

MEXICAN SYMBOLS IN THE CLASSIC ART OF THE SOUTHERN MAYA
LOWLANDS

By

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Thesis

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INTRODUCTION

Many writers on Maya art now recognize that during the Early Classic (A.D. 250-550) there was an influx of Teotihuacan art symbols into the southern Maya lowlands. Most Mesoamericans hold that this influence virtually ceased during the early Late Classic after Teotihuacan collapsed sometime in the 7th or 8th century. Another influx of Mexican motifs on the late Late Classic and early Post-Classic is recognized for certain frontier sites such as Seibal, but this entrada is thought to be unconnected with earlier movements. Finally, a massive Post Classic spread of Mexican Toltec art into Yucatan is a well-accepted fact, but this expansion of Mexican influence is thought to be confined to post-1000 A.D. Each of these four entradas is considered a separate event originating from a different geographical area of Mexico.

Those who recognize the Early Classic entrada expand their view with two further statements. The first is that the style and form of the Early Classic art imports was so like that of Teotihuacán that they were directly inspired by that foreign city (University Museum 1960:1), (Disselhoff & Linne 1960: 110-111), (Marquina 1964: 1004- 1006), (W. Coe 1965: 33- 37, 1966, 1967: 98-102), (Willey 1966:125), and (Sejourne 1966A: 78-79). The second is that, perhaps these imported symbols were foreign, they were not assimilated into the mainstream of Maya art.

A study of all the art of Classic Teotihuacan and that of the southern Maya lowlands, and a survey of the art styles of Izapa, Kaminaljuyu, Monte Alban, Xochicalco, Tula, and Yucatan show rather that: 1) the influx of Teotihuacanoid motifs during the Early Classic was considerably more than generally thought; 2) in the Late Classic this influence continued unabated and even became stronger; after the fall of Teotihuacan, Tula and Xochicalco inherited its art tradition and maintained the close contact between the great civilizations of Central Mexico and that of the southern Maya lowlands; 3) the third wave during the late Late Classic was a rapid intensification of an almost continuous contact; and 4) this latter wave flowed smoothly into the fourth and final onslaught of Mexican influence when the Toltecs conquered the Maya of Yucatan.

With respect to the two supplementary beliefs, this study will demonstrate that it is because Teotihuacan and later Mexican art symbols did become integrated with Maya forms that so many of the former have been overlooked. At least four specific reasons can be found explaining why both Early and Late Classic examples of Mexican art in the Maya area have gone

unrecognized. Finally, a detailed comparison between the Teotihuacan art at Teotihuacan and the Supposedly Early Classic "Teotihuacan art" in the Maya region shows that almost none of the latter is pure Teotihuacan in either style or form; they are foreign but not Teotihuacan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. William Coe of the Tikal Project for giving me permission to use and quote from his unpublished 1966 paper entitled: Cultural Contact Between the Lowland Maya and Teotihuacan as Seen from Tikal, Petén, Guatemala. To Professor George Kubler, Dept. of History of Art, Yale University, I owe my present interest in Teotihuacan art and continued support for my studies. To Arthur Miller, instructor in the same department, I owe my gratitude for suggestions and constructive criticism during all the stages of this paper. I also wish to acknowledge the assistance and contributions of Dr. James Deetz, Brown University, my Thesis Advisor. To Ian Graham I owe special thanks for his generous permission to use his unpublished drawing of Yaxha Stella 11.

After I had finished my research, I benefited from a discussion on late Late Classic influence from Jerry Sabloff, of Harvard University. We have both independently arrived at similar general conclusions about the relation between late Maya art and the art of Toltec Yucatan.

PART I

THE METHOD: ELEMENT AND MOTIF ANALYSIS

For the purposes of this paper, art is painting or carving on wood, stone, and pottery.

In order to recognize Teotihuacan art in the Maya lowland it is essential to understand Teotihuacan art as it occurred at Teotihuacan itself. Aside from the obvious trade pieces, many of the art symbols at Teotihuacan were for foreign origin and some were pan-Mesoamerican symbols which occurred in most of the regional art styles. For this reason, there is a distinction between Teotihuacan Art and art at Teotihuacan. Kan Crosses were used throughout Mesoamerica, but they occur in specific and different contexts in each of the regional art styles. Although so-called "Tlaloc" figures occur at Teotihuacan (Figs. 6 and 7), Veracruz, Monte Alban, and in the Maya area (Figs 54, e), on the basis of their particular style and context, art historians are able to distinguish among the regional styles and can recognize the ultimate temporal and geographical origin of this design. No matter where some of the art forms at Teotihuacan came from, at Teotihuacan they were treated in a distinct and easily recognizable fashion. It is probable that such simple forms as the double outline "goggle-eye" had been independently invented in several locations. However, the chances that their whole complicated context (such as in a Tlaloc figure) was independently invented in three other adjoining areas are slim.

The first step in this study was to gather together all published examples of Classic art at Teotihuacan, a task approximately 95% completed. Each of these published illustrations was Xeroxed once. The Xerox copy was placed by itself on a single legal-size sheet of paper. All the approximately 500 illustrations found were so prepared. Then all the illustrations were cataloged according to the author in whose book they occurred. Thus, in a binder under Sejourne 1966A (the Main Catalog) there is one page with a Xeroxed illustration for each of the several hundred significant illustrations in that book. This and other binders contain similar sets for all the published illustrations in Von Winning, Caso, etc. The books consulted are listed in the Bibliography.

After a corpus, approximately 500 published examples had been Xeroxed (those illustrations which were well drawn, complete, or contained a large number of symbols) a study was made to determine the nature of art at Teotihuacan – both the style and the symbols.

Comparing several Teotihuacan representations of any similar type (e.g. goggle-eyed “Tlalocs” of Figs. 6 and 7,a) it appeared that each figure was composed of a finite number of symbols. The symbols were easy to identify and segregate one from another because they were predominately stylized representations of things in the natural world: plants, animals, shellfish, etc., or were easily distinguishable depictions of physical, inanimate objects, the various parts of attire, architecture, etc. Lines were primary geometric and simple. There was a noticeable lack of lines used to fill in spaces. The art was rigid and for any given motif there was little variation from figure to figure.

These Teotihuacan goggle-eyed personages (Figs. 6 and 7, a) and other Teotihuacan figures (Figs. 52 and 53) may be compared to Teotihuacanoid figures at Monte Alban (Figs. 26, a; 48, a; 49, a-d; and 50, a-b). Even where the Zapotecs have obviously copied Teotihuacan themes, the style and some of the motifs are different. Zapotec style is more fluid and contains many distinctive motifs which are not found at Teotihuacan.

ELEMENTS AND MOTIFS

The clear definition of individual symbols, the consistent relationships among symbols in context, and their occasional but seemingly consistent and meaningful variation led me to wonder if each of the individual symbols might have its own meaning. This interpretation was strengthened when I noticed that some of the symbols which usually occurred bound into a limited context occurred elsewhere as isolated forms in their own right.

Thus, Teotihuacan Element 378 (see Appendix I) occurs in the context of a headdress (Figs. 6 and 7, a) but it also may be used alone (Fig. 7, b). It seems that small unit symbols had their own meaning, a meaning that could stand by itself, or could combine with those of other symbols to create another design, perhaps the same as, or perhaps different from the sum of its parts.

A hypothesis may be formed on the assertion that any given Teotihuacan mural or pottery design was created from a finite set of symbolic elements much as we form paragraphs from morphemes of words. The Maya could use their hieroglyphic system to express themselves visually; if a Teotihuacan wished to express something visually, he accomplished it through the vehicle we call art.

An Element is the smallest unit of drawing which has meaning. It is similar to a morpheme in linguistics, not an element of physics. Many Teotihuacan Elements (hereafter abbreviated TE) can be broken down into a

pattern of different lines. These lines may well occur in another element, but so far there is no evidence that any of them had any meaning by themselves.

A motif is a regularly occurring constellation of elements. Fig. 3 should make this distinction clear. The form in Fig. 3, looks like a shell. It comes from a water scene with wave forms and other shells (Sejourne 1966A: Fig. 38). This shell is not a simple element but a compound of elements, motif. Any one of its parts can occur on a large number of other shell motifs.

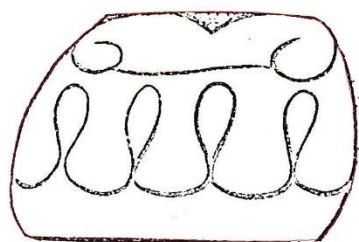
The elements are: TE 38: Curl-end on Shell, TE 32: Shell Oval, and a multiple of TE 1: Single, tear-shaped liquid drop. TE 38 is an independent element because it can occur on any non-conch shell. It is a bond element as it always comes on the top of a shell. In many shell motifs TE is stuck on in such a way that it looks almost like attire. Thus, although the form of TE 38 is undoubtedly derived from some natural feature of some species of shell, it has taken on an adjectival meaning, not necessarily the same as its natural function.

The same case may be made for TE 1 (Fig. 3, c). TE 1 occurs on a variety of shell types and in other non-shell situations. Although TE 32 is not a bound-element, it is an element because it can occur by itself (Fig. 3, g) and still have meaning, that of a shell outline.

The form of Fig. 3, a is a motif because it is not a representation of a single natural object, but is a form systematically constructed from bits and pieces of several natural forms. It is this method of construction that enabled the artists of Teotihuacan to construct their bird-jaguar-men and other such combinations. That there were so many composite life forms suggests that these combinations had some special meaning. Jaguar claws on a human added some quality. By making each element small, simple, and a clear copy of some natural feature, the Teotihuacanos were able to make a combination of various elements readable. It is extremely important to be able to recognize all the elements of a given Teotihuacan pictorial representation. When we look at a complicated figure such as those of Fig. 6 our Western eyes read and segregate only certain parts, those parts which coincide with Western categories.

One might suggest that by breaking down the pictures into elements of even motifs there is the danger of losing the forest for the trees. Although an element does have meaning by itself, particularly since it depicts some copy of abstraction of a natural object of feature, at no time does this study treat an element outside its proper context as part of a motif. For this study, elements are units of description.

This approach, a description of what was actually painted by the Teotihuacanos, contrasts with another approach used by art historians, the thematic study. Those favoring this latter method describe Teotihuacan mural as "ritualistic", depicting scenes of "paradise", expressing "movement", etc. They also attach stylistic labels such as "dynamic", "ornate", etc. Although these concepts may prove to be useful at a final level, they do not really tell us anything about what the Teotihuacan was doing or thinking when he painted the mural. By basing their observations and interpretations on a Gestalt view of the figure as a whole, such writers have fallen into an ethnocentric pitfall and are prone to make statements about meaning before they have read the entire text.



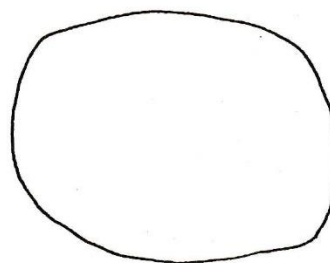
a



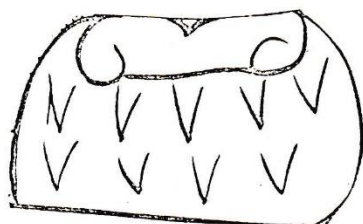
b TE 38



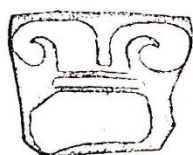
c TE 1



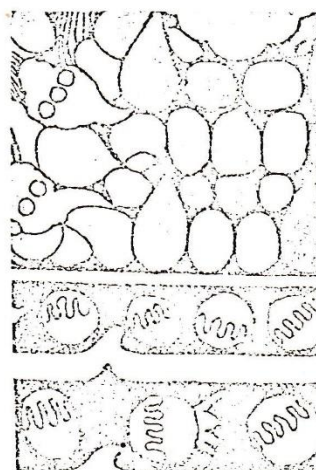
d TE 32



e



f



g

Fig. 3 Element vs Motif.

The Element List

Even when a student begins to read the actual Teotihuacan forms, his discussion of these forms is hindered by a lack of vocabulary. To help overcome this problem, a preliminary dictionary of Teotihuacan forms is appended to this study (Appendices I and II). There are approximately 400 elements listed in Appendix I. places have been left for new elements which may be contained in unpublished murals. When Mesoamericans finally decide what language the Teotihuacanos spoke, the elements can be rearranged into categories more closely approximating those of their makers. Appended to this eventual classification could be modern descriptive terms, based on our botany, zoology, etc. Such terms would be of assistance in comparative studies.

For the present, the elements and motifs are designated by archaeological "nonsense names", ie. names which the designator finds easy to remember and which purposefully need not bear any resemblance to the object named, nor always to commonly used Mesoamerican terms already applied to them. Some common terms, such as Tlaloc, have been retained, but they are used in a purely descriptive sense and imply no symbolic meaning (Kubler 1967: 12).

The Motif List

Motif, regularly occurring constellations of elements which formed the main visual portions of a complicated design, could stand alone or in combination with other motifs. When position may have altered the significance of a give element, the various positions get motif tags. Thus, TE 389 is a generalized hanging piece of attire. It occurred on headdresses and body attire, so each of these different positions receives a different motif number. The motif segregated and placed in the catalog are merely those which frequently occur. A chart of which elements were used with which other elements will eventually reveal the full range of motifs actually employed.

In the future it might be useful to create other, higher catalogues, such as Composite Figures, etc.

OTHER STUDIES OF A SIMILAR NATURE

It is a common archaeological practice to break painted design down into its constituent parts, but most analyses of Mesoamerican art to date have been at the motif level. Proskouriakoff has analyzed Maya art in terms of motifs, and indeed uses this word (1950: 2), but she favors the word "trait" (Ibid: 10).

The idea of a linguistic analogy, e.g. elements = morphemes, grew out of Kubler's description of Teotihuacan art in linguistic terms (1967). Our approaches differ in that his analogy was at the art historical level of "themes".

The list of elements and motifs of this paper grew from Kubler's table of "themes" (1967: 14-15) and from my work in Kubler's 1966 seminar on the Iconography of Teotihuacan at Harvard University. Several hundred elements and motifs have been added to his list and illustrations have been provided for most of them.

In his description of Uaxactun pottery, Robert Smith presents a useful list of "types of design" (1955, I: 62 -74). He divides the designs into abstract, naturalistic, conventionalized, and glyphic.

There are other studies of Mesoamerican art which have dealt with some of the problems covered in this paper, but I am indebted to the above three.

THE CATALOGS: The Main Teotihuacan Catalog

For each individual example of Teotihuacan art in the Main Catalog, beneath the Xeroxed copy of the published illustration, the full list of all the elements and motifs contained in the illustration is entered. For many Teotihuacan murals, this combined list approaches 70. Then, for each illustration, there are "X" number of additional Xerox copies made, one copy for each of the elements, and one copy for each of the motifs. Each of these copies is then entered into a Context Catalog under its Element of Motif number.

The Teotihuacan Context Catalog

There is a Context Catalog, with a total of about 600 sections, the combined total of the over 300 motifs and those elements which are not adequately covered by a small unit motif such as a sandal, where it would be repetitive to catalog all the sandal part. In each section, there is a Xerox copy of every depiction of this format at Teotihuacan. Thus, in the section for TM 258: Headdress Top Feather Mass, is a copy of each of the 35 examples of this form. Each of these copies is marked with the reference to author, illustration number, etc.

Because of the Xerox expense, the catalogs have not been completely finished. The Master Catalog has about 400-500 illustrations; the Context Catalog about 1,000 pages.

THE MAYA CATALOGS

Once I felt familiar with art Teotihuacan, both its content and its style, I went back to the library and searched for examples of Teotihuacan art at Monte Alban and the Maya area. This search brought out examples of Teotihuacanoid art in such unlikely places as a popular account of Wolfgang Cordan's adventures in the Lacandón jungle (Cordan 1964).

Much the same system of catalogs was employed for Mexican art in the Maya area as was employed for Teotihuacan art at Teotihuacan. As it was clearly out of the question to catalog all Maya art and work out all the Maya elements and motifs only those examples of art in the Maya area which had elements or motifs in common with those of Teotihuacan of Monte Alban were cataloged. Since Teotihuacan is virtually all one site, the Teotihuacan Main Catalog can be arranged by author. In the Maya area, there are hundreds of sites, so the Maya Master Catalog is arranged alphabetically by site (Appendix III).

The Maya Context Catalog is constructed and arranged just like its Teotihuacan counterpart. There are about 200 entries in the Master Catalog (including some questionable entries not included in Appendix III) and over 6000 pages in the Context Catalog.

CATALOGS FOR OTHER ART STYLES

The catalogs do not include all the art of Tula, Xochicalcan, and Monte Alban, but more relevant examples have been cataloged. The classic art of Veracruz has not been included at all.

THE USEFULNESS OF THE CATALOGS

Before the impact of Teotihuacan on Mexican art on a single Maya site can be meaningfully studied, we must have a general picture of the full range of impact over the whole of the Maya area, and its impact on cultures between Teotihuacan and the Maya area. The easiest way to mentally control such a vast corpus of data is through a catalog system. Eventually such information could be stored by computer.

Only once such system of catalogs is finished should we begin to grapple for the possible meaning of designs at either Teotihuacan or a Maya site. An interpretation of even a description of any given element of motif must be based on the total range of variation of that form and all the various context in

which it occurs. The form may have a specific “meaning” which is not apparent to us from just one example.

With the catalog, we can instantly compare the TM 282 (Popsicle) on Tikal Stela 31 with every other example of this form in the Maya area, at Kaminaluyu, Monte Alban, and Teotihuacan. Such an approach would eliminate the erroneous statement which have been made concerning the stylistic affinities of Tikal Stela 31.

PART II

MEXICAN SYMBOLS IN THE CLASSIC ART OF THE SOUTHERN MAYA LOWLANDS

This thesis hopes to establish and document several previously unsuspected factual points and then on these points to erect several hypotheses explaining them. There is a distinction between the points raised in this paper and the hypotheses based on them. The great wealth of data from current excavations and research at Tikal and Teotihuacan will provide new information. This new data will just add to the documentation of the points or increase their number. However, a wider range of facts may require a new and different hypothesis to encompass them all.

Each of the seven points of this paper conflicts with currently held statements of archaeological "fact". Thus, each point will be introduced by a published statement which is representative of present opinion. The introduction will be followed by data which contradicts the statements; data which is available in published sources, but which has been overlooked or misinterpreted. On the basis of this data, the point will be proposed.

POINT 1

TEOTIHUACAN PRESENCE DURING THE EARLY CLASSIC

The Teotihuacanization of Monte Alban III-A and Early Classic Lake Amatitlan and Kaminaljuyu in the Guatemala Highlands is a well-documented archaeological event. Here the manifestation of foreign influence of even domination are obvious and spectacular. Recently a few Mesoamericans have begun to realize that this phase of Teotihuacan expansion filtered into the southern Maya lowlands. However, the accepted belief is that Mexican ascendancy was not felt as strongly in the Maya lowlands as in the highlands, and that what little was felt was confined to the geographical environs of Tikal and the time span of the Early Classic.

Speaking of the Teotihuacan influence on the Guatemalan Highlands, Borhegyi writes:

A.D. 400-500 First Nahuatl (Teotihuacan- "Pipil") migration. This migration...came directly from the sacred city of Teotihuacan... They influenced but apparently did not migrate to the Tropical Rain Forest Area (1965: 39).

In his recent book on the Maya, M. Coe expresses current thoughts on Teotihuacan presence in the Maya rain forest area:

...major Maya centers were well established by the sixth century AD and even earlier. At this Teotihuacan domination is less easy, of even impossible, to demonstrate, and one can suppose that this was restricted to the Tikal Uaxactun area alone (1966: 86)

In fact, during the Early Classic there was a great wealth of Teotihuacan art symbols throughout the Maya area. Besides at Tikal and Uaxactun there was considerable Early Classic Teotihuacan influence in the art of Copan, Yaxha, and possibly at Nakum (see Appendix III). These Teotihuacan motifs have been missed for four reasons. First, even in studies specifically on Teotihuacan of Mexican influence in the Maya area (Ruz 1964) and (Reifler 1963) many conspicuous Teotihuacan motifs have been completely overlooked. Second, because the exact nature and full scope of Teotihuacan art is not widely understood, only the most spectacular Teotihuacan motifs have been recognized. Everyone can recognize a Tlaloc or other obvious Mexican symbol

such as a Yearsign, but these are only two motifs out of a possible four hundred or more.

A third reason why the full range of Teotihuacan symbols has not been recognized is that many of them became so incorporated into supposedly Maya art that they usually missed. Finally, because theory confines the Toltecs to the A.D. 1000-time range, undated sculpture which looks Toltec is considered late. The frieze at Acanceh, full of Mexican motifs, is an example of such a misinterpreted design. Only recently has Andrews shown that the structure dates to the Early Classic (1965: 296).

Research for this paper, a survey of all the published art of the southern Maya lowlands, shows that there are many more Teotihuacanoid motifs that have previously been recognized. Below is a list of some of the more obviously Mexican motifs in Early Classic context which have not generally been recognized by Mesoamericans.

UAXACTUN, DESIGN ON TZAKOL
SHERD

UAXACTUN, DESIGN ON TZAKOL
TRIPOD VESSEL

TIKAL, STELA 7

NAKUM, GRAFFITO IN STR. E (Design is stylistically Early Classic,
but date of the structure is unknown)

UAXACTUN, STELA 5 (Recognized as Mexican only by W.
Coe and Kubler)

UAXACTUN, MURAL IN STR. B- (Recognized as Mexican by W. Coe
XIII and Kubler, but not generally)

YAXHA, STELA 11 (Recognized as Mexican by W. Coe
and Kubler, but not generally)

On the following pages, illustrations of each of these designs will be presented. Listed alongside each design is a list of the Mexicanoid elements and motifs which the particular design contains. The numbers correspond to those in the catalogs of elements and of motifs in Appendices I and II. "ME" = Maya Element, "MM" = Maya Motif. The "M" means found in the Maya areas, not necessarily Maya by nature. In addition to the Mexicanoid forms, there may be some other traits singled out.

Because the particular designs singled out are so obviously Mexican. I will not present the full documentation of this fact, although occasionally there will be some Teotihuacan examples of the particular trait. The full

documentation is in the Teotihuacan Context Catalog, listed under the number of the traits.

Mexican traits

ME 149: "U"

ME 341: Rectangular eye outline

ME 432: Puff knee wear.

ME 433: Puff ankle wear.

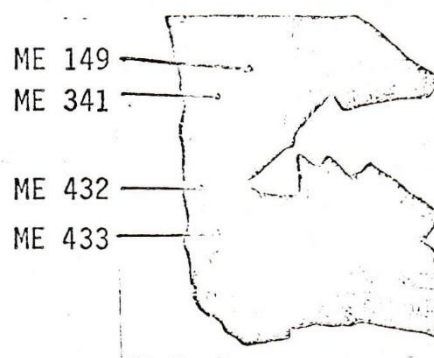


Fig. 4 Uaxactun, Tzako1.

The most Mexican elements of this figure are the "puff" knee wear and ankle. A similar type of leg-wear occurs on Uaxactun Stela 5 (Fig. 14), Uaxactun, Murals in Str. B-XIII (Fig. 16) and frequently at Tula and Toltec Chichen -Itza (Fig. 27b) and earlier on the El Baúl Stela.

The "U" design in the headdress is a common feature of Izapa, Kaminaljuyu, Zapotec, and Maya styles (Fig. 48). Most of the other traits of this figure are too pan-Mesoamericans to discuss in this paper.

Mexican trait

ME 378: Tau.

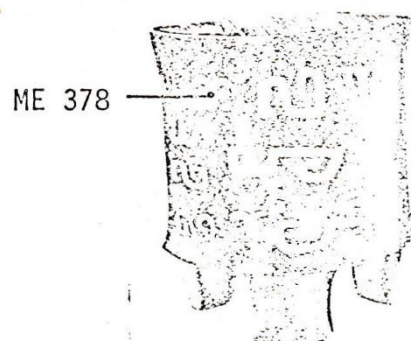
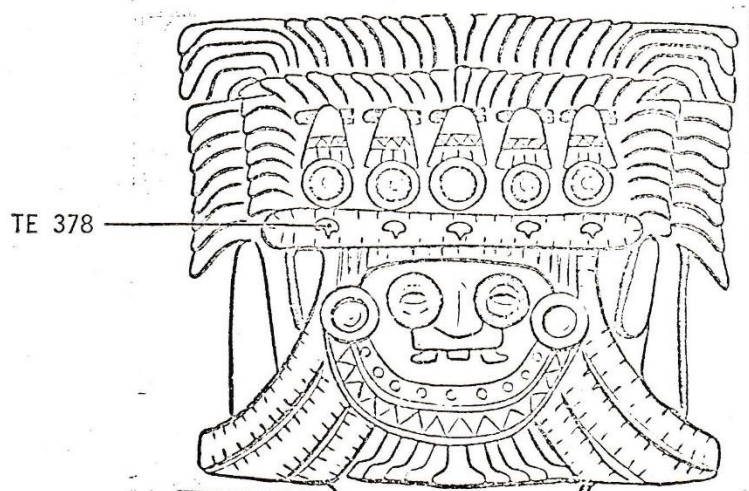


Fig. 5 Uaxactun, Tzako1.

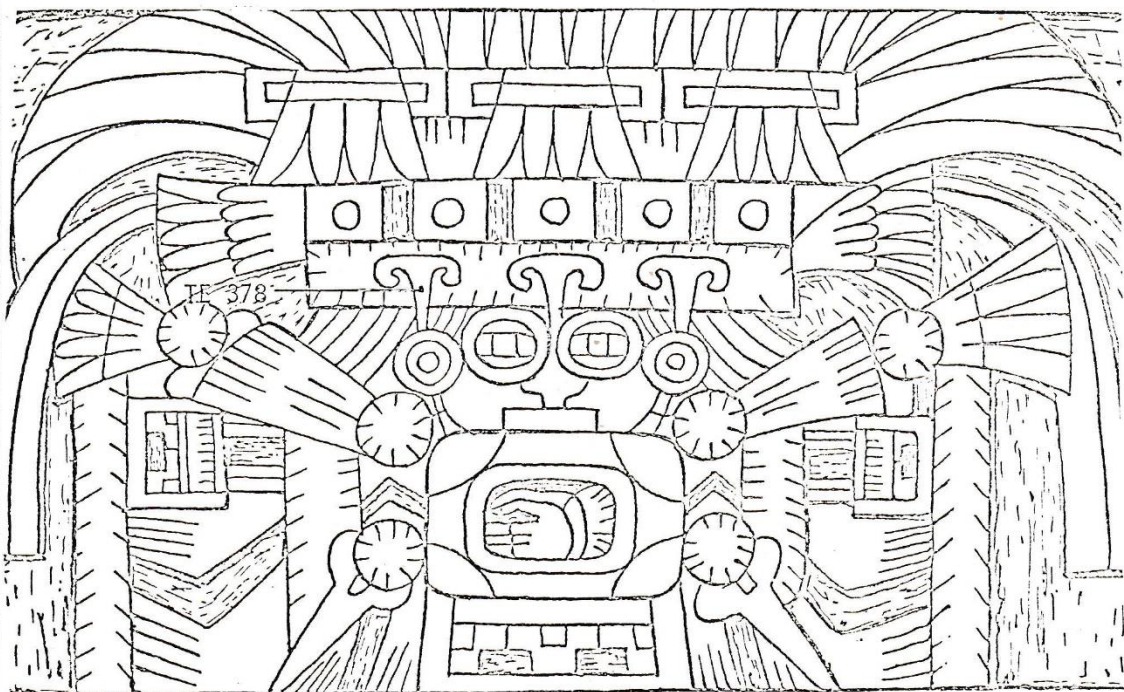
Another important trait

Sideways "S".

ME 378 is a characteristic feature early Tlalocs at Teotihuacan (Figs. 6 and 7) and Early Classic Tlalocs in the Maya area (Tikal Stelae 31 and 32). The Sideways "S" is the type of elements to be discussed under Point 5 (page 69). It may be of Maya origin (Smith 1995, I: 65) but it occurs with Mexicanoid traits on Naranjo Stela 19 (Fig. 8) and Tikal Temple II, Lintel 2 (Fig. 20).



a



b

Fig. 6 Early Classic Tlalocs at Teotihuacan, TE 378 in headdress.

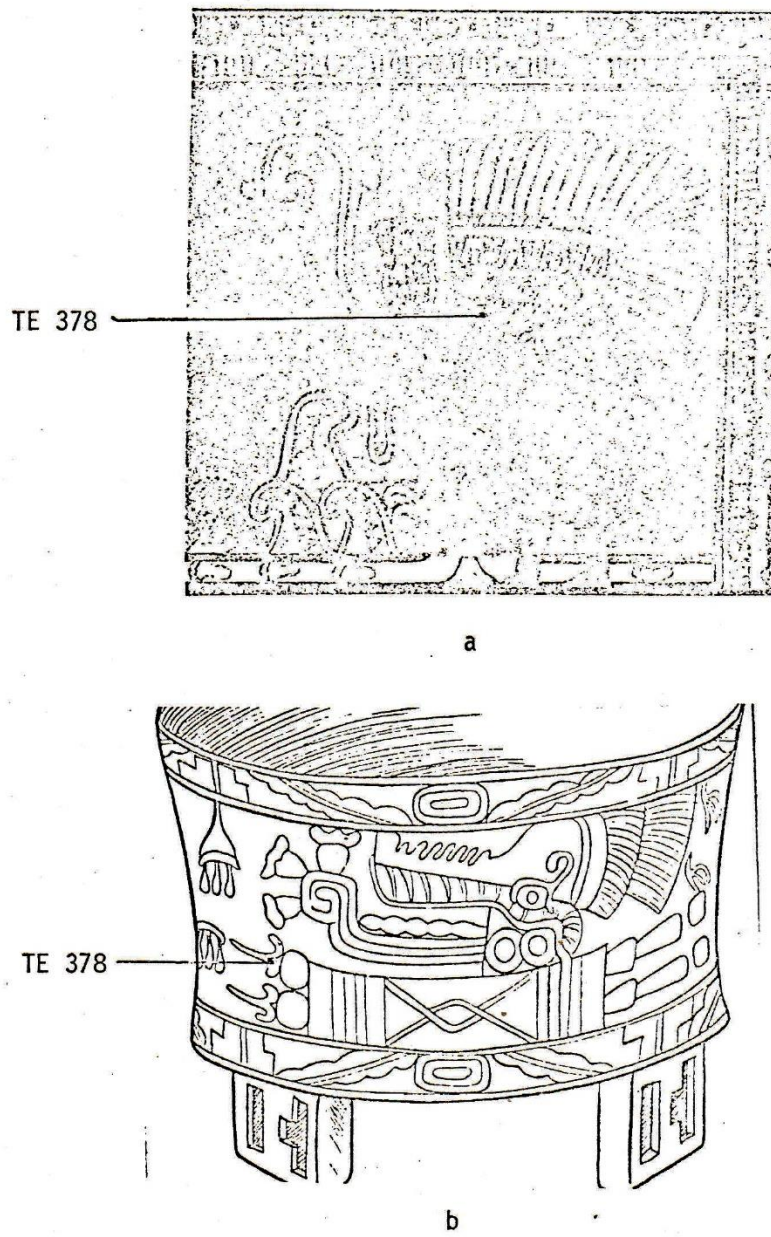


Fig. 7 TE 378 at Teotihuacan, Early Classic.

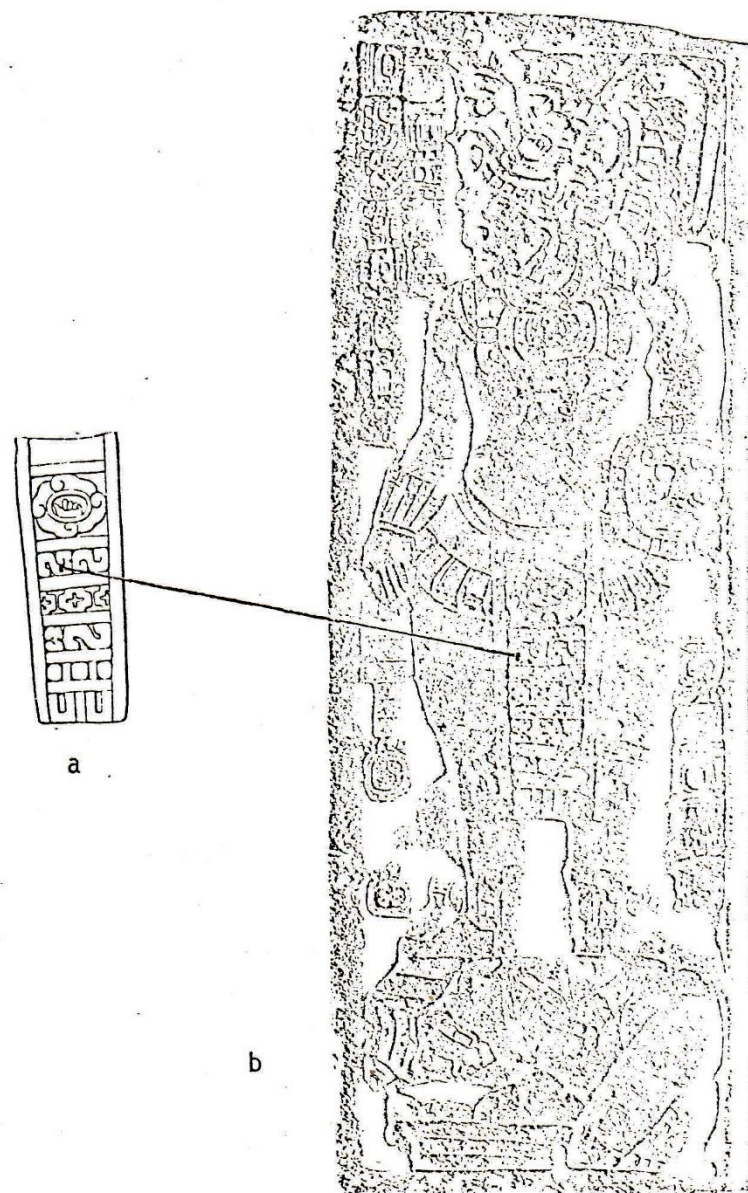


Fig. 8 Sideways "S" on a stela with Mexican traits, Naranjo Stela 19.

ME 397B

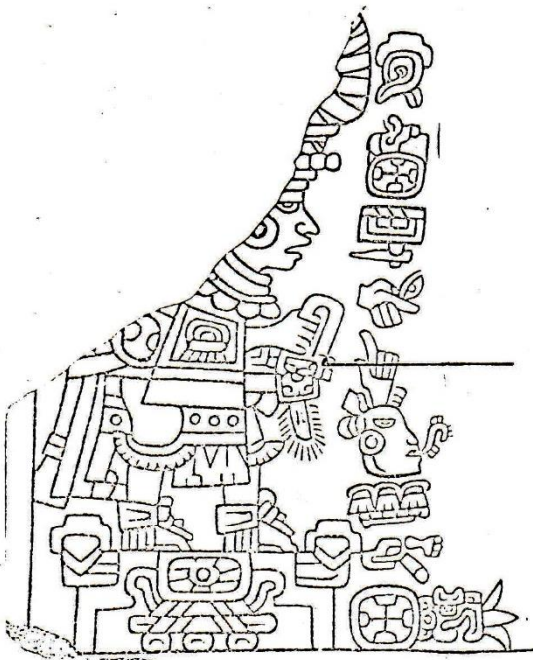
MM 374

Fig. 9 Tikal Stela 7,
9. 3. 0. 0. 0

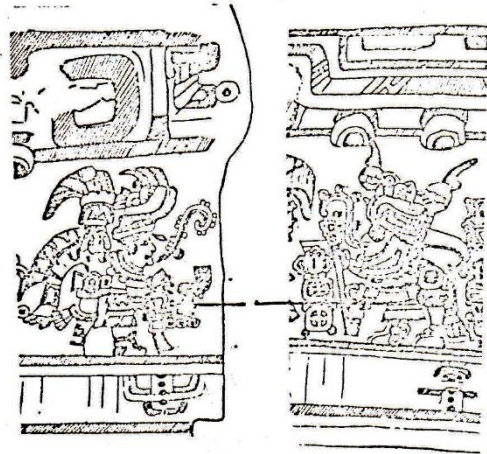




Fig. 10 Long handled Teotihuacan incense bag, at Las Colinas.

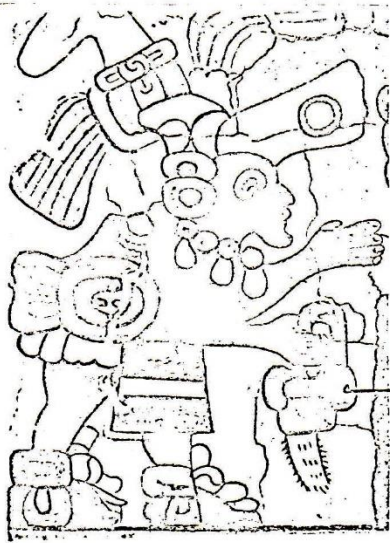


a The Bazan slab.

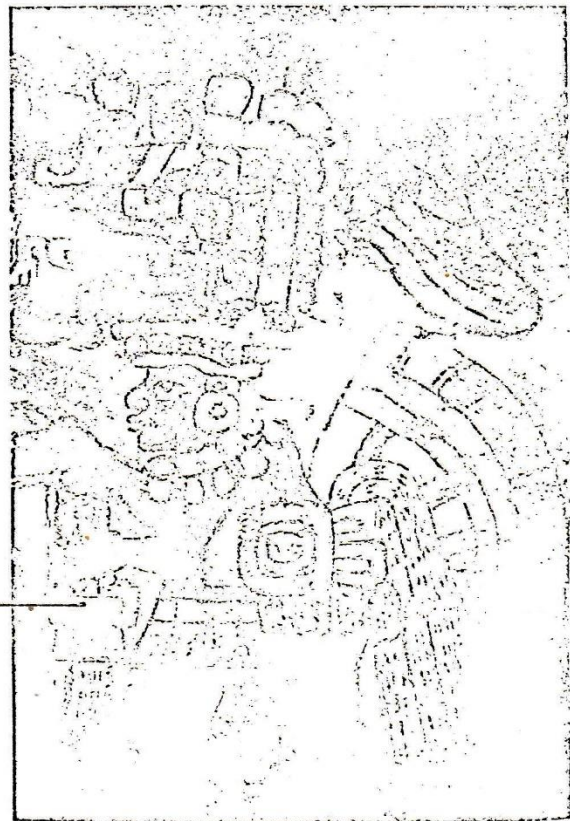


b Tomb 105.

Fig. 11 Long handled Teotihuacan incense bag at Monte Alban (III-A).



a



b

Fig. 12 Long handled Teotihuacan incense bag at Monte Alban, Tomb 104 (III-A)

Mexican traits

ME 122: "H" cross.

ME 178: Talud.

ME 179: One-piece tablero-talud.

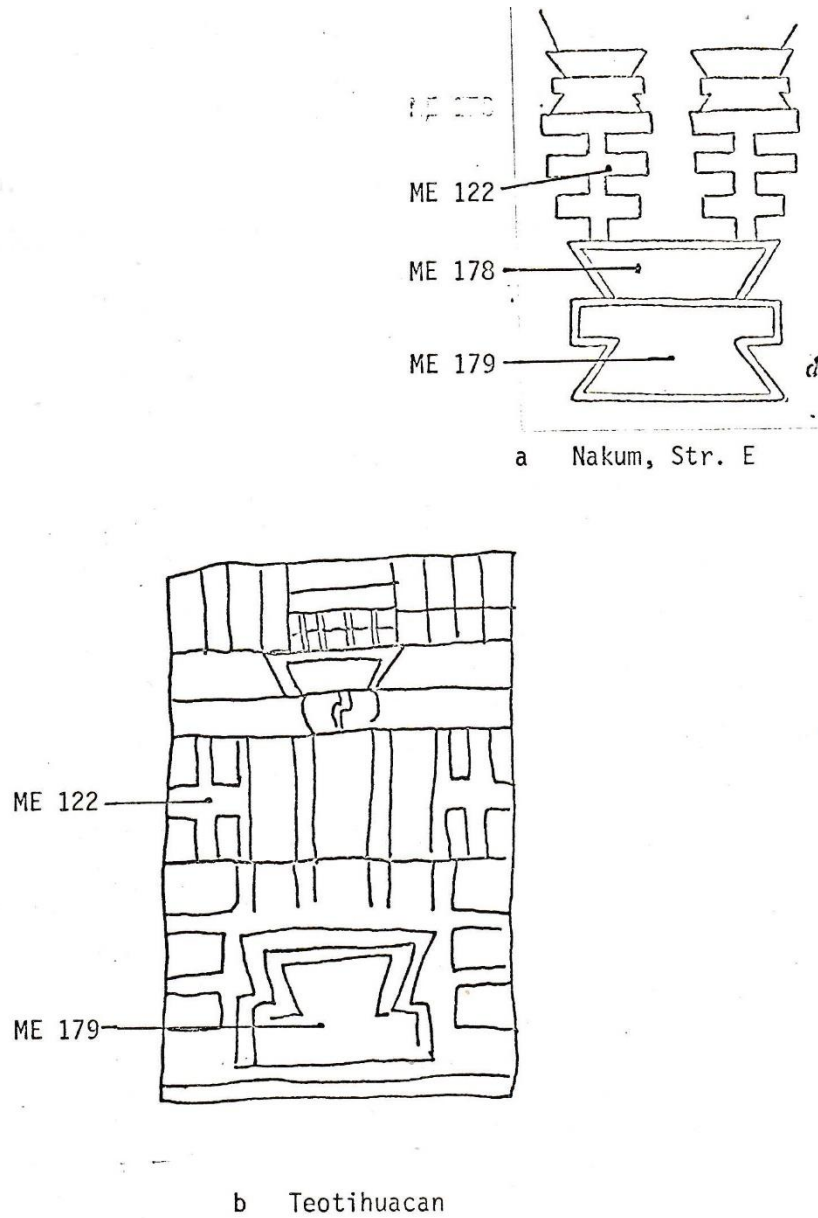


Fig. 13 Tablero-talud and "H" cross.

In addition to the previous examples of Early Classic influence which have not been mentioned as such in the literature, there are two important stelae and large mural which have been recognized as Mexicanoid by only a few Mesoamericans (Uaxactun Stela 5, Yaxha Stela 11, and Uaxactun, Str. B-XIII Murals).

Unfortunately, the two published photographs of Uaxactun Stela 5 are difficult to read (Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig. 38, a) and (Morley 1937-38, V: Fig. 60, a). The front of the stela is badly weathered. Proskouriakoff recognizes some of the Mexican traits (1950: 104) but she places it in Cycle 8 and does not accept it as an example of Teotihuacanoid influence in the Early Classic.

An element/motif analysis based on a detailed comparison of the traits of these stelae and the traits of art at Teotihuacan and in the southern Maya lowlands produces the following description of the Stela 5 design: Stela 5 is a good example of strong Teotihuacanoid influence in the Central Petén. It bears numerous specific similarities to other Early Classic Teotihuacanoid stelae and painting in the Maya lowlands. The faded remains of a goggle eye and back or tail feathers suggested that the figure may be similar to Tikal Stela 31, figures on Early Classic Kaminaljuyu pottery (Fig. 26c), and the figures in Mexican attire on Piedras Negras Lintel 2 (Fig. 25). The full figure bird on the headdress of Stela 5 is similar to full figure birds in the headdresses of a figure on Copan Altar Q (Fig. 18), Piedras Negras Lintel 2 (right hand figure), and figures at Tula and Toltec Chichen Itza. The thick-lipped mouth is typical of Mexican faces. The puff knee and ankle wear are similar to those on the left person of the Uaxactun Str. B-XIII murals (Fig. 16), as well as to later Toltec figures. A line drawing of this stela would undoubtedly reveal other Mexican features.

As W. Coe states, "no discovery appears more neglected in the literature than the Early Classic (?) Stela 11 at Yaxha" (1966: 3). Kubler has also mentioned that this stela depicted a Tlatloc (1966: pers. communication). Ian Graham has recently made a fine line drawing of this stela and kindly provided it for this study.

Jacinto Quirarte seems to be the only one who has recognized the Teotihuacan aspect of the Uaxactun murals (1968: 140).

It is interesting to note that at Teotihuacan TE 23 frequently occurs with warriors armed with spear throwers (Figs, 52, a and 53, b).

Mexican traits

ME 347: Thick lips.

ME 397A: Goggle eye, round

ME 432: Puff anklet.

MM 304: Full figure profile
bird in headdress

MM 342: Tail feathers.

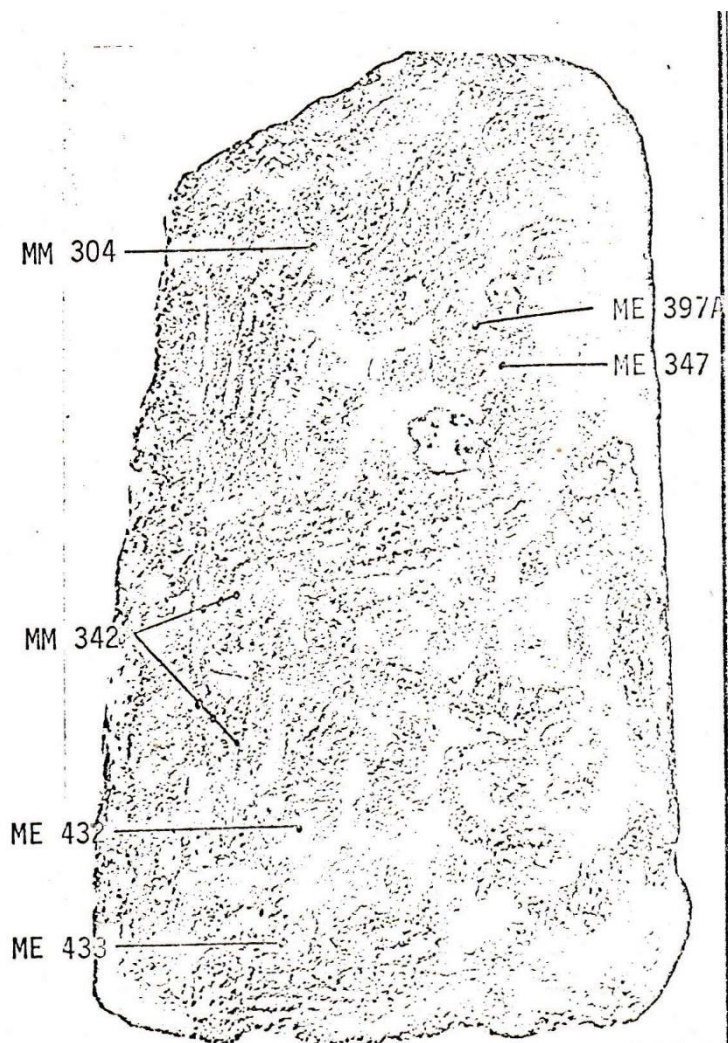


Fig. 14 Uaxactun Stela 5 (Early Classic)

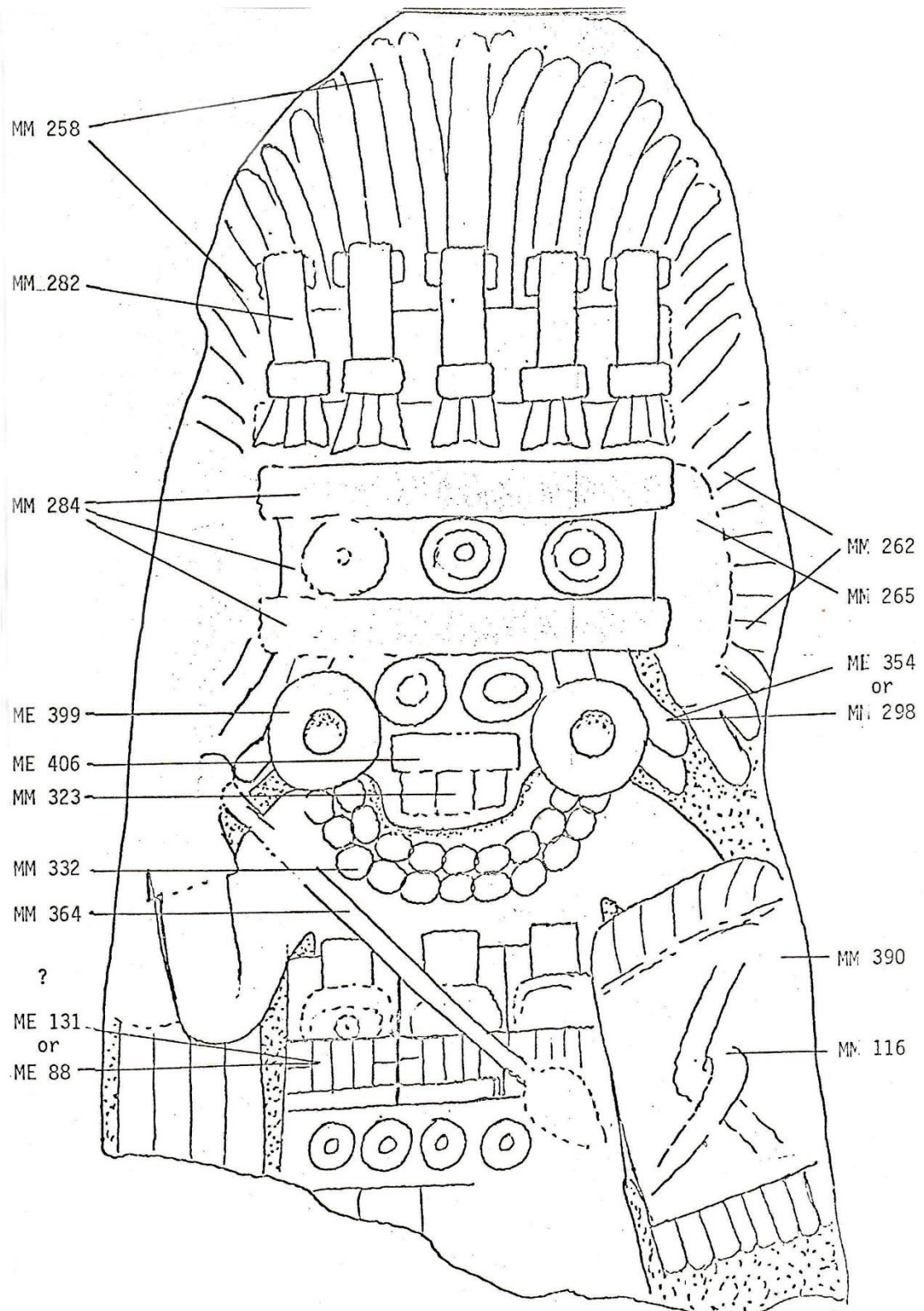


Fig. 15 Yaxha Stela 11 (Early Classic).

Mexican traits

ME 23: Leech.

ME 96: Kan Cross

ME 432: (Variety of) Puff kneeler

ME 433: (Variety of) Puff anklet

MM 83: Four petaled flower.

MM 230: Butterfly wing.

or

MM 237: Bird wing

MM 297: Upper headdress stole.

MM 356: Frontal "V" attire.

MM 361: Spear thrower

MM 374: Incense bag.

MM 391: Small round shield

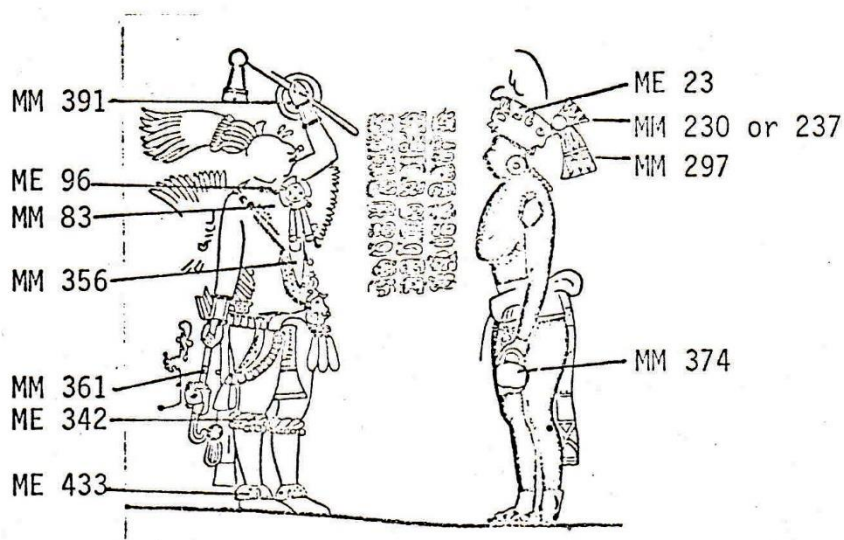


Fig. 16 Uaxactun, Murals in Str. B-XIII, (late Early Classic)

POINT 2

EARLY LATE CLASSIC MEXICAN INFLUENCE (9. 8. 0. 0. 0 to 9.10. 0. 0. 0)

Currently, most Mesoamericans hold that, although small amounts of Teotihuacan symbolism did enter the Maya lowlands during the Early Classic, this influence stopped abruptly with the fall of Teotihuacan and did not continue into the Late Classic. Opinion is that during the Late Classic, Maya art, final free from foreign influence, went on to achieve its greatness. Tiny amounts of Late Classic Mexican motifs are recognized by a few writers (Coe 1966: 2), (Thompson 1965: 358), and (Proskouriakoff 1950: 97) but they consider that these few traits were smothered by a completely Maya environment around them.

The majority of the evidence, however, belongs unquestionably to Early Classic times... and probably is contained within the fifth century A.D. (W. Coe 1966: 4).
...whatever may have been the true cause and nature of this (Early Classic Teotihuacan) influence, the Petén Maya do appear to have reasserted in the sixth and seven centuries their own values and went on to achieve their dramatically styled Late Classic civilization (Ibid.:2).

From approximately 9. 5. 0. 0. 0 (A. D. 534) to 9. 8. 0. 0. 0 (A. D. 593) there was a marked absence of dated stelae throughout most of the southern Maya lowlands (Thompson 1965: 343). Most suggest that this resulted from some aspect of Early Classic Teotihuacan influence on the Maya or more probably its sudden withdrawal by the fall of mighty Teotihuacan (Willey 1964: 152).

The presence of foreign artists and influence on hierarchical matters may be involved. Whatever the nature of the shock, however, Classic Maya civilization recovered with vigor...

...in the last half of the sixth century a serious crisis shook the Central Area. No more stelae were erected, and there is indication of widespread and purposeful mutilation of public monuments. It is not clear what all this means.

When the smoke clears, in the first decades on the seventh century, Classic Maya life is seen to have been reconstituted much as before... but Teotihuacan is no longer a factor in Maya civilization (M. Coe 1966:86).

Unfortunately, we do not yet know the exact date on which Teotihuacan fell and was burnt. It was anywhere from A.D. 600 to 800, depending on whom you read. The previous statements are based on an A.D. 600 date for the demise of Teotihuacan and on the faulty reasoning that if there is no more Teotihuacan there is no more Teotihuacan of Mexican influence. It is also based on the assumption that everything related to the Toltec must post-date at least A.D. 900.

However, Teotihuacan art and Mexican power did not die with Teotihuacan. Both passed on virtually intact to Tula and Xochicalco. Teotihuacan IV art blends in well with that on the latter two sites. Some will say that Teotihuacan art is the art of a peaceful theocracy and will compare this with the militaristic representations of the blood thirsty Toltecs. In fact, as we shall see later there are representations of warriors at Teotihuacan armed with spears, darts, shields, and spear throwers (see Figs. 52 and 53).

In actuality, Mexican influence on Maya art is present on the very first Late Classic stela, Lacanja Stela 7, dated 9. 8. 0. 0. 0 (Fig. 29). Mexicanoid forms continue to occur on Maya stelae throughout all of the southern Maya lowlands and throughout the full-time range of the Late Classic. There are more Mexican motifs on more stelae at more sites on the Late Classic than there were during the Early Classic. The same is true for Mexican motifs on pottery (see Appendix III for the full list, pages 119-127).

There are at least two reasons why all these Mexican traits have been overlooked. First, by definition they were not supposed to occur. Second, Teotihuacan art in the Early Classic Maya area occurs in a few large and spectacular instances, such as on Tikal Stela 32 and Yaxha Stela 11, etc. Here there are not only Mexican elements and motifs, but there is also a Mexican style to their expression. In the Late Classic, although Lacanja Stela 7, Aguateca Stela 2, and Piedras Negras Lintel 2 have more Mexican traits than Maya traits, these foreign elements and motifs are presented in a Maya style. In the Late Classic, foreign traits are well integrated with Maya motifs and are depicted on people with Maya physical characteristics. In this stylistic sense then, Proskouriakoff and others are correct when they speak on the "Mayaness" of Late Classic art, but we must be careful to keep in mind the foreign derivation of the forms of which the style is composed.

Between the Early and Late Classic there is continuity not only in a sequential sense, but also in the range of Mexican traits used. The warrior-with-a-tail of Early Classic Kaminaljuyu, Monte Alban, and Tikal (Figs. 26 and 27) continues to be a favorite motif and appears on the warrior figures of Piedras Negras Lintel 2 (Fig. 25).

Another motif which continues from the Early Classic is the Inverted “U” Forehead Piece (Fig. 17). The Bar-with-three-circles is a frequent forehead piece at Teotihuacan but it is always flat and never in a “U” shape. In the Maya area and at Toltec sites, the “U” shaped variation is favored.

The paired-goggles-between-a-bar (Fig. 17, a-c) in a headdress feather protrusion is another point of continuity between Early and Late Classic forms.

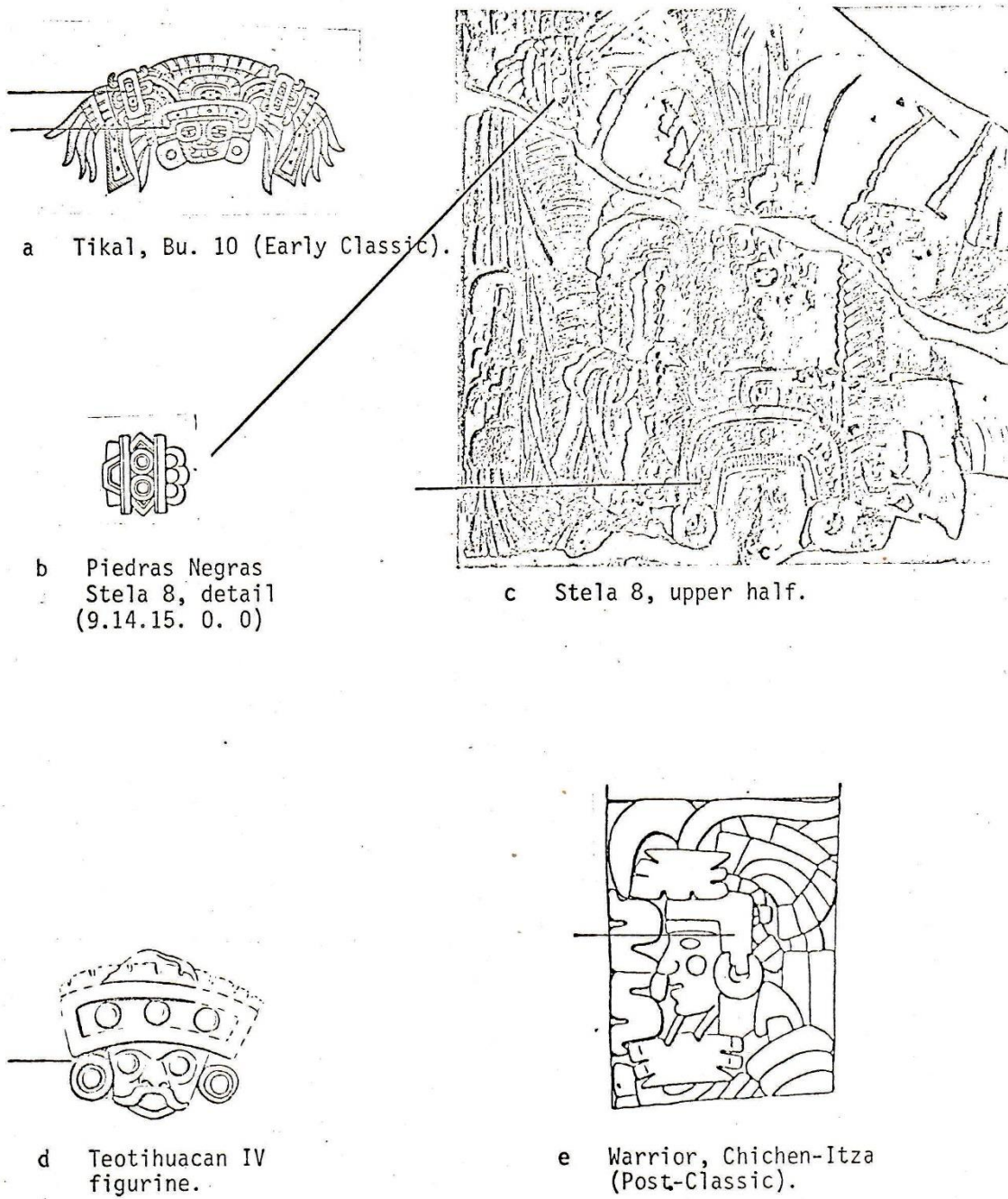


Fig. 17 Early to Late Classic continuity, Inverted "U" forehead piece.

There is of course difference between Mexican forms imported in the Early Classic and those imported during the Late Classic but this is the result of the natural evolution and stylistic changes of the art in Mexico. What the Mexicans had to bring in during the Late Classic (Teotihuacan IV forms) naturally differed from what they had to offer during the Early Classic (Teotihuacan III forms). Kubler has recognized this and points out similarities between Teotihuacan IV forms at Teotihuacan and Mexican traits in the Maya area (1967: 13).

Let us now look at some of the many examples of Late Classic art in the Maya area which contains Mexican traits. These will be presented in two sets, those Mexican designs which have been completely overlooked, and those which have been noticed but ignored.

COPAN, ALTAR Q

BONAMPAK, STELA 2

TIKAL, LINTEL 2 OF TEMPLE II

AGUATECA, STELA 2

DOS PILAS, STELA 16

BONAMPAK, STELA 3 (only one motif recognized as Mexican, it contains many)

TIKAL, GRAFFITO IN STR. 5D-65 (recognized as Mexican only by Tozzer)

PIEDRAS NEGRAS LINTEL 2 (only a single element recognized as Mexican)

Mexican traits

ME 397A: Round goggle

MM 304: Full figure profile
bird in headdress.

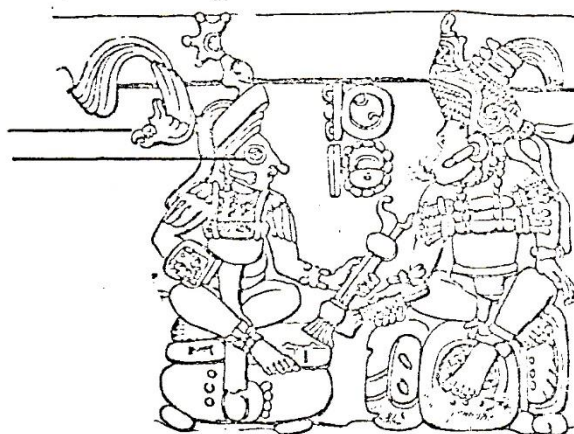


Fig. 18 Copan Altar Q

Mexican traits

ME 258: Serpent rattle

ME 397B: Google eye, squarish

MM 123: Year sing.

MM 223: Late Classic Tlaloc moth,
variety B

MM 374: Incense bag.

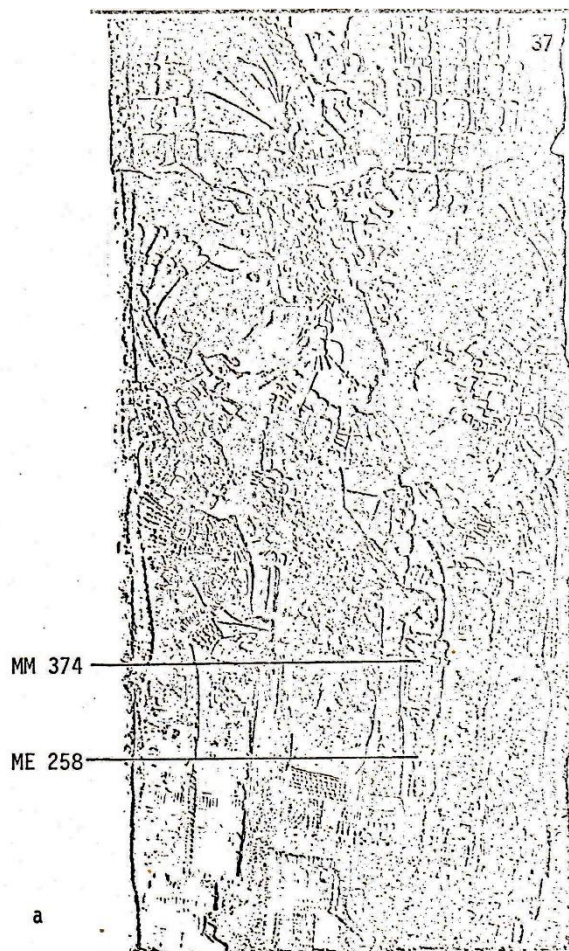
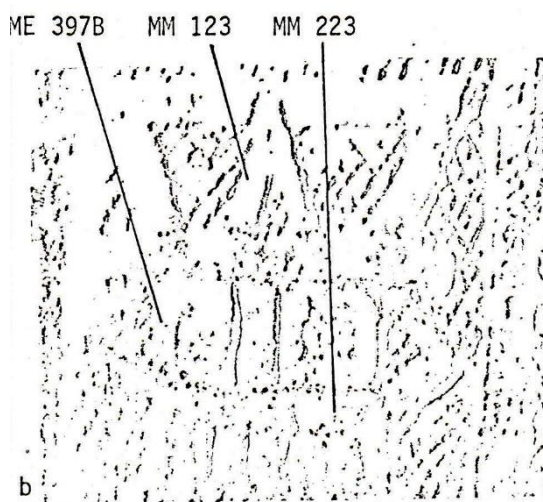


Fig. 19 Bonampak Stela 2, Late C1

Mexican traits

ME 331: Isosceles farther.

ME : Square, profile nose.

ME 371: Horizontal bar.

ME 429: Step skirt design.

MM 260: Headdress top side feather mass.

MM 262: Headdress side feather mass.

Mm 265: Base for headdress feather mas,
Variety A.

MM 266: Base for headdress feather mass,
Variety B.

MM 323: Late Classic Tlaloc moth,
Variety B.

Other important traits

"V" snake pattern.

Sideways "S".



Fig. 20 Tikal, Temple II
Lintel 2

Mexican traits

ME 253: Split serpent tongue.

ME 331: Isosceles feather.

ME 379A: Rounded goggle eye.

ME 379B: Squarish goggle eye.

MM 123: Frontal year sign.

MM 133: Profile year sign.

MM 214: Feline/canine claw.

MM 272: Frontal year sign headdress.

MM 274: Profile year sign headdress.

MM 298: Lower headdress stole.

MM 320: Late Classic Tlaloc mouth,
Variety A.

MM 347: Feathered bracelet.

MM 374B: Profile incense bag.

MM 390: Rectangular shield with
hangings.

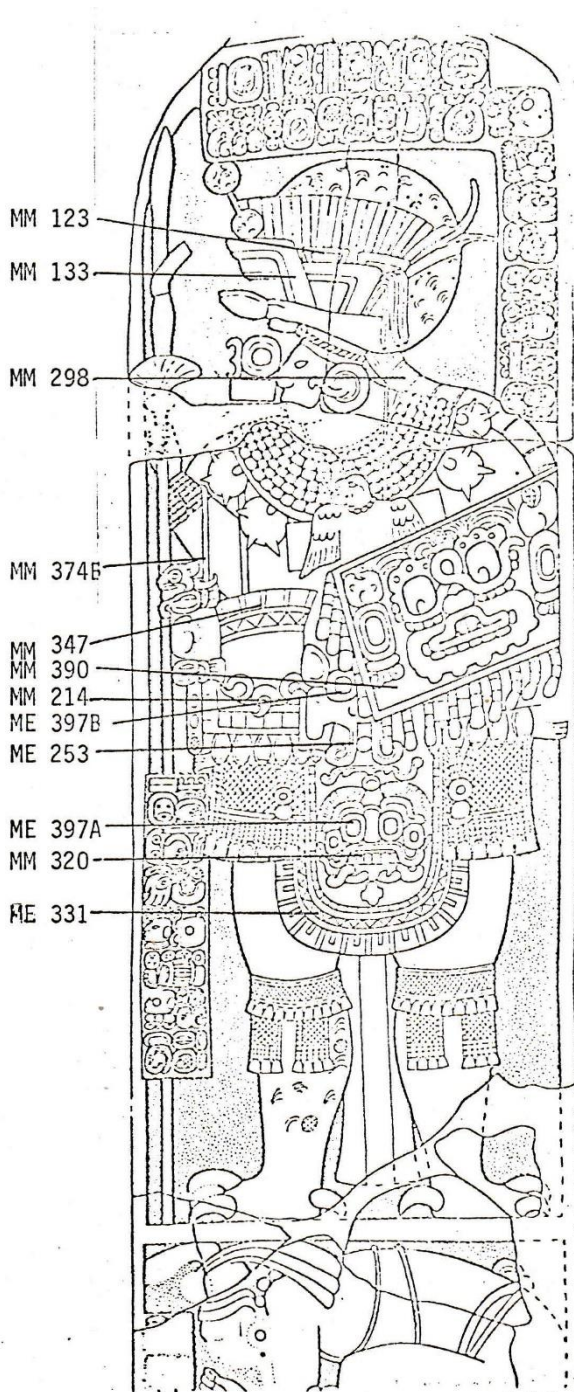


Fig. 21 Aguateca Stela 2.

Mexican traits

ME 253: Split serpent tongue.

ME 331: Isosceles feather

ME 379A: Rounded goggle eye.

ME 379B: Squarish goggle eye.

MM 123: Frontal year sign.

MM 133: Profile year sign.

MM 214: Feline/canine claw.

MM 272: Frontal year sign headdress.

MM 274: Profile year sign headdress.

MM 298: Lower headdress stole.

MM 320: Late Classic Tlaloc mouth, variety A.

MM 321: Late Classic Tlaloc moth, variety B.

MM 347: Feather bracelet.

MM 364: Spear.

MM 374B: Profile incense bag.

MM 390: Rectangular shield with hangings.

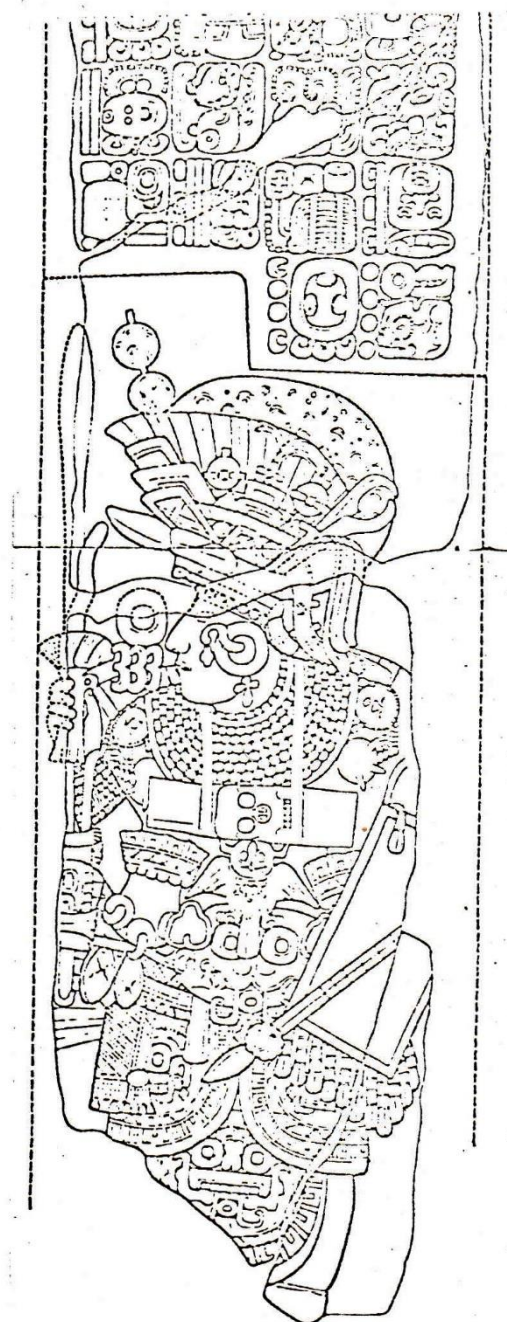


Fig. 22 Dos Pilas Stela 16

Other important traits

Full figure bird on chest.

Chest bar with sideways skull*

*Similar chest bar on Piedras Negras Stela 7 (Fig. 40, b) and Copan, Hieroglyphic Stairway (Fig. 43).

A single Mexican trait has been recognized for Bonampak Stela 3. Proskouriakoff suggested that the object in the hand of the main figure is a

spear thrower (1950: Fig. 34, u). But no one has pointed out the Mexican Year sign in the headdress. The incense bag is a Mexican import and the back feathers may be a Mexican trait. Serpent rattles are pan-Mesoamerican but they were a favorite design of Mexican cultures.

Tozzer has identified the spear thrower of the Tikal graffiti (1957: Fig. 653) but this has not been recognized by others.

Piedras Negras Lintel 2 is discussed on pages 44-51

Mexican traits

ME 258: Serpent rattle.

MM 123: Year sign.

MM 346: Back feathers.

MM 374: Incense bag.

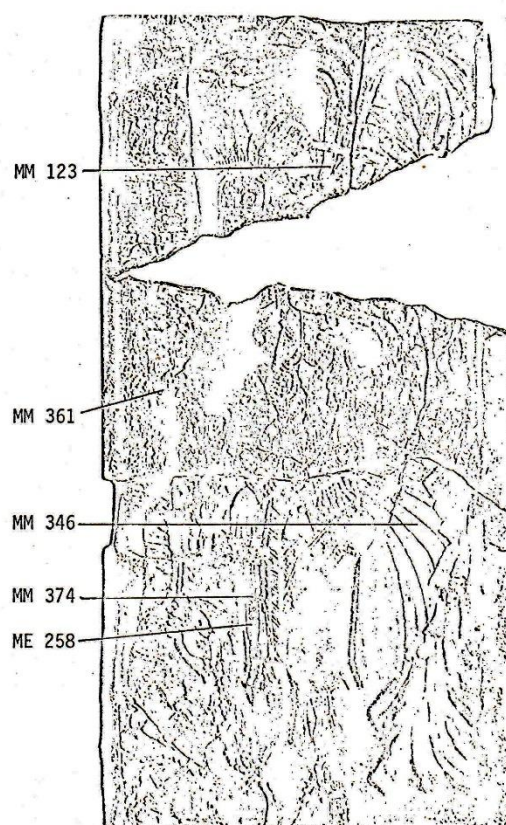


Fig. 23 Bonampak Stela 3.

Mexican traits

ME 347: Thick lips.

ME 355: Tuft of hair.

MM 361: Spear thrower.

MM 364: Spear

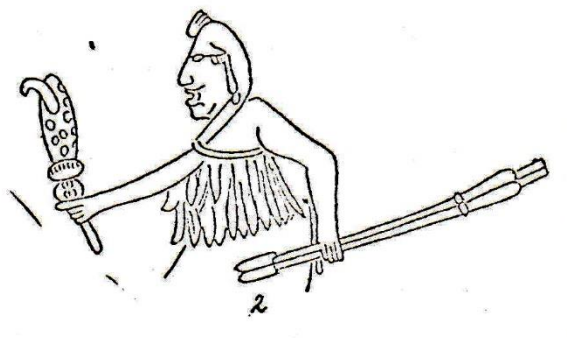


Fig. 24 Graffito, Tikal Str.
5D-65.



Fig. 25 Piedras Negras Lintel 2.

There is no doubt that Lintel 2 “looks Maya”. The people depicted are Maya, and the style in which they are depicted is typical of Late Classic Maya style. However, the attire and shields of the figures are almost completely Mexicanoid. Except for the main, standing figure, all the men are dressed very much like the Teotihuacanoid warriors on Early Classic Tikal Stela 31 (Fig. 26, d) and other Early Classic Mexican warriors (Fig. 26, a). Because Lintel 2 is in such a Maya style this paper will go to some length to demonstrate that the contents or physical traits are actually derived from Mexico. Below are listed a few of the more obviously Mexicanoid elements and motifs, some of which we will treat in detail. There are other Mexican traits in the scene, but they are difficult to pick out in the reproduction in Maler.

Mexican traits

ME 307: Bird wing-bar (right figure, headdress).

MM 186: Goggle eye, variety G (right figure).

MM 274: Profile year sign headdress (kneeling figures).

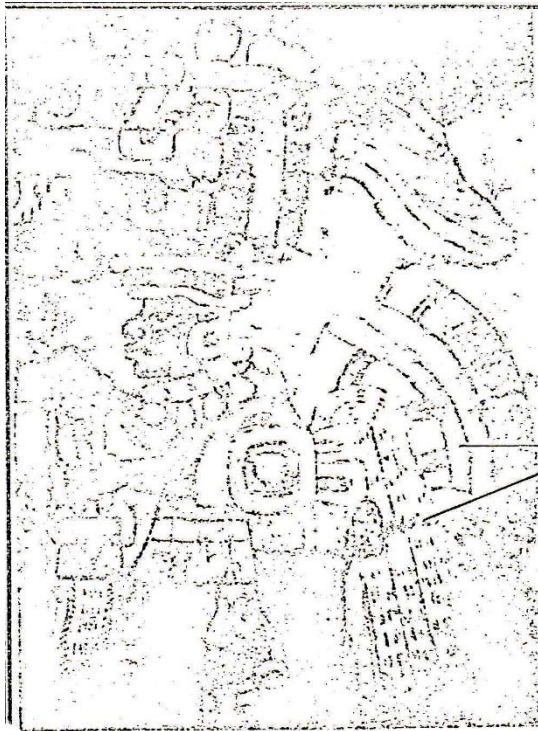
MM 285: Bar in headdress with more than three circles (Figure on right).

MM 305: Helmet (kneeling figures).

MM 340: Complete tail (figure at right and kneeling figures).

The Profile Year Sign Headdress is an obviously Mexican trait. It occurs in the Maya area in association with other Mexican traits on Yaxchilan Lintels 8, 17, and 25, Aguateca Stela 2, and Dos Pilas Stela 16. Year signs are popular headdress ornaments in Teotihuacan III and IV and Monte Alban III-A styles and at Tula and Xochicalco. The simplified year sign of the Piedras Negras Lintel is a Late Classic variety.

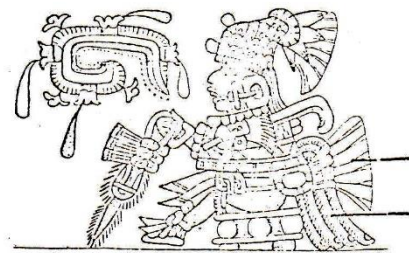
MM 340: Complete Tail is not generally recognized as a Mexican trait but Figures 26 and 27 should demonstrate that it is. The Tail occurs at Teotihuacan and was popular at Tula and Toltec Chichen Itza.



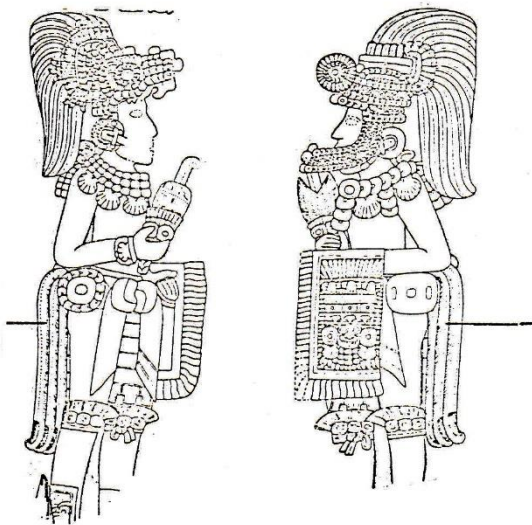
a Monte Alban, Tomb 104



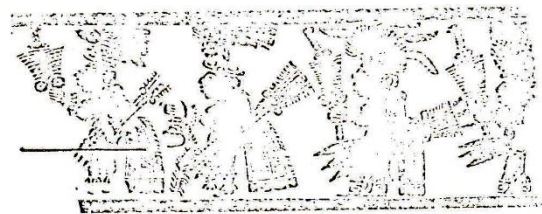
b Monte Alban, Stela 7



c Kaminaljuyu, Tomb B-II



d Tikal Stela 31

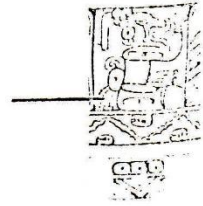


e Tikal, Problematic Deposit 50

Fig. 26 Early Classic Mexican "Tail" attire.



a Teotihuacan, Early Classic



c Tikal, Bu.48
Early Classic.



b Toltec Chichen-Itza, Temple of the Jaguars, Post-Classic.

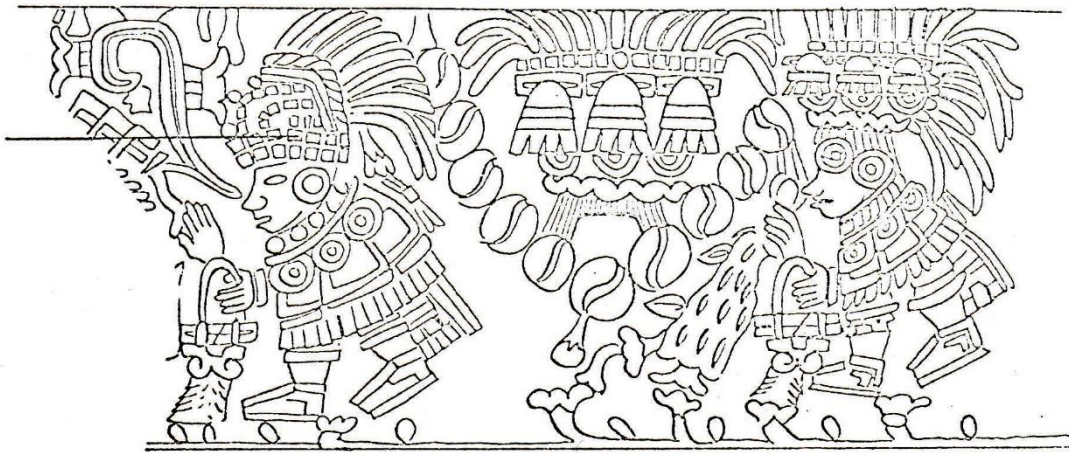
Fig. 27 Mexican "Tail" attire.

The helmet worn by the kneeling warriors is a type common to the Usumacinta Maya sites in Late Classic times. There are three main components of this helmet (the Year sign and feather tufts on these Piedras Negras examples are just elaborations): the inverted “L” bar covering the top and rear, the helmet base of square elements, and the helmet body of roundish or squarish elements.

An almost identical helmet, with each of these components, is worn by Teotihuacan figures on the Las Colinas bowl (Fig. 28, a). A variation of this helmet type is common on Toltec warriors at Chichen Itza (Fig. 28, b). In the Maya area a helmet similar to that of Piedras Negras Lintel 2 occurs on Lacanja Stela 8 (Fig. 29). This Lacanja figure also has other Mexican traits.

The rectangular shield with hanging tassels is very popular on armed Late Classic Maya warriors in the Usumacinta and other areas. However, because this identical shield type occurs earlier at Teotihuacan (Fig. 30) and is one of the standard Toltec types (Fig. 31) it may well be a Mexican import into the Usumacinta. The similarity between the shield on the lintel and Toltec shields even extends to the bird design (Fig. 3, shield of left warrior).

There are other Mexican traits in the attire of the figures of the lintel, but those pointed out should establish the Mexican flavor of the attire and of the whole composition.



a Teotihuacan helmets at Las Colinas.



b Toltec Chichen-Itza.

Fig. 28 Mexican helmets.

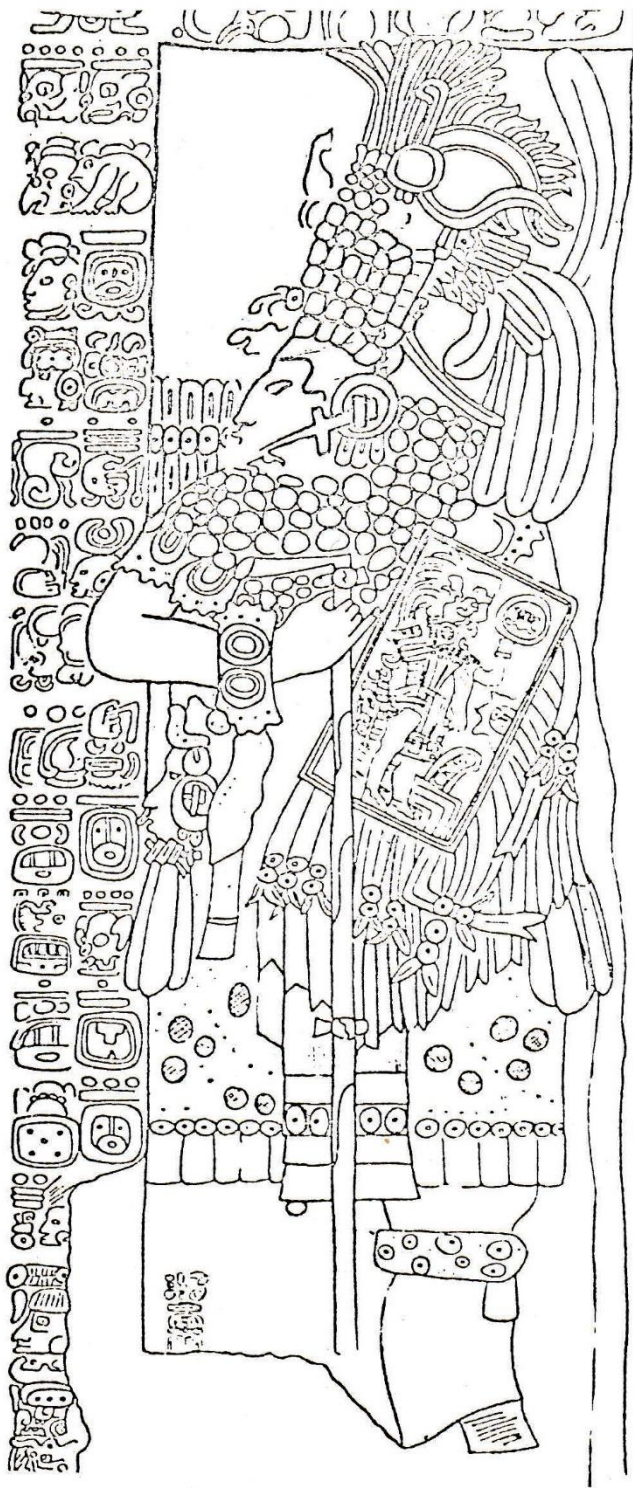
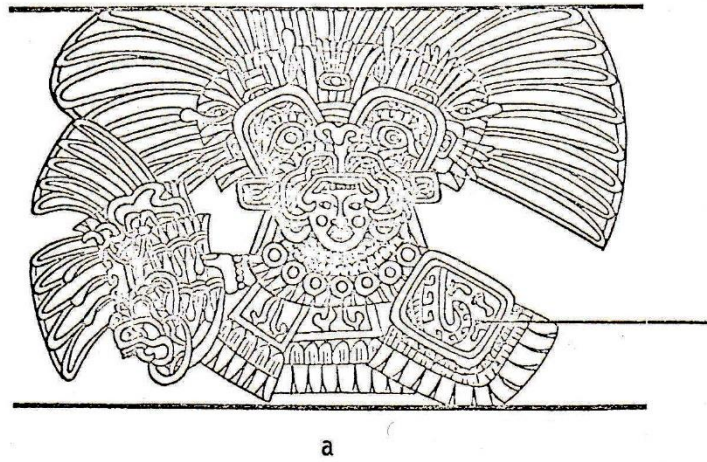
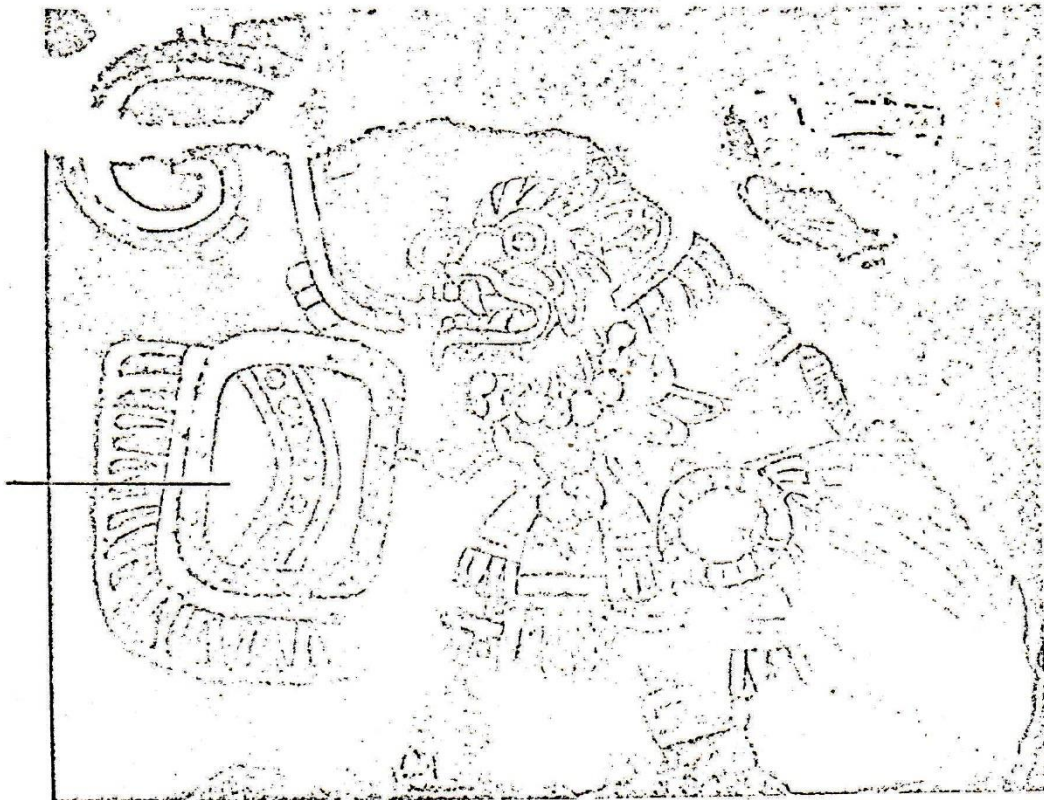


Fig. 29 Mexican helmet, Lacanja Stela 1.



a



b

Fig. 30 Rectangular shields at Teotihuacan (Early Classic).

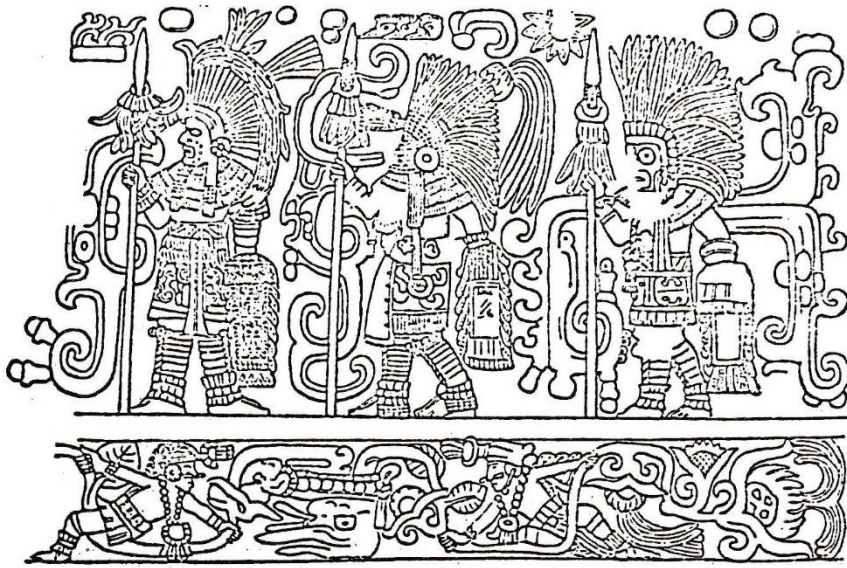


Fig. 31 Rectangular shields at Toltec Chichen-Itza (Post-Classic).

Some idea of the great wealth of Mexican motifs in the Maya area can be had from the list below. This is a list of 31 representations of the Late Classic varieties of Tlaloc in the southern Maya lowlands. This is merely the list of published examples which are easily noticed in the literature.

AGUATECA, STELA 2	TIKAL, Temple II, Lintel 2
BONAMPAK, STELA 2	TIKAL, STELA 16
CANCUEN, STELA 2	TRAVERSIA, stone scul.
CHAJCAR, pottery	UAXACTUN, pottery
CHIAPAS, stone head	UAXACTUN, pottery
CHILON, pottery (?)	YAXCHILAN, STELA 1
CHINKULTIC, STELA 7	YAXCHILAN, STELA 18
COPAN, STELA 5	YAXCHILAN, Lintel 8
COPAN, STELA 6	YAXCHILAN, Lintel 25
COPAN, stone scul	YAXCHILAN, Lintel 29
COPAN, " "	YAXCHILAN, Lintel 41
COPAN, " "	
COPAN, " "	
COPAN, " "	
COPAN, " "	
COPAN, " "	
DOS PILAS, STELA 16	
EL BAUL	
EL CAYO, STELA 1	
JAINA, pottery	
JONUTA, stela	
LA MAR, STELA 1	
PIEDRAS NEGRAS, STELA 8	
SEIBAL, STELA 3	

Dos Pilas Stela 16 is an example where the Tlaloc is not “just a minor item of decoration”. (Fig. 22). There are four Tlaloc faces (one partially hidden by the shield) and another face with goggle eyes. The Tlalocs are not isolated item of “decoration” either. They appear in a recognizably Mexicanoid context with Isosceles Feathers, etc.

POINT 3

MEXICAN INFLUENCE AT THE CLOSE OF THE LATE CLASSIC

W. Coe (1966:2), Willey (1964: 155), Sabloff (Sabloff & Willey 1967), and J. Graham (Ibid.) all recognize a final invasion of Mexican art motifs into the southern Maya lowlands just at the close of the Late Classic. However, this influence was more widespread than generally realized and may have been connected with the Early and Late Classic entradas already mentioned.

Sabloff and Willey suggest that it was this last entrada which broke the Maya, because with the art came warriors and conquest. The problems related to the how's and whys of the 10th century collapse of the Classic Maya civilization are too complicated to enter into at this time. This paper will limit itself to an expansion upon the Harvard Seibal Project's conclusions and will briefly present evidence that this pre- or proto-Toltec invasion had routes other than via Seibal and penetrated as far the heart of the Petén.

There is a wealth of Mexican influence on the stelae of the full range of Late Classic stelae in the Chiapas highlands, especially at the site of Chinkultic. Stela 7 of this site, even with a possible 9.17. 0. 0. 0 (?) date, has close parallels with later Toltec traits. Stela 1 at Comitan, with a date of 10. 2. 5. 0. 0, is one of the latest Maya stelae erected in the southern Maya lowlands (Fig. 36). The diagonal motif in the headdress of this figure is somewhat similar to that of Seibal Stela 8. As ball game attire, a similar diagonal motif occurs at Toltec Chichen-Itza (Tozzer 1957: Fig. 474). The anklet or sandal tie of Comitan Stela 1 is a popular item of Toltec attire at Chichen-Itza (Ibid.: Figs. 138, 175, 261, 262, 263, 431, 474, and 505). Other parallels could be mentioned: the overall appearance of the figure and his attire is Mexican, probably Toltec.

This stela suggests that part of the conquest of the Classic Maya could also have been mounted from a base camp in the Chiapas highlands; although Comitan could represent a backwash from Seibal or elsewhere.

Stela 4 at Ucanal (Fig. 32) and unpublished stelae from the vicinity of Tikal show that Toltec influence spread into the central Petén. The spear thrower (Fig. 27, b) and warrior-in-serpent (Fig. 33) are both common Toltec motifs at Chichen-Itza. The projecting forehead bar in the headdress of the Ucanal figure also occurs at Toltec Chichen (Fig. 34).

Seibal Stela 3 (Fig. 35, a) shares several features with Toltec-Maya works. The long flowing hair and Tlaloc face of the figures in the upper register is in the same tradition as that of a Toltec Tlaloc at Kabah (Fig. 35, b).

Mexican traits

MM 361: Spear thrower.

: Projecting forehead bar.

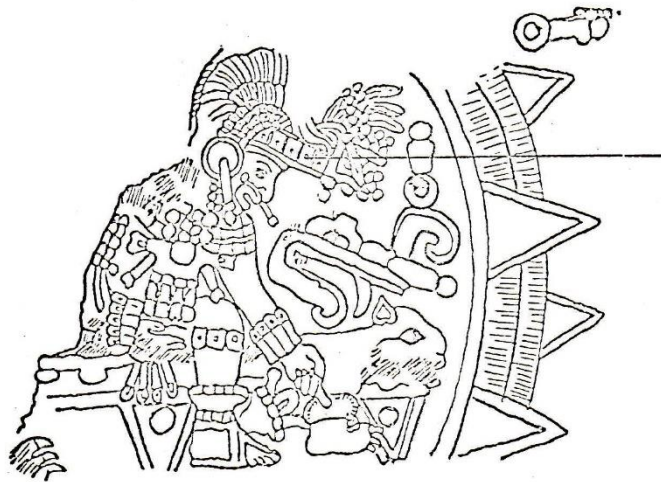
: Warrior in serpent.



Fig. 32 Ucanal Stela 4 (10.1. 0. 0. 0).



Fig. 33 Armed warrior in serpent, Toltec Chichen-Itza (Post-Classic).

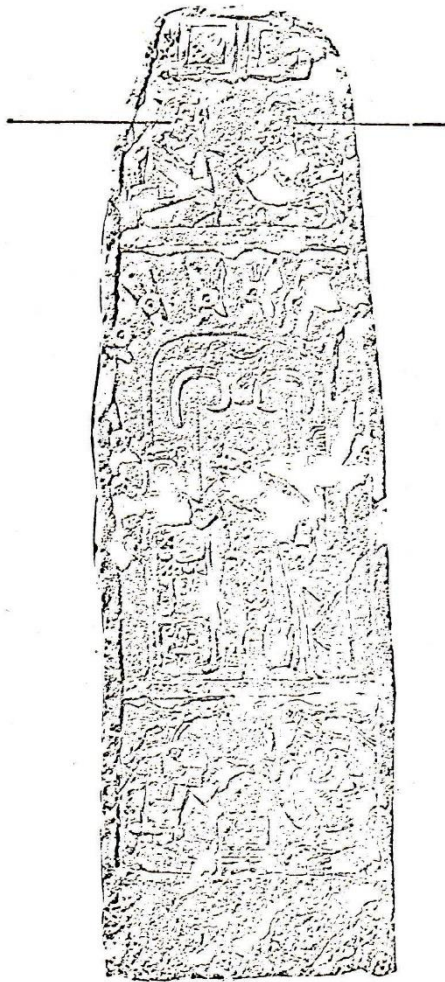


a

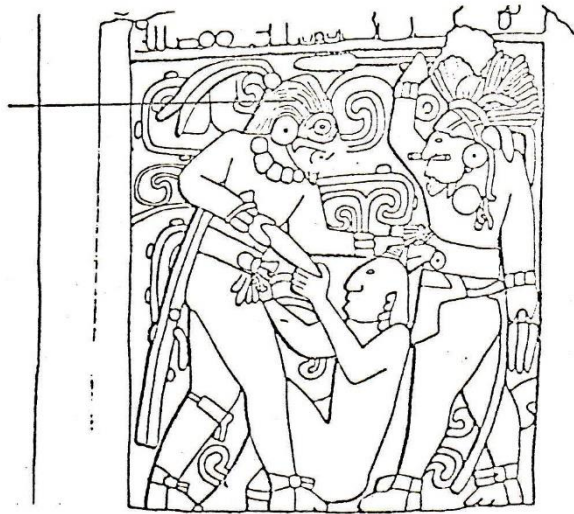


b

Fig. 34 Toltec headdress with projecting bar, Chichen Itza (Post-Classic)



a Seibal Stela 3



b Kabah, Codz Poop, jamb.

Fig. 35 Long-haired Toltec Tlaloc

Mexican traits

Anklet

Headdress.

Diagonal piece in headdress.

Goggle eye (?)

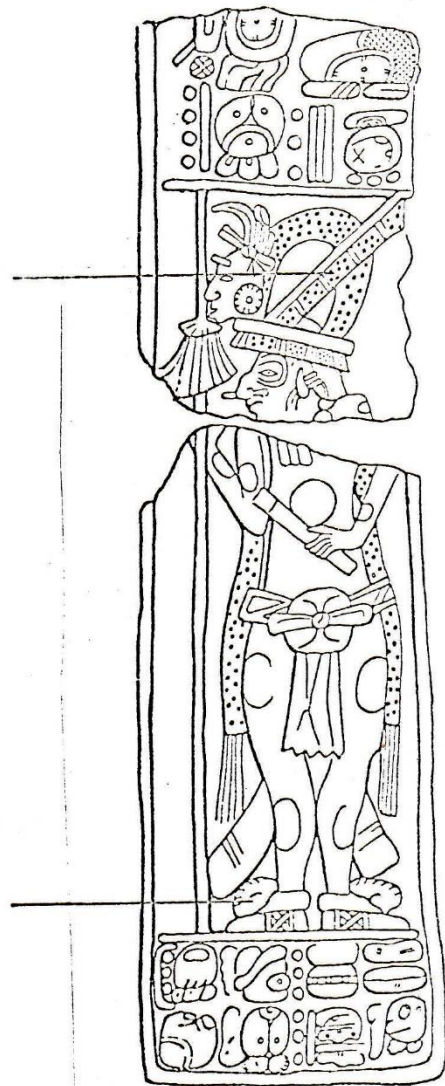


Fig. 36 Comitan Stela 1 (10. 2. 5. 0. 0).

PART III

THE NATURE OF MEXICAN ART IN THE SOUTHERN MAYA LOWLANDS

The previous part of this paper has documented a frequent occurrence of Mexican art symbols throughout the southern Maya lowlands, both temporally and spatially. This section will discuss the integration of Mexican with Maya motifs in the Maya area.

POINT 4

MANY "MAYA" ART MOTIFS ARE REALLY MEXICAN

There are many motifs, particularly in the Late Classic, on Maya stelae, etc. which have been accepted as Maya, primarily because they are executed in a Maya style and occur in context with Maya motifs. The presence of Mexican motifs well assimilated with Maya forms is generally denied. Motifs are thought to be either obviously foreign or to be native Maya.

Tikal Temple II, Lintel 2 has some conspicuous Teotihuacan motifs which have just been overlooked (Fig. 20). Tikal Temple, I, Lintel 2 has just as many if not more Mexican elements but they are depicted in a Maya style and are surrounded by Maya forms.

Fig. 37 presents this questionable design. The forms most probably Mexican are listed as usual. Two of these forms, MM 23, Flow of straight lines with half eyes, and MM 303, Butterfly Antennae in Headdress, are the closest to Teotihuacan designs and their derivation from these Mexican forms will be illustrated.

Mexican traits

ME 151: Checkerboard of solid colors.

ME 255: Serpent eye curl, continuous.

MM 23: Flow of straight lines with half-eye.

MM 262: Headdress side feather mass.

MM 303: Butterfly antennae in headdress

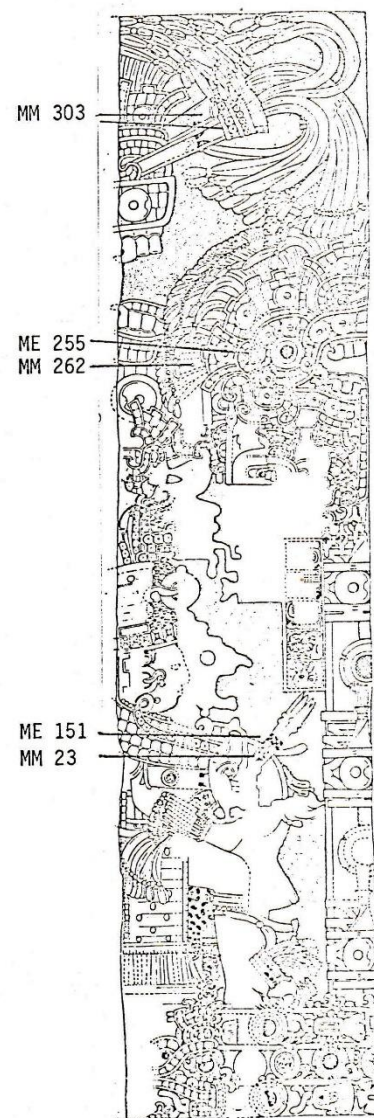


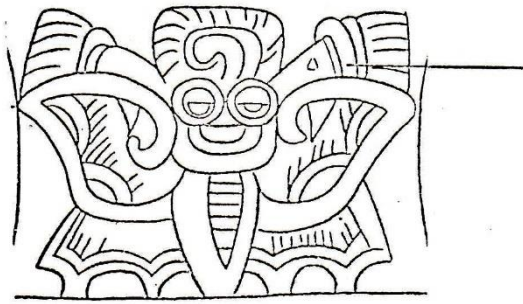
Fig. 37 Tikal, Temple I, Lintel 2 (Late Classic).

MM 303 began in Teotihuacan as an anatomical feature of a butterfly (Fig. 30). However, even in its naturalistic state it had begun to evolve towards a stylized representation of the natural feature. From Fig. 38, we can see that the feature has at least three basic parts: the lower shaft, end bar, and end feather fall. MM 303 on the Tikal lintel has each of these important characteristics. Fig 39 illustrated another step in the evolution of TM 303. These forms are Teotihuacan IV, Teotihuacan's equivalent to the early portion of the Maya Late Classic. Fig. 38 shows Early Classic forms. By Teotihuacan IV, TM 303 has become a common headdress motif and begins to be associated with an eye curl.

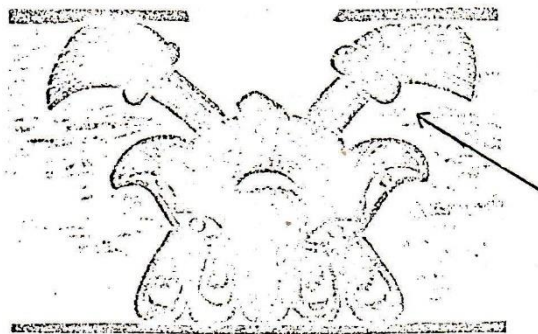
With the fall of Teotihuacan and the transfer of its artistic heritage to Xochicalco, Tula, and other Mexican sites, TM 303 took on a closer association with eye curls and other serpent features, although TM 303 itself continued to resemble a butterfly form. This derivation is hypothetical, but that MM 303 is a Mexican motif should be clear from its association in the Plaque of Ixtapalulca, non-Maya site in Mexico, and with Piedras Negras Stela 7. Stela 7 is Maya in style but it has a Year sign headdress, Mexican rectangular shield, and the same skull chest bar as Mexicanoid Dos Pilas Stela 16 (Fig. 22) and a Copan figure with Mexican traits (Fig. 43). Piedras Negras Stela 7 has about a dozen other Mexican traits.

MM 303 is a favorite motif of Tula (Acosta 1960: Lam XVIII) and Toltec Chichen-Itza (Fig. 40, c). Thus, on the double grounds of temporal priority in Mexico and context association with proven Mexican motifs, it seems that MM 303 may be of Mexican derivation.

MM 23: Flow of Straight Lines with Half-eye is a more recognizable Mexican trait (Fig. 41). The semi-circles of MM 303's shaft may well be more Half-eye; Semi-circular Half-eye were common at Teotihuacan (Fig. 41).



a



b

Fig. 38 Evolution of TM 303 from an anatomical feature of the butterfly.

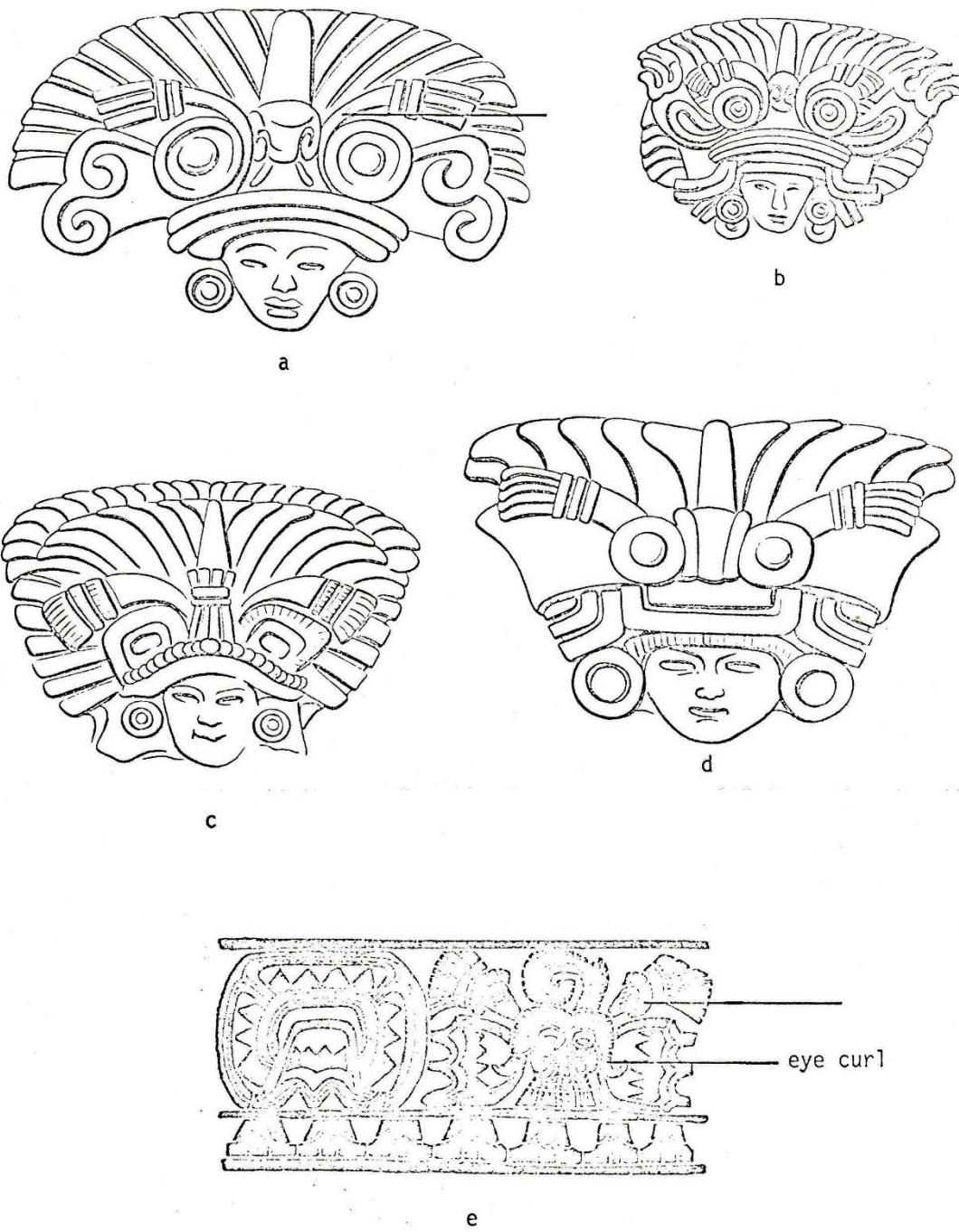
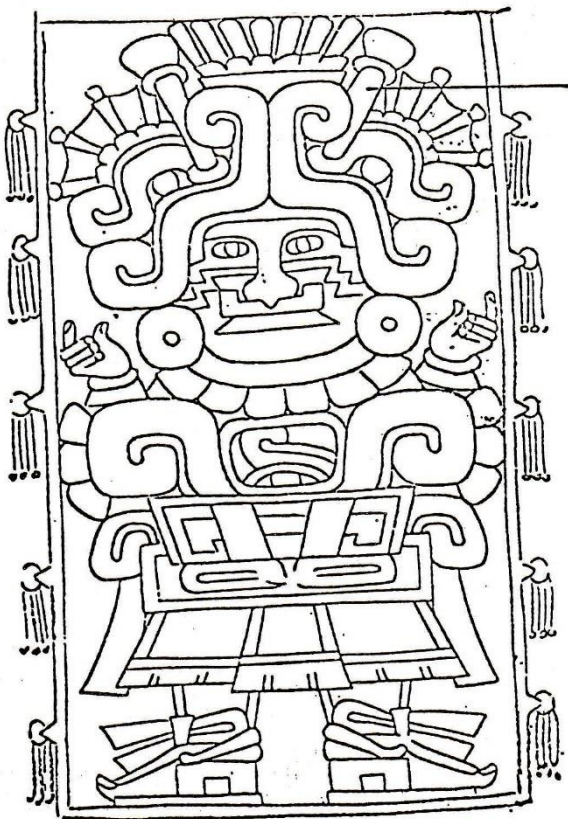
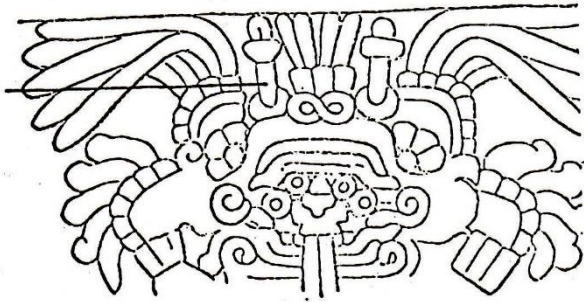


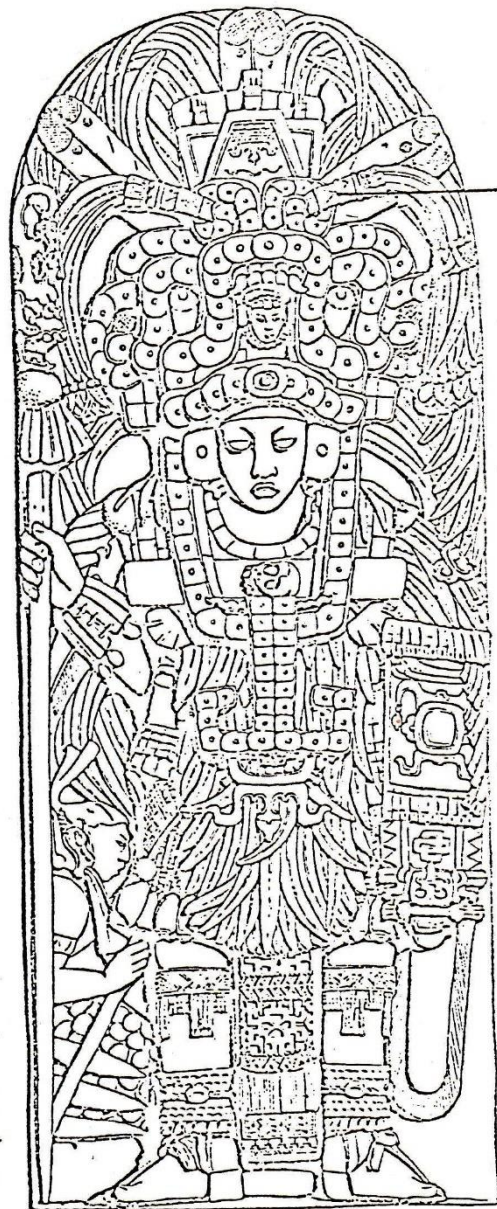
Fig. 39 TM 303 in headdress, still associated with other butterfly forms



a Plaque of Iztapalapa

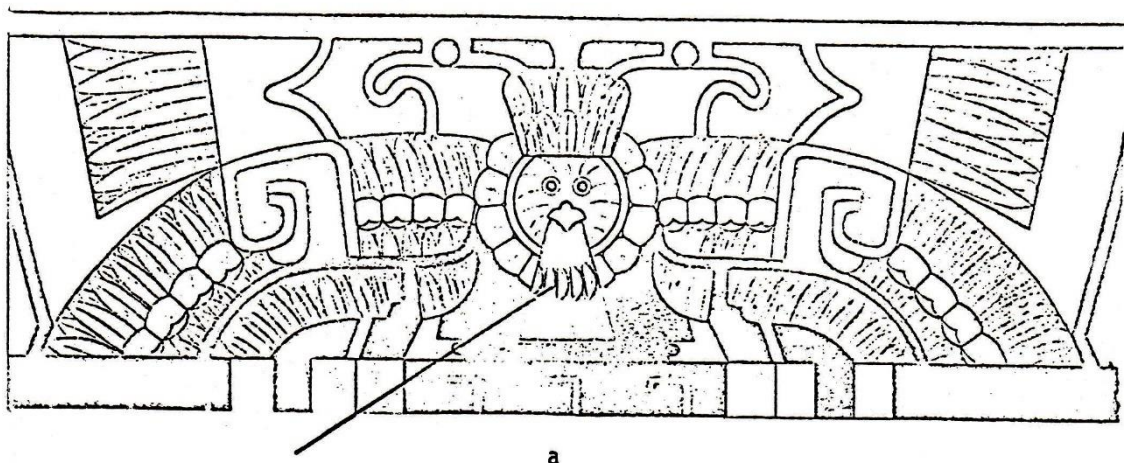


c Tula



b Piedras Negras Stela 7

Fig. 40 Late and Post-Classic use of TM 303, associated with serpent.

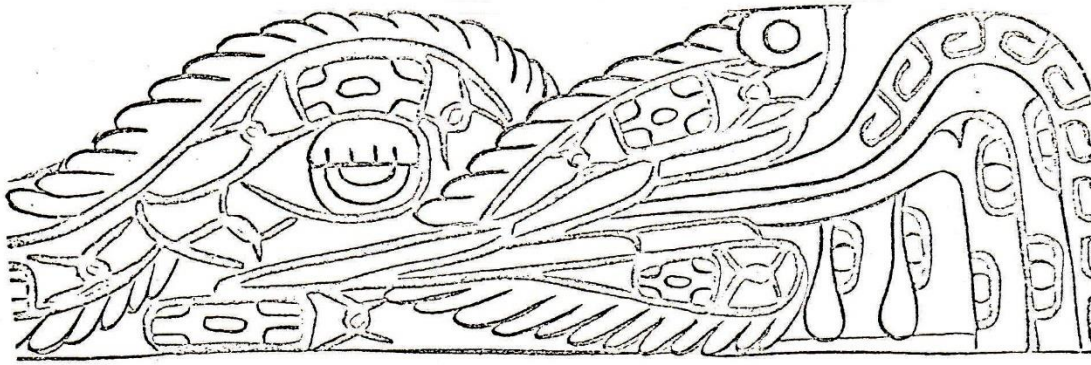


a

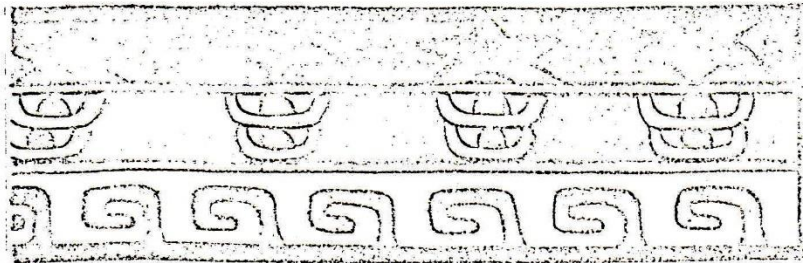


b

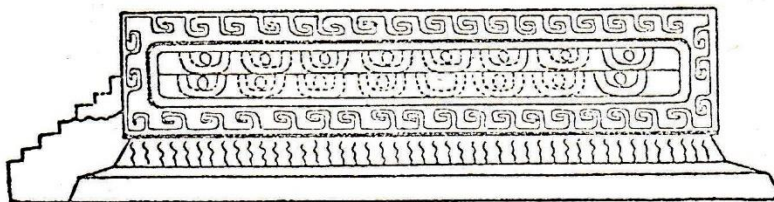
Fig. 41 Flow of Half-eyes (semi-circular variety) at Teotihuacan.



a



b



c

Fig. 42 Flow of Half-eyes at Teotihuacan.

POINT 5

PAN-MESOAMERICAN TRAITS IN A MEXICAN CONTEXT IN THE MAYA AREA

We have now see that obvious and not-so-obvious Mexican elements in the Maya area have been overlooked. The common denominator of these two sets of traits is that their ultimate Early Classic temporal and geographic origin is at Teotihuacan. Now we will consider elements which are pan-Mesoamerican in extent and not necessarily Teotihuacan in origin, but elements which nevertheless have a Mexican flavor when they are used in certain contexts.

Except for a vague reference in Thompson (1956: 358) that there was a Teotihuacan motif somewhere on the Copan Hieroglyphic Stairway, no one has ever suggested that the seated figure of Fig. 43 is anything but a fine example of Late Classic Copan Maya sculpture. A comparison between the published drawing (Gordon 1902: 12) and the original sculpture (Peabody Museum, Harvard, 3rd floor) shows that the skull by the man's knee has a Kan Cross earplug. This cross has been added to the drawing used here (Fig. 43).

The rectangular chest bar with a skull is similar to a bar on Dos Pilas Stela 16 (Fig. 22) and Piedras Negras Stela 7 (Fig. 40). Both of these latter figures are almost completely clothed in a Mexican style.

The Kan Cross has a great antiquity and geographical spread in Mesoamerica, but in the Maya area it has a tendency to occur as an earplug (Fig. 44). As an earplug it almost always occurs on figures partially or completely clothed in Mexican attire. The Kan Cross also occurs frequently on Late Classic pottery with other traits of more obviously Mexican derivation and occurs in association with miscellaneous Mexican motifs (Fig. 44, e-f). The Kan Cross is a favorite Teotihuacan element (Fig. 45).

The Xi sign leg wear has parallels with Naranjo Stela 19 (Fig. 8) and Copan Stela 6. The Xi sign is a common element at Xochicalco (Fig. 46).

Thus, while on the surface it would be difficult to substantiate a claim that the Hieroglyphic Stairway personage has any Mexican tint at all, we see that by looking at the individual elements and motifs and by comparing these elements and motifs with symbols of the total range of both Teotihuacan, Mexican, and Maya art (in the Context Catalogs) we can recognize forms with varying degrees of Mexican flavor. With the Context Catalogs we can immediately show the spatial and temporal spread of the forms, and come to an understanding of their regional contexts and styles. Without this laborious

process the Copan figure remains Maya and mute. Only after an element/motif analysis should we begin to try to interpretative its meaning.

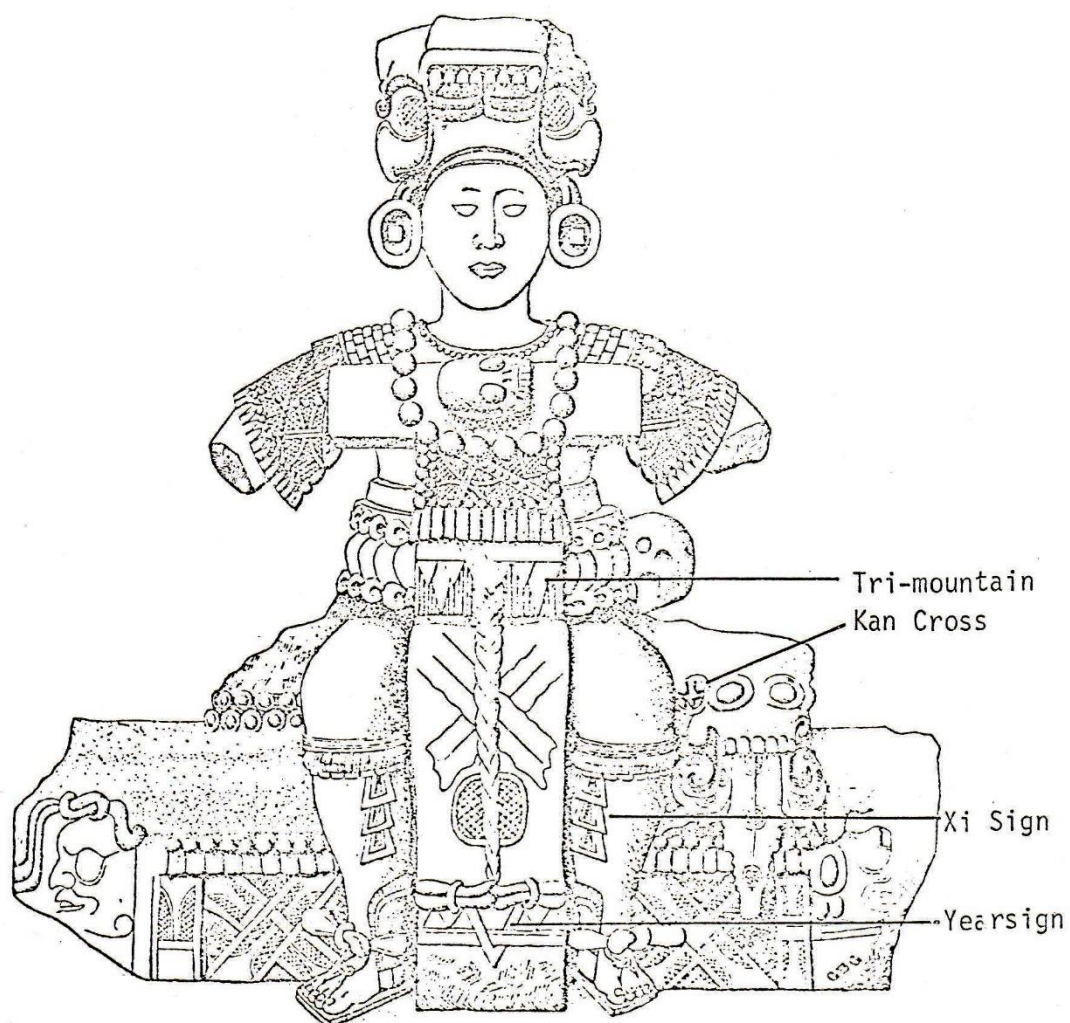


Fig. 43 Copan, Seated figure of the Hieroglyphic stairway.

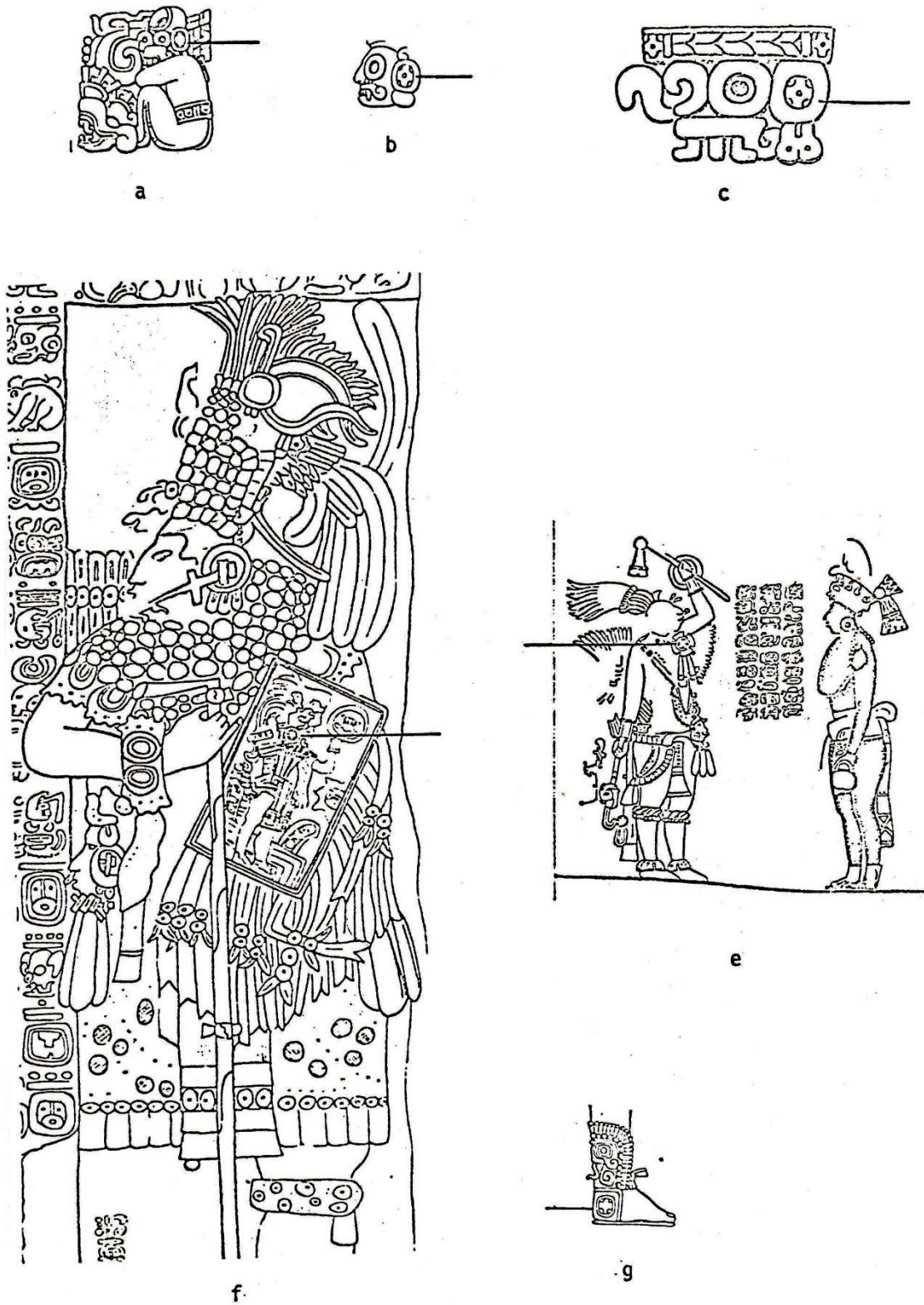


Fig. 44 Kan Cross Earplug and Kan Cross associated with Mexican forms.



Fig. 45 Kan Cross at Teotihuacan.

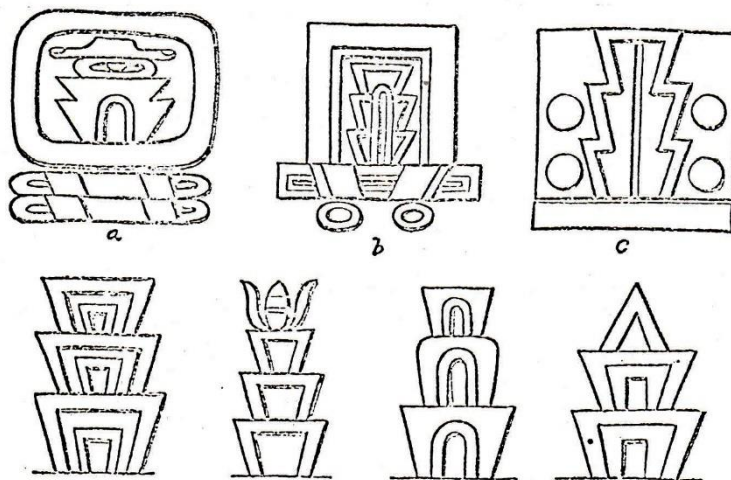


Fig. 46 Xi sign in Mexico.

POINT 6

IS EARLY CLASSIC "TEOTIHUACAN" ART IN THE MAYA AREA REALLY "TEOTIHUACAN"?

The design on the Tikal vessel depicted in Fig. 47 has repeatedly been classified as "Teotihuacan" in style and form:

The band depicts two priests receiving a file of warriors...

The vessel is believed to have been made at Teotihuacan in the Valley of Mexico, thousand miles northwest of Tikal (University Museum 1960: 1).

Scene on a tripod which may originate from Teotihuacan. A spokesman of the priest-king is holding a discussion with four men... (Disselhoff & Linne 1961:110-111).

...un inconfundible estilo teotihuacano (Marquina 1964: 1004-1005).

A detailed element/ motif analysis of this and other similar traits and similar traits as executed at Teotihuacan shows that: of all the Early Classic examples of "Teotihuacan" art in the southern Maya lowlands, not a single one is of pure Teotihuacan style of content (Point 6). The only possible exceptions to this point are Teotihuacan style incensarios at Tikal (Coe 1965: 35). Incensarios have not been included in this study because few have been published.

Below is an illustration of the design in question. It is typical of those which have been misjudged as "Teotihuacan". Several of its distinctive traits will be listed and a comparison made between them and similar traits elsewhere in Mesoamerica.

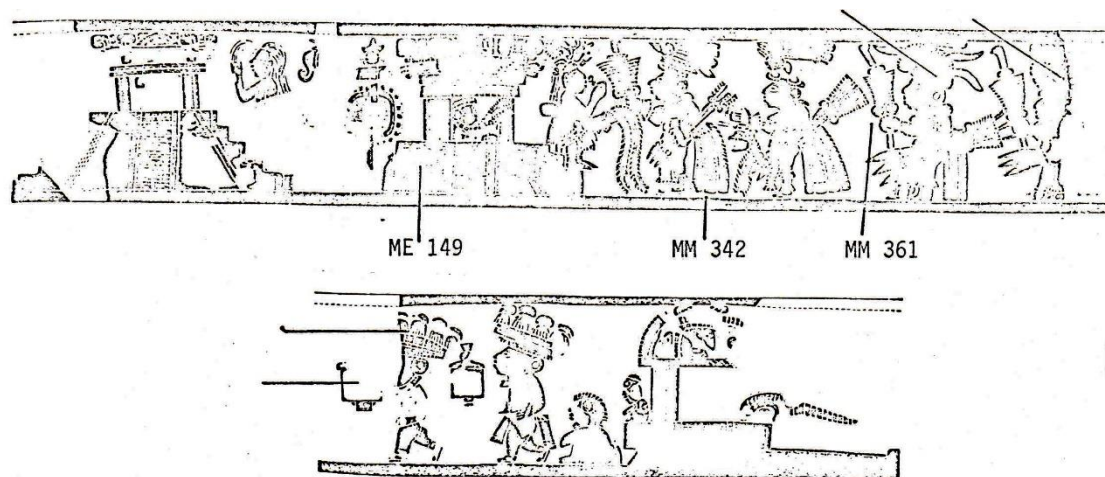


Fig. 47 Design on a tripod vessel from Tikal PD 50.

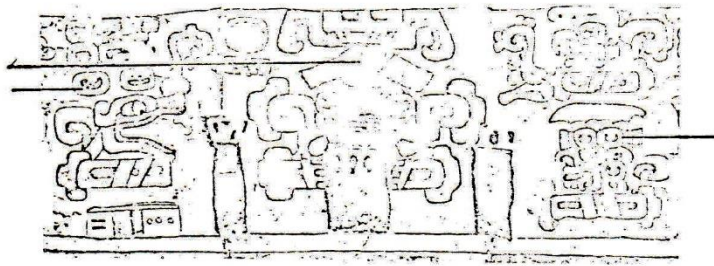
Mexican traits (selected)

ME 149: "U"	Trait 1
MM: Large goggles in headdress	2
MM: Headdress with "shell" falls	3
MM: Bowl with "offering".	4
MM 342: Tails.	5
MM 361: Spear thrower	6

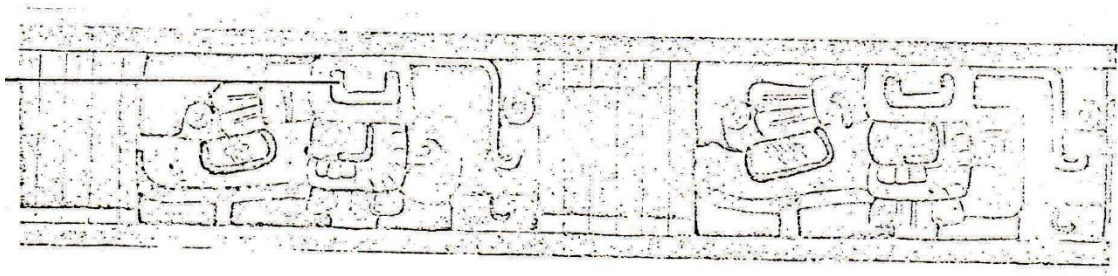
The "U" element became popular at Pre-Classic Izapa and Kaminaljuyu (Miles 1965: Figs. 3 and 4). From here, the "U", along with a constellation of other traits, spread outward in all directions, northeast into the Petén and northwest to Monte Alban. It became incorporated as a minor element of Pre-Classic and Early Classic Maya art but it became a dominant feature of Monte Alban III-A art. Despite the wide range in time and space of this element, the style and context with which it is associated allow art historians to pinpoint its most immediate affiliation.

On the Tikal vessel, the "U" is associated with a "temple" structure. At Monte Alba inverted "U's" are frequent decorative motifs. The general style of the roof decoration of the PD 50 building with the "U's" is closer to Zapotec than to Teotihuacan. The "U" is almost non-existent at Teotihuacan.

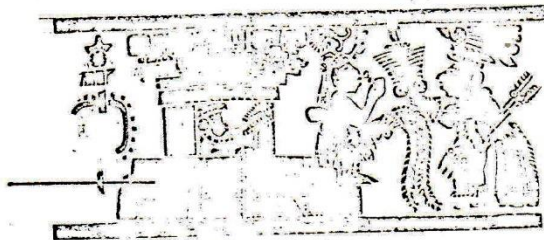
The headdress-with-large-goggles (Fig. 49, f) is common on marching males at Early Classic Monte Alba (Fig. 49, a-d) and at Post-Classic Tula (Fig. 49, e). This type of headdress was not particularly popular at Teotihuacan.



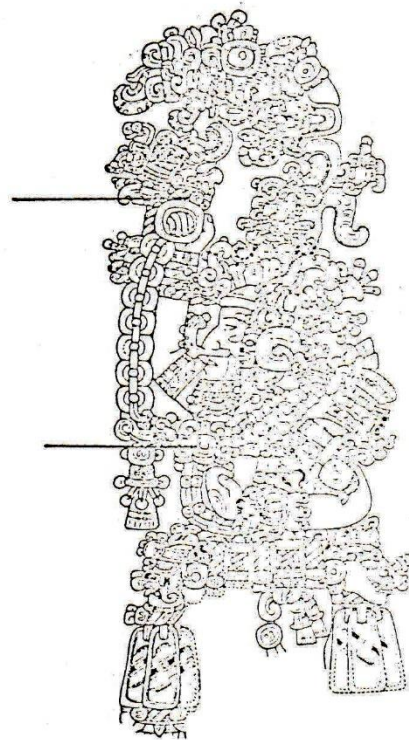
a Monte Alban, Tomb 104



b Kaminaljuyu, design on vessel from Burial B-I.



c Tikal, PD 50



d Tikal, Stela 31

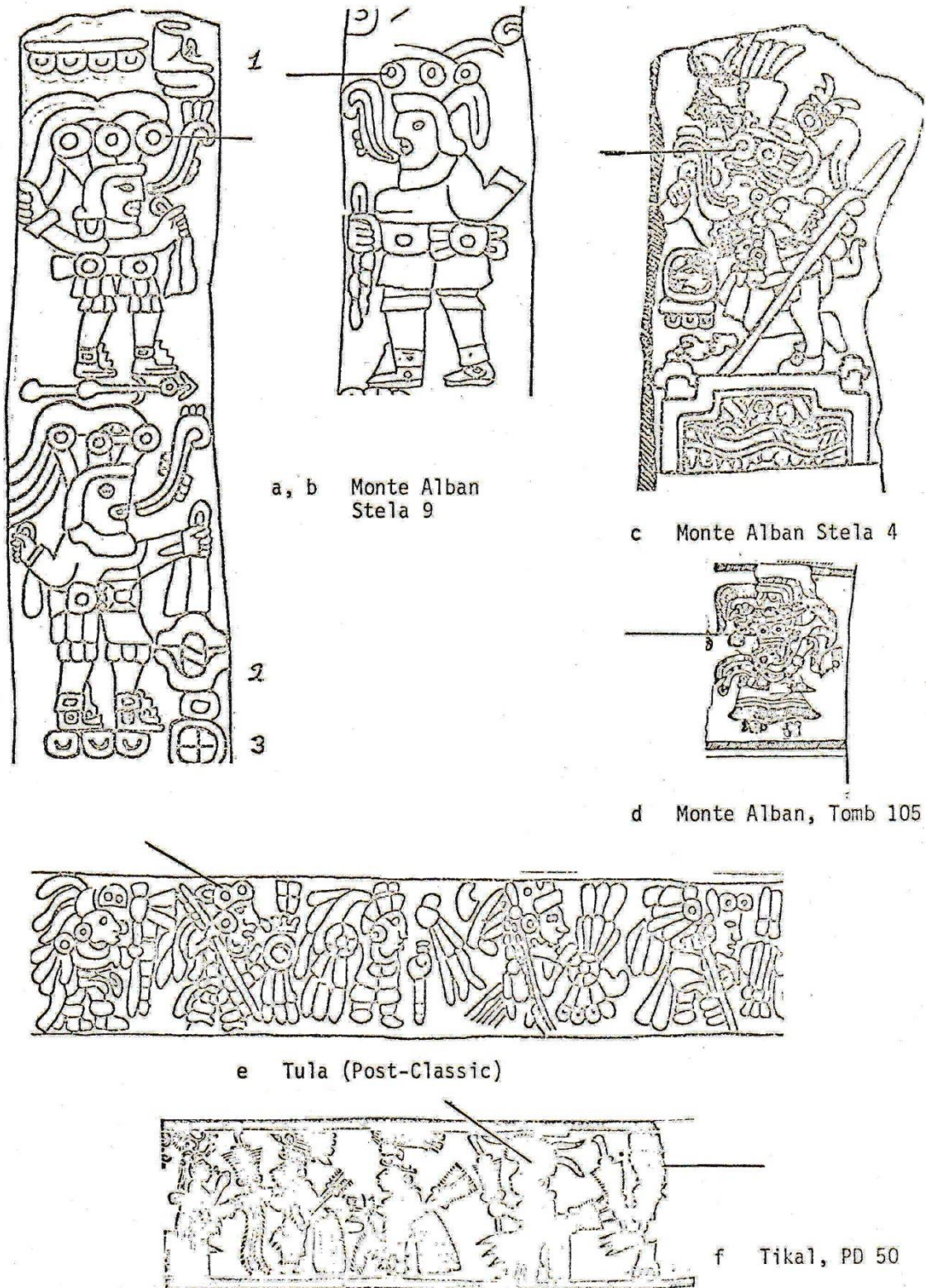
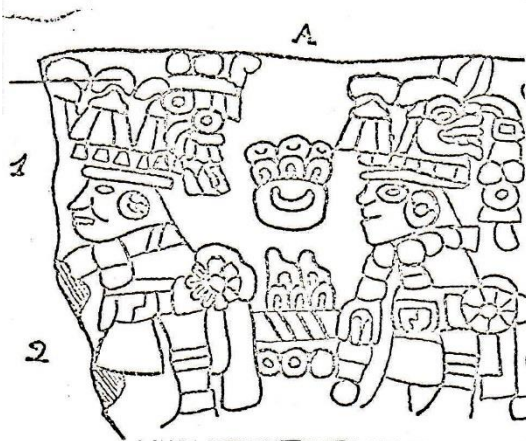
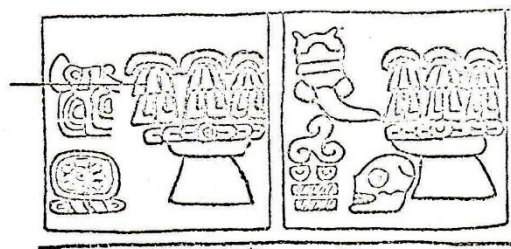


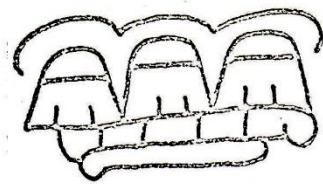
Fig. 49 Headdresses with large goggles.



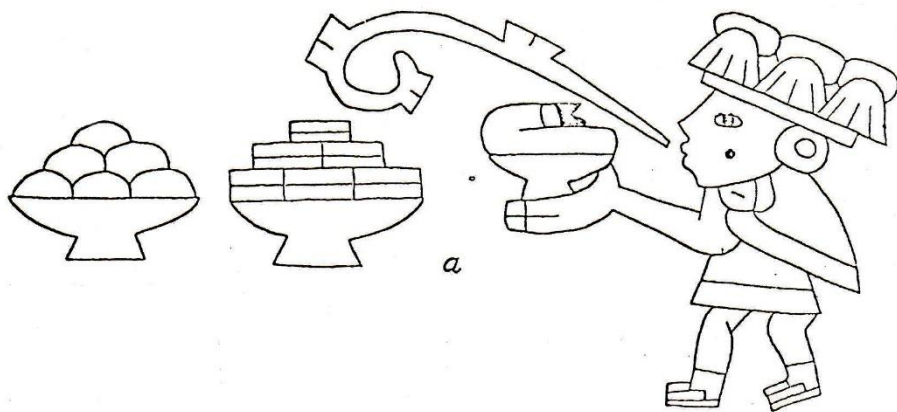
a Monte Alban Stela 7



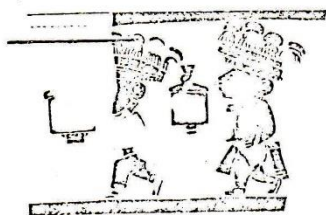
b Monte Alban Stela 8



c Monte Alban, Bazan Slab

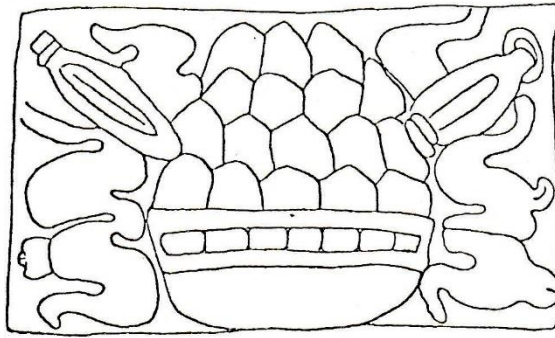


d Design from bowl, Kaminaljuyu Burial A-III.

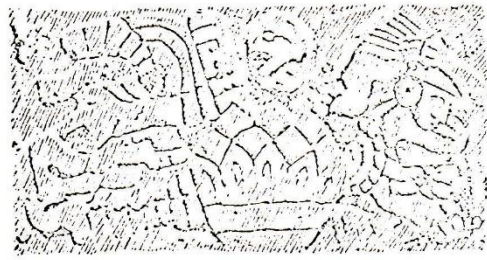


e Tikal, PD 50

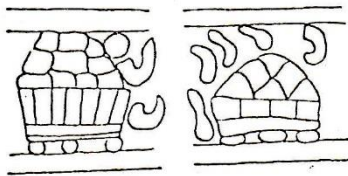
Fig. 50 Headdress with short rounded falls.



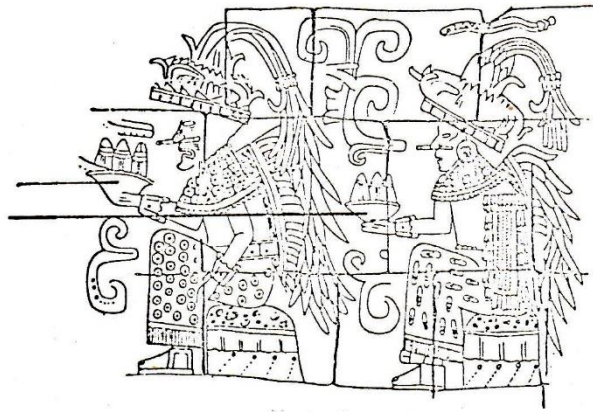
a Tula



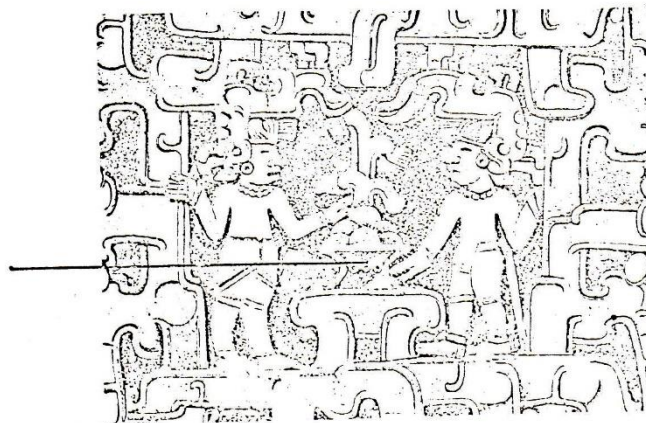
b Tula.



c Chichen-Itza



d Chichen-Itza



e Kaminaljuyu, pyrite plaque, Burial B-I.

Fig. 51 Bowl with offering.

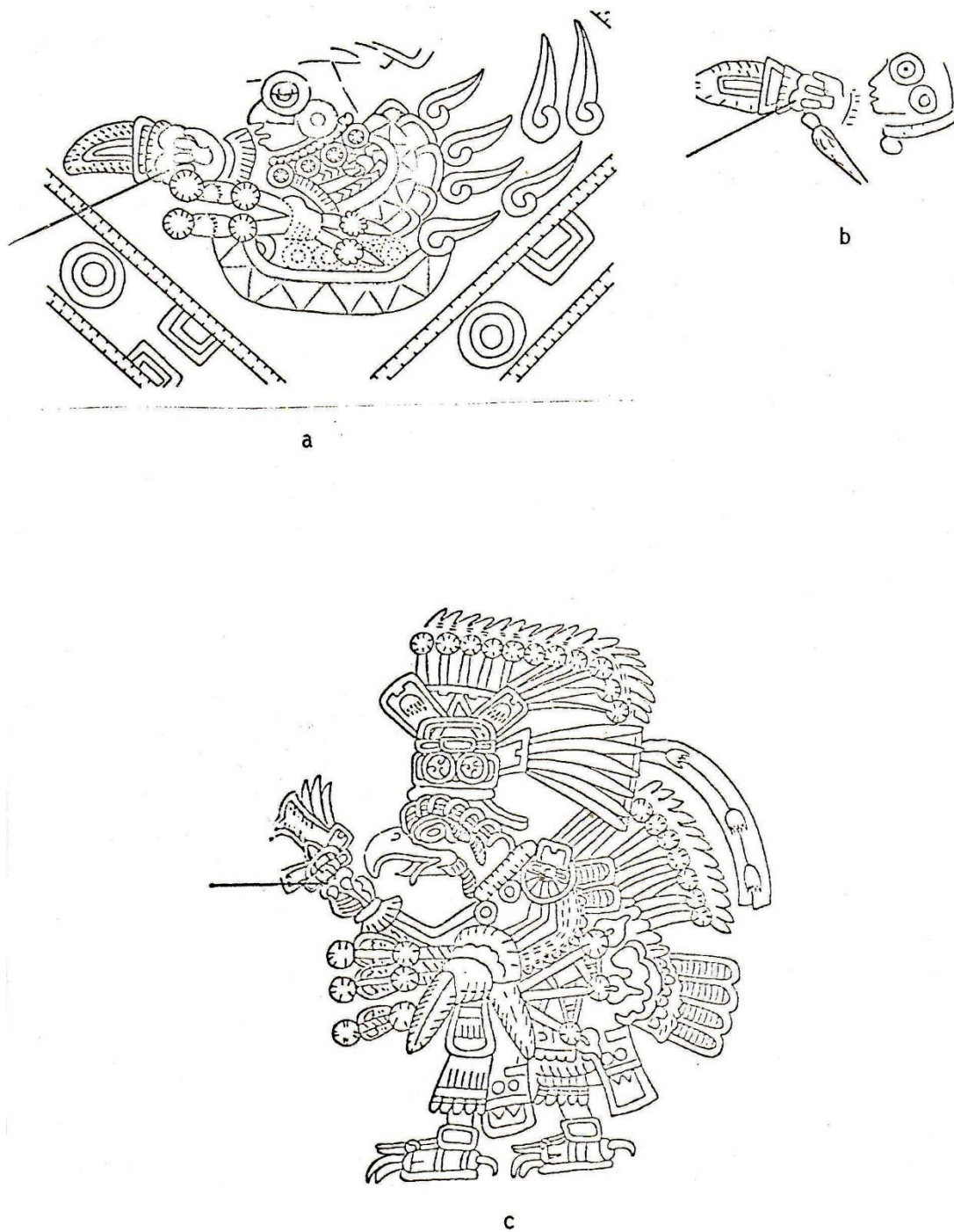
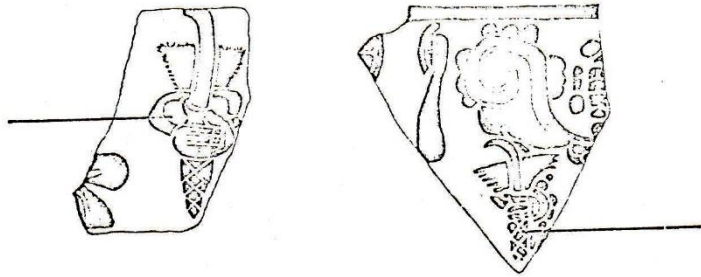
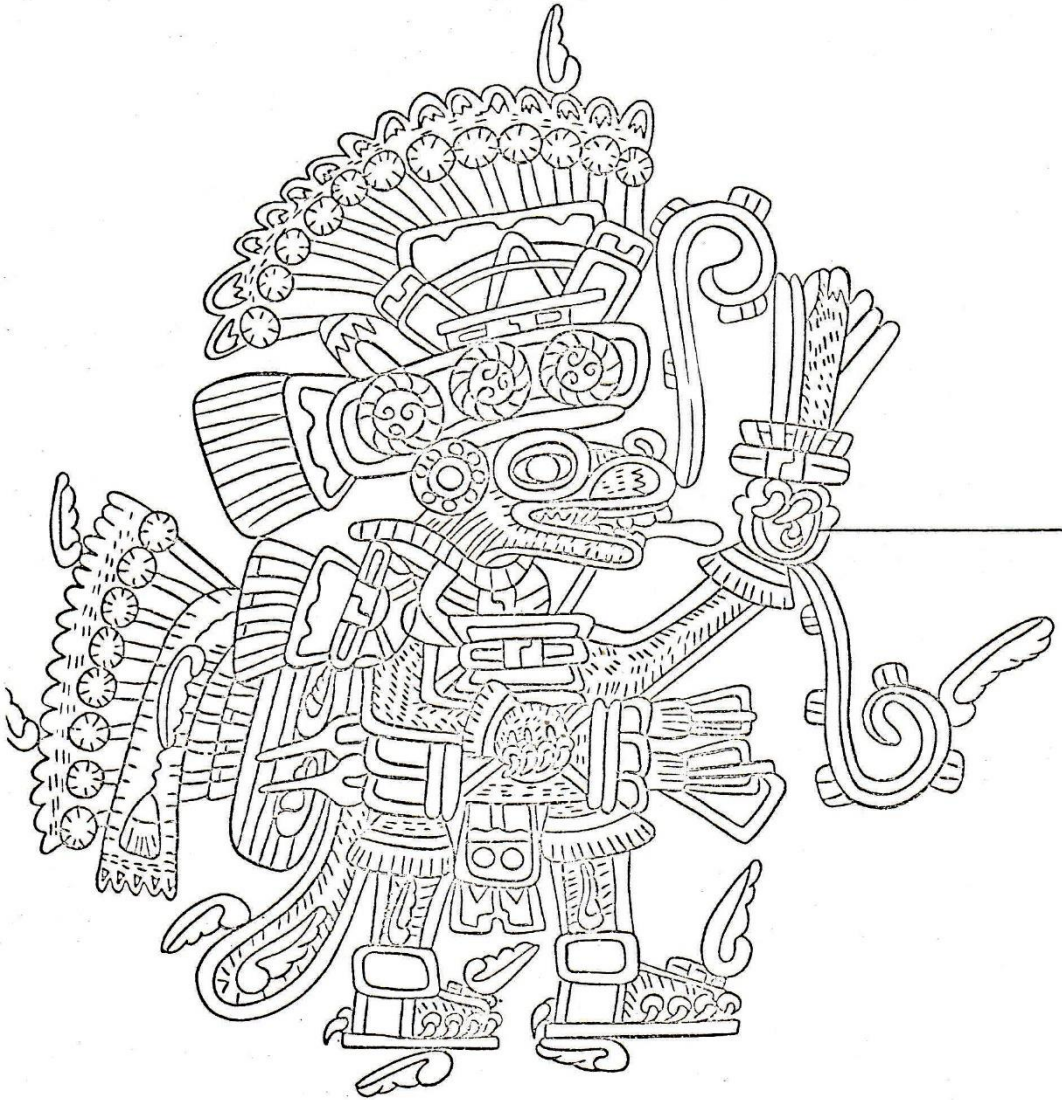


Fig. 52 Early Classic spear throwers at Teotihuacan.



a Late Classic spear thrower, Azcapotzalco (Teotihuacan IV).



b Teotihuacan (Early Classic)

Fig. 53 Spear throwers at Teotihuacan.

On the Tikal PD 50 vessel design, two of the right-hand striding figures bear pottery vessels and wear special headdresses (Fig. 50, e). The important elements in this headdress are the upper semi-circle and the short feather fall. In combination they look somewhat like a shell, but this similarity is probably coincidental. Short “popsicle” falls do occur at Teotihuacan and vicinity (Linne 1942: Fig. 128) but they are common at Monte Alba (Fig. 50, a-c) and occur at Kaminaljuyu as a Mexican import (Fig 50, d).

These same two Tikal figures (Fig. 50, e) carry pottery vessels, as do the similarly attired figures from Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 50, d). Such offering vessels are not common at Teotihuacan but are at Monte Alba (Fig. 50, b), Tula (Fig. 51, a-b), Toltec Chichen-Izta (Fig. 51, c-d) and at Kaminaljuyu again, but associated with Veracruz personages and style (Fig. 51, e).

“Tails” do occur at Teotihuacan (Fig. 27, a) but they are by far more common on members of the roving Teotihuacanos who visited Monte Alban (Fig. 26, a-b), Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 26, c), Tikal (Fig. 26, d-e; Fig. 27, b), and Toltec Chichen (Fig. 27, c).

Spear throwers are found at Teotihuacan (Fig. 52, a-) and (Fig. 53, a-). There may well be other early representations. The early varieties are so covered with decoration that are difficult to find (Figs. 52, c and 53, a). however, atlatls were more popular with the Toltecs (Fig. 27, b) and with those Mexicans which ventured into Monte Alba, Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 26, c), and the Petén (Fig. 26 d-e) and (Fig. 16) than they were with actual Teotihuacanos.

Traits 1-6 were more popular at Mexicanized Kaminaljuyu than at Teotihuacan. In fact, in general, the design of this Tikal PD 50 vessel is much closer to a Mexicanized Zapotec and Kaminaljuyu style to Teotihuacan style.

A similar analysis could be made of all the Early Classic examples of “Teotihuacan” art in the southern Maya lowlands, and the conclusions would be roughly the same. None of these designs are products of Teotihuacan artist, at Teotihuacan or in the Maya area.

POINT 7

LATE CLASSIC MEXICAN MOTIFS IN THE MAYA AREA

Throughout this paper we have seen how almost all the Mexican motifs in the Maya area were later popular at Tula and Toltec Chichen-Itza. By the Late Classic Teotihuacan III styles were out of favor and Teotihuacan IV style figurines seem to have begun to replace murals as a vehicle for artistic expression. This change in style can be seen in a comparison between Teotihuacan III Tlalocs (Fig. 6) and their later Late Classic counterparts (Fig. 54, a-b). Within the Maya area a similar simplification overtook the Tlalocs and the Early Classic variety (Fig. 54, e) was replaced by the Late Classic variety (Fig. 54, f-h).

During the Late Classic there are two interesting varieties of Tlaloc, Variety A (Fig. 19, b and Fig. 54, f-g) and Variety B (Fig. 55). The presence of a Butterfly Hook rising from the nose is the distinguishing feature of Variety B. The presence or absence of a Year sign does not affect this classification, but Year sign tend to occur more often with Variety A.

The importance of this "A" – "B" distinction is that "B" does not occur at Teotihuacan, Variety A was used at Teotihuacan, but not with the same variety of Year sign as was used with Variety A at Tula, Xochicalco, and in the Maya area. Boti "A" (Fig. 57) and "B" (Fig. 56) were common at Tula and at Toltec outposts in Yucatan (Fig. 57, c).

The same situation holds true for other motifs and elements in the Maya area. As has been pointed out throughout this thesis; there is a closer similarity between the art of Tula and the foreign art in the Maya region, than of the latter with the art of Tula and the foreign art in the Maya region, than of the latter with the art of Teotihuacan.



a



b

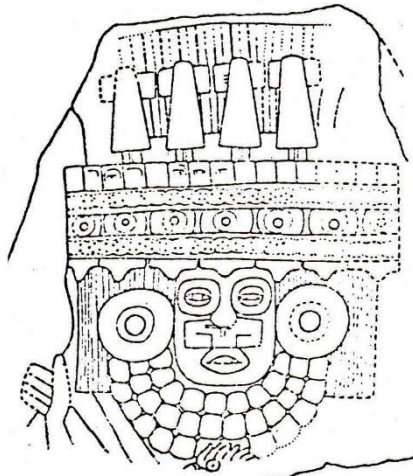


c



d

Late Classic Tlalocs at Teotihuacan.



e Early Classic Tlaloc
(Tikal Stela 32)



f Copan, misc. scul.



g



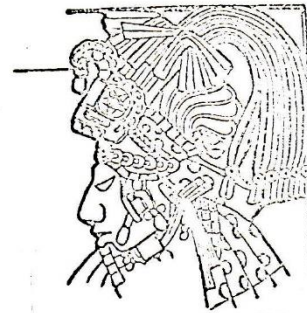
h Stela 6
Copan

Late Classic Tlalocs in Maya area.
Variety A.

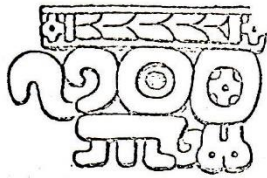
Fig. 54 Early and Late Classic Tlalocs.



a Yaxchilan, Lintel 8



b Yaxchilan, Lintel 4

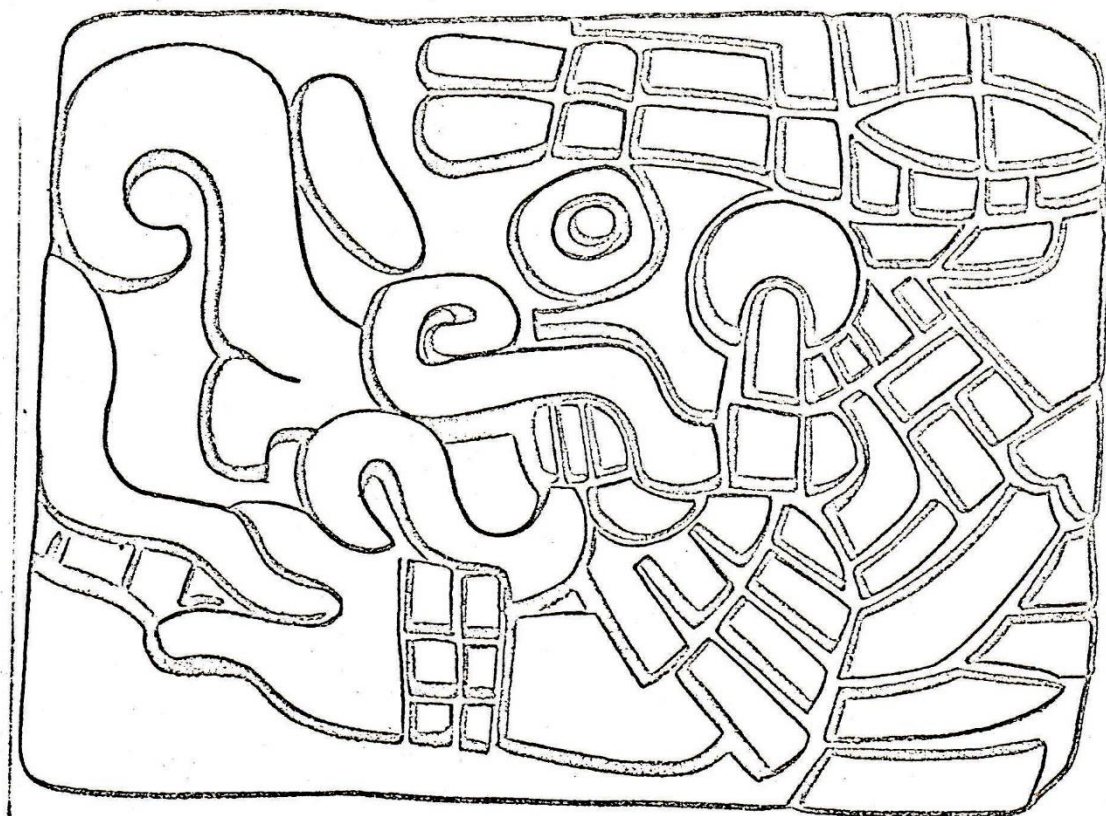


c Copan, misc. sculpture.

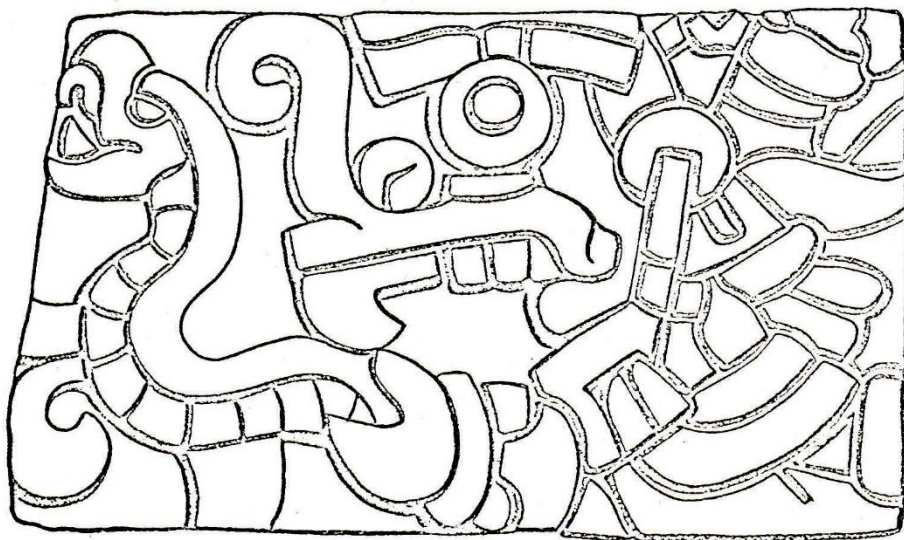


d Chinkultic Stela 7

Fig. 55 Late Classic Tlaloc, Variety B.



a Tula, Losa 4.



b Tula, Losa.

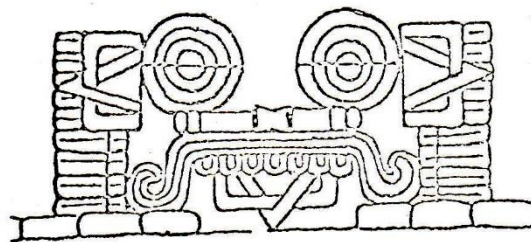
Fig. 56 Late Classic Tlaloc, Variety B.



a Tula.



b Tula.



c Uxmal, Monjas.

Fig. 57 Late Classic Tlaloc, Variety A.

PART IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

El impacto de la tradición teotihuacana sobre la cultura de las tierras bajas fue relativamente débil (Proskouriakoff 1964: 187).

Late Classic Maya art evolves directly out of that of the early half of the period, but excepting the demonstrably late sculpture of the Puuc, there is little outside influence still to be seen (M. Coe 1966: 111).

An investigation into the nature of the art at Teotihuacan has suggested that this art resembled a written language. The art has forms similar to morphemes and words and has rules for combining these forms which are analogous to those of a grammar. A given text can be read and understood only through a knowledge of these forms and rules. A study of the art at Teotihuacan produced a catalog of several hundred symbols. A survey of the art of Monte Alban, Kaminaljuyu, Izapa, the Maya Tula, and Xochicalco showed where some of these symbols originated and outlined the pattern of constant lending and borrowing of art symbols among the Classic civilizations of Mesoamerica. A familiarity with regional styles and contexts made it possible to document both the immediate and ultimate generator of many art motifs.

Following upon these studies, and element/motif analysis of all the published art of the southern Maya lowlands showed that:

Point 1: during the Early Classic the Maya made frequent use of Mexican art symbols and copied whole Mexican themes.

Point 2: even though Teotihuacan collapsed sometime during the beginning of the Late Classic, the Maya area continued to import Mexican art symbols. In fact, the use of Mexican forms became even more popular than it had been in the Early Classic.

Point 3: towards the end of the Late Classic new waves of Mexican art entered the Maya area. This art showed strong resemblances to the Toltec style of Tula and Toltec Chichen-Itza and to the Mexican style which had been entering the Maya area since the Early Classic.

Point 4: many motifs which have been thought of as Maya were in fact derived from Mexican forms. These motifs are difficult to spot because they are mixed in with Maya forms and are executed in an overall Maya style.

Point 5: besides all the motifs which can be traced back to Teotihuacan, there are still other designs in the Maya area which should be considered as Mexicanoid. These are designs which may be either Maya or pan-Mesoamerican but which are often used in a special context together with other forms of a more clearly Mexican derivation. In such cases, these motifs have foreign connotations.

Point 6: as the art symbols diffused southward from Teotihuacan in the Early Classic they were altered by the various cultures through which they passed. By the time they reached the Maya region they had acquired certain Zapotec and Kaminaljuyu additions or subtractions. Such art ought not be termed "Teotihuacan" or even "Teotihuacanoid".

Point 7: during the Late Classic, Maya art received most of its foreign imports from those Mexicans who later came to be called Toltecs. Styles of the two areas remained separate but the vocabulary was similar in many instances.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper began with a specific question, but it was deliberately left an open one. That is, what was the nature and extent of Mexican influence on the art of the Maya area and what inferences may we draw from the answer to this question? This paper has dealt with a large problem over a large area. It has not analyzed Mexican impact at a single site over time. The use of the single site approach has been the problem with Tikal studies of the Teotihuacan question to date. With an orientation toward a single site it is all too easy to lose sight of what was happening in the rest of Mesoamerica. When a Tikal oriented study is made in the future, it should follow a general survey.

The conclusions to this study are as follow: because many of the Early Classic Mexican motifs which occur at Monte Alba, Kaminaljuyu, and the Maya area frequently contain motifs which were not common at Teotihuacan but which later existed at Tula, it seems that the source of the Early Classic influence was not actually Teotihuacan itself, but was rather some other Mexican site peripheral to Teotihuacan. In support of this hypothesis is Acosta's belief that the Mexicans who arrived at Monte Alba during the Early Classic "did not come directly from Teotihuacan but from the south of Puebla..." (1965: 824). This un-name Mexican group radiated influence southward to the Maya area and later northward to an emerging Tula.

The frequent association of weapon of war with group suggested at they were primarily a group of armed warriors. The undoubtedly had religious and trading aspects, but in their own and Maya representations of them their military aspects were always emphasized. Art in the Usumacinta region and in Toltec Yucatan show that the "weapons" were used for military action. The scenes on Tikal Stela 31, Piedras Negras Lintel 2, and the Uaxactun B-XIII murals, which show armed men paying homage to Maya rulers, suggest that the warriors were mercenaries.

In the Early Classic this mercenary group moved southward but maintained close contact with Teotihuacan. This contact is evidenced in the strong Teotihuacan influence on Zapotec art and the almost pure Teotihuacan style designs of some Early Classic Late Amatitlán and Kaminaljuyu artifacts. These mercenaries seemed to have actually migrated to this region. In the Early Classic there is a sudden influx of foreign traits and in the late Classic an equally sudden demise. On their way to Kaminaljuyu they spread throughout the Guatemalan Pacific coast region (Shook 1965: Fig. 2, e-f).

During the Early Classic, Tikal, Uaxactun, Nakum, Yaxha, and Copan were subject more to a radiation of Kaminaljuyu-Mexican influence than to an actual migration of Mexicans. However, a few Mexicans did enter; some as

mercenaries and other as artists. Again, these foreigners did not come directly from Teotihuacan but from Mexicanized Kaminaljuyu.

A point to keep in mind with respect to this and the later Late Classic entradas is that the mercenaries maintained a unified front within the Maya area. Virtually the same range of Mexican motifs and themes used wherever any foreign motifs occurred.

In the Late Classic some changes took place in the Mexican-Maya interaction pattern. The Mexicans seem to have stayed in the Petén but their influence radiated outward into the entire Usumacinta and Pasión drainages. Although these Mexicans still maintained contact with their home base in Mexico, there seems to have been less actual migration of foreigners into the Petén during the early Late Classic.

The mercenaries of Early Classic Tikal Stela 31 and Yaxha Stela 11 were physically as well still culturally Mexicanoid but were physically Maya. This physical assimilation corresponded to a cultural assimilation. Rather than a few relatively pure Mexican stelae as in the Early Classic, in the Late Classic most stelae reverted to a Maya style and Mexican symbols were integrated into this style. By 9. 14. 0. 0. 0 the artists of the Maya area made more and more frequent use of Mexican elements and motifs. This Mexicanization lasted until 9. 18. 0. 0. 0 with a peak around Katun 15. In Katun 19 a fresh wave of mercenaries entered from Mexico or possibly from an increasingly Mexicanized Yucatan. Earlier Mexicans had knelt before Mexican rulers. By at least 10. 2. 0. 0. 0 the invading Mexicans had spread throughout the heartland of the southern Maya lowlands. Evidently the Maya political-religious structure was not capable of absorbing such, an onslaught. The ensuing disruption upset an increasingly unstable population-agriculture situation and one the Classic Maya cities and ceremonial centers tottered and fell.

WORK TO BE DONE IN THE FUTURE

In many respects this paper is progress report. There is a great deal of basic research which must be completed before the hypotheses can be anchored in a statistically significant amount of data. In addition, there are several specific problems concerning Mexican art in the Maya area which require investigation.

1. Because Kaminaljuyu seems to have been the cultural mediator between Mexico and the Maya area, we need to know more about the archaeology of this part of the Guatemalan highlands. What happen to Kaminaljuyu in the Late Classic? Did it fall with Teotihuacan?
2. A study should be made to determine the exact nature of Zapotec-Teotihuacan interaction. If Monte Alban was a cultural mediator between Mexico and the Maya area during the Early Classic, why did it not continue to function in this capacity in the Late Classic?
3. The date for the fall of Teotihuacan, so crucial for any Mexico-Maya study, must be established. Insufficient excavation often careless recording of what little has been done have resulted in the lack of reliable dates for this collapse and for hundreds of murals. At the present time there is not even a reliable stylistic seriation for the totality of Teotihuacan art (Miller 1969: pers. common).
4. It has been established that there was mutual influence among Veracruz, Teotihuacan, Zapotec, and Maya styles. It is now important that the nature of these intertwined connections be worked out.
5. A study of the archaeology of some of the infrequently excavated areas of Mexico might be beneficial in revealing the homeland of the Mexican group responsible for introducing much of the Teotihuacanoid forms into the Maya area.
6. This study has confined itself to the realm of art. If a Mexico-Maya study is to be complete other aspects of the archaeological record must be included. Art is clearly only a limited aspect of the interaction patterns between the great civilization of Mesoamerica.

7. The catalogs of Mesoamerican art need to be completed. Only with these catalogs can any large study be made feasible. A computer might help in this respect.
8. For many important Maya stelae there are no clear, usable photographs of line drawings available. The great number of Mexican designs in the Maya area which have been missed should point out the urgent need for better illustrations.
9. Proskouriakoff has suggested that there may be kinship links between some of the Late Classic Maya rulers from several widely scattered sites (1961). It does seem that certain Maya personages favored Mexican culture more than others. If the dynasties can be worked out we may find that this is so. It is possible that foreign motifs may be linked with hieroglyphs and that certain of the themes of the dynastic rule may have had a closer association with Mexican symbols than others.

APPENDIX I

PRELIMINARY LIST OF ELEMENTS USED AT TEOTIHUACAN

Blank spaces have been left throughout the element list so that the list may be easily expanded when a further study of the art at Teotihuacan reveals elements I have missed. New elements in unpublished murals will also be added to fill in blank numbers.

Numbers followed with no name are deliberately bland and are left so

Blank spaces have been left throughout the element list so that the list may be easily expanded when a further study of Teotihuacan art reveals elements I have missed. New elements in unpublished murals will also added to fill in blank numbers.

I. LIQUID

TE 1: Single, tear-shaped liquid drop.

TE 2:

TE 3: Parallel line wave.

TE 4: Zigzag.

TE 5:

TE 6: Water curl.

TE 7: Fret.

TE 8:

TE 9:

TE 10: Water curl with pointed base of top.

TE 11: Curved water knife.

TE 12: Treble scroll.

TE 13:

TE 14: Flow of straight lines.

TE 15: Outline of flow from hand or mouth.

TE 16: Multi-linear water.

TE 17: Dots in flow.

TE 18:

TE 19: Splash.

TE 20: Liquid "Z"

II. WATER LIFE

TE 21: Water knot

TE 22: Water blob.

TE 23: Leach.

TE 24: Water doughnut.

TE 25: Starfish

TE 26: Half-star.

TE 27:

TE 28: Turtle Shell

TE 29:

TE 30:

TE 31:

III. SHELLS, A, Non-conch

TE 32: Shell oval.

TE 33: Straight "parallel" pectin lines.

TE 34: Shagginess on shell.

TE 35: Bumps on non-conch shell.

TE 36: Bracket on shell.

TE 37: Semi-circle on shell.

TE 38: Curl end on shell.

TE 39: Curl end on shell.

TE 40: Pectin end fins.

TE 41: Extra thick pectin lines.

TE 42:

III. SHELLS, B, Conch & cowrie

TE 43: Bumps on conch shell.

TE 44: Coils at end of conch shell.

TE 45: Curl for shell mouth.

TE 46:

TE 47:
 TE 48: Triangles on cowrie.
 TE 49: Frontal teeth on cowrie mouth.
 TE 50: Overhead view of teeth on cowrie.
 TE 51:
 TE 52:
 TE 54:
 TE 55:

IV. PLANTS, A. Water

TE 56:
 TE 57:
 TE 58:
 TE 59: Water plant pad.
 TE 60: Pad curl.
 TE 61: Bud outline.
 TE 62: Bud, inside lines.
 TE 63: Water plant stem.
 TE 64:
 TE 65: Fan plant pattern
 TE 66:

IV. PLANTS, B. Land

TE 67:
 TE 68:
 TE 69:
 TE 70:

TE 71: Stylized petal.
 TE 72: Swastika in flower.
 TE 73: Leaf pattern.
 TE 74: Plant stems.
 TE 75: Plant leaf.
 TE 76: Crown flower "W"
 TE 77: Crown flower crown.
 TE 78: Base of crown flower.
 TE 79: Crown flower leaf.
 TE 80: Maguey saw leaf.
 TE 81: Spatula plant form.
 TE 82: Plant tentacles.
 TE 83:
 TE 84: Chevron feather leaf.
 TE 85: Oval flower bud.
 TE 86: Bumps on speech scroll.
 TE 87: Base of eye flower.

V. MISCELLANEOUS ELEMENTES

TE 88: Land pattern.
 TE 89:
 TE 90: Diamond shape.
 TE 91: Zone separate.
 TE 92:
 TE 93: Perpendicular comb.
 TE 94: Circle
 TE 95: Goggle, double circle

TE 96:	Kan cross.	TE 121:	Diagonal tics.
TE 97:	Interlocking question marks.	TE 122:	"H" cross
TE 98:	Bumps	TE 123:	Angular comb tics.
TE 99:	Chevron.	TE 124:	Element of tri-mountain.
TE 100:	Zigzag comb.	TE 125:	Quartered diamond
TE 101:	Rope. Twist.	TE 126:	Alternating light-dark zones.
TE 102:	"S" knot.	TE 127:	Spring
TE 103:	Linear weave with mid- line	TE 128:	Cris-cross pattern.
TE 104:	Diagonal lines.	TE 129:	Rounded comb.
TE 105:	Year sign feet.	TE 130:	"Venus" eyeglasses.
TE 106:	Year sign center base.	TE 131:	Checkerboard, perpendicular lined squares.
TE 107:	Year sign triangle.	TE 132:	Bracket blob.
TE 108:	Year sign wedge.	TE 133:	Tics (on line)
TE 109:	Year sign arms.	TE 134:	Bridge.
TE 110:	Year sign body	TE 136:	Flame ear.
TE 111:		TE 137:	Isosceles triangle.
TE 112:	RE glyph curl.	TE 138:	Rays.
TE 113:	RE glyph dots.	TE 139:	Keyhole.
TE 114:	RE glyph corner marks.	TE 140:	Semi-circle.
TE 115:	RE glyph half-eye.	TE 141:	
TE 116:		TE 142:	Slit eye on vessel body.
TE 117:	RE glyph year sign steps.	TE 143:	Bottle.
TE 118:	RE glyph, half squares.	TE 144:	Ball.
TE 119:	Rounded glyph outline.	TE 145:	Yoke.
TE 120:		TE 146:	
		TE 147:	

TE 148:
 TE 149: "U"
 TE 150: Rope knot.
 TE 151: Checkerboard of solid colors
 TE 152:
 TE 153:
 TE 154:
 TE 155: Spider web star.
 TE 156: Multi-pointed "Star"

V. ARCHITECTURE

TE 177: Rectangular tablero.
 TE 178: Talud.
 TE 179: One-piece tablero talud.
 TE 180: Plan view of tablero.
 TE 181: Plan view of steps.
 TE 182: Elevation view of steps.
 TE 183: Indented tablero.
 TE 184: Temple doors.
 TE 185: Temple walls.
 TE 186: Temple corner posts.
 TE 187: Temple vault facing.
 TE 188: Temple roof.
 TE 189: Temple roof comb.
 TE 190: Shingles.
 TE 191: Step-fret.

TE 192: Roof frame.
 TE 193: Balustrade.
 TE 194: Thach
 TE 195: Metate.
 TE 196: Bench legs.
 TE 197:
 TE 198:
 TE 199:
 TE 200:
 TE 201: Feet of stand.
 TE 202: Semi-circular stand.
 TE 203: Stand.
 TE 204: Geometric stand.

VI. GENERAL ANATOMICA, A, Head

TE 205:
 TE 206:
 TE 207:
 TE 208:
 TE 209:
 TE 210: Molar
 TE 211: Simple incisor.
 TE 212:
 TE 213: Sharp, straight fang.
 TE 214: Maya fang.
 TE 215: Fang with continuous curl.
 TE 216: "L" shaped fang

TE 217: Lower canine.
 TE 218: Fang base.
 TE 219: Gums.
 TE 220: Tonsil
 TE 221:
 TE 222: Bump nose, outline
 TE 223: Curl in bump nose.
 TE 224: Veracruz double
 outline.
 TE 225: Veracruz leg curl.
 TE 226:
 TE 227: Long, step-less mouth.
 TE 228: Long, stepped mouth.
 TE 229:
 TE 230: Squarish eyeball.
 TE 231: Slit, rectangular
 eyeball
 TE 232: Small dot eyeball.
 TE 233: Small circle
 TE 234: Semi-circular eyeball.
 TE 235:
 TE 236:
 TE 237:
 TE 238: Half-eye outline.
 TE 239:
 TE 240:
 TE 241:
 TE 242:
 TE 243:

TE 244:

VII. NON-WATER FAUNA,
A. Monkey

TE 245:
 TE 246:
 TE 247:
 TE 248: Monkey head bumps.

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA,
B. Serpent

TE 249:
 TE 250:
 TE 251:
 TE 252: Bracket on Split
 tongue.
 TE 253: Slit tongue.
 TE 254: Eye curl, separate
 TE 255: Eye curl, continuous.
 TE 256: Scales.
 TE 257: Serpent "V" mark.
 TE 258: Rattles.
 TE 259: Rattle end.
 TE 260: Serpent body.
 TE 260:

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, C.
Feline/canine

TE 262: Triangle spots.

TE 263: Herringbone fur.

TE 264:

TE 265:

TE 266: Short, profile stepped mouth.

TE 267: Stepped mouth with lower lip outcurl.

TE 268:

TE 269: Ear.

TE 270: Inner ear curl.

TE 271:

TE 272: Upper snout.

TE 273:

TE 274: Tail.

TE 275:

TE 276: Claw.

TE 277: Claw holder.

TE 278: Leg, front

TE 279: Leg, back

TE 280:

TE 281:

TE 282:

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, D. Feline

TE 283: Elongate spots.

TE 284: Feline spots.

TE 285: Dark semi-circle as spot

TE 286:

TE 287:

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, E. Canine

TE 288: Beard.

TE 289: Leg beard.

TE 290:

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, F. Butterfly

TE 291: Central body

TE 292: Split curl at body end.

TE 293: Front wing curl.

TE 294: Wing.

TE 295: Lobal swallow tail.

TE 296: Fly tail.

TE 297:

TE 298: Parallel line waves on butterfly

TE 299: Butterfly eye comb.

TE 300:

TE 301:

TE 302:

TE 303: Antenna.

TE 304: Butterfly hook.

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, G. Birds

TE 305:

TE 306:

TE 307: Wing bar.
 TE 308: Wing.
 TE 309: Tail.
 TE 310: Parallel undulation on wing.
 TE 311: Overlap bird eyebrow
 TE 312:
 TE 313: Frontal bird nose curl.
 TE 314:
 TE 315: Bird nose, profile.
 TE 316: Beak, frontal.
 TE 317: Bill, frontal.
 TE 318: Beak, profile.
 TE 319: Bill, profile.
 TE 320: Round, bird head.
 TE 321: Bird beard.
 TE 322: Bird claw

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, G, I Bird feather

TE 323:
 TE 324: Simple outline feather, with centerline.
 TE 325: "L" feather
 TE 326: Heavy, blunt, double-outline feather
 TE 327: Base feather.
 TE 328: Color semi-circle on feather.
 TE 329: Sharp division.

TE 330: Year sign feather.
 TE 331: Isosceles.
 TE 332: Simple outline feather.
 TE 333: Feather sequin.
 TE 334: Feather punctate.
 TE 335: Tail feather.
 TE 336: Overlapping feathers.
 TE 337: Spatula feather.
 TE 338: Year sing feather end.

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, H, Human

TE 339: Simple, oval eye outline.
 TE 340: Oval eye, sharp ends.
 TE 241: Rectangular eye.
 TE 242: Simple mouth outline.
 TE 343: Profile nose.
 TE 344: Nose, frontal.
 TE 345: Mouth indentation.
 TE 346: Naturalistic, double-outline profile mouth.
 TE 347: Thick, double outline lips.
 TE 348: TE 347 with sag in middle.
 TE 349:
 TE 350: Frontal mouth, protruding.
 TE 351: Upper lip.

TE 352: Ear.
 TE 353: Square nose.
 TE 354: Hair.
 TE 355: Tufts of hair.
 TE 356: Chin hair.
 TE 357: Footprint.
 TE 358: Arm.
 TE 359: Hand.
 TE 360: Leg.
 TE 361:
 TE 362: Skull.
 TE 363: Fleshless jaw
 TE 364:
 TE 365:

IX. ATTIRE, A. Headdress

TE 366: Bracket.
 TE 367: Base for feather out spring.
 TE 368:
 TE 369: Square in bar.
 TE 370: Circle in bar.
 TE 371:
 TE 372: Horizontal bar.
 TE 373:
 TE 374: Helmet pieces.
 TE 375: Sequins.
 TE 376: Crown line.
 TE 377: Wiggle bar.

TE 378: Tau.
 TE 379: Rectangular tablero Flow.
 TE 380: Semi-circle from which flow issues.
 TE 381: Horns.
 TE 382: Headdress hook.
 TE 383: Cloud of dots.
 TE 384: Cloud.
 TE 385: Forehead piece.
 TE 386: Headdress fall.
 TE 387:
 TE 388:

IX. ATTIRE, B. NON-SPECIFIC LOCATION

TE 389: Stole.
 TE 390: Toltec insignia.
 TE 391:
 TE 392:

IX. ATTIRE, C. Head

TE 392: Horizontal face tattoo.
 TE 393: "L" shaped cheek tattoo.
 TE 394: Dot on cheek
 TE 395: Upper face mask.
 TE 396: Body paint.
 TE 397A: Simple goggle, round.

TE 398B: Simple goggle,
squarish.

TE 398: Earplug, variety A.

TE 399: Earplug, variety B.

TE 400: ~~Earplug, variety C.~~

TE 401:

TE 402: Earplug fall.

TE 403: Maya earplug
pendant.

TE 404: Upper earplug
extension.

TE 405:

TE 406: Rectangular nose bar.

TE 407: Nose bar with
upturned ends.

TE 408: Nose bar with "L"
shaped end, no upturn.

TE 409:

TE 410:

TE 411:

IX. ATTIRE, D, Neck

TE 412: Ascot.

TE 413: (Single strand necklace
of) beads.

TE 414: Scarf.

TE 415:

IX. ATTIRE, E, Body

TE 416: Shoulder bar.

TE 417: Shoulder shells.

TE 418:

TE 419: Tail shield.

TE 420: Tail stole.

TE 421: Tail.

TE 422:

TE 423:

TE 424: Upper body garment.

TE 425: Skirt fall between legs.

TE 426: Triangle in skirt motif.

TE 427: Skirt "H" motif.

TE 428: Skirt.

TE 429: Skirt step design.

TE 430:

TE 431:

TE 432: Puff Toltec knee wear.

TE 433: Puff Toltec ankle wear.

TE 434: Loincloth.

TE 435:

TE 436:

TE 437: Knee ring.

TE 438: Knee feather fall.

TE 439: Bracelet, variety A

TE 442:

TE 443: Sandal sole.

TE 444: Sandal toe piece.

TE 445: Sandal ankle piece.

TE 446: Sandal foot side piece.

TE 447:

TE 448:

TE 449:

X. OBJECTS IN HAND, A.
Weapons

TE 450: Toltec club.

TE 451 Dart end.

TE 452: Dart quiver.

TE 453:

TE 454: Blunt dart end.

TE 455:

TE 456: Spear circle end.

TE 457: Spear end.

TE 458: Spear shaft.

TE 459: Spear Pont.

TE 460: Markings on spear shaft.

TE 461:

TE 462: Spear thrower handle.

TE 463: Spear thrower curl.

TE 464:

X. OBJECTS IN HAND, B.
Miscellaneous

TE 465: Bundle.

TE 466:














TE 467: Rattle.








APPENDIX II

PRELIMINARY LIST OF MOTIFS USED AT TEOTIHUACAN


Blank spaces have been left throughout the motif list so that the list so that the list may be easily expanded when a further study of the art at Teotihuacan reveals the full range of motifs. Motifs in unpublished murals will also to fill in blank numbers in the future.


I. LIQUID


- TM 1: Liquid drop with exterior half eye (TE 1, TE 238) 
- TM 2: Liquid drop with interior (half) eye 
- TM 3: Liquid drop with comb. 
- TM 4: Liquid drop with water plant markings. 
- TM 5: Eye tear plant
- TM 6:
- TM 7: Tri-lobal liquid (TE 1) 
- TM 8: Multi-lobal liquid (TE 1) 
- TM 9: Multi lobal in row (TE 1) 
- TM 10: Multi- lobal liquid on shell (TE 1) 
- TM 11:
- TM 12:
- TM 13: Semi-circle of parallel lines waves (TE 3). 
- TM 14: Triangle of parallel lines waves (TE 3). 
- TM 15: Stepped parallel wave lines. 
- TM 16: Parallel line with zig-zag. 
- TM 17:
- TM18: Round form with water curls (TE 6). 


- TM 19: Outline of water curls (TE 6). 
- TM 20:
- TM 21:
- TM 22:
- TM 23: Flow of straight lines with half eyes (TE 14, TE 238). 
- TM 24: Flow with water "Z's" (TE 14, TE 20). 
- TM 25: Flow with water 
- TM 26: Flow from flower (TE 14, TE 123) 
- TM 27: Flow from mouth (TE 15) 
- TM 28: Flow with just dots (TE 15, TE 17). 
- TM 29: Row of splashes (TE 19).
- TM 30:
- TM 31:
- TM 32:
- TM 33:
- TM 34:
- TM 35:

II. WATER LIFE

- TM 36: Water faces. 
- TM 37:
- TM 38: Life from shell.
- TM 39:

TM 40: Half stars in row (TE 26). 


TM 41: Half stars alternating upside down (TE 26). 

TM 42: Half stars alternating with double circle (TE 26, TE 95) 

TM 43:

TM 44:

TM 45:


TM 46: Star with interior circle (TE 25, TE 94 or 95) 


TM 47: Star with lobal flow (TE 25, TM 7 or 8).


TM 48:


TM 49:


III SHELLS, A, Non- conch


TM 50: Pectin, thin lines (TE 32, 33, often 40) 


TM 51: Pectin, thin lines (TE 32, TE 41, often TE 40). 

TM 52: Shell with doughnut 

TM 53: Shaggy shell (TE 32, TE 34). 

TM 54: Shell with bumps (TE 32, TE 35). 

TM 55: Shell with bracket (TE 32, TE 36). 

TM 56: Shell with semi-circle. 

TM 57:

TM 58:

III SHELLS, B, Conch and cowrie

TM 59: Conch (TE 44, TE 45)

TM 60: Feathered conch (TM 59)

TM 61:

TM 62:

TM 63: Cowrie

TM 64:

TM 65:

IV. PLANTS, A, Water

TM 66: Water plant from mouth (TE 59-63)

TM 67: Line of water plants (TM 70).

TM 68: Water lily pad (TE 59, TE 60)

TM 69: Water lily bud (TE 61, TM 62)


TM 70: Water plant (TE 63, TM 68, TM 69)











TM 71:

TM 72:

IV. PLANTS, B, Land

TM 73: Crown flower (TE 77, TE 78).

TM 74: Chain of vertical, joined 

	crown flowers (TM 73).	
TM 75:	Chain of joined crown flowers, horizontal (TM 73)	
TM 76:		
TM 78:		
TM 79:		
TM 80:	Fan flower.	
TM 81:	Biznega.	
TM 82:	Spatula plant.	
TM 83:	Four petaled flower	
TM 84:	Angular, stylized TM 83	
TM 85:	Four petaled flower with comb.	
TM 86:	Half flower (of any of the above varieties).	
TM 87:	Four petaled flower in feather border.	
TM 88:		
TM 89:		
TM 90:		
TM 91:		
TM 91:		
TM 92:	Eye flower (TE 87)	










TM 93:















TM 94:

TM 95:



V. MISCELLANEOUS MOTIFS

TM 96:	Diamond with zones (TE 90, TE 91)	
TM 97:	Diamond eye (TE 90)	
TM 98:	Diamond, dot, half-eye and comb- and circle motif (TM 96)	
TM 99:		
TM 100:		
TM 101:	Perpendicular comb (TE 91, TE 93).	
TM 102:	Diagonal with bumps (TE 98, TE 104).	
TM 103:	Zig-zag comb (TE 91, TE 100)	
TM 104:		
TM 105:		
TM 106:		
TM 107:	Kan cross lip-curl (TE 96)	
TM 108:		
TM 109:		

TM 110:	Chevron of diagonal tics		variety A
TM 111:	Row of thick chevrons (TE 99).		TM 125: Year sign, variety B
TM 112:	Opposed chevron row with diamond center (TE 99).		TM 126: Year sign, variety C
TM 113:	Chevron crossing at center (TE 99)		TM 127: Year sign, variety D 
TM 114:			TM 128: Year sign, variety E 
TM 115:	Knot tie (TE 102)		TM 129: Late Classic Year sing,
TM 116:	Net knot rope (TE 101).		TM 130:
TM 117:	Crossed, intertwined rope (TE 101).		TM 131:
TM 118:	Crossed rope or thatch		TM 132:
TM 119:			TM 133: Profile Year sing, 
TM 120:	Circle with feather ends		TM 134:
TM 121:	Circle with feather edges.		TM 135: Generalized, non-specific RE glyph (at least TE 115 and 112 or 113 or 114). 
TM 122:	Circle with tics.		TM 136: RE glyph with dots (TM 135 with TE 113). 
TM 123:	Miscellaneous (complete frontal Year sing (TE 107, TE 108, TE 110 at least).		TM 137: RE glyph with eye curl (TM 135, TE 112) 
TM 124:	Year sign,		TM 138: RE glyph with corner mark (TM 135, TE 114) 
			TM 139: RE glyph with dots and eye curl (
			TM 140: RE glyph with dots and corner mark

TM 141: RE glyph with eye curl and corner marks



TM 142: RE glyph with steps (TM 135, TE 117).



TM 143:

TM 144:

TM 145:

TM 146:

TM 147:

TM 148: RE glyph in stylized flower (TM 135)

TM 149: RE glyph in stylized swastika flower

TM 150: RE glyph in feather border (TM 135)



TM 151:

TM 152:

TM 153: "Tri-mountain" (TE 124).



TM 154:

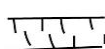
TM 155: Multi-mountain (TE 124)



TM 156: Quartered diamond with balls (TE 125)



TM 157: Tics in straight line (TE



TM 158: "Bleeding heart"



TM 159:



TM 160:

TM 161:

VI. ARCHITECTURE

TM 162: Tablero- talud (TE 177, TE 178).



TM 163: Indented TM 162 (TE 183, TE 178)



TM 164: Plan outline of steps and platform (TE 180, TE 181).



TM 165: Temple (TE 184, TE 185)



TM 166:

TM 167:

TM 168



TM 169: Goggles in architecture (TE 95, usually with TE 177).



TM 170: Shrine



TM 171: Chevron stand



TM 172: Mouth- like stand



TM 173: Semi-circular stand



TM 174: Backless bench





TM 175: Seat with back




VII. GENERAL ANATOMICAL, A,
Head


TM 176: Row of "L" fangs 


TM 177: Row of blunt fangs 

TM 178: 3 equal sized triangle fangs 


TM 179:


TM 180: Goggle eye, variety A 


TM 181: Goggle eye, variety B 3 concentric circles 


TM 182: Goggle eye, variety C Split eye, with no pupil 

TM 183: Goggle eye, variety D Split eye with pupil 


TM 184: Goggle eye, variety E Split eye with tics 

TM 185: Goggle eye, variety F sharp ended eye, no pupil 

TM 186: Goggle eye, variety G sharp ended eye with pupil 


TM 187: Goggle eye, variety H horizontal eye, angular eyeball. 

TM 188: Goggle eye, variety I semi-circle eye 


TM 189: Goggle eye, variety J simple goggle, solid round eyeball 

TM 190:

TM 191:


TM 192: Half eye, variety A 

TM 193: Half eye, variety B 

TM 194: Half eye, variety C 

TM 195:

TM 196:

TM 197: Radiant mouth 

TM 198: Feathered eye, variety A

TM 199: Speech scroll of water bumps.

TM 200: Speech scroll of water curls.

TM 201: Speech scroll with crown flowers.

VII. NON-WATER FAUNA, A,
Miscellaneous

TM 202: Monkey (Sejourne 159: Fig 82 e.)

TM 203: Spider (Sejourne 1956: Fig. 13)

TM 204: Insect (Ibid.)

TM 205: Scorpion (Gamio 1922, I: 194)

TM 206:

TM 219:


TM 220:


VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, B,
Serpent

TM 207: Serpent (at least TE 260)

TM 208: Intertwined serpents (TM 207). (Sejourne 1966B: Fig. 155)

TM 209: Feathered serpent (TM 207). (Ibid.)


TM 210: Maya serpent markings 

TM 211: Serpent head (at least TE 253 and 254 of 255). 

TM 212: Snake bird (Kubler 1967: Fig 25)

TM 213:

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, C,
Feline-canine

TM 214: Claw (TE 276, TE 277.) 

TM 215: Quadruped (at least (Caso 1958-TE 274 and four TE 59: Fig. 6) 278's).

TM 216: Feathered quadruped (Ibid).

TM 217: Quadruped with net-knot body (TM 215, Ibid)


TM 218: Three-dimensional stone quadruped (Kubler 1967: Fig. 21)

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, D,
Feline

TM 221: Feline (Caso 1958-59: Fig. 6, right)

TM 222: Net-knot feline (Cask 1958-59: Fig. 6)

TM 223:

TM 224: Comb and dot spots. 

TM 225: Long and dots spots 

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, E,
Canine

TM 226: Canine (Sejourne 1966B: Fig. 177)

TM 227: Feathered canine (Caso 1958- 59: Fig 6, left).

TM 228:

VIII NON-WATER FAUNA, F,
Butterfly

TM 229: Butterfly (TE 294, TE 303, TE 304) (Sejourne 1959: Fig. 100).

TM 230: Butterfly wing (TE 293, TE 294, TE 298). (Sejourne 1959: Fig. 7).

TM 231:

TM 232:

VIII NON-WATER FAUNA, G, Bird

TM 233: Non-specific bird

TM 234: Owl

TM 235: Eagle

TM 236: Quetzal

TM 237:

TM 238:

TM 239:

TM 240:

VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, G, I
Bird featherTM 241: Feather with comb
end

TM 242: Feather edges

TM 243: Feather fall

TM 244: Thick feather
scalesTM 245: Year sign
feathersTM 246: Feathers with ball
near endTM 247: Round feather
outlineTM 248: Band of feather
ends

TM 249: Feather ruff, rounded

TM 250: Short, rectangular feather
row

TM 251:

TM 252:

(for other feather
arrangements, see under
Headdresses, TM)VIII. NON-WATER FAUNA, H,
HUMANTM 253: Human (any human nose
or mouth)

TM 254: Complete skull
















TM 255: (see also Deities
and Composite
figures)IX. ATTIRE, A, Headdress

TM 256:

TM 257:

TM 258: Headdress top
feather massTM 259: Headdress top
center feather
mass.TM 260: Headdress top
side feather
mass.TM 261: Quarter headdress
feather mass.TM 262: Headdress side feather
mass.TM 263: Headdress top edge
feather mass.

TM 264:

TM 265:	Base for TM 262.		TM 286:	Bar with squares.	
TM 266:			TM 287:		
TM 267:	Base for TM 258.		TM 288:	Bar with tics.	
TM 268:			TM 289:	Bar with tics and taus.	
TM 269:	Double layer of feather headdress (Kubler 1967: Fig. 27)		TM 290:	Multiple horizontal bars.	
TM 270:			TM 291:	Vertical bars.	
TM 271:	Early Classic Year sign headdress.		TM 292:	Ornamental binding, round corners.	
TM 272:	Late Classic Year sign headdress.		TM 293:	Ornamental binding, bars.	
TM 273:	TM 272 with TM		TM 294:	Small headdress bar with fall.	
TM 274:	Profile year sign headdress		TM 295:	Wiggle bar with dots.	
TM 275:	Year sign headdress with diagonal side bars		TM 296:	Waves in headdress.	
TM 276:	Hair mass		TM 297:	Stole from upper headdress.	
TM 277:	Filler mass in headdress.		TM 298:	Stole from lower headdress.	
TM 278:	Complete headdress fall		TM 299:	Frontal bird mouth enclosing human head (Sejourne 1966B: Fig. 180).	
TM 279:	Headdress motif "X"		TM 300:	Profile bird mouth enclosing human head (Sejourne 1966C: Fig. 130B)	
TM 280:	Claws in headdress.		TM 301:	Profile butterfly headdress	
TM 281:	Rectangular tablero-fall		TM 302:	Frontal butterfly headdress.	
TM 282:	Popsicle fall.		TM 303:	Butterfly antennae in headdress.	
TM 283:					
TM 284:	Rectangular bar with three plain circles.				
TM 285:	Same, with four circles.				

TM 304: Full figure, profile bird in headaddress.

TM 305: Helmet.

TM 306:

TM 307:

TM 308:


TM 309:

TM 310:

IX. ATTIRE, B, Non-specific location

TM 311:

IX. ATTIRE, C, Head

TM 312: Maya earplug 


TM 313: Earplug with pendant. 

TM 314: Earplug with top and bottom additions.


TM 315:


TM 316:


TM 317: 


TM 318: Tablero-talud nose bar. 

TM 319: Intended TM 318 

TM 320: Nose-bar with end curl without fangs. 

TM 321: TM 320, without end curl. 


TM 322: Profile fang-mouth 

TM 323: Incisor row. 


TM 324:



TM 325:


TM 326:

TM 324: Forehead sequins. 



IX. ATTIRE, D, Neck

TM 325: Full shoulder bar, with goggles. 


TM 326: Shoulder bar 



TM 327: Sequin collar 


TM 328: Collar


TM 329: Rope necklace 


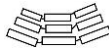
TM 330: Single strand bead necklace.

TM 331: Single strand bead necklace. 

TM 332: Multi-strand bead necklace. 

TM 333: Closely fit rectangular bead necklace. 

TM 334: Neck stole. 

TM 335: Necklace of tubular beads. 

TM 336:

TM 337:

TM 338:

IX. ATTIRE, E, Body

TM 339: Loincloth

TM 340: Complete tail with circle and perpendicular feathers.

TM 341: Tail shield and hanging tail.

TM 342: Tail only

TM 343: Rear fall



TM 344: Rear shield.



TM 345:

TM 346: Perpendicular rear feathers.



TM 347: Feathered bracelet



TM 348: Single strand bead bracelet.



TM 349:



TM 350:

TM 351: Scandal.

TM 352: Set of Toltec kneepads and ankle wear (TE 432, 433)



TM 353:



TM 354:

TM 355: Shoulder hanging shawl.



TM 354: "V" attire.

TM 357:

TM 358:

TM 359:

TM 360:

X OBJECTS IN HAND, A, Weapons

TM 361: Spear thrower.

TM 362: Blunt ended spear,

TM 363: Arrow ended spear.

TM 364: Spear.

TM 365:

TM 366:

TM 367: Rattle.

TM 368: ~~Short standard.~~TM 369: ~~Long standard.~~

TM 370: Knife piercing "bleeding heart"

TM 371: Double knife.

TM 372:

TM 373:

X OBJECTS IN HAND, B,
Miscellaneous

TM 374: Incense bag

TM 375: Idol.

TM 376: Feather wand.

TM 377: Pottery vessel.

TM 378:

TM 379: Rattle

TM 380: Short standard.

TM 381: Long standard.

TM 382:

X OBJECTS IN HAND, C, Shields

TM 390: Rectangular shield
with trappings.

TM 391: Small round shield.

TM 392:

TM 393:

XI. HERALDIC SHIELDSXII. SPECIFIC DEITIESXIII. COMPOSITE FIGURES

APPENDIX III

PRELIMINARY LIST OF DESIGNS IN THE MAYA AREA WITH TRAITS

<u>MONUMENT</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>ILLUSTRATION</u>
ACANCEH, Freize	Late Early Classic	Seler 1960, V: Tafel XI Andrews 1965: 297, Fig. 4C
AGUATECA, Stela 2	9. 15 . . .	Graham 1967: Figs. 4 and 5
ALTUN HA, Pottery		Pendergast 1967: Fig. 9
BONAMPAK Stela 2	Late Classic	Rupeert, Thompson, & Proskouriakoff 1955: Fig. 17a. Pavón 1962. Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig. 69c.
Stela 3	9. 17. 15. 0. 0.	RT & P 1955: Fig. 17b. Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig. 69c.
BRITISH HONDURAS		Bushnell & Digby 1955: Pl. 19b.
Pottery		
CAMPECHE (?) Stela		Bucher 1963: Pl. 19
Stone scul.		Bucher 1963: Pl. 23
CALAKMUL	9. 9. 10. 0. 0.	Ruppert & Dennison 1943: Pl. 49.
Stela 28		
Stela 53	9. 15. 0. 0. 0. ?	Ruppert & Dennison 1943: Pl 51b.
CANCUEN		Maler 1908: Pl. 13.
Stela 2	9. 18. 0. 0. 0.	Proskouriakoff 1950: Figs. 26m; 30k; 32h; 33m; and 35s.
CHAJCAR		Seler 1960, III: Tafel III.
Fired clay		
CHIAPAS (?)	Late Classic	St. Louis City Art Museum
Stone scul.		
CHILON (?)	Late Classic	Cordon 1964: Fig 12
Clay (?) disk		
CHINKULTIC		Blom & LaFarge 1926-27, II: Fig 362.
Stela 4		Ibid., Fig. 365.
Stela 7		Proskouriakoff 1950: 19h
CHINKULTIC (cont.)	(9. 18. 0. 0)	Blom & Ka Farge 1926-27, II: Fig. 366.
Stela 8		
CHUCTIEPA		Blom & LaFarge 1926-27, I: Fig. 215. Ibid. II:
Stela		

COMITAN		422, 352.
Stela 1	10. 2. 5. 0.	Blom & LaFarge 1926-27, I: Fig. 215. Ibid. II: 422, Fig. 352.
COPAN		Gordon 1902: 12, Fig. 5
Hieroglyphic Stairway, central seated figure.	(9. 16. 5. 0 ?)	
Stela 5	9. 11. 15. 0. 0.	Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig 50b
Stela 6	9. 12. 10. 0. 0.	Gordon 1896: Pl. VII
Altar Q	9 17 5 0 0	Marquina 1964: Lam. 180
Carved step	Late Classic	Medioni 1950: Figs. 55 and 56.
Temple 11, south steps	(9. 17. 10. 0. 0?)	Spinden 1957: 47.
Misc. scul.	Late Classic	Morley 1920:
" "	" "	Proskouriakoff 1950: 101, Fig. 351
" "	" "	Ibid: Fig. 35n
" "	" "	Ibid.: Fig. 35m. Tozzer 1957: Fig. 206a.
" "	" "	Tozzer 1957: Fig. 301.
" "	" "	Kelemen 1943, II: Pl. 85b
Jade		Longyear 1952: Fig. 90e.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 90f.
"		Ibid.: Fig 90g.
"		Ibid.: Fig 90 h.
"		Ibid.: Fig 90 j.
Pottery		Ibid.: Fig. 103a.
Pottery		Ibid.: Fig. 103c.
Pottery		Ibid.: Fig. 67a.
DOS PILAS		Graham 1967: Fig. 7
Stela 16	9. 15 . . .	
EL BAUL		Tozzer 1957: Fig. 222.
Stone scul.		
EL CAYO		Maler 1903: Pl. XXXIV.
Stela 1		
HALAKAL		Proskouriakoff 1950:
Lintel	(10. 2. 0. 7. 9 ?)	Figs. 32 an 106a.
HANAL		Ibid.: Figs. 33o and 104b
Lintel		
JAINA	Late Classic	Cook 1968: Lam. 21.

Pottery		
JONUTA	Late Classic	Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig. 69b.
Stela		
KAMINALJUYU	All Early Classic	KJS 1946: Fig. 174a.
Pottery		
"		Ibid.: Fig. 174c.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 174d.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 177a.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 177b.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 186c.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 192a.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 197b.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 197c.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 204a.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 204b.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 204c.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 204d.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 205a.
Palenque		Ibid.: Fig. 205b.
Pottery		Ibid.: Fig. 205b.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 205e.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 206d.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 205e.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 206h.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 207a, Fig. 102a.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 207h.
KAMINAJUYU (cont.)		Ibid.: Fig. 175a.
Palenque		
"		Ibid.: Figs. 175b and 101a.
"		Ibid.: Fig. 156.
KANKI		Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig 95g.
Lintel		
LACANJA		Lizardi 1949: Fig. 95g.
Stela 7	9. 8. 0. 0. 0.	Proskouriakoff 1950: Figs. 28g and 44 b.
LAKE AMATITLAN		
Many pottery objects	Early Classic	
LA MAR		Maler 1903: Pl. XXXVI
Stela 1		
MOTUL DE SAN JOSE	(10. 0. 0. 0. 0??)	Maler 1910: Pl. 45.

Stela 2		Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig 33g.
NAKUM		Tozzer 1913: 162, Fig. 49d.
Str. E, graffito		
NARANJO		Maler 1908a: Pl. 20,
Stela 2	9. 14. 5. 0. 0. ?	Proskouriakoff 1950: Figs. 30a and 33f.
Stela 19	9 17 10 0 0	Ibid.: Fig. 71a.
PALENQUE	Late Classic	Marquina 1964: 624, Lam. 190.
Stucco, wall pier (?)		Maler 1901: Pl. XV.
PIEDRAS NEGRAS	9. 13. 15. 0. 0.	
Stela 2		
Stela 4 (?)	9. 13. 10. 0. 0.	Maler 1901: Pl. XIV.
Stela 5 (?)	9. 14. 5. 0. 0.	Ibid.: Pl. XV
Stela 7	9. 14. 10. 0. 0.	Spinden 1957: Pl. L, a
Stela 8	9. 14. 15. 0. 0.	Maler 1901: Pl. XVII.
Stela 9	9. 15. 5. 0. 0.	Ibid.: Pl. XVIII.
Stela 13	9. 17. 0. 0. 0	Ibid.: Pl. XVIII
Stela 14	(9. 17. 15. 0. 0. ?)	Ibid.: Pl. XX.
Stela 25	9. 8. 15. 0. 0	Ibid.: Pl. XXII
Stela 26	9. 9. 15. 0. 0 ?	Ibid.: Pl XXIII
PIEDRAS NEGRAS		Ibid.: Pl XXV.
(Cont.)	9 10. 5. 0. 0 ?	
Stela 31		
Stela 34	9. 11. 0. 0. 0 ?	Ibid.: Pl. XXVII
Stela 35	9. 11.10. 0. 0 ?	Ibid.: Pl XXVIII.
Stela 40	9. 15. 15. 0. 0	Morley 1937-38, V: Pl. 135. Kelemen 1943, II: Pl. 73a.
Lintel 2	9. 11. 15. 0. 0	Maler 1901: Pl. XXXI
POLOL		Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig. 36d.
Altar 1 (?)		Morley 1937-38, V: Pl. 166.
PUSILHA	(9. 9. 0. 0. 0??)	Maudsley 1889-1902, II: Pl. 16, 20. Proskouriafoff 1950: Fig. 30o.
Stela C		Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig. 102 e.
QUIRIGUA		Ibid.: Fig. 102c. Tozzer 1957: Fig. 207
Stela C (?)	9. 17. 5. 0. 0	Proskouriakoff 1950:
SAYIL		
Str. 4B1, East corbel		
Str. 4B1, West lintel		
SEIBAL	Late Classic	

Stela 1		Fig. 33n, 78b.
Stela 3	9. 19. 0. 0. 0	Ibid.: Figs. 35o 78a
TENAM		Blom & LaFarge 1926-
Stela 1, side A		27, II: 423, Fig. 353.
Stela 1, side B		Ibid.: 424, Fig. 354.
(FINCA) TOLIMAN		Shook 1965: Fig. 2e.
ESQUINTLA	Early Classic	
Pottery		
Pottery	Early Classic	Ibid.: Fig. 2f.
TIKAL		Maler 1911: Pl. 16
Stela 4		
Stela 5	9. 15. 15. 0. 0	Ibid.: Pl. 17.
Stela 7	9. 3. 0. 0. 0.	Ibid.: Pl. 18.
Stela 13		Ibid.: Pl. 25.
Stela 16	9. 14. 0. 0. 0	Ibid.: Pl. 26.
TIKAL (Cont.)		Proskouriakoff 1950:
Stela 18		Fig. 38c
Stela 27		
Stela 31		Coe 1956: 33
Stela 32		Maholy-Nagy 1962
Altar 19		
Temple II, Lintel 2		Spinden 1957: P1: L, b.
Temple, I, Lintel		Coe, Shook & Satterthwaite 1961: Fig. 12
Temple, I, Bu. 116		Trik 1963: 9
pottery		
Str. 5D-43 Architectural	Late Classic	Coe 1965: 40
sculpture		
Str. 6E-144	Late Classic	Ibid.
Str. 5C-53	Late Classic	Ibid.
Str. 6F-27 graffito		Webster 1963: 45, Fig. 30.
Str. graffito		Maler 1911: 59. Fig. 12
Bu. 48 various vessels.	9. 1. 0. 0. 0.	Shock & Kidder 1961: 6
PD 50 pottery		Cor 1965: 36-37
PD 50 pottery		Ibid.: 36.
B. 10 various vessels	Early Classic	Coe 1965: 36 and 37
TONINA		Blom & LaFarge 1926-
Stone scul.		27, Fig. 297, Fig. 252.
TRAVIESA		Stone 1941: 61, Fig. 49.
Stone scul.		

Stone scul.		Stone 1941: Fig. 50
TZENDALES		Spinden 1957: Fig. 232.
Stela		
UAXACTUN		Proskouriakoff 1950:
Stela 5		Fig. 38a.
Stela 26 (?)	9. 0. 10. 0. 0.	Morley & Brainerd 1956:
		Pl. 63b.
Str. B-XIII Murals		Ibid.: Pl. 50.
Tzakol sherd		Smith 1955, II: Fig. 22j
Tzakol tripod vessel		Ibid.: Fig. 5g
Pottery		Ibid.: Fig. 31, d, 2.
"	Tepeu 1	Ibid.: Fig. 7i
"	Tepeu 2	Ibid.: Fig. 39, a, 3
"	"	Ibid.: Fig. 53, n.
"	"	Ibid.: Fig. 53, p.
"	"	Ibid.: Fig. 63, a, 2.
"	"	Ibid.: Fig. 63, a, 5
"	"	Ibid.: Fig. 63, a, 9
"	"	Ibid.: Fig. 63, a, 13
"	"	Ibid.: Fig. 73, b, 6
"	"	Ibid.: Fig. 73, b, 8
UCANAL		
Stela 4	10. 1. 0. 0. 0.	Proskouriakoff 1950:
		Fig. 76a.
UXMAL		
Stela 14		Ruz 1963: 43
		Proskouriakoff 1950:
		Fig. 92b.
XCALUMKIN		
North bldg. glyphic		Proskouriakoff 1950:
group		Figs. 32a and 94f
South bldg. glyphic		Ibid.: Fig. 95a, b.
group		
YAXCHILAN		
Stela 1		Maler 1903: -Pl. LXIX
Stela 2	(9. 9. 0. 0 ??)	Ibid.: Pl. LXII.
Stela 18		Ibid.: Pl. LXXVII
Stela 19	(9. 12. 10. 0. 0 ?)	Ibid.: Pl. LXXVII.
Stela 20		Ibid.: Pl. LXXVIII
YAXCHILAN (Cont.)		
Str. 1, Lintel 8		Maler 1903; Pl. LII.
		Spinder 1957: 29, Fig. 17.

Str. 21, _Lintel 17

Str. 23, Lintel 25

Str. G, Lintel 29

Str. 42, Lintel 41

YAXHA

Stela 6

Stela 11

YOXIHA

Pottery

ZACALEU

Pottery

Pottery

M. Coen 196: 173.

Spinden 1957: Pl. LIX.

Soustelle 1967: Pl. 113

Proskouriakoff 1950:

Fig. 35t. Sejourne 1962:

124, Fig. 148. Soustelle

1967: Pl. 111.

Soustelle 1967: Pl. 112

Spinden 1957: 188, Fig.
230.

Proskouriakoff 1950:

Fig. 33, b.

Morley 1937-38, V: Pl.

161. Unpublished

drawing of Ian Graham.

Blom & LaFarge 1926-

27, I: Pl. V.

Woodbury & Trik 1953:

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