River. This was my first experience on such a bridge, made with an astonishing ancient technology that uses twisted branches to form the river crossing. Although it looked to be only about 20 meters long, the bridge, called Chuschichaka, was beautiful: a reminder of ancient times, when similar bridges existed along trails and roads that linked the Inca Empire.

From the town of Chuschi, where I started my journey that day, my destination of Sarhua seemed to be just nearby. But because of the rugged landscape, the trip was long and exhausting. It took hours to hike the distance, with the rope bridge in the middle. At last, our team arrived in Sarhua and was welcomed by the community with food, drinks, music, and dance. Their hospitality made our visit an incredible and unforgettable experience.

My mission at that time as an archaeologist was to investigate ancient agricultural terraces in the region. As I prepared for my work, I was told that there was an important activity taking place that day: the reconstruction of a larger bridge nearby called Tinkuqchaka.

Except for a few older and younger people who were staying

in the town, most community members were already on their way to the site of Tinkuy (a name that means “a place to meet,” “a place to play,” or “a place to fight”) to take part in bridge reconstruction. Sadly, I could not spare the time to attend, though I would hear all about such work later from my friend and colleague – anthropologist Cirilo Vivanco (co-author), who is originally from Sarhua.

When I left the community three days later in the early hours of the morning, Tinkuqchaka was not yet finished. We crossed the partially constructed bridge by flashlight, holding the handrails tightly.

The ancient practice of making hanging bridges has existed for a long time in Peru – perhaps going back as far as the Wari culture, which thrived from A.D. 600–1000. At one time, dozens of such bridges are thought to have connected communities across gorges and rivers. Today only a few remain, mainly for the sake of tourists, and even they are falling into disrepair. The most famous of them – Qeshuachaca, near the former Inca capital of Cuzco – collapsed from lack of maintenance.

The global appreciation of the hanging bridges of the Andes goes a long way back. In 1877, American archaeologist E. George Squier

published *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*, in which he devoted a few pages to the great hanging bridge over the Apurimac River on the main road to Cuzco (see image at left).

The bridge was built over a gigantic valley, enclosed by enormous and steep mountains. The over 40-meters-long structure, entirely made of plant materials, was



In this image, the reconstruction of the Tinkuqchaka bridge is almost complete. Photo: Cirilo Vivanco.



The local and outsider ayllus gather on opposite sides of the river. Photo: Cirilo Vivanco.

hung from massive cliffs on both sides. To Squier, the bridge looked like a mere thread, a frail and swaying structure, yet frequently crossed by people and animals, the latter carrying loads on their backs. Travelers timed their day's journey to reach the bridge in the early hours of the day before the strong winds came that made the bridge sway “like a gigantic hammock.”

Squier was very impressed, saying that his crossing was an experience he “shall never forget.” His description and accompanying image of the bridge no doubt captured the imagination of everyone who got ahold of the book – including American explorer Hiram Bingham, famous for reporting the existence of the spectacular Inca

continued on page 5



This drawing from American archaeologist E. George Squier's 1877 book on Peru shows a rope bridge over the Apurimac River. Illustration accredited to: E. George Squier.



Two Early Classic Elite Burials from Buenavista del Cayo, Belize

by Kathryn Brown & Jason Yaeger *continued from page 1*

The individual was laid to rest with an assemblage of marine shell jewelry, including an elaborate marine shell gorget decorated with a bas-relief carving of the head of an ancestor and an incised name tag text. The latter identifies the owner as the *qjaw* ('king, lord') of a place called Komkom, also known as the Dotted Ko place.



Fig. 3: Feature 384-2, a crypt.

These discoveries allow us to conclude that (a) Buenavista is ancient Komkom, (b) it was the seat of a royal dynasty, and (c) it was embroiled in military conflict with nearby Naranjo.

Excavations of the Central Plaza

Christie Kokel Rodríguez supervised Operation 384 in the Central Plaza. These excavations had the goals of defining the plaza's chronology and identifying deposits related to ritual feasting activities in the plaza. Because this unit revealed no deposits on the plaza surface, we extended the excavations westward with another unit. In this unit, we encountered the northern portion of a masonry chamber. This chamber was labelled Feature 384-1 (**Fig. 2**).

As we excavated the interior of Feature 384-1, it became clear that the feature was a tomb that had been re-entered and refilled in antiquity.



Fig. 4: Spondylus shell gorget. Notice the two holes used to suspend the gorget.

Besides some large ceramic sherds, we found many smaller artifacts that were not removed when the tomb was re-entered. These included nearly two dozen marine shell beads and other marine shell artifacts, including several crafted from *Spondylus*. We also found several very small, sub-centimeter fragments of jade and ferrous mineral that likely once comprised part of one or more mosaic objects, likely jewelry worn by the occupant(s).

Feature 384-2

Below the west wall of Feature 384-1, we encountered another feature, Feature 384-2 (**Fig. 3**). This feature was an elaborate crypt. Its sides were made using limestone slabs that were set vertically. It was roofed with a simple vault and topped with large slab capstones that were perpendicular to the crypt's axis.

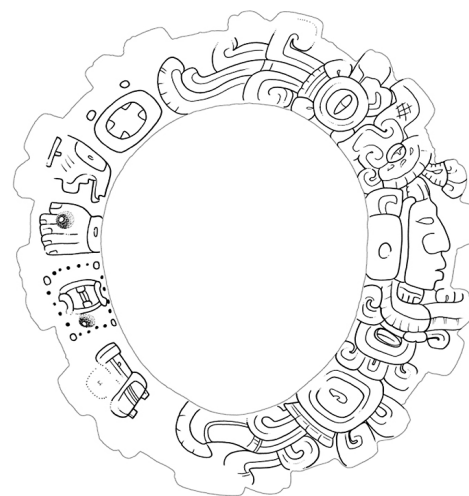


Fig. 5: Text and image on the shell gorget. Drawing by Christophe Helmke.



Fig. 2: Feature 384-1, a tomb.

Removal of the crypt's roof revealed the remains of a poorly preserved individual who was placed head to the south, as is typical in the upper Belize River valley.

The objects laid to rest with this individual comprise a remarkable assemblage of marine shell jewelry that, given its association with the skeleton, was likely being worn at the time of burial.

The Shell Gorget

The most elaborate piece of shell jewelry was a carved shell gorget, measuring 13 cm by 9 cm (**Fig. 4**). It was found on the individual's chest as if it had been suspended from the neck (visible in **Fig. 4**). The modification of the shell is so great that few landmarks or diagnostic indicators are left, making it difficult to assess the species.

The concave side of the gorget has two distinct sections, a short text comprised of five incised glyphs on one side and a bas-relief carved portrait on the other (**Fig. 5**). Two biconically drilled holes served to suspend the gorget. The location of the holes indicates that the text was on the upper half of the object and the portrait on the lower half, and the fact that the holes interrupt the lines of two glyphs suggests that they were drilled after the text was carved. The margin of the gorget is crenellated with 10 notches.

continued on page 5

Peru's Incan Rope Bridges Are Hanging by a Thread

by Lidio Valdez and Cirilo Vivanco

continued from page 3

city of Machu Picchu to a global audience in 1911. According to historians, one of the things that inspired Bingham to go to Peru in the first place was precisely the illustration of the Apurímac hanging bridge he saw in Squier's book.

Long before Squier, Spaniards were impressed with the Inca hanging bridges too. Early Spaniards, such as Pedro de Cieza de León, were fascinated. But the arrival of the Spaniards had devastating effects on local Indigenous peoples. Europeans brought diseases that decimated the Indigenous populations. Communities were reduced or totally deserted. Spaniards' interest in precious minerals, such as gold and silver, also switched the efforts of Indigenous peoples to other activities, often leaving unattended other communal obligations, such as building the bridges.

Tinkuqchaka was one of the few bridges to survive into the millennium.

Three years after my first trip to Sarhua, I was back again, this

time on a mission to register the archaeological sites scattered around Sarhua along with Cirilo. On our way, we crossed Tinkuqchaka again and bathed in the Pampas River below the bridge.

As we watched the bridge swaying delicately over the river, Cirilo told me about how Tinkuqchaka, being built entirely of plant material, required annual maintenance and a total renewal every two years. He told me, too, how the community, including himself, came together to do this. From my conversations with Cirilo, the story of this touching activity became clear to me.

Following ancient Andean ideals, the community of Sarhua is divided into two groups or *ayllus*. One of the *ayllus* is regarded as local while the other is said to be made up of "outsiders," perhaps the descendants of peoples who were relocated by the Inca from elsewhere within the Inca realm.

Kumumpampa, an open space found near the bridge, is the gathering place. After necessary



Community members work hard to secure the heavy cables. Photo: Cirilo Vivanco.

logistical discussions, the *ayllus* exchange jokes and challenge each other, thus making the whole activity an entertainment or spectacle. For the participants, it is a competition between the two *ayllus* but also a game, time to play and time to tease and mock the opposition. 🏰

Source: Thanks to Chip Colwell of SAPIENS online magazine for permission to reproduce this report. Read the authors' full article at this hyperlink: [Incan Rope Bridges](#)

Two Early Classic Elite Burials from Buenavista del Cayo, Belize

by Kathryn Brown & Jason Yaeger *continued from page 4*

On the convex side, the 10 tabs each bear a incised design that appears to be a stylized monkey face in profile.

The text on the gorget is in the name tag genre. The first glyph block names the object with a *k'an* cross glyph, the logogram **K'AN**. We can reconstruct the gloss of *k'an* as 'gorget,' based on a series of entries in dictionaries of 16th-century Yukatek compiled in the Cordemex Dictionary. Among these entries, we find glosses such as 'necklace' and 'collar,' as well as 'neck ornament' and even 'yellow shell' (see Yaeger et al. n.d.).

The logogram for **K'AN** is

preceded by two dots that appear to record an unusual variant of the phonogram *u*, providing the third-person possessive pronoun. It is

followed by four glyph blocks that form the nominal string designating the name and title of the original owner or patron of the gorget, as is the norm with name tags. As we discuss in more depth elsewhere (Yaeger et al. n.d.), the next two glyphs form the name Naah Uti' K'ab.

The last two glyphs in the nominal phrase form a title. The final glyph is a rather typical Early Classic **AJAW** logogram, which is glossed as 'king, lord.' In combination with the

glyph block that precedes it, it forms a so-called "problematic" Emblem Glyph because the *k'uhul* prefix is missing, as is common in Early Classic Emblem glyphs. Given this reading, the preceding glyph denotes the domain ruled by the *ajaw*, or at the very least, the name of the royal house.

The main sign of that glyph is a turtle carapace encircled by a series of dots, of which those in the corner are larger. We interpret the turtle carapace as an early variant of the more common *ko* phonogram, infixed within an unusual allograph of the *mo* phonogram. If this interpretation is correct, the complete title would be read *kom ajaw*, or 'King of Kom'. Given attested patterns of sign abbreviation in Mayan writing, this same spelling would be read *kokom ajaw*, *komom*

continued on page 6

Unbundling the Past: Events in Ancient and Contemporary Maya History for September by Zach Lindsey

15 September 320 CE: On 8.14.3.1.12 I Eb 0 Yaxk'in G5, Way Ko? Chanal Chak Wak became king at the Uh? Mih? ? Na!. For many years, researchers thought this was Tikal, but there is no evidence besides inscription style to support this. The fact is, the one mention of his name, the Leiden Plaque, is just so old we can't say much about it for certain. It is one of the sad things about Maya history that, while we have artifacts and bones stretching across more than 3,000 years, we only have names for a relatively short time – and we only have rich details of the lives of rulers for an even shorter time. Way Ko? Chanal Chak Wak's actual accomplishments will probably always be lost to time, and

if we do finally learn more about him, it might just leave us with more questions... which is kind of the theme this month.

20 September 638 CE: On 9.10.5.13.4 I I K'an 2 Sak G3, Lady Batz' Ek' of Caracol died after a rich political career. Lady Batz' Ek', whose real name may have been Ix Tiwool Chan Ek' Lem, was the second wife of Caracol ruler Yajaw Te' K'inich II, but it was her son, K'an II, who ended up on the throne. She featured prominently during her son's administration, and Caracol Stela 3 begins with her birthday rather than her son's.

There is a high-status burial known as B19-2nd which features



Xunantunich Panel 3 detail. Photo: C. Helmke.

some eroded glyphs, including a long count of 9.10.1.12.11. This may be the date of the death of the burial's occupant. For many years, scholars thought it was Lady Batz' Ek's burial. Then, in 2015, Dr. Jaime Awe and others discovered Panel 3 at Xunantunich, which records Lady Batz' Ek's date of death... four years later. A typical archaeological story: New evidence results in new questions. Who was buried in that tomb after all? Where is Ix Batz' Ek' buried? Hopefully more digging will figure it out! ▲

Two Early Classic Elite Burials from Buenavista del Cayo, Belize

by Kathryn Brown & Jason Yaeger *cont. from page 5*

For reasons elaborated elsewhere, we read this glyph as *Komkom* (Yaeger et al. n.d) and argue that it is the same place referred to in Late Classic texts from the region as the "Dotted Ko" place (Ball 1993: **Fig. 6**).

Our paleographic analysis of the text reveals that this particular representation of the **AJAW** logogram is consistent with examples dated to between AD 379 and 625, and based on current evidence, this form of the **K'AN** logogram dates to after AD 475 and before 633.

The central motif, an ancestral head in profile looking downward, is well known from a range of gorgets similar to this one and also from the Early Classic stelae of Tikal, including Stelae 4, 29, and 31. It also makes an appearance on Stela 45 at Naranjo. These monuments date to between AD 292 and 445, and the presence of a small crescent-shaped element among the regalia of the figure on the gorget suggests that the iconography dates to the earlier part of this time range.

Given these stylistic dates, we are left with two

possible scenarios for the creation of the gorget. In the first scenario, the imagery was carved first – perhaps as early as the late 3rd century AD – and the text was added later, sometime after ca. AD 475, based on the style of the **K'AN** logogram. We believe it is more likely, however, that the text and imagery were carved together, sometime around ca. AD 450. The lidded tripod bowl and the basal flange dish found in the crypt are typical of Tzakol III and therefore suggest a date between ca. AD 375 and 500, which generally agrees with the stylistic and paleographic analyses.

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Fig. 6: Glyphs for KomKom. By Margaret Greco.

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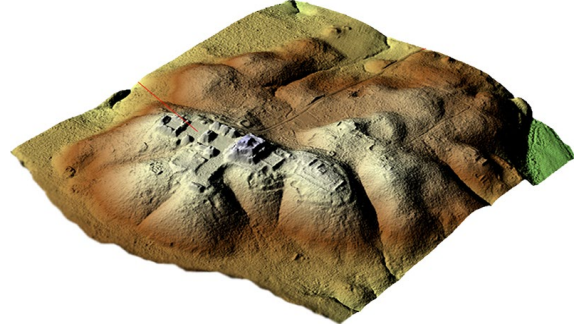
September 15, 2021 • 8 pm ET • IMS Zoom Live Streaming Event
**A History of Ancient Maya Ancestor Veneration
and Political Authority in the Mopan Valley
of Western Belize**

with **Kathryn Brown and Jason Yaeger**



Late Classic stone and stucco mask depicting Chahk, flanking the stairway to Structure 3b at Buenavista del Cayo.

The Mopan River valley was home to a string of closely spaced centers, extending from Las Ruinas de Arenal in the south to Buenavista del Cayo in the north. Thanks to over six decades of concerted fieldwork by several long-term projects, we have excellent data for reconstructing the region's political history. Many of



Isomorphic view of Xunantunich derived from LiDAR survey data showing the El Castillo acropolis (central) and the defensive features on the ridge south of El Castillo.

these centers were initially occupied in the Early or Middle Preclassic, but they had distinct histories, becoming powerful political centers at different times over the course of the Preclassic and Classic periods.

In this talk, we examine the phenomenon of ancestor veneration as one important line of evidence for reconstructing the political history of this region and for understanding how the nature of political authority and political organization changed over the course of nearly two millennia, from the Middle Preclassic period to the Terminal Classic period.

M. Kathryn Brown is the Lutcher Brown Endowed Professor of Anthropology at the University of Texas at San Antonio. For over three decades, her research has examined one of anthropology's fundamental topics, the origins of complex societies, using the ancient Maya of Belize as her primary case study. Since 2005, she has directed the Mopan Valley Preclassic Project.

Jason Yaeger is the President's Endowed Professor of Anthropology at the University of Texas at San Antonio. An anthropological archaeologist, he directs the Mopan Valley Archaeological Project, which studies the organization of ancient Maya households and communities, Maya political organization, and the dynamic relationships among climate, environment, and society in western Belize.

Wednesday, September 15, 2021 • 8 pm ET • Be there with us!

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Plumeria Alba: Sacred Flower of the Maya by Jim Reed

continued from the August IMS Explorer

Nicholas Hellmuth of FLAAR Mesoamerica points out that *Plumeria* is known as *Flor de Mayo* in Guatemala. “*Flor de Mayo* flowers are considered sacred, are used by some native people as flavor for cacao, by others as flavoring for alcoholic drinks. *Flor de Mayo* is considered by some as a potentially impactful aphrodisiac, due in large part to an alluring fragrance (But I do express my skepticism; I think it is another flower which has which has a fragrance more appropriate). Although we do not undertake studies of these chemical aspects of plants, it definitely is something the Precolumbian peoples would have been aware of.

“*Flor de Mayo* can be seen in gardens throughout Guatemala, but its natural habitat in Guatemala is from the cactus-covered deserts in the Department of El Progreso. The flower’s name comes from the fact that the flower comes out during May, though this may vary by the year (since weather may be different some years than other years).”



In Buddhism, *Plumeria* is among the “Five Trees and Six Flowers” that are widely planted in Buddhist temples. Though the plant is commonly seen in Southeast Asian countries, it is native to Central and South America. In Maya culture, *Plumeria* is often associated with deities of life and fertility.

Plumeria, also known as Frangipani, has different colors, such as white, pink, yellow, and red. The blooming period typically lasts from May to October. The flower emanates a special fragrance at night to attract moths for pollination, just like *Datura* (the Angel’s Trumpet). In south China’s Guangdong Province, dried *Plumeria* flowers are often used in herbal tea.

“The lei flower of Hawaii, that every tourist is familiar with, is actually the same genus. So the Hawaiian lei originally comes from Mexico or Central America. Actually I see the *Flor de Mayo* in Singapore, Vietnam, Dubai and many other places as I fly around the world to study digital imaging technology or to give lectures in foreign countries. So, the *Flor de Mayo* is a flower that has literally spread around the world, and has considerable potential as an exotic flavoring for beverages.

“Many Internet sites give the name as *Flor de la Cruz*, and yes, many people in Guatemala call the flower by this name (but there are so many different cultural areas of Guatemala that maybe I need to go to the Highlands, or piedmont, to hear this other name). However when in Cahabon, Alta Verapaz, several local people used the name, *Flor de la Cruz*.

“One original Yucatec Maya way to name the flower is *bac nikte'*, “white flower.” This was clearly a flower, and linguistic term, with

double entendre. The Maya were constantly using plays-on-words, so this is a great plant to study if you have an interest in Mayan linguistics. If you like Mayan puns, you can do lot of study of the books of Chilam Balam.”

In a personal communication, **Nicholas Hopkins** pointed out that *Plumeria* goes by several names in the Yucatan including: *Nik* (*Plumeria*); *Nikte'* (*Plumeria rubra*); *Nikte'balam* (Jaguar *Nikte'*); *Nikte'ch'om*



Plumeria Rubra “Chac Nikte'” photographed by Karl Herbert Mayer in Playa del Carmen, MX.

(*Buzzard Nikte'*); and *Nikte'ha'* (*Water Nikte'*).

He also mentioned that some varieties have medicinal or ritual uses, such as: *Plumeria alba* (*Saknikte'*, *White Nikte'*); *Plumeria pudica* (*Much'nikte'*, *Curly Nikte'*); and *Plumeria rubra* (*Chaknikte'*, *Red Nikte'*).

A very helpful discussion of *Nikte'* in the Chilam Balam is in an article by **Ruth Gubler** in *Primus inter pares: The Ruling House of Cocom. Indiana 17/18*, pgs. 246-248). Read Ruth’s full paper at this hyperlink: [The Ruling House of Cocom](#)

Ruth Gubler, whose memorial article by Steve Radzi appears on page 2, was a socio-cultural anthropologist and ethnohistorian, with a PhD from the University of California in LA. In her research, the focus of which is Yucatan, she has combined both disciplines, working with ethnohistorical sources dealing with traditional medicine and doing fieldwork with local *h-menoob* and *curanderos*.

On page 246 of the paper mentioned above, Ruth wrote that “In its metaphorical sense, the *Nicte'* is associated with immorality, carnal sin and women’s mischief, and in the *Kay Nicte'*, in *El libro de los cantares de Dzitbalche*, it plays a decidedly amoral role, part of an erotic ritual whose purpose it was to effect the return of a lost lover and regain his affections. In the *Ritual of the Bacabs*, the *Nicte'* has a negative connotation, describing the *Nicte' tancas* as a particularly evil frenzy”.

As you can see, there is so much to learn about *Plumeria!* 🌺