

Rethinking Jaina: Goddesses, Skirts, and the Jolly Roger

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When I left my home and arrived at Princeton University in 1971, I had no picture of what I might be like as an adult or what profession I might choose. I admired high school teachers and librarians; I suppose in some muddle-headed way I thought I might want to become a lawyer, although I did not really know any attorneys, and my perceptions had been shaped by television and movies. I had babysat so much that I could not imagine being a parent. I had endured eighteen years of Sunday mornings in the Presbyterian Church, and I knew for certain that I was not called to religious purpose. I suppose I had little sense of what skills I had gained growing up on a working farm, but I knew I did not much like livestock or sewing my own clothes, although I did not mind driving a tractor, shoveling oats, picking sweet corn, or helping fix a meal for a crowd.

Of the many transformative experiences that college brought to me, the most important may be the work I did with Gillett Griffin. My best course in my first semester of college was one with T. Leslie Shear that I had selected from the catalogue months before landing on campus. I would learn from upperclassmen and graduate students that the class was a little dry, but you could not have told me that: I was electrified by the Parthenon, by Herculaneum, and by a pyxis in the university's art museum I worked on that semester. Imagine my despair, then, second semester, when I discovered that Anthropology 209, an introduction to world archaeology, would in fact focus on the history of lithics, the evolution of man's ability to fashion stone tools. I learned that the arrowheads my mother had collected along Chittanooga Creek in the 1920s were now to be called projectile points. The reading was stultifying and the pictures were mostly dreary line drawings that mapped flint knapping. But there was a bright spot: to keep us in class after Nixon mined the harbor of Haiphong, Professor Mark Leone teased us with a few weeks of Maya archaeology, based on his brief work at Seibal. I went to see him during his office hours, and he told me about a course taught at the museum where I might be able to pursue this topic.

So I found my way into Gillett Griffin's seminar on Pre-Hispanic art (Art and Archaeology 325) my sophomore year, and in the very first class, I ended up wearing a three-thousand-year-old necklace of jade beads the size of *tomatillos*. I do not yearn for extravagant jewelry in my real life, but as

these orbs of obdurate rock warmed to my body, I felt a thrill that cannot be captured by the New Age slogans that would subsequently come into being for this sort of strange experience.

It was not easy to work with Pre-Columbian materials, but when is it supposed to be easy to follow your muse? I had already taken the only course Gillett (here I will now slip into referring to Gillett Good Griffin by his first name only) offered before I became a major in the Department of Art and Archaeology, so what was I to do? I had a 1970s rebellious desire to argue with the framework of the discipline, so I refused to study the Renaissance in its most normative coursework, Italian painting, a decision I can only regret today, but I relished my courses with David Coffin and Robert Koch, and there was nothing I liked more than Bob Bergman's courses in medieval and Byzantine and Miss Harrison's Archaic Greek art. Peter Bunnell and William Morgan made us handle dozens of photographs, looking for ways to read what it was the camera framed. In McCormick Hall I learned the difference between etching and engraving, between the fake and the real, for this was a teaching museum in all ways, including ways that alarmed professional staff, especially when Gillett would pull out his own keys to open the public display cases downstairs.

I chose art history at the time not because of the discipline but rather because of the field, Pre-Columbian. Nevertheless, I quickly came to thrive in the discipline itself. I began to learn how to look, and then to look again. I no longer turned the page of illustrations but lingered to study the image, to parse it from the accompanying text. As soon as I had taken Gillett's course, I had started studying Spanish; a year later, as art history began to come into focus as a discipline, I added German, just in case, I told myself. I railed against the disproportionate number of women in art history (eighteen of twenty-one majors, I believe, in the Class of 1975) at a time when we made up only thirty percent of the student body (yes, I took a pencil and wrote "Welcome to Princeton University's Home Economics department" in the ladies rest room of McCormick Hall); I tried to talk two of my closest friends out of the major.

Gillett lent me books, but I could not make much sense of them: what was Laurette Séjourné up to, or Arthur Miller, on Teotihuacan?¹ I had read the big picture of Mesoamerica

revealed in Michael Coe's *Mexico* and *The Maya* and in Miguel Covarrubias's *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America*.² Since there was almost no internal critique, how could one rationalize the anthropological archaeology of William Sanders and Barbara Price (*Mesoamerica: The Evolution of a Civilization*) or Eric Wolf (*Sons of the Shaking Earth*) with the peaceful theocracies promoted in the writings of the dominant Maya scholars Sylvanus G. Morley (*The Ancient Maya*) and Sir Eric Thompson (*Maya Hieroglyphic Writing*)?³ I found myself reading the nineteenth-century *Queen Moo* alongside the recent Dumbarton Oaks conference volumes.⁴ Where could one begin to get more traction, particularly with works of art? Where could the microscopic connect to the grand scheme? David Joralemon came to visit Princeton, as did Linda Schele, dazzling us with erudition, firing us up with excitement, but offering no ropes to grasp. Clearly, there were no maps to launch a student in the study of this field. I wrote my junior paper on the problem of Jaina figurines—could they be more than anecdotal, as Peter Furst had just argued about West Mexico?⁵ When school started in the fall of 1974, Gillett and Allen Rosenbaum (who had been at the art museum for just a year) proposed to me that I should organize an exhibition of these beautiful but enigmatic Jaina figurines.

Where better to start than with Princeton's own collection? In retrospect, I see that there are two spectacular collections of Jaina figurines in the world: one, at the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City, and the other, at the Princeton University Art Museum. I could have studied and exhibited just the home collection. But in the fall of 1974, Gillett and I traveled around New York collections and museums, even making an exhausting trip to the Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute in Utica, New York, and back in a single day, canvassing all the territory. What did I learn? How did I come to understand these Jaina figurines? I sorted them by gender, so I thought, and found to my surprise that women were far more common among figurines than in the monumental record. I tried to utilize Michael Coe's new theory for interpreting Maya pots based in the *Popol Vuh*,⁶ and I read the available English translation of the *Popol Vuh*⁷ with great care. With help from roommates, friends, and Elizabeth Benson, I wrote the text of the catalogue, *Jaina Figurines*.⁸ But I made many mistakes.

THE GODDESS O

My favorite mistake—and a subject worth returning to—is the cover girl of *Jaina Figurines*, a powerful representation of Goddess O, the great Chak Chel. At the time, I did not recognize her as such, although Gillett may well have: I was reluctant to be persuaded by clothing, and I was not ready to face the complexity of Maya warfare. I insisted on seeing her as a male warrior. But although we do not often see Goddess O—and like others, I depend a great deal on Karl Taube's identifications of her⁹—two key representations are Princeton Jaina figurines, where we see her both as warrior and as midwife (figs. 1 and 2). In the Codex Dresden, Taube notes, Goddess O brings on world destruction when she drenches the earth with floods. Taube renewed Thompson's proposition that Chak Chel may well be part of the greater Cihuacoatl complex of Central Mexico, with specific attention to the Tzitzimime, dangerous female demons that were to descend when the earth was destroyed at the end of the Fifth Sun (fig. 3).¹⁰ Yet only the Princeton figurine reveals her fully as a warrior, armed and dangerous.

Taube's more recent work on Goddess O has revealed that she has various aspects: midwife, warrior, and arbiter of the dangerous forces and gods that pervade birth. On the unusual rectangular Birth Vase, she appears no fewer than seven times, and given the vessel's dreadful condition, she may have appeared eight times.¹¹ Goddess O represents age in every respect: her face, sometimes toothless, sags into a mass of wrinkles; her breasts hang down below the waist, shriveled and useless; her back is bent with advanced osteoporosis. On the Birth Vase, she delivers a young goddess; she collects the afterbirth, and she may engage in divination, perhaps using the spiders associated with spinning (fig. 4). Characteristic of her representations and roles are a series of distinctive skirts: white ones with red spots, darker spotted ones, and most distinctively, the skull-and-crossed-bones motif, known also from representations on other painted ceramics [cf. an example in the Museum of the American Indian, 24/4313]. She wears twisted cords—sometimes shown to be snakes, and recently identified with the twisted headdresses characteristic of some highland Guatemalan Maya women—as well as a jaguar ear, revealing her dark, nocturnal powers.



Figure 1. Goddess O, also called Chak Chel. Mexico, Campeche, Jaina, Maya, Late Classic, A.D. 600–800. Ceramic; h. 26.0 cm. Princeton University Art Museum, gift of J. Lionberger Davis, Class of 1900 (y1965.197).



Figure 2. “Old nursemaid”: Goddess O serving as midwife to a young child, possibly the young Maize God. Mexico, Campeche, Jaina, Maya, Late Classic, A.D. 600–800. Ceramic; h. 11.3 cm. Princeton University Art Museum, gift of Gillett G. Griffin (2003-26).



Figure 3. Goddess O
(drawing: Karl A.
Taube).



Figure 4. Goddess O,
from the Birth Vase
(drawing: Karl A.
Taube).

According to fourth- and fifth-century representations, the powerful deity of Central Mexico, the Great Goddess of Teotihuacan, would seem to center on war, sacrifice, and divination. But by the time of Aztec goddesses, one finds, particularly in Tenochtitlan, an emphasis on their dark and dangerous powers. Usually confined to the undersides of monuments, the ambiguously gendered and often decapitated Tlaltecuhli adopts the hocker, or squatting birth-giving position; the hunched and aged Coatlicue is shown to be clawed, menacing, and often decapitated, spewing liquid from her loins, perhaps the drenching amniotic fluid shed by Goddess O. The relationships among these goddesses have been addressed by Taube, Elizabeth Boone, and Cecilia Klein; Klein focuses particularly on bringing together those who wear the skull-and-crossed-bones skirt—in short, those who belong to the Goddess O group.¹² The argument is too long to present here, but she revives Alfonso Caso's old notion that many skull-and-crossed-bones platforms depict the skirt of Cihuacoatl, emphasizing both the political power held by the man known as the "Woman Snake" and the power of the skirt itself. Possessing the power of earth and of earthquakes collectively, these goddesses held the Fifth Sun of the Aztecs, 4 Ollin, in their thrall, when the world would end in earth-provoked cataclysm. Characteristic of the Legend of the Suns is that each god responsible for the earth's creation and renewal—say, Ehecatl in the Second Sun, 4 Wind—reigned as the sun and held the power to destroy that creation, and at some point let that power loose, closing his cycle of birth, life, and death. We usually think of Bernardino de Sahagún's often-repeated tale of Nanahuatzin as the centerpiece of the Fifth Sun—Nanahuatzin becomes the solar body¹³—but more central (and certainly recorded earlier by the Spanish) is the formation of the earth in that final creation, when Tezcatlipoca and Ehecatl steal Tlaltecuhli from her mother and split her body, using half of it to form the earth. Some prayers to Tezcatlipoca recorded by Sahagún invoke Tlaltecuhli not just as the earth but as the sun itself.¹⁴ Tlaltecuhli is generatrix, the sun, and the looming destroyer of the world on 4 Ollin. In her skull-and-crossed-bones skirt, Tlaltecuhli both symbolized the birth of the era and threatened its end, requiring that she be compressed and kept from view, confined to the undersides of monuments.

Aztec midwives called out to Tlaltecuhli, as well as to Cihuacoatl and Quilaztli,¹⁵ and I would propose that they share common origins and practice in Goddess O—midwife, giver of life, and aged impending destroyer of the world itself. Jeanette Peterson has also drawn attention to the role of Cihuacoatl as a “shield woman,” or warrior, and noted that Doña Marina, the famous translator for Cortés, acts out this woman’s warrior role.¹⁶ To review Malinche (as she is often called) here would be another far-flung adventure, but let me just add that Bernal Díaz long ago noted she came from Paynala—what most have tried to interpret as a toponym; another source notes that her mother is said to be “Cimatl,” clearly a corruption of Cihuacoatl. But just think of these as supernatural parents: Painal names an aspect of Huitzilopochtli, the chief Aztec deity, and Cihuacoatl an aspect of the raped earth. In this, Marina unites the most important emerging gods of the Mexica, and she may well have attempted to exploit this as the speaker—and perhaps impersonator—of a new religion, as well as the embodiment of the end of 4 Ollin. In short, the Aztec goddesses who share some aspects of their identities with Goddess O penetrate into the early colonial period.

Compared to the Aztec examples, Goddess O may seem to be a minor figure in Maya art, but this may be a function of sources, and especially the absence of a source like Father Sahagún’s Florentine Codex, which treats so many aspects of Aztec life. The Birth Vase, published only recently, doubled the number of examples of her representation, otherwise limited to three examples on pots and a handful of codex images. Although identifiable Maya gods are relatively rare among Jaina figurines, there are probably a dozen or more examples of Goddess O, which may tell us something about the interred with whom these figurines were offered or the context in which Goddess O might appear—that is, *not* in state art, and associated with women, of whom little is generally known for the era of the Conquest.¹⁷

Of Goddess O and her shrines, we know much less than of the goddesses in Central Mexico. Nevertheless, she is the one deity that the Spanish particularly noted among the Maya of the Caribbean coast on Isla Mujeres and Cozumel. At the time of the Spanish invasion, on his voyage with Juan de Grijalva, Bernal Díaz made note of both places. Regarding Isla Mujeres, he observed “farms and maize plantations, and

some places where the Indians made salt, and houses of their idols . . . nearly all of them with figures of tall women.”¹⁸ Cortés added the cult of Christianity’s most important woman when he ordered installation of the Virgin Mary in a Cozumel shrine (and placed a cross atop the building).¹⁹ Little survives on either island, as Gillett and I discovered when we drove around looking for piles of rock on Cozumel in 1976; Isla buildings were destroyed in the colonial period, and twentieth-century development left little on Cozumel. Late-nineteenth-century photographs and a drawing (fig. 5) of Cozumel document a sculpture of a woman in childbirth, although scholars of ancient Mexico could not decipher the imagery at the time. William Henry Holmes published the best image and described it as a “large, ape-visaged figure . . . possibly the only representative, so far as discovered, of the idolatrous sculptures so

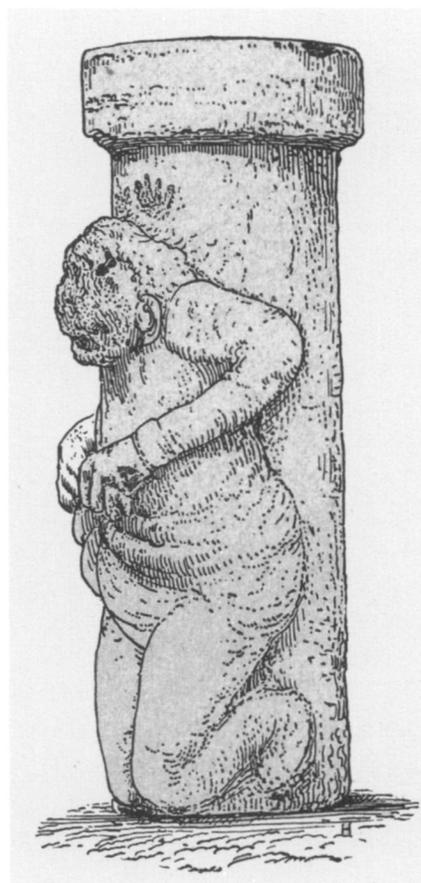


Figure 5. Woman in childbirth carved on a column at San Miguel, Cozumel (drawing: William H. Holmes).

generally cast out of the temples by the Spaniards.”²⁰ Even the Spanish accounts noted above emphasize the importance of the shrines to women; they may have been particularly effective for those who sought assistance in becoming pregnant. Why go to a shrine? We can think of it as a fertility clinic: according to today’s statistics, approximately one-third of all fertility problems can be attributed to the male partner. Seeking an alternate male partner could jeopardize a woman’s reputation at home. But visiting a shrine known for working miracles, or the process of leaving home and going on a journey in the company of other pilgrims, may have introduced another male partner. In short, with the introduction of a new male partner, female fertility shrines probably worked about a third of the time. Such a percentage would have validated the effectiveness of the shrines of Cozumel and Isla Mujeres.

THE PIRATE FLAG

Although the carved pillar was left standing in the Cozumel building, all other sculptures had vanished by the twentieth century. Abandoned by the Maya when the inhabitants were overcome by early waves of disease, both Cozumel and Isla Mujeres by 1571 had become the domains of Caribbean pirates who staged attacks on Campeche and Veracruz. French, Dutch, and English pirates all seized Cozumel at one time or another; by 1650, the Spanish had given up any attempt to govern the Caribbean coast of Yucatan.²¹ What became of Goddess O and her cult? Little survives that would tell us how the pirates used the islands; their principal concern may have been to collect fresh water, and they may have been able to harvest honey from what was once a thriving honeybee industry. They surely explored any ancient buildings, cenotes, and caves, and the very name on charts, *Isla de Mujeres*, as it was written, might have alerted pirates to the traditional worship on the islands, long abandoned and deserted. They would have found stone and probably wooden sculptures, and possibly the ritual costumes associated with Goddess O and her cult, especially in dry, sheltered locations. What would a pirate have made of such trappings, particularly the skirt? Could it have been considered to be a banner?

Flags and banners figure prominently in early colonial imagery: Cortés marched under the banner of Our Lady of Guadalupe; the Hapsburg double-headed eagle waves over the first published image of Tenochtitlan in 1524; the Codex Azcatitlan depicts bright red banners flying atop Cortés’s ships.²² Pirate ships flew many sorts of flags—often a very long banner or pennant from the uppermost mast, as well as flags of conventional dimensions from both fore and aft, and with one typically from the bowsprit, depending on the nature of the ship, since pirates sailed whatever vessel had come into their possession—schooner, sloop, bark, or brigantine. The ship *Jesus of Lübeck*, the largest of the fleet captained by John Hawkins, English pirate and mentor of Francis Drake, in 1567–68 (sank 1568), flew many banners and flags, and fortunately, an image of it survives.²³ Until 1700, and in many cases, until 1800, pirate vessels flaunted national flags, attesting to the political motivation that played a role in piracy.

Of all the pirate flags and banners ever flown, the Jolly Roger has become the pirate icon, symbolizing disregard for state authority, the fleeting nature of human life and wealth, and the promise of death. Walt Disney tempered its message when he introduced a theme-park ride in 1967 that later became the basis of the hit film *Pirates of the Caribbean*, a moderating process that may have begun with N. C. Wyeth’s romantic images for Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Treasure Island*. The French phrase *jolie rouge* (suggesting spilled blood) originally referred to an all-red pirate banner that indicated no quarter would be given—in short, that all captives would be killed. David Cordingly has pointed to a passage by Basil Ringrose, an English pirate whose diary was published by Dutchman Alexandre O. Exquemelin as an appendix to his own firsthand accounts of a life of piracy, in which Ringrose describes many flags and banners seen in 1680, including the red flag. Although the flags are colorful and frequently feature weapons, including swords and pistols, none would seem to be the Jolly Roger.²⁴ But by 1724 at the latest, the term had jumped to the flag or banner of white skull and bones on black ground; this “jolly roger” flag indicated that quarter would indeed be granted to the yielding ship.²⁵

Various origins have been suggested for the flag’s imagery of skull and crossed bones. Skulls long formed a

part of Christian imagery that underscored human mortality, or what is usually called the *memento mori*, a concept to be juxtaposed with that of eternal life and redemption. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Albrecht Dürer, like other artists of his day, included the skull at the base of the cross in his woodcuts of the Crucifixion; his Saint Jerome meditates on a skull. Grave markers included skulls; in early New England, many skulls are winged, emphasizing the fleeting nature of life. Ship captains ticked off the dead in their logbooks by drawing a small skull beside their names.²⁶

Pirates operated outside society, outside religious belief in many cases, but not outside their own times. In a world where few lived past forty years of age, most pirates were young but keenly aware of death's power and proximity. The Jolly Roger often featured weapons and an hourglass, symbols also common to the age of Dürer, and to depictions of the Sacraments and to the Stations of the Cross. Surely these pirates, of both Catholic and Protestant origins, were familiar with all these images. But why put them on a flag?

Let us look for a moment once again at the skirt of Goddess O. We see only images of it from before the Spanish invasion, and these depictions are in themselves at very small scale. But the skirt itself, like the skirt of any well-dressed woman, would have been what is called today a *corte*, a long untailored piece of fabric. *Cortes* are measured today in Guatemala in *varas*, an archaic Spanish measure roughly equal to the yard; none is less than 6 *varas* in length and few exceed 8 *varas*, or 20 to 25 feet, and an approximate width of 3 feet. If European pirates in the seventeenth century had discovered even a scrap of such a piece of cloth, with white

skulls and crossed bones standing out against a red or black ground, what would they have done with it? Although various theories have been floated for the emergence about 1700 in the Caribbean of the banner known today as the Jolly Roger, it is worth considering that a pirate may have recovered Goddess O's skirt with its distinctive skull and crossed bones and then run it up the mast. Once seen, the iconography surely would have had resonance with all the skeletal imagery familiar to pirates in both fact and illustration: it may seem as if the iconography *found* the pirates, illuminating their own nature to themselves. Inadvertently, such acts linked pirates of the Caribbean to women warriors of the Maya past. Princeton's Goddess O (fig. 1) may live on as the symbol par excellence of the rogue pirate existence outside conventional society.

Gillett Griffin taught me to look, and I suppose my thoughts about pirates and Goddess O only remind me that looking never stops, and that things examined deserve reexamination. Gillett launched me on this path. When I was a senior at Princeton thirty years ago, with reliable advice from the department's undergraduate adviser, Bob Bergman, I applied for a Fulbright to Mexico, and when I stepped off the Braniff 747 a year later, I stayed in Mexico for more than a year. There are a lot of things I did not accomplish that year, but I did take time everywhere to look, and from time to time, to really see. In a completely different sense, I, too, went on an unexpected journey. Working on *Jaina Figurines* in 1975 changed my life, and I am grateful to write three decades later and get the subject a little more right.

NOTES

1. Laurette Séjourné, *Burning Water: Thought and Religion in Ancient Mexico*, trans. Irene Nicholson (New York, 1956); Arthur Miller, *Mural Painting of Teotihuacán* (Washington, D.C., 1973).
2. Michael D. Coe, *Mexico* (New York, 1962) and *The Maya* (New York, 1966); Miguel Covarrubias, *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America* (New York, 1957).
3. William Sanders and Barbara Price, *Mesoamerica: The Evolution of a Civilization* (New York, 1968); Eric Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago, 1959); Sylvanus G. Morley, *The Ancient Maya* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1946); John Eric Sidney Thompson, *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing*, 3d ed. (Norman, Okla., 1971).
4. Augustus Le Plongeon, *Queen Moo and the Egyptian Sphinx* (New York, 1896); Elizabeth P. Benson, *The Cult of the Feline* (Washington, D.C., 1972).
5. Peter Furst, "West Mexican Tomb Art as Evidence for Shamanism in Prehispanic Mesoamerica," *Antropología* 15 (1965): 29–80.
6. Michael D. Coe, *The Maya Scribe and His World* (New York, 1973).
7. *Popol Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Ancient Quiche Maya*, trans. from the Quiche by Adrian Recinos; trans. from the Spanish and ed. Delia Goetz and Sylvanus G. Morley (Norman, Okla., 1950).
8. Mary Ellen Miller, *Jaina Figurines: A Study of Maya Iconography* (Princeton, 1975).
9. Karl Taube, *Major Gods of Ancient Yucatán* (Washington, D.C., 1992).
10. *Ibid.*, 105.
11. Karl Taube, "The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya Myth and Ritual," in *The Maya Vase Book*, vol. 4, ed. Barbara Kerr and Justin Kerr (New York, 1994), 652–85.
12. Taube, *Major Gods*, 103–5; Elizabeth Boone, "Coaticues at the Templo Mayor," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 10 (1999): 189–206; Cecelia F. Klein, "Devil and the Skirt: An Iconographic Inquiry into the Pre-Hispanic Nature of the Tzitzimime," *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11 (2000): 1–26.
13. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: A General History of the Things of New Spain*, vol. 7, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe, 1952), 44–52.
14. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: A General History of the Things of New Spain*, vol. 6, trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble (Santa Fe, 1969), 172.
15. *Ibid.*, 162, for example.
16. Jeanette Favrot Peterson, "Lengua o diosa?: The Early Imaging of Malinche," in *Chipping Away on Earth: Studies in Prehispanic and Colonial Mexico in Honor of Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble*, ed. Eloise Quiñones Keber (Lancaster, Calif., 1994) 187–202.
17. Nevertheless, these links between a clawed and snaky Goddess O and the clawed and snaky Mexican goddesses raise another question: how is it that what often seems to be a Classic Maya ideology manifests itself in Tenochtitlan? Perhaps our knowledge of Central Mexico from 900 to 1400 is simply too fragmentary, but I note several other examples here, in the hope of further conversation about the reuse of iconography and the transmission of belief systems: the Jaguar God of the Underworld's cruller turns up on Tlaloc after 1455; Hun Hunahpu's woven garments may be those worn by Xilonen, also a maize deity.
18. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, trans. Alfred P. Maudslay (London, 1908), 104.
19. Hernan Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, trans. Anthony Pagden (New Haven and London, 1986), 18.
20. Holmes also noted red handprints painted on the body; these could be the hands of the midwife, assisting in the delivery. He may well have been completely unfamiliar with the practice and posture of birth, writing, "So far as I can see, no particular significance can be attached to the position" (William H. Holmes, "Archeological Studies among the Ancient Cities of Mexico," *Field Columbian Museum Publication 8, Anthropological Series*, vol. 1, no. 1 [1895]: 65).
21. Samuel K. Lothrop, *Tulum* (Washington, D.C., 1924), 24.
22. *Códice Azcatitlán*, ed. Michel Graulich (Paris, 1995).
23. Kris E. Lane, *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500–1750* (Armonk, N.Y., 1998), 37–40.
24. David Cordingley, *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life among the Pirates* (New York, 1997), 117–18.
25. *Ibid.*, 116–17.
26. *Ibid.*, 116.