Ritual Blood-Sacrifice among the Ancient Maya: Part I

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S tudents of ancient Mexican religion have long recognized that the offering of human blood to gods and other supernatural beings was the central ritual act in the religious life of all Mesoamerican peoples. Both archaeology and ethno-history testify that blood sacrifice was as important to the ancient Maya as it was to their neighbors in central Mexico (Nuttall 1904). Unfortunately, Mayanists have investigated the subject of blood sacrifice in only piecemeal fashion, and, as a result, no comprehensive analysis of this important ritual phenomenon has yet been published. My three part study of ceremonial blood-drawing is intended to lay the foundation for a more exhaustive report on blood sacrifice among the ancient Maya. In this first essay we will focus our attention on rituals of self-mutilation and auto-sacrifice and pay particular attention to the Maya practice of drawing sacrificial blood from the male genital organs. I will argue that Maya art contains a significant number of references to this ceremony and other blood-letting rites and present evidence that an iconographic element which has long puzzled Maya scholars represents the blood-letting implement used in sexual mutilation. The second part of my study of blooddrawing will offer a new interpretation of the central element of the quadripartite badge. I will suggest that this motif represents the stingray spine used in Maya auto-sacrifice and that its symbolism refers to the king's role in insuring the fertility of the earth and guaranteeing the abundance of agricultural crops. The final section of my study of self-mutilation will analyze the iconography of the regent of the month Pax and evaluate Michael Coe's hypothesis that this deity is the patron of sacrificial blood-letting (Coe 1973 and n.d.).

Ceremonial blood-drawing and auto-sacrifice are documented in ethnohistorical documents from throughout the Maya area. Diego de Landa reports that the Yucatec Maya practiced a variety of blood-letting rituals in the sixteenth century.

They offered sacrifices of their own blood, sometimes cutting themselves around in pieces and they left them in this way as a sign. Other times they pierced their cheeks, at others their lower lips. Sometimes they scarify certain parts of their bodies, at others they pierced their tongues in a slanting direction from side to side and passed bits of straw through the holes with horrible suffering; others slit the superfluous part of the virile member leaving it as they did their ears . . . (Landa 1941: 113).

Although Landa usually does not give detailed descriptions of Maya blood sacrifice rites, he does elaborate on one particular ceremony which involves blood drawn from the genital organs of male worshippers.

At other times they performed an obscene and painful sacrifice, those who were to make it gathered in the temple whereafter they were placed in a row. Holes were made in the virile member of each one obliquely from side to side and through the holes which they had thus made, they passed the greatest quantity of thread that they could, and all of them being thus fastened and strung together, they anointed the idol with the blood which flowed from all these parts; and he who did this the most was considered the bravest; and their sons from the earliest age began to practice it, and it is a horrible thing to see how inclined they were to this ceremony (Landa 1941: 114).

Tomas Lopez Medel confirms Landa's observations on the prevalence of self-sacrifice in sixteenth century Maya communities.

It was very usual . . . (for them) to sacrifice to the idols that they found on the roads, anointing the face of the idol with blood they drew right there from their ears, piercing them, or from their nos-



Fig. 1. A palace scene and blood-drawing ceremony. Rollout of the design on a Maya vase from southern Campeche or northern Peten. Courtesy The Center for Pre-Columbian Studies, Dumbarton Oaks.

trils or tongue, and even from their private parts, according to what others say, so that anyone who passed by an idol and did not offer him any portion of blood drawn there from his own body was not considered devout or good, in the same way that we do reverence when we come upon any cross or image on any journey, for thus that blind people likewise had their shrines and sanctuaries in the fields and roads (Landa 1941: 222).

The Maya peoples of Guatemala, like their Yucatecan cousins, also engaged in ritual self-mutilation. Roman y Zamora reports that the Guatemalan Indians twice daily offered their gods blood drawn from the ears, nose, tongue, arms, penis, thighs, or legs (quoted by Tozzer in Landa 1941: 76, Note 339). Similar blood-letting rites were observed by Father Delgado when he traveled among the Manche Chol Maya.

In Vicente Pach's (Pech's) ranch I saw the sacrifice. They took a chisel and wooden mallet, placed the one who had to sacrifice himself on a smooth stone slab, took out his penis, and cut it in three parts two finger breadths (up), the largest in the center, saying at the same time incantations and words I did not understand (Quoted by Tozzer in Landa 1941: 114, Note 522).

Although other ethnohistorical sources make reference to the Maya penchant for self-sacrifice, the passages cited above should make it clear that blood-letting was an important part of Maya religious practice during colonial times.

Blood-sacrifice and self-mutilation continued to be significant religious acts among certain isolated Maya groups even into the present day. When Alfred Tozzer

lived among the Lacandon Maya at the beginning of this century, he observed the Indians performing a cycle of ceremonies around their effigy braceros. According to Tozzer, the Lacandons became increasingly intoxicated as the rites proceeded until finally a number of them were moved to offer the gods blood drawn from their own bodies.

When in a state of intoxication and as an act especially pleasing to the gods, the ear is sometimes pierced with a stone arrow point and the blood allowed to drip down upon the braceros containing idols (Tozzer 1907: 136).

The documentary sources thus leave no doubt that the Maya practiced ritual blood-letting during the colonial period and that certain Maya groups continued to perform this type of sacrifice well into the modern era. We must now turn our attention to the archaeological record and review the evidence for ceremonial blood-drawing in Pre-Columbian times.

While explicit depictions of sacrificial self-mutilation are relatively rare in ancient Maya art, there are enough examples of such scenes to prove that most of the blood-letting rites reported in colonial documents were being practiced during much earlier times. Pre-Columbian representations of auto-sacrifice generally show Maya lords and supernaturals in the act of drawing blood from the ears, tongue or penis.

Although Maya artists usually portray only one type of blood-drawing ceremony in any one composition, there are several masterpieces of Maya art from the Late Classic Period which depict two different varieties of auto-sacrifice in the same scene. One such piece is a polychrome vase from southern Campeche or northern



Fig. 2 A double self-sacrifice ritual. Lintel 17, Yaxchilan. After Greene, Rands and Graham 1972: Plate 35.

L'eten now in the Pre-Columbian Collection at Dumbarton Oaks (Coe n.d.). Two distinct scenes are represented on this vessel: one depicts a haughty Maya lord seated on a dias and surrounded by six attendants and servants; the second portrays a blood-letting ceremony (fig. 1). The auto-sacrifice scene involves two personages. The stooped figure at the left has a parrot in his headdress and wears a collar of death eyes around his neck. He is passing a rope or cord through his tongue and depositing the blood-soaked fibers in a large, flat dish or basket. The figure at the right, who is surely the same individual seated on the dias in the palace scene, is dressed in a floor-length flowered cape and an elaborate white headdress. The lord has perforated his penis with a white awl and is collecting the blood in the large dish at his feet. I know of no other scene in Maya art which portrays a blood-letting ritual with such realism. A second representation of a double self-sacrifice is carved on Lintel 17 from Structure 21 at Yaxchilan (fig. 2). The female personage at the left pulls a cord through her tongue, while the male figure at the right grasps a perforator in his hand a prepares to draw blood from his genitals. The man's sacrificial blood will be allowed to drip onto rectangular strips of bark paper. This bloodspattered material and the woman's blood-soaked cord will be placed in the shallow dish which sits between the

figures and will then be presented as an offering to the gods and supernaturals.

Other Maya representations of auto-sacrifice from the Post-Classic and the Late Classic Periods depict only one type of blood-letting activity in any given composition. On page 95 of the Madrid Codex four deities are shown drawing blood from their ear lobes (fig. 3). On page 96 of the same manuscript God B is pictured passing a cord through his tongue (fig. 4). Lintel 24 from Structure 23 at Yaxchilan portrays a similar scene, although in this case, spines or thorns are woven into the cord which the woman pulls through her tongue (fig. 5). Notice the blood-spattered strips of bark paper in the basket at her feet. Another representation of the drawing of sacrificial blood from the tongue is painted on the walls of Room 3 in Structure 1 at Bonampak (Ruppert, Thompson and Proskouriakoff 1955). The mural depicts four figures dressed in white robes and seated on a dias (fig. 6). The kneeling male attendant at the right presents a spine or thorn to the first person on the dias: this instrument will undoubtedly be used to draw sacrificial blood from the tongue. The precious fluid will drip onto the bark paper strips which are stacked in the spiked bowl located directly in front of the first figure. A final illustration of ritual tongue mutilation is found on the south side of Stela 19 from Naranjo (fig. 7). The lord who is seated on the right side of the composition is passing the cord of sacrifice through his protruding tongue. Ceremonies which involve drawing blood from the male genital organs are portrayed in a number of different compositions in ancient Maya art. On page 82 of the Madrid Codex two deities are shown pulling cords through the penis (fig. 8). The scene on Madrid 19 depicts four different deities tied together by a long cord or rope which winds its way among the figures and passes through the sexual organs of each god in turn (fig. 9). Sculptural representations of sexual mutilation were found in a Post-Classic cache of ceramic objects buried in Mound 1 at Santa Rita (Gann 1918). Three seated figurines from the cache portray personages preparing to draw blood from their sexual organs (fig. 10).

Each is seated upon a low four-legged stool, and grasps in one hand by its greatly enlarged spatulate glans the projecting penis, on which he is seemingly performing some sort of surgical operation with a long knife held in the other hand (Gann 1918: 60).

In the same cache Thomas Gann also found a clay effigy phallus with three incised lines on the glans penis (fig. 11). The three cuts on the Santa Rita phallus surely correspond to the three gashes made in the penis of the Manche Chol whose ritual mutilation Father Delgado witnessed and reported (see above). Finally, a Late Classic polychrome vase from Huehuetenango depicts

¹The ritual portrayed on Madrid 19b must be the Pre-Columbian antecedent of a similar ceremony which Landa observed and described in the sixteenth century (see above). Eric Thompson has previously called attention to a similar penis ceremony which is performed by the Guaymi of Panama (see Landa 1941: 114, Note 525).

six gods drawing sacrificial blood from their genitals (fig. 12).² The six deities are divided into two separate groups by vertical glyph blocks. The left-handed gods sit on their haunches and grasp the blood-letter in the left hand. The three right-handed deities hold the perforator in the right hand and the penis in the other hand. The right-handed divinities crouch over wide shallow dishes which contain the now familiar bark paper strips used to absorb sacrificial blood. We will consider the iconography of this vase in greater detail in just a moment, for its symbolism is central to the argument which I am about to present.

The Pre-Columbian works of art discussed above provide clear and convincing proof that the ancient Maya were practicing various blood-letting rituals long before the Spaniards colonized the New World. As we have seen, these ceremonies mainly involved drawing blood from ears, tongue and penis. If the self-sacrificial rites observed in the Maya area by Spanish priests and officials are the survivals of a Pre-Hispanic ritual pattern, then the Maya tradition of ceremonial blood-letting and ritual mutilation must be at least 1000 years old. Having established the nature and antiquity of ritual

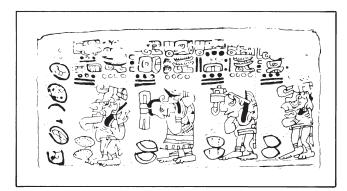


Fig. 3. Blood-letting from the ear lobes. Codex Madrid 95a. After Villacorta and Villacorta 1930.



Fig. 4. God B drawing sacrificial blood from his tongue. Codex Madrid 96b. After Villacorta and Villacorta 1930.

blood-letting and auto-sacrifice among the ancient Maya, we may now proceed to discuss the iconography of the blood-letting instrument itself. In this regard we are not so interested in the simple thorn or bone blood-letters, as in the elaborate blood-drawing implements used in rites of sexual mutilation.

If we look more closely at the design painted on the upper register of the Huehuetenango vase (fig. 12), we can isolate a number of iconographic elements which characterize the instrument used to draw sacrificial blood from the penis. Although the central part of the perforator is obscured in every case by the hand of the figure who holds it, we can easily see that the implement consists primarily of a long pointed dagger used to pierce the skin. The upper part of the blood-letter's handle is composed of three horizontal bands with circular motifs affixed to the ends. Attached to the top of this banded handle is a three-pronged element with feather plumes



Fig. 5. Ritual tongue mutilation. Lintel 24, Yaxchilan. After Greene, Rands and Graham 1972: Plate 36.

²Eric Thompson's commentary on the Huehuetenango vase (Thompson 1961) represents a milestone in the study of blood sacrifice among the ancient Maya. In his article Thompson identifies for the first time the true nature of the ritual shown in the upper register of the vase and makes reference to most of the other explicit references of blood-letting which are mentioned in this essay. In addition, Thompson also isolates and describes the paraphernalia which are associated with blood-drawing ceremonies: sacrificial cord, bone awl, bark paper strips, crosshatched blood symbols, shallow sacrificial dishes, etc.

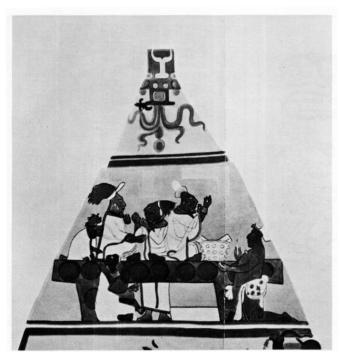


Fig. 6. Tongue sacrifice. Room 3, Structure 1, Bonampak. After Ruppert, Thompson and Proskouriakoff 1955: Fig. 29.

appended. To examples of the upper register bloodletters are illustrated in figures 13a and b.

Painted on the lower portion of the Huehuetenango vase are profile representations of long-lipped deity heads. Eric Thompson has argued that all four heads represent his "long-nosed" divinity, but a closer look at the details of the design suggests another interpretation. The two long-lipped figures bearing Imix signs in their headdresses are framed in trilobed cartouches. These images probably symbolize the same deity. However, the two other god heads which are pictured in horizontal position represent a different creature altogether. If we isolate the second pair of long-lipped profiles and compare these images with the perforators shown in the upper register, it becomes obvious that the upturned profile forms are depictions of the same sacrificial instrument which is being used in the sexual mutilation scene pictured above (fig. 13). The Maya apparently deified the blood-letter itself.

Since the Huehuetenango vase portrays the ritual blood-letter in all its symbolic complexity, we can now enumerate the iconographic attributes which identify the implement used in sexual self-sacrifice. A long-lipped deity head forms the handle of the instrument. The god has large squarish eyes and a small nose. Its upper lip is elongated and downturned at the nose; the lower jaw is entirely absent. The creature's headdress consists of horizontal bands which wrap around the head and end in circular knots. The knots are arranged in a vertical row which is set in the middle of the deity's forehead. Long, feather plumes are affixed to the head-



Fig. 7. Ritual blood-drawing from the tongue. Stela 19, Naranjo. After Maler 1908, 1910: Plate 34, 2.

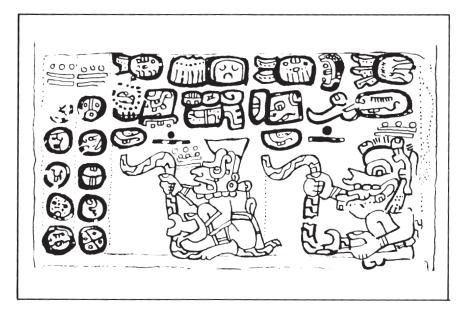


Fig. 8. Blood-letting from the penis. Codex Madrid 82b. After Villacorta and Villacorta 1930.

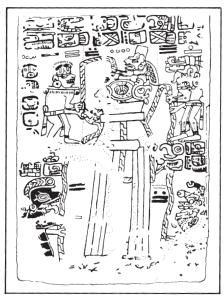


Fig. 9. Penis ceremony. Codex Madrid 19b. After Villacorta and Villacorta 1930.





 $Fig.\,10.\ \ Portrait\, of\, a figure\, performing\, sexual\, self\text{-}sacrifice\, from\, Mount\, 1, Santa\, Rita\,. After\, Gann\, 1918:\, Plate\, 9.$

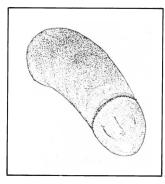


Fig. 11. Scarified ceramic phallus from Mound 1, Santa Rita. After Gann 1918: Figure 17

dress with three-pronged elements. The quill-like blade which actually draws the blood from the genital organs is attached to the effigy handle.

A number of works of art from the Late Classic Period depict iconographic forms which are virtually identical to the blood-letters painted on the Huehuetenango vase. A polychrome ceramic dish from the Chama region shows a Maya personage seated on a Cauac glyph and holding a perforator in his left hand (fig. 14). The implement is pointed at the figure's genitals. The sacrificial dagger has essentially the same iconographic characteristics as the Huehuetanango blood-letters. Note, however, the "bow-tie"-shaped nostril plug which decorates the long-lipped god's nose. The dagger blade itself is of considerable interest, for its edges are serrated and it has a double scroll convention at its base. Another depiction of the deified perforator appears on a beautiful polychrome vase from Altar de

Sacrificios (Adams 1971). One of the figures painted on the vessel is performing a graceful dance (fig. 15). He is dressed in jaguar skin pants and gloves and a jaguar head headdress. Around his waist he wears a beaded belt from which a sacrificial blood-letter dangles. The instrument's effigy handle has the usual iconographic attributes of the deified dagger. Notice that the blood-letter is directed at the dancer's loins and that the figure's pubic area is decorated with red spots, which surely symbolize blood.

Monumental representations of the deified perforator are portrayed in Late Classic stone carvings from several major ceremonial centers in the Usumacinta area. On Lintels 13 and 14 from Structure 21 at Yaxchilan Bird-Jaguar and his companion both carry sacrificial daggers of the type which we have been discussing (figs. 16 and 17). Of the six lintels from Yaxchilan which portray blood-drawing ceremonies, only these two picture the deified instrument of sexual self-sacrifice. From the Bonampak area comes a limestone panel which portrays an elaborately attired lord wearing the long-lipped head of the perforator god around his neck and on his bracelet and anklets (fig. 18). The deity's distinctive headdress appears again on the lord's loincloth. The ritual blood-letter occupies a central position in the iconography of the Temple of the Foliated Cross at Palenque.³ The great tablet in the sanctuary of the temple shows Chan-Bahlum and Pacal presenting various symbolic images to the cruciform maize tree at the center of the tablet (fig. 19). Pacal offers the deified blood-letter. On the newly discovered jamb panels from the same temple, 4 Chan-Bahlum is portrayed holding



Fig. 12. Ceremonial blood-letting from the penis. Rollout of a scene painted on a Maya vase from Huehuetenango. After Gordon and Mason 1925-28: Plate XXVII.

³Interestingly enough, Herbert Spinden long ago realized that the object held in Pacal's hand in the Tablet of the Foliated Cross is identical to the form held by Bird-Jaguar and his companion in Yaxchilan Lintel 14 (Spinden 1957: Fig. 231, page 193). However, Spinden failed to properly identify the object.

⁴Found by Linda Schele in the material stored in the bodega, Palenque 1974.

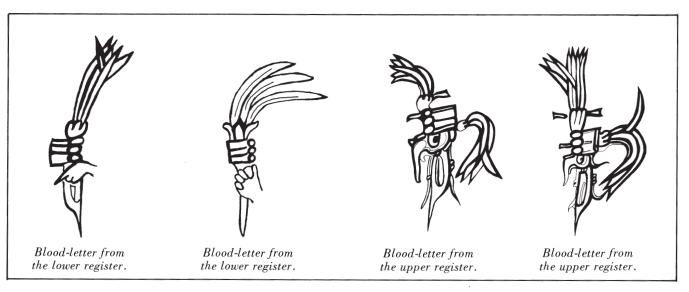


Fig. 13. Blood-letting instruments painted on the Huehuetenango vase. Drawings by David Joralemon.

the perforator in his hands, thereby acknowledging his assumption of the king's self-sacrificial obligations from his revered predecessor, Pacal (fig. 20). Wherever the instrument of sexual mutilation is represented in the Temple of the Foliated Cross it exhibits the same iconographic attributes which identify the blood-letters on the Huehuetenango vase. The Palenque perforators all have effigy handles carved in the image of a long-lipped deity head. The creature wears the banded head-dress with knots and feather plumes which distinguishes the god of the blood-letter from all other long-lipped deities. To the effigy handle is fastened the long, quill-like blade of the perforator.



Fig. 14. A Maya lord holding the deified perforator. Polychrome plate from the Chama region. Photograph by David Joralemon.

Although there are many other representations of the deified blood-letter in Maya art (see Chart 1), let us bring our discussion of the perforator's iconography to a close with three last examples of the god's image from Copan's Late Classic stelae. The deified sacrificial instrument decorates the loincloth of the central figure of Stela D (fig. 21). The image is inverted, but careful study reveals that the form has all the necessary identifying features of the god of the blood-letter. This representation is particularly important because it shows how the Maya portrayed the deified dagger en face. Similar images appear on the rectangular ornaments which dangle from the waist bands of the central figures on Stela A and B (figs. 22 and 23). A diagram illustrating seventeen representations of the deified blood-letter from Classic Maya works of art is given in figure 24.

Although someday it may be possible to determine the true significance of blood-letting in ancient Maya

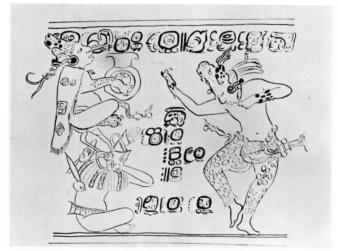


Fig. 15. A dancing figure wearing a ceremonial dagger around his waist. Polychrome vase from Altar de Sacrificios. Photograph courtesy Peabody Museum, Harvard University.



Fig. 16. Two Maya personages holding the deified bloodletter. Lintel 13, Yaxchilan. After Greene, Rands and Graham 1972: Plate 31.

religious belief, for the moment we must be content to speculate about the symbolic meaning of sacrificial blood in the most general terms. It is virtually certain that blood drawn from the sexual organs was more sacred and potent than blood drawn from any other part of the body. The Maya must have believed that the precious fluid bled from the genitals in rites of self-sacrifice had extraordinary fertilizing powers. A passage in the central Mexican Codex Borgia, which is strikingly similar to the scene carved on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross at Palenque, suggests that rituals of sexual mutilation were performed to insure the regeneration of the natural world in general and cultivated plants in particular (fig. 25). Page 53 of the Borgia manuscript depicts a corn tree growing out of the body of a death god who is stretched out on the navel of the world. A sacred bird sits atop the maize plant and looks out over the waters of the cosmic sea which surrounds the earth. The growth and productivity of the corn tree, symbol of all cultivated plants, is maintained by the streams of fertilizing blood which gush from the sexual organs of the two gods who perform self-sacrifice on either side of the tree. The symbolism of the Temple of the Foliated Cross is surely related to the same basic belief in the fertilizing power of blood drawn from the genitals. In the Foliated Cross Tablet the great king Pacal is shown presenting the



Fig. 17. Two Maya personages holding the deified perforator. Lintel 14, Yaxchilan. After Greene, Rands and Graham 1972: Plate 32.

deified instrument of sexual self-sacrifice to the cruciform maize tree in the center of the composition. By metaphoric extension Pacal is also offering his own precious sacrificial blood to fertilize the sacred tree at the center of the world. Whatever other symbolic meanings blood-letting and sexual mutilation might have had in ancient Maya thought, there was a strong association of sexual self-sacrifice with rituals of agricultural fertility during the Classic Period.

In this first part of my study of blood-sacrifice among the ancient Maya, I have tried to make three general points about Maya blood-letting practices. First of all, the blood-drawing ceremonies and sexual mutilation rituals which were being performed by the Maya in the sixteenth century have their origins far back in the Pre-Columbian past. Second, the instrument used in sexual self-sacrifice was deified by the Classic Maya. Its identifying characteristics include an effigy handle in the shape of a long-lipped deity head which wears a banded headdress with knots and feathers; and a long, quill-like perforating blade. Third, there is some evidence that the drawing of blood from the male genitals was based on a belief in the fertilizing powers of such sacrificial blood and in its effectiveness in magically maintaining the health and productivity of the natural world.

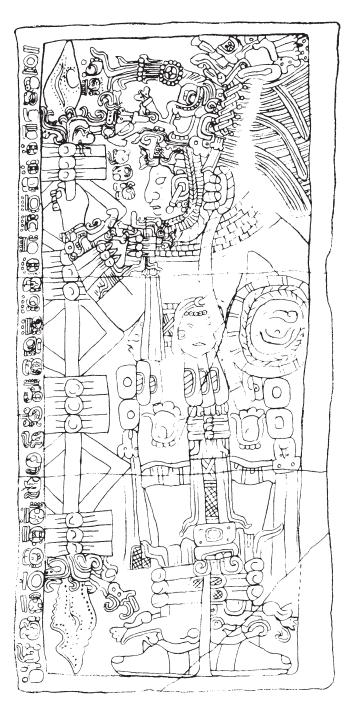


Fig. 18. Maya lord wearing heads of the god of the blood-letter. Limestone panel from the Bonampak area. Drawing by Jeffrey Miller.

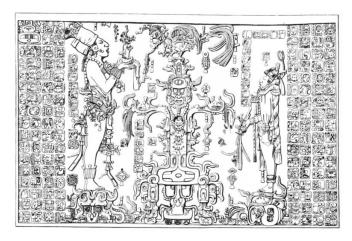
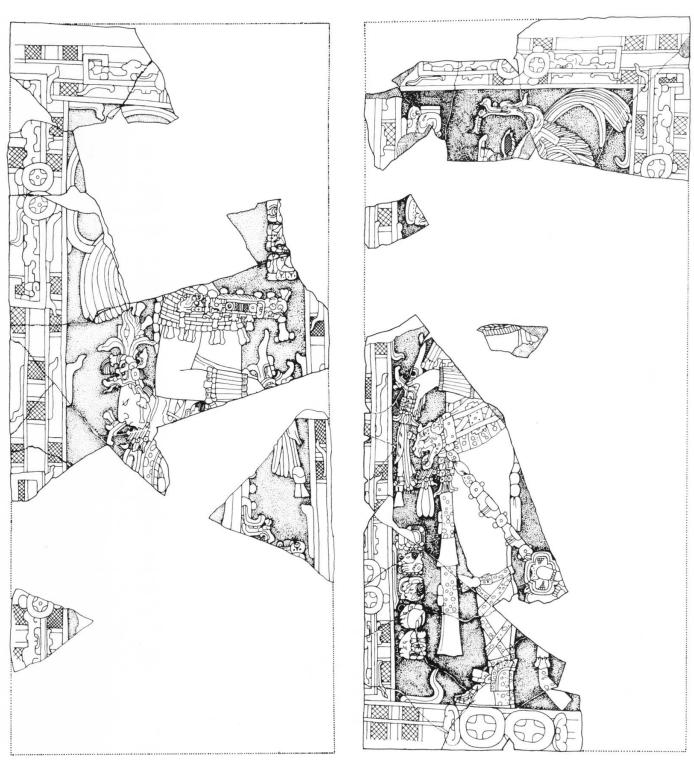
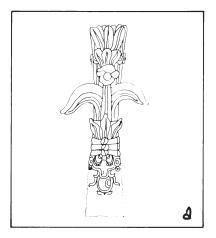


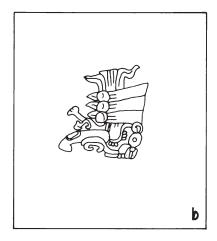
Fig. 19. Pacal and Chan-Bahlum making offerings to the sacred maize tree. Tablet of the Foliated Cross, Palenque, After Maudslay 1889-1902; Vol. IV: Plate 81.



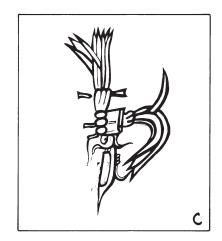
 $Fig.\,20. \quad Chan-Bahlum\ presenting\ the\ ceremonial\ blood-letter.\ Panels\ from\ the\ door\ jambs\ of\ the\ Temple\ of\ the\ Foliated\ Cross\ at\ Palenque.\ Drawing\ by\ Linda\ Schele.$



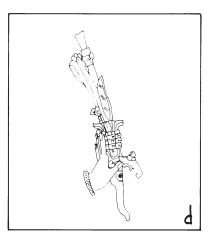
Stela D. Copan.



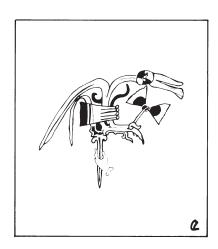
Limestone Panel from the Bonampak area.



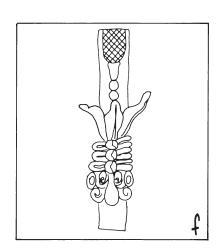
 $Huehueten ango\ Vase.$



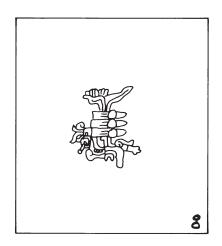
Panels from the door jambs, Temple of the Foliated Cross, Palenque.



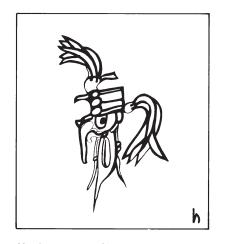
Polychrome plate from the Chama region.



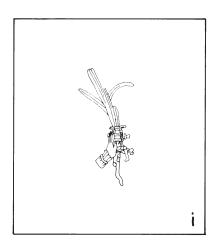
Stela A, Copan.



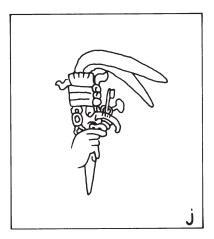
Limestone Panel from the Bonampak area.



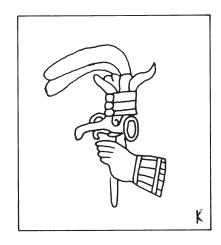
Huehuetenango Vase.



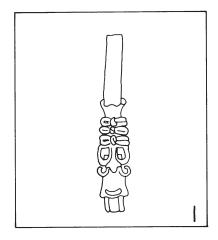
Tablet of the Foliated Cross, Palenque.



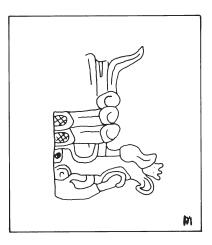
Lintel 14, Yaxchilan.



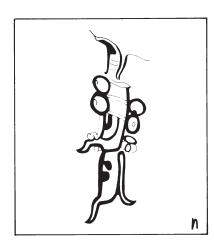
Lintel 14, Yaxchilan.



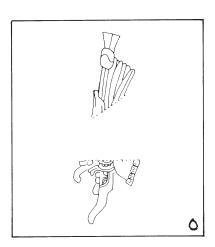
Stela B, Copan.



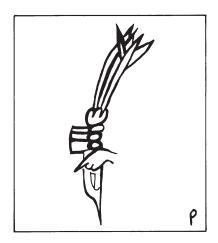
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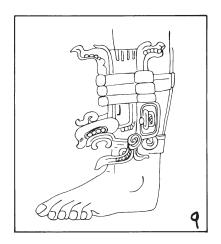
Polychrome vase from Altar de Sacrificios.



Panels from the door jambs, Temple of the Foliated Cross, Palenque.



Huehuetenango vase.



Tikal Stela 26.

Fig. 24. The ceremonial bloodletting instrument in Classic Maya art: Selected Examples. Drawings by David Joralemon.

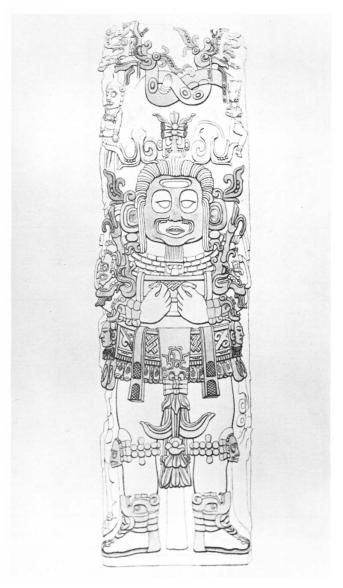


Fig. 21. Maya personage wearing the penis perforator on his loincloth. Stela D, Copan. After Maudslay 1889-1902: Vol. I: Plate 45.

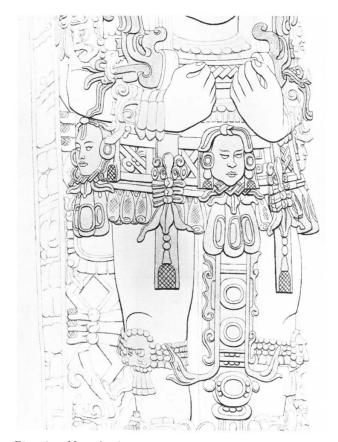


Fig. 22. Maya lord wearing rectangular ornaments inscribed with the god of the perforator. Stela A, Copan. After Maudslay 1889-1902: Vol. I: Plate 26.



Fig. 23. Maya personage wearing rectangular ornaments decorated with the deified blood-letter. Stela B, Copan. After Maudslay 1889-1902: Vol. I: Plate 34.

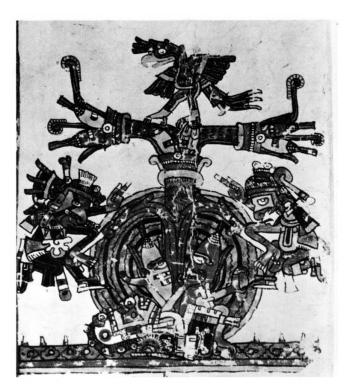


Fig. 25. Sexual self-sacrifice at the center of the world. Codex Borgia 53. After Seler 1963.

	Dei	Deified Blood-Letter	•			Ļ	Long-lipped Head of the Perforator God	d of the P	erforator	· God	
Object	Held in Hand	Suspended from Belt	Loincloth	Isolated	Necklace	Wristlet	Waist Ornament	Loincloth	Garter	Anklet	Sandle
Vase from Altar de Sacrificios		×									
Limestone Panel from Bonampak region								×			
Limestone Panel from Bonampak arca					×	×		×		×	
Polychrome plate from Chama region	, ***. **										
Copan Stela A							×				
Copan Stela B							×				
Copan Stela D			×								
Copan Stela N						×					
Dos Pilas Stela 1										×	
Vase from Huehue- tenango	×			×							
Tablet of the Foliated Cross, Palenque	×										
Panels from the door jambs of the Temple of the Foliated Cross, Palenque	×										
Quirigua Stela A										X?	
Quirigua Stela C										X?	
Seibal Stela 1						X?				Х?	
Seibal Stela 14						X?				X?	
Tamarindito Stela 1										X	
Tikal Stela 21										×	
Tikal Stela 22						×				×	
Tikal Stela 26											.
											×
Xultun Stela 3										×	
Xultun Stela 3 Xultun Stela 10						×			×	X	
Xultun Stela 3 Xultun Stela 10 Yaxchilan Lintel 6	×										
Xultun Stela 3 Xultun Stela 10 Yaxchilan Lintel 6 Yaxchilan Lintel 13											

Chart 1
The Deified Blood-letter in Maya Art: An Occurrence Table

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