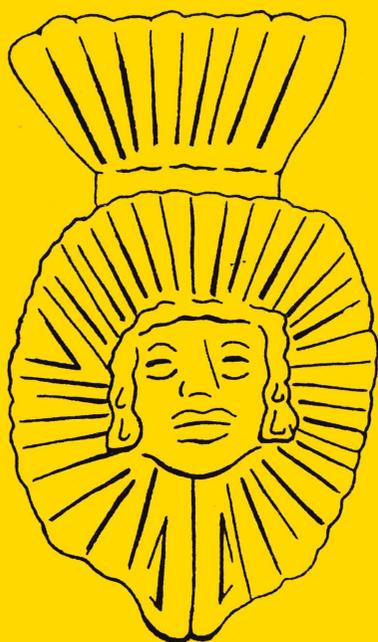
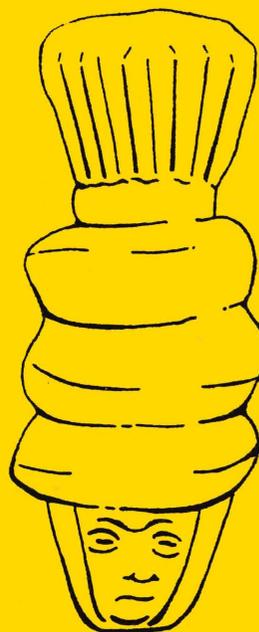


**TEOTIHUACAN MAZAPAN FIGURINES  
and the  
XIPE TOTEC STATUE:**

**A Link Between the Basin of Mexico and the Valley of Oaxaca**



by  
Sue Scott



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Frontispiece: Teotihuacan Mazapan figurine and ceramic vessels from burial  
San Francisco Mazapan, Teotihuacan.  
Presently housed at the National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden

Title page illustrations by Myron Estes, renderings of reconstructed figurines



**For**  
**SIGVALD LINNÉ**  
**In Memoriam**



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The ultimate credit for this study must go to Sigvald Linné who, in the 1930s, was not only light years ahead of his time in field work techniques but also in precise descriptions of the excavations and material remains. Moreover, his interpretations were laced with a healthy skepticism for the somewhat romanticized notions prevailing in those days. It is no wonder that his publications are recognized universally as the underpinnings of archaeology not only at Teotihuacan, but at other areas where he worked, providing a reliable basis for further investigations. I had the privilege of meeting him in 1983, and expressing in person my admiration for his work. It is an honor to dedicate this study to his memory.

## PREFACE

Of all the great Precolumbian Mesoamerican cultures, Teotihuacan seems to be the least forthcoming in depicting historic personages in its art forms. Of course, the human figure is portrayed in several media, but those representations occur in contexts of anonymity. To date, no formal writing system is known which might name them, although there is growing evidence that symbols, even glyphs, may have been used to identify concepts of rulership, divinity, or perhaps to designate place names. Given the kinds of evidence available for study today, the ancients of Teotihuacan seem to have been intent of remaining silent on the topic of their historic personages; however, its iconography does suggest some motifs may have been used as heraldic devices and probably designated social groups such as clan or lineage.

Within the corpus of art forms depicting the human figure the most beautifully and intricately designed were executed in stone sculpture, painted murals and ceramic vessels, usually referred to as ceremonial formats. However, it is another artifact category, the terracotta figurine, hardly eligible for "ceremonial" status, that overwhelmingly provides the greatest amount of examples of the human figure. Previous studies of Teotihuacan iconography in no way explicitly dismiss figurines as inconsequential, because occasionally analogous designs or motifs are found in art forms, but they are relegated to the craft, rather than the *beaux-arts*. Terracotta figurines usually are broken, rarely found intact, poorly executed, and where paint remains, it appears to have been hastily and sloppily applied. Aesthetics seem to have been sacrificed to quantity.

This study developed from an analysis of figurines from the ancient city of Teotihuacan based largely on material from controlled excavations. The core of the database, approximately 2000 figurine fragments, was recovered at Teotihuacan in the 1930s by Sigvald Linné, and presently is housed in the National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden.

Within the Stockholm corpus, a group of figurines is particularly important as it has not been published previously, and may be dated, by association with a distinctive ceramic ware in the burials, to an epoch after the collapse of Teotihuacan. The enigmatic ceramic statue traditionally referred to as "Xipe Totec" was recovered by Linné within the same strata.

The statue holds a bat claw vessel and wears a swallowtail headdress which have analogues both in the Basin of Mexico and the Valley of Oaxaca. As research for this study proceeded, an intriguing assortment of comparative material emerged, both figurines and statues, with iconography indicating cultural ties with the Valley of Oaxaca and strong stylistic affinities with Zapotec art. Ironically perhaps, it is the lack of "background noise" from the competing welter of Classic period iconographic forms that reveals the intricate interweaving of motifs of figurines and statues from this later epoch. These traits never appear all together on any one example, and many have no relation with the fully developed Aztec image of "Xipe." The traditional use of the name is retained here for lack of an appropriate alternative.

There can be little doubt that the Xipe statue was considered an image of supreme importance, an icon in the most general definition of the word. Decorative elements modelled onto the statue also may be termed icons, i.e. the swallowtail headdress, a bat claw vessel, the suit of skin-like texture. Each part alone has a recognized association or interpretation within the general Mesoamerican corpus of images, but with this particular combination, the statue becomes greater than the sum of its parts.

Motifs on the figurines appear to be abbreviated forms of the icons, images that express themes on a secondary level. Figurines are so small that elaborate detail simply would not fit. It would be excruciatingly tedious, if not impossible, to mould (or even hand model) all the ornamental bits of a Zapotec urn or a Teotihuacan mural figure onto a figurine 10 cm or less high. It appears that the figurine makers emphasized the meaningful motif, rather than attempted realistic portrayal. The messages borne on figurines seem, then, to be suggestions rather than statements, a sort of shorthand means of expression. People who used figurines would have understood the meaning; it did not have to be carefully or completely delineated. In the general corpus of Teotihuacan Classic period moulded figurines, and the two assemblages discussed in this study, headdress types far outnumber torso types, a quantitative imbalance suggesting that headdress designs were used as insignia.

The widely acknowledged, poorly understood (and/or under-explained) "special relationship" between Teotihuacan and the Valley of Oaxaca lasted for centuries, and it should surprise no one to find a continuing association after the collapse of both metropolitan centers. Dating this epoch from the Basin of Mexico is entirely arbitrary as there is not a single radiocarbon date for the region. Somewhat more secure are the dates from Lambityeco, the area where much of the comparative figurine material was collected, and by cross reference the material discussed may be placed roughly in the 8th century.

Mesoamerica was in a stage of social and political upheaval with the collapse of Teotihuacan, and it would seem logical that the need to demonstrate affiliation with a social group would have been keenly felt. It is extremely fortunate to have both Linné's statue and figurines from controlled archaeological context to commence a comparative study which points to an understanding of the insignia of social groups in Precolumbian Mesoamerica.

## INTRODUCTION

In 1932, the Swedish archaeologist, Sigvald Linné, excavated the Xolalpan site at Teotihuacan, and in the upper layers recovered the shattered ceramic statue of Xipe Totec (Plates 1-3), along with sixteen graves containing pottery of the "Mazapan" culture. One of the graves held a pair of female figurines, identical except for face paint (Frontispiece; Linné 1934: 75-86, Fig. 112).<sup>1</sup> Linné found this assemblage on top of, and separated from, Teotihuacan Classic period pottery and architecture in the lower levels, that is, the Xolalpan house compound itself. He was quite adamant in stating that "no part of the ruin appears to have been made use of by the people of the Mazapan culture," and "the two cultures in question are absolutely bordered-off one from the other" (1934: 75).

When I began my study of the entire figurine corpus from Linné's excavations, I came upon a set of 254 pieces (from a total of roughly 2000), extraordinarily different from all the others, and sufficiently similar to each other to be termed a "complex." The female group is identified easily by the burial figurines. Formal properties of the other group mark them undoubtedly as male counterparts. Linné did not publish the male figurines (with one exception, Fig. 26). He discussed the two burial figurines, and recognized the similar group which he mentioned in his chapter on figurines, not in the Mazapan section (1934: 119).

It is little wonder that Linné neglected the figurines in light of the significance of the large statue, "the incomparably most showy, important and interesting object recovered at Xolalpan from the Mazapan culture," and "the most pretentious of the stray finds" (Linné 1934: 83, 172), and a new kind of ceramic ware. The discovery of the Xipe statue must have caused great excitement in 1932. Even to the present time, it is the only one to have been recovered at Teotihuacan, and the only example of Postclassic ceremonial art at the ancient city. Another "first" for Linné was the Wavy Line pottery. It had been reported by Vaillant but not well described or illustrated. Linné called it "a hitherto unknown ceramic ware, the 'zonal fossil' of the Mazapan culture" (1934: 76). The importance of the discovery of the statue and the ceramics was not lost on Linné. One chapter of his publication is devoted to "archaeological finds of the Mazapan culture," and a long appendix covers what was then known of the Xipe Totec concept (1934: 75-86 and 172-183).

Linné's identification of the statue was based on descriptions in historical sources of the Aztec god by Sahagún (1950-82), and interpretations primarily by Seler (1963). Xipe Totec is the term in the Aztec language, *Nahuatl*, meaning "our lord the flayed one." Traits of the Teotihuacan Xipe statue similar to the Aztec image are the textured skin-like suit, open mouth, crescent-shaped eyes, and the pointed bands of the so-called "swallowtail" headdress and nose plug.<sup>2</sup> The most elaborate Xipe images are found in the calendrical and divinatory codices, e.g., the Borgia (Seler 1963, volume 3: 25 and 61). The Teotihuacan Xipe lacks many of the identifying characteristics seen on the codex figure; nonetheless, it is more than probable that the statue represents an early stage in the development of the later Aztec imagery.

The Teotihuacan Xipe holds a bat claw vessel, a distinctive Zapotec icon. Linné discussed the Oaxaca connection, again following Sahagún. According to these sources, Xipe originated in Guerrero,

in the territory of the Yopi. Therefore, it did not seem surprising to Linné that the statue could be recognized easily by Aztec descriptions, and yet clearly linked to the Zapotec culture. He was not overly fussy in lumping the Oaxaca-Guerrero region together as a single area of origin for the god which was later adopted by the Aztecs. "The Yopi was a people akin to, or even possibly of the same race as, the Zapotecs, a section that through invasion by the Mixtecs had been separated from their kinsmen. They occupied the coastland as immediate neighbours of the Couixco who possessed, inter alia, Chilapan, Tepequacuico and Tlachmalacac in Guerrero. The domain of the Yopi, Yopitzinco, extended as far south as Acapulco. Lehmann has established that the Tlapaneca-Yopi are linguistically related to the Maribios on the Pacific coast of Nicaragua" (Linné 1934: 180).<sup>3</sup> In spite of the large area that Linné considered the Zapotec domain, claw vessels have been recovered only in the Monte Albán area. The few ceramic statues holding claw vessels, apart from the Teotihuacan Xipe, are fashioned in the Zapotec tradition. Provenience of these statues is uncertain, but appears to be the Oaxaca area. The problem is discussed below.

The link between Postclassic Teotihuacan and the Oaxaca region is strengthened further through the figurines and their analogues in the Valley of Oaxaca, principally from around Lambityeco. The term "Lambityeco" is used throughout this study to refer to all similar Oaxacan figurine types, even though some were not recovered from the type site. The two groups are so similar in technique of manufacture and motif, and so unlike any other figurine complexes of any time or place in Mesoamerica, that a shared cultural connection between the people who made and used them must be acknowledged.

There is one glaring difference in thematic content between the two; Lambityeco figurines wear small trophy heads, a trait absent on their Teotihuacan counterparts. The practice of ritual decapitation and display of trophy heads in Precolumbian Mesoamerica is well documented, especially in the Aztec accounts of the elaborate Xipe Totec ceremony, "*Tlacaxipeualiztli*," the flaying of men. The Teotihuacan Xipe statue and the figurines, considerably pre-dating the Aztec culture, seem to be an expression of the custom.

More important than the specifics of the ceremonies is the cultural bond between Postclassic Teotihuacan and Oaxaca, a subject which, to date, has been explored less than adequately. This study provides the opportunity to describe and illustrate this singular Teotihuacan figurine complex, to place it within a chronological framework, and to examine how the statue may be used to identify the obscure iconography of the figurines.

## **Background**

In the winter of 1931-32, Linné's friend and colleague, George Vaillant, dug some test pits at San Francisco Mazapan, a village just outside the archaeological zone of Teotihuacan. It was from these tests that Vaillant found a "new" kind of pottery, which he termed "Mazapan." In those days, archaeologists

were still trying to sort out the sequence of ceramics in the strata, and a new type of pottery was an exciting discovery. Vaillant reported his finds, but did not publish extensive descriptions or illustrations (1932, 1938: 544, Fig. 3g). The thrust of his reports was the position of this pottery in the strata, between Teotihuacan and Aztec layers. In spite of the massive work by Gamio in the 1920s (1979), the Mazapan ware had not been recovered, or at least not reported.

From Linné's publication it is known that Vaillant's test pits producing the greatest amount of the new pottery type were on private property called Las Palmas, in the village of San Francisco Mazapan (Linné 1934: 36-37). The names of sites around Teotihuacan usually were given by the property owners, and there was a clear distinction between the Teotihuacan archaeological zone and the surrounding villages. The archeological zone had been defined by Gamio's excavations, and even to the present day conforms approximately to the fenced area that is the ceremonial precinct.

When Linné arrived in Mexico to begin excavations, Vaillant suggested that his friend continue the work at Las Palmas "which would be likely to furnish further valuable results" (Linné 1934: 36). Linné proceeded to put in a series of trenches at Las Palmas while searching for a "fresh field" which he found at a site called Xolalpan, also located in the village of San Francisco Mazapan.

The Xolalpan site lies at the extreme eastern edge of N4E2 (extending slightly into N4E3) on the grid developed by the Teotihuacan Mapping Project (Millon *et al.* 1973: 32-33). Las Palmas is not shown on the grid; however, it probably is in N3E2, as Linné placed it some 200 meters south of Xolalpan (1934: 36).

Linné devoted few words to the excavations at Las Palmas, explaining that as Vaillant was about to publish his work there (which unfortunately never materialized) instead he would describe the Xolalpan excavations in more detail. Linné does report the presence of floors in his Las Palmas trenches, and undoubtedly had cut through an apartment compound of the Classic period. Although the Las Palmas Mazapan material is not discussed in detail, it is approximately the same amount that he recovered at Xolalpan.<sup>4</sup>

Two distinct types of Mazapan ceramic ware make up the bulk of Linné's "zonal fossil." The first is termed "Wavy Line," a design Linné described as possessing "a captivating and dashing elegance, combined with accuracy of delineation" (1934: 77). The second type is decorated with volutes or S-shaped designs, inferior both artistically and numerically to Wavy Line (Linné 1934: 76-77, Figs. 54-94), and even has been referred to as "sloppy" (Evans 1986: 299). Despite the discrepancy of manufacture, the two kinds of pottery are found together in excavations.

A serious problem in terminology developed when Jorge Acosta began his excavations at Tula, Hidalgo in 1940. He preempted the term "Mazapan," and applied it, wholesale, to the entire ceramic assemblage at Tula. He later attempted to change the term to recognize a Toltec assemblage, "*un complejo tolteca*" (1956-57: 83), but without success. The post-Teotihuacan, pre-Aztec placement fit the chronology,

as it was understood at that time, and "Mazapan" came to be stuck in the cement of general wisdom to refer to all ceramics of the Toltec culture, particularly at Tula. It was widely, and erroneously, assumed that Linné's "zonal fossil" was a major component of the Tula ceramic assemblage. It was not until the 1970s with new analysis by Robert Cobean that the misconception was corrected; these wares were scarce at Tula, and only occurred in early contexts (Cobean 1978: 43-45, 91-93, 132-135, 383-399, 408; 1982; Mastache and Cobean 1989).

Recent excavations at Tula with more rigorous attention to stratigraphy and detailed analyses of the ceramic assemblage than Acosta had given led archaeologists to state the matter in strong terms: "Cobean has noted that Mazapa pottery is far more common in Terminal Classic and Early Postclassic sites in the Basin of Mexico and the Teotihuacan Valley to the south than it is at Tula. *It is plainly incorrect to associate Tula's florescence with Mazapa pottery* as has been done in the past, and to continue to do so will hamper proper assessment of Tula's relationship with its contemporaries" (Healan and Stoutamire 1989: 235, emphasis by the authors).

Archaeological work carried out in the Teotihuacan Valley during the last two decades by The Pennsylvania State University has reinforced Cobean's conclusion. Mazapan ceramics, especially those types published by Linné, are only one component of the larger Toltec assemblage, and are distributed throughout the Teotihuacan Valley (Marino 1987).

The chronology of Toltec ceramic ware (post-Coyotlatelco, pre-Aztec) recovered by the Teotihuacan Mapping Project has yet to be refined. The distribution of the entire assemblage covers the ancient city, relatively light along the Street of the Dead, becoming heavier away from the city's center with still heavier concentrations in the modern town of San Francisco Mazapan (Cowgill personal communication 1991).

The revised ceramic classification of the Teotihuacan Valley Project personnel divides the Toltec period into Early and Late phases. Within the larger Toltec assemblage, the term Mazapan has been retained to refer to three red-on-buff wares: Mazapan Wavy Line, Toltec Red/Buff (the major components of Linné's zonal fossil), and Wide Band Buff (grater bowl) (Evans 1986: 299; Sanders 1986: 371-373), which are dated to the early part of the Late Toltec Period, i.e. AD 950-1150 (Sanders, Parsons and Santley 1979: 461-464).<sup>5</sup>

At Tula, these ceramic wares date to the Terminal Corral phase, AD 900-950, and have been given different names. Mazapan Wavy Line at Teotihuacan becomes Mazapa Red on Brown, and Toltec Red/Buff is Joroba Orange on Cream (Cobean and Mastache 1989: 42-44). Discrepancies of chronology are discussed below.

Postclassic material from the Tlamimilolpa house compound (N4E4 Millon *et al.* 1973: 34) which Linné excavated in 1935 is largely Aztec,

with a paucity of Mazapan figurines (Linné 1942: 123). Of the total 254 Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines in this corpus, only 4 are from Tlamimilolpa; the rest are divided almost equally between Las Palmas and Xolalpan. Distribution of Postclassic materials at Teotihuacan cannot be based on these small samples, but concentrations of Mazapan at Xolalpan and Las Palmas, and Aztec at Tlamimilolpa, are worth noting (Linné 1942: 123).

In spite of the lack of permanent structures, some rebuilding seems to have been done around the Pyramid of the Sun Precinct (Marino 1987: 446-447). Linné mentions that the only dwelling house of the Mazapan culture he discovered was a floor at Las Palmas, at the entrance to a natural cave "which was fairly roomy" (1934: 37).

Notwithstanding the correction for the distribution and terminology of the ceramic wares, there has been no re-analysis of Toltec figurines, and the term "Mazapan" continues in use. There has been no attempt to divide the figurine assemblage into Early and Late phases. A recent classification of approximately 1000 figurines, excavated in a residential unit at Tula, resulted in innumerable "attributes," divided only by "Mazapan" and "non-Mazapan" terminology (Stocker n.d.).<sup>6</sup> The subject has not advanced beyond the Acosta level, whose interest lay in architecture not figurines. His only published figurines are from the first of a string of articles covering his excavations at Tula, poor sketches of a single entire piece and two heads (1940: Lám. 2).

The figurines associated with the Teotihuacan Xipe statue and the zonal fossil ceramics should, by all rights, be termed "Mazapan," or better still, "Teotihuacan Mazapan." The term is used here to describe this particular set of figurines. Changing labels can be confusing, but it is far better to set the record straight sooner than later. The new terminology for Toltec ceramics has been adopted with success, and there is no reason to anticipate less for the figurines.

It should be the responsibility of the archaeologists who work at Tula, and other Toltec centers, to correct Acosta's mistake by working out a proper chronology for the Toltec figurines and then re-naming the different subdivisions.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that no figurines of the real Teotihuacan Mazapan type, those discussed in this study, have been reported from Tula. It will be interesting to see their distribution throughout Teotihuacan when the Teotihuacan Mapping Project publishes the Postclassic figurine material from their excavations and survey.

This summary may be used to set the stage for an assessment of the Teotihuacan connection with Oaxaca, the presence of the Xipe Totec statue and, as a focus for this study, the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurine complex. Studies by Cobean, Mastache, Evans and others have brought the ceramic ware back home, as it were, to Teotihuacan. The figurines never left; they were simply neglected.

## IDENTIFYING THE FIGURINES

It is not surprising that Linné did not make the connection between the figurine complex and the Xipe statue, apart from the two female figurines in the burial; they do not share the same kinds of garb or motifs. Catalogue notes make it clear that he recognized the male counterparts as a distinct type,<sup>7</sup> but he did not enlarge upon the subject in his publications. His reports encompassed all the material from the excavations, largely of the Classic period, and there were simply too many figurines to be dealt with: "the material is too vast for anything but a cursory glance in the present work" (1942: 167).

When I first came upon the (now correctly termed) Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines I was mystified. They were Postclassic, had undoubted provenience at Teotihuacan, and were not like any other figurines I had seen to that time. The time-honored "exhaustive search through the literature" commenced; I looked in all the logical places for similar material. Toltec figurines from Tula are not the same, nor are their West Mexican cousins (Stocker n.d.; Grosscup 1961; Meighan 1976). Nothing at Cholula is similar, although one wonders if the extent of that corpus has been explored thoroughly (Noguera 1954; Müller 1978). Gulf Coast material was negative (Ekholm 1944), as was that of the Maya area. Clearly they are not Coyotlatelco (Rattray 1966; Scott 1983; Mastache and Cobean 1989) nor Aztec (Barlow et Lehmann 1956; M. Parsons 1972; Millian 1981).<sup>8</sup>

Excavation and survey reports of sites within the Basin of Mexico trace Classic to Postclassic transition, but either do not include figurines at all (Tolstoy 1958; Hicks and Nicholson 1964), or illustrate only token examples (Mayer-Oakes 1959; Dumond and Müller 1972). There are no Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines from Oxtotitpac, a site with Postclassic material near Teotihuacan (Barbour 1987), nor from the potentially interesting Cerro Portezuelo site with its Wavy Line pottery (McBride n.d.). There are, however, four published examples and occasionally the odd piece will crop up in less rigorously sorted collections.\* (please see pages 7-8)

It appeared that the figurine type was distributed only in the general Teotihuacan territory, until the literature search extended to include Oaxacan material, revealing a single example from Xoxocatlán in the Valley of Oaxaca, identified by the waffle iron jerkin and layered headdress (Caso y Bernal 1952: Fig. 518).

A fortuitous encounter took place in Oaxaca, 1984, during a tourist visit and with a stringent time schedule, when we stopped briefly at the Lambityeco site. There in the museum/guard house were a few fragments, similar to the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines and the published Xoxocatlán example. It would not be until 1987 that I saw the Lambityeco collection in the Frissell Museum, Mitla, and understood the extent to which the two sets are analogous.

**\* Teotihuacan Mazapan, published:**

M. Parsons 1972: 111, Pl. 42c-d:

Two fragments from the Teotihuacan Valley Survey, upper torsos with feather topped staffs and bat headdresses, identified as post-Conquest. It is quite possible that Parsons had seen the layered headdress, and had confused the shape with the Postclassic form she illustrated (1972: Pl. 42a-b), described by von Winning as a beret typical of the Italian Renaissance (1988: 712, Fig. 1a-c).

Vaillant 1944: Pl. 25 bottom row, 2nd from right:

Waffle iron torso with the headdress broken off at the forehead, labeled "Mazapan type." I had the opportunity to examine this piece in the American Museum of Natural History. It is not a figurine in the traditional sense, but much larger (the solid fragment measures some 20 cm in height and is rather heavy). It is difficult to know if the piece was made by hand modelling or moulding. The waffle iron texture was scored into the clay before firing. The color is dark brown, almost black. Dr. Gordon Ekholm kindly looked the piece over carefully, but was also perplexed. Vaillant does not mention the size or weight of this item in his publications.

Peñafiel 1900: volume 2 Pl. 6 center top:

Head with bat headdress. No commentary.

**Teotihuacan Mazapan, unpublished:**

Collections of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (MVM):

#2190: Head and partial torso, close fitting textured cap and waffle iron jerkin, provenience Chalco [Scott Photographic Archive: MVM 3-3]

#94.130: Head with two-layer stacked disks, provenience Mitla [SPA: MVM 6-10]

**Lambityeco, published:**

Caso y Bernal 1952: Fig. 518: male

Waffle iron jerkin and a two-layered headdress topped with feathers, Xoxocatlán, Oaxaca

*Ibid.*: Figs. 452 and 453: female

*Gran pluma* headdress. Fig. 452 has been identified by Paddock as Monte Albán IV, but the torso differs from our examples. Fig. 453 illustrates 4 heads with no torsos.

Blanton 1978: Fig. A.VIII-2, a and c: female

Headless torsos with crossed arms and (partial) *quechquemills* similar to Lambityeco examples. Distribution within the larger Monte Albán survey area is unknown (Blanton 1978: 379, footnote 2).

**Possible Lambityeco, published, not illustrated:**

Seler 1904a: 304: Discussing Zapotecan figurines in general (a few examples are illustrated; whistles with bulbous torsos and associated heads thought to be MA IIIb) Seler adds, "We obtained, chiefly in Zoquitlan, torsos dressed in wadded armor, holding a shield in one hand and a club or a lance in the other; but similar ones are also found occasionally among the antiquities discovered in other places."

**Clay background, unidentified, published:**

Beyer 1979a: 353, Lám. 133d

Figure with clay background, holds shield and staff, pointed cap backed by feather array. No measurements are given.

Verneau 1913: 334, Pl. VIII-1

Described as the fragment of a terracotta bas-relief, this piece is one of 250 objects acquired by Verneau in Cholula for the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, now the Musée de l'Homme, in Paris. No measurements are given. The figure, presumably male (details of xerox copy are difficult to make out) has the right arm raised against what seems to be the rim of the picture frame. The left side, top of head and legs are broken away. Verneau does not describe the adornments, only mentions the presence of earspools, necklace, pendant, and bracelets. The eyes are closed and crescent-shaped, probably leading Linné to identify the presence of Xipe in Cholula; his only item of evidence for that region. No similar figures are found in Cholula studies by Noguera (1954) and Müller (1978).

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT AND CHRONOLOGY

Apparently the Teotihuacan Mazapan people, albeit inhabitants of the largest settlement in the Valley, lived in structures made of impermanent building material. The few comments of possible residential architecture at Teotihuacan during this phase have been mentioned. If there are remains of residences or other structures from Teotihuacan Mazapan times they have not been recognized as such. The relatively large quantity of figurines would indicate a residential area. Apart from the pottery, figurines, and the statue, no other associated material culture has been identified. The ancients were not deprived of ceremonial architecture; they still had their pyramids but perhaps did not maintain them.

The term "Lambityeco" and the location of the archaeological site near the present day town of Tlacolula are described by Paddock (1983a: 197). Lambityeco is an area of approximately 70 mounds, where Monte Albán IV traits are isolated, and is part of the much larger "Yegüih" area which covers some 75 hectares, with evidence of occupation from the Middle Formative Period through Monte Albán V.<sup>9</sup> Two large mounds, 190 and 195, were excavated in the mid-1960s. Tomb 2, part of Mound 190, received particular mention because it is thought that Early Monte Albán IV traits were isolated in a sealed context (Paddock *et al.* 1968; Rabin 1970; Paddock 1978: 49-50, 1983a; Lind and Urcid 1983).

The Lambityeco figurine set was recovered from the general area of the excavations or mixed in the fill of the ruins. There is no clear provenience of figurines from Mounds 190 and 195, and none were recovered from Tomb 2 or any other tomb or ceremonial context (Paddock *et al.* 1968; Paddock personal communication 1991; Urcid personal communication 1987 and 1991). Alain Y. Dessaint studied many, but not all, of the Lambityeco figurines (Paddock personal communication 1992) and prepared a descriptive stylistic analysis in an unfinished manuscript, presently filed in the Frissell Museum archives. The manuscript contains no mention of specific provenience within the area of excavation.<sup>10</sup>

Lambityeco Mounds 190 and 195 are thought to have been palatial/priestly residences (Lind and Urcid 1983). Since the figurines were not recovered in areas of Mounds 190 and 195 where they might have been in use, but rather in the fill and from surface pick up, their association with the buildings remains problematical.

Friezes and lintels of the Mounds 190 and 195 were carved with elaborate images of the presumed residents, venerating ancestors and Cocijo. The male of the pair on the lintel holds a human femur, a symbol legitimizing the right of rulership. Apparently the practice was carried out in real life as fewer femora per individual were recovered in the associated tomb (Lind and Urcid 1983).

For the purposes of this study, it is enough to note that the theme behind the images is ancestor veneration and the right to rule. Nothing in the public ceremonial aspect of Lambityeco suggests the practice of ritual sacrifice or the display of trophy heads. That message is carried only on the figurines.

Apart from the similarity of the two figurine sets, two bat claw vessels recovered in Tomb 2 provide the most obvious visual connection between Teotihuacan and Lambityeco. One well-polished vessel was found in the antechamber near the door of the tomb, and an unbaked one was inside the tomb (Paddock *et al.* 1968: 11, Figs. 12 and 23). (The occurrence of these vessels is discussed below, but it should be pointed out here that the vessels themselves are found in Monte Albán IV contexts, whereas the only other statues holding claw vessels are two Zapotec urn-like figures which by stylistic characteristics alone may be dated to the general Monte Albán III period, following the Caso chronology.) The similarity and possible contemporaneity of these vessels with the one held by the Teotihuacan Xipe (but not the Zapotec figures) has been noted, with the wise, if slightly plaintive, parenthetical qualifier: "Still again, we must recognize that similarity is not a conclusive proof of contemporaneity, and confusion about this point has at times been very troublesome" (Paddock *et al.* 1968: 11).

The production of these two sets of figurines must have been contemporaneous. The manner of forming the background or frame around the figure, as well as the similar motifs, are specific to these two groups. It stretches credulity to imagine that one group was produced centuries earlier than the other.

The Lambityeco period is dated by radiocarbon samples from Mounds 190 and 195 (Rabin 1970: 14-15; Paddock 1983a; Drennan 1983: 363-370). Six of the seven dates cluster around AD 700, with one sample giving an anomalous date. (The sample is thought to be of tropical grass, rather than wood, which would result in a date some 300 years too young [Rabin 1970: 14-15]). The earliest in the suite of six dates is  $640 \pm 100$ , and the latest is  $AD\ 755 \pm 90$ .

According to the Sanders, Parsons and Santley chronology, the period during which Linné's zonal fossil was produced was the earlier part of their Late Toltec period, or AD 950-1050 (Sanders, Parsons and Santley 1979; Sanders 1986: 3). A two hundred year gap between the manufacture of the Lambityeco and the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines is unacceptable.

It is of course possible, if not highly likely, that the Lambityeco figurine set continued in use after the abandonment of Mounds 190 and 195, and may be local examples of a larger valley-wide tradition. The few published examples are from sites in the Valley of Oaxaca (Caso y Bernal 1952: 346), and Paddock mentions "early Monte Albán IV figurines" were found at Yagul (1983a: 203). The gap between the

Lambityeco dates and the posited time period for early Late Toltec might not be as great as it appears at first glance, especially as the Teotihuacan dates are less than secure.

The Teotihuacan Mazapan dates are based on assumed lengths of time as there is not a single radiocarbon determination from the Teotihuacan Valley for the post-Teotihuacan, pre-Aztec periods. Ceramic sequences have been resolved, but the dates are lacking (Mastache and Cobean 1989: 55). Sanders, Parsons and Santley acknowledge that archaeologically this period is "undoubtedly the most poorly understood...in the prehistory of the Basin," and that the dates are "based almost exclusively on chronometric dates from neighboring phases, combined with some evidence from ethnohistoric sources" (1979: 461-463). Their chronological chart indicates that the Mazapan phase commences in the Teotihuacan Region at AD 900, and somewhat later in the Basin of Mexico, approximately AD 950. The Toltec period lasted 200 years, its early and late phases divided neatly into 100 year segments (Sanders *et al.* 1979: 93; Sanders and Murdy 1987).

Rather than forcing the Lambityeco figurines into the relatively short time period corresponding to the dated carbon samples from Mounds 190 and 195, and the Teotihuacan Mazapan lot into the vaguely defined early Late Toltec period, it is more productive to consider the two sets to be contemporary. This study cannot resolve the problem of how relative chronological sequences are handled; it will focus on the concepts which unified groups of people separated by 500 kilometers of mountainous terrain.

## THE FIGURINE TRADITION

Figurines are small terracotta representations of human, and less frequently animal or anthropomorphic, forms. In Precolumbian Mesoamerica "particularly central and eastern Mexico must be regarded as the figurine capital of the world" (Meighan 1953: 15). It cannot be proven that the figurine tradition is related to a particular social, political or religious system, but figurine distribution maps correlate roughly with demographic profiles. Figurines are concentrated where there were large numbers of people (Meighan 1953: Map 4).

Figurines are a valuable source of information to Mesoamerican scholars if, for no other reason, they occur in seemingly infinite numbers, and constitute the single most numerous artifact category depicting the human form. The figurine tradition was well-developed in Mesoamerica by Early Formative times (approximately 1000 BC), and has continued even to the present day. Hand modelling, the technique first used in figurine manufacture, was replaced with the moulding process at the beginning of the Classic period, particularly vivid at Teotihuacan, where extensive excavation and analysis have produced a significant amount of information. The technique seems to have developed quickly and was widespread, attested by the large number of moulded figurines which seem to suddenly replace the hand modelled. The rather lively, three-dimensional quality of hand modelled figurines was lost, and they

became rigid and static. Nonetheless, clothing, headdresses and other adornment may be compared to attire depicted in other art forms.

Studies of Mesoamerican figurines relentlessly address the question of function without being able to provide satisfactory explanations, except that they must have had a variety of uses through time. Seasoned figurine analysts hold only to one rule: there is always an exception to the rule. Generally, figurines are recovered archaeologically in the fill of ruined structures, and are thought to have been part of household ritual paraphernalia. They seem to have no public ceremonial context, and are found only rarely in burials or caches.<sup>11</sup>

With the rarest exceptions, they are broken, usually at the neck area. The phenomenon might be explained by damage through the centuries caused by collapsing houses, erosion, or even plowing, but in controlled excavations over a large area only one part of a figurine is found; the rest of the figure simply seems to have disappeared. It is a pattern that has become obvious with excavations designed to investigate the horizontal extent of households rather than trenching mounds, and is exemplified by Linné's excavations of Classic period house ruins at Xolalpan and Tlamimilolpa, Sanders' Maquixco Bajo, and Rattray's Hacienda Metepec. My analysis of these figurine sets, more than 4000 fragments, was designed to find fragments which could be pieced back together, with little success. It appears that breaking and at least partially destroying figurines were involved in Teotihuacan household ritual. Further analysis probably will suggest the same is true for areas outside Teotihuacan. It may be possible that figurines were decapitated as part of the ritual.

The results of this study suggest that these figurine sets may have represented some sort of identification with a social group. This notion is discussed fully in the summary; descriptions of the figurines and the statue must precede interpretation.

### Teotihuacan Mazapan and Lambityeco Figurines

The Teotihuacan Mazapan and the Lambityeco figurine groups are more like each other, and yet unlike any other figurine complex, known from any time in Mesoamerica. The shared morphological traits must represent a cultural link, yet the figurines were not made by the same hand.

The technique of moulding figurines with a clay background, making a sort of picture frame, is a diagnostic trait for some, but not all, male figurines in this complex. It is this trait that distinguishes this figurine complex from others, in time and space. Why the male, and never the female, figures are fashioned with a background cannot be explained, nor why male figures have backstands and the females do not. Nonetheless, because some males do not have the clay background, yet share other diagnostic traits, they may be identified as belonging to the same figurine complex.

The clothing of most male figures is a jerkin or tunic, usually textured in a "waffle iron" design, plain rectangular loincloth, knee or leg adornments. The clothing is relatively standard, the monotony broken by a variety of headdresses. Males carry a staff in one hand and an object, which could be a shield

or a fan, in the other. This trait alone is not diagnostic of the Teotihuacan and Lambityeco groups; in fact, it is characteristic of most Postclassic male figurines from the Central Highlands of Mexico. Many Toltec and Aztec figurines, in both standing and kneeling positions, hold the staff and shield. These implements have led almost every figurine analyst to interpret the figures as warriors. On close examination, there is not a shred of evidence to indicate that the staff and shield are anything more than insignia of some social group. Most staffs are topped by what appear to be feathers or some other non-lethal stuff. (Shields may be either protective armor or heraldic devices; "shield" is used here as a generic term.) Warriors, world-wide, are recognized by insignia of rank, but it cannot be proved that all figurines holding the staff and shield are military. It is more logical to see the insignia as personal identification within a larger social group; to perceive them only as warriors is to limit the possibilities of a variety of social functions.

The waffle iron design of the Lambityeco figurines has been equated with the quilted cotton armor (*ichcahuipilli*) of Aztec warriors (Caso y Bernal 1952: 346, Figure 518). Although many, but not all, male figurines in this study have the textured jacket, again, one cannot assume that warriors are represented. Short sleeveless jackets, both open and closed and of many designs, are common for male figures depicted in the codices (Anawalt 1981). It does seem likely that sumptuary laws dictated indigenous dress throughout Mesoamerica, a tradition that may be traced to Formative period sculpture of the Olmec. However, interpretation of the inherent meaning of clothing on figurines from an epoch centuries earlier than the Aztec sources would be a useless exercise in guessing.

Clothing on female figurines consists of the traditional long skirt and *quechquemiltl* (loose hanging blouse) worn by indigenous women in Mesoamerica (Anawalt 1981: 36), and indeed, on female figurines from Early Classic through Postclassic times in the Mexican Central Highlands. The front of the *quechquemiltl* drapes to a point below the waist. The skirt is ankle length, with a line edging the border which may represent fringe. Each head is wrapped by a turban or cloth drape, a choker necklace of beads, and circular earspools indented in the center.

Teotihuacan and Lambityeco figurines share other traits. Except for the two burial figurines from Teotihuacan which are carefully fashioned, all are more or less sloppily made. The overall configuration can be made out, but fine details, especially facial features, are non-existent on many examples.

It seems as if originally all were painted with an undercoat or primer of white paint, with an unevenly applied second coat of colored paint. Most of the paint has been weathered away, leaving traces of white paint encrusted in crevices, or occasionally splotches of color, usually red. A chemical analysis of the paint is not appropriate for this study, but it may be noted that the white paint has a more chalky consistency than the second coat. It is possible that many colors were used (the burial figurine remaining in Mexico had blue face paint) but were more easily eroded with time and weather. Apart from the white

undercoat, red is the only color detected on Lambityeco figurines, whereas red, blue and yellow traces remain on the Teotihuacan Mazapan group.

Because some of the faces are so poorly defined, it appears that color was used to give meaning to the figurines which would have been understood by the people who made and used them. It would have saved a lot of time and effort to smear a dab of paint across a figurine's face, rather than refining the mould or finished piece with the detail seen on some figurines from other epochs.

Arms are thin and scrawny. Details of the fingers are not easily seen on many fragments, as they are eroded or poorly made. No importance was given to the feet; they are rudimentary, showing neither footwear nor toes.

### Teotihuacan Mazapan Figurine Classification

The entire corpus consists of 254 pieces. There are two types of female figurines (Roman numerals I and II). There is one male torso type (III), with 5 head variations (IIIa, IIIb, IIIc, IIId, IIIe). Another male torso type (IV) is represented by only two examples. There are no animal figurines in this complex.

It is assumed that each fragment represents a single figurine. Only one figurine (Figure 20) could be reconstructed from fragments. Weights for most of the Stockholm pieces are given in the List of Figurines.

### Attributes of female figurines

Female figurines were not intended to stand alone; they lack back supports and the feet are too unevenly formed to provide balance. (There is one exception in this corpus, Figure 3.)

Type I figurines greatly outnumber Type II. In the Type I category there are 39 heads and 38 torso fragments. The break is consistently at the neck, remains of the choker necklace divided approximately half and half on heads and torsos. Attempting to reconstruct entire pieces, I fitted each head against each torso, only to find that each represents a single item. Even allowing for breakage or erosion, it was obvious that not one of these fragments had ever been joined to another.

### Type I

Figures 1-5

Total: 79

<u>Xolalpan</u>	<u>Las Palmas</u>	<u>Tlamimilolpa</u>
2 entire		
25 heads	13 heads	1 head
21 torsos	16 torsos	1 torso

The best-preserved example of Type I (Frontispiece; Figure 1a-c) is one of a pair recovered by Linné from a Mazapan grave. The other remained in Mexico (Linné 1934: 82-83, Figure 112). This piece

is in exceptionally good condition compared with most of the other pieces. With only one exception (Figure 2), all other pieces in this group are broken at the neck, and many fragments are eroded. The hands extend below the quechquemilt with palms placed against the legs. One unique torso (Figure 3) has a projection of clay at the bottom to form a prop, and three appliquéd balls at the tip of the quechquemilt. (This is one of the 4 fragments from the Tlamimilolpa site.)

Headgear appears to be a length of yarn or fabric twisted around the head, crossing the forehead horizontally, to form a turban. Detail of an asymmetrically wrapped turban is seen on Figure 1a. Three symmetrically placed coils are seen on the turbans of Figures 5a-c.

Type II  
Figures 6-8

Total: 12

<u>Xolalpan</u>	<u>Las Palmas</u>
1 entire	
1 head	2 heads
4 torsos	4 torsos

Type II figurines are so alike that, except for variation in size, they might have been made in the same mould. The figurine shown in Figure 6 is unbroken. The feet appear to be broken off, but are merely eroded. The mouth is placed high on the face, just under the nose, giving the face a rather ungainly appearance (Figures 6a and 7). Thin arms are folded across the chest, palms turned inward. Headdresses on all examples are badly eroded, but appear to be draped rather than twisted around the head. The quechquemilt is long, almost obscuring the skirt. Body proportion, compared with Type I, is rather squat.

**Attributes of male figurines**

The male figure wears a short, sleeveless jacket of textured material, and a loincloth (Figs. 9-15, 20 and 21). A slight vertical line in the middle of the tunic suggests a front opening, but fastenings are indicated only on Figure 21. The undecorated loincloth is rectangular, extending from under the jacket to the knees. Horizontal ridges at knee level probably represent leg adornments.

Many of the figures are moulded partially into a sort of picture frame, a characteristic found only in this figurine complex and in the Lambityeco complex. Arms are bent, and an unidentified object is held in the left hand at the side of the face (Figures 9, 14, 18, and 23). The fan-shaped object has raised vertical lines, perhaps intended to represent feathers. Backstands are attached at tunic or loincloth level.

Type IIIa  
Figures 14-19

Total: 20

<u>Xolalpan</u>	<u>Las Palmas</u>
1 entire	
6 fragments	13 fragments

The headdress is characterized by the head of a small animal on top of a turban or hat, and which makes a sort of visor on the human forehead. The animal wears a small bunch of feathers on its head in unbroken examples. The animal has short stubby ears and a broad rounded snout. The face is poorly formed; paint may have been used to define the features. Analogy with the Lambityeco figurines suggests this animal may be identified as a bat.

Type IIIb  
Figures 20-21

Total: 6

<u>Xolalpan</u>	<u>Las Palmas</u>
1 entire	
2 fragments	4 fragments

The sunburst headdress surrounding the face is a textured material, perhaps beaten maguey fiber or feathers. A bunch of feathers projects from the top of the headdress. This figure seems to hold a staff which is also the edge of the picture frame.

Figure 20 was reconstructed in the Stockholm museum in 1984 from three fragments, and is the only figurine in this corpus which could be restored from broken pieces.

Entire except for legs and a small break at the head, this figure's headdress did not have a bunch of feathers (Figure 21).

Type IIIc  
Figures 22-23

Total: 24

<u>Xolalpan</u>	<u>Las Palmas</u>
9 fragments	15 fragments

The headdress has either two or three disk-shaped layers, stacked horizontally, with a bunch of feathers extending from the top. The headdress is secured by a chin strap covering the ears.

Type III d  
Figures 24-25

Total: 16

Xolalpan  
5 fragments

Las Palmas  
10 fragments

Tlamimilolpa  
1 fragment

The textured close fitting cap has a chin strap with a rectangular tab. The circular element at the side of the face of Figure 24 is the top of a staff, not a headdress decoration. This staff ornament is common on Lambityeco figurines (Figures 35c, 37, 38, 45, 51, 53a). Ears and earspools are shown.

Type III e  
Figures 26-29

Total: 4

Xolalpan  
1 mould  
1 fragment

Las Palmas  
2 fragments

The headdress is decorated with two vertical projections, and tipped with what appear to be feathers. The ears are covered, possibly with locks of hair. The entire head is seen in the mould (Figure 26). The mould and a contemporary impression made from it are illustrated by Linné (1934: 124, Figure 207).

Type IV  
Figures 30-31

Total: 2

Las Palmas  
1 entire (legs missing)  
1 torso fragment

The turban headdress and plain tunic mark this figurine as a type apart from the other torsos. It is included because of the filled-in, or picture frame, background. The entire figure wears a large round pendant suspended from a coil necklace, and holds a round shield in the left hand. A bunch of feathers decorate the top of the turban.

The undecorated texture of the torso may indicate that the figure was represented as bare-chested. The torso fragment (Figure 31) has an indentation below its pendant, which may have been intended to represent a belly button, an anatomical part rarely shown on figurines. On the other hand, the smooth torso may represent a non-textured suit similar to Lambityeco Type 4. The unidentified clay bump between chin and pendant may be a poorly executed cowl or loose hanging collar found on a Lambityeco male figure (Figure 43).

Torsos and leg fragments

Not illustrated

Total: 82

<u>Xolalpan</u> 41 fragments	<u>Las Palmas</u> 40 fragments	<u>Tlamimilolpa</u> 1 fragment
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Miscellaneous fragments

Not illustrated

Total: 8

<u>Xolalpan</u> 1 headdress fragment	<u>Las Palmas</u> 3 headdress fragments 4 staff adornments
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Unidentified bunches of feathers may have been attached to headdresses; others seem to be the tops of staffs.

**Lambityeco Figurines**

The Lambityeco figurines are stored in the Frissell Museum in Mitla, Oaxaca, and were photographed there in May, 1987. The entire corpus is not represented in the following descriptions and illustrations; however, all torso types and headdresses (showing convincing evidence of having been connected to such torsos) are included.<sup>12</sup> Many of the better preserved and unbroken examples were exhibited in the museum showcases, and could not be photographed but were sketched.

A preliminary, and incomplete, study of the Lambityeco figurines was carried out several years ago by Alain Y. Dessaint, and a copy of his manuscript was made available to me. One must agree with Paddock's description of the Dessaint classification as "nearly endless combinations of traits" (1983a: 203).

Paddock made the comment in the context of the distinction between Monte Albán IIIa-IIIb and IV diagnostic characteristics. Lambityeco was singled out because MA IV traits seemed to be isolated there. The MA III versus IV debate is far beyond the scope of this study (Paddock 1983a; Winter 1989a; Marcus and Flannery 1990); however, it should be noted that some, but not all, figurines identified by Paddock as MA IV are the analogues of the Teotihuacan figurine complex, whereas none of those with IIIa or IIIb traits are similar.

The Lambityeco figurine types, which reasonably may be termed "Monte Albán IV" are not isolated at Lambityeco. Paddock reports that at Yagul "the pottery and figurines from this time [MA IV] are utterly indistinguishable from those of Lambityeco" (1983a: 204). The examples that Paddock used to distinguish MA III from IV (1983a: 203) are illustrated in Caso and Bernal's study of Oaxacan urns (1952). The proveniences of figurines Paddock listed as MA IV are from Monte Albán (never in tombs, offerings or inside buildings), and sites around the Oaxaca Valley, e.g. Tlacolula, Ejutla, San Pedro Ixtlahuaca,

Chilapa, and Zaachila; however, published examples most like the Teotihuacan Mazapan and Lambityeco groups are from Xoxocatlán (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figures 517-518).

A comprehensive study of figurines from a variety of Valley of Oaxaca sites would be a substantial contribution toward understanding the distribution of subtypes within the corpus. The examples cited by Caso y Bernal indicate that these figurines are found in a variety of sites in the Valley of Oaxaca, but in no way hint at the number of figurines from each locale. It is important to know how many figurines were located at a given site, and in what context. Apart from the Lambityeco material, there is no known count of figurine pieces, for example at Yagul, Tlacolula, Ejutla, etc.

According to Dessaint's manuscript, there are roughly 3000 figurine fragments in the Lambityeco corpus, 900 of which were too eroded to identify. The manufacture of this group is similar to the Teotihuacan Mazapan material in carelessly formed faces and other fine detail, and the white undercoat of paint, overlaid by red paint. The Lambityeco figurines seem to have retained more traces of paint than their Teotihuacan counterparts.

A comprehensive classification of the Lambityeco figurines cannot be attempted with this less than complete sample, but is used as supplementary comparative material. The figurines are organized by types to simplify comparisons. Arabic numerals are used to designate the Lambityeco types, as opposed to Roman numerals for the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines. There are two female types (1-2), three male torso types (3-5) and six male headdresses (6-11). Only one torso type (5) and three headdress types (9-11) are not similar to the Teotihuacan Mazapan types.

#### Attributes of female figurines

Like the Teotihuacan female figurines, arms may be crossed or hang at the sides, although crossed arms greatly outnumber hanging arms in the Lambityeco corpus. There are no illustrations of the latter in this sample.

#### Type 1

Figures 32-33

Type 1 figurines are extremely flat. The headgear has been described as a "large feather" (*gran pluma*) by Caso and Bernal (1952: Figures 452-453), but it is more likely to be braided hair or yarn, analogous in concept, if not execution, to the Teotihuacan females. Figure 33b has an unusually well-developed clothing design.

Type 2  
Figure 34

Type 2 torsos are flattened on the back, but made in a deeper mould than Type 1. Arms and hands, small in proportion to the torso size, press against the chest, but do not cross. It is not known what kind of head was attached to this torso type.

**Attributes of male figurines**

The male category is divided into three torso types based on the texture and form of the clothing. The male figure is usually shown carrying a short staff, topped with a round element, against the right shoulder and holding a shield in the left hand. Large globular backstands serve as props. There are examples of all three torso types wearing upside-down trophy heads, a trait seen on none of the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines.

A few figurine examples with trophy heads from the Oaxaca area have been published (Leigh 1961; Moser 1973: Figure 21); however, the large percentage of them became apparent only upon examination of the Lambityeco corpus. The wearing of trophy heads is not an uncommon Mesoamerican image, but except for a few Maya and West Mexican examples, which might be considered temple rather than household items (Moser 1973, Pls. V and XIII) these are the only figurines wearing trophy heads in all Precolumbian Mesoamerica.

The Lambityeco headdresses do not duplicate all the types of the Teotihuacan Mazapan group, but there are enough overlapping traits to suggest some sort of shared symbolic meaning of the images.

Type 3  
Figures 35-43

Type 3 torsos are characterized by the waffle iron or bumpy texture of the tunic or jerkin. The distinction is made to explain why it was important to show the detail of some garments hanging open (Figure 36a), tied in front (Figure 35a), or as pullovers (Figures 38-41).

A variant is illustrated in Caso and Bernal by a sketch which does not show detail clearly (1952: Figure 518). The right side of the figure is either the rim of the clay background or the staff. On some examples the staff is incorporated into the rim. The shield is not present; however, the arm is poorly defined, and may have been eroded away.

Loincloths are rectangular with the exception of Figure 35c, which has a swallowtail shape. This loincloth shape is the only direct visual link in clothing between these figurines and the Xipe Totec.

Figures 40 and 41 are distinguished by the large triangular chest ornament. A twisted cord hangs below the loincloth of Figure 40.

The chest adornment for Figure 42 is a trophy head. It is worn upside down with the hair flowing to the waist, indicated by incisions crudely scratched in the surface. The face of the trophy head is badly

eroded and facial features cannot be made out. The neck area was covered by some kind of adhesive material, presumably to prevent further erosion of the clay, obviously done after the excavations.

The trophy head of Figure 43 hangs on top of a textured cowl or long loose collar, an undercoat of white paint encrusted in the crevices. This piece is a good example of the backstand used on Lambityeco figurines (Figure 43b). Paddock noted the transition from the bulbous torsos of some MA IIIb whistles to smaller, hollow backstands on MA IV figurines (1983a: 203).

#### Type 4

Figures 44-48

Type 4 torsos wear smooth, non-textured tunics. A published example is broken at the head at the same area as Figure 45a-b (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figure 517). Figures with round shields do not have trophy heads (Figures 44-45), which seem to be associated with square shields (Figure 46), one decorated with feathers and a geometric design (Figure 48). Trophy heads on Figures 47 and 48 are suspended by some sort of device on the chest. Figure 46 has a double loop at the neck which may be a variant of the head hanging element. The surface of Figure 47 is similar to that of the female torsos illustrated in Figure 34.

#### Type 5

Figures 49-51

A long cape is diagnostic of Type 5 torsos. It is closed at the neck and hangs open to reveal the loincloth. The cape is textured with much larger bumps than the jerkins, and may have been meant to represent palm. Dessaint suggested the material is similar to that used for raincapas in present day Oaxaca. Feathers or richly woven fabric are other possibilities. The tops of the staffs are broken off Figures 49 and 50, but presumably were round like the one held by Figure 51. Globular supports served as backstands.

One of the figurines exhibited in the Frissell Museum (not photographed) is intact except for missing legs, and is similar to Figure 51. It wears a headdress of two stacked disks with feathers on the top, and carries a staff.

Another version of the caped figure wears a trophy head; one example wears a close-fitting cap, and the other is broken above the eyes with a chin-strap remaining (Leigh 1961: Figure 2; Moser 1973: Figure 21a-c).

#### Type 6

Figure 52

Layered headdresses have one to three stacked disks with feathers on the top. The bottom layer forms a visor over the forehead. Type 6 headdress is similar to Teotihuacan Mazapan Type IIIc (Figures

22-23). One example from Xoxocatlán wears a two-layered headdress (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figure 518).

The top of Figure 52 is broken off and the face is badly eroded. Figure 52 must have been attached to a Type 5 torso; the cape seems to have been draped from the head to cover the shoulders, and pulled close around the face. The element surrounding the face appears to be the edging of the cape, but it is difficult to identify the strap or cloth on the broken heads of Figures 45 and 51.

The configuration of the caped figure in the Frissell Museum is the same as Figure 52. Another Frissell Museum example (not photographed), a head fragment, wears a three-layered headdress with feathers. The layered headdress was used on both tunic and cape torsos.

#### Type 7

Figures 53-54

The sunburst headdress, analogous to Teotihuacan Mazapan Type IIIb (Figures 20-21), is decorated with a chevron design, perhaps to indicate feathers. The more elaborate examples have three tiers of feathers on the tops. This headdress type was attached to Type 3 torsos, the textured tunic and the torso with the triangle chest covering (Figure 53a-b).

#### Type 8

Figure 55

The bat is a recurring theme in Zapotec iconography. The small animal in Type 8 headdress is identified here as a bat, a major headdress component in Dessaint's typology. The jaguar is another small-eared, short-snouted animal not uncommon to Zapotec, and other, culture groups; however, the bat is the most likely candidate for this particular figurine type. Figure 55 is badly eroded, but may be compared with three examples which also wear the bat headdress, backed by a feather surround with a crown of feathers on the top of the head (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figure 141). The configuration is similar to the Teotihuacan Mazapan Type IIIa.

#### Type 9

Figure 56

The mask over a human face is unique to the corpus, and if examples of this type have been published, they are unknown to me.

#### Type 10

Figure 57

The right side of this asymmetrical round cap projects beyond the left. It is difficult to know which kinds of torsos these heads were broken from; only the top of the staff of Figure 57a is intact.

Vertical lines on Figure 57b may represent the feathers seen on the staffs carried by Teotihuacan male figures.

This sort of headdress is found on a Zapotec standing statue which holds a jaguar, not bat, claw vessel (Plate 17-18; Dockstader 1964: Figure 53; Moser 1973: Pl. IV). The statue is housed in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, and is discussed more fully below. The headdress is a close-fitting cap, decorated with four rows of what appears to be fringe. The right side of the headdress looks as if a larger rounded hat had been sliced in half.

Type 11  
Figure 58

Close-fitting caps are decorated with volutes. Type 11 headdress has no analogue, but is included in the corpus by virtue of the Lambityeco provenience, and the general manufacture of the pieces.

### THE TEOTIHUACAN XIPE TOTEC STATUE

A few of the most important finds from Linné's excavations remained in Mexico, the Xipe statue among them. Since 1964, when the new Museo Nacional de Antropología opened in Mexico City, the statue has stood alone in a free-standing glass case in the Teotihuacan hall (on the side of the room leading into the Toltec exhibit). The statue may be viewed from all angles except from the top looking downward.

Linné described the statue as being smashed (1934: 83); were the cracks obvious? It would be unthinkable to suggest Linné would have restored the statue with anything less than the highest professional standards. The Xipe must have received at least the care given to a Zapotec urn from the Paulson collection broken in shipment to Stockholm (Linné 1938a: 98).

Unhappily, there are no drawings or photographs of the Xipe as it was recovered in Linné's excavation. He did publish a fairly detailed description, and it is worth quoting in its entirety: "The figure, which was hollow, had been smashed up literally into a thousand pieces, and these were scattered over an area of about 6 sq. m. The majority, and largest, of them lay in a pile with the legs underneath and the head uppermost. The head, which was laying face down, was intact except for the brittle head-dress and one ear-lobe, the latter being found nearly 2 m away. No fragments were in contact with the floor of the room, from which they were separated by a mean distance of roughly 0.4 m. Obviously the figure had not been purposely buried either in pieces, or whole and subsequently crushed, e.g. through pressure of the soil. It must have been standing in the open, or inside some apartment, and had probably been knocked over by a blow on its chest. This seems likely because the centre portion of the breast was shattered into such a large number of splinters that it was not possible to put it together again. If the figure, when subjected to this violent treatment, had been standing with its back against a wall it might

well have collapsed in a heap, with the head on top of it, and face down...The figure was very badly damaged, and it took several weeks of work to put the fragments together into a whole. The brownish material was fragile, a circumstance which enhanced the difficulty of mending operations (1934: 83-84). In another Linné publication, a caption explaining the Xipe statue contains the intriguing information that Mrs. Linné did the restoration: "In the ruin near Xolalpan our expedition found a large clay figure from the Mazapan culture representing the god Xipe Totec. This figure was literally in a thousand pieces, and it was only with great effort that my wife managed to piece it together again" (Disselhoff and Linné 1960: 70, Figure 44).

Linné's description of the shattered chest and relatively intact larger fragments suggest the statue was subjected purposely to heart sacrifice.

### Description of the statue

The hollow statue was made in three pieces: head, torso, and legs (Plates 1-3). At 1.14 mt in height, the statue is dwarfed by many of the pieces with which it shares similarity of manufacture, proportion, and theme. The comparative material is discussed below.

The legs are short and stocky, arms are thin by comparison, buttocks are rounded, and the torso is much wider seen *en face* than in profile, a disproportion heightened by the sunken chest. This was the area of greatest damage, but Linné does not mention how much of the chest was destroyed. One wonders if the chest was restored according to existing contours of the torso, or was given a sunken chest, based on the historical sources of heart removal from sacrificial victims. Certainly a few ceramic Xipe statues, presumably from the Gulf Coast, have sunken chests and also a scar in the chest area; moreover, some examples have sutures closing the wound. Description and comparison of ceramic statues, or Xipe statues (both stone and ceramic), as a genre, would take this study far from its plotted course.<sup>13</sup> Only a few salient points of comparison may be touched upon which will demonstrate the unique characteristics of the Teotihuacan Xipe.

The suit representing flayed skin of a sacrificial victim has texture resembling thickly laid plaster, not the smooth or fish scale surface of most Xipes. The collar is thought generally to be the neck skin of the flayed victim although it is not described as such in Durán (1971: 172 ff.), and according to Sahagún, the Aztec Xipe's "[human] skin collar was of gold beaten thin" (Book 9 1959: 70). In fact, the collar appears to be a decorative, although highly significant identifying, trait occurring on several of the comparative items, discussed below. The connection with Oaxaca is strengthened further through similar neck pieces found on Zapotec urns, usually associated with bat figures. The texture of this collar is not the same as the suit, and appears to have been made with a pointed instrument. The collar does not close at the back of the neck (Plate 4).

The suit has short legs and 3/4 length sleeves. The hip-hugging belt seems to represent overlapping leaves or feathers. The loincloth is held at an angle by an inside support (not seen in the photograph). On the reverse, a loincloth tab extends from under the belt (Plate 3).

The central element of the "swallowtail" nose plug and decorations of arm and leg bands is a cone, flattened on four sides into something of a pyramid shape, the tip blunted on the nose plug (Plates 5-6).

The headdress consists of three stacked bands, giving the impression of the swallowtail design, but the ends are pointed, not forked. The central bosses are conical, rather than flattened. The headdress is held in place by two vertical supports, the only non-decorative element easily seen on the statue. The hair is swept back from the face, the texture indicated by thin incised lines (Plate 4).

The face is one of the most distinctive Xipe traits (Plates 5). According to Aztec sculpture and Mixtec codex tradition, the face skin of the flayed victim was worn over the human face. Artistically, the concept is portrayed by drooping eyelids forming crescent-shaped eyes, and a rounded, open mouth with the human lips and tongue seen inside, all traits highly suggestive of a mask. The nose, on the other hand, is never distorted as are the eyes and mouth to give the impression of dead, flaccid skin.

The face of the Teotihuacan Xipe does not appear to wear a mask. Close observation reveals the tongue protruding slightly from the open mouth; there is no evidence of a face underneath the outer surface, and there are no lines anywhere on the head to suggest that a flayed skin was indicated. The face is, indeed, much more within the tradition of a few statues from El Zapotal (Gutiérrez Solana y Hamilton 1977: Figures 2, 5, 6, 60, 62) than other Xipe statues made of ceramic (Aveleyra Arroyo de Anda 1964, no page numbers, 3rd photograph in the chapter "de las Culturas del Centro de Veracruz;" Kubler 1986: 243) or stone (Saville 1929: Figures 38-42). It lacks the dangling hands and exposed genitalia of statues dated to later epochs (Easby 1966: Figure 404; Pasztor 1983: Pl. 298).

The nose of the Teotihuacan Xipe is long and thin compared with Gulf Coast examples. The eyebrows are curved, raised ridges, and the ears are realistic showing inside ridges. Ear lobes are pierced and widened to accommodate earspools.

A seemingly inconsequential, but intriguing, detail in the manufacture of the statue, is the shape of its finger and toe-nails (Plates 7-9). They are indentations, perhaps pressed with a circular tool, leaving a rim around the nail area. It is a rare manufacturing technique; a similar version is seen on some examples of the *xantil* (large hollow ceramic censor in the form of a seated human figure) which is usually associated with the southern Puebla-northern Oaxaca area. Two examples in Mexico's Museo Nacional de Antropología are reported from Madereros, the region of Huachín, Veracruz (Aveleyra Arroyo de Anda 1964: sequential pages, no page numbers), and others in private collections lack provenience (Ethnic Arts Council of Los Angeles 1971: Figures 122-125). It is quite possible that this technique of shaping finger and toe-nails is more pervasive; the detail is difficult to see in photographs and the matter far from settled at this point.

The feet are shod with sandals of recognizable Mesoamerican style; a platform sole and side supports are fastened with thongs passing between the great and second toes, and between the third and fourth toes, looping upon the center front of the ankles (Plates 8-9). The feet of our Xipe are short and stubby, in proportion with the legs. The arms and hands are thin by comparison. The arched pinkie of the right hand (not seen in the photographs) rests gracefully over the base of the vessel. The right hand grips the bat claw vessel; a rectangular shield is placed on the right arm, fingers curved as if to hold an object (Plate 7).

The statue seems to have been painted in its original condition. Traces of bluish red paint remain on the right leg near the calf, on the stomach, and on the neck band. The belt is a contrasting pale blue. It is possible that this statue had vertical stripes painted on its face, a trait of some Xipe images, but if so, no vestiges remain.

Restoration of the chest has left no obvious scars; as the area "smashed into a thousand pieces," it probably was re-formed to look as if it had not been broken. Other parts were repaired by gluing together the large fragments which were not badly damaged; for example, the left arm, headdress, and shield, and no attempt was made to hide the scars (Plates 4, 6, 7). It would appear that the statue was not restored beyond its original shape, proportion, and decoration.

## THE XIPE STATUE AND ITS ANALOGUES

One would be hard pressed to date the Teotihuacan Xipe by its morphological and stylistic traits alone, without the archaeological context, the ceramics and the figurines. Traditionally it has been compared with other large ceramic statues sharing the basic diagnostic traits of textured skin-like suit, crescent-shaped eyes, and open mouth. However, other characteristics of our Xipe are found in contexts that have no obvious connection with the traditional image: displayed trophy heads, the Zapotec bat image, and a distinctive collar. Even the eye shape is not exclusively a Xipe trait, as noted above. It seems appropriate at this point to bring a more balanced analysis to the statue, considering each of its iconographic parts with direct visual analogues. Recently excavated material has added substantially to the morphological and stylistic elements linked to our Xipe.

The comparative pieces have not been chosen at random, and are the only ones, known to date, that apply to this study of interchangeable traits. The figurines are associated with the statues through some of these traits, i.e. the bat headdresses and trophy heads. For the first time since Linné excavated the Teotihuacan Xipe there are comparisons from Central Mexico for the puzzling Zapotec bat claw vessel and swallowtail headdress.

Combinations of interchangeable or interfacing traits are common in Precolumbian Mesoamerican art forms, and while the variety of permutations has not been examined fully, a few examples may be cited. The jaguar and eagle units within Aztec society have been documented, interacting much like

present day teams in sporting events. The jaguar and bat themes, discussed below, regularly interchange as do the Classic period Teotihuacan butterfly and jaguar, although this combination has not been studied thoroughly as yet. Not only animal, but also geometric forms, seem to work within an interchange framework, e.g. the Tlaloc and trapeze-and-ray year sign, as noted by Pasztory (1988). Each of these examples occurs in contexts of headdress, clothing or otherwise decorative schemes, possibly denoting identification with a particular group.

The paired bat and Xipe themes within this group of eleven pieces also may be recognized as yet another set of traits expressing social affiliation. It seems appropriate in this study to go into some detail on the histories of these pieces and what is known of their archaeological context and associations, preceded by a brief discussion of the Zapotec bat-jaguar combination, and the bat claw vessels.

### Oaxacan Xipe-Bat Motifs

The bat is a common animal throughout Precolumbian Mesoamerican iconography with the notable exception of Teotihuacan. Xipe's claw vessel is the only bat reference extant; and by extension, the animal on the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurine headdress may be identified as a bat.

The only comprehensive study of Zapotec bat imagery is found in the monumental work by Caso and Bernal in their study of a large corpus of urns (and some figurines) from excavations in and around Monte Albán, with additional material from federal museums and private collections (1952). Three major obstacles preclude a clear and logical understanding of their interpretations. The first, discussed below, is the insistence on assigning deity status to figures depicted on the urns.

The second obstacle is the use of many diagnostic traits to identify urn personages which now, with more material for comparison, may be shown to occur in a more general decorative sense, and do not seem to be identifying markers at all. Vertical stripes on the face and a round head with three holes are blatant examples, (discussed in the "Origins" section of this text). Caso, like Selser and other scholars who dealt with enormous amounts of diverse kinds of Mesoamerican material, cannot be faulted for a few mistakes: their pioneering work made further interpretations possible. Nonetheless, one must proceed with caution in following the Caso and Bernal analysis of urn characteristics.

The final obstacle is the flood of fake urns churned out in relatively modern times (Boos 1966: 15; Shaplin 1975, 1978a; Mongne 1987).<sup>14</sup> Several museums have had Zapotec items tested by the thermoluminescence method. Results have come from the St. Louis Museum of Art, and the Museums für Völkerkunde in Vienna and Berlin (Shaplin 1978b; Feest 1986; Feest *et al.* 1984; Eisleb personal communication 1990). The testing method itself has not received complete acceptance, and some of these results have been disputed. Until the problem can be resolved, one can only hope the comparative material is authentic.

The Zapotec bat is only one, but an important, motif in a massive and complex corpus. It is paired with a jaguar motif, as if the two were parallel, and in some cases, interchangeable, themes. The images are systematically paired, much like the Aztec eagle and jaguar, and are the animals most frequently found in urn forms (Caso y Bernal 1952: 69). Their formal characteristics are similar in many cases. Full figures are rare; usually part of the head is abstracted and combined with other motifs, sometimes with glyphs. An unusual composite is found on a tomb lintel at Dainzú (Winter 1989b: 103). Other striking examples are braziers and claw vessels (Caso y Bernal 1952: 67 ff., Figures 144-147; 91-93, 119).

Zapotec artisans crafted the vessels so the distinction between the animals was made easily. Bat claws are arched, whereas the jaguar foot has folds of skin around the retractable claws (Caso y Bernal 1952: 72). The jaguar brazier has bat claws represented on the "spiked" vessel and the "spikes" on the bat head brazier are jaguar claws because of the folds of skin around the claws. The geometric design in the middle of the bow knots of the jaguar head brazier is found as a pectoral design (Caso y Bernal 1952: 90, Figures 144-145).<sup>15</sup>

On other ceramic items, the jaguar foot has one claw placed high on the ankle (Caso y Bernal 1952: 91; Paddock 1966: Figure 187). With or without its jaguar counterpart, realistic anatomical parts of the bat are abstracted to become motifs in contexts such as headdresses, pectorals or earspools. A triangular element emerges from the sides of the bat's face, interpreted as a sort of combination of the *tragus* and *comisura*.<sup>16</sup> The abstraction becomes a leaf design on necklaces worn by both bat and human forms. The nasal appendage, completely disconnected from the nose, emerges at the top of the forehead, and on two examples is combined with large round eyes and hanging earspools to decorate headdresses (Caso y Bernal 1952: 71, Figures 113-116, 125).

The Zapotec bat is linked to a female designated as "Lady 2J," who seems to be a principal Zapotec female. She may be seated or standing, arms hanging or crossed on the chest, a posture akin to Teotihuacan Mazapan and Lambityeco female figurines (Caso y Bernal 1952: 78, Figures 125, 126, 128-134). It is tempting to speculate that the female figurines have a connection with Lady 2J, but as both arm positions are fairly common and the figurines do not wear the headdress, no such conclusion may be drawn.

The rolled collar of the Teotihuacan Xipe occurs on five of the eleven large pieces in this corpus as well as on Zapotec items connected with the bat motif (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figure 119a; Boos 1966: Figures 293 and 311). A doubtful "Xipe" wears the collar which may have been the one trait leading to its identification (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figure 402). Clearly the motif warrants further research.

### Zapotec Claw Vessels

Claw vessels have been recovered only in the Oaxaca area, principally from Monte Albán. Like spiked braziers, these vessels may have either the bat or jaguar theme. In more elaborate forms, the animal's head is incorporated into the claw (Caso 1938: Figure 47-48; Caso y Bernal 1952: 61, 74; Caso, Bernal y Acosta 1967: Figures 83-1, 337, 397). The vessel shape is not uncommon, but no exact counts have been given. Caso *et al.* commented that few were recovered in tombs and burials (15 jaguar and 14 bat in their corpus), but frequently were found in offerings. Only a handful of fragments were recovered in the more recent surface survey conducted by the Valley of Oaxaca Settlement Pattern Project (Blanton 1978: 400).

Both bat and jaguar forms occur in contexts labeled Monte Albán IIIb and IV (Caso, Bernal y Acosta 1967: Tabla XVI), whereas the bat claw vessel is "one of the few forms peculiar to Monte Albán IV," and "is diagnostic of Lambityeco (early MA IV) traits (Paddock 1966: Figure 276; 1983a: 202). Since the claw vessel was found only infrequently in tombs and burials, the occurrence of the bat claw vessels in Lambityeco Tomb 2 (Paddock *et al.* 1968; Lind and Urcid 1983: 109) may indicate a significant ritual use connected with the ancestor figures of the friezes.<sup>17</sup>

### Interchangeable Xipe-Bat Motifs on Ceramic Statues

If the Teotihuacan Xipe's bat claw vessel seems only a subtle suggestion of its tie with the Valley of Oaxaca, then three large, ceramic statues feature additional and more explicit interchanging bat and Xipe motifs. Two of the figures, the Tezoquípan statues, were recovered recently in an INAH salvage excavation, and the third, the Stendahl statue (Plates 10-14), was part of a private collection. The Teotihuacan Xipe's rolled collar is diagnostic of all three figures. But even more telling than the similarity of stylistic traits are the almost identical form, shape and proportions of the statues. They might have been designed or sculpted by the same person, or resulted from the collective efforts of a workshop.

### The Tezoquípan statues

Two large ceramic statues entered the repertory of Mesoamerican art forms in November, 1990, when Arqo. Francisco Hinojosa was sent on an INAH salvage excavation at Tezoquípan, a small town outside Mexico City. The statues have been restored at the INAH Churubusco laboratories; and during August, 1992, one was exhibited in the Museum of the Templo Mayor, Mexico D.F. Hinojosa has generously shared information of the description of the statues and their archaeological context which will soon be published (Hinojosa n.d.).

The statues apparently had been placed in a cache; one statue, with the head of a bat, was laid horizontally, with the remains of the second statue placed on its chest. Fragments of other ceramic statues were recovered within the limited area of excavation (a hand holding a head by the hair and a bat eye)

providing only tantalizing clues for what eventually, with further excavation, may be termed the Tezoquípan "hoards."

Both statues are standing, human, male figures, similar to the Teotihuacan Xipe in proportion if not size. They have robust legs in contrast to relatively thin arms; and are much wider seen *en face* than profile, with well-developed pectorals and prominently rounded buttocks. The flexed arms are raised slightly above waist level.

### The Tezoquípan bat figure

The statue is an impressive figure, measuring 2 m in height; it has been illustrated by photographs taken before restoration was completed (Day 1992: 46), and afterwards, shown with the coordinator of the work, Raul Araujo (Excelsior 1992). It is a remarkable composite of human and animal features. The animal head bears all the traits of the Zapotec bat: upturned nasal appendage and leaf-like elements around the head representing the *tragus* of the bat's ear (Caso y Bernal 1952: 71, Figures 113, 119, 125a).

The treatment of the eyes is quite distinctive: prominent brow ridges, heavy eyelids, and wide staring eyes with hollows for pupils. The snout is blunt with clearly defined nostrils. Other prominent features are the open mouth, fangs, rectangular tongue, and large ears. Imposing retractable jaguar claws replace hands and feet. Three bells, each with a bone clapper, are suspended from the rolled collar or necklace. Black paint or slip covers the entire figure. The fragmentary "bat eye" recovered in the Tezoquípan excavation is an exact replica of this statue's eye.

### The Tezoquípan "Xipe"

The proportions of this statue are said to be the same as the bat figure, but its height, 1.60 mt, is less as its headdress was broken and not recovered in the excavation. The figure wears a sort of uniform, to date unknown in the Mesoamerican repertory except for the Stendahl statue, discussed below. Hands and feet are broken away; only the flexed fingers of one hand indicate that an object was grasped.

It has the head of a "Xipe," although it should be stressed again that the open mouth and crescent-shaped eyes are much more like some of the El Zapotal statues. No protruding tongue, lips or other facial features are seen inside the mouth.

Other traits shared with the Teotihuacan Xipe are: nose plug, widened earlobes, narrow bands with small bows on both upper- and forearms and below the knees (the Teotihuacan statue does not have bands on the forearms, and the knee bows are placed off-center on the Tezoquípan Xipe), sandal thongs that loop up against the ankle, and the rolled collar.

### The Stendahl statue

The authenticity of the statue in the Stendahl private collection seemed extremely doubtful until the Tezoquípan statues were discovered (Plates 10-14; von Winning and Stendahl 1968: 240, Figure 374; Haus der Kunst München 1958: Pl. 60, with recently manufactured legs). The statue has a rather mysterious history. According to the gallery owners, the legs were manufactured and attached to the statue in recent times. It was part of an exhibit which toured Europe in the 1950s, and apparently went missing as it did not return from the tour and there is no information in the gallery's records that it had been sold; its whereabouts remain unknown.

It was first identified as a "jaguar warrior," dated to the Toltec period and said to have come from the Valley of Mexico. Recent inquiries about these details resulted in a different interpretation, with the headdress re-identified as a bat (von Winning personal communication 1990).

The proportions of the torso are the same as the Tezoquípan and Teotihuacan statues, and what remains of the arms are also thin. It shares with the "Xipe" statues the crescent-shaped eyes, open mouth, arm bands, nose ornament, and the rolled collar. Like the Teotihuacan Xipe, the tongue slightly protrudes from the mouth.

The Tezoquípan bat head becomes the helmet for this figure. A major difference between the two is the shape of the snout which is long and pointed on the Stendahl statue (whether this portion of the helmet was reconstructed is not known). Additional features are a scalloped edging or frame behind the helmet and round earspools.

The suit is unlike any known in Precolumbian Mesoamerican art forms except its duplicate on the Tezoquípan Xipe. The upper section is without texture, and the lower part is belted with a ribbed drape hanging to the level of the thighs. A small head is centered on the belt (a scar on the corresponding area on the Tezoquípan Xipe might indicate a similar device), and a narrow incised band projects from behind the torso, suggesting a cape.

The Stendahl Gallery generously provided five views of the statue, all included in this study although there is some repetition. It seems important to underscore the difference between the recently manufactured legs which are rather thin with Veracruz-style toes and toe-nails and the authentic robust legs of our Xipe and the Tezoquípan statues. Once one understands the proportions which were intended by the artisans who made the statues, the legs of the Stendahl statue become awkward, and simply "look wrong."

### Figures Holding Claw Vessels

A search for figures holding claw vessels resulted in a narrow field of only two objects, both Zapotec (Plates 15-18). One holds a bat, and the other a jaguar claw vessel. They are hollow, standing statues, rather than "urns" in the more formal sense.

Both have recognizably Zapotec features (but do not seem to have been made by the same hand), are similarly bare-chested. They are garbed in "tutus" of what has been described as rattle or jingle bells formed by cut sea shells, "*cascabeles formados por olivelas recortadas*" (Caso y Bernal 1952: 253), or snail shells (Feest 1986); other possibilities are nuts or small gourds. The term "cascabel tutu" is used in this study as the generic term for the skirt or belt, not to trivialize the garment, but to express the notion of movement, perhaps dance. The small bones inside the shells of the Tezoquípan bat head statue indicate rattles.

They wear similar necklaces with pendants which appear to represent human maxillae (Dockstader 1964: Figure 53; Becker-Donner 1965: 37; Feest 1986 volume 2: #65) although shells have been suggested (Caso y Bernal 1952: 255), and share similar bands of small round objects on the upper arms, earspools and sandals. These items are not uncommon in the Zapotec urn corpus, but the head adornments for both these figures are quite unusual.

### The Vienna figure

This small statue (Plates 15-16), is 74 cm in height, and is published in Lehmann 1922: 35; Fuhrmann 1922: 21; Becker-Donner 1965: 37, Tafel 20; Boos 1966: Figure 281; and Feest 1986 volume 2: #65. It is presently housed in the Vienna Museum für Völkerkunde (catalogue #55.163). This piece is of particular interest as the museum archives hold documentation on its recovery circa 1895, and also because it has been tested by thermoluminescence. This information was kindly provided by the Americanist curator, Dr. Christian Feest.

The statue was collected by L. Guillaume whose notes, with the date 1895, recount that it was one of seven figures recovered from "two different tombs, built beside each other," two meters below the surface, near the mountain range "Cerro La Carbonera" south of Tehuacan. The other published pieces were a seated personage with a Cocijo medallion in the headdress, Lady 2J (Boos 1966: 52 and 308) and a cross-legged male wearing a large rectangular feather panache headdress with a glyph C and a broken mask covering the mouth, (Becker-Donner 1965: Tafel 19) probably in the so-called "god of glyph L" category.

Five of the seven figures were dated by thermoluminescence, and proved to have been fired in antiquity. TL testing gives only a broad time range, and is more successful in determining authenticity rather than precise dating; the Vienna figure is given a span of 490-1070 A.D. (Feest *et al.* 1984; Feest 1986 volume 2: #65).<sup>18</sup>

The cascabel tutu was painted red, and seen in profile (Plate 16; Lehmann 1922: Figure 35) encircles the hip area. The maxillae or shell pendants hang from a bead necklace which does not close at the back. The vessel motif may be identified as a bat because it does not have ridges of skin around the claws.

The "mohawk" hair arrangement is not unusual as a general Mesoamerican style, but it is rare in the Zapotec urn corpus. Ridges of hair frame the face ear to ear, the texture shown by small striations, and the mohawk tuft covers the top of the head front to back. The rest of the head is shaved. The texture of the mohawk is indicated by small circles, a method found only on turbans of urn figures identified as "Old-Man God 5 F" (Boos 1966: Figures 207-15). The top of the head had been damaged, a projection broken from the top of the hair crest.

The hair style on other urn examples are rare: the mohawk is placed on the left side of the head which has a disconcertingly European-looking face (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figure 512), and a modified mohawk protrudes just above the forehead (Boos 1966: Figure 431).

### The Heye figure

This figure (Plates 17-18) measures 29 inches in height (74 cm), and is published in Dockstader 1964: Figure 53; Boos 1966: Figure 283; Moser 1973: Pl. IV.

It is presently located in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation in New York (catalogue #19/5806), and has been known since the turn of the century. According to Dockstader it was "taken to France in 1845 by Monsieur Martin, the French consular agent at Oaxaca, who had collected it near Mitla some years before" (1964: Figure 53).<sup>19</sup> Boos's caption notes that "while owned in France, this piece was the subject of an article describing it published in 1856" (1966: 304), but gives no bibliographic reference.

Dockstader (1964) notes the suspended decapitated trophy head, the belt made of shells, the "panther's paw" vessel, and the collar "presumably representing human upper jaws;" and while "the half-shaven hair treatment is occasionally seen on other Zapotec sculptures" gives no reference.

In this representation the hair is not shaven, rather the head is covered by a closely fitting cap overlain by a cut-away turban. The textured area of the cap on the forehead recalls the scalloped or "wavy line" design which is a major diagnostic trait of moulded Teotihuacan figurine headdresses, usually as an inset panel (Séjourné 1966: Figures 23 and 28), but also combined with the cut-away turban (Plate 19a; SPA Munich Roll 3.#19 and Roll 6.#13). This configuration may be further elaborated with a profile bird and concentric rings typical of Classic period Teotihuacan headdresses (Séjourné 1966: Figure 46).

Unpublished examples from Linné's excavations were made both by hand modelling and moulding, indicating a long time depth for the helmet shape. Only one example is intact (Plate 19b); a seated figure wears a simple robe and the headdress bears no design. Otherwise, there is no indication of which kinds of torsos were attached. After a great deal of searching, the only other examples of the cut-away turban located to date are on Lambityeco figurines (Figure 57).

The vessel is identified as jaguar because of the ridges of skin around the claws. The figure's left hand was formed to grasp an object, in the same manner as our Xipe (as well as other ceramic statues, usually identified as Veracruz or Aztec).

A scalloped skirt hangs below the cascabel tutu. The necklace pendants are fixed on a twisted cord ending in long fringe, and fastened at the throat. The trophy head has a deep collar incised with what appears to be a geometric design. Other details, such as a possible design on the sandals, remain obscure.

The display of the upside down trophy head on the Heye Foundation statue is, of course, an iconographic tie with the Lambityeco figurines, as is the asymmetrical helmet (cf. Figure 57). Stylistically, the urns in question possibly date from MA IIIa, certainly IIIb.

### Figures Holding Trophy Heads

Each figure holds a trophy head by the hair in the left hand, otherwise they do not resemble each other, rather bear motifs found on pieces described above. Fortunately their archaeological context is known as they were recovered from Monte Albán tombs in excavations controlled by Caso. It should be noted again that a similar trophy head fragment, forehead and lock of hair, was recovered with the Tezoquípan statues, providing even further evidence of strong cultural links between the Basin of Mexico and the Valley of Oaxaca.

### Monte Albán Tomb 58 brazier

The small "brazier" (Plate 20) is approximately 36 cm (14 inches) in height. It is published in Caso 1935: 20-21, Figures 33-34; Caso y Bernal 1952: 254-255, Figure 400; Paddock 1966: 175; Covarrubias 1967: Pl. 23 (the only instance where the height is mentioned); and Moser 1973: Pl. I.

This weird looking creature is certainly unique in the corpus of Mesoamerican art; in fact, had it not been recovered by responsible archaeologists, one would be compelled to dismiss it as fake, the handwork of a copyist gone berserk.

The head is as round as the ball held aloft in the right hand, and the three round symmetrical holes are placed at the areas of eyes and mouth where smoke from burning incense would escape, much like the *xantil* figures, and, indeed, the interior of the head seems blackened. It is referred to as a brazier (*brasero*) rather than an urn (Caso y Bernal 1952: 255), but is, in fact, much more in the tradition of the *xantil*.

The nose is formed by a slight protuberance, leading to the assumption that a flayed skin mask was intended to be depicted; "*la nariz aparace muy poco perfilada, pues está cubierta por la piel*" (Caso y Bernal 1952: 255). In his report on the 1934-35 excavations, Caso identified this urn as Xipe Totec, solely by

comparison with the "masked face" Teotihuacan figurines. The argument that the Teotihuacan "masked face" figurine has absolutely no connection with the Xipe image is discussed below.

This brazier combines swallowtail and bat imagery, if the notched loincloth, which also occurs on a Lambityeco figurine (Figure 35c), was, indeed, intended to represent the former. The long, dangling ear ornaments are found on the abstract monster-bat face in the headdresses of Lady 2J and her companion bat figure (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figure 125c-d; Boos 1966: Figure 301; Boos 1968: Lám. XXXI) and human female form with bat head (Boos 1966: Figure 299).

The head looks strangely unfinished, especially the area under the chin, and may have been covered with some device of perishable material. The pendants of the neck piece, seen more clearly on the Heye figure as human maxillae, differ only in number; the brazier has two sets suspended on the vertical cords. This detail is obscured by the claw vessel of the Vienna statue.<sup>20</sup>

Caso and Bernal equated the necklace with two other urns they defined as "Xipe," based on this trait and vertical stripes on the faces (1952: Figures 398 and 399), but the cord arrangement appears to be not uncommon as a manner of fastening a neck piece. It is seen on Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines (Figures 21, possibly 20) with the sunburst headdress, and as a tied knot (Paddock 1966: Figure 125 Boos 1966: Figures 49, 200-202, 245), on jaguar (Boos 1966: Figures 262-4) as well as bat figures (Shaplin 1978a: Pl. 6).

The brazier is seated more like the *xantiles*, with knees drawn up to the chest and toes turned inward (Paddock 1966: Figure 291), rather than any other Zapotec urn position which is usually cross legged and only occasionally seated in European fashion or standing. Unfortunately this is probably the least studied of all Zapotecan urns/braziers. It is shown *in situ* at the time of excavation (Caso 1935: Figure 33) and appeared to be intact. The brazier seems to have been painted originally, but most of the paint has eroded, leaving traces of a white undercoat encrusted on the pendants, loincloth and in crevices.

It was discovered at the entrance to Tomb 58, and the upraised arm gave Caso the impression that it were protecting the tomb from intruders. It was dated to the final stage of Monte Albán IIIb (Caso y Bernal 1952: 255). Inside the brazier, Caso found various calcified quail (*cordoniz*) skulls with a large amount of ash and carbon, indicating that it had been use for burnt offerings to the dead as seen in the codices. The tomb contained one primary burial (Caso 1935: 21).

#### Monte Albán Tomb 103 urn

Presently housed in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City, it is recorded as vessel 15, and is 51 cm in height. It has been published in Caso 1938: 74, Figures 89-90; Caso y Bernal 1952: 252 and 373-4, Figure 396; Paddock 1966: Figure 140; and Moser 1973: Pl. II.

Masks are common features on Zapotec urn figures, but so far this example is unique. Human eyes and mouth are visible under the mask. It is similar to our Xipe because the human nose has not been

modified, but only by reference to the trophy head can one suggest the material of the mask was human skin.

The only mask in the figurine corpus is found on Lambityeco Type 9 (Figure 56) which seems to cover only the top half of the face, and is decorated with short, stubby animal ears.

A similar form of this mask is worn by figures carved in high relief on limestone vases from Yucatán. The most notable examples were recovered from the Balankanché cave as part of an offering, and are dated to the Early Postclassic (Andrews IV 1970: 32, Figures 22a-c, 23a, 52d-f and possibly Figure 5, right group). Andrews related them to the "Xipe cult" because of the mask as well as the presence of Tlaloc-faced hour glass *incensarios*. It is impossible to know what sort of material was meant to be represented by these masks; human skin is a possibility, but one of the figures (1970: Figure 22a) wears a nose ornament, perhaps a protector. The mask is the only diagnostic linking the Yucatán vessels with the urn from Tomb 103, and to suggest it is the prototype would be speculative.

The headdress of the urn figure is a visor placed low on the forehead with feathers extending from the top. The visor is unique to Zapotec urns, and should not be confused with the "lamp shade" headdresses which have a different configuration (Paddock 1966: Figures 91, 93). The structure of this visor is closer to the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines Type IIIa and IIIc (Figures 14-19 and 22-23) and Lambityeco Type 6 (Figure 52).

Secondary motifs, the cascabel tutu with a flared skirt, large panache of feathers, heavily beaded necklace, and ornaments worn either at the waist or as pectorals, are shared on other figures, all of which are seated European style on benches (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figure 346; Paddock 1966: Figure 174; Boos 1966: Figures 41 and 59).

Only one other Zapotec urn (located so far in this research) holds a staff (Boos 1966: 41). Caso and Bernal have referred to this staff as the rattlestick (*chicahuaztli*) associated with the Aztec Xipe, but it might represent a femur, or simply a generic staff.

The urn was recovered in the interior of Tomb 103 with an *acompañante* (companion). The antechamber contained urns of the "goddess 13 serpent," and Cocijo. The objects, dated by Caso to the third epoch of Monte Albán, were painted after firing.<sup>21</sup>

A group of small urns or figurines were deposited as an offering in the patio of a house built over Tomb 103. The figures, some playing musical instruments and others dressed in rich attire, including the cascabel tutu (and removable headdresses), surround a stone head placed on a small pyramid. (Caso y Bernal 1952: 185-186; Feest 1986 volume 2: #65). The scene has been interpreted as a funeral, with the dead man symbolized by the stone head (Paddock 1966: Figure 151), which looks like nothing so much as a Teotihuacan stone mask.

## The "Xipe" Statues

The difference has been noted between the configuration of the Xipe, that is, its formal properties of posture, crescent-shaped eyes, open mouth, and its attire. The former traits are found within a corpus of ceramic statues with other stylistic themes, primarily in the Gulf Coast repertory of statues from Dicha Tuerta or El Zapotal (Medellín Zenil 1960: Lám. 53; 1983: 138-141; Gutiérrez Solana y Hamilton 1977: Figures 2, 5, 6, 60, 62).

Certainly, some statues with open mouths and crescent-shaped eyes wear textured suits. Unfortunately the chronology of these large statues has not been well-defined as yet; and although many pieces have been published, the vast majority are from private collections and lack secure provenience (e.g. Spratling 1960; Ethnic Arts Council 1971; Goldstein 1988).

The more obvious signs of flayed skin, and even exposed genitalia, seem to be of Aztec period manufacture, and are found in both ceramic and stone media (Paddock 1989; Pasztory 1983: Figure 298, half title page, Pl. 199; Seler 1904b: Pl. X; INAH Guía Oficial 1978: Figure 17; Solís 1981: 48-50, 82-84, Láms. 22-23, 44).

The distinctive manner of shaping large, blocky hands and feet of ceramic statues might provide a clue to provenience and time period. The trait is associated with Gulf Coast monumental ceramic figures which have been dated to pre-Aztec times, but is duplicated on the Aztec statues recently recovered in excavations at the Templo Mayor (Matos Moctezuma 1988: Pl. VII, Figure 52), causing problems in relating a stylistic treatment with chronology.

For the purpose of this study only two statues are relevant for comparison; they are from widely divergent geographical areas, one from Coatlinchán, near Texcoco, and the other from Chalchuapa, El Salvador (Plates 21 and 22).

These two statues are near twins, differing from our Xipe in several respects. Both are taller at approximately 150 cm, and have small clay loops formed into the tops of the heads which probably held in place headdresses of perishable material.

They are stunningly similar, leading Boggs to write, "The Chalchuapa figure is duplicated in almost every particular by an effigy from Coatlinchán...the two appear so similar that they might have been made by the same person" (1944: 4). The particulars are size and proportion,<sup>22</sup> head and hair shape, and face paint. It should be noted again that the shape of the hair, that is, swept away from the face and rounded in the back, is identical to the Tezoquípan Xipe statue.

## The Coatlinchán statue

The statue (Plate 21) is presently housed in the American Museum of Natural History, New York (catalogue #39/499). It was reported to Saville at the turn of the last century, found "by a farmer in a cave near the modern city of Texcoco...broken in a number of pieces" (Saville 1897: 221, Pl. XXIII; AMNH 1970:

57). It has an opening in the back, perhaps a belly button, and a nose plug. The most significant difference is in the manufacture of the feet.

Saville's early illustration shows feet in the Veracruz style, and the hands broken off. In a later AMNH publication, the hands have been restored, exactly like those of the Teotihuacan Xipe. Inquiry to AMNH resulted in catalogue notes by Ekholm to the effect that the statue was restored in 1969 (Barbara Conklin personal communication 1990). The notes do not state why the hands were restored as they were, rather than following the pattern of the feet, but it seems likely that as the Teotihuacan Xipe was known to have the correct archaeological pedigree, it was used as a model rather than the more appropriate Veracruz style. It is impossible to know how many ceramic statues have been restored using a previously excavated predecessor as a model. If the Teotihuacan Xipe did serve as a model, this is only one example of its use as a bench-mark against which other items have been identified, given provenience, or date.

Saville did not identify the Coatlinchán statue as a Xipe when he first published it in 1897. At that time Selser was working out his interpretations of the codices, and his information may not have been available. Saville identified the statue as a warrior, erroneously equating the opening in the back of the suit to the "uipilli," an Aztec garment tied at the back, and also comparing the life-size statue to a Jaina figurine with a feathered suit, neither illogical choices given how little was known of Mesoamerican art forms at that time (Pasztory 1982: 87-88).

The Coatlinchán statue was the only ceramic Xipe to be published for many years. Saville noted that it was not the only one found by the farmer in the cave; with it were "portions belonging to two other figures of a similar character" (1897: 221), but no further mention is made of these mysterious statues.<sup>23</sup>

Two decades later Beyer gave the Xipe designation to the Coatlinchán statue (1919). Images from codices, on ceramics, a hieroglyph in the Codex Mendocino, and above all, a ceramic head and copper mask were the bases of evidence. The ceramic head, with vertical stripes on the face, has a neck tenon, undoubtedly part of a large statue. The copper mask from Michoacan also has vertical lines, carefully worked in the metal to resemble weaving or cords, and has been interpreted as sutures left by removing the skin even though that procedure has not been described in historical sources. The Aztec Xipe's role as patron to the goldsmiths and metal workers was taken as sufficient supporting evidence.

In 1929 Saville published a change of his earlier identification of his warrior/now Xipe, acknowledging Beyer's comments, and enlarging the argument to incorporate long quotes from Selser's translation of Sahagún as well as Durán and other sources. Selser's impact had begun to take effect.

At the time of Saville's 1929 publication, no one had reason to assume that the Coatlinchán Xipe was anything other than Aztec. Linné excavated his Xipe in 1932, and word must have gotten around even before his publication in 1934. Vaillant was part of the inner circle of specialists, and was particularly energetic in establishing the post-Teotihuacan, pre-Aztec pottery sequence.<sup>24</sup> The Teotihuacan Xipe was Mazapan, ergo, so was the Coatlinchán Xipe. There was no other comparative material at that time. Vaillant and Linné were too careful to let their conclusions rest upon stylistic traits alone (Linné

more so than Vaillant), but their supporting ceramic evidence is maddeningly vague. Linné, commenting on the Coatlinchán statue, wrote, "It was recovered near the town of Texcoco, and in that neighbourhood ceramics of pure Mazapan type have also been found," and in a footnote refers to the private collection of Mr. R. Weitlaner, Mexico, D.F. (1934: 86). Vaillant used Linné's corroborating Mazapan evidence to date the Coatlinchán statue, presented in summary form in his book, *The Aztecs of Mexico* (1944: 89). The Coatlinchán Xipe bears the Mazapan label, unchallenged, to the present.

### The Chalchuapa statue

In 1943 its near-twin, the Chalchuapa statue (Plate 22), received the same designation. Presently located in the David. J. Guzmán Museum, San Salvador, it has been published in Boggs 1944: Figure 2; Casasola 1975: Lám. 4; Fowler 1989: Figure 17. It was recovered by Boggs in 1943 near Chalchuapa, El Salvador, and has been heavily restored.

It is the only statue (known to date) with a suit similarly textured like the thick plaster of the Teotihuacan Xipe. Small details are difficult to see in the photographs, but it appears that the finger and toes-nails are circular indentations, rather like those of the Teotihuacan Xipe. The right hand was found intact, and it may be assumed that the finger and toes-nails are the original form. Boggs explained that a fanciful belt was added to hold the statue together for exhibition, "any reconstruction of this waist area is largely guesswork," and was later corrected "as what appears to me a more likely reconstruction" (1944: 3). This belt is scalloped with fragmented sections front and back, corresponding to areas where the loincloth would have been attached (1944: Figure 2 b, d). Photographs in more recent publications show the belt to be the of same texture as the Teotihuacan Xipe, and without the fragmented sections (Casasola 1975: Lám. 4; Fowler 1989: Figure 17). The suit of this statue is not open on the back or over the heart. Not only does it share the rolled collar of the Teotihuacan, Tezoquípan, and Stendahl statues, but also the same proportions: robust legs, thin arms, well-developed pectorals, and rounded buttocks.

The Chalchuapa Xipe, mentioned almost parenthetically in a recent excavation report, has been dated to the "Tula-Toltec" phase, along with Tula-like architectural elements and two crude chacmool statues (Sharer 1978: 211). Unfortunately the Xipe has not been subjected to the rigorous analysis of the ceramic assemblage. It should be noted here that none of the figurines from Chalchuapa resembles in any way the Teotihuacan Mazapan and Lambityeco sets (Dahlin 1978: 134 ff).

### The Swallowtail Motif

The headdress worn by our Xipe appears to be the earliest representation of an insignia that eventually will occur quite frequently in Mixtec codices and abundantly in the Aztec idiom. It should be noted that the three stacked bands have pointed rather than notched ends giving the impression of the

swallowtail design, but the form itself is not, in the strictest sense, swallowtail. The term has been used traditionally to describe the shape of this motif, and does not refer to the bird in question, the spoonbill (Nahuatl: *Tlahquecholli*), associated with the later Xipe (Sahagún Book 9 1959: 69). Each band of the headdress has a central round element, seen clearly as a pointed cone.

### Tula Stela #1

The stela has the only headdress analogue in monumental context for the three stacked bands (Caso 1941: 92, Figure 8; Acosta 1956-57: 81, Figure 6 [caption is reversed with Figure 15]; Nicholson 1971: 108, Figure 27; Anawalt 1985; de la Fuente *et al.* 1988: 143-45; Figure 98; Pasztory 1988: 293, Figure 12; Kristan-Graham 1989: 268-9; Mastache y Cobean 1991: 33). It is one of three stelae from Tula which share some combination of the trapeze-and-ray year sign, Tlaloc face, and the swallowtail element. Each stela shows a front-facing individual with toes turned outward, a unique format in the corpus of Tula sculpture. Stela #2 has only a single band (Caso 1941: 92, Figure 7; de la Fuente *et al.* 1988: Figure 99; Kristan-Graham 1989: 268-9), and Stela #3 does not have the swallowtail (de la Fuente *et al.* 1988: 147-149, Figure 100).

Stelae #1 and #2, heights 183 and 146 cm, were included by Pasztory in an analysis of the combination of Tlaloc face and year sign (1988). She found that the combination of these two elements, each a Classic period Teotihuacan motif, occurred "in foreign contexts," that is, outside Teotihuacan, during the Late Classic and early Postclassic periods, and eventually was taken up by the Aztecs to elevate Tlaloc as a supreme deity on equal footing with Huitzilopochtli at the top of the Templo Mayor (1988a: 290-291). Within the context of the three stelae, the swallowtail device is an integral part of the headdress, and is an additional component to the Tlaloc and year sign combination which Pasztory has convincingly demonstrated symbolized "political and dynastic significance" (1988: 293).

The swallowtail headdress occurs on what appears to be a Toltec figurine type also wearing a "Tlaloc mask," i.e. goggles over the eyes and a fanged mouth (Diehl 1983: Figure 26e; Mastache and Cobean 1991: 37; SPA 32.8.2320), perhaps representing an early period of that repertory. Unfortunately it is unknown which torso types were attached to the heads.

The individual on Stela #1 wears a forked loincloth and knee ornaments, the latter in stacked bands reminiscent of the headdress. The lines are less rigid than our Xipe's headdress; the notched ends of the bands, loincloth and other motifs are curved and have a softer, almost draped look, even though carved in stone.

The configuration of these elements continues in Mixtec, Aztec, and even post-Conquest pictorials. Detailed analyses of these images from later periods are far beyond the scope of this study, but a few examples may be mentioned. Caso used several of these traits to identify the "Xipe dynasty" in the Codex Nuttall, principally the headdress, but also a few items painted red and white which led to Whorer's

structuralist analysis (1989). Paddock has made an exhaustive study of "Xipe" elements and the draped headgear as identifying markers of the rulers of the Xipe dynasty, similarly bedecked personages sculpted on the walls of Zaachila Tomb 1, and the dynasty of Lienzo de Guevea II drawn in European style (Paddock 1966: Pls. 13-14; 1983b: 63-73). The argument does not concern the focus of this study, but it should be noted that much of the confusion arose from Seler's and Caso's implicit and poorly explained definitions of what is a Xipe trait. As Paddock explains: "Caso's concept of Xipe is clearly different - naturally enough - from Seler's. Like Seler in the Lienzo de Guevea commentary, Caso in his notes on the Saayucu-Cuilapan dynasty of Codex Nuttall refers only briefly to his reasons for thinking of Xipe in connection with these people. Their distinctive headdress, he says, is 'connected with the god Xipe,' but he does not explain just how," and cites page 329 of Caso's 1966 article on "The Lords of Yanhuitlan" (Paddock 1983b: 65-66). Wohrer also notes Caso's tendency to vagueness. Discussing the toponym Caso named "*bulto de Xipe*," Wohrer comments that unhappily he failed to explain how he came to that identification: "*Caso signale la présence d'un royaume qu'il appelle "Bulto de Xipe" dans les Codices Nuttall, Vindobonensis et Bodley, sans malheureusement expliquer ce qui a permis l'identification du qualificatif" ...de Xipe*" (1989: 283). The importance of these comments to the present study is the consistent use of certain traits that seem to identify people and places; they do not refer to the "god Xipe."

The swallowtail loincloth combined with the Tlaloc mask identifies Lord 7 Rain "Tlaloc-Xipe-tocado de Cipactli," shown on Nuttall page 33-II, as the mythical founder or "divine sponsor" (Paddock 1983b: 59) of what Caso defined as the Xipe dynasty (1977: 112; 1979: 423). He wears a flayed skin with dangling hand, holds a (rattle ?) stick tied with red and white bows and streamers, and the knee adornments appear to be the forked swallowtail shape. This may be the first description of dangling hands, a Xipe diagnostic which occurs frequently in Aztec form.

The upside-down or suspended bird is most likely another identifying insignia as it occurs on Lord 7 Rain's chest (Nuttall 33), at the waist of Tula Stela #1, on the headdress of Tula pillar figures (e.g., de la Fuente *et al.* 1988: Figure 70a; Kristan-Graham 1989: Figures 25 and 26), and as a pendant on one of the Maya examples in Pasztory's analysis of the Tlaloc face and year sign (1988: Figure 9). It is a motif found in Teotihuacan murals, i.e. figures at Tepantitla, and repeated in the "diamond-frame," with the year sign on the bird's back, at Atetelco, (Miller 1973: Figure 193, Figures 342 and 343).

The swallowtail shape is associated with gladiatorial and the "shooting of arrows" sacrifices as costumes of the priests as well as their victims (Nuttall 1975: 83-84). By Aztec times the swallowtail device had become a shorthand reference in several media, e.g. in *lienzos* as a toponym in Azoyú 1 (Vega Sosa 1986: 297), carved on a stone recovered in the Templo Mayor excavations at ancient Tenochtitlán (Excelsior 1990), or, combined with the profile face, as a calendrical glyph in the Humboldt fragments (Seler 1904c). It is not found on ceramic or stone Xipes manufactured in the Veracruz or Aztec styles.

It is surprising that given the number of times the Tula stelae have been illustrated and mentioned in publications, they have not been analyzed in deeper detail. Since so little is known of their histories, one can only suppose that our Xipe once again served as a bench-mark for chronological placement. The stelae have received attention, but the swallowtail headdress has not been central to any discussion.

According to Mastache and Cobean, Stela #1 represented one of Tula's kings given the highly structured political and ideological system of that ancient city (1991: 33). Anawalt's study (1985) focussed on various kinds of attire worn by human figures at Tula and Chichén Itzá, but did not include headdresses.

Unfortunately nothing is known of where, when, or by whom the stelae were discovered archaeologically. They were first published by Caso in a 1941 Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología Round Table assembly, and were mentioned only to demonstrate the similarity of the diving bird and butterfly pectoral motifs at Chichén Itzá. Caso does note that the style is older at Tula: "*Las estatuas de Tula parecen revelar un estilo más antiguo que las de Chichén*" (1941: 92). Possibly they were contemporaneous with the scarce, early deposits of Mazapan Wavy Line pottery at Tula recorded by Cobean; it is doubtful they predated that poorly understood occupation at Tula.

Apparently Stela #1 was important to Acosta largely because it was one of three front-facing stelae (1956-7: 81).<sup>25</sup> Nicholson illustrated Stela #1 as an example of the sculptural form at Tula (without noting the small percentage of extant stelae compared with friezes, three-dimensional forms, etc.), and noted only in a caption that it shows a "warrior wearing Tlaloc headdress and some of the insignia of Xipe Totec" (1971: 109, Figure 27).

Kristan-Graham's study, focussing on the pillar figures of Temple B, did not analyze the stelae. She did link the accoutrement of the stelae with other Tula sculptured figures, but does not mention the swallowtail form, per se. She noted the stacked bows on the arms of Stelae #1 and #2, referring to the design as "an innovative item...a row of bloodletting knots, like those that comprise the leg laces but here placed on the arms" (1989: 268).

The "stacked bows" motif has significance with Maya royal auto-sacrificial blood-letting, and is the topic of several studies. The motif is also a diagnostic of some Xipe traits in Aztec contexts (Spranz 1973: 360), and presumably was the source of identification for the "determinative elements" chosen by Wohrer in her study of Xipe traits in the Nuttall Codex (1989). There is no clear evidence at this point that the Maya and Aztec "stacked bows" were used in similar thematic contexts. The Aztec Xipe paraphernalia does not appear in Maya images or text.

The motif, worn as knee ornaments on Tula Stela #1 as well as various other Tula sculptures, becomes so diffuse that it is difficult to know if it represented an insignia or was a generalized decorative motif, rather like the "goggles on the head" of Teotihuacan images (Pasztory 1974: 15).

The Teotihuacan Xipe statue wears the earliest known example of the swallowtail headdress. The motif has yet earlier references in the notched loincloths of the brazier from Monte Albán Tomb 58, and on a Lambityeco figurine (Figure 35c), but the headdress as a prominent feature of the Xipe statue's attire does seem to presage a new dynastic element at post-collapse Teotihuacan.

## METAPHOR

Interpreting the vast body of visual images left by the ancients of Mesoamerica has challenged scholars for generations. It is a subtle and sophisticated system of visual expression, rich in metaphor, and as fragmentary as the historical sources which attempted to explain its meaning. Traditions in interpretation change or shift emphasis, but acknowledging the metaphorical nature of these visual statements remains at the core of all such studies.

Mesoamerican art forms abound with images of the supernatural, but it is also clear that the people who authorized, designed, and paid for them were intent on expressing something about themselves, and the manner in which they wished to be commemorated. Without documented evidence, it is impossible to ascertain which motifs were meant as metaphors for name, clan, lineage, place of origin or allegiance, for surely the ancients were giving this information about themselves. The attempt is made in this study to distinguish between the "mythical" and the "historical," applying this artificial construct to examine the metaphorical nature of the images shown on the Xipe Totec statue, the figurines and their analogues. Previous interpretations are re-examined in the light of recent studies and new material for comparisons.

### The Selerian legacy

At the end of the 19th century, the interpretation of all Mesoamerican images was weighted heavily toward the esoteric. Seler exemplified the approach, and, as his studies were comprehensive and sweeping, his interpretive stamp has left astronomical signs and fertility cults on almost every aspect of Mesoamerican study. As Nicholson has explained, Seler's most successful work was the "translations and analyses of [Sahagún's] metaphorically obscure and idiomatically quite archaic 20 sacred chants," whereas his interpretation of the genealogical section of the Codex Nuttall in astrological and divinatory terms was disastrous (Nicholson 1973: 356, 533-4).

Another trend was to couch interpretations, without reasonable evidence, in terms of agricultural societies with pagan deities. For example, there is not a single reference in the documented sources to support Seler's interpretation of Xipe as the god of spring, rejuvenation, and fertility (Broda 1970; Nicholson 1972; Heyden 1986). In her study of the *Tlacaxipeualiztli* Broda explains, "Seler's interpretation reflects the concepts current at the end of the 19th century. Confronted with the strange cultic practices

of Mexico which could not easily be explained in terms of religious phenomena known from Europe, concepts of 'nature mythology' and a 'demonic cult of agriculture' were borrowed from European folklore, where they were highly fashionable at that time. Far too many ceremonies which in reality had nothing to do with fertility and agriculture, were explained in these terms" (1970: 258). These notions also attempted to reconcile perceived barbaric practices of ritual human sacrifice, decapitation, dismemberment, and flaying with the highly refined aesthetic talents of Precolumbian artists.

It is quite logical that Seler's intense work with astronomical and calendrical codices, combined with his reading of 16th century historical accounts (already heavily overlain with 16th century Spanish perspective), led to the interpretation of all other Mesoamerican images as more of the same--divine, celestial, and above all, remote from the workings of daily life.

Much of the comparative material for the Teotihuacan Xipe is drawn from ceramic figures of Zapotec style, known generically as "urns." An assessment of this huge corpus is far from the purpose of this study, but as four major pieces are directly related to the Teotihuacan Xipe and the Tezoquípan statues, it is necessary to mention the work of Alfonso Caso and the influence his studies have had on the identification problem.

Caso followed Seler in assigning deity status to animal and human images on the Oaxacan urns, many of them within the Aztec canon. However, unlike Seler, Caso recognized the historical component of some codices and lienzos, a pursuit that would be the focus of his later, more synthesized work resulting in his mammoth posthumous publications (1977, 1979). Paddock has noted that Caso was even more intent on studying the historical rather than mythological generations in the codices (1990: 7). Nonetheless, images in the corpus of urns continued to be identified as representations of various gods or their impersonators.

The problem has been admirably addressed by Marcus in her discussion of Zapotec urns (1978, 1983a). Rather than deities, the images seem to represent some form of ancestral icon, many of which bear attributes of the Zapotec supernaturals (lightening, wind, etc.). Marcus points out that the confusion arose with 16th century missionaries' attempts at cultural translation of the Zapotec sacred, the supernatural powers they perceived as outside human control, to fit the European religious vocabulary of the pagan which preconceived a pantheon of gods.

Shaplin noted the possibility that glyphs on the urns might well have been calendrical names: "Since the gods of Post Classic Mesoamerica were tied into the calendar cycle and bore day names often coinciding with the glyphs on the urns, the urns are therefore all identified by Caso and Bernal as deities. However, prominent living persons in Post Classic Mesoamerica, perhaps all individuals, also bore these calendrical names; e.g., the Mixtec ruler "8 Deer" of the Codex Nuttall (1975: 177).

Caso's classification system of Zapotec materials, begun in the 1920s, was characteristically objective. Each glyph received a Roman letter designation, and urn and stela figures were linked with their counterparts when the connection could be made; the image of "Cocijo", for example, is easily

recognized. But many items defied established categories, and were made to fit by rather questionable diagnostics. One good example is the short cape that is supposed to be a trait of Xipe Totec, when in fact, it is worn by several urn figures having no other link with that category, e.g. Cocijo (Caso y Bernal 1952: 254, Fig. 65). Nonetheless, the urns were divided into groups of gods and goddesses, and those with no particularly distinguishing characteristics were considered to be representations of humans to accompany the deity, hence "*acompañante*" or companion.

The Caso classification (Caso y Bernal 1952) was enlarged by Boos (1966) with material from museums and private collections. New categories were needed, and an attempt was made at objectivity in naming them, keeping terms as descriptive as possible. Every decorative item which might have had any significance was included. As it stands we are left with colorful if cumbersome urn categories of multiple attributes e.g. "The God with the Headdress of the Bird with the Broad Beak, and the Young God Attired in the Helmet of a Bird," or "Braziers of the Jaguar God Wearing the Nasal Mask of the God with the Headdress of the Bird with Broad Beak", or the even more puzzling and generic "God with the Headdress with Double Points and Built-Up Layers" (Boos 1966: 373, 393, 425).

If re-analysis were carried out to compare groups of urns from individual tombs (as scarce as that lot might be), and urn images with those in the tomb paintings, the result would probably demonstrate that the funerary offerings depicted aspects of the deceased's genealogy, metaphors of familial, or some form of social, affiliation imbued with attributes of the supernatural.

#### Beyond Oaxaca, recent studies

Other recent studies have rejected the old guard line. Tatiana Proskouriakoff is accorded the honor of the first major break with the interpretation of Maya images as solely deities or some otherworldly beings. In her seminal work she identified stela figures at Piedras Negras and Yaxchilan as historical personages rather than deities (1960, 1963, 1964), and since then many scholars have adopted her approach to demonstrate the Precolumbian emphasis upon the human rather than the divine.<sup>26</sup>

About 1930, another group emerged as major players in Mesoamerican art forms, the Warriors. Acosta, a splitter in matters architectural and a lumpner of everything else, made no distinction between the Tula Atlantids, the pillar figures on Pyramid B, and the banquette figures, and Tozzer created the "typical Toltec warrior" (Kristan-Graham 1989: 121). For years the shibboleth that Classic period cultures were theocratic to become militaristic in the Postclassic period held sway. For example, sculptured human figures from Tula were cited as evidence (along with innumerable examples of staff and shield bearing male figures from all over Mesoamerica) of the generic warrior.

Refining the category was a major advance by Kristan-Graham (1989) involving motif as metaphor. In her recent study, she makes the convincing argument that the pillar figures at Tula and Chichén Itzá were meant to represent individuals, defined by name glyphs, as well as distinctive elements of dress and

ornament. She stresses that it is impossible to know if the people represented on the pillars lived at the time the pillars were erected, if they were ancestral or contemporary to each other, or how they fit into the political, social and/or ethnic composition of their respective cultures, but personal identification does seem to be the message (1989: 295-299).

It is understandable that from the turn of the century and for a few decades these large, catch-all categories persisted; the relatively few scholars dedicated to Mesoamerican studies at that time were faced with masses of material to organize. In any case, for the early scholars the individual in ancient Mesoamerican societies simply was not visible in art forms. The notion that deities proliferated during several hundred years of the Classic period followed by various armies of warriors in Postclassic period contexts is now largely debunked. Human figures in art forms probably do depict the powerful and highly placed in any given culture, and the non-noble individual remains invisible. There is no doubt that the supernatural was frequently evoked. But it is becoming more and more apparent that the ancients were giving information about themselves.

This is not to suggest that the Xipe statue is the representation of an individual, but rather a statement of collective identity linking groups in the Central Highlands and Oaxaca who left stunningly similar figurines.

## ORIGINS

The time depth and distribution of the Xipe concept has puzzled scholars for decades. Postclassic images abound, and the drama of the Aztec ceremony intrigued the chroniclers who left vivid accounts (Sahagún 1951 Book 2: 3-4, 46 ff.; Durán 1971: 172 ff.). But there is very little in the historical sources to explain the origins of the Xipe concept. Sahagún's explanation that Xipe was "the god of the seashore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs (Sahagún 1970 Book 1: 39), and the god of the Yopi, "foreigners, the people of the south", and the Tlapanecs, the people from that area who painted themselves with red ochre, is dissatisfyingly terse.

The tendency to identify all Mesoamerican images through Aztec correlates has led to misunderstanding and confusion, and the case of the origins of the Xipe is one of the most striking examples. This study attempts to demonstrate that the Teotihuacan Xipe statue is an early, perhaps the earliest, version of a figure shown with a swallowtail headdress and a skin-like suit. It should be noted once more that if there were no Aztec examples of the flayed skin, one might more likely consider the suit to be of animal skin, beaten maguey, or even a heavily textured woven fabric. It is only by comparison with the Coatlinchán and Chalchuapa statues that the Xipe designation seems valid for the Teotihuacan statue.

Risking a rather lengthy detour through negative evidence, close examination of two "traditional" traits, long held to identify Xipe, suggests that either they have no demonstrable connection or else are

not consistently applicable: 1) the Teotihuacan figurine with three holes in the face, and 2) vertical stripes on the face.

Two studies have attempted to resolve the problem of the origins of the Aztec Xipe (Nicholson 1972; Heyden 1986). Nicholson finds scant evidence for the image earlier than the Postclassic, nonetheless dutifully citing everybody who has suggested the "traditional" traits, such as lines on the face or three holes in a mask. Heyden acknowledged Guerrero as Xipe's place of origin, and looked for social and economic reasons behind the Aztecs' adoption of the Xipe, reasoning that they were able to control Yopi territory by taking over its most important religious symbol.

There is no doubt that the Xipe image was firmly rooted in 16th century Guerrero. Lienzos from that area have the head of Xipe as a calendar sign and place glyph; even the Nahuatl term is a corrupted Spanish place name "*Chiepetlan*" (Seler 1904c: Pls. 3-6; Harvey 1971; Galarza 1972; Oettinger and Horcacas 1982; Vega Sosa 1986). The archaeological record, summarized by Lister (1971) does not specifically address the Xipe origin problem. Davies (1968) describes the *señorio* of Yopitzinco but little time depth for cultural practices is indicated.

It appears that the Xipe Totec concept does not have the long history that some would maintain. The diagnostics given to identify the Xipe as a very ancient concept with roots in the Formative period can be examined to demonstrate that there is no connection with the Aztec deity.

#### The Teotihuacan "masked face" motif

For decades, a distinctive Teotihuacan figurine type has been identified as an early version of the Aztec Xipe Totec (Seler 1915: 462, Fig. 53, Pl. XXV-2; Gamio 1979: Láms. 86-d, 96; Armillas 1945: 20-23; Caso 1966: 269-270, Figs. 33-34; Séjourné 1959: Fig. 75; 1966, Fig. 186, and Noguera 1975: Fig. 44-A), and only recently has the designation been doubted or challenged (Kubler 1967: 7, Fig. 32; von Winning 1987, volume 1: 147-150, Figs. 1-3; Taube 1988: 118, Fig. IV-14).

The figurine head is a relatively simple configuration compared with other Teotihuacan headgear which seem to bristle with feathers and groan under diverse ornaments. Contours of the head are round; coils of clay forming bands wrap the head, and three symmetrical circles are perforated at eye and mouth areas. There is an absence of realistic facial planes, and a major diagnostic is the lack of a nose. Torso attire seems to vary little although only a few intact examples are known. A band crosses the chest diagonally, and others may wrap the arms and legs. When a loincloth is included, it is marked with a cross separated in the center with a small circle.

The figurine type had a long life span as it was manufactured by hand modelling, recovered archaeologically in early deposits (Armillas 1944: 129, Lám. VI-4; 1945: 21), and continued in a more elaborate mould made form. Rather than empty holes in the face of the hand modelled version, the moulded head shows eyes and mouth under what does appear to be a mask. Langley abstracted the

image, isolating the three hole mask as the "pristine" example of what he termed the "mask tri-circle" (1986: 447), and indirectly hit upon this important aspect of the image, the lack of a nose. Seler was the first to identify this figurine type as a representation of the Aztec Xipe, using the mask covering a human face as the principal diagnostic (1915: 462-463).

In overview studies of the Aztec Xipe, it has been noted that there is not a shred of evidence in historical accounts or codices to support Seler's interpretation of Xipe as the god of spring, renewal of vegetation, and rejuvenation (Broda 1970; Nicholson 1972; Heyden 1986). There is an equal lack of evidence that the band wrapping the figurine chest was meant to represent the skin of the victim, flayed in the Aztec ceremony. Seler's initial identification of the flayed skin representing the renewal of the earth was elaborated further by Séjourné (1959: 97-98, 1966: 275-277), and supported by Caso (1966: 269). It is interesting that both Séjourné and Caso discuss the inconsistencies between the image of the figurine and Sahagún's description: "*El rollo que cruza el pecho debe simbolizar la piel de un desollado porque estos Xipes no están revestidos de ningún despojo*" (Séjourné 1959: 99); and (the figurine) "*aparece frecuentemente con una banda cruzada al pecho que Séjourné interpreta como la piel completa; pues dice que nunca la lleva, como en las representaciones aztecas, y con la que ya aparece en la cultura mazapa*" (Caso 1966: 269).

The insistence of identifying Teotihuacan images as though all had direct analogues associated with the Aztec gods and their rituals has led to this and other perplexities. Because Seler, Séjourné and Caso were determined to equate every item through the Aztec idiom, the band across the masked face figurine chest must, then, represent the flayed skin.

Von Winning analyzed "the four constant attributes that distinguish the Teotihuacan images" that are 1) the mask, 2) band crossing the chest, 3) frame with "rosetones" behind the head, and 4) St. Andrews cross, and concluded there is no evidence that these Teotihuacan manifestations prove a direct antecedent to Xipe Totec (1987, volume 1: 147-149).

Moulded figurine heads of this type are divided into two subgroups; both share the mask and wrapped bands, whereas one group has an additional rack or frame projecting behind the head. The frame is rectangular and is decorated with five buttons or rosettes. A detail not usually seen in photographs or rendered in drawings is the textured surface on the forehead between the bands, which are indicated by striations or small bumps (Seler 1915: Pl. XXV-2; Taube 1988: Fig. IV-14). The texture seems to occur only on heads without the frame, but this detail is obscure because most examples are broken and eroded.

The mask over the face is the only characteristic of this figurine type that is similar to the Aztec Xipes, and in any case the masks are quite different. It is difficult to find a descriptive term for this particular image. Scholars who disagree with the Xipe designation have suggested various alternative labels; Taube finds a resemblance with the Dainzú ballplayers (1988: 118; cf. Bernal 1973: 19), Kubler preferred "shrouded head" (1967: 7), and von Winning opted for the more generic if uncertain "dios (?)"

con máscara" (1987, volume 1: 147), but none of these terms seem as appropriate as "masked face," which is used throughout this study. The mask itself distinguishes this figurine type from all others in the Teotihuacan corpus.

The image of the head alone was sufficiently important to have been used as a motif in a variety of media at Teotihuacan, although von Winning has noted that it does not appear in murals (1987, volume 1: 148). It does occur on pottery and carved in stone, but only one or two examples of each have been published: two tripod vessels, ceramic seal, basal rim appliqué (von Winning 1987, volume 1: Fig. 2; Séjourné 1959: Fig. 91, second from top; 1963: Fig. 145, lower left) and a stone panel (Beyer 1979b: 169, Lám. 81c).<sup>27</sup> All these examples are heads lacking the frame. On the tripod vessels, the head is accompanied by crosses similar to the figurine's loincloth design.

These seemingly insignificant details gain importance when compared with the only other identical images extant, carved on large stone monuments, and not at Teotihuacan or even the Central Highlands, but at a site on the Pacific Coastal slopes of Guatemala in the area which has given its name to the art style Cotzumalhuapa.

The largest pieces are a pair of horizontally tenoned heads from Aguná, 50 cm high, one with the frame and the other without, two views of the head with frame (Eisen 1888: 18, Figs. 32-33; Thompson 1948: Fig. 11a-b), and photographs of both heads (Parsons 1969: 139, Pl. 55e-f). In these illustrations, the helmet and chin strap look more heavily padded than the figurines. Texture on the forehead area is delineated clearly with pecked marks on the head with frame, and cross hatching on the frameless head. The latter has, in addition, what appears to be a feather ruff projecting from behind the helmet. These are only two of many sets of similarly tenoned heads in a wide variety of faces, headdresses, etc. associated with ballcourts in the Cotzumalhuapa area, the Antigua basin, and at Kaminaljuyú, several of which have Teotihuacan analogues (Parsons 1969; 1986: 81-87, 97-101; 1991).

The masked face motif appears in another context in a low relief narrative sculpture on Santa Lucia Cotzumalhuapa Monument 21, a huge boulder with a flat prepared surface measuring 4.02 x 3.38 m (Thompson 1948: Fig. 6-d; Parsons 1969: 101-103, Fig. Pl. 31 and frontispiece), and dated by Parsons to the Laguneta phase, A.D. 527 ± 136 (1969: 101). The central figure of the scene wears a fringed loincloth with the masked face motif occupying most of the panel. The cross, which may have seemed an incidental bit of decor on tripod vessels or the figurine loincloth, now is incorporated into the face itself. The head has the frame above the headband decorated with small circles. The central figure, with the ballplayer's callused knee and a death's head on its chest, is surrounded by a chaotic welter of vines, anthropomorphic cacao pods, large and small human figures, animals and birds. (Details are illustrated more clearly in Parsons 1969: frontispiece.) In a similar context, El Baul Monument 4, the partially skeletal central figure wears a loincloth decorated with a head, but it is not the masked face (Thompson 1948, Fig. 5-a). These designs do not appear to be random, but rather specific to the larger picture.

The final example is on Bilbao Monument 6, one of a series of standing stelae. A profile figure wearing ballgame garb raises a hand toward the "diving god;" the masked face is the insignia on the glove, also shown in profile (Habel 1878: Pl. III–6; Seler 1892: 248, No. 6; Thompson 1948: Fig. 2-e; Parsons 1969: Pl 32c). Seler commented that the likeness of the profile glove reminded him of "the little clay heads that are found in large quantity around the ruins of San Juan Teotihuacan" (1892: 248), but did not mention the Xipe connection, an identification he apparently developed after his 1892 publication.

The presence of the masked face and other "Mexican" motifs in Cotzumalhuapa region to explain the migration of the Pipiles documented in the chronicles has been the topic of various studies (Thompson 1948; Parsons 1967, 1969, 1991), and will not be discussed further here, except to note that the term "Xipe" stuck early on. Seler and his contemporaries were not aware of the ballgame connotations in the Cotzumalhuapa corpus, and only more recent works have focussed on that association (e.g. Parsons 1991).

The masked face motif may have had an other-worldly meaning for the people who surrounded themselves with the monuments, but the underlying theme is identification with a specific group. It probably functioned as an insignia of social affiliation, much like the butterfly design on censers found in the Escuintla region (Hellmuth 1975, 1978; Berlo 1983a, 1983b 1984). Classic period Teotihuacanos took their insignia abroad in monumental or ceremonial form. Their figurines did not travel.

There is no evidence at Teotihuacan that the masked face motif is related to the ballgame. Images of human figures wearing padding or other paraphernalia associated with ballgame gear are known from various visual media from Preclassic times onwards, and even some figurines wear carefully delineated ballgame trappings; Jaina examples are among the most detailed (Ekholm 1991). The resemblance of the masked face figurine with the Dainzú ballplayer sculptures lies in the helmet, but the Oaxacan figures have grids over the faces.<sup>28</sup> Ballgame attire, and the game itself, must have varied widely in time and space, but there is a general paraphernalia of protective helmet and padding. There is no conclusive proof that the Teotihuacan masked face figurine type was meant to represent a ballplayer, but its association with the ritual aspects of the ballgame in the Cotzumalhuapa region cannot be denied.

Many Classic period Teotihuacan motifs, the masked face and heart shaped head among others, occur most frequently but not exclusively in figurine form. The specific figurine design or configuration commences at Teotihuacan in hand modelled form, continues with use of the moulding process and then disappears. The masked face motif is very distinctive, and there is not a single example of it in any form, in any geographical area that post-dates Classic period Teotihuacan. Its use in the Cotzumalhuapa region may have lasted beyond Teotihuacan's collapse, but the ideology that dictated the design of those sculptures must have been a Classic period creation. There is absolutely no evidence that the motif evolved into a figure wearing a flayed suit of skin, crescent-shaped eyes, swallowtail headdress, nor any reference to the bat theme.

The question remains why the masked face image was developed in monumental form in the Cotzumalhuapa region and not at Teotihuacan. It is entirely possible that the masked face did not have

ballgame connotations at Teotihuacan, and the specific context in Cotzumalhuapa is *sui generis* to that area. Nonetheless, as von Winning has argued convincingly, the masked face image is a Teotihuacan phenomenon (1987, volume 1: 149), and taken abroad, was one of several important insignia associated with the ritual ballgame.

### Vertical stripes on the face

The origin of the Aztec Xipe has been sought via another dicey diagnostic, vertical lines on the face. It is true that some, but far from all Aztec Xipes have such facial lines; an example from the Borgia Codex illustrates the point (Seler 1963: 2). The lines were thought to represent sutures where the skin was removed from the face of the victim, but the practice is not mentioned in the historical accounts, nor pictured in codices. A well-known copper mask from Michoacan does have what appear to be sewn or finely-laced lines, but the Xipe mask from Monte Albán Tomb 7 has step fret or *greca* designs on the cheeks and triangles on the eyelids (Caso 1969: Fig. 77, frontispiece). Both items have been associated with the Aztec Xipe's role as patron of the goldsmiths and metal workers.

A large number of painted or tattooed humans, pictured in media where color was used (or has remained), attests to a widespread use of body coloring and design. Many of the patterns have been explained through Sahagún's descriptions of various Aztec gods, but there is no evidence that those patterns may be related to lines across the faces of Preclassic figurines, for instance (Vaillant 1935: Fig. 13). Caso, in his determined effort to make all Oaxacan urn or stela motifs fit the Aztec pantheon, tentatively suggested the ornate scrolls under the eyes of an urn figure were the identifying marker of the god Xipe, and that it was its earliest representation in Oaxaca (Caso y Bernal 1952: Fig. 394). Certain identification of the "god Xipe" for Caso was vertical lines on the faces of standing figures, hands to forehead, as if supporting the tump line attached to the vessel behind (Caso y Bernal 1952: Fig. 397-399). Caso even associated his glyph "P," a human face in profile with stripes on the lower jaw, with Xipe (1928: 42; Caso y Bernal 1952: 249), although he did not give the name in his earlier work. Vertical facial lines as a Xipe diagnostic became so diffuse that even the so-called Virgin of Las Limas, an Olmec statue, was said to have Xipe traits (Coe 1968: 111-114).

Caso and Bernal insisted that vertical stripes on the face constitute a diagnostic trait of the Xipe because the Codex Borgia Xipe has stripes, but so do many other examples from other sources. Vertical face stripes, as well as other geometric facial designs, appear in too many Mesoamerican contexts to be listed in this study. In fact, the practice of body painting, and perhaps tattooing the skin, seems to have been widespread in ancient Mesoamerica if the codices, urns, murals, painted pottery, etc. reflect what people did in real life.

A more reliable trait, the mask of skin over the human face, is not limited to the Xipe image. It appears in diverse contexts on both sexes, and the Aztec practice of wearing the flayed skin was also

known for the god Ometochtli (Durán 1971: Fig. 33). The figure illustrated in Caso y Bernal (1952: Fig. 402) does perhaps have Xipe connotations (closed, not crescent, eyes with protruding tongue). The authors liken its long skirt with other figures wearing skirts to enlarge the Xipe Zapotec corpus. As a result, any Zapotec figure with stripes on the face, skirt, and even an open mouth, becomes a Xipe. Some of their examples may be falsifications, and until further verification is carried out, will not be included in the cluster of Xipe traits (especially Figs. 406 and 407).

With the Teotihuacan masked face and the generic vertical stripes on the face removed from the list of diagnostics, the Xipe image, per se, can be shown to have been a relatively late development.

## RITUAL HUMAN SACRIFICE AND THE SKELETAL EVIDENCE

Human ritual sacrifice has been practiced for millennia. Its more primitive forms are associated with band and tribe social organization, and represent the need to control supernatural powers; Jivaro head shrinking is but one of many examples. Human sacrifice carried out by more complex cultures, at state level social organization, exemplifies the need to control the populace, e.g. the Aztecs' elaborate *Tlacaxipeualiztli*, the Inquisition's Auto de Fe, and the various forms of capital punishment in contemporary society.

Acosta Saignes (1950) listed sacrificial traits of the *Tlacaxipeualiztli* known at the time of the Spanish conquest, and looked for their distribution and time depth throughout the Americas. The area of greatest concentration extended from Mesoamerica through the land of the Caribes to the Andean cultures. His list comprises the following characteristics: 1) total and partial flaying, 2) heart sacrifice, 3) shooting with arrows, 4) real or symbolic drinking of blood, 5) ceremonial sacrifice of living individuals, 6) sacrifice of braves (*valientes*) and persons of rank, 7) ritual cannibalism, and 8) ceremonial importance of the [thigh] muscle (1950: 37). His evidence was drawn from 16th century historical sources and ethnohistoric accounts of contemporary band and tribal societies, shaped by theories of the ethnographers themselves among whom are Boas, Krickeberg, Kroeber and Rivet. He concluded that one or more of the traits in the *Tlacaxipeualiztli* complex had been practiced all over the Americas, perhaps having been introduced with the Bering Straits migrations. No single source could be determined, but the relatively constant movement of peoples during a long time span would permit diffusion and redefinition of the complex.

The specifics of human ritual sacrifice in Mesoamerica are known exclusively through the codices and historical accounts. The ceremonial panoply is well-documented for Aztec times, but its antecedents can be sought only through archaeological evidence. There is no lack of vivid depictions of head severing, heart removal, display of trophy heads, wearing of flayed skin and various forms of blood-letting. Ballcourt scenes at Chichén Itzá and El Tajín, stelae of Bilbao, and Zapotec urns are among the kinds of

media which record these events. Moser's richly illustrated monograph traces examples of decapitation throughout Mesoamerican time and space, beginning with Olmec stone carvings (1973). The case for Maya sacrifice had been examined in many publications (e.g., Schele and Miller 1985).

In light of the relatively large number of sacrificial scenes, art forms of Classic period Teotihuacan are strangely mute on the subject. Some images suggest the theme of sacrifice, i.e. the portico murals at Atetelco, but the act itself is not depicted. The actual fact of sacrifice was recently uncovered by the INAH-Brandeis University Project at the Temple of the Feathered Serpent. More than 100 individuals, many whose arms apparently had been tied behind, were deposited in multiple as well as individual graves. The victims wore necklaces from which were hung real human maxillae as well as imitations made of shell, indicating they were not ordinary citizens dumped into mass graves (Cabrera *et al.* 1991; Sugiyama 1989). This evidence would support the identification of the Zapotec figures' pendants as maxillae rather than shells.

Apart from the mass graves around the Temple of the Feathered Serpent, there is a paucity of skeletal remains of ritually sacrificed victims. A burial of 4 skulls, 2 male and 2 female, was recovered in the mid-1980's at N1E1, dated to the Late Tlamimilolpa phase (González M. y Fuentes González 1982a: 117, Foto 3; 1982b: 443, Foto 1). Linné did not find evidence of sacrificed victims in the Classic period occupations in his excavations at Teotihuacan. It was only in the Mazapan occupation that he recovered skull burials.

#### Teotihuacan Mazapan Graves and Skull Burials

Twenty-three graves contained Linné's zonal fossil ceramic ware: 6 at Las Palmas, 16 at Xolalpan, and 1 at Oztotlán during the 1935 excavations at Tlamimilolpa (1934: 80-83, 1938b). The skeletal remains were badly decayed and in some cases had disintegrated completely.

Four skull burials, each covered by an inverted dish, were recovered, at least one of which was a child. Linné noted the possible connection with Oaxaca and ritual decapitation associated with the Xipe cult, and went on to speculate why there were no such burials as those described by Vaillant with "skulls in clay bowls covered with other clay bowls" (1934: 82). Vaillant had reported 9 skull burials, "the body bones of only one individual were found" (1932: 488). Confusion has resulted with Vaillant's later statement that it was Linné who found these skull burials (1944: 92).<sup>29</sup>

Other than the four skull burials, the disintegration of the bones made it difficult to discern what might have been complete skeletons. The grave with the figurines contained only the milk teeth of a child no more than eleven years old (1934: 82), and the remains of one or two adults per grave could be detected in the others. The Oztotlán grave was oriented to Teotihuacan north; "the longitudinal axis of the grave chamber lay in a north-south orientation, with an easterly deviation from magnetic north of nearly 15 " (1938b: 168); otherwise no particular pattern was seen.

Apart from the work of Linné and Vaillant there is almost no information on burial practices during Mazapan times in the Central Highlands (Rebecca Storey personal communication 1991). The burials at Altar de los Cráneos, Cholula, may post-date the Mazapan phase at Teotihuacan (Noguera 1937). Koehler noted the skeletal remains of a possibly decapitated young adult male, interred in a semi-flexed position with feet oriented toward the east. The skull was located in the lap of the individual, but it was unclear whether it had been placed there or fallen as a result of decomposition. A duck effigy bowl covered with an inverted Wavy Line bowl was placed at the feet (1986: 13-14, Fig. 1).

Armillas found four adult burials with Mazapan pottery in his excavations at Atetelco in 1945 (1950: 56-57), but there was no indication of decapitation or any form of sacrifice.

Skull burials suggest ritual decapitation, but do not furnish conclusive proof that the practice was actually carried out. This study has provided several examples that body parts were highly esteemed and probably used in ancestor veneration. However, until more evidence is available, one may only speculate that the skull burials reported by Linné and Vaillant reflect the practice.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In spite of considerable interest in the topic, there is still frustratingly little that is understood about the post-collapse era at Teotihuacan. This study has attempted to demonstrate physical manifestations of a specific type of social organization through the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines, the Xipe Totec statue, and their analogues. Several distinct stylistic traits on large ceremonial sculptures are echoed in figurine form, as if they were meant to be abbreviations of a theme. The similarity of the Teotihuacan Mazapan and Lambityeco figurine complexes indicates a shared cultural bond which previously had not been evident for this time period. Further evidence from the Tezoquípan and the Stendahl statues has added yet other components to the list of traits, heightening the intriguing connection with Zapotec Oaxaca.

It is unfortunate that there is not a better understanding of the chronology for this time period at Teotihuacan; however, by comparing the chronometric dates from Lambityeco with the surmised time block for "early Late Toltec," a rough estimate of the eighth century seems fair. Mesoamerica was generally in a period of political and social upheaval, with centers seeming to be jockeying for positions of power, such as Cholula, Xochicalco and Cacaxtla in the Central Highlands, El Tajín on the Gulf Coast, and many "city states" in the Oaxaca region, to mention only a few examples.

Teotihuacan itself appears completely passive in spite of its being the largest center in the Basin of Mexico, with probably several tens of thousands of residents. Those folks simply did not leave much for the archaeologists to work with, or else the remains were cleared away long ago. There was no construction with permanent materials; they produced quantities of "zonal fossil" pottery, but largely for local consumption, and figurines. The Xipe statue is the only large important item recovered so far that

can be dated to this epoch. It holds the bat claw vessel as if it were a memorial to times past and wears a swallowtail headdress as a token of a new era. The aspect of human sacrifice is seen only by comparison with the items cited above.

Our Xipe does seem to reconcile a bygone epoch with a new and modern age. The unmistakable Zapotec theme of the bat claw might be a minor reflection of the past (if, indeed, the golden age of Zapotec art forms peaked in Monte Albán III times). If the Tezoquípan and Stendahl bat statues were made in Teotihuacan Mazapan times, the abstraction of the leaf design from the *tragus*, as subtle as any artistic device could possibly be, was maintained during a very long period of time. It is not impossible that the image outlasted its "culture," to be revived centuries later. However, the remarkably similar suits of the Stendahl and Tezoquípan Xipe statues, unknown in any other Mesoamerican form, suggest contemporaneity. Perhaps the strongest evidence that all the items discussed in this study were manufactured in a relatively short time period is the striking similarity in the contours and proportions of the Teotihuacan, Tezoquípan and Stendahl statues. The intriguing fragment of a hand holding a head by the hair, a replica of the trophy heads displayed on the brazier of Tomb 58 and the urn from Tomb 103 from Monte Albán, recovered from the Tezoquípan excavation, is yet still another link in the network of interchanging traits found within this group of statues and figurines.

It is difficult to understand how ritual human sacrifice was practiced in pre-Aztec times. The dynamics of the Aztecs' sacrificial ceremonies, described by Sahagún, Durán and others, involved an overt demonstration of power (one of the Triple Alliance's more colorful displays of conspicuous consumption), distribution of goods, especially food, support of the priestly class, and served as a device for social cohesion. Broda's assessment of the *Tlacaxipeualiztli* ceremony (1970) underscored the dichotomy between what she termed "political and social functions" involving the upwardly mobile warrior-noble class with its gains in prestige and honors on the one hand, and the "religious and traditional" aspects which seemed to involve everyone else. The ceremony (two weeks long except for the priests who had to prepare another two weeks in advance and got fed for their efforts) involved the entire community; the sacrificial component largely benefited the captors. What is known of the Maya human sacrifice, auto- and otherwise, also underscores personal aggrandizement to which the aristocracy alone was privy.

It can only be assumed that the display of trophy heads on the statues and figurines was the reflection of a practice which gave prestige to the "head wearer," and whether that power was perceived as control of an enemy's soul, commanding the erection of a lot of finely-carved stelae, or being bestowed with a grander lip plug is beside the point.

The question must remain unanswered, with the present data, why the Lambityeco figurines display trophy heads and their Teotihuacan Mazapan counterparts do not. The skeletal evidence is inconclusive on this point, and until more evidence is available, the matter must rest with the acknowledgement that the display of trophy heads is a visual statement of power and control.

The hypothesis has been stated throughout this study that a distinction may be made between decorative design and motifs as metaphors on the statues and figurines, and that the metaphors relate to some sort of personal identification. The permutation of selected traits on the large, ceremonial pieces described in this study suggests that each is an identifying marker which might well have represented a name for clan, lineage or some other form of social affiliation, if not for the individual.

Four Zapotec figures of the kind usually associated with funerary or ceremonial offerings have direct analogues with the Teotihuacan and Tezoquípan Xipe statues, through the claw vessels and the displayed trophy heads. Stylistically, our Xipe seems contemporaneous with the Tezoquípan and Stendahl statues, and yet the three also have their analogues with the Zapotec pieces. Only our Xipe points to the modern era with the swallowtail headdress and a skin-like suit, both of which will later become extremely important identification markers in Mixtec and Aztec times, and in fact, are the first known examples of these traits.

The swallowtail device appears to be another element of "political and dynastic significance" combined as it is with the Tlaloc face and trapeze-and-ray year sign in the headdress of the "early Toltec" stelae at Tula and in association with the "mythical founder or divine sponsor" in the Codex Nuttall (Pasztor 1988: 293; Paddock 1983b: 59; Nuttall 1975: 33-II). The suit of skin appears to represent not only a form of power and control, but also may be a reference to the lineage of Lord 7 Rain in Nuttall 33-II.

The Coatlinchán and Chalchuapa statues seem to have been given a "Toltec" designation by reference to our Xipe with its associated ceramic ware, rather than through their own archaeological context. Stylistically they appear to be later, and more like Veracruz or Aztec representations. The problem of these repertoires has been discussed and need not be repeated here. Nonetheless, our Xipe does seem to be a prototype for the latter two statues.

The major themes or metaphors are reflected in abbreviated form in the figurines' headdresses. The bat head with a tuft of feathers occurs in both the Teotihuacan Mazapan and Lambityeco sets (Figs. 14-19, 55); the visor base of the headdress of stacked disks (Figs. 22 and 23, 52) recalls the headdress form of the Zapotec figure from Tomb 103, and although the likeness may be coincidental, the configuration is not known from other sources. The upside-down trophy head worn by the Heye figure is, of course, analogous with the Lambityeco figurines, as is its asymmetrical headdress (Fig. 57). The similarity of the notched loincloth of a Lambityeco torso (Fig. 35c) with that of the Tomb 58 brazier has been noted.

Apart from the stacked disks and bat headdresses, the sunburst device is also shared by the Teotihuacan Mazapan and Lambityeco figurines (Figs. 20-21, 53-54). Clothing is almost identical on both sets with waffle iron jerkins predominating; however, bare chests (or undecorated jerkins) occur in both sets (Figs. 30-31, 44-49).

When this study was first begun, the only point to ponder was the perplexing similarity of the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurines and their difference from other groups. The Xipe statue added a good deal of interest, but visually there was no stylistic comparison. With the fortunate encounter of the

Lambityeco figurine complex, and finally the extraordinary Tezoquípan finds, an intricate interweaving of repeated themes emerged. Some of these elements in Zapotec "urn" context have made the study even more intriguing and rewarding.

Rather than somewhat simplistic identifications of "the bat god" or the "god Xipe Totec," we may now consider the statues as totemic figures, combining interchangeable stylistic elements as metaphors of social affiliation. The figurines seem to represent subdivisions within the larger theme, not merely staff and shield bearing "warriors;" and, as they are found in residential debris, probably they were used on a small group or perhaps individual level. Surely group identification or affiliation in times of social upheaval would have been of extreme importance to the individual. The situation at Teotihuacan itself could be interpreted reasonably as one of unusual instability, making the need to establish or cement (or invent) social ties urgent and compelling. The statues and the figurines seem to be an expression of that intent.

## NOTES

1. The four other vessels in the illustration (1934: Fig. 112) have not been identified. Two "grey ware" jars are shown in the Frontispiece. The form is not recognized as belonging to the Valley of Mexico ceramic assemblage (Ratray personal communication 1990, Cobean personal communication 1991, Evans personal communication 1991). A few Zapotec urn figures hold similarly shaped vessels (Caso y Bernal 1952: Figs. 151, 159, 161), and the vessel shape itself is not unlike the Oaxacan ware thought to be a development in the evolution of the Teotihuacan "florero" (Caso, Bernal y Acosta 1967: 421). The paste of the jars in Stockholm has not been tested, and until further research may be carried out, no association or relevance is suggested. The other two vessels could not be found in the National Museum of Ethnography.

2. "Swallowtail" is used to describe the forked ends of Xipe's headdress and other paraphernalia. The Aztec Xipe Totec's headdress was made of "plumage of precious red spoonbill feathers" (Sahagún 1959, Book 9: 69), or "a red headdress with a ribbon, also red. This was tied in an elaborate bow on his forehead, and in the middle of this bow was a golden jewel" (Durán 1971: 174-75). Seler seems to confuse hair arrangement and headdress: "*su gorra era el yopizontli*", "*el cabello de los yopis*" o "*la cabeza de los yopis*" (1963: 128).

The spoonbill, family *Plataleidae*, has red-tinged light plumage, whereas the swallow is characterized by a black, deeply forked tail and white breast feathers. Sahagún's Nahuatl word is *Tlahquecholli*: *Tlahuitl ocre rouge*, *Quecholli beau plumage* (Wohrer: 288).

3. Barlow 1949: Fold-out map; locations #2-4, #2-15, & #2-18. These are the areas given by Sahagún (1961, Book 10: 187).

4. Las Palmas: total items 3460, 640 Formative and Classic figurines; Xolalpan: 3315 items, 915 Formative and Classic figurines; Tlamimilolpa: 2800 items, 418 Formative and Classic figurines.

5. Presumably neither the distinction between early and late Late Toltec ceramic phases, nor the terminology, had been worked out when Koehler wrote his article (1986: 31). The deposits in the 4

trenches he excavated clearly are mixed early and late deposits of Late Toltec wares. By Evans's definition of the ceramic chronology, the overwhelming majority of Koehler's ceramics are late Late Toltec. Early Late Toltec ceramics account for only 17.37% of the entire corpus from Koehler's trenches: MWL 4.76%, TR/B 8.47%, WBR/B 4.14% = 17.37% (1986: 20-23).

6. Koehler's distinction between "Toltec slab" and "Mazapan" figurines is based on only 10 examples of which 5 are illustrated. All are Toltec except one which appears to be Coyotlatelco (1986: 34-5, Fig. 2).

7. The catalogue entries refer consistently to our Types I and II as "Xolalpan-typen" and Type III as "Platt-typen (flat-type). Toltec figurines are described as "Plat-Figur." Linné reserved the term Mazapan solely for the ceramic vessels.

8. Mastache and Cobean generously permitted me a firsthand look at the figurine material from their excavations.

9. Lind and Urcid indicate that Yegüih was occupied from Formative (Rosario Phase) to modern times, explaining that the maximum size was gained in Monte Albán IIIb and IV periods (1983: 78), that is, the latter centuries of the florescence of the city and its abandonment. For the specific purpose of this paper, Paddock's detailed criteria of Lambityeco figurines as diagnostic of Monte Albán IV are followed.

10. During the Lambityeco excavations of Tomb 2 a few figurine fragments were encountered in the rubble. "Throughout the fill...we recovered occasional fragments of figurine types that have not been reported from Monte Albán...They belong to several types that are very abundant at Lambityeco as fragments, though extremely rare as intact objects" (Paddock *et al.* 1968: 10-11, Fig. 11); so fragmentary, indeed, that it is impossible to determine whether the illustrated pieces are part of the complex presented in this study. It is clear that the parameters of the corpus have yet to be defined.

11. Formative period figurines are generally associated with burial goods because of the Tlatilco excavations and the somewhat later tomb furnishings of West Mexico; however, the case does not hold

for other areas of Mesoamerica. The archaeological evidence reveals a sharper picture for later periods when people were living in residences made of permanent building materials. The overwhelming majority of figurines are recovered in household, not temple, context.

12. According to Paddock, whistle figurines with large globular bodies are common in MA IIIb, dying out in MA IV (1983a: 203). A few of these whistles appear in the Lambityeco collection, but are not included in this study because there are no overlapping motifs with the non-whistle figurines. Only one published example, from San Pedro Ixtlahuaca, seems to resemble our torso shape, Type 5, which wears a long cape (Caso y Bernal 1952: Fig. 461b), an unusual example as most whistle torsos are not decorated. The focus of this study is the Teotihuacan Mazapan figurine complex, compared with the Lambityeco analogues. It would be inappropriate to include the peripheral Oaxaca whistles.

13. An early draft of this monograph attempted an analytic comparison of the Teotihuacan Xipe with other so-called Xipes and other ceramic and stone statues, many of undetermined date, murky provenience, and/or heavily reconstructed. The only clear result of the exercise was that the Teotihuacan Xipe seems to have served as a model for reconstruction of similar pieces, and probably was used to date not only other statues, but associated cultural remains as well. That comparative analysis (previously part of this study, now slashed out of the text and reduced to this cautionary note) deserves a thorough study. One sincerely hopes that it will be undertaken by someone with a lot of stamina, patience, and money as it will entail visual inspection of dozens if not hundreds of pieces, delving into museum archives for their respective historical backgrounds, as well as neutron activation and thermoluminescence testing for provenience and age. Stylistic analysis alone will not suffice.

14. Boos points out that fake urns were taken innocently to Europe by soldiers of the Austrian and French armies of Emperor Maximilian in the 1860s, and later by Desiré Charnay (1966: 15).

15. One cannot escape the constant, nagging worry that some of Caso's material was manufactured in the 20th century. The caption for the braziers gives provenience as Tliltlahuaca. In the text the authors note they were in the Kennedy collection, Oaxaca, and that a piece made in the same mould (not illustrated) was thought to come from Tliltlahuaca, and compared them with a similar brazier in the Paulson collection said to come from San Francisco Telixtlahuaca (same town?) (Caso y Bernal 1952: 90,

Figs. 144-145; Linné 1938a: 158). The braziers were photographed by Caecilie Seler in 1910 (Lehmann 1922: 22, Fig. 34b).

16. *Tragus*: "prominencia de la oreja ante el conductor auditivo" (Caso y Bernal 1952: 71). *Comisura*: where upper and lower lips meet at the sides of the mouth.

17. One type of the jaguar claw vessel, made of a yellow, highly-fired paste, similar to fine orange, was recovered in the fill over the floors of Monte Albán monuments, and was considered to be a later form, and a modified form of the jaguar claw vessel appears in the polychrome wares from the Mixteca, or MAV (Caso *et al.* 1967: 404, 400).

The claw vessel tradition appears to continue into a later epoch, as these vessels are held by persons in the Codex Nuttall; however, the distinction, if any, between jaguar and bat may be irrelevant. A few examples may be noted in both the mythical as well as genealogical or historical sections (1975: 6-III; 7-II and III; 26-I; 42-I) which are all females, and (1975: 81-II) a male with black body paint carries a claw-shaped bag. The claw vessel is a device peculiar only to the Codex Nuttall; it is not found in the Codices Selden, Bodley or Colombino. In the calendrical Codex Borgia, the Sun God offers what appears to be copal from a *sahumador* with a claw handle (Seler 1963: 18).

18. A similar statue in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde also was tested by TL and proved to have been fired in antiquity (von Schuler-Schömgig 1970: 133-4, Fig. 201). The information was provided by Dr. Dieter Eisleb, until 1991 Americanist curator at the Berlin museum, and his successor, Dr. Manuela Fischer (personal communication 1991).

19. Miss Nancy Rosoff, assistant curator at the Museum of the American Indian, provided further information taken from the museum's catalogue card, "Funeral urn representing a standing human figure, traces of red and white painted decoration. Near Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico. Purchased in Paris, France by George G. Heye, and acquired by MAI in 1937." Ms. Rosoff wrote, "Although Dockstader makes reference to a Monsieur Martin as being the person who collected the piece near Mitla around 1845, I could not find any documentation in our Archives to back up this statement. In general, it is almost impossible to find written documentation on artifacts that were simply 'purchased.'" Parts of the statue have been

reconstructed and red pigment is seen on the necklace and the trophy head (personal communication 1991).

The provenience of Mitla should not be taken to mean the statue was a product of that culture, rather that Mitla probably served as a sort of redistribution center for dealers in recent times, as pointed out by Paddock and others. The same caveat applies to the figurines in the Munich museum, said to be from Chalco and Mitla (page 10 this text).

20. Caso and Bernal confuse the issue by equating the necklaces of the two trophy head-holding urns which are entirely different; commenting on the brazier of Tomb 58, "*el collar formado por objetos cóncavos que quizá representan conchas, lo acerca a la representación del Xipe de la tumba 103*" (1952: 255).

21. The figure was found in the interior of Tomb 103 which held skeletal material of two adults in primary deposition, placed horizontally on their backs (*decúbito dorsal*) (Caso 1938:74). The chamber had a flat roof (*bóveda plana*) and 5 niches. Glyphs with bars and dots were painted on the walls (Caso 1938: Plano 15).

Caso described the badly eroded painting on the interior of Tomb 103 in his initial excavation report and again in his article in the Handbook of Middle American Indians with some discrepancies or revisions in the glyphs. In the first report he noted that the central glyph on the cornice, "3 Serpent," probably indicated the name of the person interred in the tomb (1938: 71). In the latter report he used the tomb painting to demonstrate a style of drawing in the "transition period between IIIA and IIIB to which Tombs 103 and 104 belong...Tomb 103 had a painted façade on which paintings of Tombs 105, 112, 103, and 104 show the strong influence which Teotihuacan exerted over Zapotec painting during Period IIIA and the transition between IIIA and IIIB" (1965: 868).

22. The physical anthropologist, Dr. A. Hrdlicka produced more than 20 meticulous measurements of the Coatlinchán statue, among which is the height: 150.9 cm (Saville 1897: 221, footnote 1). The Chalchuapa Xipe received less rigorous attention, perhaps because reconstruction may have altered the original height: "As repaired, the statue stands 143 cm. high, but there is reason to believe that this measurement did not originally exceed 138 cm" (Boggs 1944: 1). If one takes an average 140 cm height, there is a 10 cm difference between the two, perhaps an irrelevant detail. The Teotihuacan Xipe is substantially shorter at 114 cm, including the headdress.

It would be interesting to know comparative weights of the statues. The only information is from Boggs, who noted that "because of the size and weight of the Coatlinchán and Chalchuapa effigies, one must suppose them to have been made at or near the sites at which they were found" (1944: 4).

The Tezoquípan statues have not been weighed; possibly such a manoeuver might damage them.

23. Two years later Saville reported the find of a ceramic statue in his excavations in Oaxaca, from a tomb at Xoxocatlán. The piece was not illustrated, but described in some detail. Saville was impressed by its large size, "the scattered fragments...will be, when restored, the largest specimen of terra-cotta ever found in America...The entire length of the figure, according to measurements made of the detached pieces, was nearly, if not quite, six feet" (1899: 357-8). The face had a beard and other adornments not associated with a Xipe. One arm was bent, and held a "pole or staff of which about a foot remained" (1899: 358). At that time the fragments were housed in the Museo Nacional of Mexico City. Apparently it has not been restored, exhibited or published.

24. It was also at this time that Vaillant reckoned Coyotlatelco pottery to post-date Mazapan, that Mazapan ware was a product of the Chichimecs, and that Teotihuacan was the seat of the Toltec empire. The history of the development of these ideas, and how corrections were made, are subjects far beyond the scope of this paper.

25. Three stela had been recovered at the time Acosta reported his excavations. A total of six are listed in the Tula sculpture inventory (de la Fuente *et al.* 1988).

26. *Más Humano que Divino* (More Human than Divine) is the inspired title by William Spratling of a book illustrating Veracruz ceramic figurines and statues in the UNAM collection.

27. The stone slab published by Beyer (1979b: 169-170, Lám. 81c), measuring 96 cm high by 62 cm in width by 32 cm thick, is large enough to be "monumental," but the face is carved in its most basic outline of three holes and the headband. Beyer mentions paint on the left side and reverse of the slab, but neglects to give the color.

Another possible stone masked head was identified as a monkey by Séjourné (1966: Fig. 62). It is an unfinished carving and clearly has three holes in the face. With some imagination, the lumpy area around the head might be seen as bands wrapping the head, the lower part of the stone could have been carved into a horizontal tenon. Unfortunately the dimensions of this piece are unknown.

A third stone masked head, 31 x 38 x 13 cm, with three holes perforated through the stone and clearly delineated headbands (without the frame) is thought to be an architectural element (Parsons 1980: 109, Fig. 154). It belongs to a private collection, lacks provenience and is highly suspect as an authentic Mesoamerican artifact.

Linné found a stone set into a wall in the Tlamimilolpa complex room 1; three holes bored into the surface (1942: 105, Fig. 181), noting the similarity to the little clay heads. The shape of the stone is ragged and it is crudely worked, nothing at all similar to the carefully fashioned "masked face." Three holes in a round surface is a most elemental configuration and needs no special talent to execute.

28. The Dainzú sculptures have been dated to the Late Formative period (Bernal 1973; Marcus 1983b), but that chronological placement may be too early (Urcid personal communication 1991).

29. Christopher Moser, in his assessment of decapitation was perplexed, and his paragraph is quoted in its entirety:

"George Vaillant in his *Aztecs of Mexico* states that 'the Swedish archaeologist Linné, at Xolalpan (a Classic structure in Teotihuacan) found richly endowed burials...In some of these the entire skeleton was buried; others contained only the skull, covered by a bowl or inside such a bowl with another on top. There is as yet no explanation for this practice.' Unfortunately I have been unable to locate any reports of these skull burials found by Linné" (1973: 12).

Vaillant's summaries often are confusing; he outdid himself by crediting Linné for his own skull burials.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ABBREVIATIONS

AMNH	American Museum of Natural History
BAR	British Archaeological Report
CIW	Carnegie Institution of Washington
HMAI	Handbook of Middle American Indians
ICA	International Congress of Americanists
INAH	Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia
RMEA	Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos
SEP	Secretaría de Educación Pública
SMA	Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología
TVP	Teotihuacan Valley Project
UNAM	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

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## FIGURES AND PLATES

### LIST OF FIGURES

#### Teotihuacan Mazapan code:

Catalogue numbers from the National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden  
Letter prefixes designate the sites: X=Xolalpan, L=Las Palmas, T=Tlamimilolpa

#### Lambityeco code:

Numbers correspond to the Frissell Museum system

#### Teotihuacan Mazapan Figurines

1. Type I female: X-4631 [55.6 grams]  
Figurine from burial: a-front, b-profile, c-back
2. Type I female: X-4569 [39.6 grams]  
Unbroken figure
3. Type I female: T-1841 [29.5 grams]  
Torso, three appliqué balls decorate the tip of the quechquemilt; a backstand projects at the bottom of the piece
4. Type I female: a--X-5198 b--X-6520 c--X-6521  
Torsos, showing varying degrees of manufacture and/or erosion
5. Type I female: a--X-5957 [18.1 grams] b--X-6128 [17.4 grams] c--X-6192 [15.4 grams]  
Heads; carelessly formed and/or badly eroded typical examples
6. Type II female: a--X-5612 b-profile view [26.5 grams]  
Front and profile views of a unbroken figurine, the feet are not well-defined
7. Type II female: L-32 [24.4 grams]  
Head and crossed arms
8. Type II female: a--LP-2461 b--X-4826 [41.9 grams]  
c--X-6031  
Torsos with crossed arms
9. Type III male torso: T-700 [145.4 grams]  
Waffle iron jerkin and feathered staff
10. Type III male: X-5204 [67.7 grams]  
Torso, broken at neck, the figure is a good example of the clay background
11. Type III male: X-4954 [47.2 grams]  
Torso and face fragment; chin strap

12. Type III male: X-5415 [58.2 grams]  
Torso fragment with face and chest
13. Type III male: X-4467  
Torso fragment with face and chest
14. Type IIIa male: X-5778 [118.4 grams]  
Unbroken figure with waffle iron jerkin, bat headdress, and staff topped with feathers
15. Type IIIa male: L-106  
Torso with waffle iron jerkin, bat headdress
16. Type IIIa male: X-5615 [34.4 grams]  
Bat headdress
17. Type IIIa male: L-4846 [34.3 grams]  
Bat headdress, partial torso
18. Type IIIa male: L-636  
Bat headdress, feather ornament held at side of face
19. Type IIIa male: X-4945  
Bat headdress
20. Type IIIb male: a--X-5325 b--profile  
Bumpy textured jerkin, sunburst headdress topped by feathers
21. Type IIIb male: X-5840  
Partial headdress, legs broken away
22. Type IIIc male: L-807 [114.4 grams]  
Headdress of three stacked disks topped by a bunch of feathers, chin strap
23. Type IIIc male: X-5339 [86.5 grams]  
Broken headdress with two stacked layers
24. Type IIIId male: X-5614 [45.2 grams]  
Close-fitting textured cap with chin strap, side disk
25. Type IIIId male: X-5590  
Close-fitting textured cap with chin strap
26. Type IIIe male: X-5970 [212 grams]  
Press mould shows complete headdress configuration
27. Type IIIe male: X-4956 [26.5 grams]  
Face and lower register of headdress
28. Type IIIe male: L-1856  
Headdress decoration
29. Type IIIe male: L-3374  
Face and lower register of headdress

30. Type IV male: L-1431 [155.2 grams]  
Smooth tunic, feathered band headdress, pendant and shield
31. Type IV male: L-140 [63.2]  
Thorax fragment; loose hanging collar, pendant, and possible belly button

#### Lambityeco Figurines

32. Type 1 female: a--26410 b--25392 c--24067  
The unbroken figurine demonstrates typical short, stumpy proportions
33. Type 1 female: a--25159 b--23474  
Torso fragments showing jewelry and clothing decoration
34. Type 2 female: a--5007 b--1249  
Headless torsos made in deep mould
35. Type 3 male: a--6997 b--5454 c--6319  
Two bumpy jerkin torso fragments, and one swallowtail loincloth fragment
36. Type 3 male: a--6287 b--1302  
Headless torsos with different arm positions
37. Type 3 male: a--25731 b--26174  
Torso and head with deep turban, and one headless torso
38. Type 3 male: 21953  
Torso and partial headgear
39. Type 3 male: 7365  
Head and torso fragment with deep band headdress and small bumpy-textured tunic
40. Type 3 male: 1325  
Headless torso with large triangular collar; twisted cord below loincloth
41. Type 3 male: 1466  
Headless torso with large triangular collar
42. Type 3 male: 27567  
Repaired torso fragment with trophy head
43. Type 3 male: a--8050 b--profile  
Headless figurine with loose hanging collar and trophy head; bulbous support
44. Type 4 male: a--6562 b--8351  
Upper torsos, smooth textured jerkins
45. Type 4 male: a--6893 b--5177  
Lower face and shoulders, smooth jerkins
46. Type 4 male: 20434  
Torso with square shield and trophy head

47. Type 4 male: 5836  
Torso with trophy head
48. Type 4 male: 8662  
Torso with feathered square shield and trophy head
49. Type 5 male: a--21879 b--22797  
Headless torsos
50. Type 5 male: 5318  
Headless torso
51. Type 5 male: 8387  
Shoulders and partial, eroded lower face
52. Type 6 male: 22186  
Headdress, single layer or visor
53. Type 7 male: a--1469 b--5388  
Sunburst headdress
54. Type 7 male: a--1259 b--195 c--21891  
Sunburst headdress topped with feathers
55. Type 8 male: 6529  
Bat headdress
56. Type 9 male: 7402  
Animal mask
57. Type 10 male: a--8616 b--20006  
Asymmetrical headdress
58. Type 11 male: a--6308 b--21297  
Close-fitting caps, banded and volutes

TEOTIHUACAN MAZAPAN FIGURINES



Figure 1 a. Teotihuacan Mazapan female figurine Type I  
Figurine from burial



Figure 1 b. Profile



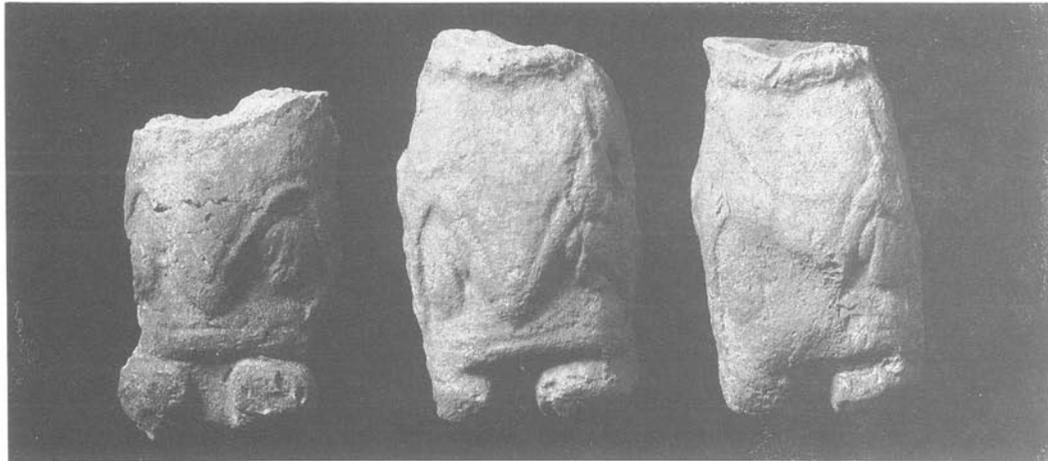
Figure 1 c. Back



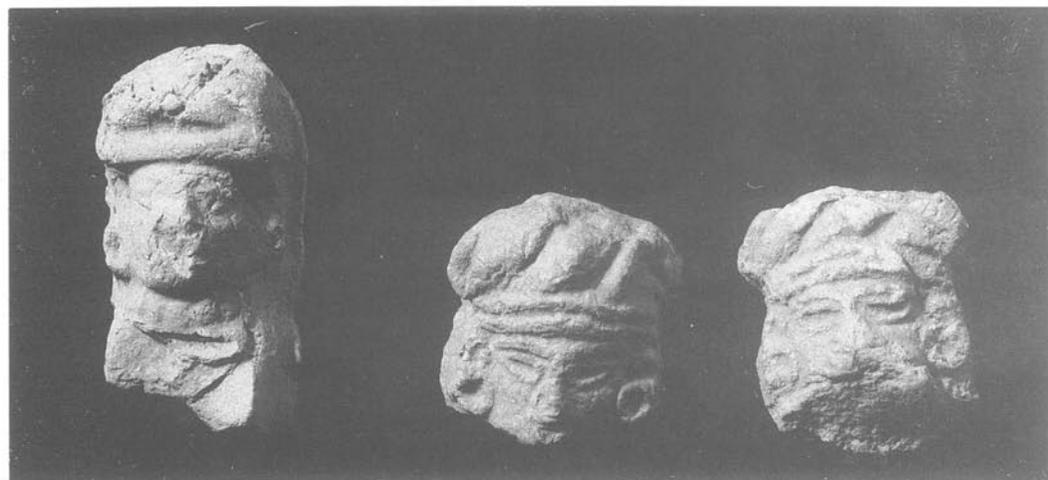
Figure 2. Type I female  
Unbroken figurine



Figure 3. Type I female  
Torso with backstand



Figures 4 a,b,c. Type I torsos



Figures 5 a,b,c. Type I heads



Figure 6 a. Type II female

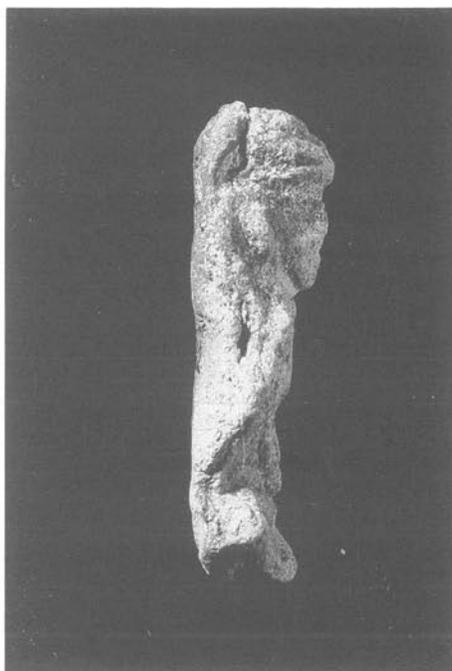


Figure 6 b. Same, profile



Figure 7. Type II female; head and crossed arms



Figures 8 a,b,c. Type II female; torsos with crossed arms



Figure 9. Type III male torso  
Waffle iron jerkin and feathered staff



Figure 10. Type III male  
Torso, broken at neck



Figure 11. Type III male  
Torso and face fragment



Figure 12. Type III male  
Torso fragments with face and chest



Figure 13. Type III male



Figure 14. Type IIIa male  
Waffle iron jerkin, bat headdress, staff topped with feathers



Figure 15. Type IIIa male



Figure 16.  
Type IIIa male; bat headdress



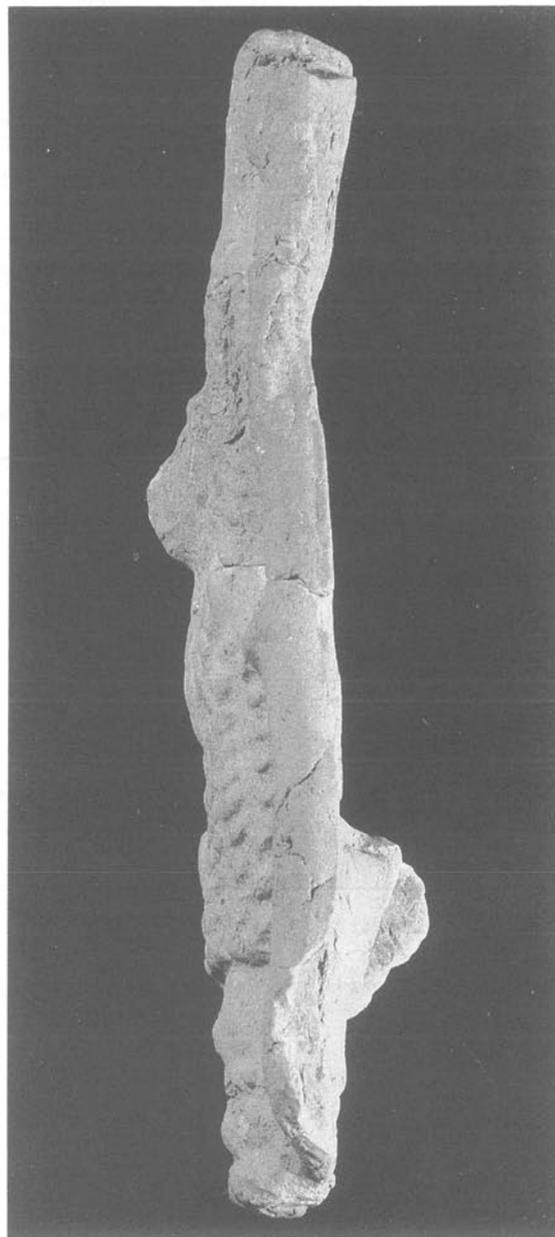
Figure 17.



Figure 18.  
Type IIIa male; bat headdress



Figure 19.



Figures 20 a,b.  
Type IIIb male; bumpy textured jerkin, sunburst headdress topped by feathers



Figure 21. Type IIIb male; sunburst headdress



Figure 22.  
Type IIIc male; headdress with stacked layers



Figure 23.



Figure 24.  
Type III d male; close-fitting textured cap with chin strap



Figure 25.



Figure 26.  
Press mould

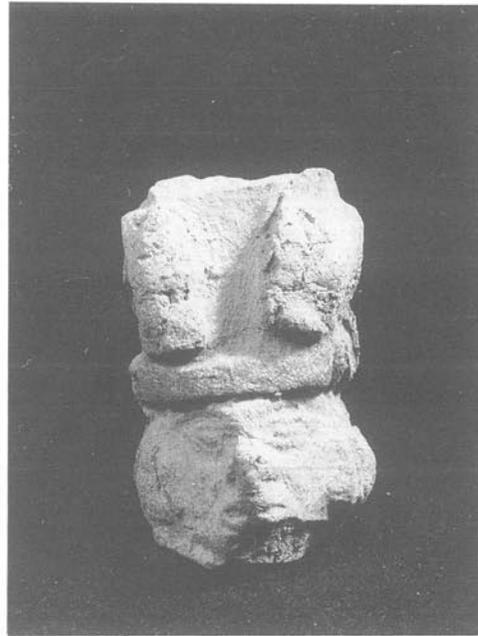


Figure 27.



Figure 28.  
Type IIIe male; headdress with vertical projections, feathers



Figure 29.



Figure 30.  
Type IV male; smooth tunic, feathered band headdress, pendant and shield



Figure 31.

LAMBITYECO FIGURINES



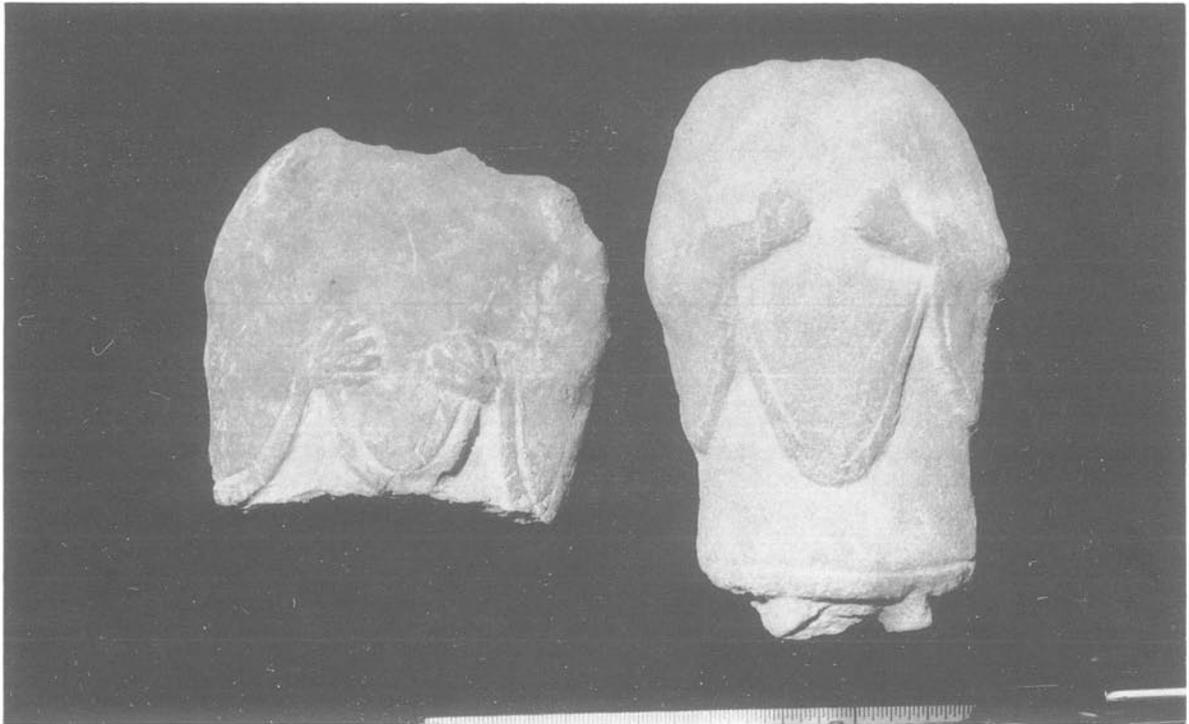
Figures 32 a,b,c.

Type I female; unbroken figurine demonstrates typical short, stumpy proportions

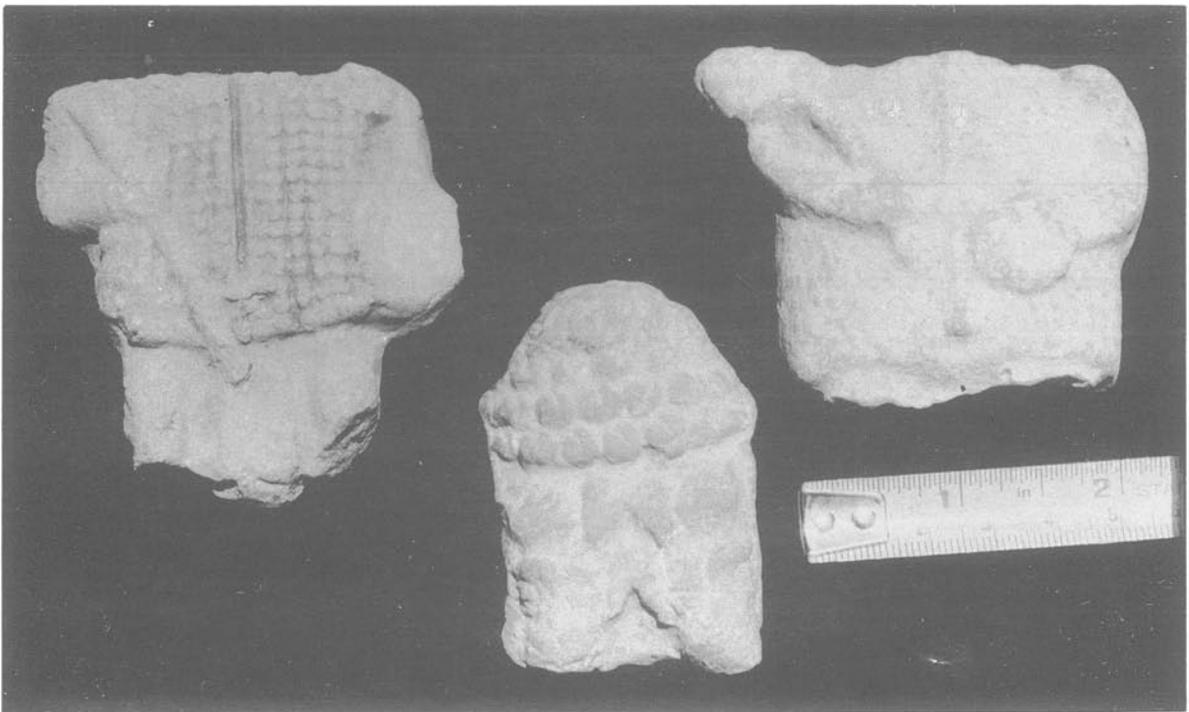


Figures 33 a,b.

Type I female; torso fragments showing jewelry and clothing decoration



Figures 34 a,b.  
Type 2 male; headless torsos made in deep mould



Figures 35 a,b,c.  
Type 3 male; a and b: bumpy jerkin torsos; c: swallowtail loincloth



Figures 36 a,b.  
Type 3 male; headless torsos with different arm positions



Figures 37 a,b.  
Type 3 male; a: torso and head with deep turban; b: headless torso



Figure 38.



Figure 39.

Type 3 male; torsos



Figure 40.

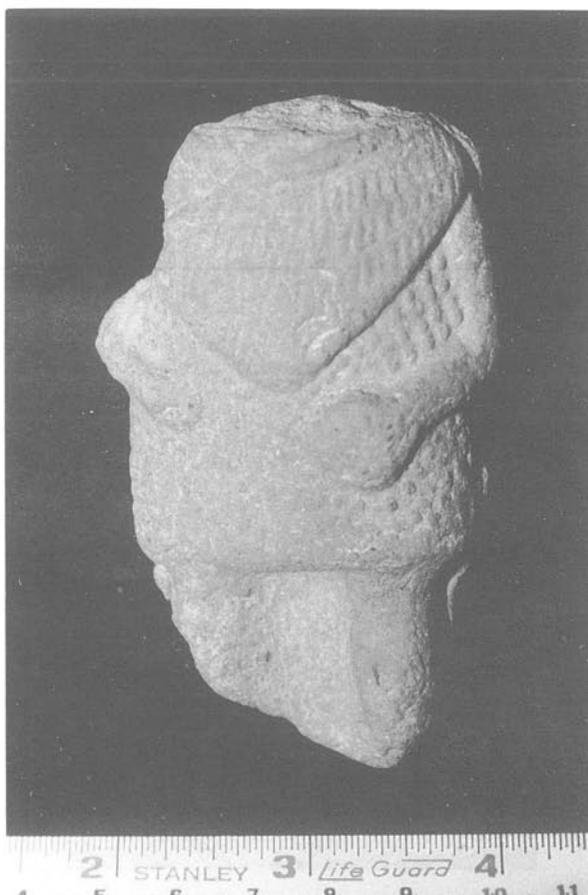


Figure 41.

Type 3 male; large triangular collars

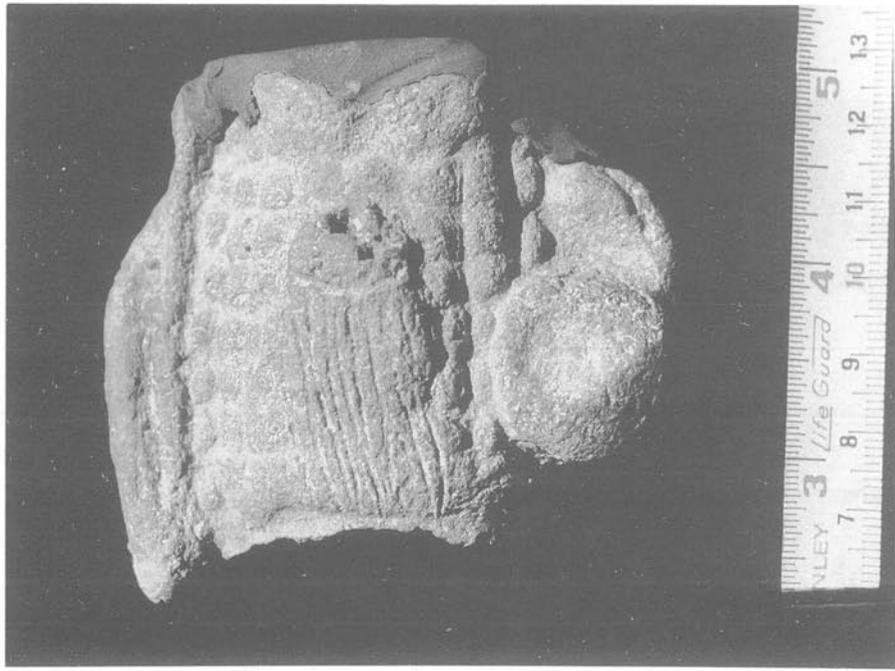
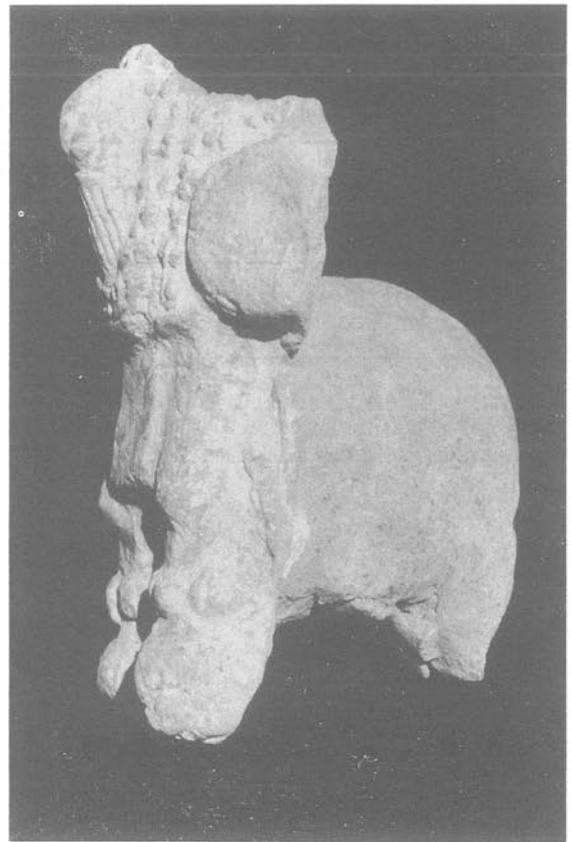


Figure 42. Type 3 male; repaired torso fragment with trophy head



Figures 43 a,b. Type 3 male  
a: loose hanging collar and trophy head; b: profile



Figures 44 a,b. Type 4 male  
Upper torsos, smooth textured jerkins



Figures 45 a,b. Type 4 male  
Lower face and shoulders, smooth jerkins



Figure 46. Type 4 male  
Square shield and trophy head



Figure 47. Type 4 male  
Torso with trophy head



Figure 48. Type 4 male  
Feathered square shield and trophy head



Figures 49 a,b. Type 5 male; torso with capes and staffs



Figure 50. Type 5 male; cape and staff



Figure 51. Type 5 male; shoulders and eroded lower face



Figure 52. Type 6 male; headdress, single layer or visor



Figures 53 a,b. Type 7 male; sunburst headdress



Figures 54 a,b,c. Type 7 male; sunburst headdress topped with feathers



Figure 55. Type 8 male; bat headdress



Figure 56. Type 9 male; animal mask



Figures 57 a,b. Type 10 male; asymmetrical headdress



Figures 58 a,b. Type 11 male; close-fitting caps, banded and volutes

## LIST OF PLATES

Frontispiece: figurine and ceramic vessels from burial,  
National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden

1. Teotihuacan Xipe Totec ceramic statue, front view  
Sala Teotihuacana, Museo Nacional de Antropología, INAH, CNCA, México
2. same, profile
3. same, back
4. back of neck, collar does not close at the back
5. details of head
6. pyramid-shaped boss on arm band
7. right hand grasps bat claw vessel
8. feet; round indentations for the toe-nails
9. profile view of feet
10. Stendahl figure, 3/4 view; The Stendahl Galleries, Los Angeles
11. same, front view
12. same, profile view
13. same, with recently manufactured legs
14. same, profile
15. Vienna Figure, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna
16. same, profile
17. Heye figure; National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, New York
18. same, profile
- 19a. Teotihuacan Classic period figurine head; National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden; catalogue #35.8.134; actual size (height 3.8 cm)
- 19b. Teotihuacan Classic period figurine; National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden; catalogue #32.8.5525; actual size (height: 3.7 cm)
20. Monte Albán Tomb 58 brazier  
Sala Oaxaqueña, Museo Nacional de Antropología, INAH, CNCA, México, D.F.
21. Coatlinchán statue  
American Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology New York
22. Chalchuapa statue  
Museo David J. Guzmán, San Salvador



Plate 1. Teotihuacan Xipe Totec ceramic statue; front view  
Sala Teotihuacana, Museo Nacional de Antropología, INAH, CNCA, México, D.F.



Plate 2. Teotihuacan Xipe Totec ceramic statue; profile



Plate 3. Teotihuacan Xipe Totec ceramic statue; back view



Plate 4. Back of neck, collar does not close



Plate 5. Details of head; swallowtail headdress and nose plug



Plate 6. Pyramid-shaped boss on arm band; repaired break above elbow



Plate 7. Right hand grasps bat claw vessel



Plate 8. Round indentations for toe-nails



Plate 9. Profile view of feet



Plate 10. Stendahl statue; 3/4 view  
Photograph courtesy of the Stendahl Galleries, Los Angeles



Plate 11. Stendahl statue, *en face*  
Photograph courtesy of The Stendahl Galleries, Los Angeles



Plate 12. Stendahl statue, profile  
Photograph courtesy of The Stendahl Galleries, Los Angeles



Plate 13. Stendahl statue, with recently manufactured legs  
Photograph courtesy of The Stendahl Galleries, Los Angeles



Plate 14. Stendahl statue, profile  
Photograph courtesy of The Stendahl Galleries, Los Angeles



Plate 15. Vienna statue, *en face*  
Photograph courtesy of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna



Plate 16. Vienna statue, profile  
Photograph courtesy of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna



Plate 17. Heye statue, *en face*  
Photograph courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian  
Smithsonian Institution



Plate 18. Heye statue, profile  
Photograph courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian  
Smithsonian Institution



a: catalogue #35.8.134, provenience Tlamimilolpa



b: catalogue #32.8.5525, provenience Xolalpan

Plates 19 a,b. Teotihuacan Classic period figurines  
The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden



Plate 20. Monte Albán Tomb 58 ceramic brazier  
Sala Oaxaqueña, Museo Nacional de Antropología, INAH, CNCA, México, D.F.

TOLTEC CLAY SCULPTURE

30  
499

M. H. Saville - Museum Expedition  
1896 - 32

June 1969. Repaired by  
Joe Nocera. And reconstructed.  
See arrows on drawing. Areas  
included cracking across groin,  
chest, middle back. Also back  
of belt has been reconstructed.

Terra cotta Xipe dressed in  
flayed skin. (in 3 pieces)  
Prov. Found in cave at Coatlinchan  
near Texcoco, Valley of Mexico.



Case 28  
in Mexico 1930 - Talks Platform  
No. # 312520

Plate 21. Coatlinchán ceramic statue

Catalogue sketch courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, New York.

Notes dated 1969: "Repaired by Joe Nocera. And reconstructed. See arrows on drawing. Areas included cracking across groin, chest, and middle back. Also back of belt has been reconstructed."



Plate 22. Chalchuapa state  
Photograph courtesy Museo David J. Guzmán, San Salvador