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Publication Date

1973-08-01

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**CONTRIBUTIONS
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH FACILITY**

Number 18

August, 1973

STUDIES IN ANCIENT MESOAMERICA

Edited by John Graham

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

**DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA**

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Department of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley

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41418

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PREFACE

Work on this number of the Contributions began late in 1972. By early summer of 1973 editing of the papers had been completed, the text had been prepared for printing, and the volume was ready to go to press. Unfortunately, at the final instant a financial crisis developed which has delayed appearance of the volume until now.

During the past half dozen years the costs of issuing numbers of the Contributions have steadily increased. In particular, the cost of making plates has skyrocketed. At the same time that publication costs for the Archaeological Research Facility have so drastically increased, the University's modest funding of the budget has been held to the same level or, at times, even reduced. Thus far, it has not been possible to secure even "cost of living" increments. When another cost rise occurred during the summer, the Facility's budget for publication of the present volume became severely strained. Fortunately for everyone concerned, Mr. J. Boyce Nute, President, National Press, Palo Alto, California, generously offered to arrange facilities for making the plates at a lower charge than was possible through the University Printing Department. We, therefore, express our indebtedness to Mr. Nute for his aid in making it possible for this volume to finally, belatedly, appear.

The present volume brings together contributions from a number of distinguished colleagues associated with various institutions. Some papers are the work of former Berkeley associates or represent contributions based upon manuscript and museum collections of the Berkeley campus. Other studies are entirely independent of the Archaeological Research Facility and the Berkeley campus, and we are pleased to be able to make available to the scholarly world these useful contributions. We hope to continue to be able to publish such significant studies. At present, however, we receive about three times as many worthwhile papers as we can afford to include in the Contributions. We trust our colleagues will understand the strained basis upon which our publication efforts rests. One reviewer had chided us for not printing enough copies to satisfy the demand, and we agree with him in one sense. In our defense, however, we point out that we prefer to employ our limited budget to put into print as much information as possible in small editions rather than making everything we publish available indefinitely. This is a matter, of course, of deciding into how many pieces the pie is to be cut. As numbers of the Contributions become out of print they are recorded by University Microfilms (Ann Arbor, Michigan) from whom they can be secured.

John A. Graham
November 27, 1973

I. FINE ORANGE POTTERY AS A SOURCE OF ETHNOLOGICAL INFORMATION

R. E. W. Adams

In the following paper I will first review the distributional and chronological evidence relating to the Z and Y (Balancan and Altar) Fine Orange Ceramic Groups. Physical and cultural features are elicited from highly decorated types, and four major scene categories are described and interpretations suggested. Stylistic and iconographic features are discussed, and interpretations offered for the glyphic notations. The paper concludes with a discussion of J. E. S. Thompson's schema of the fall of Maya civilization and the Fine Orange pottery makers' part in it. An alternative is offered to Thompson's scheme.

A. Review of the distributional, chronological and stylistic evidence.

Distribution of fine paste pottery indicates the Laguna de Terminos, the lower Usumacinta, and the lower Grijalva as origin areas. Large quantities of Fine Orange pottery occur only on the Gulf Coast Plain, with one exception. Berlin's work in the 1950's (1956) indicated that the Jonuta-Tecolpan (lower Usumacinta) zone of Tabasco was littered with tons of fine paste material (Carlos Navarrete personal communication). Ruz, in his earlier work on the Campeche coast indicated an Isla Carmen origin for some fine paste pottery (1969). Certainly, looking at the shape inventory from the Guarixes site (Ibid: Figs. 28-33) and the total range of types, there is no doubt but that a full ceramic complex of the Altar group is present on the island. Some Provincia Plano-relief is also present. This is a sampling situation similar to that at Altar de Sacrificios, and I would suggest that there is a fine paste complex very close to Jimba at Los Guarixes. It is of interest that Aguacatal, on the other hand, geographically close, and a Late Classic fortress, produces insignificant amounts of fine paste pottery (Matheny 1970:111). These differential distributions of fine paste pottery in the Gulf Coast plain are perhaps crucial to problems of culture group identification. At Altar de Sacrificios, deep in the Peten, we almost certainly have a Fine Orange related site unit intrusion following Classic Maya occupation. This is the one distributional exception mentioned above.

Usage complementarity of the fine paste Jimba complex at Altar confirms that we have a whole ceramic complex. That is, Jimba is a complex which is functionally complete, with all of the components necessary to supply the major functions needed by pottery using societies.

The wider distribution of Fine Orange pottery is strictly in terms of its most richly depictive types; especially the well known Pabellon Molded-

Carved of the Altar Group, and Provincia Plano-relief of the Balancan Group (Smith 1958). Both of these types have stylistic linkages with other depictive pottery from the Gulf Coast including the Las Flores pottery of the Panuco zone in Veracruz (Ekholm 1944:429-430). The conclusion to be drawn from all of the above and other evidence is that the Gulf Coast plain of Tabasco and Campeche is the homeland of the Fine Paste producing groups. The Z or Balancan group would seem to have been located in the Jonuta-Tecolpan zone of Tabasco and the Y or Altar Group to the north of them in an area including the Isla Carmen zone.

Chronological evidence at Altar de Sacrificios and Seibal on the Pasion River indicate that the Balancan and Altar ceramic groups are essentially contemporary. Further, there is some temporal overlap indicated with the Silho (X) Fine Orange producing group (Adams 1971:151). Trade contact between the Classic Maya and Fine Paste pottery producing peoples took place from about 830 A.D. to 909 A.D. Some of these same peoples moved in and took over Altar de Sacrificios from the Classic Maya about 909 A.D. and remained until possibly as late as 948 A.D. The Terminal Classic period is the chronological context for the stylistic and interpretative analysis that follows.

B. Cultural and Political Inferences from Pabellon and Provincia Types.

Two dimensional depictions of humans in action derived from the above ceramic types are supplemented by three dimensional depictions in the form of whistle figurines found at Altar de Sacrificios and analyzed by Gordon Willey. The following characterization of Balancan and Altar Ceramic Group depictions is based on both sources (Ibid:49, 52; Willey 1972).

There are two distinct physical types in both Pabellon Molded-Carved and the Fine Orange figurines:

The most common human type depicted has a large jaw, small, straight nose, vertical or undeformed forehead, thin lips, and relatively thin body. Hair is unornamented and worn shoulder length. Beards are occasionally shown. The minority type depicted on Pabellon corresponds with the Classic Maya figurines at the Altar site. Beaky noses, receding chins, and sloping foreheads indicative of deformed skulls, and full lips are all typical. Hair styles are elaborate. These characteristics also correspond to earlier depictive material on Classic period sculpture in the Pasion region.

The two physical types correspond to two sets of contrasting costuming. The minority type carries the well-known styles of Classic Maya dress and regalia. I shall not describe these modes of dress here except to point out that they tend to be much more elaborate, individualistic, and baroque than the costuming of the majority persons on Fine Paste pottery. It also should be noted that Maya figurines depict warriors dressed in suits of quilted armor, carrying rectangular shields.

The Fine Orange figures are dressed much more simply, and ornamentation is minimal. The loin cloth is the usual main element of dress with an occasional girdle and tunic being shown. Headdresses tend to be simple with the main type consisting of a frame which runs across the hairline in front and down the head in front of the ear. Occasionally, an elaborate Toltec-style band is placed around the hair with plumes flowing from the top. Round shields, spears, atlatls, and clubs of special form make up the weapons system.

The lack of costume and characteristic lack of footwear, would correspond with the putative homeland on the Gulf Coast where the climate and fish motives in other fine paste types seem to confirm this climatic context. One must turn to the religious symbolism in the same scenes, the glyphic style, and the action in order to more closely define cultural affinities.

C. Topical Matter Depicted in Pabellon and Provincia.

There are four major action categories. Scene category 1 is the well known reclining figure motif. In this the male figure usually rests on one arm, one leg flexed with the foot on the ground and the other leg flexed and raised off the ground. The person looks over his shoulder toward a large serpent head which dominates the scene. Another serpent figure seems to be located at the human's feet with the head of the serpent located at the person's perineal area. This may be phallic symbolism. Reinforcing indications that this is the case is an explicit depiction of phallic symbolism on a fine gray vessel from the Jimba complex at the Altar site (Adams 1971:73h). Further, there is the possibility that the two sandstone phalli found at Altar in the zone of heaviest fine paste pottery concentration were manufactured by the same group. Certainly, there is no such symbolism in the Classic art at Altar. While it is probably fortunate that we cannot recover the specific meaning of the symbolism, certainly the theme sets the depiction apart.

Not enough of the Provincia reclining figure scenes are extant to confirm this reading derived from the Pabellon vessels, and at least two stylistic elements are different. The hand is open and oriented toward the large serpent head, and both feet are on the ground (Adams 1971:Fig. 71b).

A fragment of a Pabellon vessel from Seibal (Sabloff 1970:Fig. 46b) seems to show a reclining figure with an atlatl in its hand, with the legs in the customary position, but not enough is left to see the rest of the pose.

Scene category 2 is the equally well known conference scene. Two seated males confer, invariably with their hands held out toward one another in conversational gestures. Glyphic material invariably separates them in the form of one or two pairs of glyphs. These may be worked into a kind of vegetation motif. The scenes vary greatly in detail and the surface of the barrel shaped vessels which carry them invariably are divided into two panels which, although similar, do not duplicate one another. In an example from Altar

(Adams 1971: Fig. 68a-d) the conferees sit upon serpent heads, the right hand of which carries paired glyphs in its supraorbital area. The man sitting on this head is the most typical Pabellon type in physical and costume details. The other person is contrastive in costume, but is not necessarily Classic Maya. In other words, we cannot say that the scene represents a conference between a member of the Fine Orange pottery making group and a non-member, on the basis of its content alone. However, inasmuch as the interpretation of the Fine Orange intrusion to Altar de Sacrificios is as a military intrusion, it may be that important parleys between Classic Maya and the intruders are depicted in these scenes. This interpretation is reinforced by the occurrence of the battle scenes between the Fine Orange majority and minority types.

Another variant of the parley scene is from Altar and shows two persons, but seated on the same platform (Adams 1971:Fig. 67e). Further, the right hand person speaks from behind a mask to the left hand male who seems to have a trophy head in his headdress. The mask in the front of the person is reminiscent of the scene of Yaxchilan Stela 11 where Bird-Jaguar, the ruler of Yaxchilan, speaks to some captives through a mask.

The example from Uaxactun (Smith 1955:Fig. 10s) is more variable still. In the first panel (left) one person seems to wear a Tlaloc headdress reminiscent of that worn by an Altar Classic Maya warrior figurine. The other person wears a raptorial bird headdress, which is quite like one worn by a figure depicted on one of the Tula-Toltec metal disks from the Cenote of Sacrifice at Chichen Itza (Lothrop 1952:Fig. 19n). In the right hand panel, the person with a Tlaloc headdress is again present, but the man opposite him wears only the standard Pabellon headdress. Both sit on the ground or an unadorned floor. The Uaxactun paired glyphs are Mexican in style by reason of their squared cartouches and one clearly reads 7 Cipactli; a day in the Mexican variant of the tonalpoahualli. It is paired with what may be 8 Miquiztli. Note, however, that the numbers are Maya in the bar and dot system. There are parallels between the conference scenes and Cipactli glyphs to parts of the panels on Stela 3 at Seibal (Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig. 78a).

Scene category 3 constitutes military actions. Warriors confront one another with clubs and atlatls, attack with a dart and spear against a wall or shield behind which a man crouches (Adams 1971:Fig. 67g,f), or engage in what seems to be hand-to-hand combat (Sabloff 1970:Fig. 44). In these actions, the Pabellon majority and minority types are opposed. The scene of the attack on the wall or shield carries paired square glyphs which seems to read 5 Cipactli 8 Cozcaquauhtli.

Depictive material parallel to this category is to be found in the Toltec Chichen style gold disks from the Cenote of Sacrifice which show scenes of battle, interrogation, and subjugation of Maya by Tula-Toltec warriors (Lothrop 1952). Here is a clear and extensive example of Toltec depictive art dealing with the

military conquest of another ethnic group. While there are details which are similar, and even near identities, the mass of detail, the inventory of scene categories, composition, and glyphic materials are all quite distinct. In other words, judging by depictive evidence, it seems that the Tula-Toltecs were probably not directly involved in the military overthrow at Altar.

Scene category 4 is the most abstract, and ritually symbolic of all. Two aged persons face one another in a scene of mirror symmetry. The persons wear armadillo shells (?), and sit tilted back on two serpent heads. Both wear broadbrimmed hats of the style familiar to me only from Uxmal, Edzna, and Mul Chic. One depiction is known from further south at Tikal, but is unique at that site (Stela 16).

The iconographic significance of category 4 escapes me, unless it has something to do with New Year ceremonies in which armadillos had great significance to the 16th century Maya.

D. General stylistic linkages.

Pabellon and Provincia styles show some generic ties to the early post-classic style of mural art found at Chacmultun by Edward Thompson (1904: Plate 8) and more recently at Tancah by Arthur Miller. There are also general linkages to some of the postclassic graffiti of Tikal, Hochob and Chicanna. None of these resemblances seem to me any closer, however, than the relationship between Pabellon and Toltec-Chichen styles. In other words, we probably have a time and space separation between the groups making the fine paste pottery, graffiti and postclassic murals, or cultural differences.

The pattern of distribution of Fine Orange pottery along the Gulf Coast seems to reflect several groups of related peoples making related potteries during the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., but with at least one enclave of Classic Maya culture in their midst at Aguacatal. The hieroglyphic system used on the Pabellon pottery is of a mixed variety, with Maya style numerals accompanying glyphs whose cartouches and inner elements are Mexican. Likewise, as shown in another study (Adams, in press) there are a great many elements of Pabellon art style which also occur in Classic Maya art. Pabellon also has a significant number of unique characteristics. In other words, the evidence is that the Pabellon manufacturers occupied a frontier position between Mexican cultures and the Classic Maya. It should be observed that frontier means not necessarily a land frontier. The Gulf Coast groups were open to sea contact along a broad front.

The Glyphic notations. If one assumes that the pairs of glyphs in the scenes are calendrical notations, then it is difficult to interpret them. One is left with two day signs which seems not to make calendrical sense. However, if one assumes that a calendrical personal name is being written, then matters become clearer. Where there are pairs of glyphs there seem to be two individuals

involved. Thus in the battle scene involving the attack on a wall, the left hand glyph is 5 Cipactli, perhaps the name of the attacker, and the right hand glyph is 8 Cozcacuauhtli, crouching behind the wall. 5 Cipactli and 8 Cipactli occur on Stela 3 at Seibal, dating from about 10.2.5.3.10 in the Maya long count or ca. 879 A.D. (Graham 1971:152). These glyphs are also square in cartouche and are above two seated conferring figures who are masked as Tlalocs. Whether there is any connection between this figure with the 5 Cipactli name and the Pabellon notation which is probably contemporary is impossible to say at this time.¹

The identification of the squared glyphs on Seibal Stela 3 as possible personal name glyphs was originally made by Morley (1937/38,II:271) and repeated by J. E. S. Thompson (1970), who identifies the glyphs with the name of an Acalan family, Zipaque. John Graham has found that the glyph and name may be firmly Late Classic Maya because of its occurrence on Stela 5 at Balancan-Morales (glyph A9). This Stela dates about 9.10.0.0.0 (Graham 1973). Finally and importantly, Graham has also established that Stela 3 belongs to a group of Seibal Stelae (Non-Classic Facies B) which have strong stylistic linkages to Altar Group Fine Orange pottery (Ibid.).

E. The Putun Maya.

Thompson has published an interpretation of Pasion River archaeology which in part is as follows (1970).

1. The Putun or Chontal Maya group were peripheral to Classic civilization and located in the Usumacinta Delta in the 16th century and, therefore, it is likely in the 9th century A.D.

2. Thompson argues that the Putun or Chontal Maya penetrated to Altar de Sacrificios, having disposed of Yaxchilan first, established a trading post at Altar, and then conquered Seibal, 75 miles upstream. The Putun assumed an elite status and were themselves displaced upon the fall of Classic civilization. They survived as the people found in the Acalan state north of the Usumacinta and they became known as the Cholti-Lacandon of Nuestro Dolores de Lacandon.²

Comments: This scheme seems to me a misreading of the evidence. In the first place, Altar Fine Orange Ceramic Group makers occupied Altar de Sacrificios and the evidence is that they came from the Isla Carmen-Laguna de Terminos zone and not the Usumacinta Delta. The Usumacinta Delta was occupied by a related

¹ David Kelley has noted that 5 Crocodile, the redoubtable 8 Deer-Tiger Claw's grandfather, is pictured in the Bodley Codex as wearing a Tlaloc mask nearly identical to that of 5 Cipactli (Crocodile) on Seibal Stela 3. The dates of Stela 3 and 5 Crocodile are overlapping. Needless to say, this is an extremely important discovery by Kelley and he will document this possible overlap of Mixtec and Classic Maya dynastic records in his own paper.

² Hellmuth (personal communication) notes that there is no necessary relationship between this group of "Lacandon" and those of modern day times studied by Tozzer and others.

group producing the Balancan group of Fine Orange pottery. Second, there is no necessary reason to argue for ethnographic and ethnic continuity over a period of 700 years in any region of Mesoamerica without explicit proof for that conclusion. It would seem to be more unlikely in an area such as the Gulf Coast plain which was notoriously politically unstable in the 16th century and a zone of heterogeneous cultured groups. Recall that Xicalango made a good thing of the various hostilities among the groups by acting as neutral commercial ground. There are other substantive objections to Thompson's scheme which I have outlined elsewhere.

An alternative interpretation better in line with the data is as follows. The makers of Pabellon Modeled-Carved and the other types of Jimba complex occupied a part of the Gulf Coast of Campeche which included Isla Carmen, in the 9th century A.D. Together with other related cultural groups they occupied a cultural and geographical position transitional between Classic Maya and the Mexican oriented groups of the Veracruz coast. They created a hybrid culture which included a writing system of mixed characteristics. Their general technological tradition in pottery ties them to the fine paste tradition on the Gulf Coast which reaches back to the preclassic. Conditions became right to move up the Usumacinta and other rivers into the Peten and to attack the Classic Maya centers in the 9th century. These conditions had to do with the internal weaknesses of Terminal Classic Maya culture. The Pabellon group occupied Altar and brought down the Classic center of Seibal which itself had been earlier occupied by a Mexicanized Maya elite from the North. There is a possibility that 5 Cipactli was the personal name of someone prominent among the makers of Altar Fine Orange pottery.

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the following for comments and corrections to this paper:
John A. Graham, Nicholas Hellmuth, David Kelley, and Norman Hammond.

II. IZAPAN AND MAYAN TRAITS IN TEOTIHUACAN III POTTERY

Jacinto Quirarte

For the last forty years Teotihuacan specialists have been using several vessels found in Xolalpan by Sigvald Linne in the early thirties as typical examples of Teotihuacan III pottery. This is most surprising since these vessels are non-Teotihuacan in style. The iconographic programs and the use of a vertical rather than horizontal format clearly point to Chiapas-Guatemala highland sources.

Linne, working under the auspices of the Swedish State Ethnographical Museum, found the two vessels in 1932 in burial 2 at Xolalpan, a suburb of Teotihuacan (1934). One of the vessels was taken to Stockholm. The other, turned over to the Museo Nacional de Mexico, is now on display at the Teotihuacan Museum.

The two vessels, cylindrical tripods with lids, are decorated in champleve; that is, the surface is cut or scraped away, in this case after firing. Details in the positive areas are defined by incising. In the Xolalpan examples cinnabar was applied to all the cut surfaces; this created a dark black-brown design against a red background with details also in red. An almost identical vessel, but without a lid or traces of cinnabar, and presently housed in the bodega of the Museo Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, will be discussed in this paper along with the two found by Linne (catalogue no. 9-2048).

A single motif is repeated with minor variations in both Xolalpan vessels. It is placed within four cartouches on the walls of each vessel and an equal number of times on one of the lids and twice on the other (Linne 1934: Figs. 28 and 29). A realistically modeled bird is used as a handle on each lid. The third vessel has the same motif placed in rectangular panels (Plate 1). In this case the head is repeated three times. The fourth panel was left blank.

No one, as far as I have been able to determine, has ever analyzed this motif. I propose to demonstrate that this is alien to Teotihuacan, that it belongs to a protoclassic and early classic horizon in Chiapas and Guatemala (Izapa-Maya). This should lead to a modification of the list of traits used to characterize Teotihuacan III pottery or at least to the placement of these vessels within their proper cultural context. The designation of a vessel shape or a technique as Teotihuacan is not questioned here, although that could be explored further. What is questioned is the blind acceptance of a motif as Teotihuacan when present research demonstrates that it is alien to that city.

Literature:

Linee (1934:60) designated the Xolalpan tripod vessels as "good representatives of the typical Teotihuacan ceramics." Two years later Vaillant included one of the vessels (the one now in Sweden) in a chart placed at the end of a short article entitled "The History of the Valley of Mexico" (1936; foldout chart facing p. 328). The article is a resume of the results of the expeditions carried out by the author in the Valley of Mexico from 1928 to 1936 for the American Museum of Natural History. The drawings for the chart were done by William Baake. This was the first time Vaillant used this vessel to characterize what he then called Toltec pottery. He continued to refer to Teotihuacan as Toltec for the next ten years. By the following year Vaillant (1937:315) included the identical chart in a more detailed article entitled "History and Stratigraphy in the Valley of Mexico." He placed Teotihuacan in the third horizon of the five culture levels he found in the Valley of Mexico. In an even more ambitious article entitled "A Correlation of Archaeological and Historical Sequences in the Valley of Mexico" (1938:535-573), Vaillant presented the same vessel to characterize his Teotihuacan II-III period. The chart reappeared in his book Aztecs of Mexico (1941).

Armillas (1944:130) continued to list champleve decoration as one of the many traits of Teotihuacan III based on Linne's findings in Xolalpan (1934) and his own findings over the floors of Patio I (layers V-VII). He described the champleve technique but did not reproduce the vessel (note 21).

Several years later Kidder noted the resemblance between the heads depicted on the Xolalpan vessels and those on a subhemispherical black bowl he found in Kaminaljuyu (1946:232, Fig. 186 a,a'). He saw them all as local variants of his Serpent X, and speculated on their origin. "Whether they were derived from a Maya prototype, or whether all three stem from a common earlier form remains to be determined." No one appears to have explored this possibility further.

By the fifties and sixties the Xolalpan vessels had passed into the literature on Teotihuacan ceramics without anyone questioning their designation as typical ware of period III. General books and special articles on the art of Mesoamerica continued to carry the vessel (the one in Sweden) in charts dealing with Teotihuacan ceramics based on Vaillant's interpretations. Marquina (1952: Lam. 33) used a drawing of the vessel by Orellana. Covarrubias (1957 and 1961: Fig. 53) used his own drawing of the same vessel. Eduardo Noguera (1965:Fig. 29a) used the vessel to illustrate Teotihuacan III (or Xolalpan-Tlamimilolpa). Carmen Cook de Leonard (1971:Fig. 6) cites Vaillant's 1938 publication as a source for the same three vessels he used at the very beginning to characterize this phase of Teotihuacan culture.

Tolstoy (1958:57-58) saw no basic disagreement with Vaillant's list of characteristics for Teotihuacan III. Tolstoy noted the extensive or minor occurrence of Thin Orange and of the various San Martin wares along with candeleros and San Martin Stamped. Whether relief and Champleve reached a peak along with

San Martin Incised was not apparent to him. He did not specifically mention the Xolalpan vessels.

Analysis of the motif:

The motif represented on the Xolalpan vessels is actually a long lipped head that bears a family resemblance to Izapan style and Classic Maya examples as well as to Kidder's Serpent X found on Kaminaljuyu tripod vessels (Fig. 1). The latter is related to slightly earlier pieces not known to Kidder and now designated as Izapan in style, also found in the same area. These are the long lipped, compound creatures found on several Izapan style monuments. Although Kidder referred to this creature as a serpent, it is closer to the numerous dragons found throughout Mesoamerica comprised of feline, saurian and ophidian traits. The feline traits are more apparent in some of the Izapan style examples: Izapa Stelae 2 and 3 and Kaminaljuyu Stela 11 (Fig. 1 a,b,c). The Stela 2 head, definitely a terrestrial dragon, with a fleshless mandible is found in later representations of similar heads in Maya art. The Izapa Stela 3 example is more clearly serpentine in nature (Fig. 1a). The U-shaped element on the snout is a reference to the jaguar. A scrolled ear plug is worn to the right of the jaw, the typical form of such units in Izapan style art (Quirarte, 1973a).

Some of the essential elements found in Serpent X are already present in the Izapan style heads--the supraorbital plate (1), the eye (2), the long lip or snout (3), the flared nostril (4), the inner portion of the long lip (6), divided by a bead-like element (7), and the scrolled ear plug (Fig. 2a). The body of the serpentine creature is sometimes presented in later pieces as on Izapa Stela 2 (10). In most cases the body is suppressed.

The claw-like appendage (5) added to the end of the long lip in Izapa Stela 2 and totally absent in Izapa Stela 3 may have some relationship to the nose plugs used in later representations of this compound creature. The appendages become more stylized in the mask headdress worn by the main figure on Kaminaljuyu Stela 11 (Fig. 1c). The long upper lip with flared nostril, the inner fillet with its centrally dividing bead is placed under the individual's chin. A stepped upper lip with more added features makes up the mask. A U element is placed within the supraorbital plate, an abbreviated reference to the jaguar. An equally brief visual reference to the serpent is made with crossed bands placed in the ear plug. The bifurcated tongue is attached to this unit. A Y shaped element with dots placed within a cartouche directly above the main flared nostril of the mask is also seen in the supraorbital plate of one of Kidder's Serpent X examples, also found in Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 1h) and on the snout of Copan Stela P serpent bar (Fig. 2b).

A related dragon head used to symbolize the earth is found on Bilbao monument 42 (Fig. 1d and Fig. 2d). The supraorbital plate with U element (1), the eye directly beneath it (2), the nostril seen to the right (4), and a banded scroll in lieu of nose plugs (5) demonstrate that the head faces to the

right. The larger scrolls as well as the elements they frame are completely symmetrical. An added feature are the double opposed diagonal bands and the triangular elements encased by the entire unit. All are elements related to the terrestrial's sphere. Diagonal bands may also be intended in heads b, c, and f in Fig. 2. Note the spacing of the lines on the snouts of heads b and f.

The earliest example of a long lipped head with identifiable nose plug is painted three times on the walls of the black subhemispherical bowl found by Kidder in burial B-1 (Fig. 1e). Kidder could not relate it to the other materials found at that site for it did not fit into either his Mayoid or Teotihuacanoid column of traits. This and a few other vessels have a similar paste, a maroon undercoating, and the use of green stucco. These vessels actually correspond to an Izapan style context. The long lipped heads with U shaped elements, and double opposed T elements on the snout or lip clearly point to a Chiapas-Guatemala Highland and Pacific slope source that is non-Maya, non-Teotihuacan.

The same elements listed above are present in the heads depicted on the walls and lids of the Xolalpan vessels. In these examples diagonals are either placed within the supraorbital plates or the plates are in the form of large U's (Fig. 1k, l, and 2e, f). These heads also have a number of elements that are very close in form to the suffix (T-125) found on some of the Maya day names. For convenience the entire unit is listed as element (9). This unit functions as a pedestal. An identical unit is painted on a Kaminaljuyu vessel found in burial B-II (Figs. 1i and 3b).

An element found in the Xolalpan vessel heads as well as on protoclassic Chiapas-Guatemala prototypes is listed here as 6a because it is not present in Izapan style examples reviewed above. Its inclusion may establish a temporal horizon for these heads. These are block-like teeth found also on some examples of Kidder's Serpent X (Fig. 1h) and on Maya serpents as well (Fig. 2b). It is this element that may help us identify the prototype for the Xolalpan heads. The teeth are included to the left and right of the fang (?) of a long lipped head carved and incised on a vertical walled bowl reported by Agrinier (1970:73-74) in burial 8, mound 20, Mirador, Chiapas (Fig. 2c). Its resemblance to the Teotihuacan examples (Figs. 2e and f) is striking. Note the elements 1, 6, and 7 in the Mirador and Teotihuacan vessels (Figs. 2c and f). The notched corner frame surrounding element 7 in the Teotihuacan vessel (Fig. 2f) is found directly beneath element 6 of the Mirador head (Fig. 2c). Similar frames are found in Izapan style and Classic Maya heads. (Figs. 1e and j).

A Classic Maya serpent that is close to the Izapan long lip heads reviewed here is found on a serpent bar carried by the figure depicted on Copan Stela P (9.9.10.0.0). Note the T-shape of this element which is similar to the frame discussed above. The only major element missing is the nose plug (5). Even more complete is the serpent painted on a Chama basal-flange bowl (Fig. 1j). Again only the nose plugs are missing but all the elements are present, including the scroll issuing from the corner of the mouth (8) and the creature's body (10) seen to the right of the supraorbital plate.

The examples of Kidder's Serpent X have elements that relate them to the earlier Izapan style examples as well as to the later Maya serpent. Proskouriakoff (1950:42) identified ten elements in the Maya serpent. 1) supra-orbital plate, 2) eye, 3) nose or snout, 4) fang, 5) tongue, 6) teeth, 7) molar, 8) beard, 9) nose scroll, 10) nose plug. Although the Maya serpents occasionally are presented with only the upper lip, they quite often have a lower one as well. The Izapan long lipped heads under discussion do not have all of the elements identified by Proskouriakoff. The minimum number appears to be seven of the ten listed above plus several not included in the list. The first three elements are the same: 1) supraorbital plate, 2) eye, and 3) long-lip or snout. A different sequence in the numbering as well as a slightly different lineup of elements in the heads under discussion gives the following arrangement:

<u>Maya Serpent</u> (Proskouriakoff 1950:46)	<u>Izapan style heads</u>
4) fang	4) flared nostril
5) tongue	5) nose plug
6) teeth	6) inner fillet (fang)
7) molar	7) bead-like divider (molar)
8) beard	8) mouth corner scroll
9) nose scroll	9) suffix (T-125)
10) nose plug	10) serpent body

The two missing from the second column are the beard and the tongue. Both, however, are associated with other Izapan style heads. These are the well-known bearded felines seen on Abaj Takalik monu. 1, Kaminaljuyu Stela 10 and others. The bifurcated tongue can be seen on Izapa Stela 3 (Fig. 1a).

Other differences in numbering and nomenclature if not in actual elements can be seen in my 6 and 7, Proskouriakoff's 4 and 7. I have included her interpretation of these elements in parentheses.

Serpent X and related heads:

A number of vessels found in Kaminaljuyu burials A-VI and B-II have representations of long lipped heads (Kidder: 1946, Fig. 97) that are related to the Xolalpan and Izapan style heads. The long lipped heads appear on vessel walls as offerings, and as part of a figure's attire; they invariably form the basis for the decoration painted on the lids. They all bear certain traits in common.

The simplest head is represented on one of the five vessels found in burial A-VI (Fig. 1f). The same narrative scene--a seated figure representing an offering--is painted on opposite sides of the vessel in mirror fashion. The snub-nosed example is placed on a small pedestal as an offering. The seated figure wears an elongated version of the head upside down as a headdress and as the inner portions of a feathered back ornament. The rectangular supraorbital

plate has the customary U element placed within it and a scrolled eye below it. The long lip or snout (3), scrolled nostril (4), inner fillet (6) with bead-like divider (7), and the scroll emanating from the corner of the mouth (8) complete the number of traits associated with this head (Fig. 3c).

The elaborate long lipped head presented on the lid of one of the six vessels found in burial B-II is basically the same as the burial A-VI head described above (Fig. 3b). Additions are plant-like forms attached to the scroll nostril in lieu of the nose plugs, a glyph-like unit with typical suffix (9) in lower center, four overlapping scales (?) under the eye, and the body of the creature (10).

A related head painted on the lid of another burial B-II vessel has a Y-shaped element on the supraorbital plate and two block-like teeth beyond the hooked fillet (Fig. 1h). The same long-lipped head as a terrestrial dragon with plants growing from its head is painted on the vessel wall. The teeth are also seen in the Xolalpan vessels and on the Mirador, Chiapas vessel described above (Fig. 2c).

A vessel very close in technique to the Xolalpan vessels--champléve with cinnabar added to the recessed areas--was found by Kidder in burial A-I (Fig. 1g). Crossed bands rather than diagonal bands are found within the supraorbital plate (1) and the long lip (3) curves downward and inward and is quite long. It covers the front part of the face of the individual wearing it as a headdress. The body of the serpent (10) trails downward behind the wearer's head. Stylized feathers are attached to the body. Nose plugs (5), the scroll at the corner of the mouth (8), and other elements are also present.

Conceptual rather than formal parallels to the heads under discussion may be found in a vessel discovered in Tikal burial 48 (Coe 1965:28). The tripod vessel with lid has a modeled pelican used as a lid handle. The narrative program is presented with incised lines rather than in plano-relief or champléve. A related subject may be presented however. Two birds presented in profile--one on the ground, the other sky-bound, face toward the unit that appears to be a bundle. The undulating form on either side of the central unit and behind each bird are references to the terrestrial sphere. The double opposed diagonals with blips are found on several creatures dating from the protoclassic in Chiapas (see Fig. 1e). These are definite references to a compound creature with terrestrial characteristics. The central unit which concerns us here is a variant on the long lipped head we have been discussing (Fig. 3d). The scrolled ear plug is seen to the left. A U element within the supraorbital plate is seen above center (1). The long lipped element brought up abruptly by the container is seen to the right (3). The bead-like element (7) dividing the inner fillet (6) is also very clearly seen and what may appear as additional scrolls to the extreme lower right may be a bifurcated tongue. The entire unit sits on a variant of the element (9) seen in Xolalpan and Kaminaljuyu examples (Fig. 3a and b).

Proportions of the Vessel Wall

On another occasion I compared the types of visual formats used by the vessel painters of Teotihuacan and Kaminaljuyu to determine how these differed from those used by the vessel painters of Tikal and Uaxactun (Quirarte 1973b). As a point of departure, I used Kidder's procedure to establish the ratio of each vessel he found in Kaminaljuyu by comparing the height of the vessel to its width or diameter. Kidder (1946:159) set up three categories: squat vessels have ratios up to .64; medium range from .65 to .89; and tall from .90 to 1.20 or above. Most of the Kaminaljuyu vessels fall into the medium and tall categories. This afforded the painter a square or a rectangular or, more accurately, a vertical format. In checking out a number of Teotihuacan vessels I found that these ranged from a ratio of .50 to .71. Most of them were decidedly short, that is, horizontal in format. The Kaminaljuyu vessels studied ranged from .85 to 1.14--all of them tall by Teotihuacan standards. Several Chama vessels were also analyzed and found to range from .86 to 1.19 thus corresponding to the same kinds of formats favored by the Kaminaljuyu painters.

The Xolalpan tripod presently seen in the Teotihuacan museum has a ratio of wall height to wall width (diameter) of .94 or an almost square format. The Xolalpan tripod presently housed in Stockholm has an index of .85. Both vessels are appreciably taller than most Teotihuacan tripods which are primarily squat in appearance, being much wider than they are tall. The Xolalpan tripods fall right into the indexes of the Kaminaljuyu vessels. As a contrast, another tripod with unmistakable Teotihuacan narrative program found in the same burial has .68 index--well within norms for this city (Linne 1934:Fig. 26).

The vessel found in the Bodega of the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia has an index of .80, slightly taller than the typical Teotihuacan tripods. In dealing with the surface the artist created a decidedly vertical rather than horizontal format for the presentation of each of the three heads depicted on the vessel.

The ratios discussed above demonstrate that the vessels besides bearing non-Teotihuacan motifs also correspond to formats favored by non-Teotihuacan painters. Motifs and the formats point to the Guatemala Highlands as a source.

Comparative Chronological Placement:

It is difficult to place the various objects under discussion into a precise chronological framework. The interlocking of phases with periods for the numerous sites in Mesoamerica allows durations of from one to three centuries for this placement. Quite often we are confronted with an assigned date for these vessels and sculptures that falls into these rather long time increments. Even with these difficulties we can establish some tentative sequences. The Izapan style monuments fall within a late preclassic and early protoclassic temporal horizon while most of the vessels under discussion correspond to an

early classic date of manufacture. The following scheme can be used as a point of reference for our present purposes.

Millon (1966:7) considers Xolalpan burials 1,2,3 to be the earliest within Early Xolalpan or Teotihuacan III (450-550 A.D.). Muller (1966:37) includes champleve in Late Tlamimilolpan or Teotihuacan IIa-III (375-450 A.D.), and incised and plano-relief techniques in Early Xolalpan or Teotihuacan III (450-550 A.D.). Von Winning (1972) has recently tried to consolidate the various Teotihuacan phases into one comprehensive chart. His dates for the Xolalpan phase or Teotihuacan III are followed here. Periods for the Chiapas-Guatemala Highland and Pacific slope sites are based on Ekholm (1969) and Parsons (1969).

<u>Site</u>	<u>Monument Object</u>	<u>Chronological Placement</u> *
Izapa	Stela 3 (Fig. 1a)	Before 350 B.C. (Quirarte 1973a)
Kaminaljuyu	Stela 11 (Fig. 1c)	350-100 B.C. (Quirarte 1973a)
Izapa	Stela 2 (Fig. 1b)	100 B.C. - 0 (Quirarte 1973a)
Bilbao	Monument 42 (Fig. 1d)	0-100 A.D. (Parsons 1969)
Kaminaljuyu	Black Sub-hemispherical Bowl (Fig. 1e)	?
Kaminaljuyu	Champleve Tripod (Fig. 1g)	?
Mirador	Vertical Wall Bowl (Fig. 2c)	100-400 A.D. (Agrinier 1970)
Chama	Basal Flanged Bowl (Fig. 1j)	100-400 A.D. (Kidder 1946)
Kaminaljuyu	Tripods (Fig. 1f,h,i)	200-550 A.D. (Kidder 1946)
Tikal	Burial 48 Tripod (Fig. 3d)	250-550 A.D. (Coe 1965)
Xolalpan	Champleve Tripods (Fig. 2e, f)	450-600 A.D. (Von Winning 1972)
Teotihuacan	Champleve Tripod (Plate 1)	450-600 A.D. (?)
Copan	Stela P (Fig. 2b)	623 A.D. (9.9.10.0.0) (GMT Correlation)

* The periods and their durations are based on S. Ekholm (1969) and L. Parsons (1969)

Late Preclassic	500-100 B.C.
Early Protoclassic	100 B.C. - 0
Late Protoclassic	0-100 A.D.
Early Classic	100-400 A.D.
Middle Classic	400-600 A.D.

Summary:

The constants in the articulation of long-lipped compound creatures are feline, ophidian, and saurian references. Each is present in varying degrees. U elements, diagonal bands, crossed bands and Y-shaped elements may appear in the supraorbital plate (1); the eye (2) invariably a scroll is identical in form to Izapan examples of the scroll eyed head (Izapa Stelae 1, and 23). The eye may or may not have three to five overlapping bead-like elements much in the manner of scales directly beneath it (Fig. 1e, and i); the long lip (3) may point upward or downward; double opposed T's or diagonals with blips on the outer bands may be placed on the snout (Fig. 1e); the flared nostril (4) may be in the form of a scroll; the characteristic nose plugs (5) are already present in the stuccoed and painted Kaminaljuyu bowl (Fig. 1e) along with the notched corner frame normally placed around the bead (7) dividing the inner section (6). A scroll (8) issuing from the corner of the mouth and a serpent body (10) added to the right of this, complete the typical long-lipped head.

The bird appears to be a companion creature. It is realistically portrayed on lid handles and incised on the walls of the Tikal tripod (Fig. 3d). The feline reference is made by the U element placed within the supraorbital plate. The serpent is symbolized by the crossed bands also placed in the supraorbital plate and the saurian creature by the double oblique diagonals with blips placed on the snout (see Quirarte 1973c).

The exact meaning of these long-lipped heads within the various contexts is of course difficult to ascertain. The main purpose here has been to establish the Xolalpan vessels as Chiapas, Guatemala Highland in origin rather than Central Mexican. The motifs and the vessel formats analyzed here leave no doubt that such is the case. The chronological picture as presently set up also supports this view.

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Plate 1

Tripod (Champleve): Teotihuacan (bodega of the Museo Nac. de Ant. e Hist.). Photograph by Jose de los Reyes Medina Rivera.



Plate 1.

Figure 1.

Long-lipped heads. a,b: Izapa; c,e,f,h,i,: Kaminaljuyu; d: Bilbao; g: provenience unknown, found in Kaminaljuyu burial; j: Chama; k,l: Teotihuacan. a: Stela 3; b: Stela 2; c: Stela 11; d: monument 42; e: black subhemispherical bowl; f: burial A VI stuccoed tripod; g: burial A-I tripod (champleve); h: burial B-II stuccoed tripod lid; i: burial B-II stuccoed tripod lid; j: basal-flanged bowl; k,l: tripod (champleve). Drawings: a-b, after Garth Norman; c, based on a photograph, d, after Lee Parsons; e-j, after Kidder; k,l, based on a photograph.

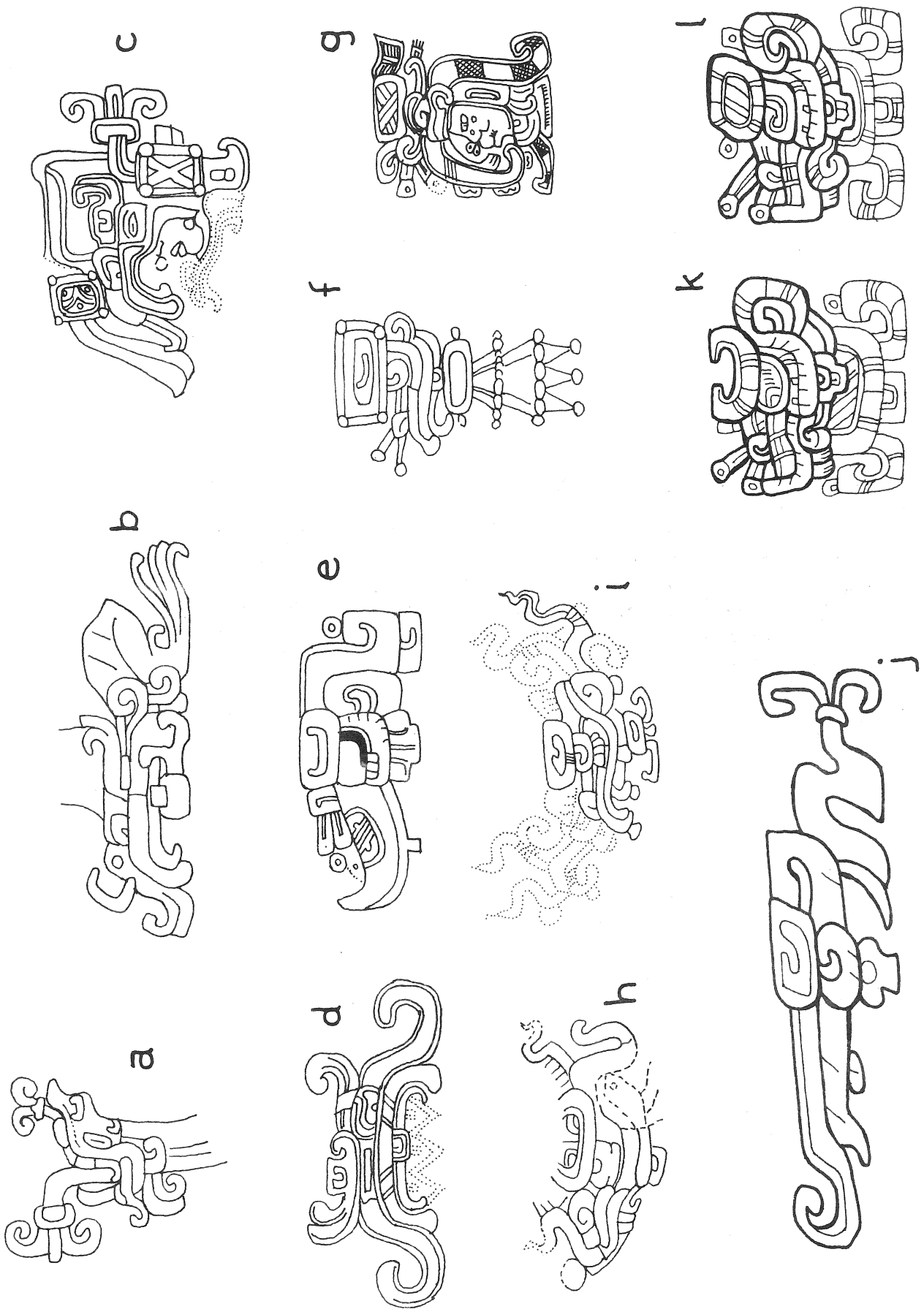


Figure 1.

Figure 2.

Analysis of Long-lipped heads I: a: Izapa, Stela 2, after G. Norman; b: Copan, Stela P, after Proskouriakoff; c: Mirador, vertical walled bowl, after Agrinier; d: Bilbao; monument 42, after L. Parsons; e: Xolalpan champleve tripod (presently in Sweden) based on a photograph; f: Teotihuacan champleve tripod (presently in the bodega of the Museo Nacional de Antropologia e Historia) based on a photograph.

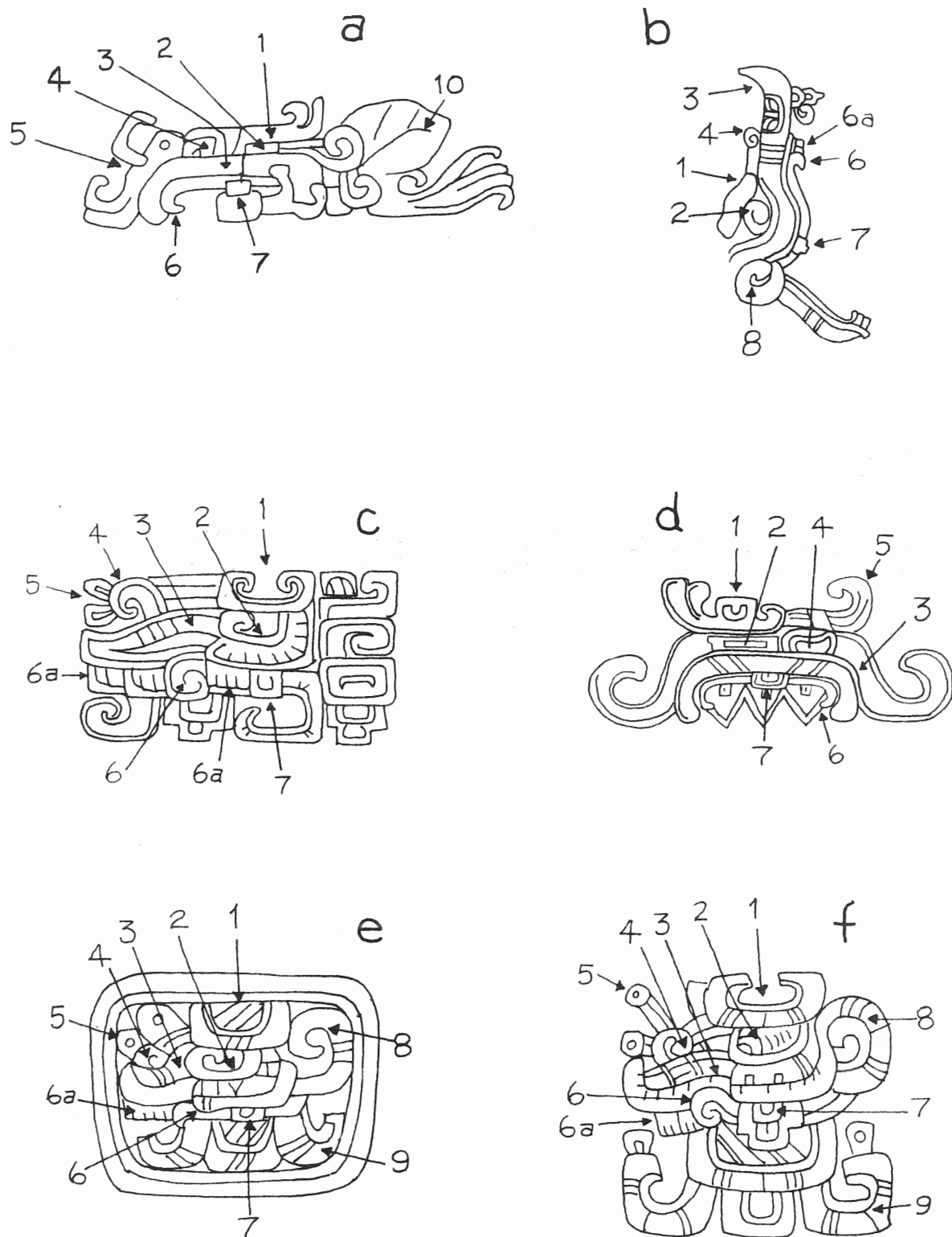


Figure 2.

Figure 3.

Analysis of Long-lipped heads II: a: Teotihuacan, tripod (bodega of the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia) based on a photograph; b: Kaminaljuyu, burial B-II stuccoed tripod lid, after Kidder; c: Kaminaljuyu, burial A VI stuccoed tripod; d: Tikal, burial 48 incised tripod, after W. Coe.

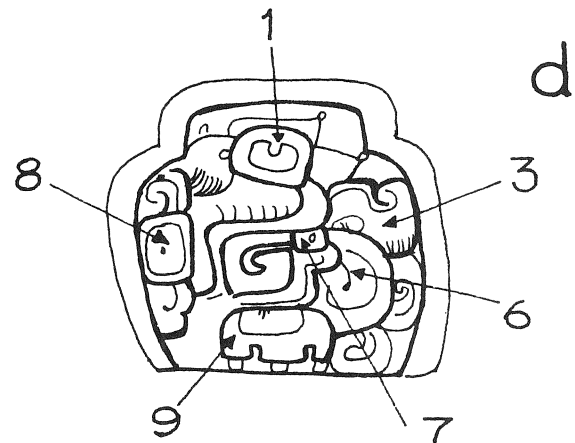
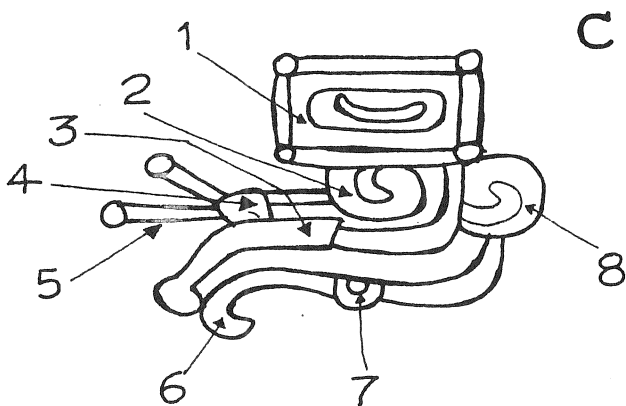
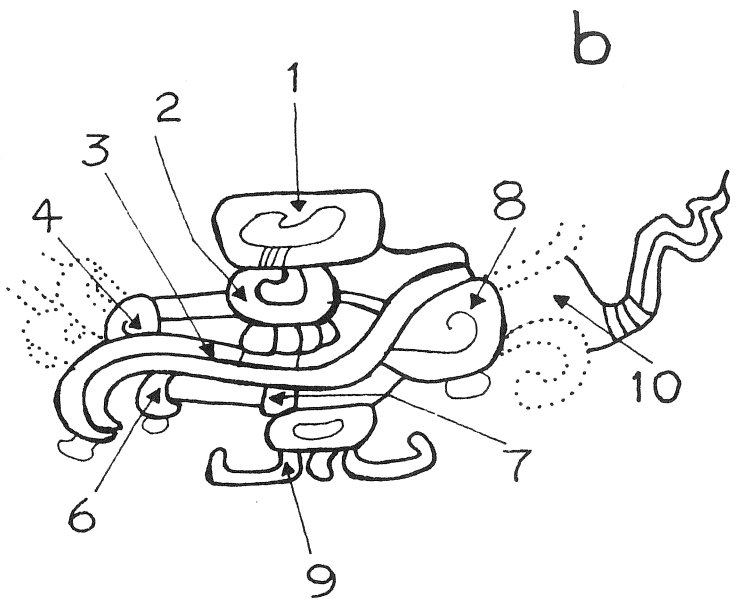
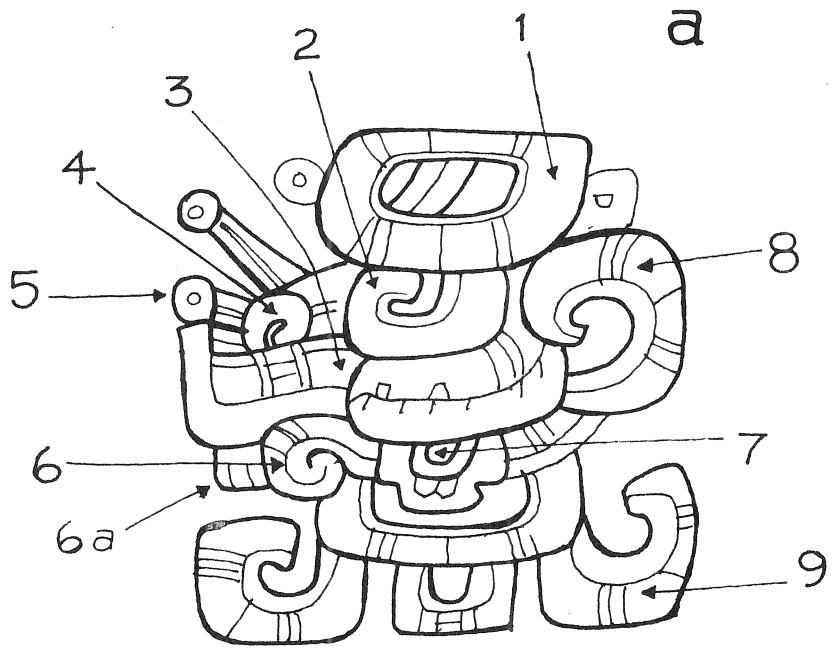


Figure 3.

III. A CLASSIC MAYA TOOTH CACHE FROM LUBAANTUN, BRITISH HONDURAS

Frank P. Saul and Norman Hammond

The presence of human teeth in cached offerings of the Classic period is rare and confined to the Early and Middle Classic before about 9.14.0.0.0 (Coe 1965:465), and when teeth do occur in other than mortuary contexts they are usually accompanied by cranial or mandibular bones indicating the disposal of part of a body and not extracted teeth (Coe 1959:128-129). The only published example of a deposit consisting entirely of teeth is that from Yakalche (Pendergast, Bartley and Armelagos 1968), which on stratigraphic grounds seems to date to the late Postclassic.

This deposit was found in the black earth fill against the west side of Structure A-1 at Yakalche, possibly associated with the insertion of a stone slab into an earlier plaster floor underlying the structure. It consisted of 379 teeth of which over 60 percent of those that could be aged came from individuals of 6-9 years. This argues against rite de passage extraction, while the presence of 20 percent unerupted teeth indicated the possibility of post-mortem extraction. The minimum number of individuals present, on the basis of the deciduous maxillary second molar and the permanent maxillary first molar, was 43; the random pattern of removal suggests a total number nearer to this than the possible maximum of 379 individuals losing one tooth each. J. E. S. Thompson suggested to the authors the possibility of Itzamna sacrifices, since this deity is represented with only a single molar at each corner of his mouth, and the authors conclude that the deposit was somehow "related to documented ceremonial activities," and revealed a "previously unknown facet of the many rites and ceremonies which were the central focus of ancient Maya life."

A recent discovery from the Late Classic site of Lubaantun, British Honduras, has now taken this practice of multiple-tooth deposition further back in time, with a striking difference in the number and age of the individuals involved.

Lubaantun is a smallish major ceremonial centre lying on the southeastern flank of the Maya Mountains in the southernmost part of British Honduras. Early investigations by Gann and Merwin were followed by two seasons of British Museum excavations in 1926-1927 (Hammond 1972b) and then in 1970 by one season of intensive study by a team sponsored jointly by Cambridge University, the Peabody Museum at Harvard University, the British Museum and the Wenner-Gren Foundation, under the direction of one of the authors of this paper (N.H.).

In the course of the work the whole of the ceremonial centre was stripped of undergrowth, an area of some 100,000 m², enabling structures of less than

20 cm height to be accurately mapped. Among these was one designated Structure 82, the northernmost structure on the site, a barely perceptible rise in the ground at the junction of the northeast angle of Plaza XX with the northwest corner of Plaza XIX (Hammond 1972b:Fig 19). A number of scattered dressed stone blocks suggested that a low stone-faced platform had existed there, and a trench 3m x 1m was therefore excavated across the elevation. Below the humus and debris a south-facing wall was found, one course high and of large blocks of local limestone up to 60 cm long, resting on and in a fill of yellow clay mixed with fragments of the siltstone bedrock. The fill lay over a northward-sloping natural clay on bedrock (Hammond 1972a:Fig. 213).

In the top of the fill, immediately below the humus and 1.06 m south of the front face of the wall, a number of teeth were found, within a very small compass as though they had been enclosed in a perishable material or container for burial. The compactness of the deposit leaves no doubt that the burial was intentional and carried out as a single action - the established pattern of cache offering deposition.

No other material, either skeletal, ceramic or lithic was found with the teeth, but the pottery from both the humus above and the fill below was entirely Late Classic in nature, consisting of Turneffe Unslipped, Puluacax Unslipped, Remate Red and Louisville Polychrome sherds, all of Tepeu 2-3 character (Hammond, in press: Fig. 60 and Appendix iii). Moreover, the entire Lubaantún sequence has been shown to fall within the latter part of the Late Classic, with no trace of either earlier foundation or later reuse of the site (Hammond 1972b:Fig. 21), and so the Late Classic date of the tooth-cache may be taken as definite.

There were 59 teeth in the cache, all in a fairly good state of preservation, which seem to comprise almost the entire dentition of two individuals:

Individual 1: Dental Remains Present:

Upper: right I^1 I^2 C PM^2 M^1 M^3 / left I^2 C PM^1 PM^2 M^1 M^2 M^3
 Lower: right I_1 I_2 C PM_1 PM_2 M_1 M_2 / left I_1 I_2 C PM_1 PM_2 M_1 M_2

plus a "peg" tooth that could not be classified.

Other Remains present: none

Age Estimate: middle adult

Sex Estimate: male ?

Dental Morphology: Shovel incisor trait: present, shovel category
 Upper molar cusp number: $M^1=4$, $M^2=4-$, $M^3=3$
 Lower molar cusp number: $M_1=5$, $M_2=5$
 Lower molar cusp pattern: $M_1=?$, $M_2=?$
 Carabelli's trait: ?
 Other: upper left and right I^2 are "peg" shape

Dental Pathology: Caries: no caries

Linear enamel hypoplasia: slight degree, single episode?

Dental Decoration: Type B1 filing of upper right I^1

Individual 2: Dental Remains Present:

Upper: right I¹ I² C PM¹ PM² M¹ M² M³ / left I¹ I² C PM¹ PM² M¹ M²
 Lower: right I₁ I₂ C PM₁ PM₂ M₁ M₂ / left I₁ I₂ C PM₁ PM₂ M₁ M₂ M₃

Other Remains Present: none

Age Estimate: middle adult

Sex Estimate: female?

Dental Morphology: Shovel incisor trait: present, shovel category

Upper molar cusp number: M¹=4, M²=3+, M³= ?

Lower molar cusp number: M₁=5, M₂=4, M₃=?

Lower molar cusp pattern: M₁=Y, M₂=+, M₃=?

Carabelli's trait: ?

Dental Pathology: Caries: no caries

Linear enamel hypoplasia: severe degree, single episode

Dental Decoration: Type B2 filing of upper left and right I¹

The only teeth missing are the upper right first premolar and second molar and the lower third molars of Individual 1, and the upper left and lower right third molars of Individual 2; four of these are third molars which might not have erupted at the time of extraction, the others could have already decayed or simply missed either burial or recovery in excavation. It seems probable that what was buried, or was intended to be, was the complete available dentition of two people.

Both seem to have been of young middle-age (ca. 25-35 years), and Individual 1 was, on the basis of the dental morphology, possibly male, Individual 2, possibly female. Both lacked caries, but both had suffered a single episode of linear enamel hypoplasia, indicating illness and growth arrest, the male to a slight degree and the female to a severe degree. This would seem to have occurred in both cases at 3-4 years, the normal age of weaning among the Yucatec Maya at contact in the 16th century. The male had undergone filing of his upper right middle incisor (and probably of the missing left one also) of Romero's (1970) type B1, a slight chamfering of one angle of the crown. The female had received type B2 filing of both upper middle incisors, involving removal of a larger curved segment from the angle of the crown.

The compact nature of the deposit suggests the use of a skin bag or leaf wrapper, while the completeness of the dentitions, the staining pattern and the condition of the teeth suggest post-mortem extraction, although this is not certain. The situation, in front of the wall of what seems to have been a house-platform, is paralleled by many complete burials in Classic Maya sites, and the deposition might have been intended as a symbolic burial, using the part to denote the whole. A number of speculations can be made about this so far unique occurrence: if Structure 82 was a house-platform, and Pendergast, Bartley and Armelagos are correct in asserting that "dental alteration appears to have been limited, at Altun Ha and other Maya centres, to relatively small portions of the upper and/or

middle strata of the society" (1968:642), then may we interpret the cache as that of the inhabitants of the house, presumably man and wife, and the house itself as an elite residence? Its isolated position would support this, but its relatively small size and location on the main passage between Plazas XIX and XX would suggest that its occupants did not rank very high in the Lubaantún elite, compared with those occupying the large houses with private courts and shrines on Plazas VI, XII and XIII.

If degree of dental mutilation is correlated with status, then this view would be supported by the data from the collective 'family tomb' excavated at Lubaantún in 1970 (Hammond, Saul and Pretty:in prep.), where a stone-built tomb-chamber in a prominent position contained the remains of at least fifteen individuals, of whom at least nine had decorated teeth, with only one definitely lacking decoration, and where the decorations included inlaying with jade and pyrite.

Further speculation on the ritual matrix that resulted in the deposition, and what it reflects of Classic Maya society at Lubaantún is possible, but without further archaeological or ethnohistoric comparisons of little use; a number of definite probability propositions can however be made. Firstly, the cache is of Late Classic date, i.e. 8th-9th century, antedating the Yakalche cache by half a millennium; secondly, it consists of the entire available dentition of two adults who might reasonably be supposed to have died natural rather than sacrificial deaths; thirdly, the teeth are likely to have been removed post-mortem; fourthly, the character of Structure 82, apparently a house-platform, suggests the possibility of the individuals having lived there, from their similar and mature age, having been man and wife, and from the degree of dental ornament, coupled with the separate yet unsecluded location of the building, having been members of the lower part of the social elite resident in the ceremonial centre of Lubaantún.

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IV. AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE FROM SANTA LUISA, VERACRUZ, MEXICO

S. Jeffrey K. Wilkerson

For centuries it has been common to attribute artifacts and archaeological sites from much of the Mexican Gulf Coast to the Totonacs. The practice arises from the sixteenth century Totonac presence in the region which has come to be known anthropologically as Central Veracruz. The exact borders of Totonacapan as well as the assumed pre-Columbian culture area that preceded it have been subject to differing interpretations (Garcia Payon 1971; Kelly and Palerm 1953; Krickeberg 1922-25; Medellin Zenil 1960; Melgarejo Vivanco 1943).

Chronology has been largely hampered by unpublished phase descriptions and sequences formed by ordering sites, often from distant points. Frequently obscured in the disparate treatments and assumptions have been problems of ethnicity, culture area, linguistics, and culture contact. To partially fill this chronological gap and to treat these topics in a preliminary fashion, excavations and survey were carried out in the vicinity of Santa Luisa on the Veracruz coast during portions of 1968, 1969, and 1970.¹

The site of Santa Luisa is located on the north bank of the Rio Tecolutla, eight kilometers from its mouth and in a direct line, 35 kilometers from the well known site of El Tajin. It is partially covered by the modern day town of Gutierrez Zamora and is transversed by coastal highway #125. It extends along the river bank for a distance of at least two kilometers and ranges back from it for variable distances up to half of a kilometer. To the north it is bordered by a large swamp, and to the west and south, by a low but sharply inclined range of sandstone hills.

Architectural remains near the surface have been destroyed or modified by construction and farming activities of the last seventy years. The extensive midden deposits which underlie these features, however, have remained largely undisturbed and constituted the focus of the excavations.

The chronology of the site has been defined in terms of thirteen provisional phases. Dating has been based largely on eight carbon dates scattered throughout the sequence and artifact comparisons.² The sequence and major cultural implications will be briefly summarized here.

Palo Hueco Phase

The earliest encountered occupation occurs during the Palo Hueco Phase. Materials recovered from these levels, both at and below the dry season water

table, consisted of abundant oyster shells,³ scarce charcoal, cracked river cobbles, rare fragments of burnt bone and crustacean shell, and a limited corpus of lithic tools.

Tools were primarily of obsidian, and crude blades were by far the most common implement.⁴ Also present were flake choppers, block core choppers, a drill, graters, and flakes which had utilized surfaces or, very rarely, retouching.

The one carbon date from this phase was (N-913) 2930 B.C. \pm 100. Tool types are similar to those of the Tehuacan tradition of the Archaic Period in the highlands to the west rather than the Abasolo tradition of north-eastern Mexico. Relative tool proportions, however, do not agree with the Tehuacan frequencies. Also unlike the Tehuacan sites grinding tools are absent, and there is a strong riverine orientation. The deposits of this phase seem to indicate points of habitual or permanent, mollusk consumption. Nonetheless, the total corpus is too small at the moment for definitive conclusions about the nature of the occupation and its degree of elaboration.

Ojite Phase

The next phase, of Early Formative date, follows an archaeological hiatus marked by site erosion, sterile sand deposition, and major hydrographic changes which apparently led to a decrease in the available oyster producing areas in the nearby estuaries.⁵ This provisional phase, which has less than 400 artifacts, has been tentatively placed at 1200 (?) to 1000 B.C. as it underlies and is continuous with deposits of the more securely dated Esteros A Phase.

The four basic ceramic forms which typify the phase are: tecomates, simple open bowls, flat-bottomed open bowls with outflaring sides, and bowls with incurved sides and restricted mouths.

The earliest identified types in this phase are Progreso White and Santa Luisa Heavy Plain. Progreso White is here very similar to that described by MacNeish (1954:566-567) for Panuco. A few examples have an incised single or double line-break motif.

Santa Luisa Heavy Plain has a coarse paste with quartz and grit temper. Surfaces are wiped but are often abrasive. Late in the phase some ollas and vases occur in this type.

No figurines were recovered from the Ojite Phase.

The phase appears, on the basis of form, to be at least partially coeval with the Ponce Phase of Panuco and Trapiche I of South Central Veracruz. Ceramic types, however, correlate best with Panuco: Progreso White occurs at both sites and Santa Luisa Heavy Plain may correlate with Heavy Plain at Panuco.

The Middle Formative is represented at Santa Luisa by the Esteros A and B Phases.

Esteros A Phase

The Esteros A Phase continues directly out of the Ojite Phase but with a considerable quantitative increase in ceramic types, forms, and techniques. Three carbon samples, one from a shallow hearth, indicate a time placement from 1000 to 550 B.C.

Previous ceramic forms decrease as flaring-rim ollas, grater bowls with everted lips, and composite silhouette bowls increase. Solid supports, strap handles, lugs, effigy vessels, and decorative filleting on ollas first appear in substantial numbers in this phase. Unique or minor forms include vases, plates, and flat-bottomed bowls with outslanting sides and solid (and hollow?) supports. Decoration includes: fine and broad line incision, red ochre highlighting, double-slipping, partial slipping (olla shoulders), scraping, stick polishing, and rim notching.

Progreso White continues to be a major ceramic type but the Progreso Variety is decreasing as the Chila Variety increases.⁶ Santa Luisa Heavy Plain is also on the decrease as a finer domestic type with less grit and more compact paste augments rapidly in frequency. Among the abundant new types is Cruz Incised, with the more complex multi-line break motifs, and Catan Red, whose most common design appears to be the earliest known representation of the cut shell, or ehecatlcoxcatl symbol.

Esteros B Phase

Esteros B represents the culmination of the trends begun in the previous phase, as well as some innovations and deletions. One carbon date suggests a 550 - 300 B.C. placement.

Flaring-lip ollas increase still further in frequency and in degree of flaring (now quite marked). Hemispherical bowls and restricted-mouth bowls are slowly decreasing. Plates and flat-bottomed bowls with outslanting sides and supports continue to occur. There is a general tendency for wall thickness to decrease. Minor forms include jugs, vases, plates, colanders, and guajes.

Most decoration is incised or painted on the exterior walls of hemispherical and composite silhouette bowls. Incised designs are sometimes highlighted by white paint. Opposed areas of parallel lines and linear punching continue on the interiors of grater bowls with the addition of cross hatching. Rim notching, linear punctations, and shoulder fillets also occur on ollas.

During this phase the Chila Variety surpasses the Progreso Variety in frequency as does the finer version of Heavy Plain. Figurines of this phase were largely fragmentary but a number resembled Panuco specimens.

The Late Formative is represented by two phases: Arroyo Grande and Tecolutla.⁷

Arroyo Grande Phase

This phase may represent a time of considerable population increase. The north-south midden-terrace along the river remains the focus of habitation but the occupied area is rapidly extending both southward and westward.

The ceramics are characterized by open bowls with widely everted and often incised lips, ladles, very large storage ollas with zoned or unzoned red scroll designs and possibly large rolled thickened lips, composite silhouette open bowls with recurved rims, figurines reminiscent of Tres Zapotes I (?) and the El Prisco Phase of Panuco,⁸ a new black-slipped pottery, and absence or minimal representation of the predominant non-utility types of the previous Esteros B Phase. There is also a tendency for ollas to have increasingly thinner walls, more compact paste, solid-color shoulders, notching and extremely outflaring rims. Some now have composite silhouette forms.

The black-slipped pottery is one of the diagnostic ceramics of this phase and apparently derives from the previously abundant Cruz Incised.

Tecolutla Phase

The Tecolutla Phase shows a continuing increase in the inhabited area of the site, especially westward. Remnants of ceremonial architecture were found in the form of fragments of thin, lime stucco painted with red concentric circles. Although the evidence is minimal it appears that the fragments may be from a low, water-eroded platform.

Ceramics begin with minor modifications of the pottery types of the previous phase, but soon come to foreshadow the ceramics of the subsequent Classic Period. Highly polished black-slipped bowls, effigy ollas, and ollas with supported spouts occur in the first half of the phase. Red-slipped bowls with predominantly flat bottoms and out-slanting sides increase considerably in the second half. Ollas now have solid-colored, polished shoulders that may be slipped red or grey. They are increasingly composite silhouette in form and roughly smoothed or scored on the bottom.

The Classic Period is represented by two diagnostic phases and a transitional phase.

Cacahuatal Phase

The Cacahuatal Phase sees a continued enlargement of the area occupied, particularly southward. The top of the midden-terrace axis, now sufficiently high to be safe from most floods, is used for mound construction.

Building A-sub 4 dates to this phase. It is a low platform with two unequal stories set in a 79 degree talud and with a 15 degree 30 minute orientation to the east. Sandstone boulders, used on the west side, are covered with a

poorly preserved thin stucco coating sometimes backed with burnt clay. The plaza in front of the building slants up to it, and is composed of burnt clay and pressed earth. Numerous minor modifications are undertaken throughout the phase.

The ceramics are typified by ollas having solid-colored, polished shoulders (sometimes with radial stick polishing), scored or roughly smoothed bottoms, a tendency toward composite silhouette form, and indented filleting on the shoulder. Polished flat-bottomed bowls with outslanting sides are very common, usually being slipped orange-red and/or brown-black. A polychrome type with fine paste is present in the form of red, white, and buff bowls, usually with restricted mouths. Locally manufactured Teotihuacan-like moldmade figurines occur as do Panuco-like figurines.

La Isla A Phase

Construction becomes widespread in La Isla A, abarking much of the midden-terrace. Building A-sub 3 belongs to this phase. It represents a major modification of A-sub 4 in the form of a new second story and west stairway. The uppermost has a cist behind the stairway that contained a secondary burial of a male adult, most likely as a construction offering. This building was in disrepair and/or abandonment by the end of the phase.

Ceramics are a continuation and elaboration of the previous phase. Ollas now have predominantly a concentric arch design when stick polishing occurs on the shoulders. Necks may also have stick polishing or, at times a triangular ridge separating the neck into two parts.

The polished flat-bottomed bowls with outslanting sides continue but with the addition of a white-exterior variety and negative painting. Larger flat-bottomed bowls of the same form but with rough exteriors increase. Nubbin feet on the fine paste polychrome bowls are common.⁹

Burials from this phase have offerings which consist of needles, shell pendants (one is in the ehecatlcozcatl form), small jade pendants, jade beads, manos and metates.

La Isla B Phase

The beginning of this short phase may represent the maximum point of building activity at Santa Luisa. Both A-sub 2 and A-sub 1 date to this phase. They are typified by low taluds, the addition of platforms,¹⁰ and a new more durable stucco.¹¹

Ceramics from La Isla A continue with some modifications and additions. Stick polishing may increase somewhat on ollas. The large bowls now have a high incidence of recurved sides and darker interiors. Moldmade pottery occurs,

as do comals which are suddenly very abundant.

A yoke with an unusual reptilian motif was found associated with a burial¹² of this phase as were turtle shells, jade pendants and beads, and an imported oliva shell necklace.¹³

El Cristo Phase

This is one of the least well-represented phases at Santa Luisa. It was present in only one stratigraphic trench, but was also found scattered lightly over parts of the site, particularly the southern portion.¹⁴

In general this phase appears to be a time of drastic depopulation. It should correlate with the abandonment or major de-emphasis of El Tajin as the principal ceremonial center of the area, and with the rise in importance of sites, generally fortified, such as Tenampulco, Castillo de Teayo, Metlatoyuca and Tuzapan.

There is a radical change in ceramics at this time. Black-on-red and "metallic" (also "fine orange"?) occur for the first time. All previous types disappear except for possibly Santa Luisa Heavy Plain, which if present, may be greatly reduced. The predominant form is a large, open bowl with low incurving sides and sometimes high hollow supports. Ladle censers also occur, as do mold-made figurines. In general, the pastes are very compact and often nearly temperless.

Cabezas Phase

This phase is a time of re-population at Santa Luisa. Although the area occupied increases considerably the phase is concentrated in the south half of the site. There are no surviving indications of ceremonial architecture.¹⁵

The ceramics show a distinct similarity to that of the Panuco Phase in the northern Huasteca. Forms include convex-bottomed, spouted ollas (occasionally gadrooned), strap and loop handles, large flat-bottomed bowls with low incurving sides, hollow zoomorphic and bulbular feet, and restricted-mouth bowls. Incised and painted designs include: guilloche, scrolls, step frets, ehecatl-cozcatl, and naturalistic monkeys and birds.

Figurines include Ekholm's "large realistic" and zoomorphic whistles covered with a poorly adhesive white slip. Also found was a carved bone cut in a style strongly reminiscent of the dualistic sculpture of the Huasteca.

Typical of this phase is A-1 and A-2 dental mutilation and vertically flexed burials, oriented eastward.

Tapia Phase

This phase should be considered highly tentative. It is known only

from surface survey and from private collections in the area, and appears to have a highly localized provenience at the site.¹⁶

The only ceramic type that has been identified so far has a compact paste and grey-white surface.¹⁷ Forms include bottle gourds and small ollas with lugged handles. Decoration is with a mineral paint which fires red-brown. Designs are connected spirals.

Olarte Phase

This phase begins about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Most of the ceramics have been described by Kelly and Palerm (1952:212-230).¹⁸ To be added to that list are: 1) flat-bottomed bowls with outslanting sides, 2) flat-bottomed oval bowls with incurving sides, and 3) two-piece pedestal censers with a modeled zoomorphic handle. Decoration includes linear cutting of the lips of bowls and whitewashing of large water ollas. Temper and paste used in ollas of this phase are distinct from those of the Cabezas Phase.

From this long chronology we can derive a number of conclusions about the cultures of the area and some hypotheses concerning ethnicity:

1) There exist coastal sites in Veracruz which have been inhabited more or less continuously since at least the Early Formative, if not Archaic times. At the open river site of Santa Luisa, occupational extent appears to indicate a continuous increase in population until the very end of the Classic Period. There is a rapid decrease in the Early Postclassic, a rise in the Late Postclassic, and a decrease once more early in the Colonial Period.

2) There is a local manifestation of the Archaic Period which, although similar to the Tehuacan tradition in the highlands, may represent a new coastal tradition emphasizing crude blades and flake choppers.

3) Ceramics of the large and important culture found in the El Tajin area during the Classic Period have predominantly a local origin. Traditions of domestic pottery as well as more plastic, decorated vessels begin at least as early as the Arroyo Grande Phase early in the Late Formative Period and continue uninterrupted, although modified by external influences, until their replacement in the Early Postclassic Period. Tajinoid architectural features may also begin early in the area but the data on that score are inconclusive.

4) There is no abrupt early ending to the Classic Period in the El Tajin-Santa Luisa area. There is, however, a phase which appears to be transitional and to represent an assimilation of Postclassic features probably current elsewhere. The La Isla B Phase may well be more Classic than Postclassic as sculptural traditions in the "Classic Veracruz" style continue. The rapid change in artifact materials, forms, and decoration follows this phase. Dating is conjectural but the implication is that the Classic is prolonged in the Tajin area.

5) Central Veracruz is not a single cultural unit, and appears not to have been at any time in its known history. Instead the upper portion, north of the Sierra Chiconquiaco and south of the Sierra Otontepec, forms a separate cultural entity which interacts in certain periods, but does not integrate culturally, with South-Central Veracruz.

North-Central Veracruz has different artifact traditions which culminate in the Classic at El Tajin. South-Central Veracruz, between the Sierra Chiconquiaco and Los Tuxtlas, shares or is dominated by Olmec culture until such time as it develops its own expression typified by plastic art in clay. Traditions shared in the two areas, such as yokes, tend to illustrate distinctions of motif and chronology.¹⁹

The hypotheses of ethnicity suggested by the data are two:

(1) First, that North Central Veracruz was inhabited from at least the Ojite Phase, or latter part of the Early Formative, through the La Isla B Phase, or very Late Classic, by predominantly one ethnic group. This group may have re-inhabited the area late in the Postclassic Period. Their material culture strongly suggests that they were Huastecs.

Throughout the sequence artifacts, especially but not exclusively ceramics, illustrate affinity and parallel, if more rapid development, with the Panuco region of the northern Huasteca. Ceramic types, forms, techniques, and designs frequently strictly conform with Panuco specimens. Similarities with other areas, such as South-Central Veracruz and the adjoining highlands, also occur but are never of such prolonged duration or as pervasive. In general, North-Central Veracruz appears to receive and utilize outside influences more frequently and in a less conservative manner than the northern Huasteca. This is very likely due to geographical positions and proximity to other cultures. A number of the ceramic features present at Panuco may occur at a slightly earlier date at Santa Luisa.

The reoccupation of the Santa Luisa area in the late Postclassic was probably in the form of an interspersed settlement pattern with other groups such as the Totonacs. This would not be unlike a close-by area to the northwest²⁰ where Totonacs, Tepehua, Otomi, and Huastecs are found in very close proximity today. Sixteenth century documentary sources and pictorial representations support such a settlement pattern.²¹

2) The second suggested hypothesis is that the Totonacs entered the region no earlier than the Early Postclassic, and very likely later in some portions. Their occupation of the coastal area between the Cazonas and Nautla drainages did not occur until probably late in the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century. In terms of the present artifact corpus at Santa Luisa there is little if any compelling similarity between modern Totonac ceramics and those of the Cabezas Phase or Late Postclassic.

Scanty sixteenth century documentation tends to suggest that the Totonac

movement pattern toward the coast, which continues today, was initially motivated in Colonial times by the exploitation of fish resources and a demographic void resulting from epidemics and colonial administrative factors.²²

This hypothesis of late arrival does not preclude an earlier Totonac presence in the Sierra de Chiconquiaco but strongly suggests that most were in the high areas of the Sierra de Puebla until quite late.

NOTES

1. The research was supported by the Foreign Area Fellowship Program and the National Science Foundation (grant GS-2620). Fieldwork was carried out under the supervision of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia and with the cooperation of the Instituto de Antropología of the Universidad Veracruzana. The aid and advice of José García Payón and Alfonso Medellín Zenil are gratefully acknowledged. The project was also enhanced by the assistance of Ponciano Ortiz Ceballos during 1969 and 1970, and Juan Sanchez and Berta Aguayo during 1968.
2. A total of nine carbon samples were submitted to Rikagaku Kenkyusho. One sample was largely carbonate and produced a spurious result. All dates cited in the text are based upon a half life of 5730 years.
3. Crassostrea virginica (Gmelin) was the only species of oyster found. Other major mollusks encountered in Palo Hueca phase deposits were: Mercenaria campechensis (Gmelin), Isognomon alata (Gmelin), and Brachidontes recurvus (Rafinesque).
4. Preliminary results of trace element analysis of obsidian samples from this phase (carried out under the direction of Dr. Gary Allen, Department of Earth Sciences, Louisiana State University, New Orleans) indicate areas in Querataro. Other tool mediums include jasper, flint, sandstone, limestone, and chert.
5. It is probable that before this time the Río Tecolutla flowed northward and entered the Gulf through what is now the huge swamp north of the site. Productive estuaries would then have existed much closer to the site than today. By about the Ojite Phase the change in the river course to essentially the pattern observed today would have reduced the available shellfish areas due to silting and the introduction of fresh water.
6. Due to merging attributes Ekholm's Chila White (1944:341-343) and MacNeish's Progreso White (1954:566-567) are considered to be varieties of one type.
7. Deposits of these phases are continuous with one another but disjunctive with regard to the preceding Esteros B phase. This discontinuity, in

the light of site size, is more likely to be a function of trench location than abandonment. Mound construction may begin during the Arroyo Grande phase in the extreme north of the site, but time limitations during the field season did not allow examination of these features.

8. Similar figurines from Santa Luisa have been published by García Payón (1966: Lam. LXXVII-LXXIX; 1971:Fig. 3).
9. Only a very few fragments of the "black", "marfil", and "rayada" encountered at El Tajín by DuSolier (1945) were found at Santa Luisa. Their contexts are largely insecure, some possibly coming from La Isla A but most from La Isla B. These ceramics may be more typical of the metropolitan center.
10. The site survey in the lower Tecolutla drainage, as well as observations in the Boca de Lima, Arroyo Solteros, and Nautla drainages suggest that this may be a widespread phenomenon at this time. Building #5 at El Tajín is a salient example of this tendency.
11. Stucco is initially composed almost entirely of lime and is applied in thin coats, often over burnt clay. By the La Isla B phase sand is added to the mixture and there is a great deal of filler consisting of large chunks of sandstone, broken stucco, pottery sherds, pumice stone, and even carbon fragments. Such additives are common at El Tajín, especially in the portion known at Tajín Chico.
12. Described in Wilkerson 1970.
13. This necklace is apparently a trade item from the West as it is made from Oliva porphyrea (Linnaeus) whose range includes the Pacific coast, but not the Gulf of Mexico (species identification by Dr. Emile H. Vokes, Department of Paleontology, Tulane University).
14. The presence of occasional sherds of this phase in the overburden of A-sub 1 may indicate the continued use of the La Isla B phase building, perhaps for domestic purposes.
15. The examination of early photographs of the site suggest that there may not have been any constructions in the occupational area of the Cabezas phase. However, the presence of a few structures at a site of no great size, and similar age, a few kilometers away suggests that there had been a shift in religious and social organization such that every large village no longer had its own temple platforms.
16. Early Colonial sources tend to indicate that recurrent epidemics (smallpox, measles) and administrative modifications (repartamientos, congregaciones) of the settlement pattern for tribute and ecclesiastical purposes directly contributed to the abrupt population decline. See Kelly and Palerm (1952: 7-12, 34-39) for the most extensive discussion of this topic for the coastal areas.

17. The few examples examined appear to be similar to some of the modern ceramics from Huejutla, Puebla, and San Miguel Aguasuelos, Veracruz.
18. Unlike the Totonac of the Tajin area, fishing implements in the lower Tecolutla drainage include harpoons, spears with wire prongs, and globular baskets with restricted mouths for holding fish. Also present in the lower drainage, but not at El Tajin, are armadillo-shell seed containers.
19. A study of these distinctions by the writer is in progress, under the auspices of the Precolumbian Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.
20. The middle and upper Tuxpan drainage.
21. Both Bernal Diaz (1955,I:290) and Ixtlilxochitl (1891,II:271) indicate that Nautla, 50 kilometers south of Santa Luisa, bordered the Huasteca. The Suma de Visitas de Pueblos (Paso y Troncoso 1905,I:176, 204) states that the subject towns and villages of Papantla (Totonac) and Tuxpan (Huastec) were intermixed. One of the maps of 1581 in the Relacion de Papantla (García Payon 1965:67) shows the town within the Papantla jurisdiction, while the Lienzos de Tuxpan, attributed to a pre-Conquest original (Melgarejo Vivanco 1970), suggests its relationship to the area of Tuxpan influence. The Codex Mendoza (folio 52) and the Matricula de Tributos (p.XXXII) illustrate a third tribute paying town in the area, Tenextepec, that may have been closer still to the site of Santa Luisa, and perhaps even included it among its "sujetos", Ixtlilxochitl (1891,II:197) would give Papantla and Tenextepec province status within the greater province of Tuxpan.
22. The Relacion de Papantla (García Payon 1965:67) indicates a functioning fishery at the mouth of the Tecolutla River in 1581. Bishop Mota y Escobar (1945:235) states in 1610 that he found a fishing station of "Indians from Papantla" at the Cazonas mouth and that the catch was being taken to feed the clergy. Some of the first photographs of the area, taken by the geologist Hans E. Thalmann in 1925, illustrate the continuance of this fish procurement pattern by the Totonacs of Papantla.

TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY FOR THE LOWER TECOLUTLA DRAINAGE AND SANTA LUISA, VERACRUZ

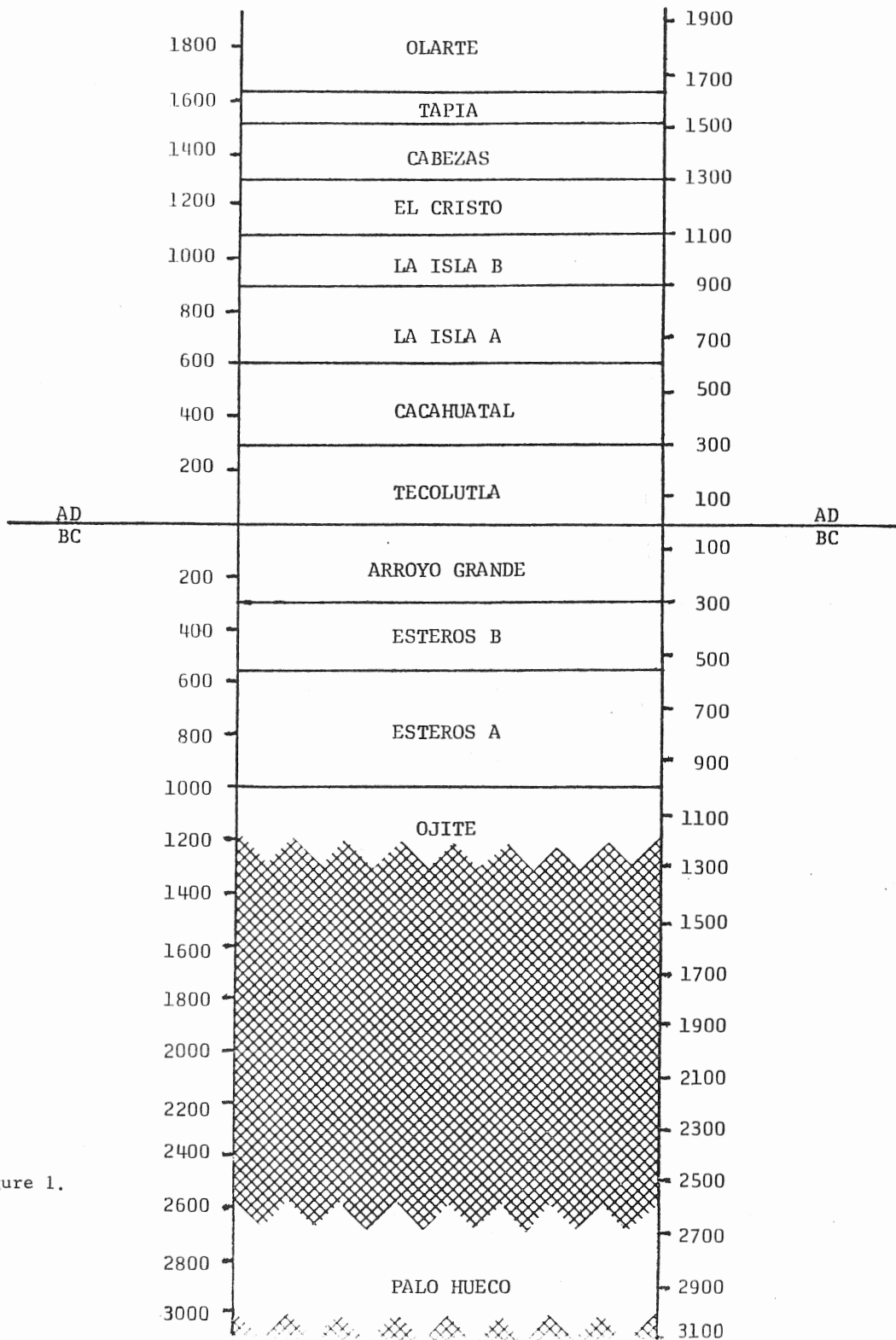


Figure 1.

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V. ICONOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF SOME PRINCIPAL FIGURINE SUBJECTS
FROM THE MORTUARY COMPLEX OF JAINA, CAMPECHE¹

Christopher Corson

In the following pages an attempt is made to clarify the iconographic content of certain stylistic groups of Jaina figurines, and to relate them to various reconstructed aspects of Maya thought and culture. In large part, this constitutes an identification of figurine subjects based upon comparative archaeology, reconstructions of the Maya pantheon, and information derived from colonial reports and modern ethnographic accounts. Certain hazards to this sort of analysis have been enumerated in the course of discussions, and potential shortcomings have, I hope, been sufficiently underscored. Clearly, no claim to completeness can be made, as the larger portion of Jaina subjects remains unidentified, nor can it be claimed that the 'keys' have been discovered by which the patrons of the Jaina complex expected to recognize the identity of figurine subjects. Various modes of recognition have been identified, such as the use of symbols or 'icons' (usually some piece of paraphernalia or a decorative feature), the performance of specific activities, distinctive patterns of garments, and unique physical characteristics. Others, such as the 'hands raised' pose which unites several late figurine groups (Pl.1d; Ruz 1969:Fig.LXVI; Pina Chan 1968:Lam.14), are formally identifiable though their content remains obscure. Beside these, there remains a large body of figurines for which no identification is offered; such pieces, although certainly depicting subjects which in some way would have been recognizable in the culture of their manufacture, seem to lack details necessary for their identification in retrospect. Numerous isolated figurines and figurine groups represent male and female subjects exhibiting static poses with neither paraphernalia nor distinctive patterns of garments on which to base interpretations of their identity, and I have refrained in these many instances from offering identifications which would be purely speculative. Those iconographic categories have been stressed which display the greatest persistence through time and the greatest incidence of manufacture, and as a consequence the categories considered here are generally those which characterize an entire sequence of replicative artistic events, or those such as 'moon goddess' figurines the occurrence of which spans several such sequences. Although a distinctive configuration of elements might serve to identify the subject of isolated (i.e., non-replicative) figurines, such pieces are no more characteristic of the mainstream of the Jaina iconographic tradition than are unique stylistic configurations characteristic of the mainstream of artistic practices.

Throughout the ensuing discussions, reference is made to a relative ordering of Jaina figurines expressed in terms of four sequential phases, i.e.:

Campeche
Jonuta (or Transitional)
Jaina II
Jaina I

This ordering is based upon a seriation of all figurines of unquestionable Jaina provenience, augmented by stylistic and technological comparisons with figurines and ceramics of other regions (Corson, n.d.). Separate publication of this sequence and of its culture-historical implications is anticipated for the near future.

'Moon Goddess' figurines (Plates 1a-d, 2a)

It has become current practice in several American museums, and in art books dealing with Mesoamerican antiquities, to identify various feminine figurines of supposed Jaina provenience with Ix Chel, the Yucatecan moon goddess. As the subject of moon goddess attributes recognizable on figurines has never received extended treatment in the literature, it seems reasonable to test this implied consensus. Clearly, the icons of one artistic tradition must undergo some modification in translation to another medium, and are not always immediately identifiable in modified form. The differences between hieroglyphs painted on murals and those carved in stone offer convincing proof of the role which medium can play in the formation of symbols. Similarly, differences in the social milieu of artists working in different media may account for many apparent discrepancies in the form and use of symbols; we should not expect to observe rigid iconographic parallels between the hierarchically inspired Maya codices (for which much of our information on moon goddess attributes derive) and a figurine complex of popular manufacture and use.

In order to test the hypothesis that at least some of the feminine figurines occurring on Jaina may represent the moon goddess, it is advisable first to recognize some potential pitfalls in the identification of her attributes:

1) Earlier literary sources (Landa, Las Casas, Lopez de Cogolludo) dealing with the contact and colonial periods of Yucatan are in frequent disagreement as to the nature of this goddess, her names and titles, her relations with other deities and even, to an extent, the provinces of her activities.

2) Those female deities depicted in the Maya codices which generally have been assumed to represent this goddess, while linked by recurrent glyphic identification, show a considerable variety of activities, attributes and associations which were doubtless intended to signal her manifestation in specific aspects. As the number of such aspects far exceeds those which can be identified from literary sources, and as several are of unique occurrence, their nature will probably remain unreconstructable. Further, there has been some disagreement among scholars as to whether these scenes are intended to depict the various aspects of one goddess, or of two goddesses some of whose attributes are held in common (cf. below).

3) Among the most prominent and most consistent attributes of this goddess are several (associations with weaving, procreation, pregnancy and birth) which are exclusively the province of women. Iconographic interpretation of these

associations must therefore take into account that their occurrence, unless demonstrably partaking of a repetitive iconographic pattern or supported by other, independent associations, while perhaps reflecting the function of the subject as a specific deity, might rather derive solely from her role as a woman.

Available information on this goddess has been summarized in several places by Thompson (1939; 1950:230-232; 1970:Ch.7), whose interpretations of the frequently contradictory evidence have undergone a degree of reconsideration. The major difference between his earliest and latest statements involves the separation from the moon goddess complex of the deity known as Ix Chebel Yax, now identified by him with God O of the codices, as he identifies the moon goddess, Ix Chel, with God I. Schellhas (1904a:38) argued the separateness of Gods I and O on the basis of their different headdresses, though Thompson apparently no longer observes this distinction (cf. 1970:Pl.8e). In the literary sources and mythological accounts Ix Chel and Ix Chebel Yax are related in their patronage of weaving, their association with water and their relationship with Itzamna and the sun god, evidence which suggested to Seler (1904a:50) that they represent two aspects, perhaps young (Ix Chebel Yax) and old (Ix Chel) of the same deity. Thompson originally concurred (1939:161,163), but separates them now largely on the basis of his analysis of the nature and identity of Itzamna, and of the conjugal relationship of Ix Chebel Yax with that deity.

The matter is extremely complex, and is resolvable only to the extent that we are able to account for, or that we are willing to ignore, flatly contradictory evidence. The attributes shared in common by Ix Chebel Yax and Ix Chel, and their roles as wives, respectively, of Itzamna and the sun god, solar aspects of Itzamna, would seem to indicate that in Maya thought they were intimately related, perhaps to the extent of being considered two important aspects of the same deity. Therefore, in the discussion below, the attempt to identify attributes in the figurines relating to these separate aspects (or separate deities) has been deferred until after an examination of the attributes of the complex as a whole, at which point we may more clearly proceed to investigate whether the evidence of the figurines supports their separation into two distinct iconographic categories.

Patronage of weaving

In colonial Yucatan the moon goddess was patroness of weaving (Thompson 1939:130-133), an association held also by the Mexican goddess Tlazolteotl. She is shown in the codices weaving at a loom (cf. Madrid 102), frequently with what Thompson interprets as skeins and spindles in her headdress. In Jaina Phase I, one of the most popular subjects of the early style depicts a woman, usually sitting crosslegged with hands on knees. She wears simple garments and adornments, and is characterized by a curious notch in the front of the head above the hairline. There is generally little on which to base iconographic analysis on most of these figures, but in two examples (Pina Chan 1968: Fig. 63) clearly the same subject (identifiable by garment, ornaments, style

and 'head notch') is shown in the act of weaving at a loom. As the representation of specific activities is extremely rare in the Jaina complex, these must be afforded special significance. A third specimen of the same stylistic group (Pina Chan 1968:Fig.67), while surely not a priest as suggested by Nicholson (1967:75,77), is unique in that it is standing, and holds in its hands what is almost certainly a twisted skein of yarn or hank of cloth.

The skein has obvious potential as an icon of the patroness of weaving, and occurs among numerous Jaina Phase II specimens, held in the hand and depicted in a form wholly analogous to that of the specimen cited above (Pl.1b). On a few examples (Pl.1c) it is seen in association with, or alternating with, a fan-like object perhaps itself symbolic of the moon goddess (cf. 'Miscellaneous and doubtful categories,' below). Due to similarity of treatment, I am inclined to interpret also as representing skeins the twisted elements worn around the neck of three very similar figurines of this group. The skein appears to be absent from all groups of the Campeche phase, due in part, perhaps, to the restricted pose and rigidly maintained lack of paraphernalia which characterize late Jaina figurines, and perhaps also to its replacement by other symbols (cf. below).

Association with water

In the codices God I, identified by Schellhas (1904a:31-32) as the 'Water Goddess', appears in several scenes pouring a stream of water from an upturned jar, and in the same attitude, on Dresden 74, partakes in what Forstemann (1906:266) has interpreted as the destruction of the world (but Thompson 1970:206 recognizes God 0 here). Further associations of the moon goddess with water, particularly in mythological accounts, are given by Thompson, who notes her affiliation with lakes, cenotes and the sea (1970:244-245).

Clearly identifiable water symbols are not found in Jaina I, though they are of relatively frequent occurrence in Jaina II. In that phase, several specimens (Pl.1a; Anton 1970:Pl.210) represent standing women whose hands, brought together over the stomach, hold a disk with an inner concentric circle or slightly raised inner disk. Emerging from behind the lower border of the larger disk are two 'streamers' of variable length. This disk seems to represent the symbol for jade, commonly indicative of water in Maya iconography (Thompson 1950:274), as is the corresponding chalchiuitl in central Mexico (Seler 1904b:63-64). On the single specimen where the disk has received special painting it is blue, further indication of its association with water. The streamers possibly represent a course of water issuing from the jade sign, an impression heightened on some specimens by the addition of incisions or drop-shaped pellets. Almost certain confirmation of this identification is to be found on three specimens of Jaina II figurines (Pl.2a); as in an etiological allegory explaining the derivation of conventional symbols, they depict standing women whose hands hold a wide-mouthed, shallow vessel from which a stream of water descends to a cup between the feet. While the composition of the symbolic form is precisely maintained, the strictly representational treatment of the iconographic theme allows us to identify these figurines with the goddess who

pours water to Earth in the codices. Examples of water symbolism in the Campeche phase seem limited to two figurines early in that phase, both of which hold the jade sign with streamers.

Goddess of pregnancy and birth

Thompson (1939:133-135; 1970:241-243) has collected from various literary and ethnographic sources information relating the moon goddess to pregnancy and childbirth. Titles such as 'Mother' and 'Grandmother' are common, and perhaps on Dresden 20a, 20b, and 21a, where she is depicted in various aspects associated with what appear to be small forms of a number of deities, we have partial indication that her quality of motherhood was thought to extend also to at least some of the gods. Thompson (1972:53), however, suggests that these passages may relate to lunar conjunctions with various stars or planets and to their astrological implications for children or childbirth.

Examples of figurines depicting various aspects of motherhood occur in all phases of the Jaina complex, though they are most frequent in Jaina II. In the Jaina I phase, the so-called 'pregnant' figurines depict individuals with nearly spherical torsos, conveying the impression that the abdomen is distended in pregnancy. I hesitate to associate these with the moon goddess, however, as various features of dress and ornamentation suggest that they probably represent males. One specimen of Jaina I, on the other hand, clearly represents a woman seated with a child on her lap. As the subject relates stylistically to other figurines of this phase which already have been shown to be associated with weaving, identification as the moon goddess is perhaps not too speculative.

Several isolated specimens of Jaina II figurines similarly depict a woman holding a child. In some instances, however, she is accompanied by a small individual whose features and dress seem to be those of an adult (Tozzer 1927: Pl.4). This distinction, pointed out by Butler (1935:644-645), perhaps relates to the concept underlying the scenes on Dresden 20 and 21, though it has proven impossible to distinguish on these small figures recognizable attributes of known gods. A number of other specimens, in attitudes suggestive that they are perhaps symbolic of parturition, depict a small male, inevitably with chubby features, emerging from or being sheltered under the forward folds of the garment of a larger woman (Anton 1970:Pl.216; Groth Kimball 1961:Pl.29,36). The consistently dwarf-like aspect of the small male suggests strongly that these figurines represent a mythological subject, the nature of which, for lack of explanatory comment or parallel tradition, remains obscure. Lacking other identifiable symbols there is little reason to assume that these figurines represent the moon goddess, though the possibility must remain open that she is here depicted in some birth-giving or protective capacity.

Clear indications of motherhood are rarer in the Campeche phase, occurring on only two specimens, neither of which pertains to a replicative group. In both cases the female figure carries an infant in a sling at the left shoulder. A further example of the theme depicting birth or protectorship occurs also in this phase.

Wife of Sun God

A considerable body of post-conquest sources indicates that among the Maya, as among central Mexican cultures, the moon goddess was thought to be wife of the sun god (Thompson 1939:129-130; 1970:233-235). Several Jaina figurines depict amorous scenes which perhaps refer to this alliance, though their occurrence is sporadic and their iconographic features are not consistent. Most of them represent an 'old man and young girl', frequently cited as a prominent theme in Maya art, though at most seven examples can be identified in the corpus.

The only such figurine of Jaina Phase I (Lothrop, Foshag and Mahler 1957:Pl.LXXV) depicts a woman embracing a man whose obviously aged features recall the aged aspect of the sun god as represented in the codices. Lacking many iconographic emblems, the identification of either sun god or moon goddess must be tentative, though the male figure wears as a headdress the head of a deer, suggestive of a relation to the Kekchi-Mopan legend in which the sun, deceptive in courtship, disguises himself as a deer to conceal his identity from the moon (Thompson 1939:150-151, 169-170). Further examples occur among various Jaina II specimens, on all of which the male figure is depicted embracing the woman, caressing her face (Groth Kimball 1961:Pl.28) or breast (Anton 1970:Pl.203), or lifting the hem of her garment. His features are generally aged, and in at least one instance (possibly also Anton 1970:Pl.203) he wears a deer head as headdress. On a specimen illustrated by Groth Kimball (1961:Pl.26) an aged male stands next to a woman probably identifiable as the moon goddess from the 'fan' which she carried in her hand (cf. below).

Examples of solar symbolism are infrequent in the Campeche Phase, though a few early specimens (Dieseldorff 1926:Abb.51) wear quechquemitl decorated with paneled faces which may be interpreted as representing an aspect of the sun god. The principal distinguishing feature of this face is a continuous bar, twisted to form a figure 8 above the nose, which passes beneath (in one case over) the eyes. Spinden (1931:17-18) called attention to the widespread distribution of this face, seen frequently on Maya pottery and monumental sculpture. It has been interpreted variously as the face of the sun god (Spinden, loc.cit.; Dieseldorff 1926), of the jaguar god (Thompson 1950:134) and even, in one source no longer current in this respect, of the Yucatecan horned owl (Tozzer and Allen 1910:337). If we accept Thompson's suggestion that the jaguar god (a symbol of night and darkness) is merged with the sun god in the underworld, or the sun at night, the interpretation seems plausible that these figurines represent the moon goddess, her identity marked by the face of her husband in the aspect he takes when she is visible.

The identification of the deity whose face decorates quechquemitl collars of certain other early Campeche Phase specimens is much less satisfactory. It lacks the twisted facial ornament seen on the examples just described, though is similar in treatment of the eyes, lips and teeth. It perhaps represents a

somewhat more realistic jaguar portrait, though this is speculative, and I refrain from basing further interpretation on it.

Miscellaneous and doubtful categories

A number of diverse features, while possibly relating to the moon goddess, are identified so tentatively, or are of such sporadic occurrence, that their iconographic significance must be left open to question.

1) The recurved U-shaped element employed as a forehead decoration uniquely on some Jonuta Phase specimens (Pl.1d) recalls the identifying emblem of Tlazolteotl, the Mexican moon goddess. While in Mexican codices the emblem generally functions as a nose ornament or a decoration on skirt or headdress, it occurs, as in this phase, as a forehead ornament on an incense burner at Mayapan (Thompson 1957:613-614). As the known presence of images of Tlazolteotl appears very rare, and very late, in Yucatan, it seems somewhat less likely that this foreign deity is represented here than that the similarity is purely fortuitous, or that the generally crescentic form conveyed lunar associations in the Jaina complex as it did in central Mexico and on Maya monuments (as in astronomical bands).

2) Eight specimens of Jaina Phase II carry in one hand an object, tentatively identified as a fan, consisting of a tasseled disk mounted on a straight handle. Schellhas (1904b:620) recognizes this object as a fan, though it differs from the form of fans typically represented in Maya art (Dieseldorff 1904). That it almost certainly constitutes an emblem characteristic of the moon goddess may be inferred from a set of three otherwise virtually identical figurines, on one of which the woman holds a skein, on another a fan, and on the third (Pl.1c) both the skein and fan. Two other specimens show a similar alternation.

Although recognizable in at least temporary association with the moon goddess, the significance of this object, and even its identification, are somewhat obscure. Generally the fan has been interpreted in Maya and Mexican iconography as relating to merchants (Seler 1904c:651-654; Thompson 1966:160) but the association of the moon goddess with merchants is not preceded in the Maya area. The apparent association of God M (the merchant god) and the moon goddess on Dresden 16b is illusory, as their images pertain to separate tonalamatl (Forstemann 1906:88-89, 96-97). Thompson (1966:160) suggests that the Mexican goddess Tlazolteotl, in some respects the counterpart of Ix Chel, may be identified as a patroness of merchants under the name Chalchemecaciuatl, but this is a tenuous connection at best, and probably should not be stressed for lack of convincing evidence.

That the 'fan' may be emblematic of the moon goddess, or at least strongly associated with her, is suggested by its presence on the figurines cited above, and by its virtual absence from other figurines in the Jaina complex.

3) The association of a flower, probably the Plumeria, with eroticism has been pointed out by Roys (1933:104), and its association with the sun and moon

by Thompson (1939:138-141). On three miscellaneous Jaina molded specimens a woman wearing about her neck what has been identified above as a skein carries in one hand a possible representation of a flower, though it is indistinct, and in form does not seem to resemble the Plumeria.

4) An apparent glyph or insignia decorating the garment of an early Campeche Phase specimen suggests a deviant form of the prefix zac, 'white,' a glyphic element frequently used to identify the moon goddess in the codices (Schellhas 1904a:31,38). The aberrant form of the symbol leaves this identification open to question, however.

Summary

In the foregoing discussion several attributes assigned to the moon goddess by various sources have been recognized in the Jaina complex. Their distribution has proven somewhat less than perfectly consistent, suggesting that in different periods different of her aspects tended to be stressed. Briefly, her association with weaving is clearly represented in Jaina Phases I and II; associations with birth and motherhood, and possibly her role as wife of the sun, in all phases through the early stages of the Campeche Phase; association with water only in Jaina II and early specimens of the Campeche Phase which appear stylistically derived from the Jaina II antecedents. Use of the 'fan' as an emblem is generally confined to Jaina II.

In the light of Thompson's recent efforts (1970:Ch.7) to separate the attributes of Ix Chel from those of Ix Chebel Yax, certain observations must be made regarding the sequential distribution of attributes in the Jaina complex. As both goddesses are said to hold in common a special association with weaving, it seems not possible on this basis alone to specify which deity is represented. Since, however, the association with birth and motherhood, attributed to Ix Chel, has a similar, though broader, distribution, and in the case of Jaina Phase I appears in a context identical to that in which weaver's attributes occur, it seems likely that in the earlier phases reference is made to Ix Chel and not to Ix Chebel Yax. Some support for this assumption derives from the occurrence in these phases of figurines which possibly represent the amorous union of sun and moon, in Thompson's analysis (1970:233-235) a theme which could refer only to Ix Chel. Further, the limited distribution of figurines with recognizable water symbolism, surely identifiable as Ix Chebel Yax, the goddess who pours water to earth in the codices, suggests that the representation of this deity was not of major significance during the earlier Jaina phases.

The persistence of recognizable attributes of both of these deities into various of the Campeche groups is slight, but is sufficient to signal the possibility that in later times the traditional, representational iconographic forms were replaced by more highly conventionalized and perhaps more recondite ones. If in the bulk of the Campeche Phase specimens more than one deity is represented, or multiple aspects of one deity, the iconographic clues to her identity must be

expressed in the details of her headdress. A lunate headdress which characterizes one replicative group of the Campeche Phase (Fuhrmann 1923:Pl.59) is suggestive in this respect, as it relates stylistically to the headdress of Jaina II specimens which depict a woman pouring water (and, as mentioned above, the jade sign with streamers, perhaps symbolic of pouring water, occurs on one of these Campeche Phase specimens). Similarly, various members of a second Campeche group wear headdresses decorated with tasseled rosettes which strongly recall the 'fans' held as emblems by earlier figurines, and the double looped element of the headdress of a third (Schellhas 1904b:Pl.LXV,2) resembles an occasional ornamentation worn in the codices by Ix Chebel Yax (cf. Madrid 30a, 69b). Obviously, such identifications are far too insecure to be sustained, being based on the general similarity of features the very nature of which cannot be specified and which perhaps carry no burden of symbolism. They are offered merely as examples of possible modes of iconographic differentiation employed late in the Jaina sequence.

The characteristic 'hands raised' pose of female figurines in the Campeche Phase, unifying pieces with distinct attributes and therefore perhaps iconographically distinct, suggests the relatively late florescence of a cult activity, probably of foreign introduction (Corson, n.d.).

Dwards, humpbacks and 'small adults'. (Plate 2b-d)

A considerable ambiguity persists regarding the roles played in Maya thought and culture by varieties of small or deformed individuals. On the one hand, the paucity of information which can be derived from colonial documents would seem to suggest that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such beings held relatively little significance; on the other, their fairly frequent incidence in ethnographic accounts elicited from modern informants, together with their quite widespread though sporadic occurrence in prehispanic art, suggests that the colonial period lacuna is perhaps illusory and may be due to chance neglect on the part of Spanish chroniclers.

In modern Yucatecan tradition dwarfs or humpbacks (indeed, it remains uncertain whether the two traits were separated or were considered always to co-occur) figure prominently in world creation myths. The fullest accounts are given by Tozzer (1907:153-154) and Redfield and Villa (1934:330-331), and are recapitulated by Thompson (1970:340-341) and Anders (1963:68). In the first of four successive creations the world was peopled by dwarfs called zayamuincob (Tozzer: 'adjusters,' though Thompson suggests 'twisted or disjointed men,' probably suggestive that they also were humpbacks). Although small they were powerful, and constructed during that early time the ceremonial centers and causeways of Yucatan. They were turned to stone during the destruction which closed the first period and their images remain in ruins such as Chichen Itza (i.e. as small human sculptures, atlanteans, etc.).

It seems unlikely that the origin of such explanatory episodes might

be traced to a time when the ceremonial centers were still in use and atlantean figures were being produced, and they probably derive, if not from the post-conquest period, from a time subsequent to the abandonment of major centers. Some weight is lent their relative modernity by the failure of the native chronicles to include them. Although dwarfs (zaqui coxol, 'little men of the forest') figure in the third creation story from the Popol Vuh, being also turned to stone at its close, they seem not to be credited with the building of ancient sites, nor are their activities elaborated. Further, the creation cycle of the Chilam Balam of Chumayel does not mention the participation of a race of dwarfs (Roys 1933:98-107).

There is an inherent weakness in any interpretation of Maya art which attempts to read symbols solely in the light of beliefs current as much as a millenium later, though as with many categories of Maya symbolism the significance of dwarfs cannot adequately be reconstructed exclusively on the basis of internal evidence. Such interpretations are perhaps less suspect when based on modern traditions which exhibit wide distribution and a fair degree of homogeneity, and when they are supported also by the testimony of colonial documents. The matter is further complicated, however, by the incidence of many regional variants in mythic accounts. The lore surrounding dwarfs and humpbacks extends in many regions to other races of supernatural beings whose characteristics are distinct from those of the zayamuincob. Thompson (1970:341) discusses the p'uz ('hunchback' or 'dwarf' in different Maya languages), in Yucatan apparently alternates of the zayamuincob, who were invested with supernatural powers and could command the assembly of wood and stones by whistling (that dwarf figurines in the Jaina complex are whistles seems not significant in this respect, as the trait characterizes numerous unrelated groups, particularly in early phases). In the region of Socotz, B.H., the p'uz are credited with the manufacture of abandoned metates, apparently also in earlier times (Thompson loc.cit. and 1930:166). Subterranean races of dwarfs figure in Tzeltal and Tzotzil mythology, dwelling at the base of the columns which support the surface world and involving themselves in various ways with the nocturnal passage of the sun through the underworld (Thompson 1970:347). Various, too, small beings or dwarfs are thought to inhabit the hills and forests, such as the aluxob of Yucatan (Redfield and Villa 1934:119-121; cf. also, Mendez in Saville 1921) and the u yum cap, 'lords of the Earth', of the Chontal (Russel 1947; and Thompson 1970:327).

All of these various sources offer little in the way of material on which to base iconographic interpretations of Jaina dwarfs. The frequent association of dwarfs and humpbacks, often identified by the same name in different regions, suggests an intrinsic relation not evident in the Jaina complex. Clear representations of humpbacks (Jaina Phase I) seem stylistically and temporally to be in almost mutually exclusive distribution with representations of dwarfs (Jaina II, Campeche). Particularly the chubby torsoes and infantile features which characterize 'dwarf' groups do not occur on typical humpback figurines, the limbs of which, if anything, seem rather spindly in relation to the protruding chest and back. Likewise, the distorted backs of Jaina I specimens tend not to occur in groups analyzed as dwarfs (with a single exception), though this is perhaps equally due

to the very strong tendency in all of the Jaina Phase II groups to render only the frontal aspects of subjects. Butler (1935:644) points out the occurrence of humpbacks "figured in clay and stone from Tennessee to Costa Rica." Linne, in a distributional survey, found their range extending well into South America, with the greatest frequency of occurrence in Costa Rica (1943:165). Throughout this wide area the manner of representation exhibits considerable variation, as in the effigy urns of Panama (Dade 1959) and stone sculpture of the Huasteca, and their comparability is in many instances limited to thematic similarity. It would be useful, nonetheless, to have a distributional study of figures with dwarf characteristics in order to assess the degree to which the two bodies of traits might be coterminous.

Of the stylistic features which frequently occur in the Jaina dwarf groups and which might serve to establish the symbolic identity of their subjects with forms occurring elsewhere in Maya art, only the physical proportions of the torso seem sufficiently consistent. For a period turban headdresses appear characteristic of dwarfs (Jaina Phase II; cf. Pl.2c), though their incidence in earlier groups is sporadic and in later groups nonexistent. In this respect a pair of small figures, painted black, appearing on the so-called "Vaso de Tabasco" (Cook de Leonard 1954) perhaps relates to beings of the same nature, as both are depicted with turban headdresses and the body of the preserved figure is not only smaller than those of the other personages represented, but also displays the fatness and shortness of limb which particularly characterizes the Jaina II dwarf groups. Both of the figures seem to be observers rather than participants in the main activity of the scene, and so their role cannot clearly be ascertained.

A potential pitfall inherent in the identification of small figures as dwarfs results from the frequent Maya practice of depicting persons of subsidiary importance as of slighter stature than the principal figures. Slaves, captives and even attendants are frequently considerably smaller than important personages, leaving no reason to assume that the artists is attempting to represent beings of literally smaller size. Sculptural examples from Palenque, where dwarf figurines of Jaina Phase II are known to occur (Ruz 1952: Lam.XXII), depict small individuals supporting on their backs the principal participants (Maudslay 1889-1902, IV:Pl.88), though it seems unlikely that reference is made to a race of dwarfs, or at least to that depicted in the figurines, as their body proportions seem fairly normal.

Among the clearest representations of dwarfs of the variety seen in the Jaina complex is that painted on a cylindrical vase from Yalloch, B.H. (Gordon and Mason 1925-28:Pl.XVIII). A very small person, attired only in loincloth and beads and displaying the fatty, short-limbed proportions characteristic of figurine dwarfs, is attendant on one of the dancers. Neither his attitude nor the activity of the scene, however, offer much to clarify the nature of the dwarfs.

The possibility cannot be discounted that in the Jaina dwarfs there is a retention of the older, Olmec-derived association of the jaguar with beings

of infantile aspect. Anders (1970:203) has called attention to the jaguar affiliations of beings of this sort (Zwerge mit den Baby-Gesichtern) and to the persistence of related ideas along the Gulf coast. If such an association pertains to the Jaina complex, however, it must have been tacitly understood, as there seems to be nothing in the way of direct jaguar symbolism on these pieces.

Of course, there remains the unlikely possibility that dwarf figurines relate not to mythic or supernatural beings, but rather to actual physical types represented in the aboriginal population. It is well known that dwarfs were kept at court in the Aztec capital to act as buffoons and jesters. Dwarfism occurs sporadically among the present day population of Yucatan, and in most of the larger cities such individuals may be seen with some frequency. Such an explanation seems unsatisfactory, however, in the light of the temporal distribution of dwarf figurines unless their very reduced importance in the Campeche Phase (Pl.2d) is based solely on shifting preference of figurine subjects. It would appear far more likely that the occurrence of actual dwarfs provided the prototypes on which myths, including modern ones, were based, and that dwarf figurines, particularly those of Jaina Phase II, represent the florescence of such a mythology of relatively short-lived duration on the Campeche coast. While the specimen from Palenque is stylistically so similar to certain Jaina dwarfs that we must assume a fairly wide distribution of this mythology (provided the Palenque piece is not simply an isolated importation), there seem few grounds for assuming that all occurrences of dwarfs in Classic period art refer to the same, or even to related, bodies of belief. Among the more compelling lessons which ethnographic analogy can offer is that of the regional diversity of many of the idea systems in the Maya area. In most respects the Campeche coast was peripheral to the better known developments of Classic Maya civilization, and probably participated only in part, or in modified form, in the recognition or veneration of various aspects of the supernatural world which enjoyed great currency in the southern lowlands.

Although the matter of double figurines depicting a woman and a smaller individual with adult characteristics has been taken up in the discussion of possible 'moon goddess' figurines, it is worth pointing out here that, despite their relative size, these small figures lack any of the admittedly sparse characteristics by which dwarfs are generally accompanied in the Jaina complex, and probably have a quite distinct iconographic significance.

Ball Players (Plate 3a-d)

It is not my intent to attempt to bring together here all available information and speculation on the Mayan ball game. Adequate summaries, such as those of Blom (1932) and Tozzer (1957:135-142), have already compiled much data relevant to the nature of the game, the manner of play, and the various means by which scores were achieved and penalties were imposed. A small number of Jaina figurines, however, which seem to represent ball players demands a comparison with the recognizable attributes and paraphernalia which have been ascribed to participants in the game.

The most extensive series of figurines identified as ball players are those reported by Joyce (1933) from Lubaantun (Butler's Type X5; 1935:648). The principal diagnostic features of these specimens, and those by which Joyce identifies them as ball players, consist of a visor-like helmet, a gloved right hand, and pronounced 'thigh flaps' worn under the loincloth apron. The form seems unique to Lubaantun; visor helmets, though associated by Joyce with the ball game on the basis of a few passages in the Popul Vuh, do not generally characterize Maya representations of ball players in either pottery or stone, and are absent from the Jaina complex. 'Thigh flaps' and protective gloves, on the other hand, are regularly recurring features and doubtless constitute more reliable diagnostics. On a mold-impressed figurine whistle from Icaiche, Q.R., Thompson (1943:161) identifies the former and sees a possible representation of the latter, combined with features (heavily padded belt, ball held under the arm) which leave little doubt that a ball player is depicted.

The first notice of ball players in the Jaina complex comes from Toscano (1945) who illustrates a specimen of Jaina Phase I with an extremely heavy belt and a knee shield, and a molded specimen which seems closely related to a Jaina II group, wearing a padded belt, knee shields and hand guards. In the corpus of figurines with firm Jaina provenience only nine specimens bear accoutrements which seem to relate significantly to the ball game, though various unprovenienced specimens in museums and private collections which may relate to Jaina I, and various others which exhibit characteristics of Jaina II, clearly augment their numbers.

From Jaina I two specimens, both manufactured in an atypical medium tempered light buff ware, depict males in a kneeling position with the forward (left) arm bent back at the elbow and the other arm extended backward (Pl.3a,b). In both cases the figures are equipped with extensive padding bound around the waist, and one has the forearm of the front arm protected by a wrapped band of flexible material which, to judge from the texturing marks given its surface, seems to have been woven. Neither wears a distinctive head covering or face protector, though they seem certainly to represent ball players, both on the basis of the padded belt at the waist and from their particularly dynamic and assymetrical poses. This pose characterizes several representations of ball players in Maya art, including painted designs on pottery and various stone ball court markers and monuments from widely separate regions (e.g., Chinkultic: Morley 1937-38, I:tailpiece; Middle Usumacinta: von Winning 1968: Pl.464; Ichmul: Proskouriakoff 1950: Fig.82a). Although the strongly directed character of the pose gives the impression of violent activity, particularly on the marker from Chinkultic where a ball is depicted apparently deflecting from the player's outthrust hip, in several instances, as in these figurines, the player seems more to be kneeling than engaging in active play. I think it not unlikely that this pose may refer not to observation of players in motion so much as to a ritual gesture adopted before or after actual play, perhaps in the manner of a salute to the onlookers or a gesture of deference to the patrons of the game.

Two other modelled specimens, though lacking provenience, deserve note as they pertain perhaps to Jaina Phase I and exhibit unique accoutrements relevant to the ball game complex. The first, illustrated by Anton (1970:Pl.201) from a private collection, shows strong similarities to certain standing male figurines of Jaina I, but it wears at the center of its belt what can be interpreted only as one of the 'thin stone heads' which characterize the sculptural complex of central Veracruz. The distribution of these heads includes most of the Maya area, and the suggestion has been made by Ekholm (1949) that they figured in the ceremonial paraphernalia of the ball game. Certainly Ekholm's proposal of the manner of their use seems confirmed by this specimen, though it lacks other features which associate it clearly with the ball game. About the second specimen, currently in the American Museum of Natural History, little doubt can be entertained. A large ball is held against the body in one hand, and the figure wears a hip guard composed not of padding, as on most specimens, but of vertical slats connected by cording. Although in itself not conclusive, the deer-head headdress worn by this specimen supports the identification as a ball player (cf. below).

Apparently all members of one replicative group of Jaina II were intended to represent ball players; 'thigh flaps' or a heavily padded belt at the waist are characteristic of all such specimens, and individual pieces are variously equipped with an actual ball, knee guards, and what may be the equivalent of the jaguar-headed devices held by each of the figures on the panels of the Great Ball Court at Chichen Itza (Pl.3c; von Winning 1968:Pl.455 gives a better preserved specimen cast from the same mold; cf. Tozzer 1957:139). All of these specimens wear deer-heads as headdresses, a trait which in the Jaina complex may have been at least temporarily emblematic of ball players. Perhaps significant in this respect is the animal head, apparently that of a deer, being set to earth by one of the players on a ball court marker at Copan (Morley 1937-38, III:tailpiece), though the connection is not preserved on most representations of ball players. Further, deer-head headdresses in the Jaina complex occur also on specimens of 'dwarf' figurines, and on various of the aged men in amorous confrontation with possible "Moon goddess" figures; their occurrence as a consistent stylistic feature, however, is limited to the ball players of Jaina II.

Finally, two specimens thought to be of foreign introduction (probably from southern Veracruz; Corson n.d.) are tentatively identified as ball players by virtue of the fact that each wears about its waist what appears to be a stone 'yoke' (Pl.3d). The probable relation of yokes to the ball game has been explored elsewhere (Thompson 1941; Ekholm 1946), though in general they seem not to have figured importantly in the Jaina complex, limited as they are to these specimens which do not exhibit local stages of development. It is particularly suggestive of the correctness of the identification that the geographic relations of these figurines seem to lie in the direction of the region in which the production of stone yokes was centered.

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End Note:

¹ In its original form this paper constituted Chapter 5 of a doctoral dissertation on Jaina figurines written in the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley (Corson, n.d.). Research was sponsored by a dissertation grant from the National Science Foundation and a grant-in-aid from the Center for Latin American Studies, Berkeley, California. Special thanks for assistance and advice are due Carmen Cook de Leonard, John A. Graham and Robert F. Heizer.

Plate 1. Moon Goddess

- a. Jaina Phase 2. Rattle, moldcast. Medium tempered orange paste, unpainted. Height: 5 7/8". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-2239.

- b. Jaina Phase 2. Rattle, moldcast. Medium tempered orange paste with blue, white, black and red paint. Height: 5 7/8". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-641.

- c. Jaina Phase 2. Rattle, moldcast. Medium tempered orange paste, unpainted. Height: 8 1/8". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-1022.

- d. Jonuta Phase. Rattle, moldcast, with post-mold detailing. Fine tempered orange paste, unpainted. Height: 6 5/8". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-2235.



a



b



c



d

Plate 2. Moon Goddess and Dwarfs

- a. Jaina Phase 2. Rattle, moldcast. Medium tempered orange paste, unpainted. Height: 5 1/2". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-631.
- b. Jaina Phase 2. Whistle, moldcast with applique. Medium tempered orange paste, unpainted. Height: 4 1/8". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-1518.
- c. Jaina Phase 2. Whistle, moldcast. Medium tempered buff paste with white paint. Height: 2 3/8". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-2193.
- d. Campeche Phase. Whistle, moldcast. Fine tempered orange paste with white slip. Height: 6 1/8". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-1541.



a



b



c



d

Plate 3. Ball Players

- a. Jaina Phase 1. Hand modelled. Medium tempered light buff paste with white paint. Height: 5 3/4". Mus. Nac. de Ant.
- b. Jaina Phase 1. Hand modelled. Medium tempered buff paste with white and blue paint. Height: 5 1/8". Mus. Nac. de Ant.
- c. Jaina Phase 2. Whistle, moldcast. Medium tempered orange paste with possible traces of red paint. Height: 7 1/8". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-2212.
- d. Extraneous (?). Whistle, moldcast. Fine tempered cream paste with white paint. Height: 7 1/4". Mus. Nac. de Ant. #5-2118.



a



b



c



d

VI. LANGUAGES OF THE CHIAPAS COAST AND INTERIOR IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD
1525 - 1820

Lawrence H. Feldman

Over a period of several years I have accumulated information on the location of Indian languages in the Mexican state of Chiapas. This information, in part, was published elsewhere (Feldman 1972:57-58). However in May 1973 considerable amounts of new data suddenly came to my attention. Most important was the *Relacion de los Pueblos que Comprehende el Obispado de Chiapa (Obispo de Chiapa y Soconusco 1774)*, a copy of which was found in the Sauer Collection of the Department of Geography, University of California at Berkeley. It gives a systematic survey of conditions existing in the year 1774. A collection of manuscripts photocopied by Nicolas Hellmuth in the *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, Spain, provide a second corpus of data. These, dating from the 1730's, pertain primarily to the Soconusco and adjacent areas. Their value lies in their occasional references to the more obscure languages which even then were close to extinction.

Finally examination of materials in the Bancroft Library brought to light a valuable listing hidden in an unpublished sixteenth century Tzeltal vocabulary. It provides the Tzeltal Maya name (often with a Spanish translation) of places now only known by Spanish or Nahuatl terms (Table 1). The area covered by the place names runs from the Chol of Palenque southeast to the Guatemala - Chiapas border. The terms are most likely prehispanic in origin and as such should be invaluable for those seeking glyphic equivalents. A synthesis of information contained in all available sources formed the basis of Figures 1, 2, and 3. These maps indicate the primary tongue of each municipality. Since in a number of ways they differ from standard presentations (i.e. of Longacre 1967 or Johnson 1940) some explanation of these discrepancies is in order.

Zantwijk (1963:179-184) found several localities where Nahuatl ("Mexicano") was still spoken in highland Chiapas. Reyes (1961:161-166) provides a word list from one of them, Soyalo, given as Tzeltal-Tzotzil on my maps. Finally many authors speak of Soconusco as Nahuatl speaking (one of the earliest of these is *Obispo de Chiapa y Soconusco 1774*). However the maps follow the earliest available manuscripts in defining language distribution; and these refer to Nahuatl as a second language throughout Soconusco (see Feldman 1972) and everywhere in the highlands, except at Bochil and Las Casas, (formerly Ciudad Real).

Following Ara (n.d.) who speaks of the very great similarities between Tzeltal and Tzotzil, the maps attempt no separation of the two tongues. Those who wish to do so, for the eighteenth century, are advised to check *Obispo de Chiapa y Soconusco (1774)* where there is ample information. Isolated amidst the Tzeltal-Tzotzil languages were Zoque enclaves at or about Teopisca. These existed as late as 1697 when a manuscript of the *Archivo General de Centro*

America in Guatemala City (hereafter abbreviated AGCA) attests to its existence (see Feldman 1972). Eighteenth century documents are more ambiguous, not certifying the existence of any particular native language at Teopisca or its dependencies. Elsewhere another possible isolate was at Cintalapa. Said to be of "indios de idioma forastero nombrado Popoluca" early in the eighteenth century (Laguna 1735), these Indians are no longer mentioned in 1774.

The problem repeats in Soconusco where the Maa or "Mame" language first appears in the records in 1656 (Reyes 1961:178), and again in 1735 (Laguna 1735) but by the end of the century has vanished from view. Fortunately in this instance a listing of personal names for one Maa town, Tustla, is available for study, (Table 2). They might be interpreted to suggest Zoquean influence. Apparently Maa was not the only now extinct tongue on the Chiapas coast. The people of Mazatan spoke a language different from that of Tapachula (Tapachulteca Zoque) and Tustla (Maa). Another language, that of Zapatula, "Tianguistlan," Tizapa and Tuzantla was the same as that spoken "in the town of Comalapa" (which was Cabil), (Reyes 1961:178). In Huistla "its mother tongue . . . is like that of Chiapa de los Indios" (Chiapaneca), (Reyes 1961:178). The presence of Chiapaneca on the coast is also implied by other sources, for Torquemada (1969,1:331-332) speaks of the migration of Chiapaneca into lower Central America from Soconusco. The native language of Acopetagua and Zacapulco was "similar to that of the indians of the Zoques" while all that is said about Escuintla is that its "tongue is not Mexicana", (Reyes 1961:178-179). Only the Tapachulteca Zoque language survived into the twentieth century on the coast (Sapper 1912:295-320).

More confusing is a portion of the Guatemala - Chiapas border long associated with four languages. The bishop of Chiapas (Obispo de Chiapa y Soconusco 1774) explains that the name of the idiom for this area (Comitlan) is Chanaval meaning four languages, in reference to the Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Chol and Coxhog languages spoken in the Bishopric. However, except for Coxhog, these are not the languages referred to in the earlier manuscripts for the area about Comitlan.

In 1659 the Coxoc language was spoken at Comitlan and Sapaluta (AGCA MS No. Al.11.3, Al.39, Legajo 1751, Folio 306v). In an eighteenth century document (Santander et al 1733) it was written that the "idiom Coxoc is spoken in two parishes of the province . . . and in its capital which is the town of Comitlan . . . one only speaks the idiom Chanabal." One assumes therefore that Coxoc and Chanabal (today called Toholabal) are two separate languages, Chanabal being the only language spoken in 1733 at Comitlan. This appears confirmed by Laguna (1735) who writes of three separate languages (Chanabal, Cabil and Coxhog) spoken among the parishes of Comitlan. The same author goes on to assign Escuintenango to Coxhog and Chicomucelo (plus three other unnamed communities that other sources identify as Yayaguita, Comalapa and "Utatan" -- see Feldman 1972) to Cabil. These language names may actually derive from the native names for the towns, for Ara (Table 1) calls Escuintenango "Coxaghav" and Chicomucelo "Cahbha."

So far, so good; however seventeenth century documents assign Escuintenango and Aquespala to the Corot language. One year later (1661), documents of the same series assign Escuintenango, Conetla and Aquespala to the Cabil language (Feldman 1972:58). Ultimately (in 1698) similar documents speak of Escuintenango as Coxoh in speech. Over a period of less than a century the town of Escuintenango has changed from Corot to Cabil to Coxoh to Coxhog (in 1735).

If one assumes that Coxoh, Coxoc and Coxhog are all spelling variants of Coxag (from the sixteenth century place name), and not separate languages, this still leaves one with one otherwise unknown language (Corot) and a rather rapid change in Escuintenango from one language to another. Until, or unless, new documents require other explanations I am assuming that this portion of Chiapas was quadri-lingual, speaking four languages: Chanabal (or Toholabal), Corot, Cabil and Coxag; and that by the end of the eighteenth century only Coxag and Toholabal survived near, or at, Comitlan, allowing the bishop of Chiapas to reinterpretate the term "Chanaval" to mean other languages. What the vanished tongues were is something of a problem. Cabil lasted until the early twentieth century at Chicomucelo when a word list collected there established it as a Huastecan Mayan language. Other distinct Mayan tongues yet survive not too far away from Comitlan at Motozintla (Mocho) and Mazapa (Teco) (Kaufman 1969). One can only speculate that these other names (Corot and Coxag) apply to them.

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Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Nicolas Hellmuth who kindly took time off from his own research to make copies of requested manuscripts while at the Archivo General de Las Indias, Seville, Spain. Also I would like to express my gratitude to the Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, for permission to reproduce portions of the "Bocabulario Lengua Tzeldal", M-M 479.

Table 1. Early Chiapas Place Names*

Ciudad Real: Ghobel (Sabana de Sacate)	Chamula: Chambo (Agua Muerto)
San Andres: Zacanchen (Barranca Blanca)	Teopisca: Ymoxol
San Miguel: Mitontie (Lugares de Muchas Piedras)	Aguacatenango: Tzek
Comitlan: Balumcanan (Nueve Estrellas)	San Geronimo: Bachalon
San Pedro: Chenalho (Agua de Pozo)	Tumbala: Ghcuevitz
Santa Catarina: Zacton (Piedra Blanca)	Tila: Tzija
Tenexapa: Tobelton (Sabana de Piedras)	Petalcingo: Caghol
Ocotenango: Cancuc (Pluma Amarilla)	Palenque: Ghochan
Guaquitepeque: Taquinwitz (Cerro Seca)	Zapaluta: Ghunquiziz
Ocotzingo: Yaxti (or) Yaxbite (Palo Verde)	Coneta: Vaacu
Chiquimuzelo: Cahbha (Brazo de Agua o de Rio)	Escuintenango: Coxaghav
Zozocoltenango: Uninquibal (Cantaro Tierno)	Aquespala: Ainal (Lagarto)
San Bartolome: Alanchen (Barranca Honda)	Zoyatitlan: Vololtulan
Zinacantan: Tzotzlem (Casa de Murcielago)	San Martin: Amac
San Pablo: Ghharanichim (Tierra de Flores)	Yitapilla: Chiha (Agua Dulce)
Totolapa: Hotigholon (Tela Larga)	Acala: Amoxton
Tealtepeque: Oxchuc (Tres Nudos)	Zacualpa: Coilha
Pinula: Muculaquil (Sabana Grande)	Chiapa: Zactan (Cal Blanca)
Chalchitan: Tiucum (? Orilla de Rio)	Ystapa: Hibac
Copanavastlan: Vxtc (Zapote Negro)	Coapa: Xcabayn (Mano de Lagarto)
Santiago: Yaxallum (Tierra Amarilla)	Citala: Xulubna (Casa de Cuernos)
Guytiopa: Chanulucun (Lombris de Agua)	Ocotitan: Cibacha (Agua de Tinta)
Plantanos: Yolho (Hijo de Agua)	Gustlan: Guina (Casa de Fiesta)

* Based on Folios 145 through 146 of Ara (n.d.). Reproduced by permission of the Director, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Table 2. Tustla Soconusco Surnames *

Agilal	Hamazeme	Picu
Aghine	Ystozan	Popoheye
Capeuccio	Malmaza	Puzihama
Caemaza	Masmaza	Puzimea
Canguoco	Mezazauí	Puzicooy
Cauzan	Meatoqui	Pupochau
Campazpa	Mea	Queui
Cauizauí	Mital	Sacayu
Cantapi	Mongcooi	Soma
Ceui	Napa	Sagcayu
Cantequi	Nepinzan	Sachauí
Coinapa	Nepincoque	Sipuian
Cunpazpa	Nepinsoma	Tantan
Cunbizi	Nepinchui	Tepisa
Cunhama	Nepinhama	Teumpu
Choca	Nopa	Tetuma
Chiue	Ompasiqui	Tepu
Hayumca	Ouachali	Tozozpa
Heyeue	Ponhugui	Uenipupo
Heyecovi	Popotopi	Uezpupo
Hamacangue	Ponhuqui	Uichuc
Uspi	Uaizuz	Yumizauí
Zacun	Zagon	Zachon
Zahon	Zantoqui	Zatu
	Zoca	

* Several possible morphemes repeat in a number of words. Some of these often appearing sound combinations seem very similar to those in known Zoquean languages (i.e. Zan- to tsaan: Mixe for "snake" or -toqui to to'c: Mixe for "one"). Two groups of possible morphemes appear in the listing. Members of each group combine only with members of the same group. Group I consists of: Nepin-, Puzi-, -toqui, Cun, -coque, Zan-, -soma, -chui, Hama, Mea-, -cooy. Group II is made up of: Uez-, Ueni-, Pupo (Popo), -heye, -topi, -chau. All surnames are derived from Sebastian (1735).

Figure 1.

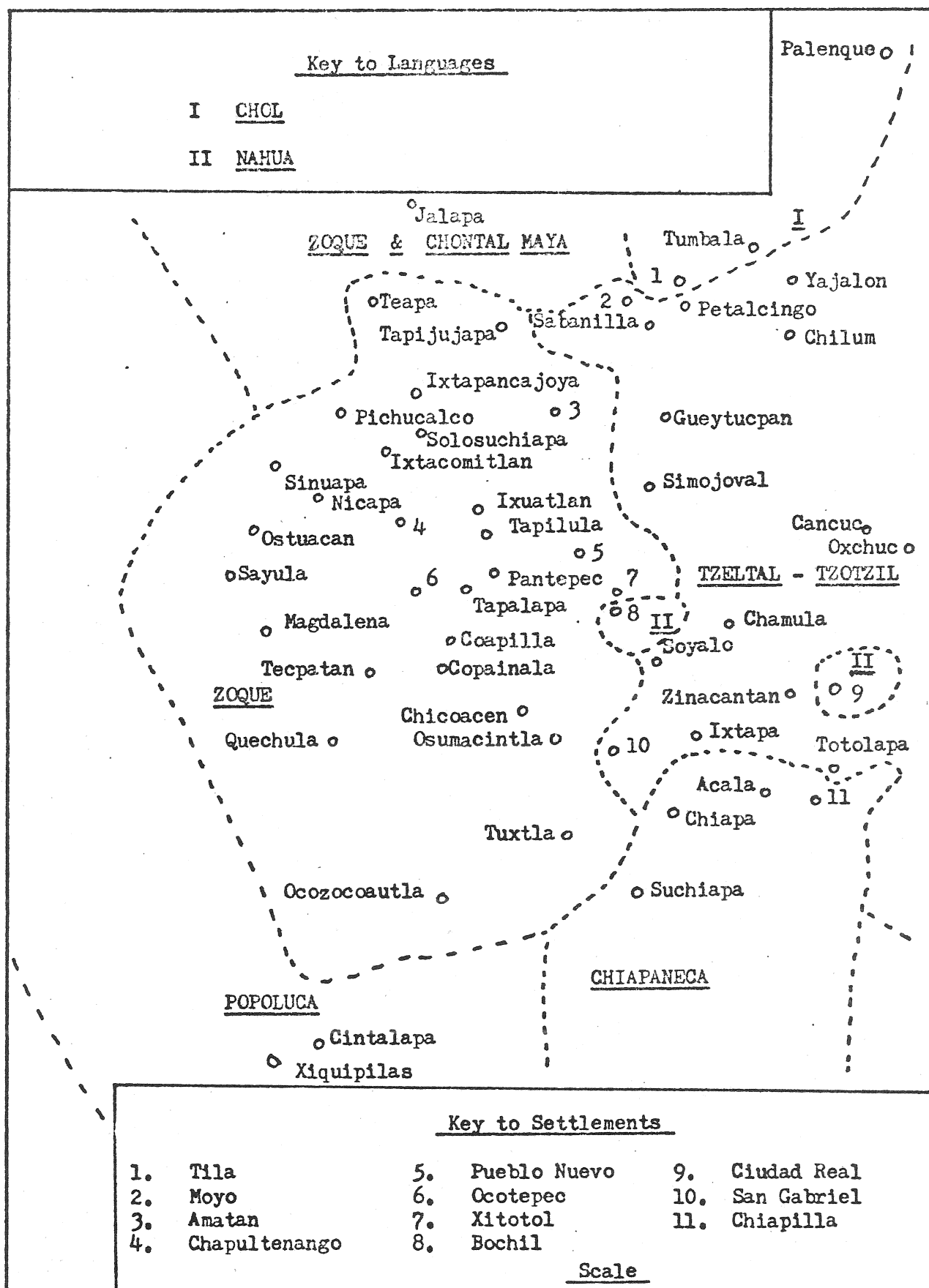


Figure 2.

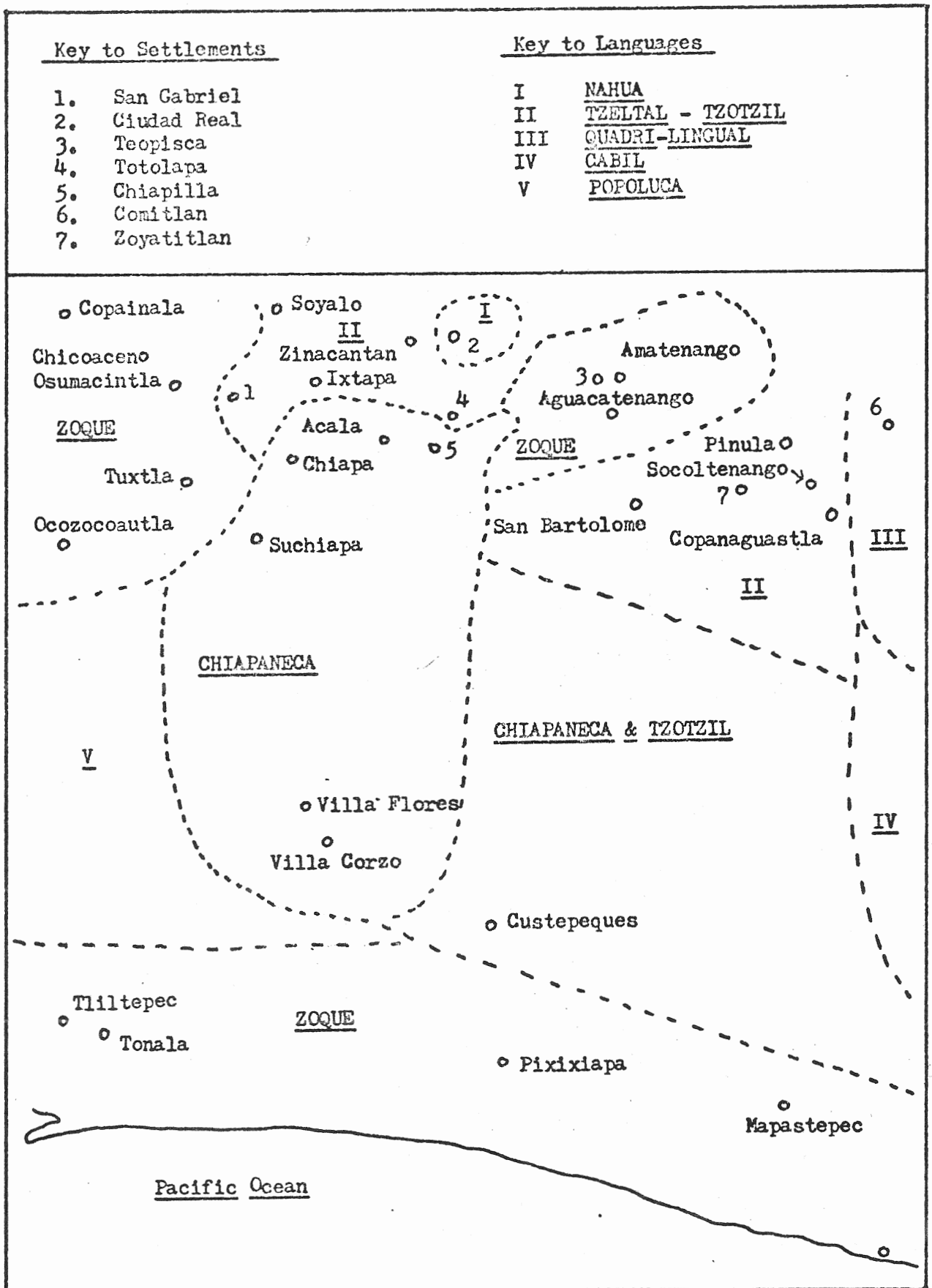


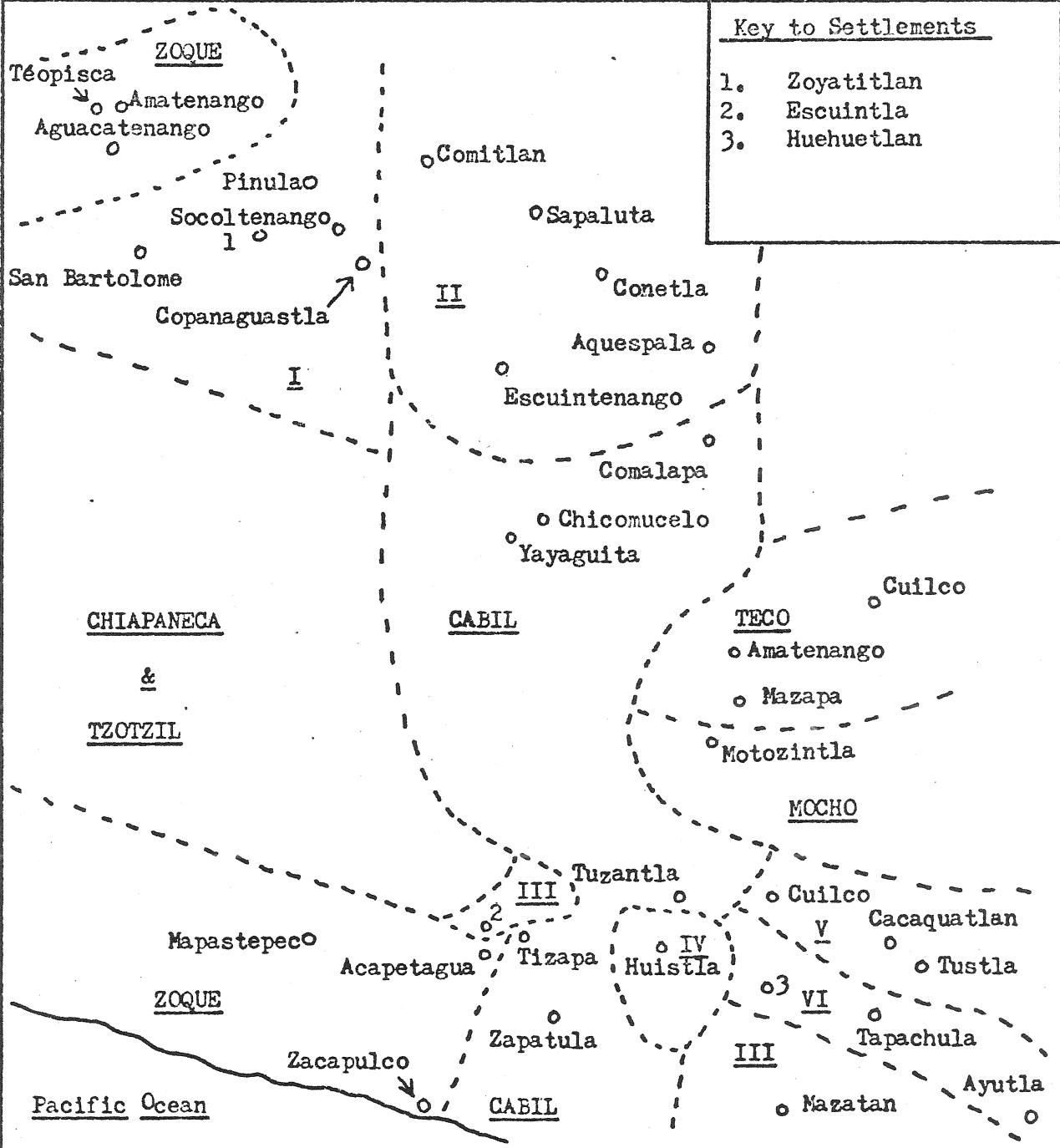
Figure 3.

Key to Languages

- I TZELTAL - TZOTZIL
- II QUADRI-LINGUAL
- III Unknown
- IV CHIAPANECA
- V MAA
- VI TAPACHULTECA ZOQUE

Key to Settlements

- 1. Zoyatitlan
- 2. Escuintla
- 3. Huehuetlan



VII. STONES FOR THE ARCHAEOLOGIST

Lawrence H. Feldman

Excavation of archaeological sites often results in the finding of many artifacts of stone. The archaeologist finds these stones, types them and attempts to determine what their function was in the society of the people who utilized them. Although informed by analogs elsewhere, by necessity the analysis of the stone artifacts often depends primarily upon a viewpoint alien to its makers. Stones are long lasting, even when the elements or man have been particularly destructive, and a few survive the ravages of time. Written records are, on the other hand, one of the more immediate candidates for destruction and disappearance. In Mesoamerica the anthropologist is indebted to a colonial bureaucracy, and an aboriginal tradition of literacy, which bequeathed an archive of useful documents. This is an article using the perishable words of antiquity to describe the imperishable stones of archaeology. The aim is to provide a convenient summary of scattered ethnohistoric data on the subject.

Work was begun by an ethnohistoric survey of early vocabularies selected from widely separated parts of Mesoamerica. These were for the Tarascan (Gilberti 1962), Nahua or "Aztec" (Molina 1944), Yucatec Maya (Arias ca. 1625 and Ciudad Real 1929), Pokom Maya (Zuniga 1608 and Moran 1720), and Cakchiquel Maya (Coto 1610 and Saenz 1940) languages. In Central Mexico the bare bones of vocabulary definitions have been greatly enriched by Spanish and Nahua texts.

CENTRAL MEXICO

Three early compilations supply a valuable supplement to the vocabularies. They are The General History of the Things of New Spain (Sahagun 1954, 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965), the Matricula de Tributos (and its variants; see Barlow 1949 as well as Scholes and Adams 1957) and the Historia Natural de Nueva Espana (Hernandez 1959). All told, these sources provide more than fifty Central Mexican names for different rocks and minerals, (Tables 1, 2, and 3). The Nahua names for the most highly valued stones were sorted, on the basis of common nominal roots, into eight native categories. Each has some trait common to all its component stones. Thus Tecpatl stones are those that seem to contain fire and Xihuitl stones are blue or blue-green soft stone. It would be of interest to see if these terminological clusters are reflected in artifact distribution at sites or to what extent they are symbolic of other ideological systems (i.e. the vertical stratification of the universe in Central Mexican religion; Nicholson 1971). The vast majority of the twenty stones not found in one of these groups (cf. Table 3) had little value in small quantities. Nevertheless stones of both categories were imported from great distances.

Ten stones (teoxihuitl, tlapalteoxihuitl, amber, crystal, obsidian, amethyst, flint, jet, bloodstone and "mirror stone"), are listed as having been mined for the inhabitants of Central Mexico, (Sahagun 1961:168; Sahagun 1963:222). Of these, amber was imported as uncut stone from mines in the Mexican state of Chiapas and as carefully shaped artifacts from the Aztec provinces of Cuertlaxtlan and Tochtepec (both in Veracruz) (Barlow 1949). These last two provinces also paid their taxes in objects made out of crystal. Turquoise arrived in Central Mexico from the state of Veracruz (Cuertlaxtlan and Tochpan provinces) and north-western Oaxaca (Yoaltepec province), (Scholes and Adams 1957; Barlow 1949).

References to places of origin for chalchihuitl artifacts are more extensive than any other. Because this group of stones was so highly valued, it was without doubt obtained from many localities that did not possess mines of these minerals. Of the provinces listed as paying tribute in objects of chalchihuitl, one perhaps should strike out the names of Coayxtlahuacan (central Oaxaca), Tochtepec, Xoconochco (Chiapas coast) and Cuertlaxtlan, since these were areas actively engaged in trade with lands further south that had known deposits of greenstone (i.e. Guatemala; see below). Remaining potential sources are Tochpan, Quiauhuateopan (north-east Guerrero) and Tepequaquilco (northern Guerrero) (Barlow 1949). Tepequaquilco (especially between the towns of Totoltepec and Cuetzala) is the only source of greenstone actually within Central Mexico.

Several other stones were also imported from known localities. Xiuhtomollin came from Xoconochco and the Guatemalan highlands (Sahagun 1963:189). Muscovite mica (chimaltizatl) "comes from Huaxtepec," Morelos (Sahagun 1963:244; unless otherwise cited all mineral identifications were made by L. H. Feldman). Of the more utilitarian stones, obsidian was the most common in use for edged tools.

The Hidalgo towns of Pachuca, Epazoyuca, Tlaquilpan, Tezontepec and Cempoala, together with the town of Temascalalpan, gave in the fifteenth century to Texcoco the obsidian razors (with which they/the Texcocans/ made macanas" (war clubs) ("Relaciones Historicas Estadisticas" in Barlow 1949:71). These towns are close to the "Cruz del Milagro" mines south of the Cerro de las Navajas and it is quite possible that they are the source for this tribute (Spence and Parsons 1967:542; Holmes 1900:405-416). The description of the obsidian from this locality fits the definition of xoxouhquijitztli given in Sahagun (1962:227). In Puebla the adjacent towns of Zoyatitlanapa and Coatzingo gave "razors in order to place on the spears" to their overlords in the Valley of Mexico (Barlow 1949: 102. Perhaps this is the source of the types B and F obsidian known archaeologically at Cholula; cf. Hester et al 1972).

Several localities are known to have had quarries for building stone. North of the Valley of Mexico they existed at Tecpatepac, Zimapan, Atitalaquia and Tlemaco (all in the state of Hidalgo) and at Hueyopxtla, Mexico (Contreras 1905:37; Paso y Troncoso 1905; Gonzalez de Cossio 1952; Murguia 1905:5; Jaso 1905:207). Descriptions of the quarry stones indicate that calcareous rocks

(i.e. limestone) were common objectives of these operations. In the Valley of Mexico a white stone, used for the facades of buildings and for columns, was removed from Cerro Chimalhuacan by the inhabitants of small towns south of Texcoco, (Salazar 1905:63,78). Tezontli deposits were utilized by the inhabitants of Tepoztlan, Morelos (Gutierrez de Liebana 1905:249). Another source, the Codice Aubin, refers several times to the excavation of stone at Malinalco (Dibble 1963:50).

Most limestone used in the Valley of Mexico seems to have come from the area known as the Teotlalpan. Within this region, extending from the town of Zumpango north to Actopan and west towards Zimapan, a tremendous amount of lime was produced from local deposits. The province of Atotonilco is stated to have delivered 400 loads (1 load was 23 kilos; Borah and Cook 1958:12) semiannually to the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan. Spanish tax records of only a few decades later establish that almost every town in the Teotlalpan was engaged in the mining of limestone and the production of lime (Gonzalez de Cossio 1952; Paso y Troncosco 1905). Further south the province of Tepeacac produced 4,000 loads of "white" lime annually. This heavier production seems restricted to the towns of Zoyatitlanapa and Coatzingo, Puebla (Barlow 1949:102). Two other towns are mentioned in the early records as paying tribute in lime and this may reflect local production. These towns are Zoltepec, Mexico and Tepoztlan, Morelos (Davila 1905:13; Gutierrez de Liebana 1905:249).

Stonecutters, in the decades immediately after the Spanish conquest, seem to have been restricted to a few quarters in the towns of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan, and Xochimilco. During "the early Spanish campaigns of ecclesiastical building they traveled from site to site when new churches and monasteries were in progress" (Gibson 1964:351). The "grandfathers /and/ fathers of all the lapidaries" of Tenochtitlan were said to have come from Xochimilco in prehispanic times (Sahagun 1959:80). Ixtlilxochitl (1965, 2:69-71) in reference to other craftsmen, speaks of their prehispanic migration to Texcoco when that town began to be an important center. Torquemada (1969, 1:255) recorded an early Postclassic movement of lapidarists to Tula, Hidalgo. The impression received from all these citations is that stoneworkers were specialists privileged to ply their trade in any town, but were restricted in residence to a few more important centers.

Many of the stones were the "privilege of the ruler"; these included black and red pumice for square stone columns, as well as gem stones like chalchihuitl, teoxihuitl, quetzalchalchihuitl, iztac chalchihuitl and amethyst for making into lip plugs and necklaces (Sahagun 1965). Chalchihuitl or teoxihuitl (and quetzalitztl) was sold in the market but not alongside less valued stones such as limestone (tenextli) and obsidian (itztli). The valued stones were sold separately from the ones of less worth (Sahagun 1954:67-68). Nor were commoners allowed to use the restricted stones.

If it is known, if it is seen that someone took the privilege of the rulers; they/the rulers/ would speak, they/the commoners/ would be punished, they would be hung, thus they would die (Sahagun 1965).

Craftmen at Tula, Hidalgo, in the early Postclassic period, used chahchihuitl, teoxihuitl, tlalitztl, and quetzalitzili (Sahagun 1961:167). Tenochtitlan lapidaries added to this inventory the working of white crystal, amethysts, opal, eztecpatl and xihuhtomolli. By means of abrasive sand, metal drills, "worked flint tools" and fine cane containing silica, these stones were shaped into valued ornaments (Sahagun 1959:81-82). A short compilation of stone artifacts (Table 4) was obtained from the Molina (1944) vocabulary and several Nahuatl texts (cf. Sahagun 1954, 1959, 1961, 1963). They include artifacts made by other craftmen. A few descriptions can be found of the activities of these other workers in stone.

The stonecutter (tetzotzonqui)

quarries, breaks, pecks, smooths them; tumbles, breaks them from the surface; forms the corner stone; places, fits well; abrades them; pounds, hammers them; splits them with a wedge, marks them with black; forms curved stone--cuts it. He carves out habitations in the rock; sculptures in stone, curves it; forms works of artifice, of skill (Sahagun 1961:27-28).

The stones from which metates are made is "black, dark, hard . . . asperous, scabrous, unpleasing, blemished. It is which can be fashioned well, worked, pecked, smoothed, abraded, sculptured" (Sahagun 1963:263). Several descriptions of the Central Mexican manufacture of flaked artifacts exist in the literature. The reader should consult previous articles by Crabtree (1968), Fletcher (1970) and Feldman (1971).

MICHOACAN AND SOUTHERN MESOAMERICA

There are other areas in Mesoamerica that can provide information on usage of rocks and minerals. However, in contrast to Central Mexico, the information is so sparse that it is thought best to treat all these areas as a single unit. Our resources are the early dictionaries, supplemented by occasional references from other types of documents. One of the areas of interest, Michoacan, is located west of Central Mexico.

Here a Tarascan empire was cut off from trade with lands in nuclear Mesoamerica by the Aztec hegemony, and this is reflected in the absence of certain stones from its sixteenth century vocabularies (i.e. amber). The ten Tarascan stones given by Gilberti (1962) are: crystal (tzarati), marble (itsimaruuati), precious greenstone (maruuati hatzihtah pemat), flint (thzinapu), chalk (viras), jasper (cuereeri mantzantzas), limestone (hapu tzacapu curiracata), flagstone (viramu), pumice (xanamu) and sandstone (cheri tzacapu).

A little is known of Tarascan stone resources. An obsidian mine was worked at Ucareo (Paso y Troncoso 1905). Lime was obtained from deposits near Cuitzeo and red building stone was quarried at Xiquilpan (Ramos 1958:14, 59). Each of the crafts had government appointed officials. "One called Cacari. . . /was the/ principal supervisor of the flint workers" (Craine and Reindorp 1970:12;

Gilberti 1962). The only description of any of their activities is a picture of a pressure flaker at work, in The Chronicles of Michoacan (Craine and Rein-dorp 1970:plate 2).

Northern Yucatan, in contrast to Michoacan, was a land of rather limited mineral resources. Only eight stones and sixteen stone artifacts were obtained from the extensive vocabularies of its sixteenth century speech. The stones are white flint (zazatok), red flint (chachactok), crystal (puuc), greenstone (poltziltun), marble (tok tunich), limestone (taan), alabaster (zac xix), and carnelian (chacaltun) (see Table 5 for the list of stone artifacts). Of these stones, limestone was common, flint exported, and crystal or greenstone (like obsidian and other stones not given in the vocabularies) extensively imported from elsewhere (cf. Roys 1965:670). The rulers of adjacent Tabasco traded chalchihuitl, quetzalchalchihuitl, and quetzalitztli stone for the products of Central Mexico (Sahagun 1959:18-19). It would seem that these goods must have come from the lands farther south.

Many of the gem stones most highly valued by the aboriginal inhabitants of Mesoamerica occur naturally within or close to the boundaries of the Cakchiquel and Pokom peoples of the Central Guatemalan highlands. Precious stones here fell into one of three functional classes. Tribute Gems were the most valued of all stones. In the prehispanic tax lists of Guatemala, these are the only stones demanded by the Indian overlords. There were at least five different kinds of Tribute Gems: green precious stone or jade (Pokom rakkual, Cakchiquel tinwchachalij), white precious stone or pearls (Pokom zakkual), red precious stone or jasper (Pokom kakkual), turquoise (Pokom and Cakchiquel xit) and amber (Cakchiquel yamanic).

Jade was the most valuable stone. Several different kinds of gem quality jade are recognized today (Foshag 1954:18). No jade, other than the pale-green stone without distinct granularity, is yet known from Protohistoric deposits (i.e. at Zaculeu; Woodbury and Trik 1953; Foshag 1954:34). This kind of jade occurs in natural deposits in the Motagua valley (Barbour 1957; Foshag 1955; McBirney et al 1964:13-16). Another precious greenstone was something called xit. The Nahuatl xihuitl was turquoise (or similar stones) and xit seems to be a loan word from Nahuatl. No natural Guatemalan deposits of turquoise are known but artifact fragments (i.e. from mosaics) have been found at Zaculeu, Chipal, and Nebaj (Foshag 1954:24; Butler 1940:265; Woodbury and Trik 1953, 1:239). This Guatemala xit therefore appears to be a Central Mexican import.

Amber most certainly was imported from Chiapas into Guatemala. Chiapas is the only known place in nuclear Mesoamerica where the stone occurs naturally (cf. Johnson 1965:69). Of the other Tribute Gems, pearls could have been obtained from the fresh water clams in some of the rivers and oysters on every marine coast. In the old Dictionaries kakkual (Pokom) is translated as "a fine precious stone which is red like the ruby or coral." Neither the ruby nor coral

is likely to have been known in highland Guatemala. The ruby is extremely rare in any part of Mesoamerica and coral is not known from Protohistoric Guatemalan highland archaeological deposits. Red jasper, both cut into beads and unworked, is found in Protohistoric Pokom sites (i.e. Chinautla Viejo; report on work at this site by the author is in preparation). The stone occurs naturally near El Chol, Chuarrancho, Barberena, Gualan, and Olopa in Guatemala (Dirección General 1965). This term, kakkual, is therefore translated as a kind of high grade red jasper.

The Minor Gems were other stones. These were stones used for adornment, which were neither so rare nor so important in native ideology that they were considered of great value per se; their value came from the work that went into shaping them, not the material that composed them. Steatite or soapstone, is the most common of these gems archaeologically. This is not surprising when it is realized that the Central Guatemalan highlands have extensive deposits of this material (Dirección General 1965). There is a problem in identifying it in the documents. One possible choice is xtekok (Pokom and Cakchiquel), a not uncommon name in the early vocabularies. It is a "precious stone with which they adorn themselves" but does not have any other descriptive terms that would exclude it from consideration (Coto 1608). Other Pokom Minor Gems included xtematuliel (a greenstone), and lemouj (alabaster) (Moran 1720; Zuniga 1608). Cakchiquel terms also include abaj rakomas quiz (bloodstone), and xaq (perhaps agate) (Coto 1608; Saenz 1940).

Crystals (Cakchiquel vouj, Pokom tacalha and xocotalha) had special holy qualities that were intrinsic to the stone. These "Divine Gems" were divining aids. The diviner, by looking into the crystal was supposed to be able to see what was going to happen to the individual in question (Wisdom 1961:393). Characteristically the fortune teller carries around today (among the Chorti) several pieces of colored glass as well as clear quartz. The type of stone varied, and still varies, from locality to locality. Thus clear quartz crystals are used by the Ixil while the early Yucatec diviners obtained their insights with "small stones called am and covered with a blue color" (Landa 1941:130). At several sites rock crystals, quartz crystals and various kinds of colored unworked crystalline translucent rocks (i.e. milky quartz), have been found in localities where they were clearly deposited through the agency of humans (at Tajumulco; Dutton and Hobbs 1943:55). The Pokom diviner (ah itz), like her Cakchiquel counterpart, undoubtedly used these crystals in the practice of private divination, curing, and witchcraft (Miles 1957:751).

Many Protohistoric Central Guatemalan structures had cut stone for the foundation, or walls, of the buildings. At Chinautla Viejo all foundation mounds were composed of rockfill retained with 40 cm. by 30 cm. by 10 cm. pumice (Pokom ahmak or ahoozm), tuff (consolidated volcanic ash), or mudstone (Pokom xak) bricks. At Mixco Viejo equivalent structures had similarly proportioned schistose slab retaining walls. Similar stones (vux) seem to have been used among the Cakchiquel.

The design of the structure was the duty of the master architect (Pokom ah noah). The sculptor (Cakchiquel ajkot) carved various adornments while the manufacture of the stone bricks was the job of the master stone-cutter (Pokom ah xom, Cakchiquel ajaiabaj). Mortar was made with sand (Pokom poklah), grass (Pokom xbulk), and ground pumice (Ximenez 1967:320). Its important ingredient, however, was lime (Cakchiquel and Pokom chun). The manufacture of lime was limited to the localities of Tecpan-Santa Apolonia and Mixco (of the Valley of Guatemala) in Colonial Central Guatemalan highlands.

Edged stone tools in prehispanic Guatemala were commonly made out of obsidian or flint. Of the several localities where flint might be obtained, that of Jocolo (next to San Felipe on the north shore of the Lago de Izabal) is the single verified sixteenth century quarry of this material (Fuentes y Guzman 1933:296). Few artifacts of flint are known from Pokom Protohistoric sites. Farther west the more common, but still relatively rare, Cakchiquel flint artifacts were small spear points (ghuli tokbal) or "pointed and filed" daggers (soqabal ru). In the towns of the Suchitepequez piedmont, "anciently" a cutlass made from flint was used by the inhabitants in their wars (Estrada and Niebla 1955:74).

Obsidian was by far the more common stone. This is reflected in the total inventory of edged artifacts. The soldier was called "The Obsidian" (Cakchiquel ajchay) and he was equipped with obsidian tipped arrows (Pokom ruchaal) and spears (Pokom cha) for his fights. His captive was sacrificed with an obsidian knife (Cakchiquel gamisabal cha). Ritual bleeding and shaving was done with obsidian blades (Coto 1610; Saenz 1940). Although there are other obsidian quarries known from archaeology, the only one mentioned in the documents was Inyaalchay near San Andres Itzapa (Coto 1610). Since most prehispanic towns in this area were ultimately moved to new colonial locations elsewhere on their lands, and since the town of San Martin Jilotepeque like that of San Andres Itzapa was situated on Cakchiquel lands, the site given in Coto (1610) could be equivalent to the San Martin Jilotepeque-Aldea Chatalun of Cobean et al (1971) and Graham et al (1972).

Before the introduction of the motor-driven mill every household in Guatemala had at least one set of stone artifacts for grinding maize. The most common in recent times in the three-legged basaltic tilted metate manufactured at the towns of Nahuala, Ixtahuacan, and Jalapa. Another type of metate, without any legs, still is manufactured in Guazacapan (Schumann 1967). Occasionally the presence of different kinds of metates signify different kinds of tasks that needed to be performed in the culture (Wauchope 1948:160-161). Thus the Cakchiquel had a special stone for grinding "colors" (quebal bon).

Those who manufactured the metates had low status but the artifact itself may have been quite valuable (Recinos 1950:161). In an early will these artifacts were individually listed and divided amongs the sons (Colo 1608). Ownership rested with the men but with every Central Guatemala people use rested with the women; early vocabularies list only a female miller (Cakchiquel

ah queel, Pokom ahque). Other stone artifacts that are mentioned in the early vocabularies are axes (Pokom poz), sacrificial stones (Cakchiquel zamerabaj) and stone flasks (Cakchiquel tzarah mak abaj).

Grinding and polishing was also an attribute of the workers in precious stone. The Zuniga (1608) Pokom-Spanish dictionary preserves a reference to a Guatemalan community of these lapidarists.

Xoy is the name of the site at the ford of the great river which we cross in going from San Cristobal to Zacatula, and the river is often called Chixoy. . . The inhabitants of the site are called Ah Xoyib. Xoyeh means to polish in various colors, as the lapidarist polishes a stone. . . and Ah Xoy the official of polishing. The old Indians of the calpul of Xoyib in San Cristobal say that formerly those of that site by the river had the office of polishers (Zuniga 1608).

Political capitals had specialists in precious stones. Dignitaries of the Court of Gumarcoah (Santa Cruz del Quiche) included an official jeweler (Ah Xit) (Recinos and Goetz 1953:104). He may have been the legal head of a lapidarist guild since a similar practice was found in Central Mexico, where the head of the merchants guild was a court official (Sahagun 1959:1-2; see also Tarascan references cited above). Out of the lapidarist shops came beads for necklaces (Pokom chachal), bracelets of stone and bone (Pokom chuncu), bracelets of jade (Cakchiquel chachalzuha), and earrings (Cakchiquel chixquin); all for the ancient Guatemalan peoples and, ultimately, for the modern student of their artifacts.

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Acknowledgments.

Part of this paper (that on the Central Guatemalan highlands) is a revised version of a section of my dissertation. I wish to thank Payson Sheets for his assistance in obtaining copy of the Arias dictionary. For comments on an earlier draft I am grateful to Frederick Ricks and Jack Feldman.

Table 1. The Teoilotl, Xihuitl, Chalchihuitl, Apozonalli, Calli and Tizatl
Central Mexican Mineral Groupings.

Group	Mineral
(1) Tehuilotl (Crystal)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>chipilotl</u>, <u>chopilotl</u>: rock crystal 2. <u>tlapaltehuilotl</u>: amethyst 3. <u>ayopaltehuilotl</u>: yellow crystal (? topaz) 4. <u>iztehuilotl</u>: "obsidian crystal" 5. <u>iztactehuilotl</u>: white crystal (? milky quartz)
(2) Xihuitl (Turquoise)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>teoxihuitl</u>: "divine turquoise" (green) 2. <u>tlapalteoxihuitl</u>: brown-veined turquoise 3. <u>matlalxihuitl</u>: "blue turquoise"
(3) Chalchihuitl (Greenstone)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>quetzalchalchihuitl</u>: perhaps serpentine 2. <u>tlilayotic chalchihuitl</u>: chloromelanite 3. <u>iztac chalchihuitl</u>: white spotted greenstone 4. <u>achalchihuitl</u>: white & green marble or jasper 5. <u>paltic chalchihuitl</u>: "wet greenstone"
(4) Apozonalli (Amber)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>coztic apozonalli</u>: yellow amber 2. <u>quetzal apozonalli</u>: "green amber" 3. <u>iztac apozonalli</u>: "yellow-white amber"
(5) Calli (House)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>azcalli</u>: alabaster 2. <u>tezcalli</u>, <u>tezcaltetl</u>: marble or alabaster
(6) Tizatl (Chalk)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>chimaltizatl</u>: "shield chalk" (muscovite mica) 2. <u>tetizatl</u>: "stone chalk" (limestone)

Table 2. The Tecpatl and Itztli Central Mexican Mineral Groupings.

Group	Mineral
(1) Tecpatl (Flint)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>tlaquauac tecpatl</u>: "hard flint" ("diamond") 2. <u>coztic tecpatl</u>: "yellow flint" (carnelian) 3. <u>eztecpatl, eztetl</u>: "blood flint" (with red spots) 4. <u>tlacuilotecpatl</u>: "painted flint" (chalcedony ?) 5. <u>xoxouhquitecpatl</u>: "green flint" 6. <u>huitzitziltecpatl</u>: "hummingbird flint" (opal)
(2) Itztli (Obsidian)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>tlalitztli</u>: "earth <u>itztli</u>" (common obsidian) 2. <u>quetzalitztli</u>: "precious itztli" (jade --cf. Foshag 1954) 3. <u>toltecaiztli</u>: "toltec <u>itztli</u>" ("somewhat green", also described as blue-green or black-red) 4. <u>itlilayo teoquetzalitztli</u>: "green jasper" (Hernandez 1959) 5. <u>tliltic itztli</u>: "dark <u>itztli</u>" (black obsidian) 6. <u>iztac itztli</u>: "white <u>itztli</u>" (clear obsidian) 7. <u>itzcuinitztli</u>: "dog <u>itztli</u>" (obsidian with yellow strips) 8. <u>xoxouhqujitztli</u>: bluish-green obsidian 9. <u>matlalitztli</u>: a "difficult fo find" blue <u>itztli</u> 10. <u>xiuhmatlalitztli</u>: a very rare turquoise blue stone that "shines" in the night

Table 3. Central Mexican Rocks and Minerals not belonging to Mineral Groupings.

Nahua Names	Identifications
(1) <u>mezcuitlatl</u>	"moon excrement" (biotite mica)
(2) <u>petztli</u>	white pyrites, also called "mirror stone"
(3) <u>xiuhtomollin</u>	pale <u>matlalxihuitl</u> , round <u>teoxihuitl</u>
(4) <u>mixtecatetl</u>	white-green-black not very valuable polished stones, also called <u>ocelotetl</u>
(5) <u>quetzalxoquiyac</u>	poor quality opaque greenstone
(6) <u>teotetl</u>	"divine stone" (jet)
(7) <u>metlatetl</u>	"metate stone" (basalt)
(8) <u>iztactetl</u>	"white stone", light weight stone from Tenayuca
(9) <u>itztapaltetl</u>	dark slate
(10) <u>tezontli</u>	pumice
(11) <u>tlayeltetl</u>	small yellow stripped pebble
(12) <u>tetlaquactli</u>	coarse black pebble
(13) <u>tenextetl</u>	limestone
(14) <u>cacalotetl</u>	clear smooth limestone
(15) <u>tepoxactli</u>	a yellow stone with a green surface
(16) <u>tecoztli</u>	a hard or soft round yellow building stone
(17) <u>tepetlatl</u>	rough white porous stone
(18) <u>tepatlactli</u>	flagstone
(19) <u>tepozoctli</u>	light weight chalky rocks filled with small holes
(20) <u>texalli</u>	sandstone

Table 4. Central Mexican Stone Artifacts found in Ethnohistoric Sources.

Nahua Name	Comments
(1) <u>xicaltetl</u>	"gourd stone", polishing stone
(2) <u>techcatl</u>	sacrifice stone
(3) <u>nacochtli</u>	ear plugs of obsidian, amber, etc.
(4) <u>tentetl</u>	lip plugs of <u>chalchihuitl</u> , etc.
(5) <u>cozcatl</u>	necklace of <u>chalchihuitl</u> , etc.
(6) <u>macueitli</u>	bracelet of <u>chalchihuitl</u> , etc.
(7) <u>metlatl</u>	stone on which maize is ground
(8) <u>metlapilli</u>	grinding stone
(9) <u>tlapaltexoni</u>	pestle with which one grinds colors or the stone on which it is ground
(10) <u>champuchtli</u>	nose plug
(11) <u>neximalitztli</u>	the obsidian razor, "this is broad"
(12) <u>tlapaneualli</u>	obsidian "scraper with a thick edge and rounded back"
(13) <u>uitzauhqui</u>	obsidian awl "very pointed on one side" that was "used for bleeding"
(14) <u>itztapalcatl</u>	obsidian core
(15) <u>tlachiconi</u>	"obsidian scraper taken from an <u>itztapalcatl</u> "
(16) <u>tlaiueualli</u> <u>itztli</u>	"obsidian blade that is double edged being sharp on both edges; it cuts, saws and pierces things," fitted with leather handles
(17) <u>tecpatlixquaua</u>	"a flint knife used for sacrificing and killing men before idols"
(18) <u>tenamaztin</u>	"stones on which one places the cooking pots"

Table 5. Northern Yucatan Stone Artifacts found in Ethnohistoric Sources

Yucatec Maya Name	Comments
(1) <u>za</u> , <u>yaxca</u> , <u>hux</u>	stone on which things are ground
(2) <u>kabtun</u>	grinding stone, stone used to beat clothes
(3) <u>omux</u>	stone used for grinding "madre de barro"
(4) <u>kultun</u>	stone used to grind clay by olla makers
(5) <u>yulub</u>	stone used to polish precious stones
(6) <u>ybatil cahcab</u>	the axe used for cutting grass (of stone?)
(7) <u>mayabat</u> , <u>kaxbil bat</u>	the ancient axe
(8) <u>hij</u>	grindstone
(9) <u>zinil tun</u>	mason's trowel (a flat worked stone)
(10) <u>tok yebhalab</u>	flint arrowheads
(11) <u>bahtok</u>	flint blade
(12) <u>ta</u>	flint spearhead
(13) <u>taliciltok</u>	flint lancet used for bleeding
(14) <u>bekectita</u>	thin lancet (of flint ?)
(15) <u>bini pantitok</u>	flint razor
(16) <u>koben</u>	stones on which one places the cooking pots

Table 2. The Tecpatl and Itztli Central Mexican Mineral Groupings.

Group	Mineral
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(9) <u>zinil</u> <u>tun</u>	mason's trowel (a flat worked stone)
(10) <u>tok</u> <u>yebhalab</u>	flint arrowheads
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(16) <u>koben</u>	stones on which one places the cooking pots

VIII. CHIAPAS IN 1774

Lawrence H. Feldman

The eighteenth century was, for the officials of the Spanish colonies, a time when the Crown made frequent demands for information on the people and resources of the areas for which they were responsible. Many of their reports yet exist and their publication has proved of great value to modern students of the period (cf. West 1972). Unfortunately of the two previously known for Chiapas one (for Soconusco) has never been published, and the other (of highland Chiapas) is missing. Nor are there any earlier (sixteenth or seventeenth century) published resource surveys ("Relaciones Geográficas") known from the state (cf. Cline 1972). Therefore the publication of a comprehensive relacion, providing basic information on the administrative districts and peoples of Chiapas, would be of great value.

Recently I came across such a document. Entitled "Relacion de los Pueblos que comprehende El Obispado de Chiapa," it exists in the Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid, Spain (MS 248, Misc. de Ayala XXVI, F. 283-322v). A photocopy was made for Carl Sauer several years ago and is now part of the Sauer Collection of the Department of Geography Library, University of California at Berkeley. Thanks to the kind permission of Dr. Sauer most of this manuscript is being published at this time. These are the seventy-four (out of eighty) pages that describe the towns and peoples of Chiapas in 1774.

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Chiapas Parish Districts in 1774

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| 1. Ciudad Real (San Cristobal Las Casas) | |
| 2. San Felipe | 22. Copainala |
| 3. Santo Domingo Oxchuc | 23. Teopisca |
| 4. Cancuc | 24. Comitan |
| 5. Guaquitepeque | 25. Isquitenango (Escuintenango) |
| 6. Ococingo | 26. Chiquimucelo |
| 7. Chilum | 27. Socoltenango |
| 8. Yaxalum | 28. Zoyatitan |
| 9. Tila | 29. San Bartholome |
| 10. Tumbala | 30. Totolopam |
| 11. Cinacantan | 31. Acala |
| 12. Ystapa | 32. Chiapa |
| 13. Chamula | 33. Tuxtla (Tuxtla) |
| 14. Gueytucpan | 34. Ocosucoutla |
| 15. Xitotol | 35. Cintalapa |
| 16. Tapilula | 36. Tonalá |
| 17. Ystacomitan | 37. Escuinta |
| 18. Chapultenango | 38. San Felipe Tizapa |
| 19. Tapalapa | 39. Gueguetan (Huehuetan) |
| 20. Magdalenas | 40. Tuxtla (Tustla) |
| 21. Quechula | 41. Ayutla |

Relacion de los Pueblos que comprehende El Obispado de Chiapa.

Numero de gente que tiene cada uno de todas edades y castas;

Su caracter, e inclinaciones;

Frutos y Cosechas que cultivan;

Curatos que hay en el y Ministros que los administran

Remitida por el Obispo de dicha Diocesis

El Ano de 1774

1. Ciudad Real de Chiapa

Es la unica Ciudad que hay en esta Diocesis y es cabeza en la Jurisdiccion secular de tres Provincias que son Cendales, Llanos y Guardiania; y en la Jurisdiccion . . . tiene dos mas, que son la Provincia de Soconusco, y Zoques. Dicha Ciudad en la primitiva se llamo Villaviciosa, despues San Christoval delos Llanos, Villa Real, y ultimamente se denomino Ciudad Real de Chiapa. Su situacion esta en un valle que tendra de norte a sur como cinco millas; de oriente a poniente, como quatro. En este . . . hay solo rio que corre immediato al lugar cuyo origen se encuentra en una de sus sierras, y este se hunde por las concavidades de otra serrania que llaman Sumidero. Fuerra de este rio, que es el mayor hay en su contornos 18 fuentes, de que manan algunos arroyos, que se incorporan al citado rio. La altura en que se halla es de 17 gra. [grados?]; pero por estar circunvalada de montuosas sierras se experimenta excesivo frio, muchas nieblas, abundates lluvias, y continuada intemperie en el viento . . . que es el que corre en la mayor estacion del ano. Dicha pais es muy fecundo. La Ciudad está dedicade al señor San Christoval, ys se compone de 586 casas: 136 de texa, y 450 cubiertas de paja, que llaman ranchos. La yglesia mayoria de está Ciudad esta immediata a la plaza, sirviendola de un lienzo su cortado. Se exigio en cathedral año de 1538 por la santidad de Paulo 3^o de feliz recordacion reynando el señor Don Carlos V. Tiene el curato de ella segun sus padrones 10,877 personas entre ellas hay como 60 de la Nacion Espanola entre solteros y casados; entrando en estos los pocos que son de distincion y los mas mestizos, yndios y mulatos avencidados en el barrio. El gobierno politico está reducido á un alcalde mayor, su teniente . . . y un escribano porque el Ayuntamiento que tenia como Ciudad se extinguió el año de 1748, de resultas de una sediccion que hubo entre regidores. El estado . . . tiene de juridiccion las enunciadas cinco Provincias, y su clero se compone de un Cabildo Eclesiástico con cinco prebendados; tiene asi mismo un cura, un ministro compañero, un sacristan mayor, seis capellanes de coro.

En dicha Ciudad hay un convento de religiosas de la Encarnacion sugetas al ordinario. Otro convento de Santo Domingo que se compone al presente de diez

religiosos, entrando en este numero prior, y sub-prior, y un lego que hace oficio de sacristan. Hay otro convento de observantes de San Francisco muy corto, y pobre, y al presente tiene guardian, seis padres, y un lego. Hay otro convento de Nuestra Senora de la Merced con muy cortas ventas; tiene un comendador, trest PP; tres choristas, y dos legos que sirven al convento en sus oficinas. Tiene dicho convento una milagrosissima ymagen consagrada y esta jurada por Patrona de la Ciudad, por las singulares maravillas, y prodigios que se ha servido hacer en ella. Hay asi mismo un hospital de San Juan de Dios con tres religiosos que cuidan á los enfermos y tiene dotadas doce camas, seis de hombres y seis de mugeres. Hay un colegio, el que era antes de los regulares expulsos, y se aplicó por determinacion de V. en al seminario que antes tenia, quedando este libre para su venta. Tiene seis colegiales, y en el cathedra de moral.

Fuera de dichos conventos, y sus iglesias, hay algunas capillas, como son de Nuestra Senora de la Caridad, jurada Patrona de las Armas, la de Senor Nicolás Tolentino; La de Santa Lucia; el Calvario; y la Hermitá de San Christoval. Todo lo dicho se halla en lo que es curato de la cathedral, é immediatos. Hay seis barrios que son San Diego y San Antonio administrado en lo espiritual de un religioso de San Francisco que vive en su convento, y en lo temporal por dos alcaldes yndios uno de cada barrio. Hablan la lengua Castellana, y Mexicana; son dociles, y trabajadores en los servicios de la Ciudad. El barrio de San Antonio está fundado á la falda del Cerro de San Christoval; tiene siete casados y ocho agregados de varios pueblos, y de la parte del sus un riachuelo, que llaman Chapultepec. Tiene el barrio de San Diego diez y siete casados entre . . . y agregados. Dicho barrio está fundado debajo del cerro que llaman Almolonga, donde nace una fuente permanente por la parte del oriente, distante de la Ciudad, como medio quarto de legua. Los quatros barrios restrantes son el cerrillo con un gobernador, y dos alcaldes, que se halla en un cerro pequeno entre . . . Custictali con sus dos regidores, y alcalde, que está en el mismo rumbo, y le hacen frontero tres cerros. Tlaxcala y Mexicanos con un gobernador, y tres alguaciles, que está este barrio a la parte del norte. Todos hablan lenguas Castellana y Mexicana. Son serviciales y obedientes y estan administrados por el ministro compañero de cura de esta santa iglesia cathedral. El barrio del Cerrillo tendra 30 casados, el de Custictali 15, el de Tlaxcala y Mexicanos que ambos estan unidos 30. En los contornos de dicha Ciudad hay 14 labores de pan sembrar con algunos ganados, aunque de poca monta, y entre ellos cinco molinos, todos de algunos vecinos de esta Ciudad.

2. Primer Curato de Indios fuera de la Ciudad de PP. de San Francisco nombrado San Felipe

A un quarto de legua de la Ciudad así á la parte del Sur de camino casi llano, aunque algo barroso en tiempo de agua está el pueblo nombrado San Felipe, que le circunvala dos cerros. Es tierra muy fria. Hay a los lados del cerro dos arroyos. Son yndios naturales de el domesticos y sugetos en todo a las leyes de nuestra santa madre yglesia. Hay habitantes: casados -- 50, viudas -- 24, viudos -- 06, muchachas -- 23, muchachos -- 28. No hay en dicho pueblo ladino de ningun color. Están administrados de un padre de San Francisco que vive en el convento de dicho pueblo.

3. Santo Domingo Oxchuc. Segundo Curato agregado á esta Santa Iglesia Cathedral por determinacion Real.

El curato del pueblo de Oxchuc está distante de esta Ciudad por el rumbo del Norte 10 leguas de mal camino. Está situado entre serranias. Su temperamento es frio, y sus yndios rudos y poco instruidos en la fe Catholica. Tiene: casados -- 100, viudos -- 50, viudas -- 60, muchachos -- 40, muchachas -- 60. No tiene dicha pueblo gente de otra Nacion. Su inclinacion es beber con excesso las bebidas que entre ellos se acostumbran.

De esta Cabecera al anexo que es mas immediato San Miguel Guistan hay por el rumbo del sur camino real de Ciudad Real 4 leguas pedregosas. Su situacion está en la falda de un cerro. La inclinacion de estos es como la del pueblo antecedente. No hay en este dicho pueblo gente de otra Nacion. Tiene: casados -- 160, viudos -- 20, viudas -- 30, muchachos -- 50, muchachas -- 60.

De dicha cabecera al otro pueblo anexo, que es San Yldefonso Tenejapa hay por el rumbo del poniente seis leguas de mal camino, por ver todo serranias. Tiene este pueblo su situacion en plano, y circunvalado de cerros. Su naturaleza, é inclinacion de estos yndios es como la de los otros dos pueblos referidos. No hay en el otra generacion de gente, y tiene: casados -- 400, viudos -- 70, viudas -- 80, muchachas -- 120.

De dicha cabecera al tercer pueblo anexo llamado San Martin hay por el rumbo del oriente 6 leguas de mal camino serrania y pedregal. Tiene este pueblo su situacion en una loma. Su naturaleza, é inclinacion de estos es como la de los tres pueblos antecedentes. No hay en el otro genero de tentes. Se compone de: casados -- 20, viudo -- 1, viudas -- 3, muchachos -- 7, muchachas -- 10.

Todo este curato habla la lengua Cendal y sus pueblos anexos los administra un compañero clerigo secular. A esta administracion están sugetas dos haciendas (San Pedro Pedernal y San Gregorio) pertenecientes al Covento de Santo Domingo de Ciudad Real, y los que las sirven, no pasaran en numero de ocho personas.

4. Cancuc. Curato de Padres de Santo Domingo.

En medio de la capital que es Oxchuc á San Martin hay un rio, y varios arroyos; de dicha capital á Tenejapa ay dos rios, y otros arroyos. De la mencionada capital a Guistan hay un rio, y varios arroyos. Los tres pueblos de visita son de temperamento frio, y el uno templado. Seis leguas adelante del pueblo de Oxchuc está el curato del pueblo de Cancuc de pesimo camino por ser la mayor parte de laguerias. Esta á falda de un cerro. Es tierra templada, y lluviosa. La naturaleza de estos yndios es como la de los antecedentes. Tiene poca agua sin vecindad de Nacion distinta. Hay en este pueblo: casados -- 200, viudos -- 008, viudas -- 12, muchachos -- 40, muchachas -- 50.

Distante de este dicho pueblo 4 leguas está su anexo llamado Tenango en un plan alto, rodeado de cerros. Su naturaleza apacible, aunque inclinados á bebidas. Tienen un riachuelo dentro del pueblo, y otro que dista media legua. Su temperamento templado, y enfermizo. No tiene gente de otra Nacion. Hay: casados -- 40, viudo -- 1, viudas -- 4, muchachos -- 8, muchachas -- 12. Esta doctrina compuesta de dos pueblos la administra un religioso Dominicó.

5. Guaquitepeque. Tercer Curato de Religioso de Santo Domingo.

Cinco leguas adelante del pueblo de Cancuc está el curato de Guaquitepeque. Su situacion es en la falda de un cerro. Su temperamento caliente. Sus naturales poco afectos á la ley de Dios, y inclinados á la bebida de chicha que se compone de maiz, y dulce. Tiene para su transito fuera de otros arroyos, un rio caudaloso llamado Chagteé. Hay en este pueblo: casados -- 100, viudos -- 10, viudas -- 18, muchachos -- 25, muchachas -- 30.

Dos leguas adelante por el rumbo del norte de camino fragoso, y barrancoso, está su anexo llamado Citala. Su situacion se halla en un plan rodeado de cerros. Tiene este pueblo tres ojos de agua. La naturaleza de estos la misma que los de Guaquitepeque, y entre ellos ninguna otra laya de gente. Tiene: 200 casados, 40 viudos, 50 viudas, 40 muchachos, y 50 muchachas. Estos naturales estan administrados de un religioso de Santo Domingo.

6. Ococingo. 4^o Curato de PP. Seculares.

A espaldas de estos dos pueblos está el curato de Ococingo acia el oriente. Su situacion en un valle. Su temperamento caliente y humedo. La naturaleza de estos altiva, y viciados a la bebida de la chicha. Tiene: casados -- 20, viudos -- 20, viudas -- 30, muchachos -- 60, muchachas -- 80. En el contorno de este pueblo está un rio grande, y diversos arroyos. Tiene dos haciendas de administracion pertenecientes al convento de Santo Domingo de esta Ciudad. Sirvientes en ambas como doce; la administra en lo espiritual un Religioso de licencia de su parroco secular. Entre el numero de naturales que tiene dicho pueblo hay tambien cien ladinos de todas calidades casados, 3 viudos, 4 viudas, 40 ninos, y 50 ninas. Una legua de distancia de buen camino está el anexo llamado Zibaca. Tiene la misma situacion que el de la cabecera Ococingo. Su temperamento deste templado. La naturaleza, é inclinacion lo mismo que los de parroquia. Tiene 30 casados, 3 viudos, 4 viudas, 14 muchachos, 18 muchachas, sin mezcla de otra calidad de gentes. La administracion de estos corre por de cuenta con clerigo secular en lengua Cendal, y un ministro Compañero.

Retrocediendo al poniente, y siguiendo la cordillera debajo del norte 8 leguas de distancia de penoso camino por montañas, y serranias esta el pueblo de

7. Chilum. Curato de PP. de Santo Domingo.

Su situacion en una barranca circumvalado de cerros. Tiene este pueblo dos rios, uno por la parte del norte y otro por la del sur. La naturaleza, é inclinacion de estos es á beber demasadamente, temperamento templado; y tiene:

casados -- 12, muchachos -- 8, muchachas -- 10, ladinos casados de todas calidades -- 10, solteros -- 5, muchachas -- 4. A los cuales se les administra en Castellano por un Religioso de Santo Domingo. A la distancia de tres leguas de buen camino está el pueblo anexo, que se llama Bachajon. Su situación está en la falda de una loma. Su temperamento templado. La naturaleza, é inclinacion de los yndios, es como la de los pueblos de Chilum con la diferencia que estos son muy soberbios, y altivos. Tiene 100 casados, 10 viudos, 14 viudas, 40 muchachos y 40 muchachas. Su continuo trabajar es abrir montañas y sembrar maiz, y algunos de los dos pueblos tiene su trapiche con que mantenerse con hacer panelas. La administran de estos en lengua Cendal corre por de dicho religioso.

8. Yaxalum. Curato de Padres Seculares.

A las tres leguas de Chilum de fatal camino está curato de Yaxalum. Su situación es una casiada en medio de dos cerros eminentes. Su territorio pedregoso; tiene un río grande que yendo para el pueblo de Chilum se pasa siete veces por distintas partes, y dos arroyos que salen de los cerros y el uno pasa por el pueblo. Tiene: casados -- 200, viudos -- 50, viudas -- 60, muchachos -- 40, muchachas -- 80. La naturaleza é inclinacion de estos yndios es como la de los antecedentes. El temperamento es mas caliente que frio y los vientos que corren muy nocivos, por lo que suelen padecer algunos contagios de peste y otras dolamas. La administracion de estos está á cargo de un clerigo secular.

9. Tila. Curato de PP. Seculares.

A las siete leguas de malisimo camino de este pueblo de Yaxalum está el curato de San Matheo de Tila; que es de seculares en el hablan los indios la lengua Chol, que es en la que se les administra. Su situación es un cerro no muy alto, aunque muy barrancoso, y con muchas penas. Está circumvalado de cerros muy emminentes, y a los pies de ellos resultan varios arroyos, que juntos componen un río muy grande, que camina al rumbo del sur. Su temperamento es templado aunque las lluvias son continuas. La naturaleza de los yndios es humilde, y docil. Su inclinacion a beber aguardiente, y vivir en los montes. Hay en el: casados -- 300, viudos -- 40, viudas -- 80, muchachos -- 100, muchachas -- 120. La agencia dicho estos es el cacao con que se mantienen y pagan su tributos. Dos leguas distante de San Matheo Tila está su anexo Petalcingo por el rumbo del norte de camino bien penoso. En esta distancia se transitan cinco arroyos, y un río que se pasa dos veces a vado. Su situación está en un plan al pie de un cerro bien encumbrado que se halla a la parte del sur. Su temperamento es caliente y humedo, las lluvias continuas. La naturaleza é inclinacion de los yndios es como la del pueblo de Tila. Hay 60 casados, 9 viudos, 8 viudas, 20 muchachos y 30 muchachas. El idioma que estos yndios hablan es Zendal en cuya lengua se les administra por un Compañero ministro secular que está de pie en dicho pueblo. Siembran estos maiz, frijol, algodon, y algunas frutas, conque tienen su comercio.

A las cinco leguas de penoso camino de distancia del pueblo de Tila por el rumbo del norte está el pueblo de

10. Tumbala. Curato de Padres Seculares.

Su situacion es en la coronilla de un cerro eminente, circunvalado de cerros, y barrancos en poca distancia. Aguas escasas, que para proveerse sus naturales necesitan ir mas de un quarto de legua por ella. Su temperamento frio con continuos nortes, y muchedumbre de nieblas. La naturaleza, é inclinacion de estos es á cosas buenas, y amigos de la paz. Hay: casados -- 400, viudos -- 50, viudas -- 60, muchachos -- 80, muchachas -- 100. No habita en el ningun genero de gente ladina. Su comercio es el cacao, y fabricar mantas.

A las 34 leguas de penoso, y peligroso camino siguiendo la cordillera debajo del norte está el pueblo de Palenque. Su situacion es en un plano circunvalado de montes. Su temperamento caliente y humedo con algunos barrancos inmediatos con varios pocitos de que los naturales se proveen de agua. La naturaleza, é inclinacion de estos las mismas que los del pueblo de Tumbala. Tiene 30 arroyos y dos rios de canoa. Desde dicho pueblo a este la lengua que hablan es la Chol; y en ella se les administra por un Vicario Ministro, que se mantiene en pie en dicho pueblo. Tiene 30 casados, 20 viudos, 4 viudas, 10 muchachos 15 muchachas, 50 vecinos de todas calidades, 20 solteros y 30 solteras. El trabajo que tienen son siembras de maiz, frijol y algunos . . . de cacao de poca monta, y alguna Vainilla.

11. Cinacantan. Curato de PP. Seculares.

A las dos leguas de Ciudad Real inclinando al rumbo del sur esta el curato de Cinacantan. Su situacion es en una cañada muy fria, y airosa. Está circunvalado de cerros. La naturaleza, é inclinacion de sus naturales es á beber demasiadamente las bebidas de aguardiente de caña, chicha y otras que ellos fabrican de manzanas. Son inclinados a trabajar en las demas Provincias, y en la de Tabasco, especialmente en los frutos y ropa de la tierra. Hay: casados -- 268, viudos --30, viudas -- 70, muchachos -- 115, muchachas -- 150. Hablan en la lengua Zocil y en ella son administrados por un clerigo secular. Tiene dos riachuelos, el uno pasa por medio del pueblo, y el otro inmediato á él tiene diversos arboles de fruta. A las dos leguas está un rio, y antes de el una cienega al pie del cerro que llaman la cuesta blanca, donde siembran su maiz. Hay en el recinto del pueblo cinco labores de pan sembrar cortas de los vecinos de Ciudad Real y en ellas mozos hijos del pueblo.

12. Ystapa. Curato de PP Seculares.

Seis leguas adelante de dicho pueblo de Cinacantan siguiendo el rumbo del sur está el curato de Ystapa; su camino es malo, y fragoso por las muchas piedras, cuevas muy encumbradas, y barrancosa con tres rios que antes de llegar a dicho pueblo se pasan nombrados el Prospero, Burrero, y Rio Hondo, y en tiempo de aguas los dos ultimos peligrosos por lo rapido de ellos, y mucha piedra. La situacion de dicho pueblo de Ystapa es en un plan que tendra de norte á sur dos leguas, y de oriente á poniente una. En la mediania del llano está una barranca de la que nace un riachuelo de tres fuentecillas de agua salada, de la que los naturales hacen sal para vender, y de su producto se mantienen sin otro trato. Su tempera-

mento templado, y la naturaleza de los yndios muy altiva que tratandolos con alguna aspereza son joviales. Hay: casados -- 14, viudos -- 2, viudas -- 5, muchachos -- 7, muchachas -- 12. Sin otro genero de gentes. Hay una Hacienda con distancia de una legua al pueblo inclinando mas al sur, nombrada San Nicolás de ganado mayor con quatro mozos, y pertenece al Priorato del Convento de Santo Domingo del pueblo de Chiapa.

A las tres leguas de distancia de camino malo está el pueblo anexo inmediato, que es Soyalo, en cuyo transito está una hacienda de ganado mayor de los yndios de Ystapa, y pertenece á una cofradia que tiene dicho pueblo. Su situacion es en una cañada circunvalada de cerros . . . mas fria que templada. Son indios joviales y reducirlos á nuestra Santa Fe, y obedientes á su padre cura y alcalde mayor. Tiene 24 casados, 2 viudos, 6 viudas, 11 muchachos, y 14 muchachas. No tienen mas que su siembra de maiz, y frijol, y algunos petates que fabrica, conque se mantienen, y contribuyen á sus tequios.

A las cinco leguas de camino muy fragoso, y serranias corriendo el rumbo al suroeste está el segundo pueblo anexo San Gabriel, en cuyo distrito no ay mas que un arroyo que destila de los cerros, el que se seca por el mes de marzo. Su situacion es en tres cerros muy elevados. Su temperamento frio, y humedo por la continuacion de los nortes, que corren en el mas tiempo del año con lluvias muy menudas. Tiene 30 casados, 2 viudas, 12 muchachos, 15 muchachas. Son indios joviales como los de Soyalo. Siembran maiz y frijol y hacen petates para vender con lo que se mantienen. En todo este curato se habla la lengua Zocil, que es en la que se les administra por un cura secular.

Provincia de Zoques, Guardiania y Coronas

13. Chamula. Curato de PP. Seculares agregado a esta Santa Iglesia por determinacion Real.

A las dos leguas de Ciudad Real capital de estas provincias acia el poniente de camino llano, y encumbrado pero muy barroso en tiempo de aguas por los cenagales que en la sabana de dicho camino se hace esta el pueblo de Chamula, su situacion en un plan en medio de varios cerros que le rodean. Su temperamento frio. Tiene muchos arroyos que nacen de los cerros el uno de oriente á poniente, y el otro de norte á sur, y ambos se juntan, y resumen en el plan de dicho pueblo. Hay: casados -- 521, viudos -- 20, viudas -- 83, muchachos -- 180, muchachas -- 110. La naturaleza, é inclinacion de estos indios es a la embriaguez de las bebidas que ellas fabrican, que aunque les es saludable. Pero como la beben en demasia les causa embriaguez. Son trabajadores en sus laborios de maiz, y otras legumbres que la tierra permite fructifican, y á labrar madera que lleban á la Ciudad á vender, y á crianzas de ganado [y] ovejuno. Son amigos de vivir en los montes, aunque ya no se necesita aquel trabajo que antes avia de juntarlos á oír misa, y á rezar la doctrina christiana, respecto del . . . del cura que los administra.

De esta cabecera al primer pueblo anexo que se llama San Andres Ystacolcot y se halla acia el norte. Hay 5 leguas de camino muy fragoso por cerros, y moñtanas. Toda subidas, y bajadas de mucha piedra y barrales sin rio, ni arroyo alguno; esta situado en la corona de un cerro de tierra amarilla barrosa, y floja. El temperamento frio, y humedo. No tiene este pueblo rio, ni arroyo alguno, y solo se mantienen sus naturales de unos ojos de agua pequenos, que ay a la falda del cerro de su poblacion. La naturaleza é inclinacion de estos es como los de Chamula en todo. Tiene 135 casados, 6 viudos, 40 viudas, 32 muchachos, 43 muchachas.

A la distancia de 3 leguas de camino barroso acia el norte está el segundo pueblo anexo llamado Santiago Guistan. Su situacion es en un plan corto en la corona de un cerro circunvalado de montes, y serranias. El temperamento caliente, y humedo por lo lluvioso de estos parages. Tiene un arroyo que baja de la emi-nencia de un cerro. Hay 36 casados, 6 viudas, 40 viudas, 32 muchachos y 43 muchachas. La inclinacion de estos es á la embriaguez, aunque son mas humildes, y agradables.

De este pueblo se circunvala al tercero anexo, que es Santa Maria Solotepeque, retrocediendo acia el oriente dos leguas de pesimo camino de una solo subida, y otra bajada, y en la mediania hay un rio que en tiempo de aguas es peligroso, y en un medio plan, que hace en la corona del cerro tiene su situacion rodeado de otros. Es de temperamento templado, y humedo. Tiene un arroyo del qual los naturales se proveen de agua. La naturaleza de estos es como los de San Andres. Hay 56 casados, 4 viudos, 3 viudas, 30 muchachos, 24 muchachas.

Desde este dicho pueblo retrocediendo al sur de una legua de camino trabajoso media de bajada y otra media de subida se vá al quarto pueblo anexo de Santa Maria Magdalena Tenezcatlan, y en la mitad del camino hay un arroyo grande que se pasa sobre lajas lisas. Su situacion esta en el medio de un alto cerro. Su naturaleza, é inclinacion de estos yndios son como los de San Andres. El temperamento es mas frio que templado. Hay 30 casados, 6 viudas y 9 viudas, 14 muchachos, y 18 muchachas. Son de naturaleza fuerte saludable, humildes, y trabajadores, como los demas de los pueblos que anteceden.

De este pueblo acio el oriente a las 4 leguas de montaña de muy penoso camino por los cerros, y piedras está el 5^o pueblo anexo, que se llama San Pedro Chenaló. En cuya mediania de camino se hallan dos arroyuelos grandes, que se pasa por puentes de palos, que se camino acia el norte por su orilla, como un quarto de legua, y a la rivera entre dos altos cerros en un plan está su situacion. Es tierra muy fria, y humeda. Tiene 200 casados, 19 viudos, 19 viudas, 18 muchachos, y 21 muchachas. Son de naturaleza debil trabajadores, y afectos a cosas buenas. Siembran maiz, y frijol, y demas legumbres arriba dichas, conque se mantienen, y tratan.

A la distancia de tres leguas por montes, y serranias, caminado acia el norte está el pueblo anexo que llaman de San Pablo, en cuyo camino hay un rio que

en lloviendo impide el paso. Su situacion es en un cerro pequeño al pie de otro penasco grande que le hace espalda acia el norte. Es de temperamente caliente. Tiene 122 casados, 15 viudos, 17 viudas, 18 muchachos, y 22 muchachas. Son de la misma naturaleza que los del pueblo antecedente.

De este pueblo es preciso retroceden acia el sur al pueblo de San Pedro por el mismo camino que se fue, y de este se viene caminando al sur una legua, y de allí se llega al ultimo pueblo anexo llamado San Miguel Mictontic, el qual está fundado en un altillo pequeño junto á un peñasco que le hace sombra por el poniente. Su temperamento templado. Son debiles, y trabajadores, é inclinados á vivir en los montes, y son muy humildes. Tiene 69 casados, 6 viudos, 13 viudas, 6 muchachos, y 9 muchachas. En todo este curato se habla la lengua Zocil, en la que son administrados por un clerigo secular, y otro ministro compañero, que continuamente anda de pueblo en pueblo.

Guardiania

14. Gueytucpan. Curato de Religiosos Franciscos.

De la cabecera del curato de Chamula que llaman las coronas a la de Nuestra Senora de la Asumpcion Gueiteupan hay 21 leguas todo de malisimo camino de subidas, y bajadas de cerros muy eminentes, y tres rios caudalosos. Su situacion es en un plan rodeado de varios cerros cercanos, su temperamento caliente, y seco, y fertil para sementeras de maiz, arroz, frijol, y algodón, que son los frutos que los naturales siembran para su manutencion. Son muy amis[to]sos a todo lo bueno, y faciles para remontarse, huyendo de la asistencia de la misa, y doctrina christiana, y para pagar los tributos, y otras limosnas al convento, que sus justicias les señalan. Tiene: casados --52, viudos -- 6, viudas -- 39, muchachos -- 19, muchachas -- 23.

De este dicho pueblo al anexo, que esta Santa Catharina acia el oriente media un zanjón, y en un plan bajo a un cerro está su situacion. Es de temperamento caliente, y seco. La naturaleza, é inclinacion de estos yndios es como los de la cabecera. Tiene 16 casados, 2 viudas, 7 viudos, dos muchachos y 9 muchachas. Son muy altivos, y poco amantes a su pueblo, que es la diferencia que hay de unos á otros, y cada dia se van huyendo del pueblo, que para traherlos a el cuesta mucho trabajo.

Retrocediendo el camino, y corriendo la cordillera debajo del norte á la una legua de camino fragoso está el segundo pueblo anexo llamado San Pedro Gueiteupam. Su situacion es en un plan junto á un rio caudaloso, y circunvalado de cerros pegados. Tiene tambien un arroyo que corre al poniente. Su temperamento caliente, y seco, tierra muy fertil para las siembras. Hay 44 casados, 7 viudos, 20 viudas, 20 muchachos, y 20 muchachas. Son de naturaleza altiva como los demas. En el pueblo no vive ningun ladino.

A distancia de dos leguas de la cabecera llevando la misma cordillera

está el 3^o pueblo anexo llamado Simojobel. Tiene su situación en un plan alto de tierra colorada arrimado á un cerro. Es de temperamento templado y seco. Tiene dos arroyos. Es muy fértil para siembras de los frutos de la tierra, y para tabaco. Su naturaleza es ver muy sobervios. Hay 97 casados, 13 viudos, 38 viudas, 20 muchachos, 17 muchachas. No hay ladino en este pueblo de ningún color.

A las 14 leguas de penosísimo camino de la cabecera de este pueblo está el 4^o pueblo llamado Moyos, en cuyo distrito hay muchos cerros varrancosos, y atascaderos, todo de piedras con diversos arroyos, quebradas, y ríos, y uno muy grande que se pasa por canoa. La situación de él es en un plan sobre un cerro barrancoso de muchas piedras, y varrales muy montuosos, rodeado de distintos árboles. Su temperamento caliente húmedo, y muy enfermizo. Fértil para siembras de frutos de la tierra, y cacao. Tiene 78 casados, 7 viudos, 40 viudas, 20 muchachos, y 26 muchachas. La naturaleza, é inclinación de estos es como la de la cabecera de este pueblo. No hay en él ningún vecino.

A las 10 leguas del pueblo de Gueiteupan retrocediendo al sur de camino penoso con muchos cerros barrancosos, y atascaderos con varios arroyos, y tres ríos caudalosos mandable en tiempo de aguas, está su anexo que se llama Platanos, distante del pueblo de Santiago del curato de Chamula 3 leguas de subida todo el camino. La situación de dicho Platanos está en un plan de una hoya circunvalada de cerros. Es de temperamento templado húmedo, y enfermizo; es fértil para siembras de frutos de la tierra. Tiene un río caudaloso que pasa por las orillas del pueblo. Hay 32 casados, 1 viudo, 6 viudas, 4 muchachos, y 3 muchachas. Sus inclinaciones, como las del pueblo antecedente. No tiene ningún ladino. La lengua que hablan dichos pueblos es la Zocil. Son administrados los de esta Guardiania por dos religiosos de San Francisco, que comúnmente andan en los pueblos, y el vicario que vive en la cabecera.

Retrocediendo del pueblo de Moyos, tomando el rumbo del norte, y el mismo camino que hay de Gueyteupan, y 5 de dicho pueblo apartado como una legua está un paraje llamado la Sabanilla con el número de 115 personas, los que por intentar hacerlo pueblo se presentaron ante el Obispo quien hizo las diligencias que considero convenientes para la comecución de esta empresa. Dio cuenta con las diligencias originales, é informe de los motivos que avia para esta gracia á vuestra Real Audiencia de este Reino de Goathemala, y con otro informe, y testimonio de ellas hizo ocurrir a vuestra Real, y Supremo Consejo de Yndias, para que en vista de lo que avia obrado, y determinado el obispo tomase la resolución que fuese conveniente, y agradable al servicio de ambas Magestades, la que por horas están aguardando. Estos dichos naturales interin se les decide su pretension están adminutrado [sic] en lo espiritual por un ministro religioso que está de . . . en dicho pueblo de Moyos. La naturaleza de estose Indios es docil y aplicados a lo bueno.

A las 13 leguas de la Guardiania de Gueiteupan corriendo la cordillera de bajo del norte de camino muy fragoso por las muchas cuevas ríos, piedras, y

atescaderos está el pueblo anexo de Amatan. Es de temperamento templado, y algo humedo. Su situación está en la corona de un cerro muy grande. Tiene un ojo de agua de bajo de unas peñas. La naturaleza de estos yndios es muy docil, temerosos, humildes, afectos á los Espanoles, y de buenas costumbres, viven en su pueblo, y ninguno en los montes. Tienen sus siembras de maiz, frijol, y sus alborelitos de cacao, conque se mantienen, y pagan sus tequios. Hay 60 casados, 1 viudo, 6 viudas, 14 muchachos y 19 muchachas. Hablan la lengua Zoque, y en ella son administrados por un religioso de San Francisco.

15. Xitotol. Curato de Religiosos de Santo Domingo.

Retrocediendo el camino para la Guardiania por el rumbo del sur a las 29 leguas de camino ya expresado, y seis del pueblo de Platanos ultimo anexo de dicha Guardiania está el pueblo Xitotol, en cuya distancia del de Platanos a este hay dos arroyos grandes, y el camino es muy penoso por las muchas cuestras lodazares, y piedras, que hay desde dicho pueblo. La situacion de él está en un plan alto, circunvalado de cerros á distancia de cinco quadras es de temperamento frigido humedo, y cienagoso por lo que hay continuas enfermedades. Tienedos arroyos, uno mayor que otro, que ambos se juntan á la salida del pueblo. Padecen continua hambre por lo afectos que son a la ociosidad, tienen en el pueblo sus nopaleras de grana silvestre que continuamente las cuidan. Hay 36 casados, 7 viudos, 13 viudas, 22 muchachos, y 26 muchachas.

Caminando acia el poniente a las tres leguas de penoso camino de cuestras palizadas, piedras, y atascaderos con dos rios que hay en dicho camino el uno distante legua, y media de Xitotol, y el otro dos y media esta el pueblo de San Dionisio, que llaman Pueblo Nuevo, situado de oriente á poniente en un plan alto con un cerro que mira al oriente, y le sirve de resguardo. Es temperamento frio, y humedo. La naturaleza, e inclinacion de estos yndios es como la de los de Xitotol. Hay 48 casados, 8 viudos, 36 viudas, 52 muchachas y 41 muchachos. No hay en el vecino de otra nacion.

Retrocediendo acia el sur a las tres leguas de distancia de cuestras eminentes de subidas, y bajadas está una Hacienda nombrade San Pedro Martin Bochil, la qual está situada en una cañada entre cerros. Es tierra caliente, y algo humeda. Tiene un rio, y un arroyo cercano á ella. Tiene sus sementeras de caña, ganado, vacuno, y yeguada. Ay 20 mozos valdios, y sus duenos que son tres Espanoles: 4 viudas, un viuda, 12 muchachos, y 9 muchachas. A todos estos se les administra en la lengua Mexicana por un Religioso Doctrinero de Santo Domingo, y a los naturales de los pueblos referidos en el idioma Zoque.

A las 11 leguas de penosisimo camino del pueblo de Xitotol siguiendo la cordillera debajo del norte está el pueblo, y curato de Religiosos de Santa Domingo de

16. Tapilula.

Hay en dicho camino por la banda del norte dos rios caudalosos, y un

arroyo, y por la del nordeste un río caudaloso, y un arroyo. La situación es un plan todo rodeado de cerros con cuatro caminos penosos, uno que va para el pueblo de Pantepeque, otro para el Pueblo Nuevo, otro para el de Ysguatan, y otro para el de Comistaguacan con varios ríos, y arroyos. Es de temperamento caliente, y humedo, por cuya causa es enfermiza la tierra. Son de distintas inclinaciones, porque unos son devotos de . . . misa, y otros á fiestas de tambores, trompetas, músicas, bailes. Otros inclinados a los montes, otros imperiosos, y otros ociosos. No tienen otro trato que es el de sembrar maíz, frijol, y verduras, conque se mantienen. Ay 44 casados, 3 viudos, 18 viudas, 20 muchachos, y 26 muchachas.

A la distancia de una legua de bajada pedregosa, y al fin de ella un río caudaloso, y rapido, debajo del norte está el pueblo anexo llamado Ysguatlan, situado en barrancos, no habiendo en el plan sino donde está la yglesia, rodeado todo de montes espesos. Es de temperamento templado, y humedo. Hay un río peligroso que se pasa a vado por las muchas piedras que tiene, y lo mas del año está execido por las continuas lluvias, y nortes que hay en los cerros inmediatos. Ay 81 casados, 2 viudos, 30 viudas, 28 muchachos y 23 muchachas. El cultivo que tienen en su trabajo son las siembras de maíz, y frijol, con que se mantienen. La naturaleza de estos es ver joviales, obedientes, y aplicador á lo bueno.

Retrocediendo al camino de tapilula por el rumbo del sur á las dos leguas de malísimo camino por montañas, y cerros de piedras, y atascaderos está el pueblo anexo de Comistaguacan con cuatro arroyos permanentes por las continuas lluvias, y dos cienegas pequeñas. La situación es en un plan corto rodeado de cerros eminentes. Es de temperamento templado, y humedo. Tiene 58 casados, 8 viudos, 21 viudas, 29 muchachos, 22 muchachas. Siembran maíz, y frijol, conque se mantienen. Son obedientes, y atentos a la asistencia de los divinos oficios. En todo este curato se habla la lengua Zoque y en ella son administrado por un cura religioso de Santo Domingo, que vive en la cabecera de Tapilula.

A las 9 leguas de distancia del curato de Tapilula corriendo la cordillera de camino muy pesado por ser todo de piedra cuestas, y bajadas con un río caudaloso que se pasa 8 veces a vado está el pueblo de Zulusuchiapa anexo al curato de Ystacomitan. El que está situado en medio de cuatro cerros muy altos á la vega del río expresado. Es del temperamento caliente, y humedo. La naturaleza de estos yndios es fuerte, aunque algunos enfermos por el vicio de comer tierra y muy pocos inclinados a la embriague. Son afables, y sagaces, y muy devotos al divino culto. Tiene 19 casados, 1 viudo, 2 viudas, 9 muchachos, y 5 muchachas. Su comercio es el fruto de cacao que cogen, y el trabayan conduciendo cargas de seis arrobas, y libras en hombros, por ser difícil su transporte en bestias, con lo que grangean [?] el mantense.

17. Ystacomitan. Curato de Religiosos de Santo Domingo.

Caminando al poniente á las 4 leguas de pesimo camino de subidas, y bajadas, con muchos lodazares, en él ay dos arroyos uno grande, y otro pequeño, está el pueblo de Ystacomitan, curato, situado en un plan corto, circunvalado de cerros con un arroyo grande a la orilla. Y por la parte del mismo poniente un río

caudalos, y rapido, y a las dos leguas de distancia, camino de la rivera del Blanquillo se pasa por canoa, por los arroyos quebe entran, y este va á desaguar, y juntarse en Villahermosa del Obispado de Merida con los demas rios de dicha Provincia. Tiene: casados -- 61, viudas -- 21, muchachos -- 20, muchachas -- 22. La naturaleza de estos yndios es como la del pueblo de Zulusuchiapa. Todos hablan la lengua Castellana, y algunas yndias; y la materna de ellos es la Zoque. Sus sementeras es cacao, y maiz, aunque en cortedad, por estar con el tequio de carga, carga de los pasajeros.

De este pueblo de Ystacomitan para asi al segundo anexo, que está acia el norte llamado Pechucalco Pueblo Nuevo, por averse fundado segunda vez el año pasado de 716; y por las extensiones que experimentaron, hicieron fuga al pueblo de Guaymanguillo de la Provincia de Tabasco en el que se mantuvieron algunos años, hasta que saqueados por el Yngles volvieron á su antiguo pueblo, y lo fundaron como 10 quadras de donde estaba. Esta en un llano circunvalado de cerros. Es caliente y humedo en demasia. Tiene dos arroyos pequeños el uno pasa por en medio del pueblo, y el otro fuera de el dista de la cabecera dos leguas de camino muy lodoso. Hay 4 arroyos el uno de ellos grande, y de lagueria, que en creciendo impide el paso. Hay dos rios de por medio, que antiguamente fue madre del otro el que es rapido, y peligroso, y por la mucha piedra que tiene impide el paso a poco agua que llueba. El dicho pueblo está en tierra mas fertil que los antecedentes. Son yndios trabajadores en sus rancherias de cacao, y maiz que siembran, asistentes á los oficios divinos, y á la doctrina christiana. Tiene 18 casados, 3 viudos, 22 viudas, 25 muchachos, y 20 muchachas. Se les administra en la lengua Zoque y Castellana por un religioso de Santo Domingo, que vive en la cabecera.

Retrocediendo de este pueblo a la cabecera de Ystacomitan, caminando acia el norte á distancia de 6 leguas de camino barroso, empalizado con serranias de subidas, y bajadas está el pueblo anexo Ystapangajoya. Su situacion es en un plan circunvalado de cerros muy alegres. El temperamento es templado, y humedo, y la tierra muy fertil de frutas. Sus naturales siembran cacao, y con la venta de él se mantienen. Son devotos al culto divino, y amantes á los Espanoles. Los mas saben la lengua Castellana, y en ella se les administra por un religioso de Santo Domingo, que vive en dicho pueblo, y enseña la doctrina christiana, y á las mugeres por no enterderla en la lengua Zoque. Tiene 40 casados, 6 viudos, 9 viudas, 10 muchachos, y 12 muchachas.

Tiene la cabecera de Ystacomitan la administracion de la rivera que llaman El Blanquillo, y la distancia que ocupa desde dicho pueblo hasta dar con la raya de la Provincia de Tabasco de poniente á norte tiene seis leguas, y de oriente al noroeste muchas mas. Está dicha rivera entre haciendas y estancias. Tendra mas de 50 de vecinos Espanoles, casados 10, viudos 8, viudas 5, solteros 60, niñas 80, mozos sirvientes de todas calidades y de distintas parte 300 casados, viudos 8, viudas 60, muchachos 100, y muchachas 140. Por el numero de gentes, haciendas, y estancias puso el obispo ministro secular capellan para que en los dias festivos, y de guardar en cada uno de ellos les de dos misas, con premeditacion de dos distintos lugares, para que ningun feligres se quede sin oirla.

18. Chapultenango. Curato de Padres Seculares.

Desde el referido pueblo de Ystacomitan, caminando á la vanda del sur á distancia de 4 leguas está el curato de Chapultenango; cuyo camino es muy malo por las muchas cuevas peligrosas que tiene de barrancos, piedras, y lodazares que hay por las continuar aguas, y nortes, en el que pasan dos rios, el uno grande, que es el de Ystacomitan, y está media legua, impide el paso las mas veces por lo rapido que es, y el otro media legua antes de llegar al pueblo de Chapultenango, que impide tambien el paso lloviendo. Está situado en un llano circunvalado de cerros muy eminentes. Es de temperamento templado, y humedo. Tiene un arroyo cercano al pueblo con varios ojos de agua. La naturaleza de estos yndios es fuerte, y altiva. Son poco devotos al culto divino, y cuidadosos en sus sementeras de maiz, frijol, cacao, y pataste. Tiene 45 casados, mozos, y viejos, 2 viudos, 29 viudas, 23 muchachos y muchachas 18.

Corriendo al norte á las 4 leguas de camino con varios arroyos que hay en el intermedio está el pueblo de Nicapa anexo, situado en un llano corto, circunvalado de cerros con un rio cerca del pueblo que lloviendo impide el paso. Tiene otro arroyo pequeño junto al pueblo con varios ojos de agua. Hay 48 casados, 8 viudos, 29 viudas, 15 muchachos, 18 muchachas, 2 laborios casados, y un viudo. Son de naturaleza fuerte, y altivos, y trabajadores en sus sementeras de maiz, frijol, y cacao.

A las tres leguas del referido camino, aunque mas peligroso con varios arroyos está el otro pueblo anexo a la banda del norte llamada Sunuapa, 7 leguas distante de la cabecera, por estar seguidos los pueblos en cordillera. Su situacion es en una loma, que no tiene mas llano que lo que hace el plan de la Yglesia. Están las casas en barrancos. Es de temperamento caliente y humedo. La naturaleza de estos Yndios es apacible, y fuerte. Son trabajadores en sus siembras de maiz, frijol, y cacao. Hay un rio grande cerca del pueblo, el que se junta con otro mayor de Chiapa, que va á desaguar a Villahermosa de la Provincia de Tabasco. Tiene la pena de mosquitos que ay mas en unos tiempos que otros. Se compone dicho pueblo de 17 casados entre viejos, y mozos, 2 viudos, 13 muchachos, 11 muchachas, laborios casados 11, 1 viudo, y un mestizo de Campeche avecindado. En este curato hablan los naturales la lengua Zoque, y en ella son administrados por un clerigo secular, que vive en la cabecera de Chapultenango.

19. Tapalapa. Curato de Religiosos de Santo Domingo.

A las diez leguas de distancia de cerros mui eminentes de piedras con varios despeñaderos muy peligrosos por lo profundo de ellos todo de subidas, y bajadas con un rio rapido que estara 5 leguas de Chapultenango a la vanda del sur, y varios lodazares y atascaderos acia el poniente está el curato de Tapalapa situado en un plan corto circunvalado de tres cerros eminentes que tendra cada uno una legua larga de subida empinada. Es de temperamento frio por los vientos humedos que corren de norte á sur. En el pueblo los naturales tienen sus nopaleras de grana silvestre que cultivan para vender, y mantenerse con su producto, y á cinco leguas distante de este pueblo de muy mal camino siembran sementeras

de maiz, frijol en el cerro que llaman Santa Monica, mayor que los tres ya expresados. Pero no de tanta piedra ni tan encumbrado. La naturaleza de estos Yndios es muy docil, y afable inclinados al culto Divino, y a fiestas a carreras, y a fandangos. Hay 45 casados entre mozos, y viejos, viudas 23, muchachos 14 y muchachas 21.

Caminando acia el oriente á las tres leguas de pesado camino, y pedregoso con varios arroyos dos de ellos grandes, y los demas pequeños, y dos rios no muy abundantes; pero de mucha piedra, y la mas de ella negra esta el pueblo anexo Pantepeque situado en un plan cercado de cerros. Es de temperamento frio, y muchos vientos que corren, aunque no son dañonos á la salud. Sus naturales son robustos, é inclinados á sus siembras, y nopaleras de grana silvestre, y algo altivos con la misma inclinacion que los del pueblo anterior. Hay 34 casados, viudos 9, muchachos 27 y muchachas de todas edades 21. No hay en el otro genero de gente.

Retrocediendo otra vez á la cabecera por el mismo camino que es preciso, y saliendo de ella acia el poniente á las quatro leguas de pesadissima distancia por las muchas cuestas, piedras, barrancas peligrosas, y lodazares por los continuos nortes está el 2º pueblo anexo llamado Ocotepeque distante del de Chapultenango 6 leguas tiene en el camino dos riachuelos, varios cerro[s] muy eminente, circunvalada de otros, aunque algo retirados. No tiene mas de un ojo de agua, porque la mas cerca está una legua distante. Es de temperamento frio, y muy humedo, por lo que enferman de continuo les naturales. Son inclinados a la yglesia á oír misa y a rezar la doctrina christiana joviales, y obedientes, y asi mismo tienen sus siembras para mantenerse, y sus nopaleras de grana silvestre en que tratan. Hay en dicho pueblo 28 casados entre mozos, y viejos, 1 viudo, 2 viudas, 5 muchachos, y 8 muchachas.

A las seis leguas de camino lodoso, piedras, y atolladeros que es necesario para que se pueda transitar pongan palizadas gruesas está al poniente el 3º pueblo que se llama Coapilla, en cuyo curso ay do rios, y algunos arroyos. Su situacion es un una llanada, que tendra una legua. Es de temperamento frio, y humedo, y fuera del pueblo, como quatro quadras. Tiene una laguna hermosa de la que los naturales se proveen para beben. Es muy profunda, y de circuito como media legua. Son de inclinacion dociles, y obedientes. Tienen sus siembras para mantenerse, y sus nopaleras de grana silvestre. Hay 10 casados entre mozos, y viejos, 1 viudo, 2 viudas, 5 muchachos, y 1 muchachas. En este curato se habla la lengua Zoque, y en ella son administrados por un cura religioso de Santo Domingo que vive en la cabecera.

20. Magdalenas. Curato de Religiosos de Santo Domingo.

De esta parroquia retrocediendo al otro pueblo anexo que es Ocotepeque, y corriendo la cordillera acia el poniente á las 6 leguas de el de pesadissimo camino, y mas peligroso por las muchas cuchillas cerros eminentes, y precipicios que ay desvarrancaderos profundos con muchas quebradas y rios caudalosos, especialmente el de Chiapa, que se pasa por canoa en estrecha falda de una

montana está situado el pueblo y curato de la Magdalenas, oprimido de varios cerros esperos, y cerrados, que todos son impenetrables. El temperamento es fresco, y templado. La naturaleza de estos indios es docil, y trabajadores. Tienen las milperias Tecpatan 98 casados, 11 viudos, 34 viudas, muchachos de todas edades 110 y muchachas 119.

A las cinco leguas del camino arriba expresado con muchas quebradas, y arroyos, que lloviendo cada uno es rio caudaloso impasable, retrocediendo al norte esta el pueblo anexo Ystuacan pasandose el rio de canoa, para llegar á el; en cuya orilla esta situado en un llano capaz rodeado de cerros, aunque algo retirados. Es de temperamento caliente. La naturaleza, e inclinacion de estos humilde. Tienen sus siembras, y cacaguatales con que se mantienen, y pagan sus tequios. Hay 60 casados, 6 viudos, y 19 viudas, 54 muchachos de todas edades y 68 muchachas.

Siguiendo la cordillera al norte a las 4 leguas no de tan mal camino, ni fragoso como los antecedentes entre dos rios ambos de canoa está el 2^o pueblo anexo llamado Sayula aislado, teniendo el un rio cercano al pueblo, y el otro una legua de distancia, siendo necesario pasar el primero para pasar á el. Es de temperamento caliente, y humedo. Son estos yndios de naturaleza docil. Hay 51 casados, 4 viudos, 12 viudas, 32 muchachos, y 39 muchachas. Tienen sus siembras del frutos de la tierra, y cacao, conque se mantienen, y pagan sus tequios. Hablan en este curato la lengua Zoque, y en ella son administrados por un cura religioso de Santo Domingo que vive en la cabecera de Magdalenas.

A las 12 leguas de camino muy penoso por cuchillas barrancos peligrosos de cerros eminentes, montañas con lodazares, y atascaderos con muchas palizadas que es menester poner de arboles gruesos para transitarle, y en este camino ay 6 rios grandes, y varios arroyos, que en tiempo de agua son peligrosos, y entre ellos ay uno de zarza, y otro de azufre. Está el pueblo de Tepatlan cabecera de esta Provincia. Tiene su situacion entre cerros bien pedregosos por lo que en las calles de él se anda con dificultad. Es de temperamento caliente, aviendo en el varios arboles de frutas, y flores. La naturaleza de estos yndios es afable, y cariñosa, amigos de los Españoles. Las yndias trabajadoras, y habiles en los texidos que ellas fabrican de hilo, seda, y lana, pavellones de cama de todo genero guepiles (que son lo que las yndias se ponen por camisas en todo el Reyno) de todas labores, y otras fabricas, como son manteles, paños de manos, servilletas, toallas, y mantas de tributo. Tienen sus sementeras de maiz, frijol, y gengibre. Hay 403 casados, 26 viudos, 208 viudas, 250 muchachos de todas edades, 250 muchachas, laborios casados 40, de los solteros 5, solteras naturales 137, ladinos libres de todas calidades naturales, reservados, y enfermos 220. Los mas de los yndios hablan la lengua Castellana, y la Zoque, que es en la que se les administra por un ministro doctrinero religioso de Santo Domingo, que vive en el convento. Hay en el un prior, y dos religiosos.

21. Quechula. Curato de Religiosos de Santo Domingo.

Corriendo la cordillera del poniente a las cinco leguas del malisimo camino como el antecedente con dos rios grandes, y varios arroyos que se pasan

está el pueblo, y curato de Quechula, situado en un llano la mitad de el, y la otra mitad en barrancas a la orilla del rio grande de Chiapa, que es de Canoa y desde este pueblo se puede en embarcado por el hasta el Puerto de Campeche, por ser ya el que lleva mas fuerza, y juntarse en se seno todos los rios de esta Provincia, los de la de Tabasco, y Zendales que van á salir por los rios de Osumacinta que llaman, á donde como madre principal los recoge para salir por la Laguna de Terminos al dicho Puerto de Campeche, y es de temperamento caliente, y aviendo por esta causa penalidad en dicho pueblo de mosquitos, y sabandijas ponzonosas está rodeado de cerros, y los naturales son altivos, é inclinados á lo bueno. No hay en el otro genero de gente. Tiene: casados -- 214, viudos -- 34, viudas -- 95, muchachos -- 191, muchachas -- 228. Siembran maiz, y frijol. Hacen sus pescas todo el año de varios peces, recogen frutos de la tierra, y cosechan cacao, aunque en poca cantidad.

Cercano a este pueblo como un cuarto de legua en la misma cordillera está el anexo llamado Chicoacen. Estos yndios son advenedizos, que vinieron á fundar en esta Provincia dejando la suya de la de los Agualulcos del obispado de Oaxaca. Su inclinacion vivir en los montes. Hay 25 casados, 2 viudos, 9 viudas, 24 muchachos de todas edades, y 33 muchachas. Tienen sus siembras, y hacen lo mismo que los naturales de la cabecera de Quechula. Hablan la lengua Zoque, y en ella son administrados por un cura religioso de Santo Domingo.

22. Copainala. Curato de Religiosos de Santo Domingo

Bolviendo á retroceder el camino hasta el pueblo de Tecpactlan, y caminando acia el oriente a las tres leguas de buen camino aunque hay dos cuesta una de subida, y otra de bajada son cortas, y lo mas llamada, está el pueblo y curato de Copainala situado á la falda del cerro que vá para el pueblo de Coapilla anexo del curato de Tapalapa, el que es grande, y empinado. Tiene dos leguas, y media de subida hay un riachuelo de mala agua que pasa a la orilla de dicho pueblo de Copainala de la que por no aver otra, de ella se proveen los naturales. La naturaleza de estos es debil, y flaca, por ser el temperamento caliente, y seco, y por la falta que tienen de tierras para sus sementeras, padecen todos los años hambre. Son devotos al culto divino, asistentes á rezar la doctrina chritiana. Hay 145 casados, 90 viudas, 65 viudos, 155 muchachos, 196 muchachas, y ladinos de todas calidades 46. Hablan la lengua Zoque, y en ella son administrados por un cura religioso de Santo Domingo que vive en el convento de dicho pueblo.

Caminando acia el oriente á las seis leguas no detan mal camino, aunque hay una cuesta que tiene una legua de bajada todo de piedra con dos rios, uno grande, y otro pequeño con varios arroyos chicos está el pueblo de Chicoacen en un plan corto rodeado de seis cerros, los tres de ellos muy grandes, y los otros tres medianos. Tiene dos rios grandes, que pasan á orilla del pueblo, que vá camino de la cabecera de este curato, que es Copainala con el cerro referido, que para ira ella se sube una legua con el otro rio de Chiapa, que en todo tiempo se pasa por canoa, y de allí se empieza á subir el mayor cerro que

es todo de piedra, y muy peligroso que va a la hacienda de ganado mayor que se llama Soteapa, que es de un vecino de Tuxta, y tiene dicho cerro 3 leguas de subida, y en el alto de el como de tres cuartos de legua, que tendra está dicha hacienda fundada, distante del pueblo de Tuxta 7 leguas, y de Ocosucoutla 9. Hay en dicha hacienda quatro mozos con tres hijos que tienen. El temperamento de dicho pueblo de Chicoacen es sumamente caliente por le que sus naturales son debiles. Su naturaleza apacible, y docil. Texen sus petates de palma, que es el trato que tienen. Siembran maiz, y frijol, con que se mantienen. Hay 30 casados, 4 viudos, 6 viudas, 10 muchachos, y 15 muchachas.

A las dos leguas de buen camino acia el oriente está otro anexo llamado Osmacinta, en cuyo distrito hay un río que pasa por la orilla del pueblo con algunos pequeños que antes se pasan. Su situaciones en un plan a la orilla de un cerro peligrosísimo de quatro leguas de subida que sale para el pueblo de San Gabriel anexo de Ixtapa. Es de temperamento caliente, aunque no tanto como Chicoacen. La naturaleza de estos yndios como los antecedentes. Trabajan en hacer jarcía para los . . . de las requas. Hay 20 casados, un viudo, 3 viudas, 7 muchachos, y 10 muchachas.

El tercero cerro que sale del de Chicoacen vá á la hacienda de Bombana de un vecino de Ciudad Real. Hay quatro leguas de mal camino, dos de subida, y las otras dos de quebradas. Tiene dos hijos, y una hija el dueño de ella, y hay doce casados, una viuda, 11 muchachos, y 20 muchachas. Hablan todos los de esta administran en lengua Zoque, y en ella son administrados por un ministro doctrinero, que es religioso de Santo Domingo, que asiste una semana en un pueblo, y otra en otro.

Provincia de Llanos

23. Teopisca. Curato de Padres Seculares.

Corriendo la cordillera acia la parte del sur de buen camino de Ciudad Real capitán de este Obispado esta el pueblo, y curato de Teopisca primero de esta Provincia de Llanos. Su situacion es en una llanada, circunvalada de cerros. Su temperamento es frio, y humedo con continuos vientos secos. Tiene quatro entradas, y salidas, ó caminos Reales, el primero es el de Ciudad Real. El 2^o el que vá para el pueblo de Comitán, capital de esta Provincia, el 3^o vá para el pueblo de San Bartholome, y el 4^o para el pueblo de Guistan de la Provincia de Cendales. Todas las dichas salidas, y entradas son cienegosas, y en la una está una calzada de piedra con un puente de palos, que en tiempo de aguas es peligroso. Son yndias trabajadores. Tienen sus sementeras de trigo, frutas de la tierra, y son de naturaleza altiva. Tiene casados 83, viudos 11, viudas 37, muchachos 13, muchachas 7, ladinos de todas calidades 14, viudo ninguno, 4 viudas, 9 muchachos. Hay así mismo cinco labores de pan sembrar de los vecinos de Ciudad Real y un molino todas cortas y en todas ellas habra 15 mozos y estan con juntas al pueblo. Pues la mas retirada está un cuarto distante de este dicho pueblo. Seis leguas acia el occidente tienen los naturales una hacienda de ganado mayor nombrada San Diego, y

ellos mismos con alternacion de unos, y otros la cuidan.

A la distancia de una legua corta toda de llanada a la loma de un cerro que llaman en el idioma de estos yndios tzobontajal, que quiere decir con junto de pinos está el pueblo llamado Amatenango circunvalado de cerros, y en uno de ellos, que los naturales llaman Muqulquib, que en Castellano dice cantaro grande brotando manantiales de agua que constituyen un arroyo, ó riachuelo, y camina a unirse con un rio que dista de la cabecera de este curato 6 leguas, que llaman Rio Blanco. El temperamento es el mismo, y de la especie del antecedente. La naturaleza de estos yndios es como de la cabecera, y el trabajo, y trato el mismo. Hay 108 casados, 8 viudos, 39 viudas, 19 muchachos, y 12 muchachas.

A las tres leguas cortas de la cabecera de este curato esto está el segundo anexo llamado Aguacatenango. Está fundado sobre la loma de un cerro circunvalado de cerros. Es de temperamento mas templado que los dos antecedentes, en la inclinacion, naturaleza, y trabajo no se diferencia en nada de los otros. Hay cercano al pueblo una legua, que en tiempo de verano se seca la que tendra media legua de largo. Tiene un manantial que pasa cerca del pueblo con la que se proveen los naturales, y algunas ocasiones suele secarse, por lo que padecen con esta falta gran necesidad. Hay 33 casados, 4 viudos, 10 viudas, 7 muchachos, y 6 muchachas.

24. Comitan. Priorato y Curato de Religiosos de Santo Domingo.

Distante de la capital de Ciudad Real, tomando el rumbo del sur como 20 leguas, y camino parte bueno, y parte pesado está el pueblo de Comitan situado en una loma dentro de dos cerros hay en el: casados -- 100, viudos -- 20, viudas -- 30, muchachos -- 112, muchachas -- 116, ladinos de todas calidades -- 208, solteros -- 190, solteras -- 200, viudas -- 36, viudos -- 30.

Seis leguas despues del pueblo de Teopisca está un manantial de agua que llaman Yerba Buena, y á las otras tres un pozo que llaman Agua Hedionda por lo salobre, y grueso con otro ojo de agua, que dista de Comitan dos leguas. La naturaleza de estos es ver humildes, y joviales. Siembran maiz, y frijol, con que se mantienen, y las mugeres se aplican á labrar colchas de lana, y mantas de tributo. El pueblo es frondoso por la variedad de arboles fructiferos muy saludables, y flores. El agua que se gasta es de una fuente que está en la orilla del pueblo. Tiene una laguna que dista de el un quarto de legua. El idioma que hablan es Chanaval, que en Castellano quiere decir cuatro lenguas, y verdaderamente son las que los yndios hablan en esta Provincia y las nombran Tzocil, Zendal, Chol, Coxhog. Son administrados en ella por un religioso de Santo Domingo que vive en el convento de dicho pueblo, y en el hay un prior, sub-prior, y dos religiosos. Tiene este dicho pueblo quatro entradas, y salidas. La primera es para el pueblo de Amatenango, camino de Ciudad Real que dista de este 13 leguas, no de buen camino. La 2^a que vá para el pueblo de Zocoltenango, que dista 6 leguas de camino pedregoso, y todo lo demas de bajada. La 3^a para el pueblo de Ocingo de la Provincia de Cendales, que dista 24 leguas, lo mas

de camino llano, y en el intermedio atraviesan dos rios, que el uno se pasa en puente de palo, y le llaman los yndios Sacunchá, que quiere decir agua añadida, el otro abado, que en el humvierno [invierno ?] no lo dá, y la 4^a es para el pueblo de Zapaluta camino de Goathemala, y dista 4 leguas de camino llano.

Corriendo la cordillera al oriente á las 4 leguas de camino bueno esta el pueblo llamado Zapaluta. Su situacion es en una loma peñascosa con varios arboles frutales. Tiene una fuente de la qual se proveen los naturales. Es de temperamento templado. La naturaleza, é inclinan de estos, es como los de Comitán. Texen petates de palma, que es su trato. Siembran maiz, y frijol, con que se mantienen. Hay 112 casados, viudos 8, viudas 13, muchachos 98 y muchachas 102. No hay otro genero de gente. Hablan la lengua Cendal, y en ella son administrados por un religioso de Santo Domingo, que vive en el convento de Comitán.

A la adminitracion de dicho Comitán se hallan trece estancias, y haciendas de ganado mayor, y menor de poca monta: 9 de los religiosos de dicho priorato de Comitán, y las 4 restantes de algunos vecinos del mismo pueblo. No tiene numero determinado en los sirvientes por ser los que se ocupan naturales de ambos dichos pueblos y á estos se buscan, quando solo son necesarios. El obispo para lo mas facil administran obligo al parroco agregase otro ministro, lo que consiguio para que en los dias festivos no quedasen los hacendados sin oír misa.

25. Isquitenango. Curato de PP. de Santo Domingo.

Corriendo la cordillera acia el oriente a las 13 leguas del pueblo de Comitán, 11 de camino llano, y las dos de cerros con mucha piedra esta el pueblo, y curato de Isquitenango en medio de dos rios, el uno de canoa, que es el de Chiapa, distante del pueblo dos quadras, y el otro media legua de el. Es de temperamento caliente, por lo que padecen los naturales frios, y calenturas, las que suelen contagian á los caminantes, que hacen demora en el pueblo. Son de naturaleza fuerte, sagaces, y bien educados. Trabajan en sus sementeras de maiz, y frijol para mantenerse. Hay 19 casados, viudos 2, viudas 5, muchachos 15, y muchachas 12.

26. Chiquimucelo. Curato de PP. Seculares.

Corriendo la cordillera al sur a las diez leguas de Yscuitenango, camino llano con rio de canoa, hay que pasar, que es el de Chiapa está el pueblo y curato de Chiquimucelo. Su situacion es en una llanada de dos leguas. Es temperamento caliente, y seco. Son de naturaleza apacible, y afectos al culto divino. Tiene sus sementeras de maiz, frijol, y algodón, de que se mantienen, y pagan sus tequios. Hay: casados -- 24, viudos -- 8, viudas -- 7, muchachos -- 15, muchachas -- 12. Siguiendo la cordillera por el rumbo del poniente a la una legua de camino llano con dos arroyos que se pasan está el pueblo anexo á este curato llamado Yayaguita. Su situacion es en una llanada. Siembran maiz, frijol, y algodón, con que se mantienen. Son fieles, y devotos. Hay 12 casados, un viudo, 5 viudas, 7 muchachos, y 8 muchachas.

Caminando al sur a las quatro leguas de camino como los antecedentes está

el otro pueblo anexo á este curato llamado Comalapa: en cuyo transito ay dos rios caudalosos, que por invierno se pasan en canoa. El uno está como una quadra del pueblo de Chiquimucelo con dos quebradas, y tres arroyos que hay desde una hacienda de ganado mayor, que estos siempre llevan agua en verano, è invierno. Los tres yndios que hay porque el pueblo está destruido son dociles, y apacibles. La situacion del pueblo está en un llano especioso, siembran sus sementeras. Á mas de los tres naturales casados ay un muchacho, y dos muchachas. Asimismo á las dos leguas de este dicho pueblo está una hacienda de ganado mayor de poca monta, que es de un vecino de Ciudad Real, teniendo este por la parte del poniente distante una legua un trapiche. Hay en estos dos parajes 15 casados, la mayor parte de mulatos y los demas yndios, muchachos 5, y muchachas 8.

27. Socoltenango. Curato de PP. Seculares.

Corriendo la cordillera al norte a las 18 leguas de camino pedregoso, y no real está el curato de Socoltenango con varios arroyos, y una cienega, que hay en el camino. La situacion de el es en una llanada con un cerro grande que mira al oriente. Es templado temperamento, y humedo. Tiene 5 salidas, y entradas que se trafican en este dicho pueblo. La primera es para el pueblo de Pinola camino de Ciudad Real, capital de estas Provincias, que dista 2 leguas. La segunda para el pueblo de Zoyatitlan camino real de Nueva Espana, que hay dos leguas de este pueblo, ambos caminos buenos. La tercera es para el pueblo de Ysquintenango, camino real para Goathemala cabecera de este Reyno, que dista 14 leguas de buen camino. La 4^a es para el pueblo de Comitán, que dista seis leguas de pesado camino de cerros, y piedras de subidas, y bajadas, y la 5^a para el de Chiquimucelo, con la distancia del camino yá expresado. Son de naturaleza muy docil apacibles, bien educados, zelosos del culto Divino, asistentes a oír misa, y rezar la doctrina christiana. Siembran sus sementeras de maiz, frijol, y sus cortos canaverales de que hacer su panelas. Hay 40 casados, viudos 10, viudas 20, muchachos 29, muchachas 30, ladinos de todas calidades 60, viudos 20, solteros 80, solteras 95, viudas 11. Hablan los naturales la lengua Zendal, y en ella son administrados por un cura secular, que vive en dicho pueblo, y los ladinos en la lengua Castellana. En este pueblo ay en su yglesia una milagrosissima ymagen de Nuestra Senora que se celebra en su sagrado misterio de Candelaria con el titula de Copanaguastan. Por cuya fiesta que se celebra á 2 de Febrero concurren en Romería assi de la Nueva Espana, como de la de Guathemala, Ciudad Real y sus Provincias con las de Tabasco mas de mil personas . . . las singulares maravillas, y prodigios que en su fiesta, y novena siempre se ha dignado hacer esta soberana reyna. Asimismo a esta administran. Hay 4 haciendas, y 14 trapiches de canaaval de distintos sugetos de dicho pueblo, y de Ciudad Real. Tendran sirvientes de todas calidades 30 quienes en los dias festivos acuden á oír misa á la parroquia, y á instruirse de la doctrina christiana. Son nativos de los pueblos comarcanos, reconociendo siempre cada uno de ellos a sus respectivas justicias que tienen.

28. Zoyatitan. Curato de PP. Seculares.

Caminando al norte a las dos leguas de buen camino todo llanada está

el pueblo, y curato de Soyatitan situado en un llano en lo alto de un pequeño cerro. El temperamento es templado, y muy sano. Hay en dicho camino un arroyo grande. La naturaleza de estos yndios es ver muy joviales humildes, y obedientes, devotos al culto Divino, y asistentes á oír misa, y rezar la Doctrina Christiana. Siembran sus sementeras de maiz, frijol, y chile, con que se mantienen, y pagan sus tequios. Tienen sus [?] carros canaverales, de que hacen sus panelas, que es el azucar rojo, que llaman. Hay 78 casados, viudos 3, viudas 24, muchachos 52, muchachas 30, ladinos de todas calidades ocho casados, 6 viudas, solteros 9 y 9 solteras.

29. San Bartholome. Curato de PP. Seculares agregado á esta Santa Iglesia Cathedral por disposicion Real.

Siguiendo la misma cordillera al norte a las dos leguas de camino bueno está el pueblo anexo á este curato llamado Pinola situado en un llano circunvalado de cerros. Hay en el tres manantiales de agua dulce; es de temperamento templado, y saludable. La naturaleza de estos yndios es como los de la cabecera en un todo, siembran sus sementeras de . . . frijol, chile, y cana dulce. Hay en el 112 casados, 5 viudos, 18 viudas, 22 muchachos, 18 muchachas, ladinos, 1 casado, 1 viuda, y 1 soltera.

A las quatro leguas de buen camino, y lo mas llanada con 3 cerritos cortos, que hay en el, y dos rios caudalosos, que el uno llaman el rio borracho, y el otro rio blanco está el pueblo de San Bartholomé situado en la falda de un cerro, que en el idioma de los yndios llaman Yalanchem, el qual está en medio de una llanada, y lomerías, que le circunvalan. Es todo pedregoso con varios barrancos, y riscos en parte es tan dificultoso para transitarlo que es menester subirlo á pie asiendose de las peñas, y lo mismo para bajar. Hay en el varios ojos de agua, especialmente dos que dan abasto al pueblo, todas son muy buenas, y saludables. Hay varios arboles frutales. El temperamento es caliente, y sano. Tiene quatro salidas, y entradas las tres de caminos Reales y la una parte las Haciendas de Custepeques, la primera es para el pueblo de Chiapilla, que dista 8 leguas de camino algo fragoso por la mucha piedra que ay dicho camino vá para Nueva Espana, la segunda para el de Soyatitan, camino para Goathemala. La 3^a para Teopisca, camino de Ciudad Real que dista 9 leguas de penoso camino de piedras, y cerros. La 4^a para las expresadas Haciendas de Custepeques. Son de naturaleza apacible fuertes, corpulentos, algo inclinados a las bebidas de chicha. Son muy trabajadores en siembras de maiz, frijol, pimento, y algodon, que siembran en abundancia. Hay en el 1112 casados, 133 viudos, 510 viudas, 168 muchachos, 180 muchachas, ladinos de todas calidades casados 53, 6 viudos, 21 viudas, 37 solteros, 52 solteras. Hablan la lengua Zocil, y en ella son administraros y los ladinos en la Castellana por un vicario perpetuo, y un ministro secular que viven en sus casas parroquiales.

A esta administracion corresponden once haciendas de ganado mayor que llaman los Custepeques de varios vecinos de Ciudad Real. La distancia que hay de la primera a la ultima son de 14 leguas de asperos caminos de piedras lodazares, rios cienegales, arroyos, y malos pases. Tienen 300 casados de todas calidades,

30 viudos, 50 viudas, 115 muchachos, 240 muchachas. Hablan la lengua Castellana y Cendal, y en ella son administrados por dos ministros por lo difícil del camino, teniendo uno antes, y para el mayor consuelo en lo espiritual de estos sirvientes agregó otro el obispo, no sin grande trabajo por la repugnancia de los dueños, que estaban acostumbrados á mantener uno solo.

30. Totolopam. Curato de PP Seculares.

Siguiendo la cordillera dabajo del norte á las 8 leguas de camino fragoso por la mucha piedra menuda las seis de camino real, que corre para la Nueva Espana, y las dos medio plan con sus quebradas está el pueblo, y curato de Totolopam, y en el mismo camino como r leguas antes de dicho pueblo está una hacienda de ganado mayor nombrada Nuestra Senora del Rosario, que es de un vecino del pueblo de San Bartholome hay tres arroyos no peligrosos. La situacion de el es en un cerro barrancoso circunvalado de varios cerros retirados. Tiene este dicho pueblo quatro entradas, y salidas. La primera es para el pueblo de Chiapilla que dista 3 leguas de camino pesado. La 2^a para el referido pueblo de San Bartholome con el camino dicho para Goatemala. La 3^a para Ciudad Real y la 4^a para San Lucas anexo á este curato. Estas dos ultimas no son caminos Reales. La naturaleza de estos yndios es . . . muy sobervios, y altivos, y sus inclinaciones poco afectas á cosas buenas, muy inclinados a la embriague. Son muy trabajadores, y cuidadosos de sus sementeras de maiz, frijol, algodon, sus platanares, y otros arboles frutales, con que se mantienen, y pagan sus tequios. No vive en este pueblo gente de otra generacion. La lengua que estos hablan es la Zocil, y en ella son administrados por un cura secular que se mantiene de pie en el. Hay 60 casados, 20 viudos, 21 viudas, 12 muchachas, y 20 muchachos.

Corriendo acia la parte del norte de camino fragoso que tiene 3 leguas con muchisima piedra con un rio caudaloso de agua salobre con algunos barrancos peligrosos en tiempo de agua por los muchos atolladeros, y barriales esta el pueblo de San Lucas anexo a este curato. Su situacion es en una hoya al pie de un cerro eminente, que vá para Ciudad Real y llaman Cueytepeque. Asi este pueblo como el de la cabecera son de temperamente caliente. A la orilla del pueblo pasa el rio de Ciudad Real. La naturaleza de estos yndios son de la misma que los de la cabecera asi en costumbres como en el trabajo. Teniendo estos la ocupacion mas continua en sembran cana dulce, en que hacen sus paneles. No hay en el gente de otra Nacion. La lengua que hablan es la Zocil, y en ella son administrados. Hay 45 casados, 9 viudos, 24 viudas, 7 muchachos, y 8 muchachas.

A la una legua de distancia está el trapiche de Nuestra Senora de la Merced del convento de Ciudad Real y en el habrá seis mozos casados, 2 muchachos, 3 muchachas, 1 viudo, y ninguna viuda.

31. Acala. Curato de PP. Seculares

Corriendo al sur a las quatro leguas de camino pesado, y fragoso por la mucha piedra está el pueblo, y curato de Acala situado en un plan capaz

junto al rio grande de Chiapa. Es de temperamento caliente, y humedo, por lo que se há destruido dicho pueblo, que era muy grande, por las continuas enfermedades que há padecido, y aunque las tierras son muy fertiles para las siembras de los frutos de ella, los naturales son muy poco afectos á cultivarlas y asi padecen continua hambre. Su inclinacion bebidas, muy desafectos al culto divino. Hay casados 24, 2 viudos, 25 viudas, 17 muchachos, 20 muchachas. Hablan la lengua Chapaneca, y en ella son administrados.

Acia la banda del norte á las dos leguas está el pueblo de Chiapilla anexo á este curato, situado en un plan circunvalado de cerros. El temperamento es caliente. Sus inclinaciones como los de la cabecera aunque estos son mas trabajadores en sus labranzas de maiz, frijol, y algodón. Hay un rio grande que pasa una quadra del pueblo, que llaman el de Ciudad Real que se pasa por un puente. Hay 14 casados, 1 viudo, 8 viudas, 5 muchachos, y 6 muchachas, ladinos casados 4, y 4 muchachas. El idioma que estos hablan es la lengua Chapaneca, y en ella son administrados por un mimistro secular.

32. Chiapa. Priorato y Curato de PP de Santo Domingo.

Siguiendo la cordillera al norte á las 9 leguas de camino fragoso está el pueblo, y priorato de Santo Domingo de Chiapa, cabecera de estas Provincias. Su situacion es en una rehoja gran parte de ellos y la otra parte en lomerias, aunque ya se va experimentando su ruina con enfermedades, pestes, y la epidemia pasada. El temperamento es caliente, y humedo. La inclinacion de ellos es muy altiva, aunque devotos al culto divino, y afectos a la embriaguez, y ociosidad por le que padecen continuamente hambre. Hay 96 cadados, 5 viudos, 73 viudas, 56 muchachos, 96 muchachas. Tiene otro rio dicho pueblo a la banda del sur. Hay en este convento el prior, sub-prior, cuatro religiosos, y un lego que sirve de sacristan. Acia el sur hay 6 haciendas de ganado mayor pertenecientes á dicho priorato. Los sirvientes que hay en ellas son 142 casados, 11 viudos, 38 viudas, 59 solteros, todos de calidad negros, y son administrados en el idioma Castellano por un religioso de Santo Domingo, que anda de hacienda en hacienda.

A las 4 leguas de la cabecera a la misma linea del sur está su anexo llanado Suchiapa. Y á la salida de dicho pueblo de Chiapa caminando para para el referido pueblo está como 4 cuadras el paso de la canoa, lo que se hace preciso pasar para ir á dicho anexo, y como dos leguas despues en el mismo camino se encuentra un arroyo que por tiempo de agua es muy peligroso. El temperamento es como la cabecera. La naturaleza, é inclinacion de sus naturales es muy humilde, obediente, devotos al culto Divino, y afectos á los Españoles. Son trabajadores en sus siembras de maiz, frijol, y frutas de la tierra. El idioma que estos, y los de la cabecera hablan es el Chapaneca, y en ella son administrados por un religioso de Santo Domingo, que vive en el convento de Chiapa. Hay 66 casados, 8 viudos, 40 viudas, 40 muchachos, y 50 muchachas, ladinos casados 4, 1 viudo, 5 viudas, 6 solteras, y 7 solteros.

33. Tuxtya. Curato de PP. de Santo Domingo.

A las dos leguas de dicho curato de Chiapa, siguiendo el poniente, camino

bueno esta el curato, y pueblo de Tuxtia, aviendo de pasar el rio de Canoa con otros tres arroyos pequeños. La situacion es en un plan espacioso como de dos leguas de llanada, y un riachuelo que pasa á orillas del pueblo. Es de temperamento templado, y aunque está circunvalado de cerros, estan retirados. La naturaleza de estos yndios es ver muy trabajadores en sus milpas y legumbres, que siembran anualmente y en hacer hamacas, y jarcia para avio de requa. Son muy devotos al culto divino, y obedientes á su cura, teniendo especial esmero en el aseo de su yglesia. Tienen sus trapiches, y canaverales, aunque en corta cantidad, de que hacen panelas. Hay casados 162, viudos 13, viudas 165, muchachos 140, muchachas 133, ladinos de todas calidades casados 66, viudos 20, viudas 21, solteros 25, solteras 38. Estos yndios el idioma que hablan es la Zoque, y los ladinos la lengua Castellana, y cada uno son administrados por su idioma por un religioso de Santo Domingo que vive en su convento. A esta administracion hay 4 haciendas de ganado mayor, y varios ranchos de cañaverales, y les sirvientes que tienen seran 100. Algunos de este curato, y otros nativos de dichas haciendas son en lo espiritual regidos por un ministro religioso de Santo Domingo, que se mantiene en ellas.

34. Ocosucoutla. Curato de PP. Seculares.

Siguiendo la cordillera al oriente a las 5 leguas . . . de muy mal camino, en cuyo transito hay un rio pequeño que llaman El Sabino, y otro aguage que llaman el agua escondida con tres cerros pequeños y uno no muy grande, á cuya falda está situado el pueblo, y curato de Ocosucoutla en un plano espacioso. Su temperamento es templado, y los vientos que corren nocivos a la cabeza. Sus naturales muy trabajadores en sus labranzas de frutas de la tierra, y caña dulce, teniendo los mas sus trapiches. Trabajan en hacen petates de estrado de varios colores de palma, y en labrar madera de cedro, que tienen en abundancia, y son devotos al culto divino, teniendo con especial esmero, y aseo su yglesia, y coro, y mucha veneracion a su cura, y á todos los sacerdotes. Las yndias son muy trabajadoras en sus texidos, que fabrican de huepiles, mantas, y otras fabricas curiosas de algodón. Son muy amantes á los españoles, y los mas hablan el idioma Castellano. Hay 187 casados, 9 viudos, 41 viudas, 50 muchachos, 60 muchachas, ladinos 7 casados, 4 viudos, 3 viudas, 7 solteras. El idioma que estos hablan es la Zoque (digo los yndíos) y en ella son administrados por un cura secular.

A las 8 leguas de camino fragoso con algunos cerros esta el pueblo anexo de Xíquipilas que es de mulatos navorios. La situacion de el es en un llano, y acio el sur un cerro mediano. El temperamento es caliente, y el agua mala por ser la de todo el Valle de Limon. La naturaleza é inclinacion de estos es ver humildes, y . . . pues apenas siembran sus cortas labranzas de maiz que no les alcanza para mantenerse al ano. Hay en el 29 casados, 21 muchachos, y 23 muchachas.

35. Cintalapa. Curato de PP. Seculares.

A las dos leguas de buen camino acia el poniente está el pueblo, y

cabecera de Cintalapa, en cuya inmediación hay un río grande, un arroyo, y una quebrada. La situación es en un plan cercado de varios cerros pequeños. Es de temperamento templado, y son los naturales altivos, y soberbios. Tienen amor a los Españoles. Hay 20 casados, 4 viudos, 6 viudas, 14 muchachos, y 12 muchachas. Estos son como los de pueblo anexo. Son administrados por un cura secular en el idioma Castellano, que entienden. Hay á cargo de esta administran entre haciendas, y trapiches 10 y sus dueños son algunos particulares del pueblo de Tuxtla. Hay en ellas, aunque son de poca monta cerca de 300 personas, 40 viudos, 60 viudas, 120 muchachos, 175 muchachas. Se advierte que en este numero de gente hay yndios, mulatos, y zambos.

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36. Tonala. Curato de PP. Seculares.

Corriendo la cordillera del pueblo de Cintalapa caminando al sur debajo de su misma linea a las 22 leguas de aspero camino con alguno rios peligrosos, y arroyos, y dos cerros el uno eminente, aunque tendido está el curato de Tonalá situado en una llanada. Es de temperamento caliente, y de natural los yndios muy soberbios, y altivos. Muy ociosos, y . . . por lo que, aunque con poco trabajo . . . lo fecundo de todas estas tierras se dan en abundancia los frutos. Pero como no las cultivan los mas de los anos padecen hambres. Hay 132 casados, 13 viudos, 28 viudas, 21 muchachos, 12 muchachas, ladinos de todas casados 21, viudas 33, viudas 27, muchachos 57, muchachas 96. En los terminos de este pueblo hay varios ranchos de ganado mayor y algunas haciendas, que tocan á esta administracion, y los sirvientes que tienen son los mismos ladinos en el numero dicho, y sus dueños comprehendidos entre ellos. Asi estos como todos los demas son administrados en el idioma Castellano por el cura propio, que está de pie en dicho pueblo.

Caminando acia el norte á las 30 leguas de dicho pueblo está su anexo llamado Pigigiapa. El temperamento es caliente. La naturaleza, è inclinacion de estos como la de los antecedentes. Tiene 60 yndios casados, viudos 11, viudas 14, muchachos 65, muchachas 52. Hay varios arroyos en el intermedio de este camino, y por tiemp de aguas son peligrosos.

Llevando la cordillera acia el norte a las 12 leguas de dicho pueblo está el otro anexo Mapastepeque, situado en una llanada de tierra muy barrosa. Los naturales son de la propia inclinacion que de los pueblos antecedentes. Hay casados 42, viudos 7 y viudas 9, muchachos 12, muchachas 41. Ambos pueblos anexos son administrados en el idioma Castellano, que hablan por un ministro secular, puesto por el obispo para . . . En la mediacion de este camino ay 13 rios caudalosos, que por tiempo de agua impiden el paso.

37. Escuinta. Curato de Padres Seculares.

A las 8 leguas de este pueblo del camino arriba expresado está el pueblo de Escuinta, cabecera de esta Provincia de Soconusco, situado en un sitio

barrancoso entre cerros, y montes. Tiene un arroyo que pasa por medio del pueblo. Son estos yndios por su naturaleza altivos, y tiene 106 casados de calidad española, mestizos, mulatos, y zambos, 7 viudos, 33 viudas, 75 muchachos, 64 muchachas; yndios casados 43, 1 viudo, 12 viudas, 14 muchachos, y 11 muchachas. Hay en el recinto de este pueblo algunas hacienditas de cacaguatales, y los dueños, y sirvientes de ellas son vecinos, y naturales del dicho pueblo. A estos se les administra en la lengua Castellana por saberla todos por un cura secular, que vive en este pueblo, en el que tiene su morada el gobernador de esta Provincia.

A la una legua de camino llano en un plan a la vega de un río está situado el pueblo de Acocayagua, anexo de dicho pueblo. Hay á la banda del norte una cañada situada de montes. Son estos yndios de naturaleza humildes, trabajadores, y devotos al culto divino. Tiene 30 casados, 4 viudos, 3 viudas, muchachos 8, y muchachas 6.

A la una legua del sur de buen camino está el pueblo anexo á este curato llamado Soconusquillo situado en una cañada muy corta circunvalada de montes, y cerros á la banda del norte y á la del sur un río grande, que es el del pueblo. Son de naturaleza humildes, trabajadores, afestos al culto divino, y obedientes á su cura. Tienen 9 casados, 3 viudos, 2 viudas, 8 muchachos, y 10 muchachas.

Corriendo la misma cordillera al sur á una legua de camino bueno, está el pueblo anexo á este curato llamado Acapetagua situado en un plan corto entre montañas. Son de naturaleza, é inclinacion y costumbres, como los de Soconusquillo. Ay casados 11, viudos 4, muchachos 3, y una muchacha. Hablan en este curato la lengua Castellana y Mexicana, y en ella son administrados por un cura secular, que vive en la cabecera.

38. San Felipe Tizapa. Curato de Clerigos.

Corriendo el norte á las tres leguas de fragoso camino con 4 arroyos que hay en él está el pueblo, y curato de San Felipe situado de montes. Es de temperamento caliente. Hay tradicion, que fueron fundados los pueblos de este curato desde la conquista. Tiene un río grande, que pasa á su orilla. Son por su naturleza estos yndios simples, y siempre andan enfermos, macilentos, comedores de tierra, y poco aplicados al trabajo. Hay 170 casados, 25 viudos, 40 viudas, 57 muchachos, y 80 muchachas.

Caminando al oriente á las dos leguas de tierra llana con un río grande, que llaman vado ancho, que está á la entrada del pueblo anexo llamado Guillocingo en la plaza de el esta situado. La naturaleza de estos es ver muy humildes, y trabajadores en sus labranzas, afectos al culto divino, obedientes á los sacerdotes. Tiene 20 casados, 4 viudos, 6 viudas, 13 muchachas, y 10 muchachos. Son administrados en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana por un clerigo secular de esta administracion.

39. Gueguetan. Curato de PP. Seculares.

A las 14 leguas de aspero camino en tiempo de agua, por ser todo barral está el pueblo, y curato de Gueguetan situado en un lugar corto de piedras, y penascos barrancosos que hacen intransitables sus caminos, porque acá el norte. Está circunvalado de cerros, y monte, y un rio grande que pasa a la orilla del pueblo. Son de natural altivo, desobedientes, y poco afectos á los sacerdotes, y Españoles y muy ociosos. Tienen 57 casados, 8 viudos, 9 viudas, 55 machachos, 50 muchachas; ladinos de toda casta 22 casados, 6 viudas, 40 muchachos, 23 muchachas.

A las 6 leguas al poniente de camino fragoso la mayor parte de cuestras con 4 rios los dos peligrosos, y varios quebradas, y arroyos está en la playa de un rio grande situado el pueblo de Guista anexo á este curato. En este pueblo hay dos parcialidades, la primera es de yndios con su alcalde, y la segunda de pardos con su alcalde. Todos son por su naturaleza humildes, y de la misma conformidad que los antecedentes. Hay 8 casados naturales, 4 muchachos, y 9 muchachas laborianos, 5 casados, 12 muchachos, 12 muchachas.

Siguiendo al norte cerca de dos leguas de camino favorable con dos quebradas, y dos arroyos, está el pueblo anexo llamado Tusantan, situado entre montes, y barrancos, sin aver por parte alguna llano. Son de natural altivo, y afectos a cosas buenas. Ay 63 casados, 5 viudos, 20 viudas. 50 muchachos, y 60 muchachas.

Siguiendo la misma cordillera al norte a las cinco leguas de mal camino de la cabecera de Gueguetan está el anexo de Tepeguistle con algunas quebradas peligrosas, por ser todo cuestras, situado entre cerros, y montes altos, que se ven desde su altura los campos de la mar del sur, que no se halla muy distante. Tiene 5 casados, un viudo, una viuda, 5 muchachos, y 7 muchachas.

40. Tuxtla. De PP. Seculares.

Caminando al sur desde el pueblo de Gueguetan al curato de Tuxtla ay 10 leguas de aspero camino con varios rios, y arroyos peligrosos en plan espacioso circunvalado de cerros. Está situado dicho pueblo. Son estos yndios de naturaleza altiva. Tiene casados 206, viudos 21, viudas 36, muchachos 92, y muchachas 57; gente ladina de todas calidades 56 casados, 8 viudos, 36 viudas, 40 muchachos, y 31 muchachas. Asi en este curato como los naturales del antecedentes se habla la lengua Mexicana, y Castellana, y en ella son administrados por sus respectivos curas seculares, que viven en la matriz de estos beneficios. Son estos yndios trabajadores en sus labores de frutos de la tierra, y sus comercios de la Provincia.

A las dos leguas al norte de muy mal camino por componerse todo de quebradas, y atascaderos, en cuya mediacion hay dos arroyos esta el pueblo de Cacaguatan anexo de Tapachula enfermizo. La naturaleza é inclinacion de estos es en un todo como los de Tuxtla asi en el trabajo, como en la altiva. Tiene 7 casados, 3 viudos, 3 viudas, 8 muchachos, y 10 muchachas.

Siguiendo la misma cordillera del norte a las 4 leguas de peor camino que los antecedentes con dos arroyos, y un rio el mas peligroso de toda la Provincia

está el pueblo de Tapachula situado en una llanada, y rodeado de cerros retirados. El temperamento es caliente, y humedo, y por esto enfermo. La naturaleza de estos es mas docil, y muy obedientes, devotos al culto divino, y trabajadores en sus labranzas de frutos de la tierra, y comercio. Hay yndios casados 129, viudos 5, viudas 40, muchachos 100, muchachas 92; gente ladina 109 casados de todas calidades, 37 viudas, muchachos 80, muchachas 111. En terminos de este pueblo hay una hacienda de ganado mayor y los sirvientes de ella es el corto numero de 10 personas de las de este dicho pueblo.

A las 6 leguas del occidente de la cabecera de camino llano, aunque penoso en tiempo de invierno con una cienega, ó atascadero, como de 8 cuabras con un río caudaloso, y un arroyo que hay en dicho camino está el pueblo anexo á este curato llamado Masatan, situado en plan cercado de cerros, de temperamento caliente, y humedo. Los naturales de este pueblo tiene sus cortos cañaverales en el trato, y demas como los pueblos antecedentes. Hay 24 casados, 4 viudos, 11 viudas, 20 muchachos, 18 muchachas; ladinos de todad calidades 27 casados, 3 viudos, 14 viudas, 8 muchachos, y 16 muchachas.

A las 4 leguas de la cabecera acia el occidente de camino pesado con dos rios de por medio, y varios arroyos está el pueblo de Metapa. La naturaleza e inclinacion es ver joviales, y aplicados á lo bueno. Su trato es el corto fruto de cacao que cosechan, y siembran maiz, y frijol. Hay 15 casados, un viudo, 3 viudas, 12 muchachos, y 15 muchachas. En este curato hablan la lengua Mexicana, y en ella son administrados por un cura secular, que vive en la cabecera, y otro coadjutor, que anda de pueblo en pueblo en el cumplimiento de sus obligacion.

41. Ayutla. Curato de PP. Seculares.

A las 10 leguas de la cabecera del curato antecedente está el pueblo, y curato de Ayutla ultimo de esta Provincia, y Obispado situado a la orilla de un río grande de canoa. El temperamento es caliente, y humedo. La naturaleza de estos parecen humildes devotos, y aplicados al trabajo. Hay casados 16, viudos 3, viudas 8, muchachos 22, muchachas 18. Tienen sus cacaquatales, que es con lo que se mantienen.

A las 4 leguas, todo lo mas del camino de quebradas con dos arroyos, y tres rios, que de ordinario el uno impide el paso por el invierno está Pueblo Nuevo, situado en una llanada. El temperamento es caliente. La naturaleza de estos, es como los de la cabecera en un todo. Hay 4 casados, 1 viuda, 1 muchacha, y 7 muchachos. Son administrados los de este curato por un ministro secular en la lengua Mexicana, y Castellana.

IX. ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE QUINTANA ROO MURAL PROJECT:
A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE 1973 SEASON

Arthur G. Miller

Supported by The Center for Pre-Columbian Studies of Dumbarton Oaks, Yale University, and The National Geographic Society, the second season of the Quintana Roo Mural Project resumed its recording of extant Tulum murals and continued its investigations of the archaeological site of Tancah, located four kilometers north of Tulum.

Among the accomplishments of this year's field season (January-April, 1973) was the completion of the recording by our chief artist, Felipe Dávalos G., of the interior painting of Tulum Structure 5 (more commonly known as the Temple of the Diving God). After seven weeks of studying the faded interior mural of Structure 5 we now have reconstructed the entire design, one of the most complex mural paintings in Mesoamerica, showing stylistic and iconographic affiliations with South Central Mexico (Miller 1973). The final rendering of this important mural has just been completed by Dávalos (Fig. 1). In addition, our current field work resulted in the systematic drawing by former M.A.R.I. artist Dolores Skaer DeSilver of roughly one half of the interior paintings of Tulum Structure 16 (more commonly known as the Temple of the Frescoes). The Tulum Structure 16 murals are contemporary with the Tulum Structure 5 murals. This means that we now have recorded a substantial portion of the murals painted at Tulum during its final building period, from about A.D. 1450 to A.D. 1500; these murals were very much influenced by (or perhaps executed by) Mixtec mural painters.

During the 1973 season we also continued our recording of miscellaneous fragments of Tulum mural painting. We found most of these fragments to be contemporary with the Tulum Structures 5 and 16 paintings, i.e., dating from the last phase of architectural activity at Tulum, or what we have designated as the Terminal Post Classic Period.

The highlight of this current field season was the discovery of new mural paintings in a structure which forms part of the archaeological site of Tancah. Missed by Lothrop in his 1924 map of Tancah (Lothrop 1924:Pl. 26), the structure with the new murals was inaccurately drawn by Sanders on his 1960 map (Sanders 1960:Fig. 1).

After consultation with the I.N.A.H. archaeologist working at Tulum, Professor Eduardo Pareyón, we have decided not to publish the location of our new find until an I.N.A.H. guardian is established at Tancah, because looters know the area and have removed part of a mural associated with Tancah Structure 12 which we recorded during our first season. Suffice it to say here that the structure with the new murals is located in the Tancah bush and is currently

guarded by giant garrapatas who feed on looters.

Description of Structure X. Tancah Structure X (Fig. 2) is situated on a low platform base and has two steps leading to the exterior doorways. In front of Structure X are two round stones in a line: Miscellaneous Stones 1 and 2, located 1.10 m. and 2.5 m. respectively from the west wall of Structure X. Four and one half meters directly west from the same west facade of Structure X there is a low square platform whose orientation is that of Structure X itself (20° east of magnetic North); it is 2.5 m. long and 2.3 m. wide.

Structure X is a long low "palace" type building with three doors facing west. The interior space of Structure X consisted of two long parallel rooms. The westernmost or front room, Room 1, is still standing and has its slab corbeled vault still largely intact. Room 2 has collapsed, blocking with its fallen wall and roof stones the three interior doorways which led into Room 2 from Room 1. Both the north and south ends of Room 1 are partially collapsed. Nevertheless, enough of the building survives to reconstruct its original ground plan and elevation. Structure X is 11.25 m. long. The interior of the still standing Room 1 measures 9.60 m. in length and 1.45 m. in width; Room 2 had essentially the same dimensions. As the dimensions of the ground plan (Fig. 2) and the photograph of the west facade (Fig. 3a) indicate, Structure X is a typically small building of the East Coast of Yucatan built during the Post Classic Period; it has a three-member moulding and recessed masonry and lime stucco lintels typical of the Post Classic East Coast architecture. What is not typical about Tancah Structure X is the surviving mural painting associated with it.

The Murals of Tancah Structure X. The new murals are located on the east interior wall of Room 1. There is evidence to suggest that the entire east interior wall of Room 1 was painted anciently. Today only three fragments of the original painting are visible showing black outlines painted directly on plain stucco with areas of blue and red; more of the original painting survives underneath the protective layer of calcium carbonate which now encrusts the wall.

The three mural fragments visible today are situated on either side of the interior central doorway which connected Room 1 with Room 2 (Fig. 2).

Mural 1, 30 cm. long and 24 cm. high, shows a running figure facing south carrying in his hands a cone-shaped object, possibly representing an ear of corn (Fig. 4). The figure's face emerges from the open jaws of a stylized iguana whose body is shown behind the figure. The running figure wears a short tunic-like costume with a tassel at the rear and is shown barefoot with a decorative band around his ankles. Earplugs and tassels can be seen as part of the figure's costume. Conspicuous on the body of the iguana are two square glyphs, one of them clearly recognizable as an Ahau glyph.

Mural 2, which is 17 cm. long and 20 cm. high, is located on the east wall just to the south of the central inner doorway of Room 1; it shows a seated figure facing north holding in his left extended hand a partially effaced object

(Fig. 5). The torso, head, and one hand, as well as the elaborate "throne" are clearly visible. The head of the figure is split; inside of the V thus formed is a Kan sign.

The figure in Mural 2 clearly represents a maize deity; it is very similar in style and iconography to those maize deities shown in the Codex Tro-Cortesianus, as can be seen on several pages of the Codex, particularly on pages 24 (Villacorta 1930:272), 25 (Villacorta 1930:274), and 28 (Villacorta 1930:280). Page 68 of the Tro-Cortesianus (Villacorta 1930:360) shows a maize deity with a Kan sign and stylized corn growing at the top of the figure's head.

The vertical border directly in front of the seated maize deity is similar to page borders which appear in the Codex Tro-Cortesianus.

Mural 3 is situated just 15 centimeters directly below Mural 2 and represents a figure seated "Indian fashion" whose hand holds a ceramic vessel containing two offerings (Fig. 5). The figure's close-fitting banded headdress, the turkey gobbler-like appendage below the open mouth, the shape of the eye, and the earplug and tassel all clearly point to similar representations on several pages in the Codex Tro-Cortesianus identified as "God C". On Codex Tro-Cortesianus pages 15 (Villacorta 1930:254), 56 (Villacorta 1930:336), and 58 (Villacorta 1930:340) "God C" appears together with the maize god just as the "maize god" and "God C" appear together on the east interior wall of Tancah Structure X (Fig. 5).

The offerings held in God C's crudely drawn hand consist of a Kan sign and the tied-up hind quarters of a deer, both motifs associated with offerings depicted in the Codex Tro-Cortesianus as seen on pages 34 (Villacorta 1930:292), 50 (Villacorta 1930:324), 65 (Villacorta 1930:354), 97 (Villacorta 1930:418) of that Codex.

Directly below the two offerings, in fact the container for the offerings, is a crudely painted representation of a distinctive bulbous ceramic vessel with curved tripod legs (only two of the feet of this ceramic form are shown) which appears to be a pot of Mixteca-Puebla or Cholulteca ware.

The vertical border which fronted Mural 2 continues down to front Mural 3.

The style of all three visible mural fragments from Tancah Structure X is the same. All the fragments are remarkably close in style to the Codex Tro-Cortesianus, particularly in the crude manner in which the black lines of the figures are drawn and the sloppy manner of applying the color areas of blue and red which overlap onto black outlines of the main design.

The iconography of Murals 2 and 3 is straight out of the Codex Tro-Cortesianus; both the maize deity and "God C" are common iconographic motifs of the Codex Tro-Cortesianus.

The square format of Mural 2 and Mural 3 and the black line frames around the figures are also reminiscent of the squared-off areas of a page from the Codex Tro-Cortesianus.

Implications of the Tancah Structure X Murals. That the murals of Tancah Structure X are closely related in style and iconography to the Codex Tro-Cortesianus suggests that the Codex had significant influence on the East Coast of Yucatan and may have originally come from Quintana Roo.¹ The date of construction of Tancah Structure X and the painting of its murals may bear upon the date of the Codex Tro-Cortesianus. We have reason to believe that Tancah Structure X is contemporary with Tancah Structure 12, whose murals I have considered in a previous paper (Miller 1973) as being contemporary with the murals of Tulum Substructure 1. The architecture of Tulum Substructure 1 suggests that it was constructed during the Early Post Classic period. We hope that our projected excavations of Tancah Structure X in our next field season will provide some of the archaeological data to prove this.

The Tancah Cenote Cave. During the month of March, 1973, we began our recording of the carved stela and rock carvings in the Tancah Cenote cave. These Tancah "pictographs," as Lothrop called them, were of great interest to Morley in 1915 when he got word of their existence while he was in Belice (Lothrop 1924:131-132). Hoping that the carvings were Maya hieroglyphs, Morley and Lothrop expressed disappointment when they saw the carvings in 1916: "We concluded that this cave probably formed a retreat in which the Indians continued their native ceremonies after the introduction of Christianity and that the carvings on the rock were crude attempts to cut glyphs after the real knowledge of the art had passed away (Lothrop 1924:132).

Significant for our project's interest in Mexican artistic traditions found in the Maya area is the fact that some of these carvings showing crude rounded heads above miniature stepped pyramids are remarkably similar to like representations found carved in caves of highland Mexico, particularly to those found in the basin of Mexico (Cook de Leonard 1955:Fig. 8).

We think that the phenomenon of Mexican traits in caves in Yucatan (Balankanche is the best reported example (Andrews 1970) but there are many others) represents contact with Central Mexico during the Early Post Classic period. Thorough investigation of the carvings of the Tancah Cenote cave will continue during our next projected field season.

¹ Thompson has suggested that Codex Tro-Cortesianus may possibly derive from the western part of the peninsula, perhaps the west coast (Thompson 1972:16). In a letter to me dated June 27, 1973, Thompson writes: "Were I writing that Commentary passage today, I think I'd amend that to say between Champoton and Potonchan, for home of Madrid." Since a codex is easily portable, it is certainly possible that a mural in codex style is merely indicative of influence rather than origin.

The Tancah Diving God Sculpture. In the course of our survey of the site of Tancah with the generous help of Anthony P. Andrews and E. Wyllys Andrews V, both of the M.A.R.I., we encountered at the corner of Structure A-10 a free-standing conical stone upon which were surviving fragments of stucco and blue paint (Fig. 3b). The stucco figure represents a diving god and is remarkably similar to a fragmentary stucco diving god now located in the San Miguel de Cozumel Museum.

This free-standing sculpture has been described by Lothrop in his 1924 report (Lothrop 1924:126-128) where it was incorrectly identified as a human face. We were amazed to find it still there after all these years. We plan to do a reconstruction drawing of the sculpture and to carry out archaeological investigation of Structure A-10 to gather evidence of the context of this unusual sculpture. In the meantime, the sculpture is under protection at Rancho Tancah for eventual placement in a future I.N.A.H. regional museum at Tancah.

The Granite Metate and Coral Mano. On the surface of the site of Tancah we found a granite metate and coral mano. While the mano is of local shape and material, the metate is not; igneous granite stone is not found locally on the Yucatan Peninsula. It is probable that the metate was an imported item, coming to Tancah by sea from a source of supply which dealt in the highly efficient granite metates.

Possible Puuc Architecture at Tancah. While visiting our project at Tancah this past March, E. Wyllys Andrews V, current director of the M.A.R.I. operations in Merida, isolated from Tancah Structures A-1, A-10, and an exposed substructure of A-16, some possible examples of atypical East Coast masonry. Part of Structures A-1 and a substructure of A-16 revealed examples of well cut and even coursed block veneer masonry. Structure A-10 revealed the reuse of beveled Puuc veneer masonry in a Decadent period building. Although we are not convinced that the masonry evidence from Tancah Structures A-1, A-10, and A-16 is conclusive of a Puuc period occupation of Tancah, we do think that the masonry suggests a period of occupation at Tancah earlier than the Decadent period represented by most of Tancah's standing architecture.

Summary and Conclusion. The second season of the Quintana Roo Mural Project expanded its operations to attempt to understand the archaeological contexts of the many surviving mural fragments in the Tancah-Tulum area. With an increased staff of two artists, we continued our careful recording of the surviving murals of Tulum. With the help of a graduate student assistant, we began investigation of the surviving murals of Tancah and their architectural contexts. In addition to discovering unknown murals in Tancah Structure X, which we found to be closely related in style and iconography to the Codex Tro-Cortesianus, we began recording highland Mexico-related rock carvings in the Tancah Cenote cave and identified a free-standing sculpture of a diving god from Tancah Structure A-10. We also found a granite metate whose igneous composition and foreign shape suggests that it was brought to Tancah from the highlands.

We now have good evidence on the basis of the architecture and murals of Tancah and Tulum and the Tancah Cenote cave to hypothesize that the Tulum-Tancah region was the recipient of Mexican-derived artistic ideas. We have architectural evidence to suggest that these influences began to appear in Quintana Roo during the Early Post Classic period. What we are lacking is ceramic and artifactual evidence to test our Early Post Classic hypothesis which is now based upon architectural and mural seriation (Miller 1973). We hope that our projected excavation plans at Tancah Structure X will provide that evidence.

In addition, we think that we have good indications based on careful observation of architecture that there is a possibly Puuc related occupation of Tancah. This, combined with Sanders' Formative collections (Sanders 1955, 1960), suggests that Tancah is a choice site for future intensive archaeological investigation to establish a chronology for the East Coast of Yucatan from Formative to Terminal Post-Classic.

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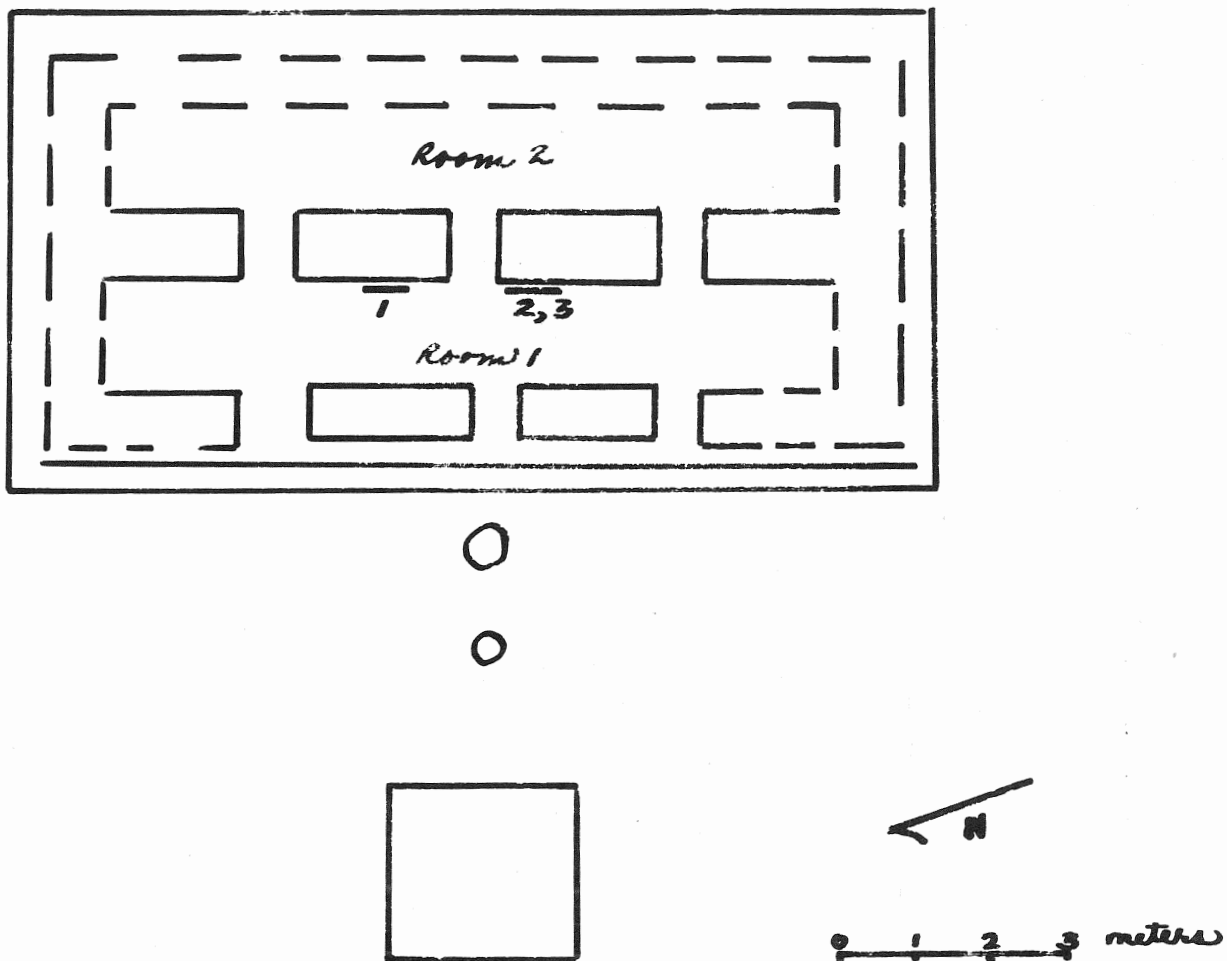


Figure 2. Preliminary sketch plan of Tancah Structure X.

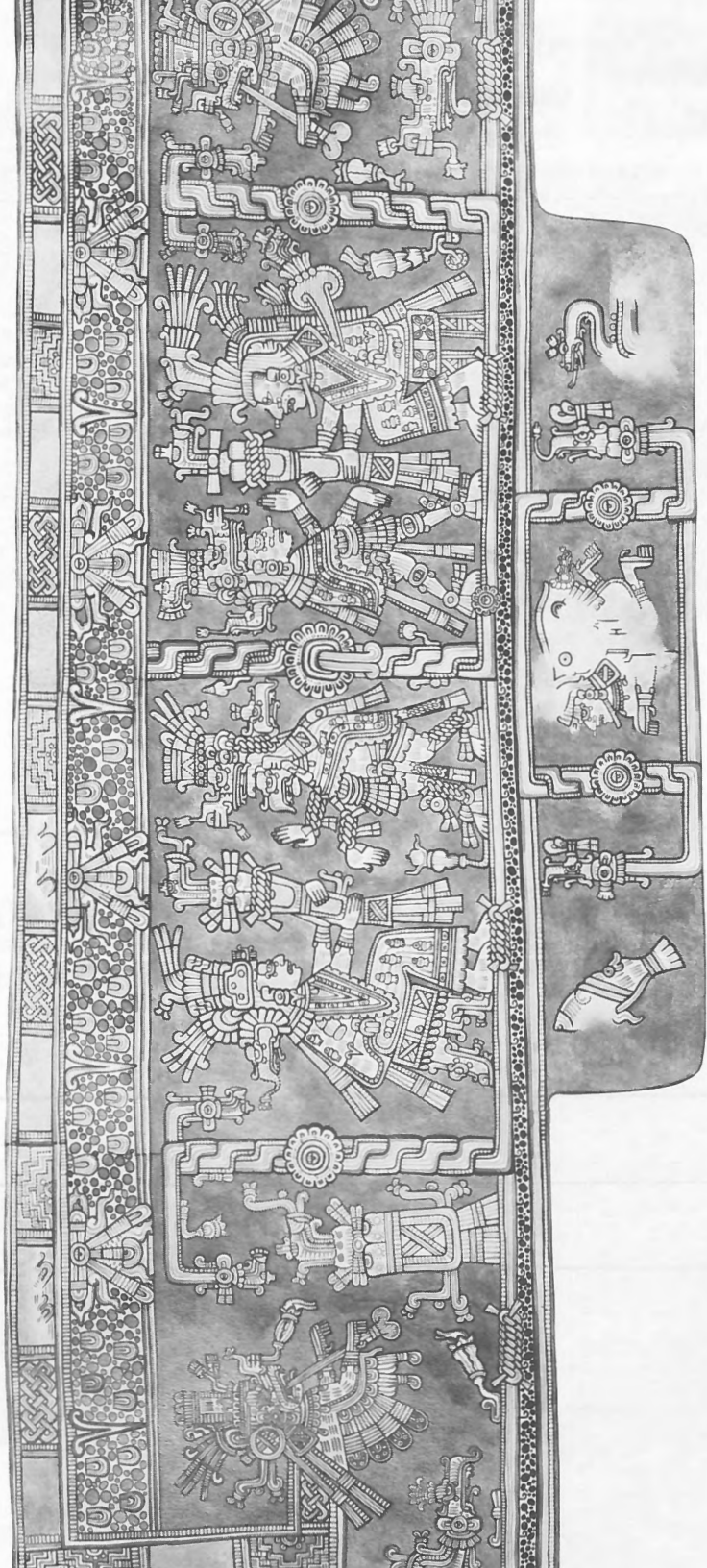


Figure 1. The entire painting on the east interior wall of Tulum Structure 5. Rendering by Felipe Dávalos G.

Figure 10. The West Islands of Tancun, Yucatan, Mexico. Photograph by H. Hall.



Figure 11. The West Islands of Tancun, Yucatan, Mexico. Photograph by H. Hall.

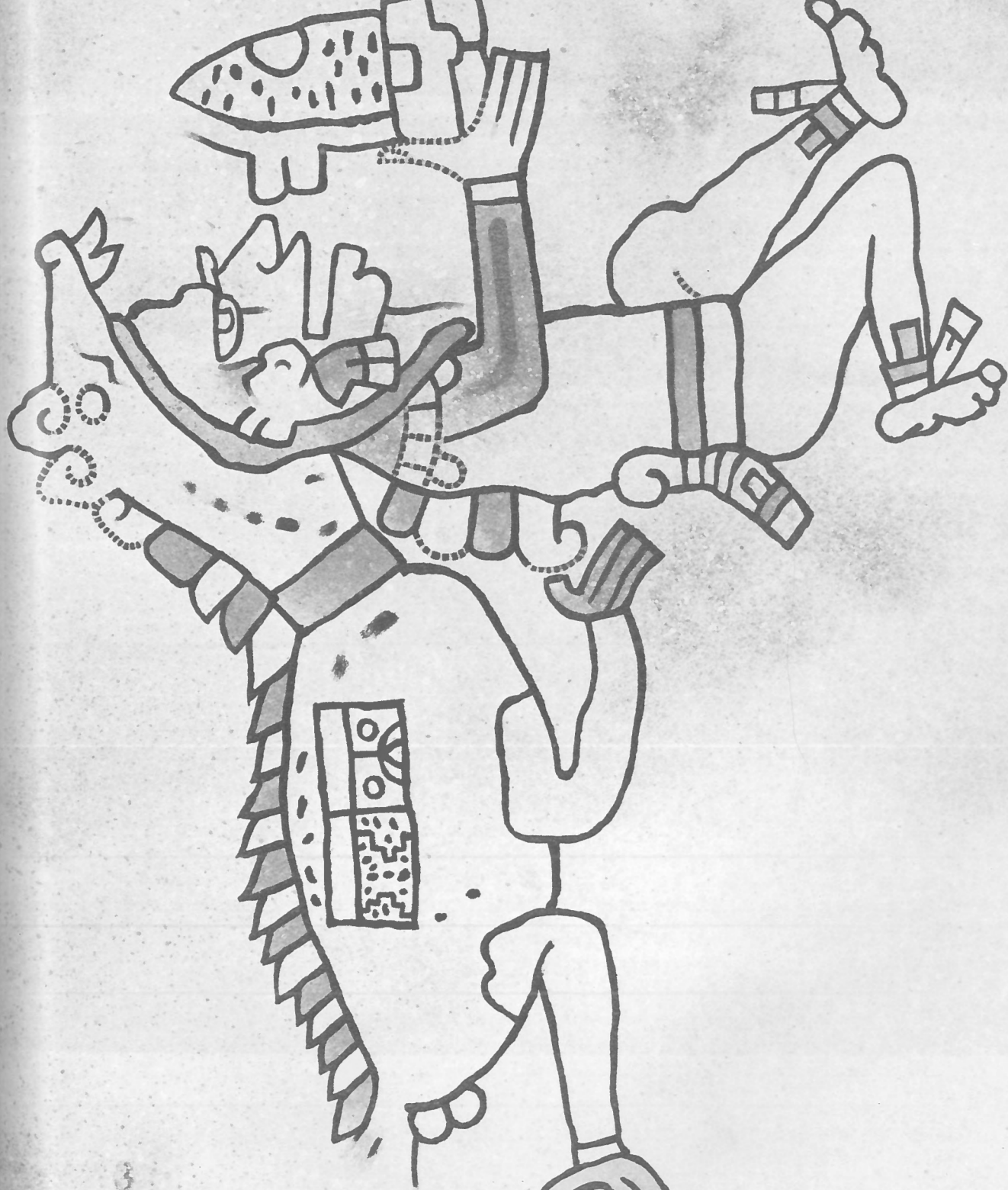


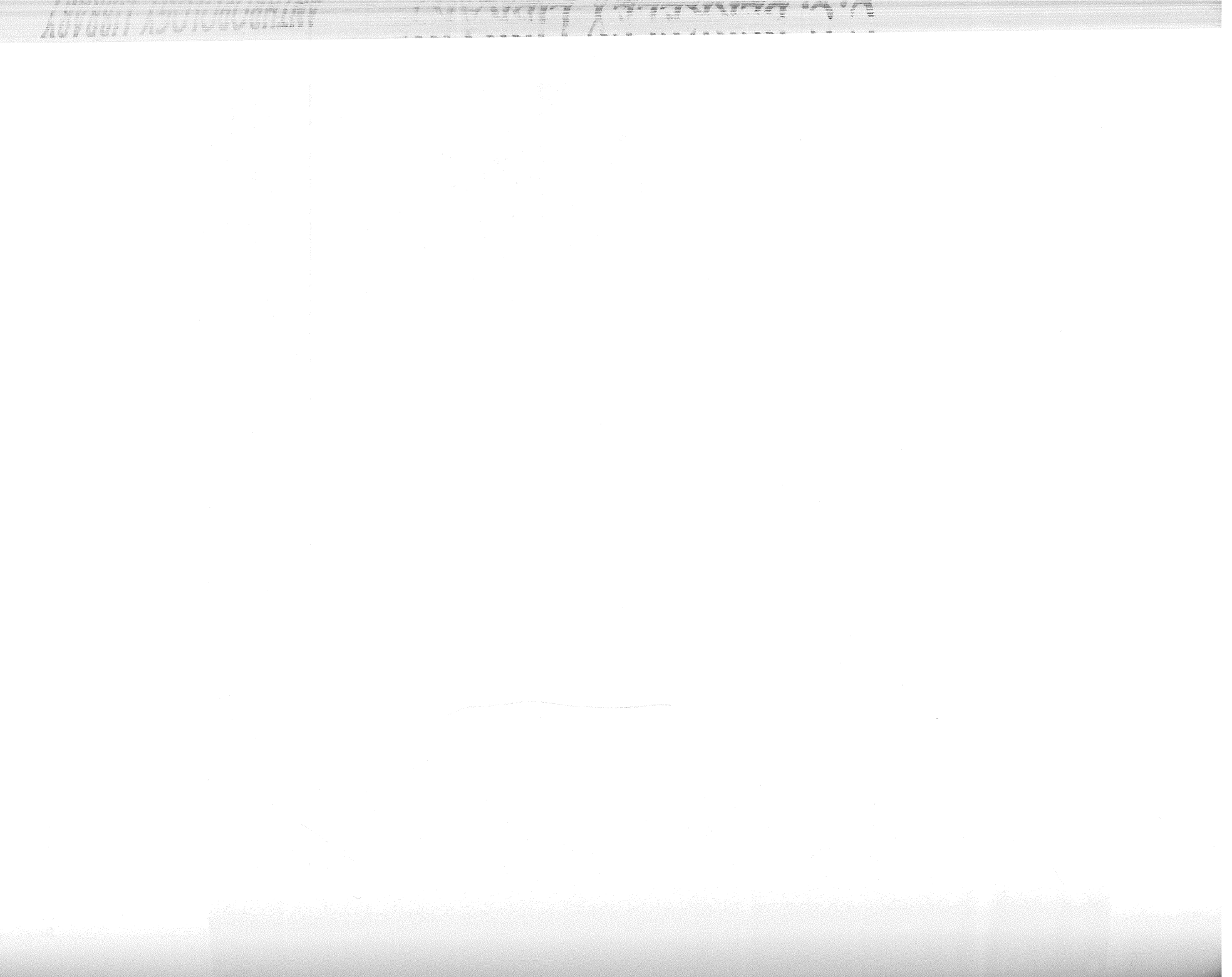
Figure 4. Drawing of Mural 1 from Tancah Structure X.
Drawing by Felipe Dávalos G.

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Figure 5. Photograph of Mural 2 and Mural 3 from Tancah Structure X.



X. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS FROM A NONCERAMIC SITE IN EASTERN DURANGO, MEXICO

John P. Silva and Thomas R. Hester

For the past two years, the senior author has collected chipped stone artifacts from the surface of a large, nonceramic site in eastern Durango, Mexico (Fig. 1a). In this brief paper, we describe the archaeological materials from this site. We believe these materials are important, since this particular area of Durango has not been extensively investigated by archaeologists. In fact, there is a dearth of substantive descriptive information regarding pre-ceramic or nonceramic hunter-gatherer sites in Durango and adjacent parts of northeastern Mexico. According to Kelley (1971:769), fieldwork in Durango has revealed "scattered sites of an earlier preceramic occupation, essentially Desert culture (Archaic) in type"(cf. Kelley 1953). Most of the archaeological research in Durango and neighboring Zacatecas has centered on marginal Meso-american cultural complexes (such as Chalchihuites), with sites marked by architectural remains and abundant ceramics (for a synthesis of the regional prehistory, see Kelley 1971).

To the east and southeast of Durango, in Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas, preceramic (or nonceramic) hunter-gatherer sites have received considerable attention. Notable studies include those of Mullerleid (1934), MacNeish (1958), Taylor (1966, 1972), McClurkan (1966), Varner (1968), Epstein (1969) and Greene (1971). However, several of these papers are concerned entirely (or largely) with cave or rockshelter sites, and the archaeology of open occupation sites have been greatly neglected(cf. Taylor 1972:168). In addition, sites in northeastern Mexico have suffered greatly from the depredations of relic-collect (cf. Hester 1971a:41), and many surface sites have been stripped of diagnostic chipped stone materials.

The Site. The Robles site is located immediately adjacent to the village of Isabel Robles, roughly 115 kilometers south of Torreon, Coahuila (Fig. 1b). The site is situated about 60 meters from the Rio Santa Clara, on its western floodplain. The Rio Santa Clara is a perennial tributary of the Rio Aguanaval, and has a broad, sandy channel, with a narrow stream about 30 cm. deep in the vicinity of the site. The site achieves a north-south distance of about 60 meters, and an east-west width of about 50 meters. Archaeological remains have been exposed by sheet erosion and gullying, and include large quantities of chipped stone artifacts and debitage, and scattered hearthstones.

To the west of the site, there is a broad plain bordered by mountains (Cerro Los Cimarrones is the major peak) rising to heights of 2000 meters above sea level. On the east, there is a similar expanse of plain, with mountains up to 1750 meters (to the southeast, Mesa del Aire rises to 2000 meters). Vegetation on the site is sparse, consisting primarily of mesquite and associated thorny shrubs, along with prickly pear and other cacti.

There are other archaeological sites (also nonceramic) in the immediate area, but these have not been studied. Rockshelters can be seen in the mountainous areas; some of the inhabitants of Isabel Robles have visited these shelters and have collected lithic artifacts. Pictographs are also reported to occur in these sites.

Artifacts. The collection from the Robles site is a selective one, since only projectile points and other recognizable tools were collected by the senior author. Because of this factor, we have not gone into great detail in describing the specimens which constitute the sample from the site. We have provided what we hope will be sufficient data for comparative purposes when intensive archaeological investigations are conducted in the area in the future.

Several projectile point typological schemes have been employed in northeastern Mexico, including those of Suhm, Krieger and Jelks (1954: see also Suhm and Jelks 1962), Taylor (1966), MacNeish (1958), and Spence (1971). At present, the best-defined types are those of Suhm, Krieger and Jelks (1954), which were designed for use in Texas and adjacent areas. Their typology has been applied in northeastern Mexico (cf. Epstein 1969 as an example), and seems especially pertinent for describing nonstemmed projectile point forms common in nonceramic hunter-gatherer complexes in this region and in parts of Texas. Thus, when certain projectile point groups from the Robles site conformed morphologically to Texas types, the Suhm, Krieger and Jelks typology has been used.

Dimensions of all of the described artifacts are tabulated in the Appendix.

Projectile Points

Catan (9 specimens; Fig. 2a-c). Nine thin chert bifaces with rounded bases and slightly convex lateral edges are classified as Catan, following the type description of Suhm, Krieger and Jelks (1954:410). These specimens are somewhat similar to (though smaller in size) the San Antonio Round Base type of Spence (1971).

Desmuke (9 specimens; Fig. 2d-f). These are lozenge-shaped thin bifaces of chert. The lateral edges meet at a sharp juncture in the lower one-third of the point body (3 specimens) or near mid-section (6 specimens). The specimens generally conform to the type description published by Suhm, Krieger and Jelks (1954:416). The San Miguel Diamond and Adams Diamond point types proposed by Spence (1971) are similar.

Lerma (26 specimens; Fig 2f-j). This is the dominant projectile point group at the Robles site, and it includes chert bifaces which are bipointed to lenticular in outline. They are generally symmetrical and have convex lateral edges. Illustrations of this kind of projectile point appear in Suhm, Krieger and Jelks (1954:440), Suhm and Jelks (1962:207), and Epstein (1969:22). In the typology devised by Spence (1971:10) for the western Durango-Zacatecas region, the points in our Lerma group might overlap with the Rio Grande Lenticular and Newbury Lenticular

forms. However, they conform so closely in shape and technology to the Lerma type (as defined by Suhm, Krieger and Jelks, and in subsequent descriptions by Epstein) that we prefer to place this series of specimens within that category.

In general, Lerma points from Robles are rather crudely flaked. One example has been carefully thinned and exhibits parallel oblique flake scars. Another well-flaked specimen of patinated gray chert, has dulled lateral edges near the base.

Of the 26 Lerma points, 12 are fragmentary (11 lack the distal tips). Two specimens have impact flutes. One fragmentary example, snapped near mid-section, has two burin facets at one end of the break, extending for 8 and 14 mm. respectively, down the lateral edge. The burin point shows no wear (Fig. 2i).

Shumla (4 specimens; Fig. 2k). Four bifaces are classified as Shumla, based on the similarity in morphology and technology to type specimens illustrated by Suhm, Krieger and Jelks (1954:480). The specimens from the Robles site, all made of chert, have stems which are rectangular to slightly expanding; the bodies are triangular and are barbed, although the barbs are less massive and more recurved than those type specimens shown in Suhm and Jelks (1962: Pl.124). Our Shumla specimens seem identical to those termed "Shumla, Variety I" by McClurkan (1966:Fig. 12) from his excavations at Cueva de la Zona, Nuevo Leon. At Cueva de la Zona, these points apparently date between 1500 B.C. and A.D. 100.

Serrated (10 specimens; Fig. 2, l-q). This series of projectile points, varying considerably in size, all have expanded stems and triangular bodies, the lateral edges of which are serrated or multi-notched. The specimens sort into three groups: (a) four large, barbed specimens, with broad, thinned expanding stems; serrations per lateral edge vary from three to six; (b) three specimens, with no barbs and with the stems somewhat rounded; one to four serrations per lateral edge; (c) narrow, small specimens (3), with short, expanding stems and two to three serrations on each lateral edge. All specimens in the category are fashioned of chert.

Triangular (6 specimens; Fig. 3a,b). These specimens (all of chert) show a considerable range in form and size. The three larger examples might be classified as Tortugas and Matamoros dart points in the Texas taxonomy, while the smallest are small and thin, and are reminiscent of the Fresno arrow point form. Spence (1971) has devised a multitude of type designations for triangular points in western Durango and Zacatecas.

Stemmed (46 specimens). In this category, we have lumped a large number of projectile points, including artifacts which probably functioned either as dart or arrow tips. None fit clearly into existing typologies. We do appear to have three "groups" within the category:

1. Points with long, contracting stems (7 specimens; Fig. 3c-e). Six have long, contracting stems, with triangular bodies and straight to slightly convex lateral edges. They resemble diminutive Langtry points (Suhm, Krieger and Jelks 1954:438). A seventh specimen is included because it shares the same general outline of the others; however, it is very crude and is probably unfinished.

2. Large corner-notched points (3 specimens; Fig. 3f-h). Two are complete, with massive triangular bodies, broad and deep corner notches, and expanding stems. There is a large flute-like thinning flake on one specimen, extending for 25 mm. From the base of the stem onto the body. The third specimen lacks the distal end, but is similar to the complete artifacts. All are made of chert. Greene (1971: Pl. 11g) has illustrated a similar projectile point from the Charcos de Risa desert of southwestern Coahuila.

3. Basally-notched points (2 specimens; Fig. 3i-j). Both have deep basal notches which have produced rectangular stems with concave basal edges. Barbs are massive and are squared. The stems have been thinned through the removal of a series of adjacent longitudinal flakes. One of the specimens is complete and exhibits extremely fine workmanship, with thin, carefully trimmed lateral edges. The second specimen is also well made, but the distal end is broken. The complete point is made of chert, while the fragmentary one is of rhyolite.

Aside from these three groups, the remaining 34 stemmed projectile points are of a variety of shapes (Fig. 4a-k). In comparing these to the Texas typology, we note similarities between certain of our specimens and the following types: Ellis (6), Ensor (1), Yarbrough (1), Scallorn (2), and Figueroa (2; defined by Johnson 1964). Most of these specimens are corner notched, but there are two side notched points, and two which have basal notches (although these latter specimens are distinct from the basally-notched points described above).

Other Chipped Stone Artifacts

Thinned Biface Fragments (31 specimens; not illustrated). These are mostly distal fragments of projectile points. All are of chert, except for a single specimen of agatized wood. Lengths of these fragments range from 18 to 55 mm.

Crudely Flaked Bifaces (21 specimens; Fig. 4, l-m). Lumped into this category are specimens (all but two of which are complete) of varying size, but all characterized by crude percussion flaking. Most appear to be bifaces discarded at various stages in the reduction process. It is possible that some pieces functioned as knives, but there are no wear pattern data to support this. Shapes vary: ovate, 9; asymmetrical, 5; bipointed, 4; lanceolate, 1; rectangular, 1; and triangular, 1.

On some specimens there are technological attributes which suggest that particular artifacts are indeed unfinished specimens. One is a large, thick specimen of light brown chert. There is a large "knot" on one face which could

not be removed by the flintworker, as indicated by the presence of repeated hinge fractures around the protrusion, representing unsuccessful attempts to further thin the specimen. Three other specimens are small, roughly-flaked Lerma-like pieces. One has a protrusion near one lateral edge which could not be removed (again, repeated hinge fractures), and in addition, the basal edge has not been thinned. The other two artifacts also have thick bases, but there is battering along the basal edges suggesting that attempts were made to detach thinning flakes.

Flakes. Silva collected a small amount of flake debris from the Robles site. Coarse to medium grained white chert appears to predominate. Fine-grained cherts are represented by tan, reddish-brown, pinkish, translucent gray and variegated materials. Some of the flakes show scattered trimming and/or use-retouch along the margins.

Most of the site is heavily littered with lithic debris. In one area, Silva collected all flakes from within an arbitrarily selected half-meter square. Although the sampling unit is quite small, it does provide an unbiased assortment of debitage from the site. There are 37 flakes, all of which are of white to gray chert. In contrast to the miscellaneous collection of coarse or medium grained white cherts mentioned above, this sample consists largely of fine-grained white cherts. Types of flakes in the collection (based on the categories of Hester 1971b) include secondary cortex (3), interior (6), and biface thinning flakes (7); 21 flakes are fragmentary. Simple prepared (single facet) striking platforms are present on the interior and secondary cortex flakes, while the biface thinning flakes have multifaceted platforms. The platform edges of five biface thinning flakes are dulled, probably the result of platform preparation (cf. Sheets 1973).

Discussion

There is little of an interpretative nature that can presently be done with the lithic sample from the Robles site. The collection is a selective one, the collecting of projectile points and other implements having been emphasized. However, the entire surface of the site was carefully examined and no ceramics were recovered. On the basis of the collection, it would appear that the site represents an occupation area used by hunter-gatherer groups of the sort which inhabited much of northeastern Mexico and southern Texas. These peoples, characterized by Taylor (1966:93) as "a numberless multitude of small groups", spoke dialects of the Coahuiltecan language, although data presented by Beals (1932) and Taylor (op. cit.) suggest that Utaztecan speakers may have also been in the southern Coahuila-eastern Durango region. The surviving remains of the hunter-gatherer occupations at Robles include projectile points (in considerable variety), biface fragments, crudely flaked bifaces, most of which may actually represent projectile points in early stages of reduction, flake debris, and scattered hearthstones. It may be significant that unifacial tools, such as scrapers, do not occur at the site; however, it is not clear from the

existing literature whether or not unifacial scraping tools (of the sort found in other areas of northeast Mexico-southern Texas; cf. Hester, Hester and White 1969; Hester 1971a) do occur in the southern Coahuila-eastern Durango region. For example, Greene (1971) found unifaces at sites in the Charcos de Risa desert, north of the Robles site, but most are marginally trimmed flakes, and there are about five "thick unifaces" which might be termed scrapers.

The lithic collection from Robles can only suggest the use of the site by hunters and gatherers, who discarded or lost projectile points, made other projectile points while at the location, and perhaps used crudely flaked bifaces in various processing activities. It is well-known, from the archival research of Beals (1932) and the archaeological work of Avelleyra Arroyo de Anda et al. (1956) and Taylor (1966), that the hunter-gatherer groups in this region had an extensive array of material culture items which are perishable in open occupation sites (artifacts of wood, sandals, basketry, netting, rabbitskin blankets, and so forth). For a summary of much of what is currently known about hunter-gatherer lifeway in semi-arid northeast Mexico and southern Texas, see Taylor (1972) and Hester (1971c).

Determining the age of the Robles occupations, and the cultural affinities of the occupants, are also difficult problems at this time. Clearly, the lithic assemblage at Robles fits within what Taylor (1966) has termed the "Archaic" of northeastern Mexico. Few of the projectile points can be used as "time markers." The bipointed and lenticular or ovate specimens, such as Lerma, Desmuke, and Catan (in Texas terminology) are similar to Taylor's (1966) Espantosa and Fragua types, dating from his "Early and Middle Coahuila Complex". This period is poorly dated at present, and Taylor (1966:63) estimates its temporal range at roughly 8000 to 3000 B.C. (or later). Many of the unstemmed points (Lerma, Desmuke, Catan) are present in other nearby areas (Nuevo Leon, southern Texas), but occur at varying time periods. It is difficult to use most of the types (Texas system) which occur in the adjacent southern Texas region to date the Robles occupations, since recent work done by Hester in southern Texas indicates that they have long temporal spans, lasting into very late times. As previously mentioned, there are Shumla points at Robles, and these closely fit the "Shumla, Variety I" points excavated by McClurkan (1966) in Nuevo Leon and dated about ca. 1500 B.C. to A.D. 100. In general, most of the point styles represented at Robles cannot be securely dated, although there is the impression that some of these specimens may date as early as 8000 B.C., while others may have been in use into the late pre-historic period.

To try to link these occupations to any known cultural groups would be even more futile than trying to date them. It is most likely that the peoples were of the Coahuiltecan linguistic stock. The lithic materials appear to show particular affinities with chipped stone artifacts reported from the Coahuila area. Few of the specimens seem to fit clearly within the multitude of types defined by Spence (1971) for Western Zacatecas and Durango and which are most derived from Chalchihuites and other related ceramic sites and complexes.

It should be obvious from this brief discussion that little is known about

the nonceramic archaeology of eastern Durango and adjacent areas, and it is urgent that a program of organized scientific research be carried out in the region. This research is deemed urgent because of the continuing (and no doubt increasing) depredations of relic-collectors in northeastern Mexico and the resultant removal of all diagnostic chipped stone artifacts from local sites. As an example, an artifact dealer in southernmost Texas makes regular trips into the Coahuila area to purchase large numbers of projectile points and other implements which were collected by local youths commissioned by the dealer. In addition to the open occupation sites, such as Robles, which must be common along stream courses in the area, the nearby mountains apparently contain rock-shelters and caves, and such sheltered sites offer the opportunity to examine the perishable cultural remains of the hunting and gathering populations of this region.

Appendix

In the tabulations below, all measurements are expressed in millimeters and all weights in grams. Incomplete measurements are enclosed in parentheses. Mean dimensions and weights have been calculated in some categories and these computations involved the use of complete specimens. Unless otherwise noted, the raw material, for which the color is indicated, is chert.

	<u>Length</u>	<u>Maximum width</u>	<u>Maximum thickness</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Color</u>
<u>Catan</u>					
	40	33	6	6.0	white
	33	21	6	4.8	black
	37	19	7.5	5.8	variegated
	33	14	6	3.5	purple
	31	19	5	3.3	gold brown
	31	18	6	3.3	red
	(26)	19	5	(3.5)	white
	33	15	6	3.1	white
	46	24	9	(10.0)	dark red
Mean:	31.0	18.0	6.3	4.3	
<u>Desmuke</u>					
	40	20	6.5	5.4	gray
	38	19	6.5	4.7	gold-yellow
	34	14	6	3.0	gray
	32	17	5	3.1	variegated
	37	20	5	4.5	"
	(34)	22	6	(5.5)	gray
	32	16	6	3.3	red-brown
	32	19	6	4.0	white
	32	16	5	3.0	gold-brown
Mean:	34.6	18.1	5.8	3.9	
<u>Lerma</u>					
	85	20	12	15.0	red
	57	22	10	11.4	variegated
	49	22	9.5	10.5	"
	49	20	6	7.0	gray
	44	18	6.5	6.0	gray
	42	18	7	5.4	light red
	42	17	6	4.8	dark red
	47.5	20	6	6.7	variegated
	39	18	6	5.1	gold-brown
	48	19	9	8.3	gray
	43	20	6.5	6	white
	33.5	12	6	2.9	white
	33	14	8	3.4	white
	31.5	14	5	2.8	white
	(46)	20	8	(8.8)	gray
	(48)	14	6	(7.5)	gray

	<u>Length</u>	<u>Maximum width</u>	<u>Maximum thickness</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Color</u>
<u>Lerma</u>					
(cont'd)	(37)	27	7	(5.1)	patinated
	(30)	21	6.5	(8.8)	white *
	(43)	20	7	(6.2)	tan
	(38)	16	9	(6.1)	variegated
	(35)	17	6	(5.0)	gold-brown
	(31.5)	16	6	(4.0)	dark red
	(31)	18	7	(4.2)	variegated
	(29)	20	6	(5.2)	gray
	(36)	15	6	(4.6)	white
	(30)	16	6	(3.8)	red-brown
Mean:	46.0	18.2	6.8	6.8	
<u>Shumla</u>					
	30	(23)	4	(3.0)	white
	29	(17)	4	(2.4)	white
	27.5	(20)	5	(3.2)	white
	(24)	(26)	5	(5.0)	tan-red
<u>Serrated</u>					
(a)	(52)	28	6	(8.5)	brown
	47	25	6	6.4	gray
	(31)	32	6	(6.6)	gray
	(34)	25	7	(6.9)	purple
(b)	30.5	20	5.5	3.7	brown
	(36)	20.5	7	(5.0)	gray
	(29)	21	6.5	(4.0)	light purple
(c)	42	14	5.5	4.2	red
	(29)	16	5.5	(2.9)	white
	(20.5)	13	4	(1.7)	white
<u>Triangular</u>					
	52	34	6	12.0	variegated
	48	21	6	5.8	gray
	40	20	7	4.9	gray
	32	16	5	3.3	white
	30	18	4	1.9	white
	30	(18)	5	(2.3)	variegated

* This Lerma specimen has burin facets

	<u>Length</u>	<u>Maximum width</u>	<u>Maximum thickness</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Color</u>
<u>Stemmed</u>					
(1)	40	(25)	5	(4.8)	white
	(36)	27	5	(4.8)	gray
	(35)	25	5	(4.1)	white
	(36)	20	5	(3.9)	white
	(31)	(21)	4.5	(3.7)	white
	(31)	(27)	4.5	(3.9)	white
	(40)	36	9	(5.7)	cream/gray
(2)	62	46	7	15.5	white
	63	46	6	18.3	white
	(38)	40	6	(10.6)	brown-yellow
(3)	49	42	5	8.5	gray
	(38)	22	6	(8.4)	gray-purple rhyolite

Data on the other stemmed points are tabulated below. In the righthand column, certain descriptive information is presented. When certain specimens are similar to previously-defined types (Suhm, Krieger and Jelks 1954; Johnson 1964), this has been noted. The following abbreviations are also used: rect. stem (rectangular stem), contr. stem (contracting stem), exp. stem (expanding stem).

<u>Length</u>	<u>Width</u>	<u>Thickness</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Color</u>	
29	21	5	3.5	gray	cf. Ellis
31	24	5	4.2	red	"
31	22	7	4.8	white	"
(28)	21	7	(5.1)	gray	"
31	24	6	5.3	gray	"
(35)	(25)	6	(7.1)	white	"
(18)	22	6	(3.8)	gray	cf. Ensor
(29)	20	7	(4.7)	white	beveled stem
38	23	7	7.5	variegated	rect. stem
39	20	7	6.0	gray	corner notched
40	31	7	9.5	white	contr. stem
38	14	7	3.8	variegated	weak shoulder
37	22	5	4.3	red-brown	exp. stem
38	17	8	5.7	gray	cf. Yarbrough
37	26	7	5.6	yellow	cf. Ellis
31	21	6	5.0	variegated	exp. stem
29	20	5	3.5	white	corner notched
31	20	5	3.5	white	"
(33)	(20)	6	(3.9)	white	stem broken
(31)	(22)	4	(3.1)	white	"
25	21	5	3.1	white	cf. Figueroa
27	19	5	3.1	gray	"
38	20	7	7.0	white	side notched
(35)	18	4	(3.5)	brown	corner notched
(21)	23	5	(3.0)	brown	"
(18)	(23)	3.5	(2.0)	white	basal notched
(23)	32	5	(4.2)	white	"
(25)	15	3.5	(2.0)	white	cf. Scallorn
28	14	3	2.2	gray	"

<u>Length</u>	<u>Width</u>	<u>Thickness</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Color</u>	
(24)	14	4.5	(2.2)	white	rect. stem
(23)	12	3	(1.6)	white	asymmetrical
(42)	22	5	(6.0)	purple	corner notched
57	22	7	9.4	red-brown	contr. stem
(24)	21	5	(2.9)	red	"

Crudely-
Flaked Bifaces

	<u>Length</u>	<u>Maximum width</u>	<u>Maximum thickness</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Color</u>
Ovate	68	36	10	30.0	gray
	65	37	18	43.8	brown
	60	35	19	23.8	gray
	55	32	17	27.5	patinated
	53	28	14	20.0	gold-brown
	42	26	11	13.0	gray
	39	22	11	9.7	gold-brown
	32	14	17	4.0	variegated
	(41)	33	9	(15.8)	variegated
Asymmetrical	74	30	12	25.4	gray
	62	27	16	18.0	white
	48	21	12	10.5	variegated
	37	20	7	6.0	(burned)
	32	15	9	4.9	gray
Bipointed	66	28	15	24.5	white
	60	32	14	25.4	gold-brown
	45	25	10.5	12.4	brown
	40	17	8	6.0	dark red
Lanceolate	(70)	27	15	(31.0)	brown
Rectangular	47	36	12.5	24.3	brown
Triangular	34	25	7	6.7	white

Acknowledgment: The authors are grateful to Tom Trumpler (University of California, Berkeley) for some of the artifact illustrations.

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Fig. 1a. Northeastern Mexico and the Location of the Robles Site. The Robles site, in eastern Durango, is indicated by a darkened triangle.

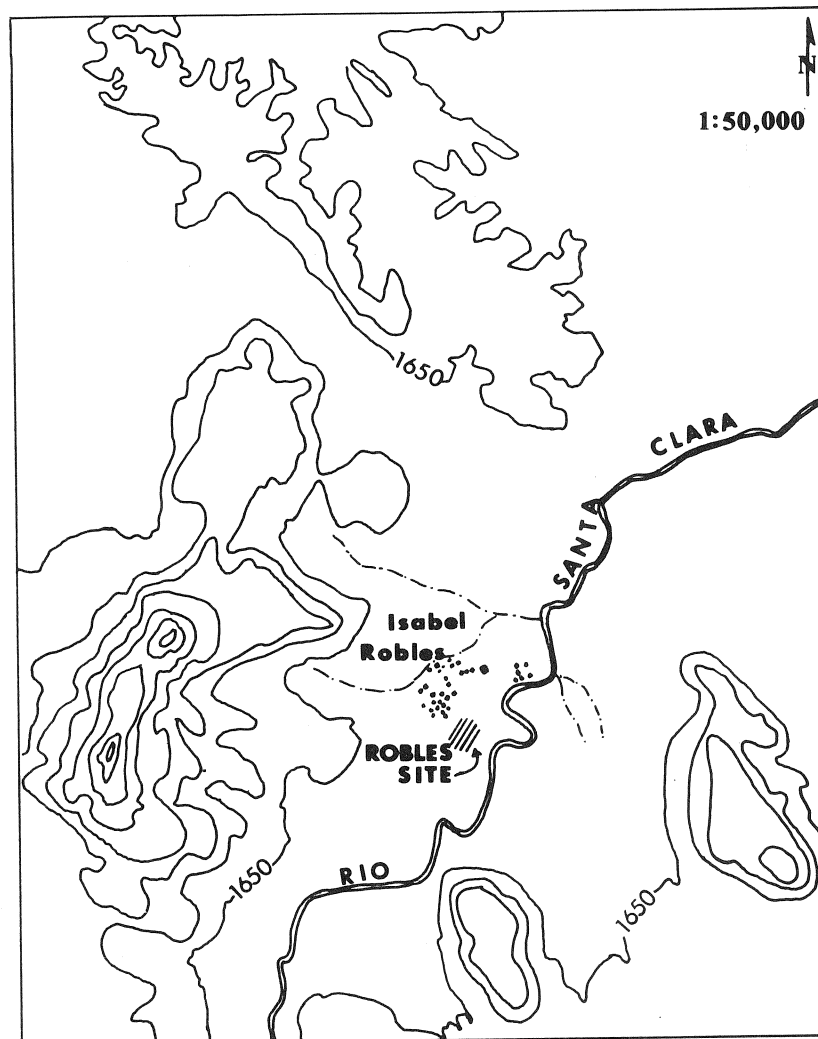


Fig. 1b The Robles Site and Environs. The location of the town of Isabel Robles is shown, and the Robles site is indicated by hatched lines. The 160 meter contour is shown. Drawn from General Simon Bolivar G-13-D-66 sheet, Comision de Estudios del Territorio Nacional (1972).

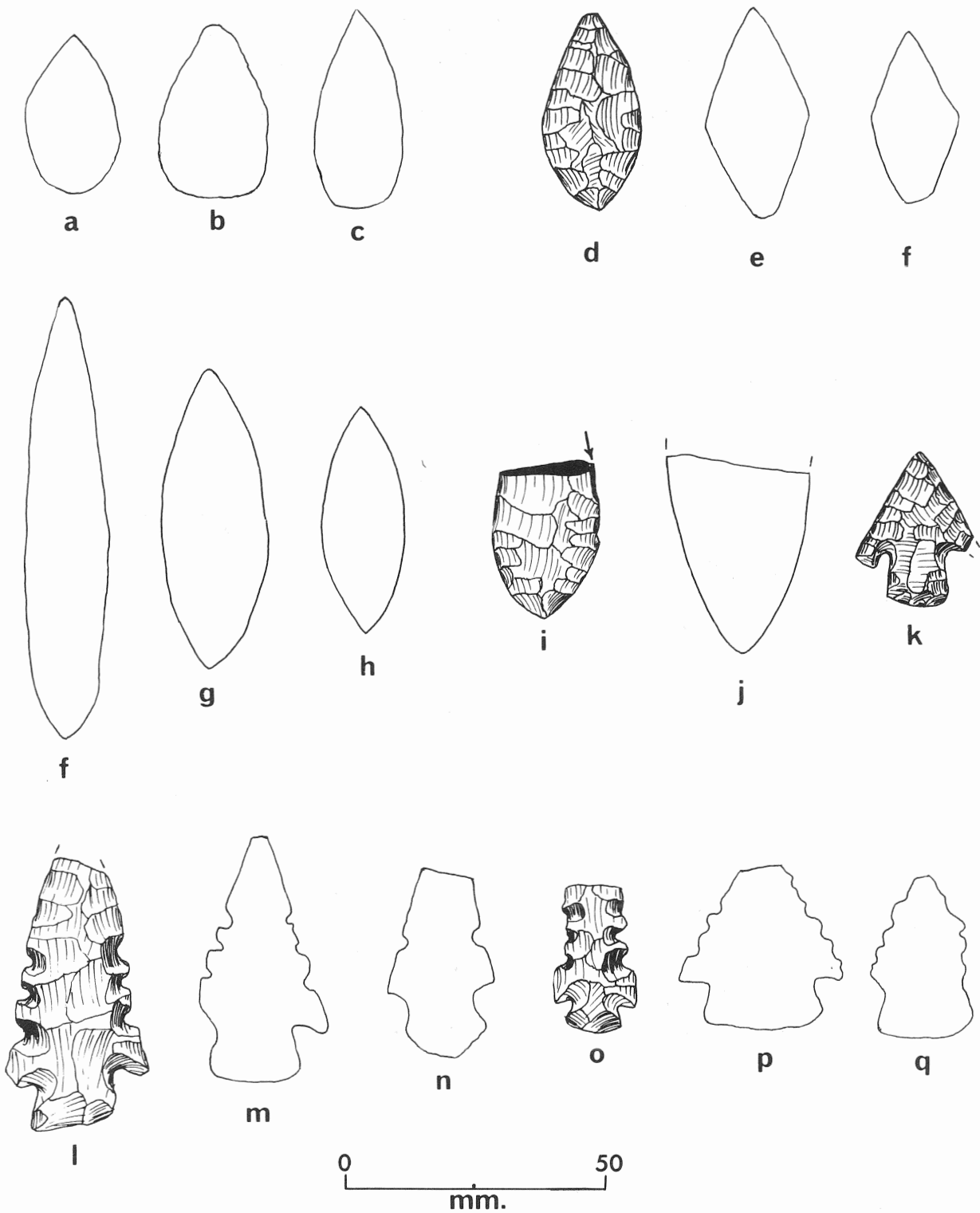


Figure 2. Artifacts from the Robles Site. a-c, Catan; d-f, Desmuke; f-j, Lerma (arrow indicates burin facet on i); k, Shumla; l-q, serrated projectile points.

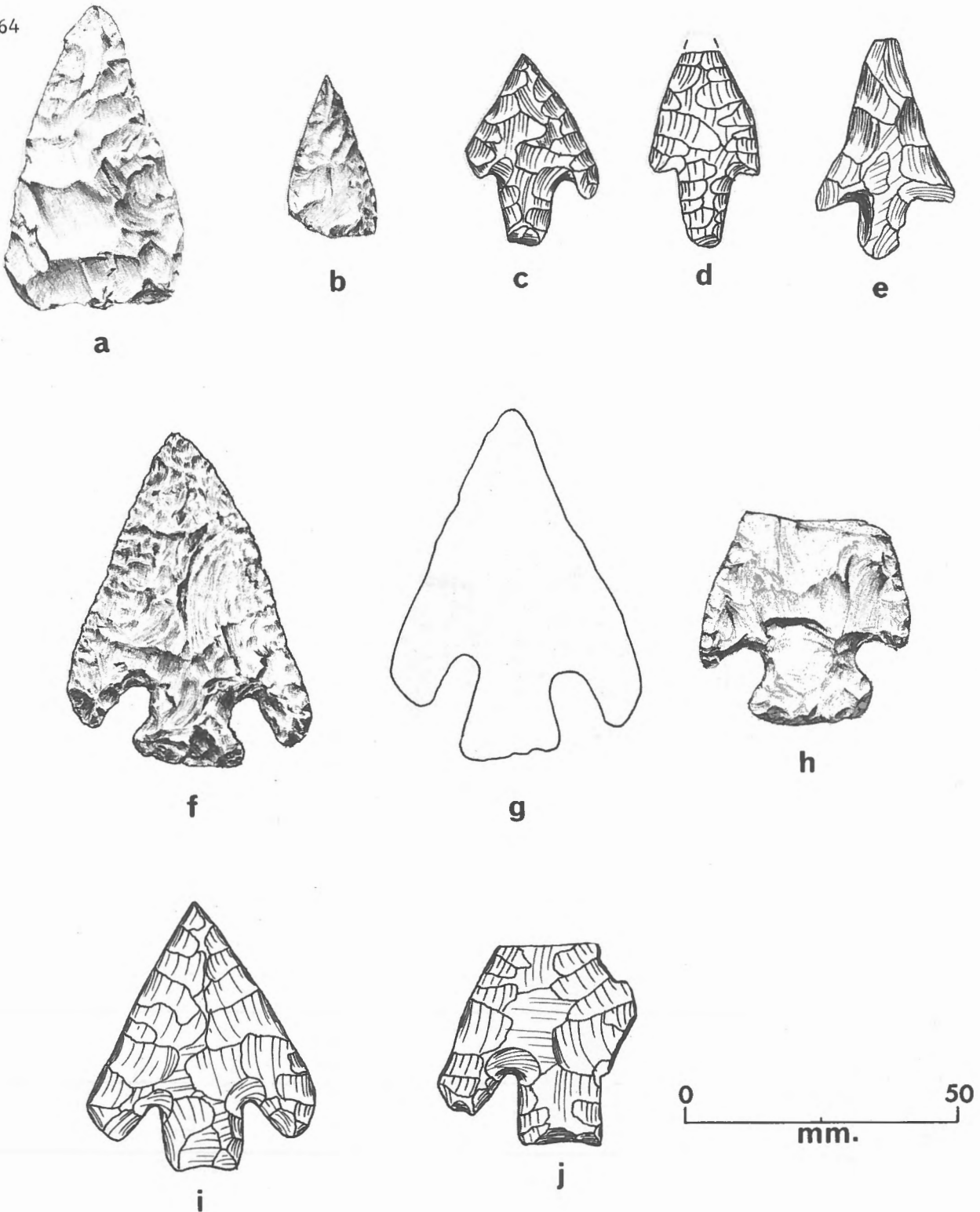


Figure 3. Artifacts from the Robles Site. a-b, triangular projectile points; c-e, points with long, contracting stems; f-h, large corner-notched points; i-j, basally-notched points.

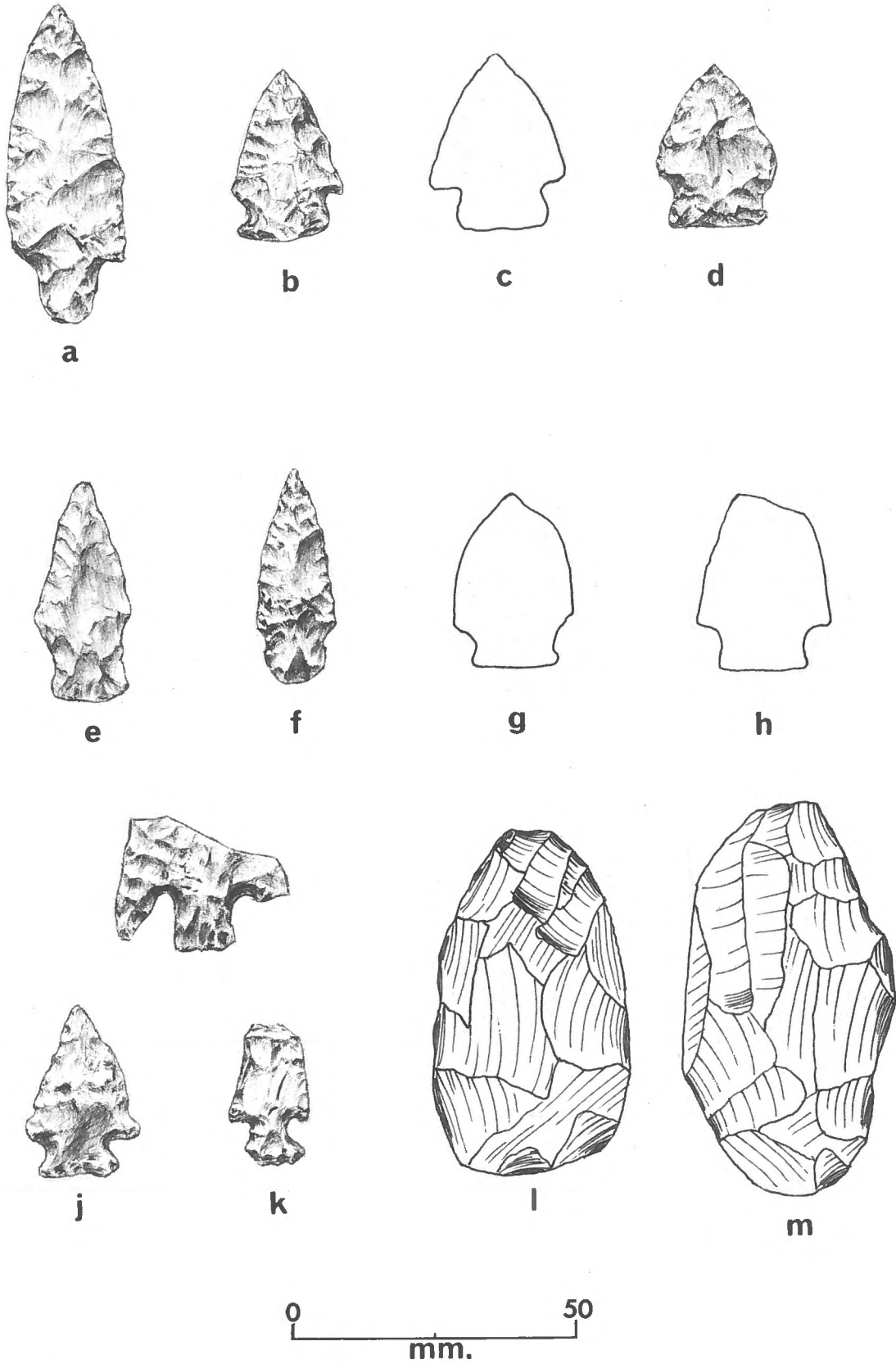


Figure 4. Artifacts from the Robles Site. a-k, stemmed projectile points; l-m, crudely-flaked bifaces.

XI. TRACE ELEMENT ANALYSES OF OBSIDIAN FROM
MICHUACAN, MEXICO: PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Thomas R. Hester, Robert N. Jack and Alice Benfer

Although a substantial amount of information has now been published on the geological sources of archaeological obsidian found at sites in central and southeastern Mexico, and in Guatemala, comparatively little is known about obsidian sources and distribution in western and southwestern Mexico (cf. Stross et al., in press).

In 1972, the senior author began the analysis of a large obsidian assemblage (polyhedral blade cores, blades, bifaces, unifaces and other artifacts; Hester 1973) collected at the site of Villa Morelos, near Huetamo in southeastern Michoacan (Figure 1). These materials were looted from the Villa Morelos site some years ago, and were later donated (by an intermediate party) to the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley. Although we do not have secure contextual data for this collection, there are some bits of evidence, including the site location and certain technological aspects of the obsidian artifacts, which suggest a Postclassic date. During the Postclassic, sites in the Huetamo region were part of the Tarascan kingdom (Chadwick 1971).

A sample of 100 artifacts from the Villa Morelos collection was analyzed by Jack, using rapid-scan x-ray fluorescence techniques previously described (Hester, Jack and Heizer 1971). The results of Jack's analyses are shown in Figure 2. Of the 100 specimens, 96 can be attributed to Type F, a previously defined chemical group (Hester, Jack and Heizer 1971:94). One specimen is definitely of Cerro de las Navajas obsidian, another is of Otumba material, and the two remaining specimens are possibly derived from the Zaragoza, Puebla (Type D) and Altotonga, Veracruz (Type B) sources.¹

The high incidence of Type F obsidian in the Villa Morelos sample is of great interest. In previous studies, we have recognized Type F obsidian artifacts (in low frequencies) at several widely separated sites, including Cholula (Hester, Jack and Heizer 1972), El Tajin (Jack, Hester and Heizer 1972), La Venta and Tres Zapotes (Hester, Jack and Heizer 1971). At the time of these analyses, however, the geologic source of this obsidian group was not known.

¹ Obsidian source samples recently obtained by Dr. F. Stross from a locality 1 km. south of Altotonga, Veracruz, have the same trace element composition as specimens of Type B, whose source was previously not known. Type B is a major obsidian group at La Venta (Hester, Jack and Heizer 1971).

The 96 Type F specimens from Villa Morelos plot largely within a distinct cluster (Figure 2). However, some of the artifacts, high in Rubidium content, disperse to the right of the main cluster. In checking the available obsidian source data for western and southwest Mexico, we could not match the trace element composition of Type F with any analyzed source samples. However, in our obsidian files, we found a set of samples collected several years ago by Drs. H. Thomsen at obsidian exposures near Zinapécuaro, Michoacan (Figure 1). Drs. Thomsen provided very good locational data for these samples, and in addition, the collected samples from different parts of the obsidian flow.

The results of the analysis of the seven samples from the Zinapécuaro source are plotted in Figure 3. As seen in that illustration, these samples overlap with the trace element distribution of the Villa Morelos artifacts. On the basis of the close correlation of these obsidian chemical groups, it is our working hypothesis that Zinapécuaro is the geologic source of the Villa Morelos obsidian, and by extension, of Type F. It is of particular interest that Feldman (1973) has found a specific reference to a Tarascan obsidian mine at Ucareo, a locality very near Zinapécuaro and perhaps utilizing obsidian resources from the same flows that exposed at Zinapécuaro.

In a preliminary effort to learn more about obsidian distribution in the Michoacan area, we analyzed samples from two additional sites. Three artifacts of obsidian from the surface of the site of Tzintzuntzan (a major Tarascan site) were examined; two of these fit clearly within Type F (tentatively Zinapécuaro), while another specimen, high in Rubidium content, plots somewhat to the right of the main Type F clustering and is not within any currently defined obsidian type.

Seventeen artifacts from the site of Apatzingan (Kelly 1947) were next analyzed. The specimens included side notched projectile points, blades, exhausted blade cores, and core fragments (cf. Kelly 1947:131). All of these artifacts are from the El Llano sector of the site, and include both surface and excavated materials. El Llano is exclusively of the Chila complex defined by Kelly, and constitutes the "late horizon" (lasting to Spanish contact) at Apatzingan. The geologic sources of the Apatzingan specimens are listed in Table 1.

The geologic sources represented in the Apatzingan sample present interesting problems. Based on the sample, the major sources utilized during the Chila (Postclassic) phase at the site were Cerro de las Navajas (Hidalgo) and Guadalupe Victoria (Puebla), both located at considerable distances from the site (see Figure 1). On the other hand, Type F obsidian is perhaps represented by a single specimen. During the Postclassic, Apatzingan is thought to have had only negligible contacts with the Tarascan kingdom (cf. Chadwick 1971:686). The Zinapécuaro area is, of course, within the Tarascan area, and as Feldman (1973) has noted, there was a Tarascan obsidian mine in the immediate vicinity (cf. Spence and Parsons 1972:27). It is possible that Tarascan dominance of the Zinapécuaro obsidian resources, coupled with the lack of contact between the Tarascan and Apatzingan areas, is responsible for the rarity of Type F at El Llano, Apatzingan.

During the course of the Michoacan obsidian study, Jack also analyzed (using rapid-scan x-ray fluorescence methods) 33 obsidian artifacts from the site of Tula, Hidalgo (submitted by Alice Benfer). These specimens were obtained during recent University of Missouri excavations at the site. In general, the artifacts were found in domestic structures (dating from the main occupation of the site between A.D. 900-1200), about .5 km. east of the ceremonial center of the site. The green Cerro de las Navajas obsidian dominates the lithic assemblage; however, gray obsidian also occurs in some quantity and the source or sources of the gray material was not known. Benfer selected the sample of 33 specimens from different excavation proveniences and attempted to choose artifacts which represented the general color range within the gray category. Jack's analyses determined that 24 specimens were of Type F (cf. Zinapécuaro); these plotted in a tight cluster, identical to the grouping formed by the bulk of the Villa Morelos specimens (see Figures 2 and 4). Four specimens were tentatively assigned to Type B (Altotonga) and two to the Otumba source (Figure 4). Three additional specimens in the submitted sample were of Cerro de las Navajas obsidian, and when inspected visually were found to be of the characteristic green color.

Of importance in these data is the high incidence (given the size of the sample) of Type F obsidian. This was quite unexpected, as the excavators had initially believed that most of the gray obsidian was probably derived from the Otumba source 75 km. to the southeast.

Benfer is continuing the analysis of the Tula obsidian and a definitive report will be forthcoming. One problem being pursued is the apparent aboriginal preference for various colors of obsidian in the manufacture of certain artifact forms. For example, of the 125 scrapers from Tula, 90% are of Cerro de las Navajas material. On the other hand, of the 56 projectile points, 80% are of gray obsidian (not yet analyzed as to source), and of the other large and small bifacial implements, all are of gray obsidian. There are approximately 13,000 blades and blade fragments in the Tula collection, and it is estimated that 70-80% are of green (Cerro de las Navajas) obsidian. Fifty-one blade cores have been examined and they appear equally divided between green and gray obsidian. Spence and Parsons (1972) have suggested that in Postclassic central Mexico green and gray obsidian were used for making different kinds of artifacts, primarily because of differences in flaking qualities between the two kinds of obsidian. With expanded use of trace element analytical techniques, much more could be learned about the choices made by prehistoric stone-workers when selecting obsidian for manufacture into required tool forms.

In summary, we have presented preliminary data on obsidian sources and obsidian artifact distribution for the Michoacan region, and have discussed the results of an analysis of a sample of gray obsidian artifacts from the site of Tula, Hidalgo. Type F obsidian was predominant at the site of Villa Morelos in southeastern Michoacan and was also present in a very small sample from Tzintzuntzan in the central part of the state. Both sites lie within the area of the

Tarascan kingdom. The best known obsidian source within the Tarascan area is near Zinapécuaro and our analyses of source samples indicate that this is probably the source of Type F. It should be stressed, however, that we have not yet definitely established that Type F obsidian is derived from Zinapécuaro, although we believe this is highly likely. Further quantitative comparison of Zinapécuaro and Type F materials are to be carried out in the near future and should help to resolve this problem. We need trace element analyses of obsidian from other Tarascan sites to determine if Type F (Zinapécuaro?) obsidian follows any particular pattern in its distribution within the area. As mentioned earlier, the site of Apatzingán appears to have rarely, if ever, used Type F obsidian, and we have suggested that this may be related to Tarascan dominance of the Zinapécuaro source, as well as the minor contacts between Apatzingán and its Tarascan neighbors to the west. Instead, Apatzingán (during the Chila period) apparently used obsidian largely from Cerro de las Navajas (400 km. to the northeast) and from Guadalupe Victoria, Puebla (400 km. to the east-northeast).

The occurrence of Type F obsidian at Tula raises some interesting questions, and these are being pursued in Benfer's research. For example, if Type F is indeed derived from Zinapécuaro, why was that particular source, nearly 175 km. to the east, so heavily utilized, but not so the Otumba source which lies much closer to Tula. This might have implications regarding trade contacts between the inhabitants of Tula and peoples in the Michoacán area; it is also possible that the Otumba source was controlled by peoples who for some reason did not make the material available for use at Tula. The source analysis of obsidian from well-dated contexts at Tula should provide much useful information pertaining to obsidian utilization in the central Mexican area.

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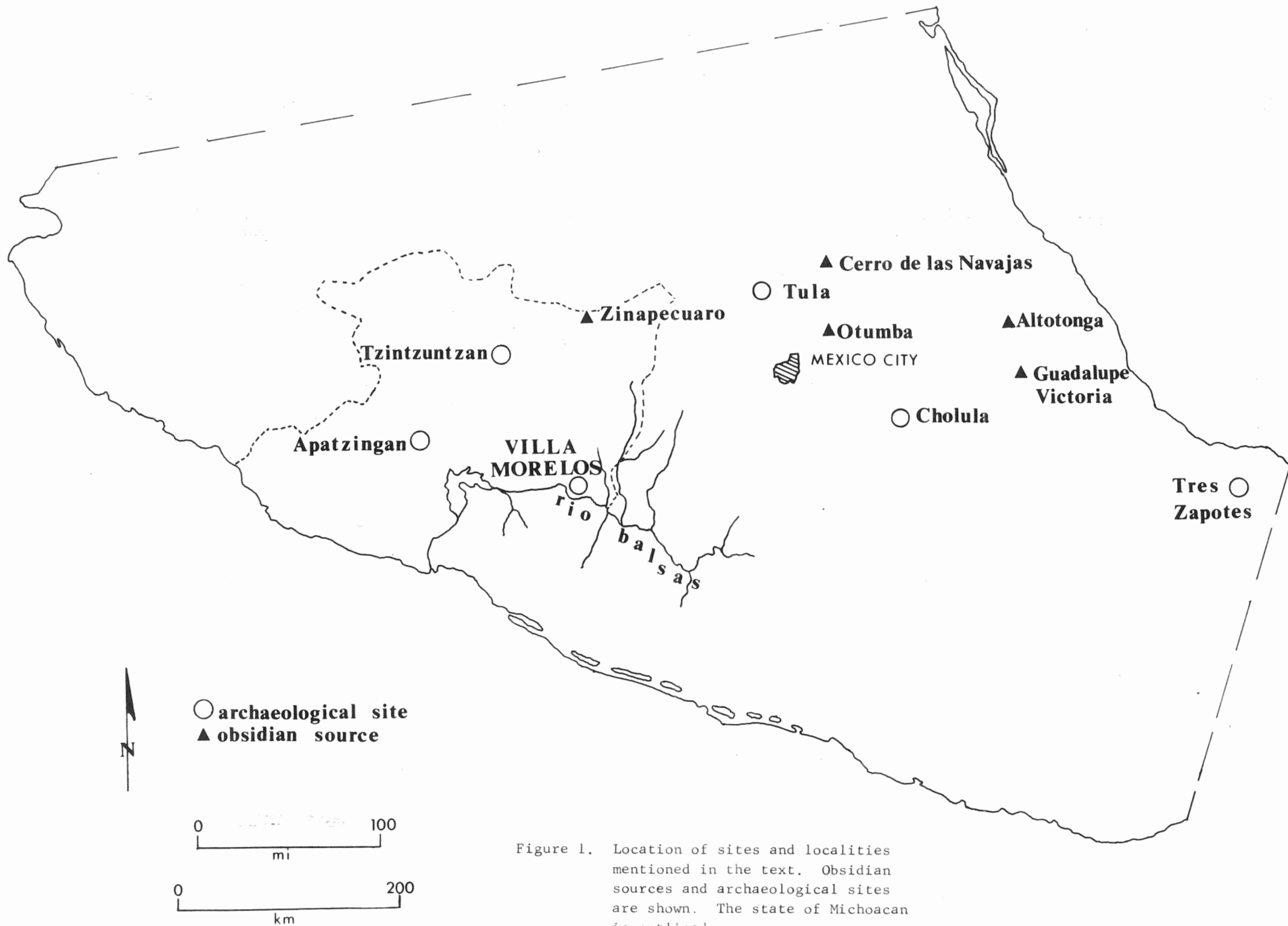
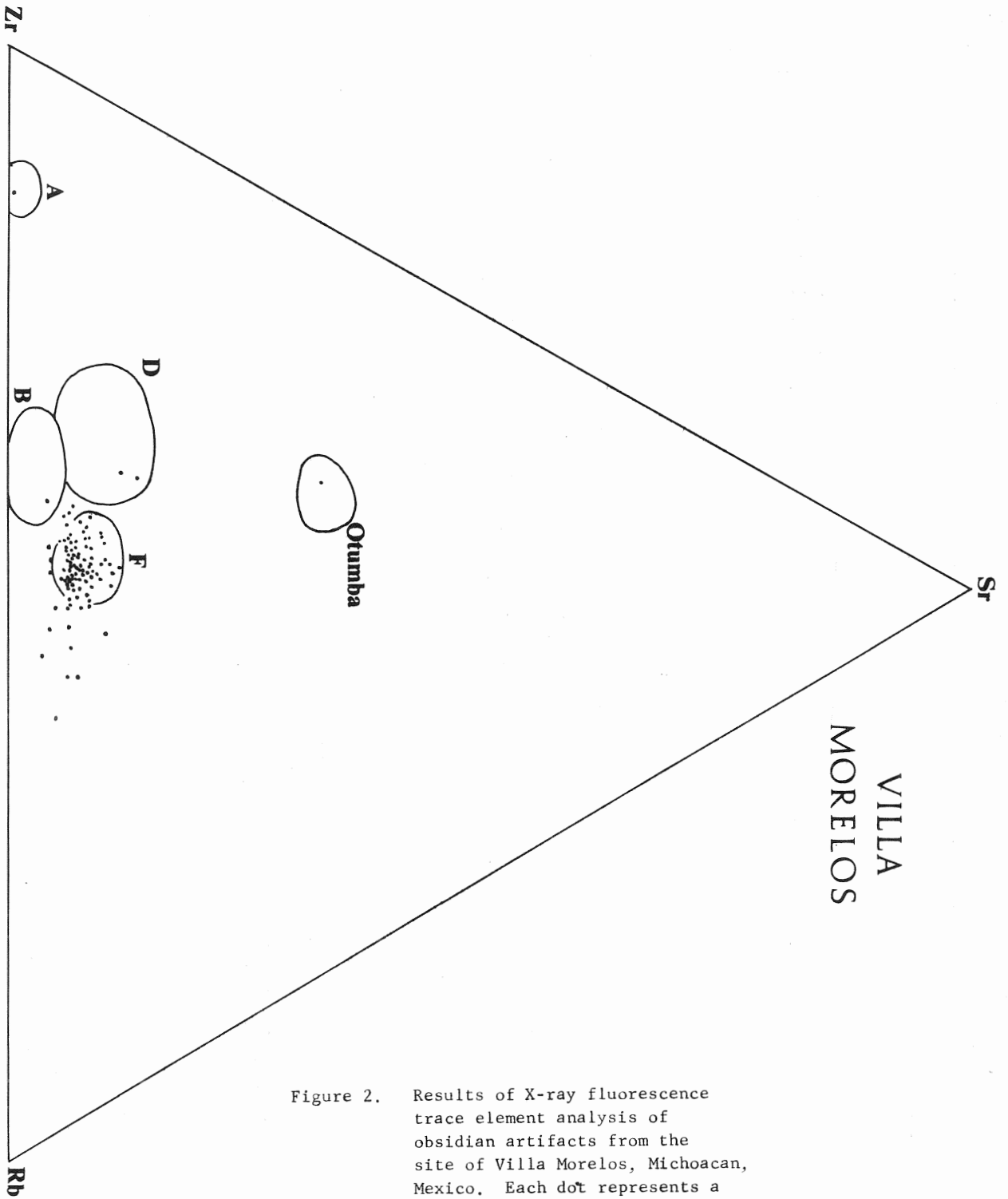


Figure 1. Location of sites and localities mentioned in the text. Obsidian sources and archaeological sites are shown. The state of Michoacan is outlined.



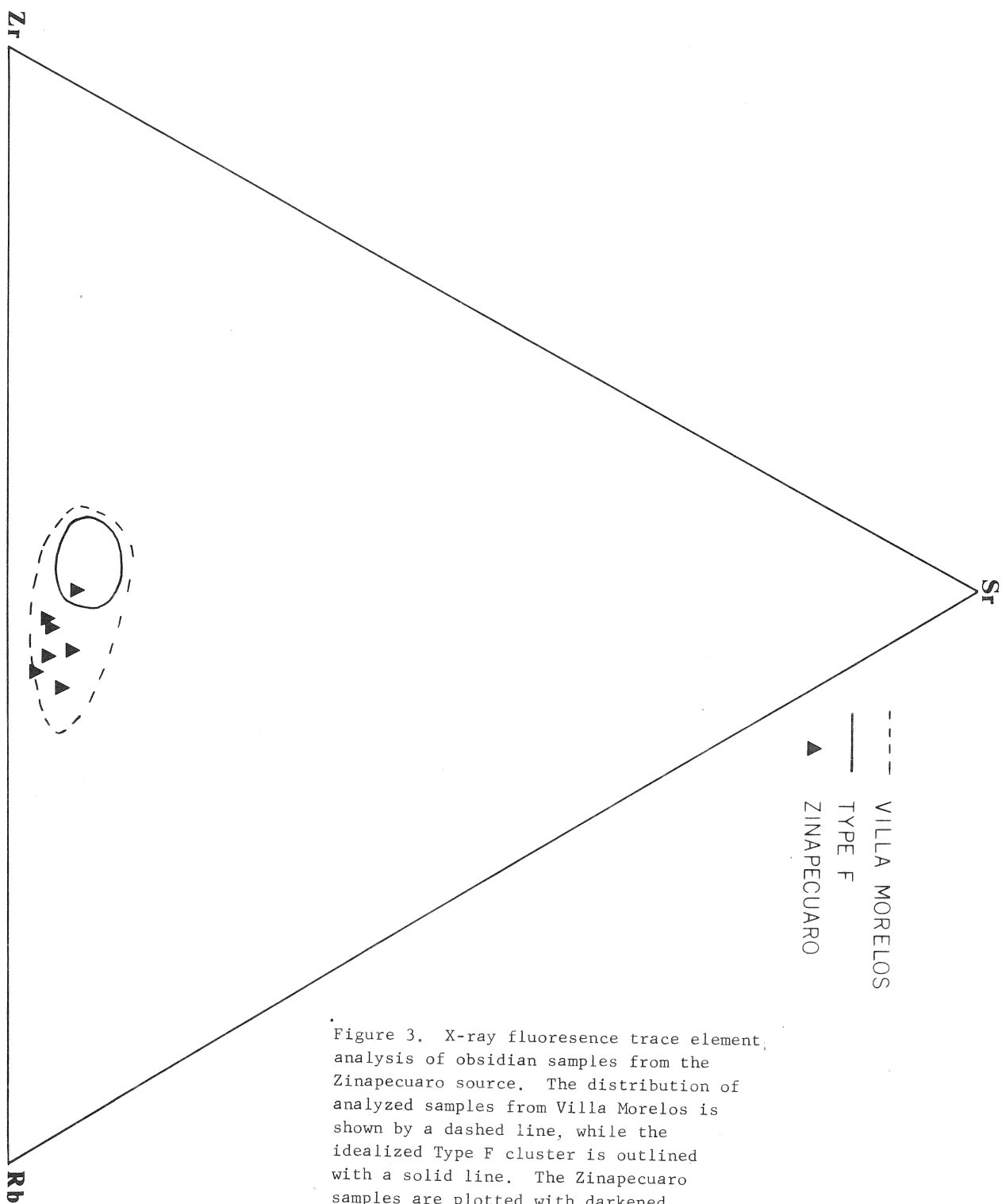


Figure 3. X-ray fluorescence trace element analysis of obsidian samples from the Zinapecuaro source. The distribution of analyzed samples from Villa Morelos is shown by a dashed line, while the idealized Type F cluster is outlined with a solid line. The Zinapecuaro samples are plotted with darkened triangles.

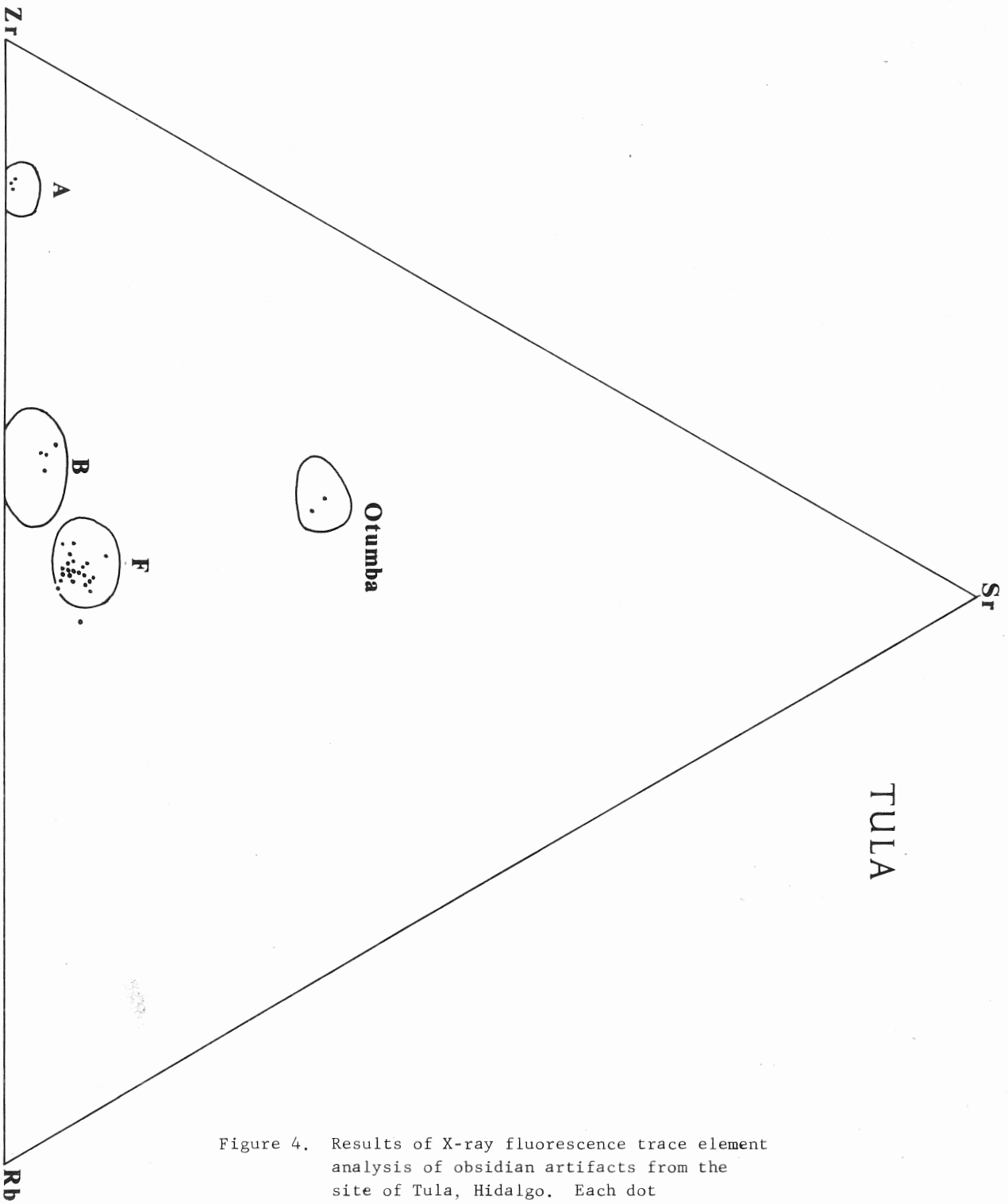


Figure 4. Results of X-ray fluorescence trace element analysis of obsidian artifacts from the site of Tula, Hidalgo. Each dot represents a single artifact.

XII. MONUMENT 1, EL PORTON, GUATEMALA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAYA CALENDRIAL AND WRITING SYSTEMS

Robert J. Sharer and David W. Sedat

In an important recent paper, Prem (1971:128) discusses the difficulty of determining the origins and dispersal routes of Mesoamerican calendrical and writing systems. One of the principal problems in this area of research is the lack of published accounts of early Mesoamerican glyphic inscriptions. Accordingly, this paper reports a recently discovered sculptured monument (designated Monument 1) with a glyphic text from the site of El Porton (Smith 1955) in the Salama Valley, near San Jeronimo, Baja Verapaz, Guatemala (Fig. 1), and discusses its significance for the understanding of the development of Maya calendrical and writing systems. We do this in response to Prem's well-founded urging for immediate publication of early glyphic texts and to encourage further research and discussion of this problem.

El Porton Monument 1 represents, to our knowledge, the first Preclassic sculpture known from the northern Maya highlands region. The circumstances of the discovery are these; several years ago the authors first heard reports of a "large stone with writing" discovered about ten years previously by amateurs (missionaries). They also reported finding with the monument a single black vessel, a small chunk of raw jade (subsequently seen by the authors and measuring ca. 15 cm. in diameter) and several jade ear-flares and beads. During the summer of 1971, while conducting an archaeological survey of the Salama Valley, we undertook to find this monument. We subsequently located the monument still only partially uncovered in a shallow pit well within a low earth and rubble mound at the site of El Porton. We were able to clear the sculptured face of the monument and record the remaining sculptured elements by means of photography, drawings and rubbings. In 1972, during the first full season of archaeological investigations at El Porton, the structure containing Monument 1 was extensively excavated, further photographs were made (Fig. 2), and a latex mold of the sculpture was taken. The archaeological evidence strongly favors a Preclassic date for Monument 1. A full discussion of the monument's chronological position will be presented later in this paper.

Monument 1 is a large, upright slab of greenish-gray schist, measuring a maximum of 2.3 m. high, 1.5 m. in width and .4 m. in thickness at the top (Fig. 2). It is sculptured in low relief on the west face only. Unfortunately, the carved surface is only partially preserved. The central scene has almost completely disappeared, due to exfoliation or ancient battering, so that only the basal elements of the original sculpture remain. The top and left side of the monument has been smashed, and at least some of the damage seems to have occurred in the interval since its recent discovery.

The lower preserved area of the central scene (Fig. 3) contains a series of sculptured elements, including a scroll motif, stylistically similar to those on Preclassic monuments of the southern Maya highlands (Fig. 5) and is possibly the basal portion of a dragon mask (Miles 1965:239) or another motif. In the center of this lower sculptured area are a series of possible glyphic elements; an incised crossed-band combined with a vertical bar flanked by a pair of incised elements (Fig. 5) very similar to glyphic elements found on an Olmec plaque (Coe 1965:762 and Fig. 22) and Figure C of the Olmec sculpture at Las Victorias, Chalchuapa, El Salvador (Boggs 1950:Fig. 1). The presence of these latter elements indicates this lower sculptured zone may represent a text composed of a horizontal row of irregular-sized glyphs (Satterthwaite, personal communication, 1973). Although poor preservation makes final determination difficult, the fact that several of these elements appear to have originally continued upwards onto the face of the monument means that in all likelihood these features were once part of a larger, central sculptured scene.

On the right side of the front face of the monument is the lower portion of a vertical column containing a series of well-defined and regular sculptured features, carved in low relief and fine-line incisions. Due to their unique and non-repetitive nature, the elements of this column are considered to represent a system of writing, i.e. a codified system of message transmission (Prem 1971:112). Because of its importance, this text will be dealt with in some detail in the remainder of this paper.

EPIGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

The Monument 1 text may be divided from top to bottom into a series of discrete elements, and are lettered for descriptive purposes, "a" through "k" (Fig. 4).

- a. This element was completely destroyed prior to our examination of the monument. However, a single polaroid photograph taken by the looters who initially discovered the monument, shows a sculptured element in this position. It appears to have been a representation of a hand or paw, but this identification cannot be completely certain.
- b. Like element a, this feature was almost completely destroyed prior to our study. From the original photo, and the vestiges remaining on the sculpture, it is fairly certain that it was a single horizontal bar element, defined on all sides by deeply carved grooves, probably very similar to the preserved element e (below).
- c. This element was essentially intact upon examination, although slightly damaged in the upper left quadrant.

It appears to be a representation of some sort of head with an eye containing a finely incised vertical band or cross. The borders of this element are accentuated by a single finely incised line.

- d. A small, narrow horizontal bar, immediately beneath element c, with a single medial fine-incised line. This element is significantly narrower and shorter (it does not extend to the edges of the vertical column) than element e, below.
- e. A single, horizontal bar, defined on all sides by deep grooving and beveling, and extending the full width of the column. There are two parallel, horizontal fine-line incised lines on its surface.
- f. A complex sculptured element, possibly damaged or altered in the upper left quadrant, with its various elements accentuated by fine-incised lines. A small U-shaped element turned on its side (upper right quadrant) may represent an eye, so that the entire element may also be a head representation.
- g. Another horizontal bar element, nearly identical in all respects to element e.
- h. A sculptured feature composed of a large U-shaped element, its border outlined by a fine-incised line on its surface. Enclosed within this U-shaped element, there is a rectangular element, its surface damaged, that apparently contained fine incised lines.
- i. Two nearly identical, side-by-side, roughly rectangular elements, defined on all sides by deep grooving and beveling, their upper surfaces nearly square. Each contains a single, fine-incised U-shaped motif.
- j. A horizontal bar element, nearly identical to elements e and g.
- k. The final and best preserved element, represents a sculptured head. The features are rather complex and include an inverted U-shaped eye, an eye-brow element with a slightly damaged double-U-shaped fine-incised line, both in the upper left quadrant,

and L-shaped element with fine-incised line (crest?) in the upper right quadrant, a large jaw element with a protruding fang or tongue in the lower right quadrant, and a possible nose element beneath the eye, again with accentuating fine-incised lines.

These 11 elements can be classified into two distinct functional categories (terminology after Prem 1971:118). 1) Non-numerical text signs representing a writing system and 2) numerical signs (these categories generally correspond to "main signs" and "coefficients," respectively, as used in Classic lowland Maya texts; cf. Thompson 1962). The text signs are distinguished because of their general similarities to other Mesoamerican glyphic systems, especially those utilizing head motifs (for instance those of Monte Alban, cf. Willey 1966:104-105). The numerical signs are so identified on the basis of their obvious similarities to the general Mesoamerican bar and dot number system. Specifically, elements b, e, g, and j correspond to bars and probably symbolize the number five. However, the two horizontal fine incised lines on each bar element may serve to divide these into three bars corresponding to the number fifteen. Element i, in our estimation, corresponds to two dots in the same numerical system (symbolizing the number two). Initially, the possibility of interpreting the bar elements as non-functional dividers or "spacers" between the text signs was considered. This interpretation was rejected for three reasons: 1) these elements are sculptured in the same manner as the text signs, i.e. they have rounded corners, beveled edges (cf. Fig. 4A) and are separated from the left vertical border of the colum (which does function as a divider) by deep grooves; 2) they contain fine-line incisions, again like the other sculptured elements and unlike the vertical border or divider. We further note that very similar fine-line incisions are found on the relief-sculptured numerical signs of Monument 10 from Kaminaljuyu (Miles 1965:Fig. 13). 3) The lack of comparable "spacers" on other known Preclassic inscriptions. On these grounds we feel justified in considering these elements a part of the text and to be numerical signs.

The differentiation of the text into two functional categories of numerical and text signs make possible the grouping of elements into glyphs, designated A1 through A9, top to bottom (Fig. 4). Each of these glyphs will be discussed below in terms of their possible representation and external relationships, although the relative dearth of published early inscriptions makes this somewhat difficult. Note that this system of designation does not imply that there were no other glyphs positioned above the present text. If such glyphs did exist, they are now destroyed.

Glyph A1: A presumed text sign corresponding to descriptive element a. Although now destroyed, it probably represented a hand, paw or paw-wing and might have been related to Motif 36 in Olmec iconography (Joralemon 1971:10).

Glyph A2: A presumed numerical sign corresponding to descriptive element b. Although now almost completely destroyed, this apparent single bar probably signified the number five.

Glyph A3: A probable compound text sign combining descriptive elements c and d. The main component (element c) remains unidentified, but is apparently a head element similar to one of the finely-incised glyphs from Monument 10, Kaminaljuyu (Miles 1965:Fig. 13) and, perhaps, the Leyden Plate (Glyph 772, cf. Thompson 1962:370). Descriptive element d is here considered to be a possible postfix due to its location and sculptural relationship to element c (Fig. 4A).

Glyph A4: A numerical sign corresponding to our descriptive element e. A single bar probably designating the number five.

Glyph A5: A text sign that corresponds to descriptive element f. Possibly damaged or altered and unidentified for the present.

Glyph A6: A numerical sign, corresponding to descriptive element g. A single bar, probably designating the number five.

Glyph A7: A text sign, corresponding to descriptive element h. The U-shaped bracket may correspond to Olmec Motif 102 (Joralemon 1971:14), especially if we allow for a reconstructed crossed band motif on the now damaged enclosed rectangular surface.

Glyph A8: A numerical sign, corresponding to descriptive elements i and j combined to produce a single bar and two dots, probably designating the number seven. It is possible that the two dots (element i) might be functionally related to Glyph A7 (above) as a postfix. However, this is considered unlikely due to the deep sculptured groove separating these two elements (cf. Fig. 4A).

Glyph A9: A text sign that corresponds to descriptive element k. Several of the individual features of this glyph (see Fig. 5) are seemingly related to common Middle Preclassic Olmec motifs (Coe 1965:765 and Fig. 30), including the fang-and-jaw elements (Motif 26) and a possible flame eye-brow (Motif 5, Joralemon 1971:7, 10). As a unit the glyphic head is reminiscent of representations of the Olmec "Jaguar" god or more particularly, the "jaguar god with avian characteristics" (God I-A or God III, Joralemon 1971:35-48, 67-70). In another interpretation, Lathrap (1971) presents evidence that features such as these are a representation of the harpy eagle, a sky manifestation of the central reptilian deity of Chavin as well as Olmec art. Some of these same features can be found in later Maya contexts (Glyphs 746 and 755, Thompson 1962:329, 341).

The functional relationship of the numerical and text signs within the inscription is important for it provides the basis for assessing the system of notation present and the regional style of early monuments (Prem 1971:117-128). There are two alternative interpretations of the sequence and relationships of these glyphs. For convenience, these alternative groupings are designated as glyph blocks. These glyph blocks are presented in Figure 4D and E. The first

of these interpretations assumes a uniform vertical sequence (top to bottom) of an initial numerical superfix followed by a text sign to produce the following sequence of Glyph blocks: A1; A2 and A3; A4 and A5; A6 and A7; A8 and A9. (Fig. 4D). This interpretation derives from the fact that the final (bottom) glyph (A9) is not followed by a numerical, and is positioned below what appears to be its numerical superfix (one bar and two dots, Glyph A8). We note that this is directly comparable to the position and sequence of glyphs and numerals on the Miraflores Phase Monument 10 from Kaminaljuyu (Miles 1965:254). Furthermore, this configuration is typical of calendrical dates of what Prem terms "intermediate writing systems" of the "Olmec group" (1971:122), seen in Late Preclassic inscriptions such as those from Tres Zapotes and Chiapa de Corzo.

There are several problems with this interpretation. First, it assumes an initial numerical above Symbol A1 and there is no evidence for the presence of this element. Second, it results in some inconsistency or variation in the size (height) among the combined text and numerical signs (compare the size of glyph block A8-A9 to that of A6-A7). This is unusual for Maya inscriptions, especially those of the Classic Period. However, it may not be a valid objection in this case since the vertical textual column is also inconsistent in width, i.e. it is wider at the top than the bottom (see Figs. 2 and 3) and there are other early inscriptions that have variable-sized glyphic inscriptions, most notably those of the Monte Alban I monuments.

The second interpretation assumes a uniform vertical sequence from top to bottom of an initial glyph followed by a numerical subfix (Fig. 4E). This would produce a sequence of Glyph blocks A1 and A2; A3 and A4; A5 and A6; A7 and A8; A9, and would mean that the final glyph (A9) would be without an associated numerical. This reading removes the possible objection of inconsistent size, for now Glyph block A7-A8 is nearly exactly the same size as Glyph block A9. It also removes the necessity of postulating an additional numerical superfix for Glyph A1. This sequence of subfixed numerals is typical of the earliest known writing systems in Mesoamerica, those of Monte Alban (Prem 1971:117-122) and of Middle Preclassic systems in general (Graham, personal communication 1972). The same sequence is also typical of what Prem terms "Intermediate systems of the Mayoid group" (1971: 122-124).

Because of the fragmentary condition of the text it would be inadvisable to unequivocally opt for either sequential interpretation. However, we currently favor the second option (Fig. 4E) because the sequence of initial text sign and numerical subfix results in a greater degree of internal consistency and uniform size for the text elements (Glyph blocks). In addition, the relative depths and beveling of the sculptured grooves separating the text elements supports this alternative, as can be seen in the sectional view of the inscription (Fig. 4A). Specifically, the grooves separating glyphs A2 and A3, glyphs A4 and A5 and glyphs A8 and A9 tend to be deeper as well as gently beveled on the upper (or subfixed numerical) side and steeply beveled on the lower (or initial text sign) side.

Due to the present state of ignorance concerning Preclassic writing systems, there is little we can say as to the content or meaning of the Monument 1 text. For the present, the available epigraphic evidence strongly suggests that the monument contains the latter portion of a calendrical inscription. That is, we assume that the text signs, when combined with the numerals, both count and name intervals of time. It would be premature to conjecture whether these postulated time periods were ranked in a hierarchy, or were counted from an arbitrary beginning point (both characteristic of the later Maya Long County system), but these remain as possibilities.

The damage to the central scene of the monument makes it extremely difficult to know whether the text also functioned as a naming or descent recording device. It is possible that a calendrical aspect was combined with naming and lineage matters on Monument 1, as was apparently the case for certain later (Classic) Maya inscriptions (Proskouriakoff 1961).

STYLISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

We do not know of any glyphic inscriptions directly comparable to the El Porton Monument 1 text. The monument probably represents a regional or local style, and perhaps reflects a distinct early dialect of Maya (Graham, personal communication, 1972). Such individualistic regional styles appear to be common for Preclassic monuments. We do observe that the style of the Monument 1 text is not directly comparable to the relatively nearby examples from Kaminaljuyu or even the Pacific Coast (cf. Miles 1965). Many individual stylistic features appear to relate to Middle Preclassic contexts (Olmec or possibly Monte Alban). Assessment of the apparent non-textual central scene, while reminiscent of Maya highland and Pacific coastal motifs, is impossible due to its nearly completely destroyed condition (Fig. 2).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

While much of the evidence for the association of the Monument 1 to its immediate structural matrix was destroyed by the looters, the excavation of this area in 1972 has produced a reasonably consistent interpretation of the monument's original context and even its chronological position. Monument 1 was one of six east-west aligned monuments on the west face of a low adobe platform (El Porton, Structure 2) surmounted by a superimposed series of small "shrine-like" structures. The easternmost of these monuments, Monument 5 (plain), was buried beneath the floor of the earliest of these shrines, dating from the middle of the Late Preclassic (Miraflores equivalent). Monument 1 was to the west, in a position to be partially buried in the access stairway or ramp (now destroyed) to the shrine. At the foot of this stairway, on the same east-west axis, were buried Monument 2 (a plain stela) and Monument 3, a large basin carved from dense basalt. Beneath Monument 3 were buried the shattered remains of Monuments 4 and 6, both basins similar to Monument 3. Incorporated with these broken monuments was a complex intruded and disturbed deposit of both whole and

fragmentary pottery vessels, along with large quantities of jade artifacts in all stages of manufacture (Cache 8). The ceramics of Cache 8 are Terminal Preclassic in date (ca. A.D. 100-300). These are the latest known ceramics associated with any of the monuments of Structure 2. Thus, if we were to accept the contemporaneity of Monument 1 with the latest ceramics from Cache 8, Monument 1 could be no later than the Terminal Preclassic. However, the available archaeological evidence indicates that Monument 1 is earlier than Cache 8, either Late Preclassic or Middle Preclassic in date.

Monument 1 was probably deliberately battered in ancient times (as were all the monuments from Structure 2, except for Monuments 3 and 5). There is a great deal of evidence from throughout the Maya area for the reuse of such monuments in later construction contexts (Miles 1965:237-238). There is ample evidence of Middle Preclassic occupation and construction at El Porton (the earliest occupation elsewhere in the Salama Valley is now securely placed in the Early Preclassic). Thus it is quite possible that Monument 1 was originally carved as early as the Middle Preclassic, defaced and re-set in its present position in connection with the construction of a Late Preclassic structure. This thesis was first suggested by E. M. Shook (personal communication, 1971). The fact that four pedestal sculptures were found associated with Monument 1 by the original discoverers further strengthens this interpretation. Three of these sculptures have been located (all were removed at the time of discovery) and examined; the fourth was sold and is lost. Two are heavily battered and broken, the third is largely intact, but has some damage (Fig. 6). The condition of these associated pedestal sculptures tends to support the re-use thesis. Pedestal sculptures of this type are Preclassic (Miles 1965:248), with at least one example from a controlled excavation of an apparent Middle Preclassic context; the Majadas Phase at Kaminaljuyu (Shook 1951:240).

In summary, while the disturbance from the looters destroyed valuable evidence so that we cannot rule out later intrusion, the available archaeological data are consistent with a Late or even Middle Preclassic date for Monument 1. This is in agreement with the epigraphic evidence reviewed earlier, which could favor either of these chronological placements. It is also consistent with the somewhat limited stylistic evidence, which suggests a Middle Preclassic placement.

DISCUSSION

The motifs and the nature of the glyphic inscription on Monument 1 indicate a relatively sophisticated cultural manifestation at the site of El Porton, as early as the Middle Preclassic era, with some ties to other early centers of civilization, especially the Gulf and Pacific Coasts. The reasons for this development may well involve the strategic location of the site, as well as other factors. El Porton is located at the base of the northern slopes of the pass between the Sierra de Chuacus and the Sierra de las Minas. Both ranges have been identified as actual or potential sources for jadeite (Foshag and Leslie 1955:81-82); the jadeite source at Manzanal is only 30 km southeast of El Porton. Furthermore, El Porton

is located in the fertile upper Salama valley, at the head of the Salama branch of the Chixoy drainage system. This system provides a natural route north into the Peten and, via the Usumacinta River, to the Gulf Coast (Fig. 1). El Porton is therefore obviously in a strategic location to manage or control a jade route from the source(s) in the highlands to both the Olmec and Maya Lowlands. There is good archaeological evidence that the population of the Salama Valley was involved in the production and distribution of jade artifacts. Thus, the combination of a highly favorable environment (constant water supply and excellent agricultural lands) along with participation in the production and long-distance trade of jade artifacts may have been a critical factor leading to both economic surplus and substantial population growth in the Salama Valley at a time relatively early in the Preclassic. This in turn may be reflected in the development of a complex stratified society, including an elite class and a precocious calendrical and writing system, as indicated by the archaeological record at El Porton. Further research is planned that will focus upon this crucial process of cultural development in the Salama Valley.

The presence of a Preclassic calendrical and writing system in the northern Maya highlands has important implications for the question of the development of such systems in Mesoamerica. The actual origin area and routes of diffusion of such systems is a matter of long standing concern and conflicting hypotheses (see, for instance, Graham 1971). These issues are too complicated to be fully discussed here. However, it is certainly worth noting that El Porton Monument 1 is geographically located in a position intermediate between the area of the early monuments of the southern highlands and the Pacific Coast, and the sites of the later Maya lowland tradition.

Seen in this light, the full significance of Monument 1 rests upon the question of the chronological placement of the sculpture. Based upon the considerations reviewed above, the best estimate for the dating of El Porton Monument 1 would be that it was carved during the interval of ca. 600 B.C. to A.D. 100 (Middle to Late Preclassic). The evidence allows no firmer precision in dating at this time. If Monument 1 dates from the latter portion of this time span (Late Preclassic), this would indicate that the northern Maya highlands, and the site of El Porton in particular, were involved in the development and diffusion of the sculptural and writing traditions from the southern Maya area (at sites such as Izapa, El Baul, Kaminaljuyu and Chalchuapa) to the Maya Lowlands in the north. A placement in the earlier portion of the time span is more far reaching in its possible consequences. If El Porton Monument 1 can be placed in the Middle Preclassic era, it would represent one of the earliest, if not the earliest text from the Maya area. Such an early date could support the hypothesis made recently by Graham that the origin of the bar and dot numerical system was in southeastern Mesoamerica (1971:135). A Middle Preclassic placement would also be in line with the possible stylistic links to the Gulf Coast as well as certain archaeological conclusions, mentioned above. This interpretation, if supported by additional evidence, would obviously have an important bearing on the problem of supposed Olmec origins for calendrical and writing systems and their influence

on later Maya traditions. In either case, Monument 1 and the precocious Maya highland society it represents is one more indication that the development of Mesoamerican civilization was via a series of contemporaneous interacting regional centers of population, rather than due to a single "Mother Culture" as has been suggested in the past (e.g. M. D. Coe 1962:84). Additional archaeological research at the site of El Porton and in the Salama Valley will subject these questions to further scrutiny.

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Acknowledgements

We wish to express our gratitude to William R. Coe, Edward O'Flaherty, S. J. and Linton Satterthwaite for their thoughtful comments and criticisms that have been of considerable benefit to the formation of this paper. The authors are, of course, responsible for any errors or omissions that may be present. The 1972 excavations at El Porton were supported by research grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the National Geographic Society.

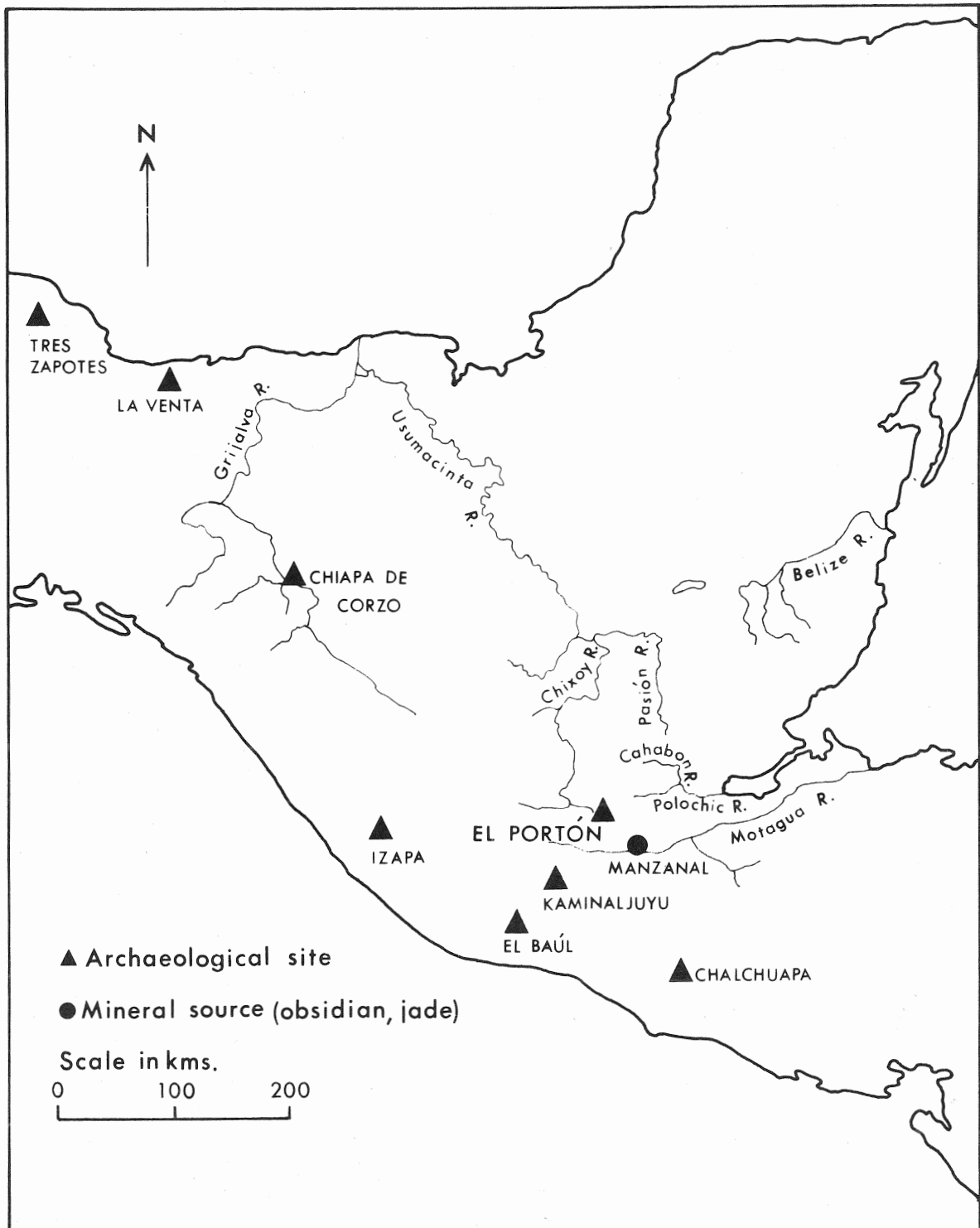


Figure 1. Map of Southeastern Mesoamerica showing location of El Porton and other sites mentioned in the text.

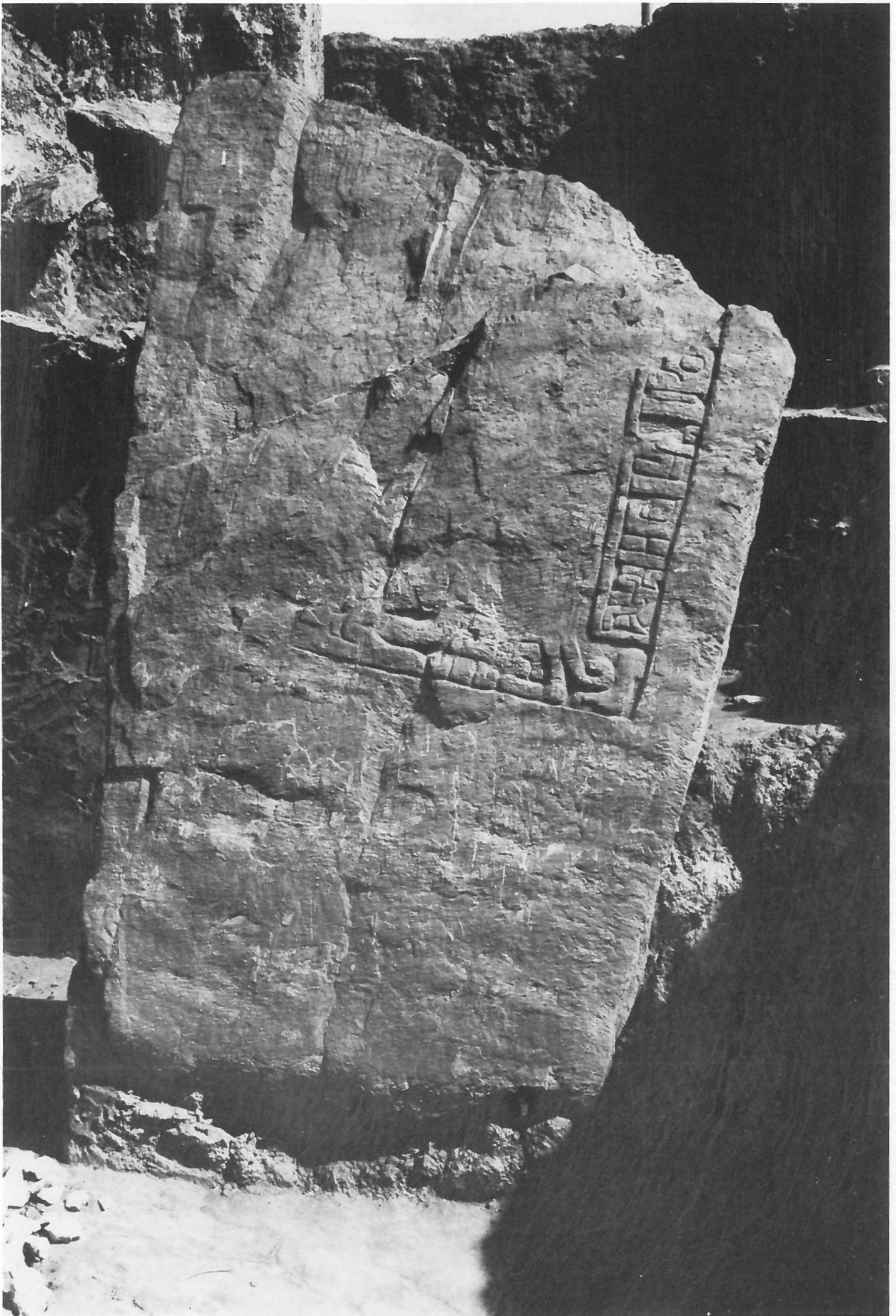
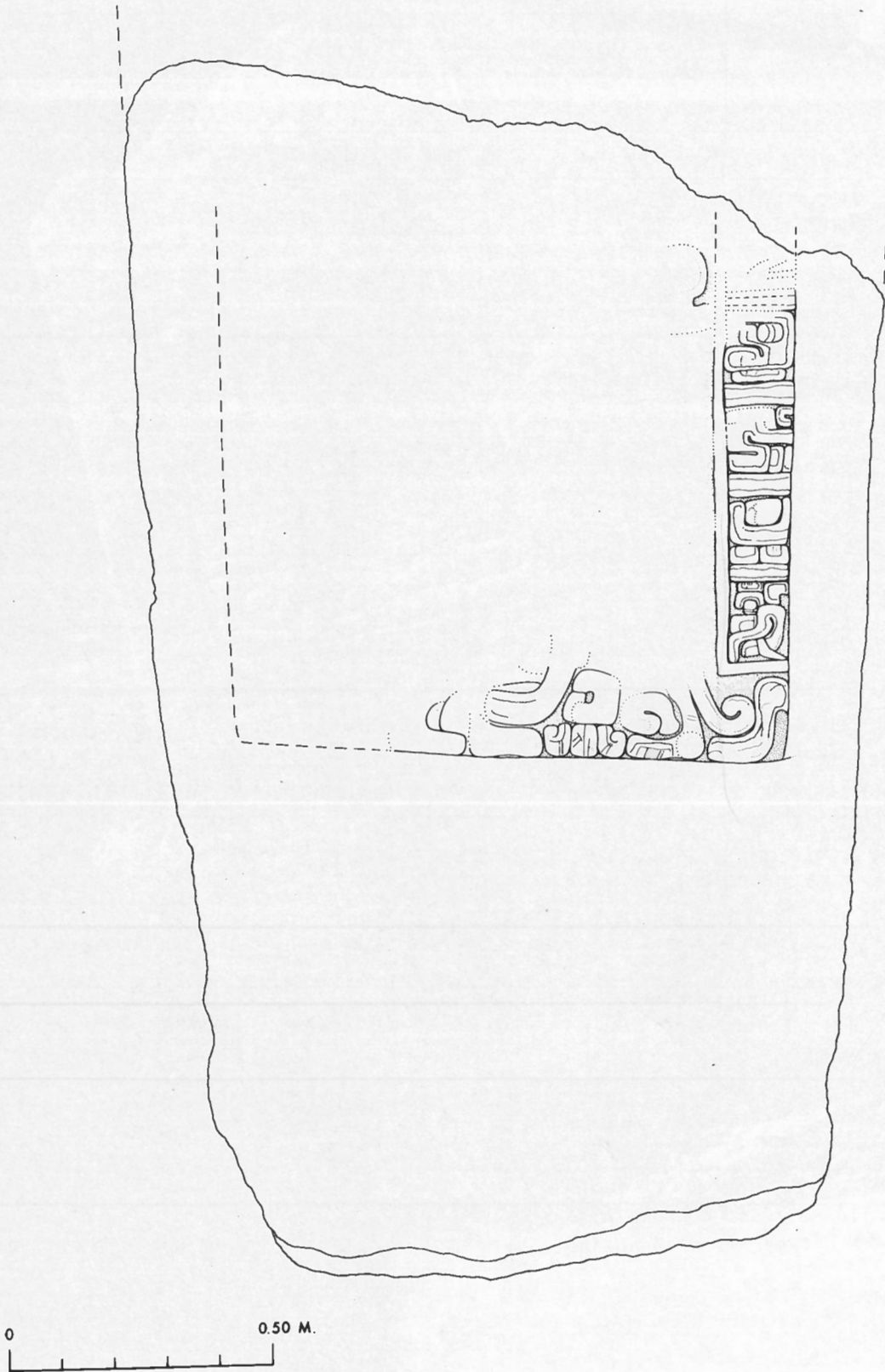


Figure 2. El Porton Monument 1 in situ after excavation in 1972.

Figure 3. Drawing of El Porton Monument 1
(scale 1:10).



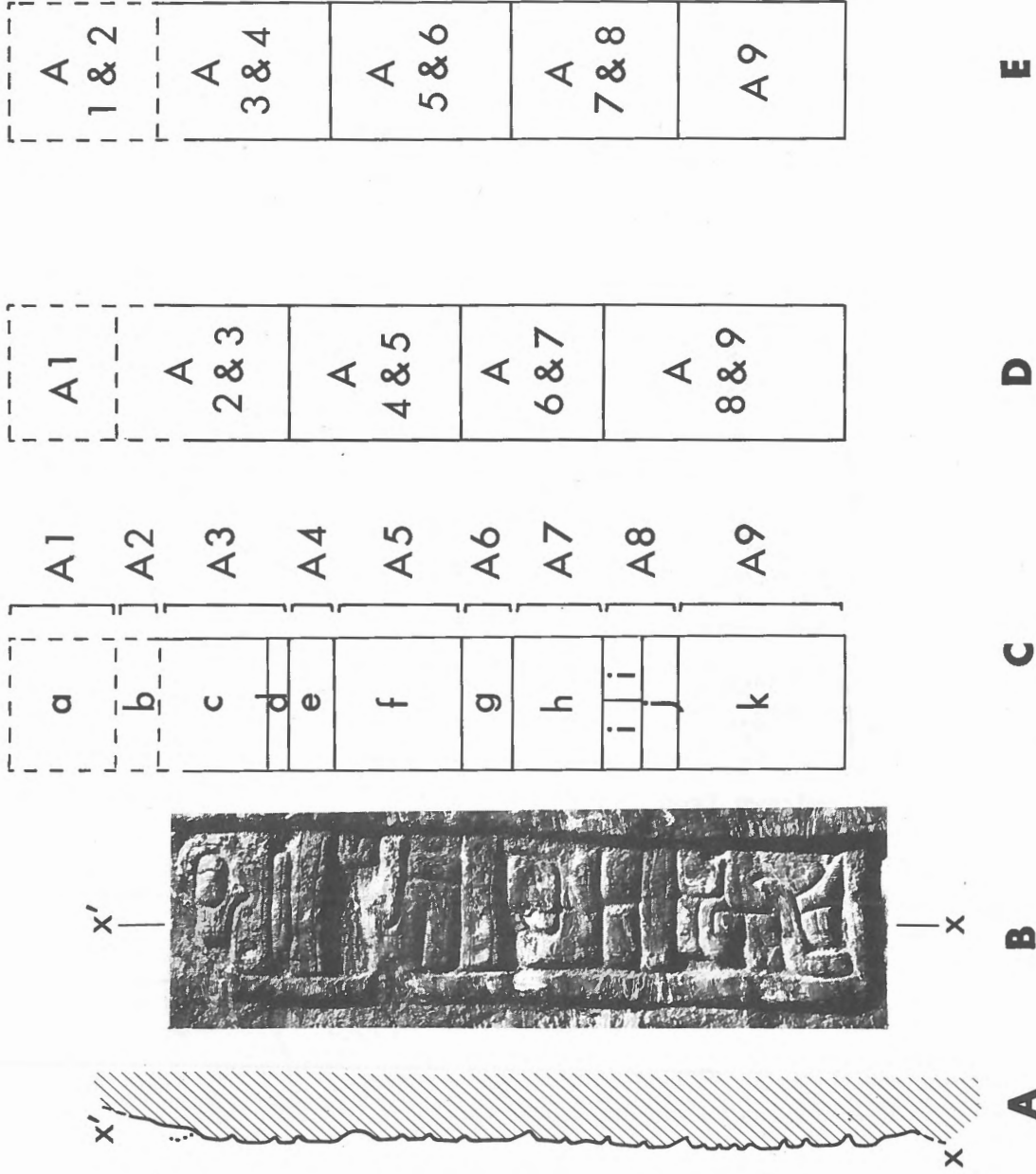


Figure 4. Glyphic text from E1 Porton Monument 1: (A) Section through the glyphic text ($x-x'$); (B) The Glyphic text; (C) Key to elements and Glyphs (see text); (D and E) Glyph blocks representing alternative sequential interpretations (see text).

Figure 5. Elements from El Porton Monument 1 and comparative examples (drawings not to scale).

- a. Glyph A9, El Porton Monument 1.
- b. Design on jade earplug, La Venta, redrawn from Coe (1965, Fig. 30).
- c. Incised motif on figurine, Las Limas, Veracruz, redrawn from Hatch (1971, Fig. 21).
- d. Incised design on figurine, Las Limas, Veracruz, redrawn from Hatch (1971, Fig. 21).
- e. Design engraved on obsidian core, La Venta, redrawn from Lathrap (1971, Fig. 5).
- f. Incised jade earplug, La Venta, redrawn from Coe (1965, Fig. 21).
- g. Design on roller stamp, Tlatilco, redrawn from Coe (1965, Fig. 47).
- h. Glyph-like element from basal portion of El Porton Monument 1.
- i. Incised glyph on jade plaque, provenience unknown, redrawn from Coe (1965, Fig. 22).
- j. Glyph-like element from Figure C. Las Victorias, Chalchuapa, El Salvador, redrawn from Coe (1965, Fig. 5c).

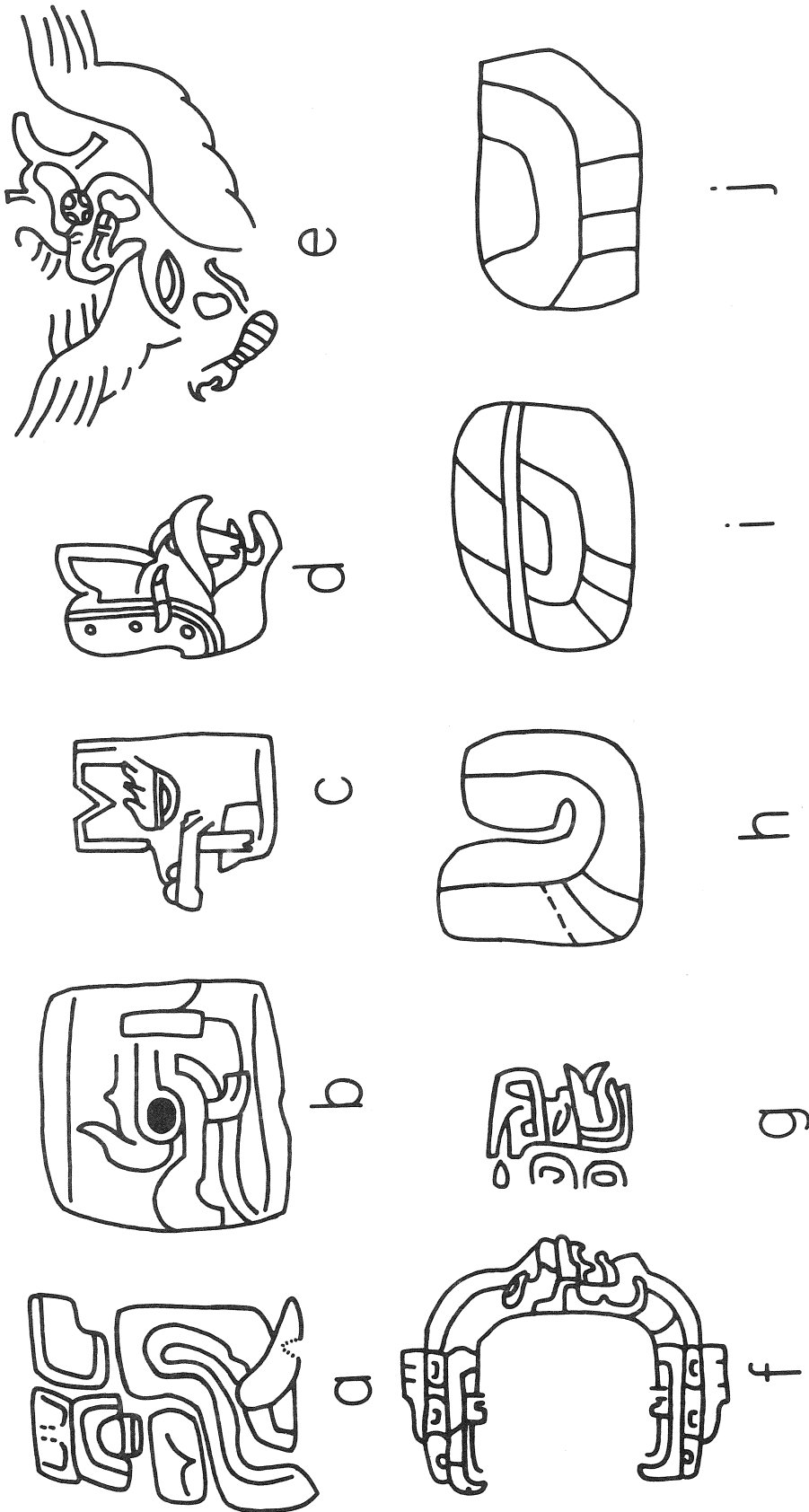


Figure 5.



Figure 6. Pedestal sculpture No. 3 found in association with Monument 1.

XIII. THE DATING OF STELA 4 AT IXTUTZ

John A. Graham

In Contribution 16 of this series I appended a hastily prepared note on the inscription of Stela 4 at Ixtutz to accompany Merle Greene Robertson's account of her discovery and preliminary reconnaissance of that ruin (Robertson 1972). I considered the newly discovered inscription to be of prime importance for many reasons, and it seemed worthwhile therefore to offer a few remarks even if in the briefest preliminary manner. The purpose of the present note is to correct my earlier reading of opening date of the inscription and to expand briefly further interpretation of that date and the chronological position of the text as a whole. I will limit my remarks to these matters and make no effort to treat the inscription as a whole. The passage at B2-A3 will be interpreted by Dr. Dieter Dütting in a paper to be published in the near future; it would be improper for me to discuss his ideas which he has so kindly related to me, and in any case they do not relate directly to the discussion here at hand. For illustration of the text, the reader should refer to Robertson's paper previously cited.

The inscription opens with a very clear CR statement at A1-B1, and there can be no doubt of the reading 12 Ahau 8 te head-variant. Although the month sign is an unusual head-variant, I believe there can be little doubt that it should be read as Pax. Although I indicated in my previous note that this was the preferable reading on the basis of inspection alone, I adopted a more complex hypothesis, seeing a "5 haab lacking" statement included in the construction at block A2 and thus argued for another reading of the month sign which would be in conformity. I should have stuck with the simpler reading and my original preference, for I believe most students will agree that there is minimal doubt that the month sign is indeed Pax. As a matter of fact, although the sign is certainly unusual, a somewhat reminiscent example of Pax occurring on the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs at Palenque has been illustrated by Thompson (1950:Fig.18, 49).¹

Although the general character of a period ending statement still seems very strong for the construction at A2, its precise meaning is not clear to me. The greatly enlarged prefix T 13 would seem to modify the entire construction and has often been regarded as an "ending sign." Together with the "winged-Cauac or haab" portion of the construction, the period ending character is even

¹ As a possibly instructive example of the difficulties of recognizing some signs, it may be worth recording that in the opinion of one colleague, "the Ixtutz month sign is very like" the Palenque example while another colleague points out that the "Ixtutz sign bears no resemblance beyond a single shared element."

more forcefully suggested, although, as we shall see, a simple "end of haab" reading is not entirely satisfactory, being incompatible with the possible Long Count placement of the date. Thompson (1972:38), previously suggesting "hidz" or "expiration" as a reading of prefix T 13, has recently suggested a derivation from the Yucatec root mal, possibly ma ("there is no") or manaan (past participle of "to pass").

The remainder of the construction at A2 may be transcribed as T 68:586b: 121?:130 Horiz. The line of dots in T 586b link the main sign to T 602, generally regarded as a Palenque variant of main sign T 586b, interesting in view of the possible linkage of the month sign also to Palenque. The horizontal placement of the construction is unusual, with a dubious precedent on Copan Stela C, at A10 (Thompson 1962:214), but here in the Ixtutz text this is clearly only a matter of graphic convenience or artistic composition. The reading of suffix T 121 is quite uncertain and follows Thompson in reading the construction on Quirigua Stela J at A17 where the same affix is clearly depicted. The construction, or varying slightly, is often adjacent to a statement containing the winged-Cauac, and the whole is clearly not an unusual explanatory phrase. Decipherment possibilities seem very promising.

If the temptation to read the prefix T 13/winged-Cauac expression as "haab has passed" is pursued, then the Long Count placement of 12 Ahau 8 Pax naturally follows at 9.17.10.0.0. And most interestingly, as Ian Graham has kindly pointed out to me, a T 68:586b construction directly follows the 12 Ahau 8 Pax on Stela 36 at Naranjo, which Morley places also at 9.17.10.0.0 (Morley 1937/38, I:124-125). Nevertheless, there are excellent reasons for believing that this is not the Dedicatory Date of the stela and that the text itself belongs to a later period.

At block A4 of Stela 4 there occurs a clear notation of "Captor of Double Chuen," a nominal phrase which was first recognized as accompanying the name of a lord of Machaquila on several monuments at that ruin (I. Graham 1967). As published by Ian Graham, the reference occurs on Stela 5 (DD 10.0.10.0.0), Stela 6 (DD 10.0.5.0.0) and Stela 7 (DD 10.0.0.0.0). Although the Double Chuen notation at Machaquila characteristically carries cross-hature in distinction to the example on Ixtutz Stela 4, there can surely be no doubt of the identity of the two phrases. In addition to Stela 4, the Double-Chuen notation may also occur at Ixtutz in the text of Temple II.

The Double Chuen notation of Machaquila is actually a "Double Dotted Chuen" and this brings to mind that a Dotted Chuen (T 519) is a prominent name in the texts of several Lower Pasion sites at the close of Cycle 9. The Lower Pasion Dotted Chuen also lacks cross-hature in the examples known to me. Prefix T 44 is characteristically superfixed and the name often bears emblem affixation ("water-Ben/Ich") as well. The Ben/Ich affix has recently been interpreted by Thompson as the "ah" nominal prefix, and there appears to be agreement among several specialists on a generally similar meaning if differing in details. At Seibal on Stela 7,

this nominal phrase follows an inauguration notation at 9.17.0.0.0 with Dedicatory Date at 9.17.10.0.0.0.

Unfortunately, I have access to only very incomplete records of the lower Pasion texts and thus cannot trace fully the occurrence and context of the Dotted Chuen references through the known texts at the various sites. From the incidences known to me at present, the name does not seem to persist beyond the opening of Cycle 10, and thus the references to "Captor of Double Chuen" at Machaquila in the opening katun of Cycle 10 seem significant. Aside from the chronological linkage between Dotted Chuen of the Lower Pasion and Double Dotted Chuen of Machaquila, the relationship seems strongly confirmed by the occurrence of the LP (Laguna Petexbatun or Lower Pasion) emblem at A5 on Ixtutz Stela 4 (see discussion in J. Graham 1972) as well as other characteristic Lower Pasion notations in the Ixtutz texts.

In view of the foregoing discussion, there seems little reason to doubt that the Ixtutz text dates to early Cycle 10. This does not necessarily require that our opening CR date at the putative 9.17.10.0.0 ending be moved later, but, as a matter of fact, a placement one CR period later at 10.0.2.13.0 would indeed be most attractive and in harmony with the "Captor of Double Chuen" notations at Machaquila. I suggest, therefore, that this later placement must be given very strong, if not preferred, consideration. It is unfortunate that the chronological notations toward the end of the text are damaged and thus do not clarify the placement of the initial CR date.²

² For very valuable comments I am most indebted to H. Berlin, I. Graham, B. Riese, and J. E. S. Thompson. Their comments have stimulated any value the present discussion may have.

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XIV. AN UNUSUAL OLMEC FIGURINE*

Robert F. Heizer

Some years ago an acquaintance secured in Taxco, Mexico, the stone figure which is the subject of this note. It is well known that Olmec fakes, often of very high quality, are being made and sold in Mexico, and partly for this reason the authenticity of any specimen not known to have been excavated is suspect. While I cannot say positively that the present specimen is genuine, I am of the opinion that it is an ancient piece.

It is 3.5 inches high and 1.4 inches wide. The material is a very hard dense green stone, identified by Dr. Garniss Curtis of the Geology Department, University of California, Berkeley, as jade. The person represented appears to be a hunchback (Fig. 1), this deformity being otherwise attested in Olmec small sculpture. Typical Olmec features are the following (Fig. 1):

1. The shape of the lips.
2. Drilled straight-walled, round-bottomed pits in the corners of the mouth.
3. Similarly drilled pits to indicate the nostrils.
4. Prominent upper canine teeth.
5. Drilled biconical holes at the bottom of the flange-type ears.
6. Incised "flame eyebrows".
7. Incised lines to indicate fingers and toes.

The eyes are not open, but shut -- this being an unusual feature in Olmec sculpture. The forehead is very subtly modeled and the individual appears to be frowning -- at least one gets this impression from the deep creases running upward and outward from the inner corner of each eye. The nasion is pronounced, as is this feature on some of the colossal Olmec heads.

Olmec figurines are represented in a variety of postures. The simple upright standing position is most characteristic for those few Olmec pieces whose genuineness is indisputable -- i.e. those from the La Venta site. From the

* Reprinted from Southwest Museum Masterkey 46:71-74, 1972.

same site there are several which are seated tailor-fashion.¹

We do not hazard a guess as to its age, but suppose that it may be part of Colonial Olmec culture as defined by Bernal.

When the figurine is set on a flat surface so that the soles of the feet and buttocks are in contact it will not stand by itself but falls over on its back. On first examination this lack of balance seemed puzzling. But when a cord was laid across the lap and run in the grooves across the wrist and tied underneath to the base, the little figure not only sat firmly, but gave the quite realistic appearance of being seated with his arms bound to his lower legs.² Thus, we interpret the figure as a seated and bound hunchbacked individual (prisoner?) who has his eyes closed (or who may be blind or dead?). Figure 1b is an artist's rendering of the binding.

The figure is now in the permanent collection of the Lowie Museum of Anthropology (No. 3-24328).

¹ P. Drucker: La Venta, Tabasco: a Study of Olmec Ceramics and Art. *Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, Bull.153, 1952; P. Drucker, R. F. Heizer and R. Squier: Excavations at La Venta, Tabasco.

² The bound prisoner motif is known in Olmec bas-reliefs and the figure discussed here may be connected with this theme. It occurs on the side of Altar 4 from La Venta. See I. Bernal: *The Olmec World*, Univ. Calif. Press, 1969 (Pl.14).

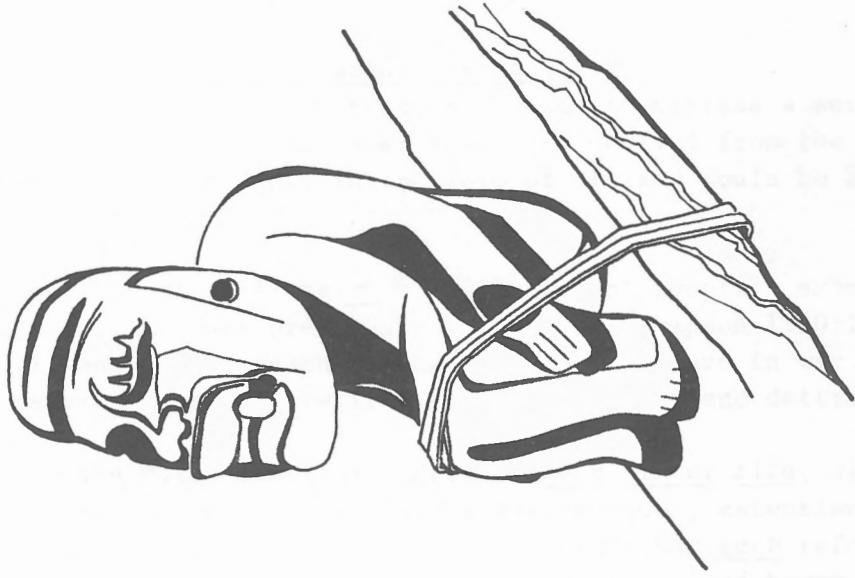


Figure 1. Photograph and artist's rendering of Olmec figurine.

XV. THE MAYA GLYPH FOR CAPTURE OR CONQUEST AND AN ICONOGRAPHIC
REPRESENTATION OF ITZAM NA ON YUCATECAN FACADES

J. Eric S. Thompson

This paper seeks to increase by perhaps a half watt the light we can focus on ways of recording thought within the limitations of Maya systems of writing and iconography.

The *cuch* (601) sign as capture or conquest.

Maya glyphs were frequently used to express a series of homonyms; others were extended to cover metaphors derived from the basic word. If necessary, determinants in the form of affixes could be added in both cases to specify usage.

The range of the *cuch* (601) element supplies examples of metaphorical usages which I have previously discussed (Thompson 1950:267-68; 1958; 1972:153). Here I want to add another usage, that of capture in war or conquest. First, let us review briefly earlier established uses and determinants.

The Motul dictionary defines *cuch*, *inter alia*, as load carried on the back by man or beast (this last a post-conquest extension) and the action of so carrying. It is essential to bear in mind that *cuch* refers to a load on the back carried by tump-line; *koch* (Gl. 19) is a load borne on the shoulders and its verbal equivalent. The two are contrasted in glyphs and pictures, with typical juggling with secondary meanings, in Dresden codex (Thompson 1958).

Another meaning of *cuch*, and one much used in hieroglyphic books and the books of Chilam Balam is that of destiny or fate. The Motul dictionary puts it: *Cuch haab. u cuch haab. cuch u o u cuch katun: los trabajos hambre pestile[n]cias que suceden en esta vida*, failing to state that these are related to periods of time, (*haab*, year; *u*, lunar month; and *katun*, the 20-year period, the basis of so much prophecy). Thus we find in Chilam Balam of Chumayel: *Lay u cuch Ah oxlahun Ahau katun lae*, this is the destiny [Roys (1933:73) translates *cuch* as charge] of the person 13 Ahau katun. As the destiny of the year, we find the *cuch* glyph, followed by auguries, in the New Year pages (25-28) of Dresden codex (translations in Thompson 1972:93).

Cuch, as word and glyph, is used metaphorically for office or position in government (cf. our English 'burden of office'), to govern a town or country, and seat of office (*asiento o estado de principales o el reinado*). Nowadays it denotes an official of a sodality (Pacheco Cruz 1947:99) and his office which is represented by a decorated pole with paper streamers, packs of cigarettes, cloth dolls and bread loaves shaped as eagles (Redfield and Villa 1934:155).

Affixes with the *cuch* glyph act as determinants indicating the sense in which Glyph 601 is used. As burden and its metaphor fate, the *cuch* sign takes

the te, wood (87) prefix, perhaps a reminder of the wooden back carrying-frame still used in the highlands of Guatemala. Glyph 528, the cauac sign, which almost certainly has among its meanings that of god or divine (ku), is often present, underlining that destiny is controlled by gods. On the other hand when the cuch glyph is used to indicate seat of office, the mat sign (614) acts as a determinant, for mat (pop) is a symbol of authority.

There is yet another meaning of cuch which concerns us. In certain compounds it means being defeated in war and, by extension (?) in games, and to be taken prisoner.

Katun, a term for warrior, can be combined with cuch. The Motul dictionary has the entry, Cuch katun, to be defeated or dead in war; the Pío Pérez dictionary defines the phrase as conquered, prisoner of war, captive. Chimal, shield, is similarly used. According to the Motul dictionary cuch chimal is to be defeated in battle or in a dispute, to surrender, to lose heart like a cowardly soldier who flees. In the Chilam Balam of Chumayel, max, another term for shield, is combined with cuch, presumably with the same meaning. Roys (1933:154) suggests that the metaphor is to carry your shield on your back because thus the fleeing man protects himself. Unfortunately, that explanation does not account for the cuch katun combination. Moreover, cuchbul, to lose in a game (bul is any game including Spanish-introduced playing cards) will not stand up to such an interpretation. The meaning of cuch which here applies can be found in the terms cuch keyah, cuch yamab, cuch pak pah, all of which mean inability to defend oneself from various forms of false testimony etc. Accordingly, cuch katun is one unable to defend himself in war, that is he is captured or flees defeated; cuch chimal or cuch max is one whose shield does not defend him, and the same idea is implicit in cuch bul, inability to stave off defeat. In that connection one must bear in mind that defeat in the ball game might mean being sacrificed, and in war a captured person of rank was sacrificed.

Baczah also appears in the Motul dictionary with the meaning to capture a prisoner of war or to despoil one who has been captured or has surrendered. The Maya scribe used the terms for which he had glyphs, and as he had the cuch glyph to express this idea of victory, in Maya eyes something which involved taking your enemy prisoner, he would have employed that rather than inventing one to express the alternative term baczah.

On monuments of the Classic period, notably those of Piedras Negras and Yaxchilan, are clauses, the glyphs of which Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1960) with great perspicacity identified as the name of the ruler, one which she established as capture, and others as name glyphs of notable enemies captured. The peculiar outline of the capture glyph is similar to that of the irregularly shaped cuch sign. Moreover, the te affix, found with cuch when used to represent burden or fate, is also prefixed in the same unusual way as though projecting from the frontal elongation of the glyph. The verbal

affixes 25 and 181 are also present. Nevertheless, the two divergent lines which characterize cuch glyphs in the codices are replaced by what might be an enlarged form of the jade (Muluc) sign found in the codices only as a small detail at the bottom of the sign.

Proskouriakoff (1960:470) refers to its being similar to our cuch glyph, and notes that Knorozov has read this as chuc, to seize (actually chucah with his interpretation of affixes 25 and 181), giving the impression that she accepts that reading of her natal compatriot.

In fact, Knorozov (1955:92; 1958:471) who allows himself extremes of latitude in his decipherments (for instance, c, ch and ch' and u and a are interchangeable in the readings in question) has read the main element 601 as chuc, ch'a, and, combined with Gl. 528 (his cu), cuch.

In view of what has been written above about the meanings of cuch in connection with defeat, inability to defend oneself and being taken prisoner, it is surely correct to read this main element on the monuments as cuch. Thereby, a new use of cuch in Maya writing has been established, and the use of the word has been carried back to the Classic period. This is to be expected, for it appears with its primary meaning of burden in Palencano Chol, Manche Chol, Putun, Mopan, Tzeltal, and Tzotzil. Maya warfare was no more when those vocabularies were made.

Presumably cuch should be read in the more restricted sense of capture, an interpretation which the iconography of the monuments supports. However, as noted, defeat or capture of the enemy were probably synonyms, as the meanings assigned to cuch katun imply. Affixes 25 and 181 convert this into a verb.

The rebus of Itzam Na on Yucatec buildings.

The demarcation line between iconographic symbolism and writing is faint at times, faint enough at least for Olmec enthusiasts to leap over it and proclaim as writing what in other cultures would pass as depiction of attributes on body or clothing, a claim which could embrace everything from painted teepees to mediaeval heraldry. Below is discussed a rebus rather in the class of the fish in Christian iconography.

Naturalistic treatment is rare in Maya art. It appears occasionally in the background to records of historical events, notably in the secular murals of Chichen Itza. Accordingly, naturalistic representations of huts on the facades of Puuc buildings should make us prick up our ears, especially since they occur with non-naturalistic devices.

A common facade decoration in Yucatan consists of masks of long-nosed monsters at each corner joined by areas of lattice work. It was, I think, Cirerol Sansores (1943) who first proposed that this lattice pattern represented the interlaced bodies of serpents. I have advanced a slight modification of that theory, namely that the masks represent heads of Itzams, four of

which set at the four sides of the world and the heavens form a house, na in Yucatec, which encloses our world, hence Itzam Na, House of the Itzams (Itzam being an iguana); and that the lattice work represents their scaled bodies (Thompson 1954:73; 1970:215). Lattice work decorates the bodies of Itzams set tail to tail in the art of the Central area (e.g. on the Itzam supporting the "shield" of the Temple of the Sun, Palenque), and with particular frequency when the Itzam Na functions as a ceremonial bar. Often the X design is decorated with small grains, presumably of maize, indicating one supposes, the fertility aspect of Itzam Na.

On both facades of the south building of the Monjas, Uxmal, masks of Itzam appear above realistic models of thatched huts (na). There are four of these on each side of the portal. I see no reason not to read the two elements together as a rebus for Itzam Na; any other explanation must account for these naturalistic representations of huts in settings which are clearly religious.

Each hut is set against a background of lattice work which, in turn, is flanked on either side by a section of facade undecorated except for a design of three tied poles set vertically in the center of each. The tied-pole design is, of course, very common in Puuc art and has been generally accepted as representing sections of the pole walls of a typical Maya hut. Itzam masks do not appear at the corners of the building. Here, I think, we have an example of the Maya predilection for the pars pro toto method of presentation: the lattice work representing the Itzam, just as short headless bands of celestial monsters represent the sky, that is the Itzams, in the codices; the tied poles standing for the hut, the na.

Thus, vertically, mask over hut is a straight-forward representation of Itzam Na; horizontally, the same name is spelled out by the pars pro toto method.

On one facade of the gateway of Labna huts are again set against a lattice background. Itzam masks are not above the huts, but are at the corners (one now lost). The whole design again reads Itzam Na, but horizontally, on either side of the archway.

In the palace at Labna masks of Itzam are above doorways flanked by the tied-pole motif and at the corners other Itzam masks are above a group of three tied poles. Here again the pars pro toto motif obtains: Itzam's head standing for the creature; the poles for na. The same combination appears in the palace, Sayil, but there the designs are not geared to the doorways.

Huts are on the facade of the palace, Chacmultun, but there flanked by the tied-pole motif. The corners of the building are fallen, but it is a fair guess that they once carried Itzam masks for the upper and lower moldings of the facades are decorated with guilloche patterns which surely represent the entwined bodies of snakes (Itzams often have strong ophidian characteristics). So again, but here with less confidence, we can say that the Itzam Na rebus is displayed.

The Itzam Na rebus on structures is not unique; there were ubiquitous feathered serpents throughout Middle America. Any good Maya knew Itzam Na was worth a dozen feathered serpents, so perhaps we have a sort of New World Cross versus Crescent.

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