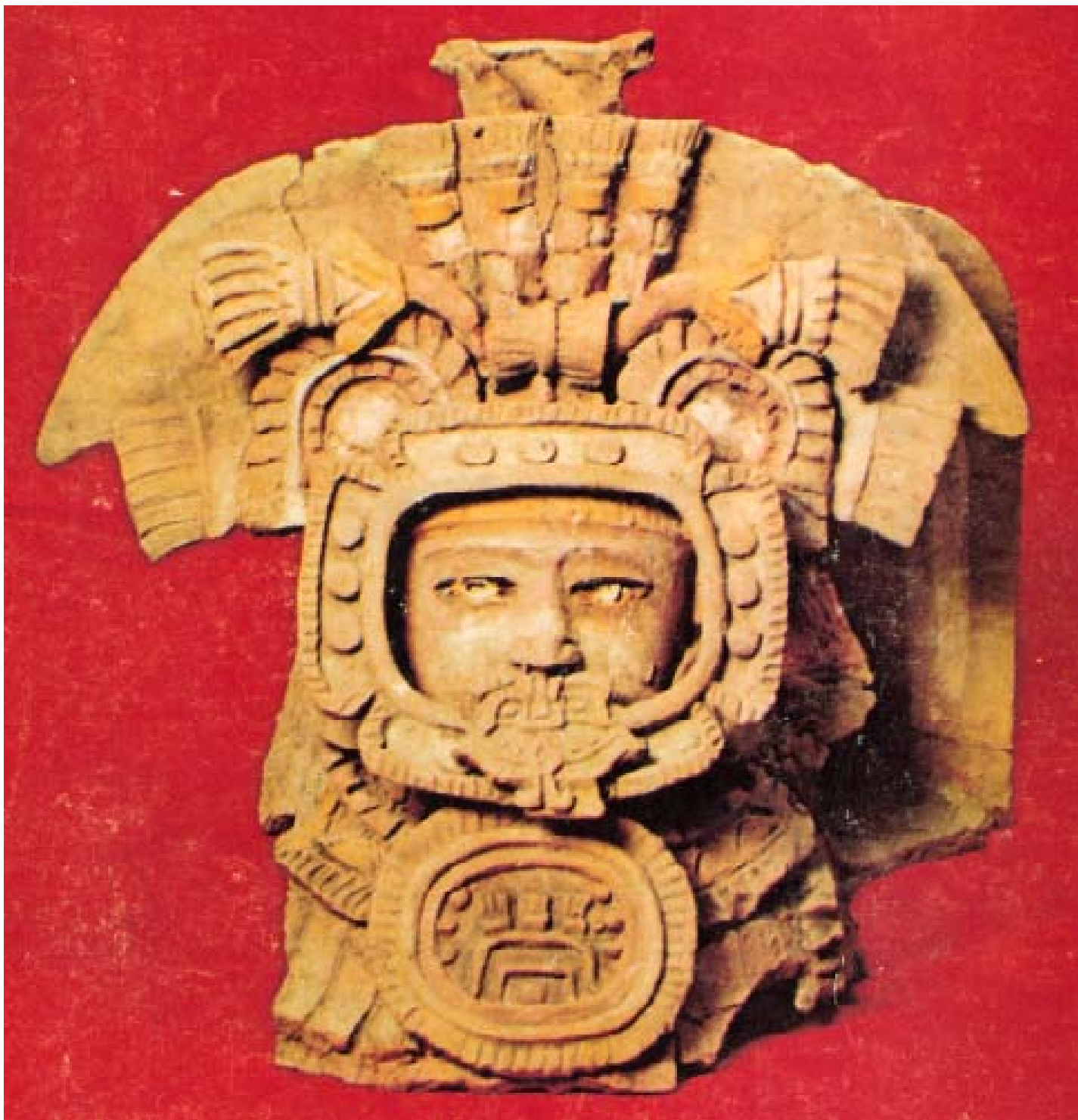


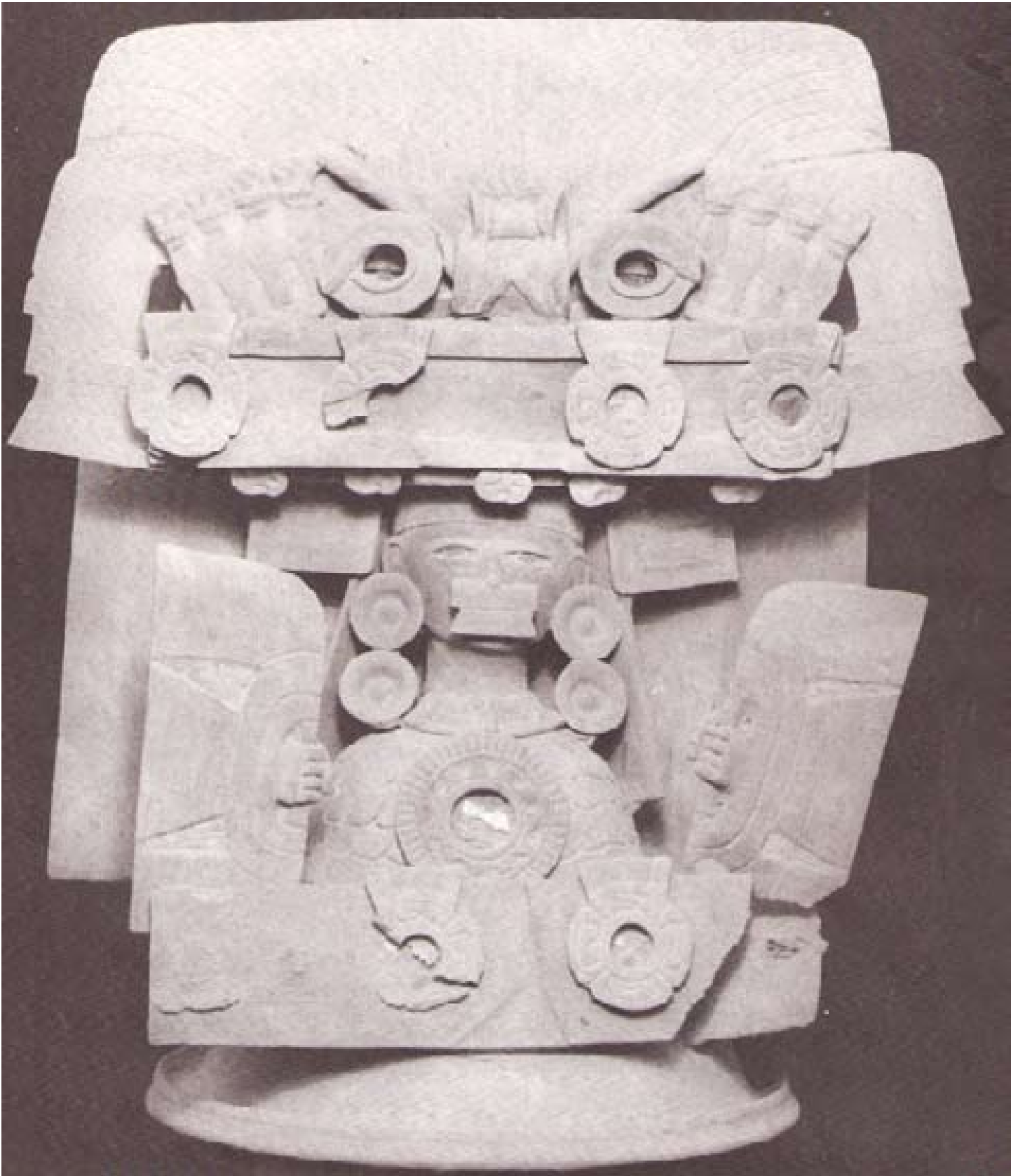
**Nicholas M. Hellmuth**  
*THE ESCUINTLA HOARDS*  
*TEOTIHUACAN ART IN GUATEMALA*

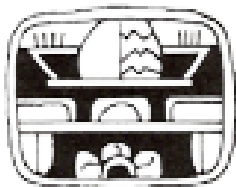


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F.L.A.A.R. PROGRESS REPORTS





**F.L.A.A.R.**

Volume 1 Number 2  
June 1975

# ***PROGRESS REPORTS***

on Research Projects sponsored by the  
**FOUNDATION FOR LATIN AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH**

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by **NICHOLAS M. HELLMUTH**

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Frank E. Comparato / Managing Editor, F.L.A.A.R. Publications Program

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The Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research, Inc. (F.L.A.A.R.) was established in 1969 to engage in library and field research in Latin American anthropology and in the publication and application of the results thereof for the instruction and benefit of the public on a non-discriminatory basis. F.L.A.A.R. is a non-profit institution incorporated in the State of Rhode Island and is registered with the United States Internal Revenue Service.

DIRECTOR: Nicholas M. Hellmuth

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Plate I. Enlarged view of tripod support (detached), Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod, private collection. Typical Teotihuacan combination of death image (left) blending with life image (right) to form a composite frontal face.

#### COVER ILLUSTRATIONS

(Front cover) Ornatly adorned Tiquisate-region Teotihuacan-related incensario lid, 6th-7th century AD, Jorge Castillo collection, Guatemala City. Teotihuacan Reptile Eye glyph in a shield or medallion on the chest is so frequently encountered in both Central Mexico and provincial capitals, it seems almost an emblem of Teotihuacan. The arms, broken off, probably held war implements, because associated ball-and-diamond spear-end symbols appear in the headdress.

The face is surrounded by four-petaled flowers. From the nose hangs a butterfly, instead of the more common tablero-talud plaque. One rare example of Tiquisate incensario lid (not shown) combines the tablero-talud motif inside a butterfly plaque. The eyes were once iron pyrite gold or shiny mica. The headdress has bird or butterfly eyes surmounted by a full set of lateral butterfly antennae, and a coiled frontal feeler in the center. Behind the four vertical spear-end symbols rises the chimney.

(Inside front cover) Teotihuacanoid Tiquisate-region incensario lid, private collection. This rare type has twin earplugs filling the space of an unusually long neck, and feathered body clothing. Unidentified objects held in the hands remind one of Olmec "knuckle dusters." In the headdress are the usual butterfly antennae and on each side a set of four ball-and-diamond spear-end symbols.

(Inside back cover) Unusually ornate Tiquisate-region incensario lid, 6th-7th century AD, private collection. Each hand grasps a dart bundle holder from which protrude three spear ends. The same symbol of Teotihuacan's armed might appears in a row of about twelve spear-end symbols in the headdress, under the usual butterfly antennae.

(Outside back cover) Female figurine incensario lid (hourglass base not shown), Tiquisate region, 6th-8th century AD, Jorge Castillo collection, Guatemala City. Such female effigies are large versions of smaller figurines (not illustrated). No exact prototypes of female figurine incensario lids exist in the known art of Teotihuacan, Veracruz, or Monte Alban.



Plate 2. Teotihuacan, Central Mexico, incense burner lid, 6th-7th century AD, Denver Art Museum. Ears of maize in headdress, eight ball-diamond tasseled spear-end war symbols on forehead band, and other Mexican images may be seen.

# ***THE ESCUINTLA HOARDS***

## ***TEOTIHUACAN ART IN GUATEMALA***

by

NICHOLAS M. HELLMUTH

Part I

TEOTIHUACAN CERAMIC ART OF TIQUISATE REGION, GUATEMALA

ABSTRACT In 1969 farm tractors plowing the fields in the Tiquisate region, Escuintla, Guatemala, unearthed evidence of tombs and cache offerings containing a total of 1000 whole ceramic objects of art--most in a style related to Teotihuacan, 900 miles north by trail in Central Mexico. The unexpected discovery of these Escuintla hoards at last allows archaeologists to evaluate the nature and degree of Teotihuacan domination of the Pacific coast of Central America. More importantly, we must now realize that Tikal, Uaxactun, Yaxha, Tres Islas, and other remote El Peten Maya sites learned of Teotihuacan culture not directly from Teotihuacan, but indirectly from its provincial outposts at Kaminal Juyu and coastal Escuintla. The results of six years of photography and research by the Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research on Teotihuacan influence on the pre-Columbian art of Guatemala are described.

One thousand five hundred years ago the Classic urban center of Teotihuacan, Central Mexico, was one of the ten largest cities of the ancient world. Teotihuacan had a population, according to R. Millon, estimated at three times the size of any contemporaneous city in Mesoamerica. Between the 3rd and 7th centuries AD Teotihuacan art, religion, and culture spread throughout all of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador--even as far south as Costa Rica in distant tropical Central America, where Teotihuacan merchants journeyed to obtain precious blue jade. Control of such trade throughout Mesoamerica enriched the capital city, as did exploitation of mines of rare green obsidian near Pachuca, Hidalgo, Mexico; in numerous workshops tools were fashioned from this volcanic glass and traded to distant cities such as Altun Ha, Belize, and Tikal, Guatemala. Teotihuacan craftsmen also perfected mass production by using molds to cast clay pottery and idols.

The Teotihuacanos explored other compelling areas as well: they played a game by hitting a bouncing rubber ball with a stick--a popular pastime portrayed on murals in the city. Ironically, although the mercantile capital of all Mesoamerica, Teotihuacan developed no writing system more complex than pictographs; for taxation and commerce Teotihuacan merchants possibly utilized the Mayan bar-and-dot hieroglyphic numerical system they learned while trading in Guatemala.

Some form of elite priesthood and warrior class held substantial power. Wealth and resulting social position were undoubtedly enhanced by concessions from long-distance traders with Central America and manufacturers in the capital city. Although mass warfare was not common in Mesoamerica until the advent of their successors, the bloody 10th-century Toltecs, Teotihuacan military potential is documented by increasingly frequent discoveries of mural and pottery paintings of warrior chiefs and soldiers carrying war darts, shields, and a special Teotihuacan invention, the spear thrower (atlatl). Teotihuacan soldiers evolved a special uniform and insignia, which they introduced into Maya regions. As late

as the 8th century Maya warriors (shown on Piedras Negras Lintel 2) still used Teotihuacan military accoutrements introduced three centuries before. The extent of Teotihuacan militarism in the capital city and the use of military forces in its southward expansion into Guatemala are in part the subject of this issue.

Whereas the art and archaeology of the Mexican capital have been the object of numerous scientific expeditions and the subject of scores of books and reports, no sustained project has endeavored to tackle the complicated problems of Teotihuacan expansion throughout the ancient New World. Ignacio Bernal long ago deduced that the Teotihuacanos may have developed a rudimentary empire. The recent discovery of Teotihuacan artifacts in coastal Guatemala now suggests the accuracy of Bernal's early judgment. Information presented in this report, based on six years of field work and laboratory analysis of hundreds of complete ceramics, will now require reassessment of certain features of Teotihuacan religion and state organization, in particular, with the expansion of the Teotihuacan state southward. In essence, traces of a lost empire are being revealed.

Fully 900 years before the rise of the Inca empire in South America and 800 years before the beginnings of the Aztec empire in Mexico, the Teotihuacans established hegemony over most of civilized Mesoamerica. The extent of their geographical control, the nature of their southern domination, and the lasting results on Pre-Columbian culture are matters archaeologists must next investigate.

#### TEOTIHUACAN IMPERIALISTIC EXPANSION SOUTHWARD

During the 3rd through 7th centuries AD Teotihuacan maintained communication with the rest of civilized middle America as far south as Costa Rica. A cache of Pachuca, Central Mexican green obsidian and early Teotihuacan-related pottery at the faraway Maya site of Altun Ha, Belize, documents contact between the Maya and Teotihuacan as early as the 3rd century. Conversely, Jacinto Quirarte has recorded the presence of Maya-related pottery at Teotihuacan, indicating international trade at that time in both directions.

During the 1940's Carnegie Institution of Washington archaeologists uncovered stucco-painted pottery and pyrite mosaic slate mirrors at Kaminal Juyu, Guatemala City, decorated in a style identical to that of distant Teotihuacan. A. V. Kidder, J. Jennings, and E. Shook concluded that Kaminal Juyu was strongly influenced--probably actually controlled--by the Teotihuacan capital.

During the past six years Pennsylvania State University archaeologists have found further evidence of Teotihuacan tablero-talud temple platform architecture elsewhere in the Guatemala valley. At Lake Amatitlan, about 10 miles from Kaminal Juyu, underwater archaeology by Dr. Guillermo Mata has uncovered evidence there of a Teotihuacan-related religious cult in the 6th century. Mata and archaeologist Stephen de Borhegyi have published numerous Teotihuacanoid Lake Amatitlan hourglass incensario bases. The shapes and decorations of Teotihuacan pottery are so different from the ceramics of other Mesoamerican peoples that archaeologists can easily recognize it wherever it appears.

In the 1960's Shook again discovered cylinder tripod diagnostic pottery of Teotihuacan style--this time deep in El Peten, Guatemala, rainforests. University of Pennsylvania archaeologists uncovered portraits of several Teotihuacan deities, including ring-eyed Tlaloc, the principal god of the Teotihuacan world. Several years later Ian Graham, Harvard University, located a stela at El Zapote, El Peten, with a square Mexican hieroglyph cartouche surmounted by a Teotihuacan trapiziform "years sign."

The long count hieroglyphic date (435 AD) of the Zapote stela indicates early contact between the lowland Peten-region Maya and Teotihuacan culture. Ian Graham subsequently prepared drawings of Yaxha Stela 11 which revealed this 5th-century sculpture to portray a goggle-eyed Teotihuacan war deity brandishing a spear and rectangular Teotihuacan fringed



shield. (Esther Pasztory recently shows, in a Dumbarton Oaks publication, that ringed-eye deities with weapons, although originally dubbed "Tlalocs" on the basis of their frog-like eyes, are not the peaceful rain god, but a quite different one of military prowess; ringed eyes are not diagnostic solely of Tlaloc, but are now recognized as a generic trait of several gods.) Ian Graham also recorded three carved Maya stelae from the site of Tres Islas, El Peten, all of which depict a Teotihuacan warrior--in one case outfitted like Tikal Stela 31, with Mexican military costume including special helmet and war darts.

Taken together, this evidence--plus the war chief of Uaxactun Stela 5 wearing a complete provincial Teotihuacan uniform, with atlatl--when added to the more frequently published pictorial representations of Teotihuacanoid warriors and deities (Tikal Stelae 4, 18, 31, 32; facade sculpture of Central Acropolis near Structure 46; and painted Tikal pottery) provide documentation of substantial Teotihuacan influence on Maya religion and sociopolitical organization. We may conclude that major Maya cities such as Tikal, Uaxactun, Yaxha, and also Copan, Piedras Negras, Yaxchilan, Becan, and Yaxhuna, maintained some form of mercantile, cultural, military, and diplomatic contact with either distant Teotihuacan or more likely with provincial Teotihuacan outposts such as Kaminal Juyu.

This historical relationship should significantly have influenced the course of development of both Teotihuacan and the Maya realm. In order to understand better the nature and degree of interrelationship between the two greatest pre-Columbian civilizations of ancient Mesoamerica, several questions must be answered. What brought the two distant cultures together across a formidable expanse of mountains, rivers, and great tropical forests, and what lasting changes resulted from the three centuries of contact between the two peoples?

#### TEOTIHUACAN INFLUENCE ON THE CLASSIC MAYA

George Kubler, a specialist in the iconography of Teotihuacan, undertook a multifaceted research program to explore these questions through analysis of the art of Tikal. He formed a research team, sponsored by the Department of History of Art, Yale University, and financed by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, to utilize paintings on Maya pottery and carvings on Tikal stelae and altars as documents of ancient Maya history. This sculpture and painting are vast reservoirs of 3rd-9th century Tikal Maya way of life.

Professor Kubler invited other art historians and one archaeologist to assist in detailed analysis of different aspects of Tikal art, such as that associated with architecture, graffiti, stela iconography, stone "altar" function, and so forth. Professor Kubler asked me to analyze Teotihuacan influence on the art of Tikal, since I had begun a study of this topic during a Harvard University seminar.

This subject required an understanding of the content of sculpture and painting at Teotihuacan, familiarity with Maya art in its pure form prior to adulteration by foreign motifs, analysis of the hybrid Maya-provincial Teotihuacan art which became popular during the 5th-7th centuries, and finally, studies of continued Maya employment of foreign designs after Teotihuacan was destroyed and abandoned (700-750 AD).

Prior to approaching a program of this scope, I felt it necessary to initiate some background research--to start at the beginning by gathering data on Teotihuacan iconography just prior to the centuries of contact between the two distant civilizations. The preliminary results of this inquiry are presented here.

#### DISCOVERY OF THE ESCUINTLA HOARDS

Unless they journeyed partially by water, the Teotihuacanos did not easily travel the 1000 miles from their capital into the remote El Peten rainforest of Central America. Evidence of Teotihuacan expansion had to exist for intermediary outposts, between Central Mexico

and Tikal, which would delineate phases of southward movement. The search for such waystations led unexpectedly to the discovery of the Tiquisate Escuintla hoards, the largest concentration of Teotihuacan-related pottery yet found in Mesoamerica outside of Central Mexico itself. Artifacts were unearthed by tractors plowing over an unknown, unnamed century site on the coastal plain of Guatemala, about 50 miles from the Pacific Ocean.\*

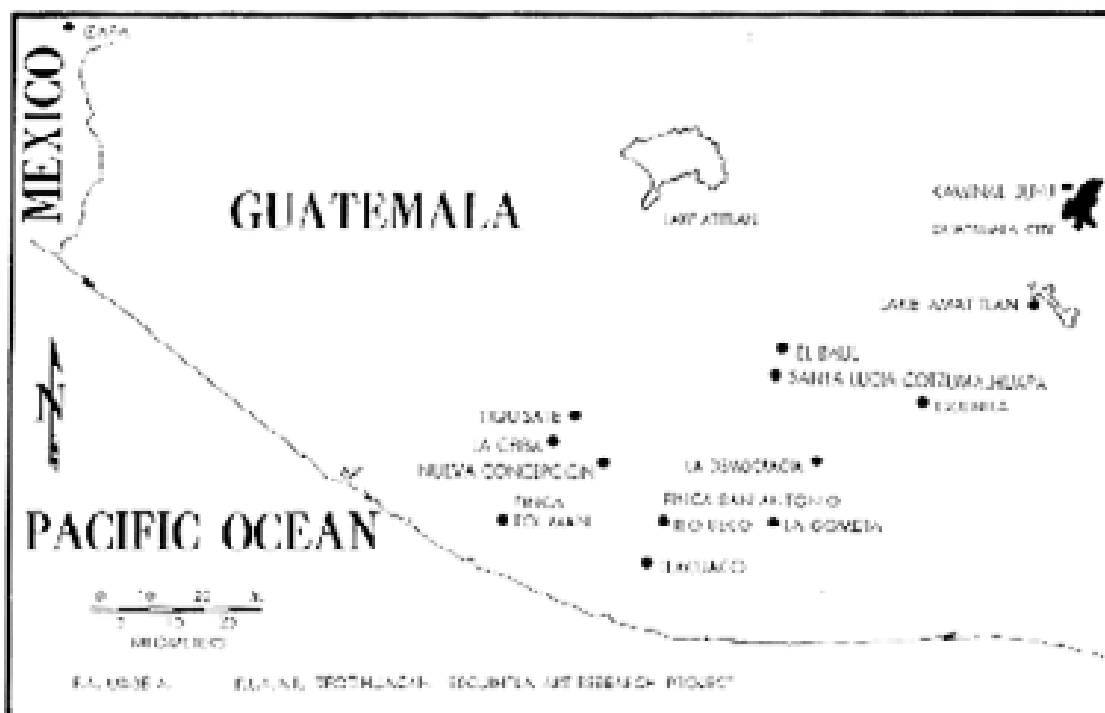
This issue of F.L.A.A.R. PROGRESS REPORTS highlights the accomplishments of the Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research over the past six years. A sample of the Escuintla hoards is illustrated in large format, and the subject of Teotihuacan influence the Peten is introduced. Final pages present the problem of accounting for a sudden resurgence of Maya use of Teotihuacan motifs in the 8th-9th centuries, long after the capital city had been buried to the ground and abandoned.

This issue nevertheless provides factual data in the form of photographs of important archaeological material not previously published. Illustrations here serve to demonstrate the Foundation's long-range photographic archive project. Through the early publication of such raw materials (featuring large format and complete ceramic roll-outs, where possible), the Foundation hopes to bring recent research to the attention of students and scholars at the earliest moment. Donations from private individuals and corporations have made this possible.

The Escuintla hoards represent an important part of the pre-Columbian cultural heritage Guatemala. The work reported here was made possible by a grant from the National Science Foundation; analysis of the material was aided in part by a grant for the general study Teotihuacan influence on the art of Tikal financed by the National Endowment for the Humanities, through the Department of History of Art, Yale University. The discovery of Escuintla hoards allows us to understand more clearly the route of diffusion of Mexican culture into the Tikal Peten Maya heartland. To Professor George Kubler I owe my appreciation for financial and professional assistance during the years I worked with Teotihuacan-related materials.

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\*Escuintla is a department (state) of Guatemala; the departmental capital has the same name. Here, and throughout this report, "Escuintla" refers not to the capital but solely to the coastal half of the department from Tiquisate to the Pacific Ocean.



## Section A

### CYLINDER TRIPODS ILLUSTRATING WARRIORS AND THE BALLGAME

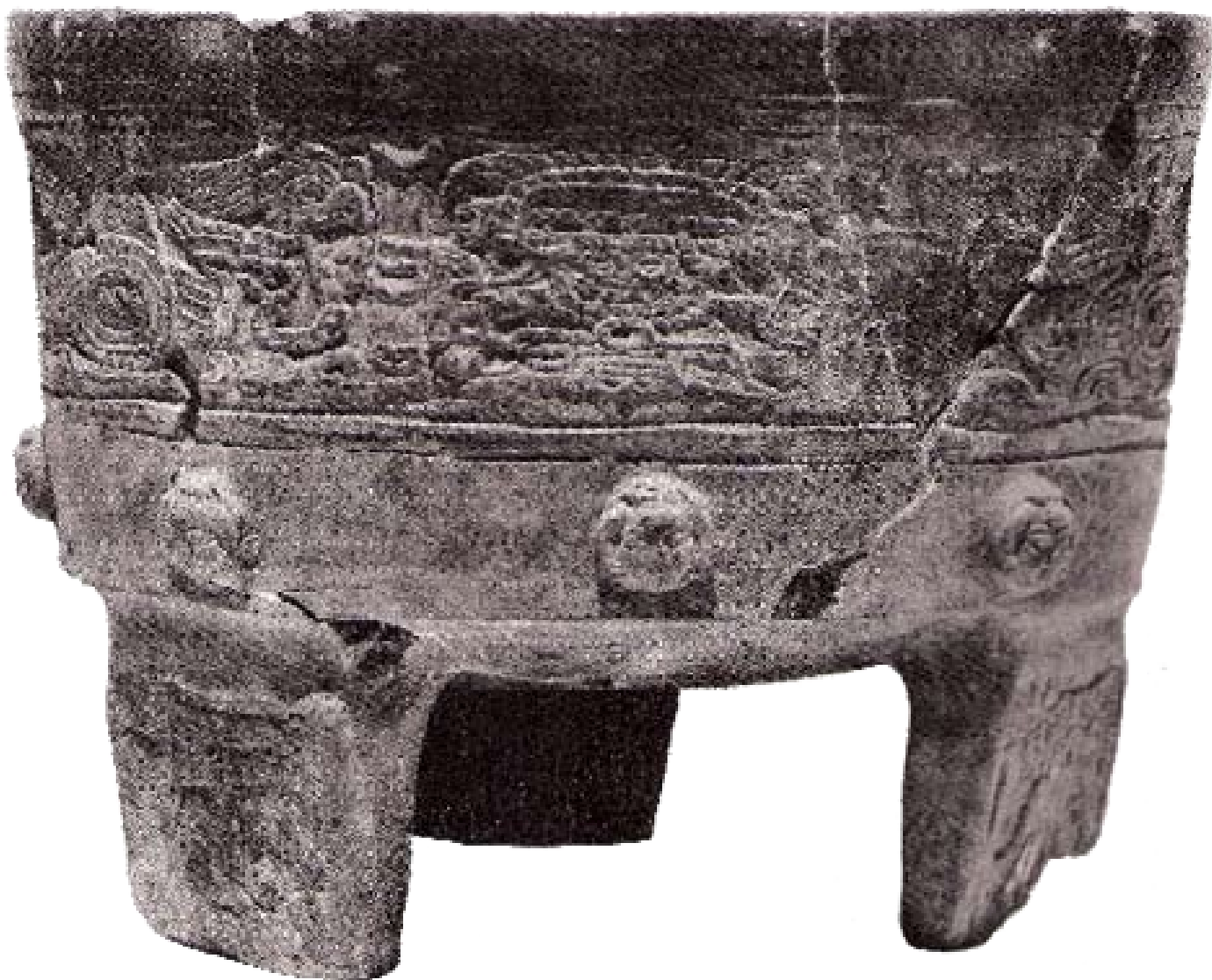
#### THE TIQUISATE REGION

J. Eric S. Thompson found a few Teotihuacan-related ceramic artifacts during his field reconnaissance in the Cotzumalhuapa region of the Department of Escuintla, Guatemala. Edwin Shook similarly uncovered scattered evidence of foreign art there over the past ten years. Field work by Carnegie Institution of Washington and other archaeologists unearthed remains of cylinder tripods throughout the Tiquisate region.\* At no time, however, was there--any indication of the quantities of Teotihuacan-related material which began to emerge in 1969. By 1973 it was apparent that a discovery of major historical importance had been made. Three years of photography followed by three years of analysis have allowed the Foundation to present here an introduction to the Escuintla hoards.

Plowing for sugar and cotton cultivation turned up the first part of the treasure. Owners of fincas (farms or plantations) use bulldozers to level terrain irregularities (like hillocks and mounds) on their valuable agricultural land. Farm workers soon saw the equipment churning up beautiful specimens of pre-Columbian art. Edwin Shook initiated salvage recording at one such finca, San Antonio Rio Seco: his notes contain important information on the depositional situation of caches of Teotihuacan incensarios and related pottery. The government's Instituto de Antropologia e Historia was notified of the situation.

Pages which follow present illustrations of a small portion of artistically and archaeologically important examples, discovered at several sites between Tiquisate and the Pacific coast. The Foundation hopes in this way to alert the professional community to the need for mapping and recording the sites involved. Before everything is leveled away--as at Kaminal Juyu--it is imperative that local authorities exercise their responsibility to protect the pre-Columbian culture of this little-known region. Professional reconnaissance and controlled stratigraphic excavation should be programed; impressive material is available for considerable doctoral dissertaion fieldwork.

\*See Kidder, 1943: Figs. 90v, 90w, 91j, 91k; Kidder, 1954: Figs. 19a-h; Smith, 1955b: Figs. 1h, 1i; Tozzer, 1957: Fig. 489; Shook, 1965: Figs. 2b-f; Parsons, 1967-69, Vol. 1: Plates 14b, 16f-g; Thompson, 1948: Figs. 26e, 27e-f, 46e.



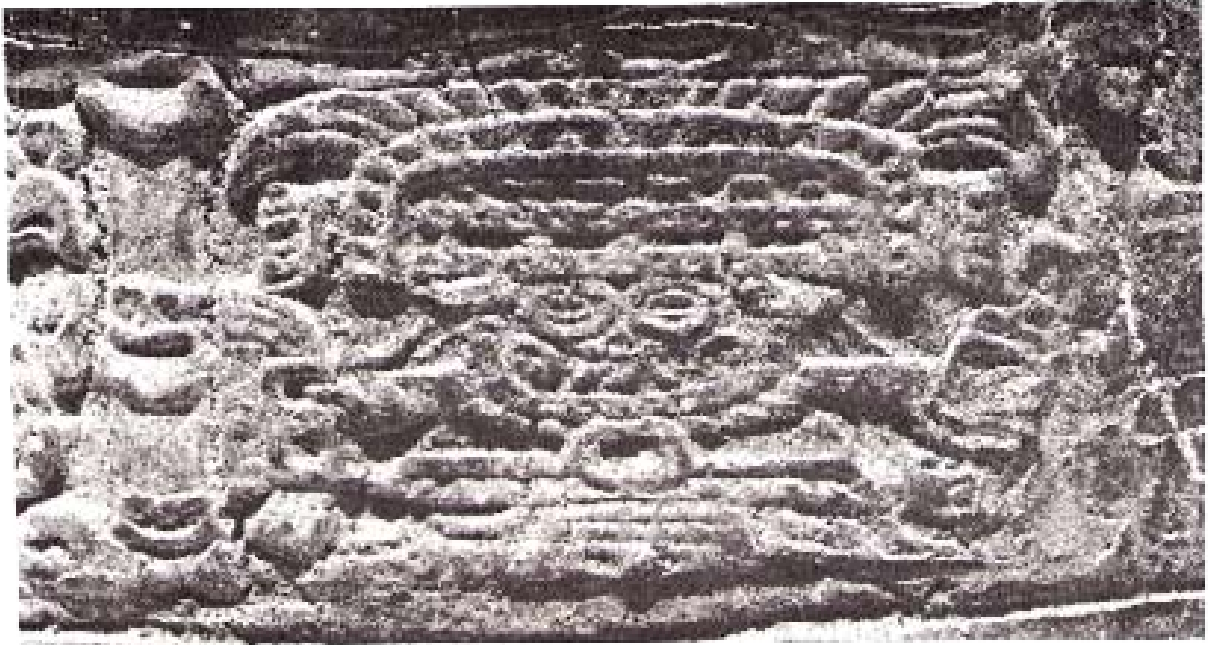
A

Plate 3A. Large cylinder tripod with mold-impressed repeat design, Tiquisate region, Escuintla, Guatemala, 6th century AD, Jorge Castillo collection, Guatemala City. Mold-impressed pottery is generally difficult to reproduce. Photographs with controlled lighting, drawings based on tracings, and rice-paper rubbings are three techniques used.

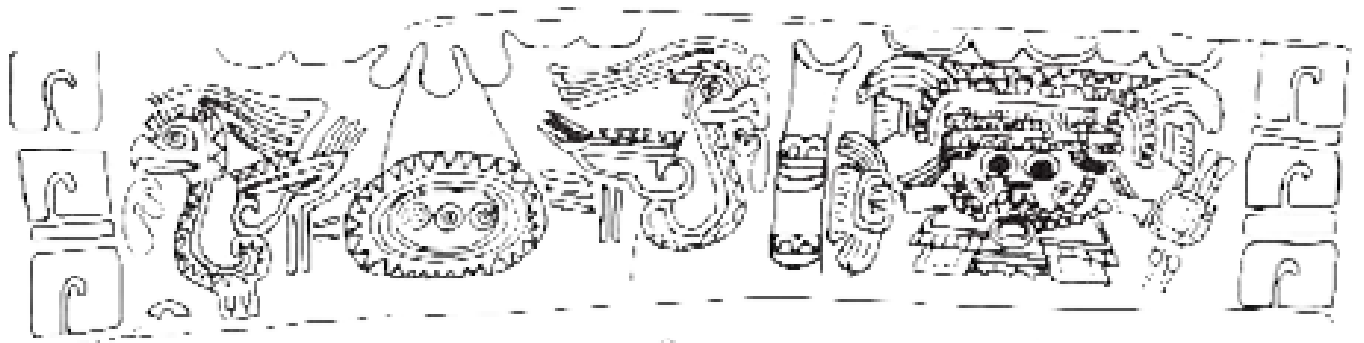
Plate 3B. Photograph of the design. A pair of raptorial birds--Teotihuacan symbol of military prowess--occupy each side of an oval shield decorated with three circles. The shield rests on a typical Teotihuacan motif symbolizing a platform or stand. The curved beaks of the birds point toward a goggle-eyed character with a round object on his chest, possibly a small version of the medallions on the chests of incensario personages.

Plate 3C. Preliminary sketch (incomplete) of the design by Dorsey Bethune. To the left the warrior image, next to the bird, is a vertical band of stylized seashells. The Escuintla coast and the Veracruz gulf are the two likely candidates for the origin of Teotihuacan interest in marine life.

Plate 3D-E. Rice-paper rubbings of the two sides of the repeat design, by Hideo Kojima.



b



c



d



A



B



C

Plate 4A-B. The sides of a Tiquisate-region Teotihuacan-related cylindrical tripod, 6th century. Profile of raptorial bird (hawk or eagle) followed by a warrior holding a truncated shield. Three other vases with almost identical scenes are illustrated in the following pages. Armed warriors are a dominant theme in provincial Teotihuacan Escuintla art.

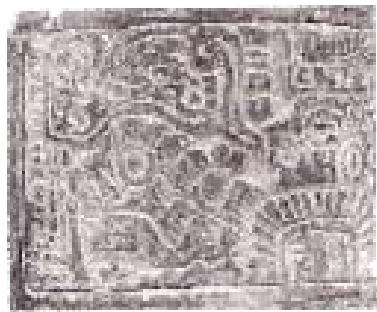
Plate 4C. Roll-out drawing of the design by Barbara Van Heusen.



A

B

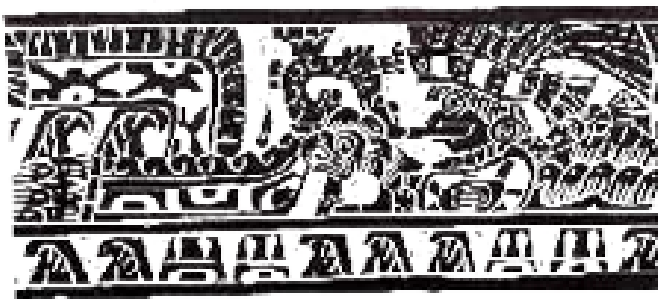
C



D



E



F

G

Plate 5A-C. Three Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripods, A and B in Jorge Castillo collection. The frequent repetition of the motif on many pieces is illustrated.

Plate 5D-E. Details of the design of Plate 5C. This specimen has a hand in the shield, a distinctly Teotihuacan motif--compare with the Central Mexican shields with hand motifs in the following drawings.

Plate 5F-G. Roll-out drawings from cylinder tripods, prototypes from Teotihuacan itself, documenting the degree to which certain Escuintla scenes are provincial adaptations. Note Tiquisate simplification of spear-ends and flow of half-stars. (After Caso, 1966: Fig. 39; after Linne, 1941.)

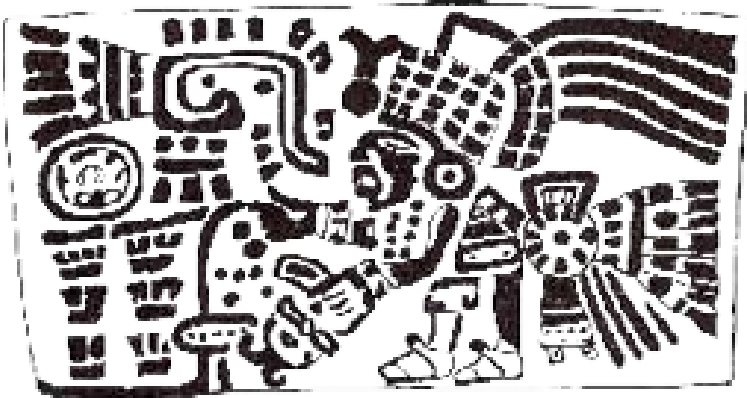


A



B

(Photographs by Fowle Shook)



C

Drawing by Barbara Van Houtan.

Plate 6A-B. Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod, 5th-7th century, mold-impressed scene of parading character holding strap bag in one hand and sprinkling(?) gesture with other hand.

Plate 6C. Roll-out drawing. Under the speech scroll, to the left, is a round design, possibly one of the Tiquisate hieroglyphs; this cartouche-like object is not sufficiently defined to identify. Headdress and tail feathers are diagnostic of Teotihuacan warriors. The round motif is common in Teotihuacan murals; the tail feathers are pictured in Monte Alban Tomb 104 murals, Uaxactun Stela 5, Tres Islas stelae, Tikal Stela 31 (sides), possibly left side of Yaxha Stela II, and stucco-painted cylindrical tripod from Kaminal Juyu (Kidder, Jennings, Shook, 1946: Fig. 204a). The headdress and back plumage was adapted by Maya soldiers and appears on Piedras Negras Lintel 2; the headdress on Lacanja Stela I, showing a warrior, is of the same (Teotihuacan) kind. Linne and Sejourne both illustrate many Teotihuacan Metepec-phase figurines with this headdress.





Plate 7. Two sides of Tiquisate-region cylinder tripod, 5th-7th century, carved decoration. Local coastal Guatemalan rendition in a style noticeably distinct from that of Teotihuacan. Profile characters have traditional Teotihuacan motifs in the headdress, front butterfly antenna curl, eye, and stylized feathers, with long headdress falling down the back. All are somewhat crudely rendered.

On the semicircular motif below the bust, probably intended to be a half shield, segments around the top form either a decorative fringe or a necklace. In front the curled vertical object may be a poorly rendered atlatl, although the traditional two pairs of round finger holes are not visible. The hand holding this object is geometricized, with only three fingers and a thumb. Below, in the lower left corner, the geometric form is probably a handle for the object held in the hand.

This scene illustrates that not all so-called Teotihuacan pottery is necessarily a direct, correct, traditional rendition of Central Mexican themes. More often, as here, provincial artists altered the foreign motifs to local (Tiquisate) norms. As these distinct local styles become better known, they should be identified and named, so that references to them become standardized.



Plate 8. Escuintla-region cylindrical tripod, 6th century, mold-impressed decoration, Jorge Castillo collection. This scene and another (Plate 9) both show a ballplayer on the left holding a freshly decapitated human head. The victim has blood spurting as venomous serpents from the neck. The entire circumference of this and the vase of Plate 9 will be presented in full-page illustrations in a monograph on the ballgame (Hellmuth, in preparation).

This and the vase of Plate 9 are among the earliest datable representations of the decapitation treatment, also shown on EI Tajin, Veracruz, and Chichen Itza ballcourt reliefs (F.L.A.A.R. PROGRESS REPORTS, Vol. I No. I, p. 4). The decapitation theme at Chichen Itza was always presumed to be 11th-12th century Postclassic Toltec. These two exceptional vases are 5th-7th century (probably 6th) and found in association with Teotihuacan-related Middle Classic ceramics in coastal Guatemala. They will necessitate rethinking dates and diffusion routes for Mexican art at Chichen Itza.



Plate 9. Cylindrical tripod, Escuintla, Jorge Castillo collection. Striding character on the left holding a decapitated head by the hair in the manner in which strap bags are usually held. In the center is a seated ballplayer with serpents spewing from the neck. At right is a profile-head glyph in the Escuintla hieroglyphic writing system, with flames, smoke, or water curls issuing from it.



Plate 10A. Tiquisate-region cylinder tripod, 5th-7th century; B. Roll-out.

More than eight identical kneeling ballplayer decapitations have been photographed. One illustrated by Tozzer (1957). The figure is identified as a ballplayer because of the serpent-head hip yoke and hacha facing right. Veracruz-like thick scrolls decorate both the right and the left end of the mold-impressed panel.

Note that the yoke resembles the one on the Denver Art Museum vase (Plate II). In the player's upraised left hand (viewer's right) is an unhafted stone knife, the kind used to decapitate ballplayers. From his other hand issues an unidentified form. Since the knife (and no ball) is shown, we may suppose this to be a pre- or post-game ceremony—probably a rite prior to actual decapitation.



(Courtesy Denver Art Museum)

Plate II. Tiquisate-region cylinder tripod (hollow slab feet partially broken off), moldimpressed decoration repeated in two panels. The full-face skull on the ball is similar to death motifs at El Tajin and in later Cotzumalhuapa art (Parsons, 1967-69).

Since a skull ball is prominent on the Chichen Itza ballcourt reliefs, this Middle Classic Guatemalan scene may be a prototype for later Chichen Itza and Cotzumalhuapa-Bilbao ballgame-related skull scenes. Because this 6th-century Escuintla pottery has certain motifs present in later Bilbao art, and because the Bilbao site is within 50 miles of where the Middle Classic cylinder tripods are found, we may look forward to future discoveries of the antecedents of previously enigmatic Bilbao art. The developmental sequence of certain aspects of Bilbao art may also appear on Middle Classic Escuintla-region cylinder tripods. Professional stratigraphy might answer these questions about origins of this art style.

## Section B

### DISCOVERY OF A NEW MESOAMERICAN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING SYSTEM

A variety of quite distinct hieroglyphic writing systems co-existed in Mesoamerica. The Mayan glyphs were only the most complex and best known; they derive from Kaminal Juyu, where they were borrowed in part from the earlier Olmec. The Zapotec people of Monte Alban also had a writing system, and glyphs are known too from Xochicalco, near Cuernavaca, Mexico. At the time of the Spanish conquest both the Aztecs and the Mixtecs were utilizing their native writing systems. Curiously, the Teotihuacans had, at most, rudimentary pictographs which both Kubler and C. Millon have studied in Teotihuacan art.

The presence of glyph cartouches with profile-head hieroglyphs on 5th-7th century Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripods comes as a surprise. The head motif is vaguely reminiscent of Xochicalco, Monte Alban, and Cotzumalhuapa glyphs; a double-head glyph like the one illustrated here (Plate 12) is found also on a Veracruz mold-impressed vase in the Fort Worth Museum of Science and History (unpublished). Until more examples of Tiquisate glyphs are available for study, it is prudent to reserve judgment as to their origin.

Since the later Cotzumalhuapa-style glyphs of the Bilbao monuments share thick, round cartouches and head forms, and since Bilbao is less than 50 miles from the Tiquisate region, it is possible that the Cotzumalhuapa glyphs are in part derived from the Tiquisate prototypes. Discovering the direct antecedents of the enigmatic Cotzumalhuapa style would be a most useful contribution. Because the 5th-7th century Tiquisate vases exhibit an eclectic style of Teotihuacan, Veracruz, and local motifs, specialists in Cotzumalhuapa should initiate stratigraphic recorded excavations in the Tiquisate region to find information on the origins of the stela style of Bilbao and related Cotzumalhuapa style sites.

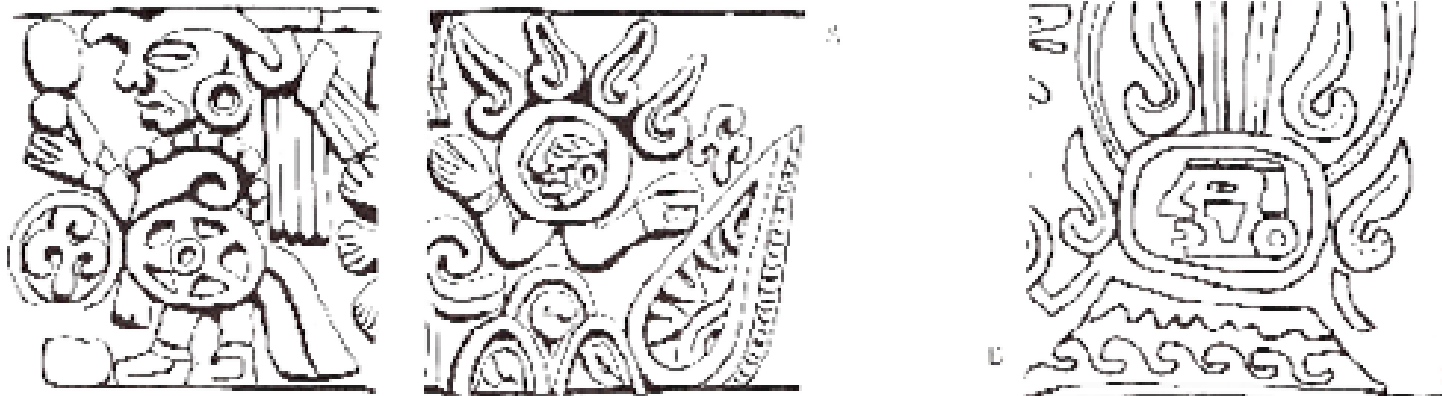


Plate 12A. Detail from a Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod (entire vase illustrated in Hellmuth, in preparation). The round cartouche frame around the head sets the head off as a glyphic design. These glyphs are usually individual, not in long inscriptions, nor even in sets as on later Bilbao stelae.

Plate 12B. Detail from ballplayer decapitation scene, Jorge Castillo collection (see Plate II), showing thick cartouche with head.



Plate 13. Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod, mold-impressed repeat scene, Jorge Castillo collection. A kneeling personage faces a feline(?) standing like an acrobat on top of a double head glyph in thick oval cartouche, set on a small table-like stand. Although clothing is based on Teotihuacan prototypes, the overall scene is distinctly Tiquisate and not identical to anything known from Teotihuacan.

## Section C

### IDENTIFICATION OF NEW DEITIES

#### CURLY FACE MYTHICAL PERSONAGE

Plate 13A shows a face which reminds one of Bert Lahr's "Wizard of Oz" Cowardly Lion. The exaggerated "moustache" and pronounced thick scroll curling from the cheeks around the eyes present a comical face. Contemporaneous 6th-century AD vases with similar faces have previously been excavated at Kaminal Juyu and at Monte Alban, where Caso and Bernal called this face a Cocijo.\*

Cocijo is the Zapotec, Oaxaca, god of rain. Since the mold-impressed curly faces lack certain diagnostic traits of the Zapotec deity best known from Monte Alban urns, and since at present little evidence of Escuintla-Oaxaca contacts are known, it is preferable not to prejudge the origins of this face by applying a Zapotec name. For the interim, consequently, he has been called a "Curly Faced mythical personage."

Curly Face is repeatedly portrayed on pottery throughout the Escuintla coastal plain. Dozens of his portraits adorn the slab feet of cylinder tripods. In the restricted space of the decorative frame of these vessel supports, Curly Face is often shown in profile. The Foundation has photographed half a dozen examples. Occasionally he is shown with hand, as in Plate 13B. So far, no depiction has been found of his body or clothing which might be characteristic.

Curly Face decorates so many cylindrical tripods in the Escuintla region, nevertheless, that we may consider this his homeland; the single example from Oaxaca could be a northward diffusion. No specimens of this face are yet published for Teotihuacan, although Mexican colonists in Escuintla certainly were familiar with Curly Face and may have brought his cult back to Central Mexico. The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, has a fine example similar to the Kaminal Juyu or Monte Alban form.

Because this Curly Face deity has just been recognized, it is too early to trace its origins. Giant Preclassic or Protoclassic incense burners from Lake Amatitlan have visages with facial curls, possibly ancestral to this Middle Classic Escuintla Curly Face character. It is important to note, however, that the Escuintla-region culture responsible for this eclectic 6th-century ceramic art had its own special deities, that is, local folk personages not derived from either lowland Maya or distant Teotihuacan sources. The study of Escuintla ceramic art is an analysis of the various manners by which local coastal motifs are combined with foreign designs to create hybrid part Teotihuacan-part local themes.

The fact that south coastal Guatemalan deities maintained their importance alongside an imported Tlaloc indicates that the incoming Teotihuacanos did not totally transform previously local traditions. As additional cylindrical tripods are photographed in private collections we can look forward to discovering and identifying still more deities of the ancient Guatemala peoples.

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\*See Kidder, Jennings, Shook, 1946: Fig. 186c; Caso and Bernal, 1952: Fig. 42.





Plate 14A-B. Tiquisate-region cylinder tripod with four faces, two of Curly Face and two of an associated personage (one of each shown), mold-impressed, 5th-7th century, private collection, Chichicastenango. Photographs of the same vase by Edwin Shook are in the Carnegie Institution of Washington archives, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Plate 14C. Large Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod (slab feet broken off), 6th century. Four identical mold-impressed repetitions of a Curly Faced mythical personage.





Plate 15A. Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod with mold-impressed Curly Face personage (from Gordon and Mason, 1925-43: PI. LX).

Plate 15B. Detail of Protoclassic Lake Amatitlan urn with curls similar to those of Tiquisate faces. This Lake Amatitlan urn face has the split serpent tongue of Cocijo, Monte Alban rain deity.

Plate 15C. Detached tripod support, Tiquisate region, with Curly Face Mythical Personage.



Plate 16. Large Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod, 6th century, Jorge Castillo collection. This broad basin is divided outside into two horizontal bands, an upper of light off-white color, and a lower of dull red, a simple duotone treatment common on Escuintla tripods in a variety of sizes. Tripod support decoration varies considerably; here a bust of Curly Face is shown with extended hands.



A



B



C



D



A



B

Plate 17A-D. Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod, 6th century, Jorge Castillo collection. Arms Upraised personage is depicted with serpent eye-curl headdress.



A



B

Plate 18A-D. Another vessel with mold-impressed decoration identical to that of Plate 17. Tiquisate region, 6th century. No lid. Arms Upraised personage with twin serpent eye curls are joined to form a single frontal image in the headdress. Note block over left eye.



Plate 19. Two views of ornamental knob on lid of cylindrical tripod shown in Plate 17. A three-dimensional bust of Curly Face on the same vessel with Arms Upraised character suggests a relationship between these two figures in some as yet unknown Guatemalan myth.

#### AN ESCUINTLA HERO: ARMS UPRAISED

Our traditional knowledge of ancient Mesoamerican deities is largely based on 16th-century Spanish documents and native codices showing now familiar gods such as Tlaloc for the Mexicans, Chac, God K, God L, for the Maya, Cocijo for the Zapotecs, the Were-Jaguar Baby Face for the early Olmecs, and so forth. When a study collection of pottery is limited, it is difficult to note whether any particular deity is reproduced more often than others. Such is not the case here, however.

Now that hundreds of cylinder tripods are available for examination, we can detect the ancient culture heroes so frequently depicted on ceramics that they must represent important personages in Guatemalan religious or historical lore.

The "Arms Upraised" character is not found in any Teotihuacan art yet published; we must conclude that he is a local coastal Guatemalan figure despite portrayal on a foreign-style cylindrical tripod. The key to his role in Escuintla history may come, perhaps, when we find other portraits of him in private collections, where he may be identified in association with an activity or with more traditional symbols of known significance. Further research promises to reveal interesting data on the richness of coastal Guatemalan 6th-century mythology.



A



B



C



D





C



D



E

Plate 20A-C. Winged Down Arms personage on mold-impressed cylindrical tripod, Tiquisate region, 5th-7th century, private collection. Curled motifs above arms and water curls on left and right borders are shared with Teotihuacan, but the costume rendering is distinctly Tiquisate.

Plate 20D-G. Winged Down Arms personage on mold-impressed pedestal-base cylindrical vase, Tiquisate region, 5th-7th century, private collection. Identical to personage on Plate 18A-D. Pedestal bases are an alternative to slab tripod feet.

ANOTHER PERSONAGE: WINGED DOWN ARMS

Working with appreciable quantities of whole ceramic vases, especially those with portraits of anthropomorphic characters, is a rare opportunity for an archaeologist or art historian. Usually only sherds--mere fragments of history--are available to the culture historian. Most sherds and pottery, furthermore, are utilitarian, simple undecorated kitchenware without diagnostic value.

To advance our knowledge of pre-Columbian lifeways, we need artifacts which are both complete and which show ancient people, their gods, and their way of life. Although those private collections usually lack site provenance, stratigraphic data, and grave lot association, rather than ignore them as unfit for scientific study it is more productive to salvage from them whatever information they can safely yield.

A surprisingly complete ethnographic record of 6th-century life at Teotihuacan and in Teotihuacan-influenced regions in southern Mesoamerica can be garnered by a careful study museum and private collections. Clues from these sources can lead to significant discoveries about the historical development of pre-Columbian civilizations. Large format photographs (Plate 20) illustrate a third mythical culture hero, possibly a deity of the Escuintla people. He is a character with distinct pose, attire, and associated symbolism; a character not previously published nor accounted for, yet obviously well known thirteen centuries ago. He is finally emerging from the darkness of time.

This striking figure is distinguished by his outspread downward-pointing arms with attached "wing" segments. The arms are associated with "flame" symbols or water curls--their precise identification unsure at present. The face is held in the wide-open jaws of a fanged feline creature, a common form of headdress among the Teotihuacan, Maya, and other people

A curled form resembling a speech scroll issues from the eye of the personage in headdress. If this is actually a speech scroll it is in an unusual position. Whereas the curled reverse "6's," animal headdress, speech scroll, and other individual attributes of this composition are found in the art of Central Mexico, this individual is a local rendition. No precise Teotihuacan prototype can yet be found. Again, as with Curly Face Arms Upraised and now with Winged Down Arms, we are presented with a visual manifestation of an Indian world view not previously encountered. It is rather rewarding to consider that entire lost civilizations are still capable of discovery.

Research will shortly provide more information on the role of Winged Down Arms in Escuintla society. Several major collections of pre-Columbian art existing in Guatemala have never been systematically studied. As research funds become available new published findings will be forthcoming in this area.

Whereas the basic prototypes for the shape of cylinder tripods and Escuintla incensarios are Teotihuacan, we must not overlook the unknown Veracruz area as a possible source sharing deities with Escuintla. The Rio Blanco region of central Veracruz has produced mold-impressed vases with complex scenes of human interaction. These scenes contain local Veracruz, foreign Teotihuacan, and occasionally foreign Maya motifs, costume elements, deities. The presence of Veracruz-type scrolls associated with Escuintla ballgame seen as well as skull symbol playing balls both in Escuintla and El Tajin, Veracruz, suggests that artists in the two distant locations were to some degree familiar with each other's work.

On two Rio Blanco-style Veracruz bowls are characters with feathered arms extended in e manner somewhat reminiscent of the Escuintla Curly Face personage.\* The Veracruz figures

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\*See Von Winning, 1971: Fig. 2; also Fort Worth Museum of Science and History (unpublished).

are clothed more simply and lack the other symbols associated with Winged Down Arms, but we expect that as more Rio Blanco vases from museums and private collections are located the possible relations of the Caribbean coast of Veracruz and the Pacific coast of Escuintla may be clarified. Professional archaeological excavation in the Rio Blanco region can promise additional information on the temporal relations of this ethnographically attractive mold-impressed pottery.

#### TRADITIONAL TEOTIHUACAN MOTIFS IN TIQUISATE ART

Scenes decorating Tiquisate cylinder tripods vary from motifs copied directly from Central Mexico to those of purely local Escuintla inspiration. Most of the latter have not been previously published. Rare vases combine pure Teotihuacan design with Escuintla motifs. The mixture of regional motifs is similar to what Kidder has noted for Kaminal Juyu; some pure highland Maya scenes, some part Maya-part Teotihuacan, and others pure Teotihuacan.

Stucco painting is so fragile no traces of it are preserved from the Tiquisate plain. Bulldozer and tractor "recovery" does not facilitate preservation of delicate--eggshell thin-painted surfaces. Escuintla probably receives more rain than the Peten, and the grave sites there are no longer protected by a mantle of forest. Consequently, until professional excavation and retrieval techniques are initiated, stucco-painted cylinder tripods are not available for comparison with those found at Kaminal Juyu.

Several Tiquisate-region vessels, particularly ones with small round tripod supports, nevertheless do contain designs which are essentially Teotihuacan. Since these were manufactured in Guatemala we need not expect them to be precise duplicates of prototypes 1000 miles north. The motifs illustrated are the "Reptile Eye" hieroglyph and the pointed "years sign" (more correctly simply a trapiziform).

Along with the ringed eyes of Tlaloc, the Reptile Eye glyph and trapiziform are the dominant symbols of the Teotihuacan empire. The precise meaning of these two symbols has never been agreed upon unanimously. Despite their elusive meaning, the Reptile Eye and trapiziform are visual documentation of Central Mexican influence on the tropical Pacific coast of 6th-century Guatemala.



Plate 21A-C. Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripods, 300-650 AD, with local renditions of characteristic Teotihuacan symbols.

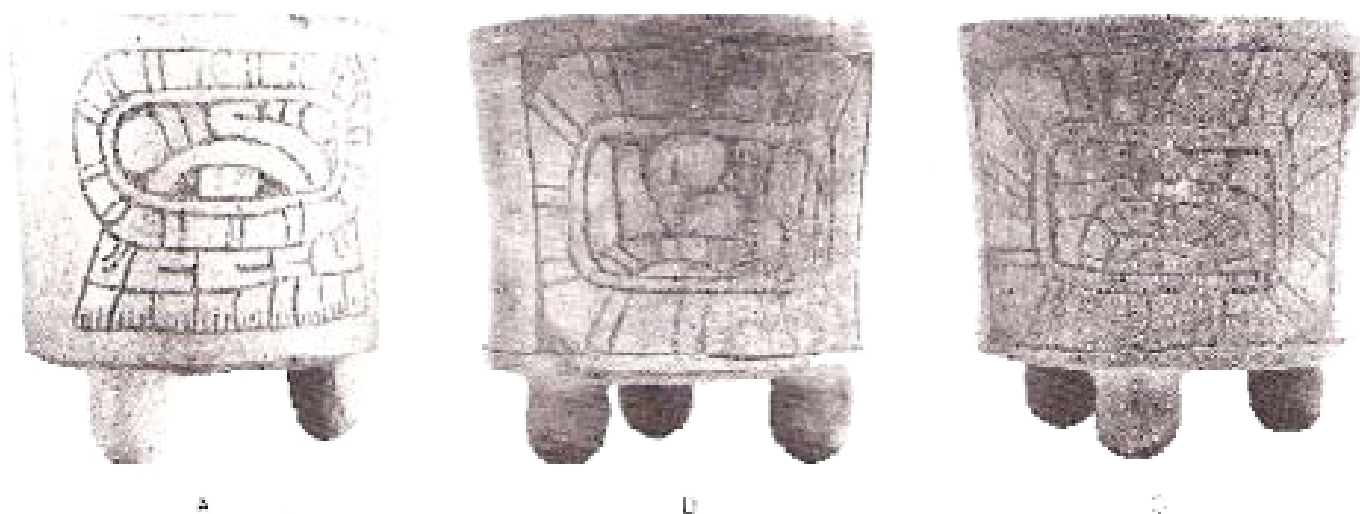


Plate 22A, Reptile Eye glyph on Tiquisate-region cylinder tripod, within a shield-like medallion with rectangular pendants. Since Reptile Eye glyphs occur both within shielded cartouches and as chest medallions on warrior incensario busts, they may be a heraldic emblem of a warrior class.

Plate 22B-C. Another incised Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod with Reptile Eye glyphs.

Plate 22D-E. Incised Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod. Between Reptile Eye glyphs are ringed butterfly eyes with central coiled antenna (must be viewed sideways).

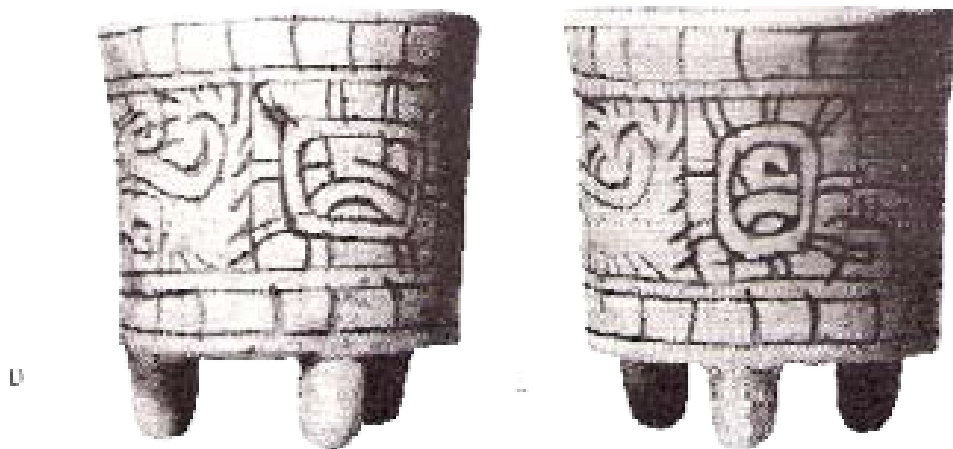


Plate 22F-G. Incised Tiquisate-region cylindrical tripod, Jorge Castillo collection. Between panels of Reptile Eye glyphs are cut-off ringed butterfly eyes with coiled central antenna (must be viewed sideways).



Section D

TEOTIHUACAN INCENSARIOS FROM THE TIQUISTATE REGION

MALE BUST INCENSE BURNERS

A larger quantity of Teotihuacan-style incensarios (incense burners) has come to the Escuintla region in five years than has emerged from Teotihuacan Central Mexico in the past fifty. The archives of the Foundation contain photographs of scores of these vessels, which are local Escuintla versions of Teotihuacan prototypes. Archaeologist Edwin Shook excavated fragments of several similar incensarios from a single mound near Rio Seco, Escuintla Department, Guatemala; the quantity of fragments at a variety of sites throughout the Tiquisate sector suggests significant Teotihuacan influence in this area.

From the photographic archives of the Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research several exceptional male busts and a sample of seashell and flower incensario lids are presented on the following pages. Many more will be illustrated in the Teotihuacan art and archaeology bibliography planned for publication late 1976.

The ornate lids were originally positioned over hourglass bases, a Teotihuacan invention. Since the bases are not attractive to collectors, grave robbers usually discard them, despite their modest decoration--usually earplugs, nose plaque (normally a tablero-talud motif), and sometimes a necklace. These bases are therefore similar to those of contemporaneous Lake Amatitlan incensarios, although the lids of the two neighboring regions are quite different.

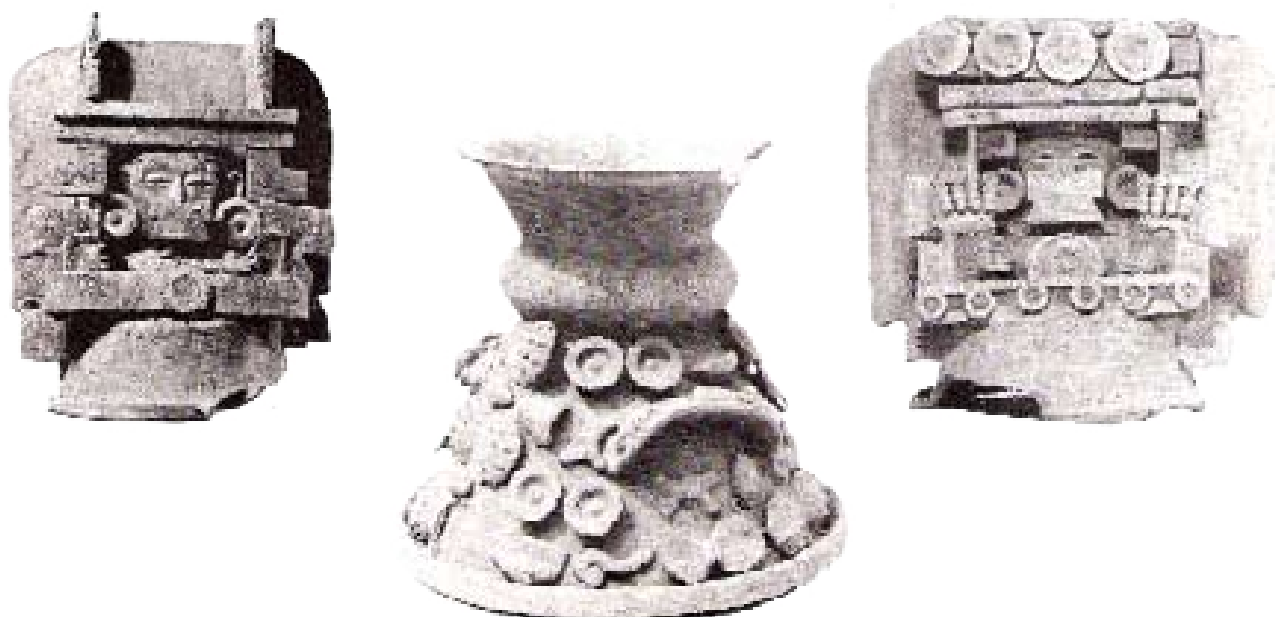


Plate 23. Three different Tiquisate-region Teotihuacan-related incensario lids.

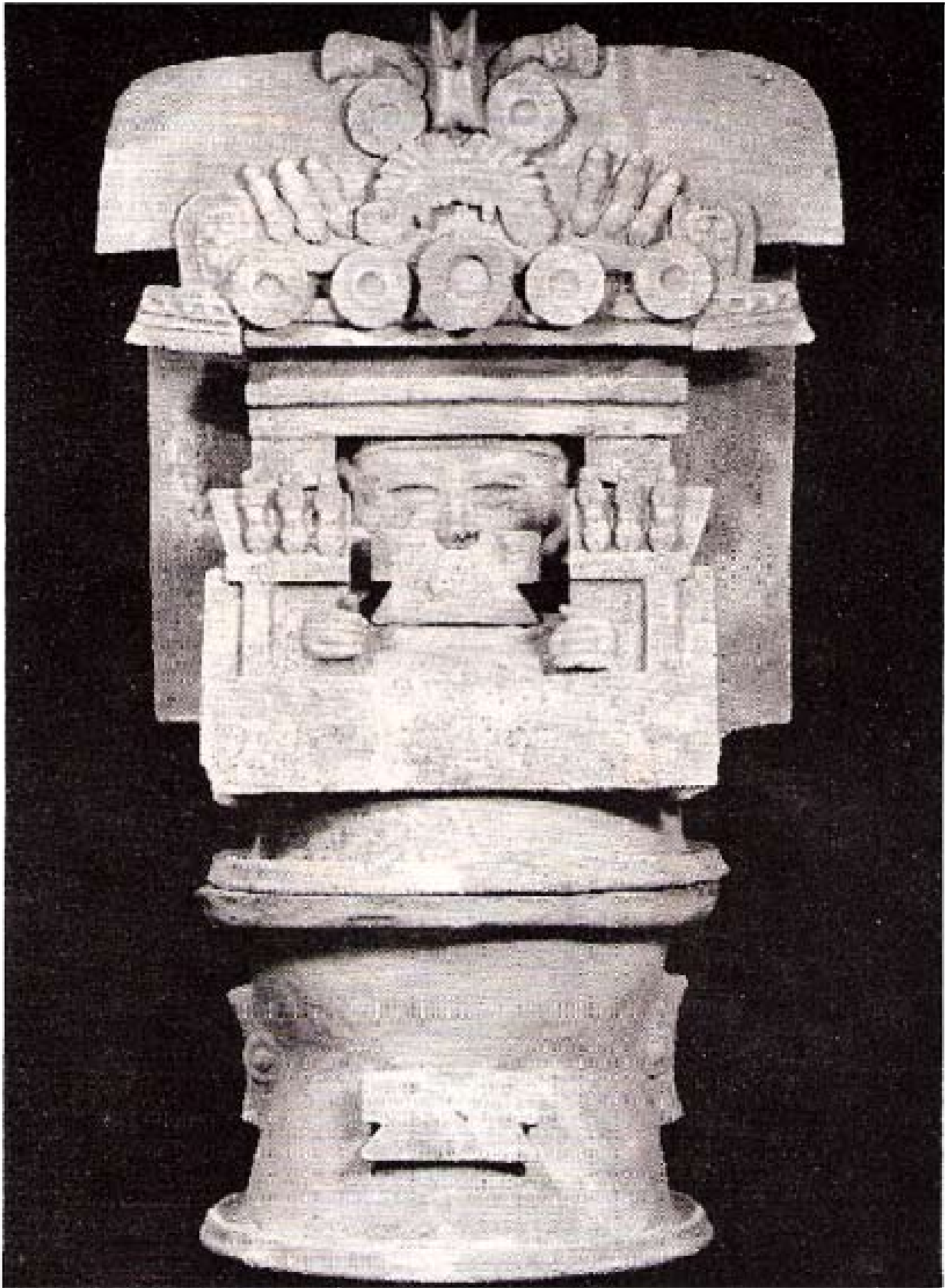


Plate 24. Complete incense burner: male warrior bust lid with hourglass base, Tiquisate region, 5th-7th century, private collection. Note spear ends protruding from bundles in each hand, and spear ends and butterfly antennae in headdress. Base has traditional ear-plugs and tablero-talud nose plaque; others have necklaces hanging from the earplugs.



(Photograph by Edwin Shook)

Plate 25. Tiquisate-region incensario; unusual squat variety, objects held in hands as yet unidentified, although common. Reptile Eye glyphs in three medallions in headdress are frequently associated with butterfly symbolism. The face paint is still preserved.

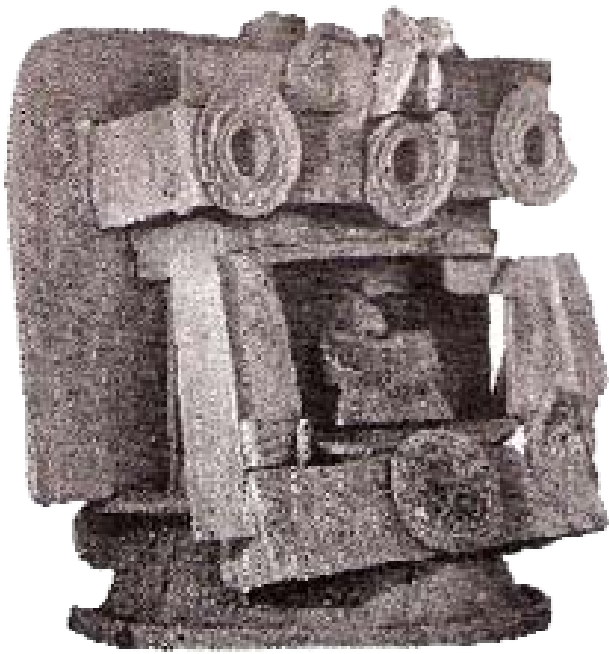


Plate 26. Hourglass base incensario lid, Tiquisate-Teotihuacanoid style, 5th-7th century collection of Enrique Salazar L. (deceased), Guatemala City. This was the first artifact of the Escuintla hoards to be photographed. Joya Hairs, Guatemala City, helped locate this specimen and Dr. Guillermo Mata A. provided an introduction to Sr. Salazar, who kindly allowed his collection to be photographed. Five years of subsequent study were necessary to understand incensario symbolism sufficiently to publish a description of them.

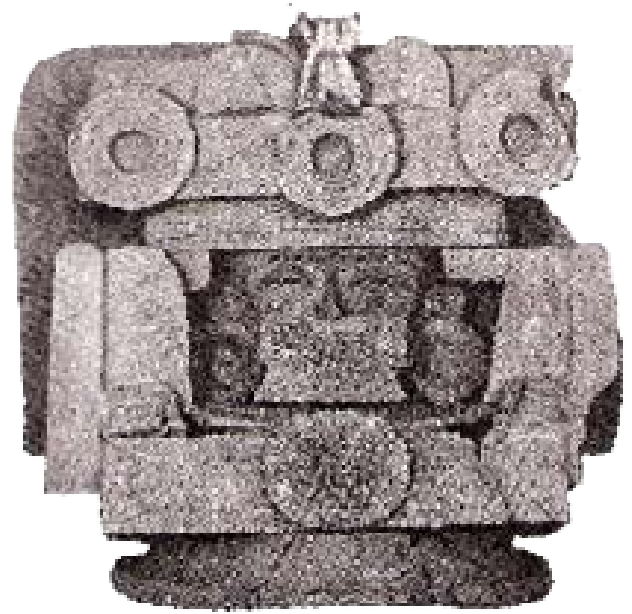




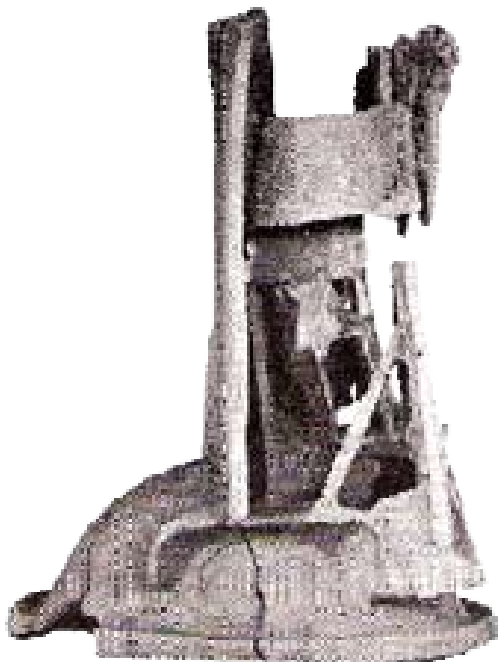
Plate 27. Hourglass base incensario lid, Tiquisate-Teotihuacanoid style, 5th-7th century, collection of Enrique Salazar L.



A



B



C

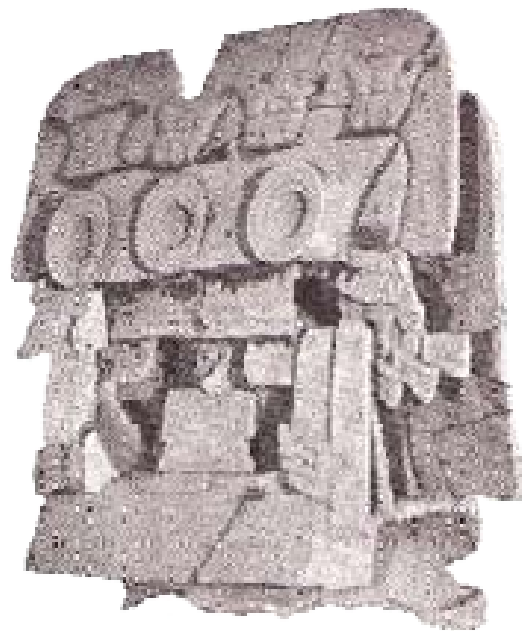


D

Plate 28A-D. Four views of the standard form of Tiquisate-region male incensario lid, 5th-7th century, Jorge Castillo collection. This simple, relatively unadorned lid is common usually found buried in groups. The hourglass base (not shown) is the standard simple variety. The Foundation has photographed about two dozen; another unrecorded three dozen exist in United States, Canadian, European, and Japanese collections.



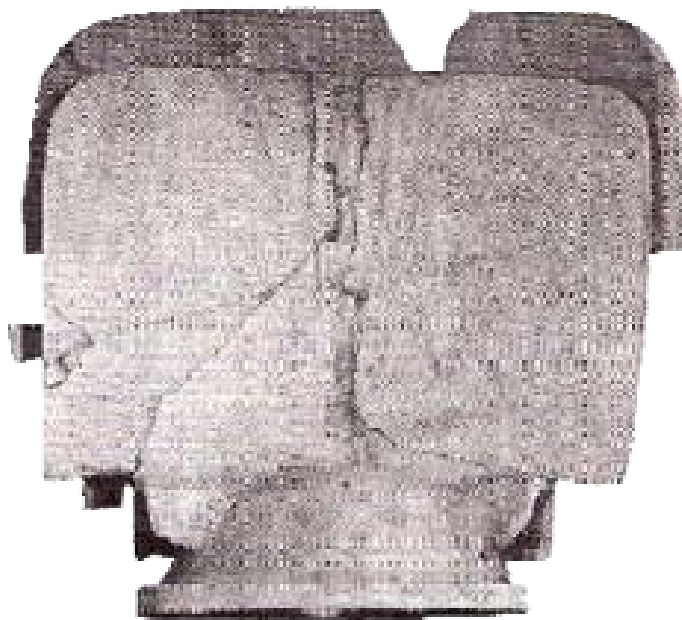
A



U



6



6

Plate 29A-D. Four views of a typical plain Tiquisate-region male incense burner lid, 5th-7th century, Jorge Castillo collection. Unlike those found in Central Mexico which are carelessly reconstructed by looters and dealers, those at Escuintla are recovered relatively intact. Their method of construction, with adornos in correct original position, is preserved for study. Note that the backs of the male lids are completely undecorated.



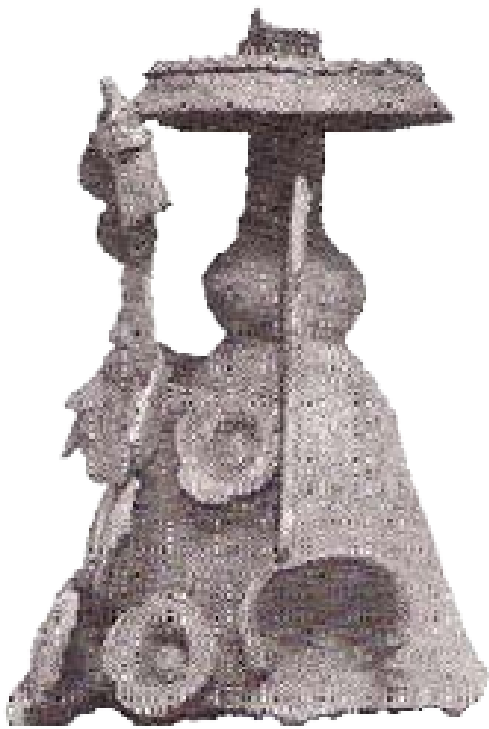
Plate 30. Graceful Tiquisate-region Teotihuacan-related winged variety of male incensario lid, 500-650 AD. This and the piece shown in Plate 31 are rumored to have come from a single cache containing at least six winged butterfly incensarios. The wings on either side of the chest medallion are avian, or more likely lepidopterous, since butterfly antennae occur in the headdress.



A



B

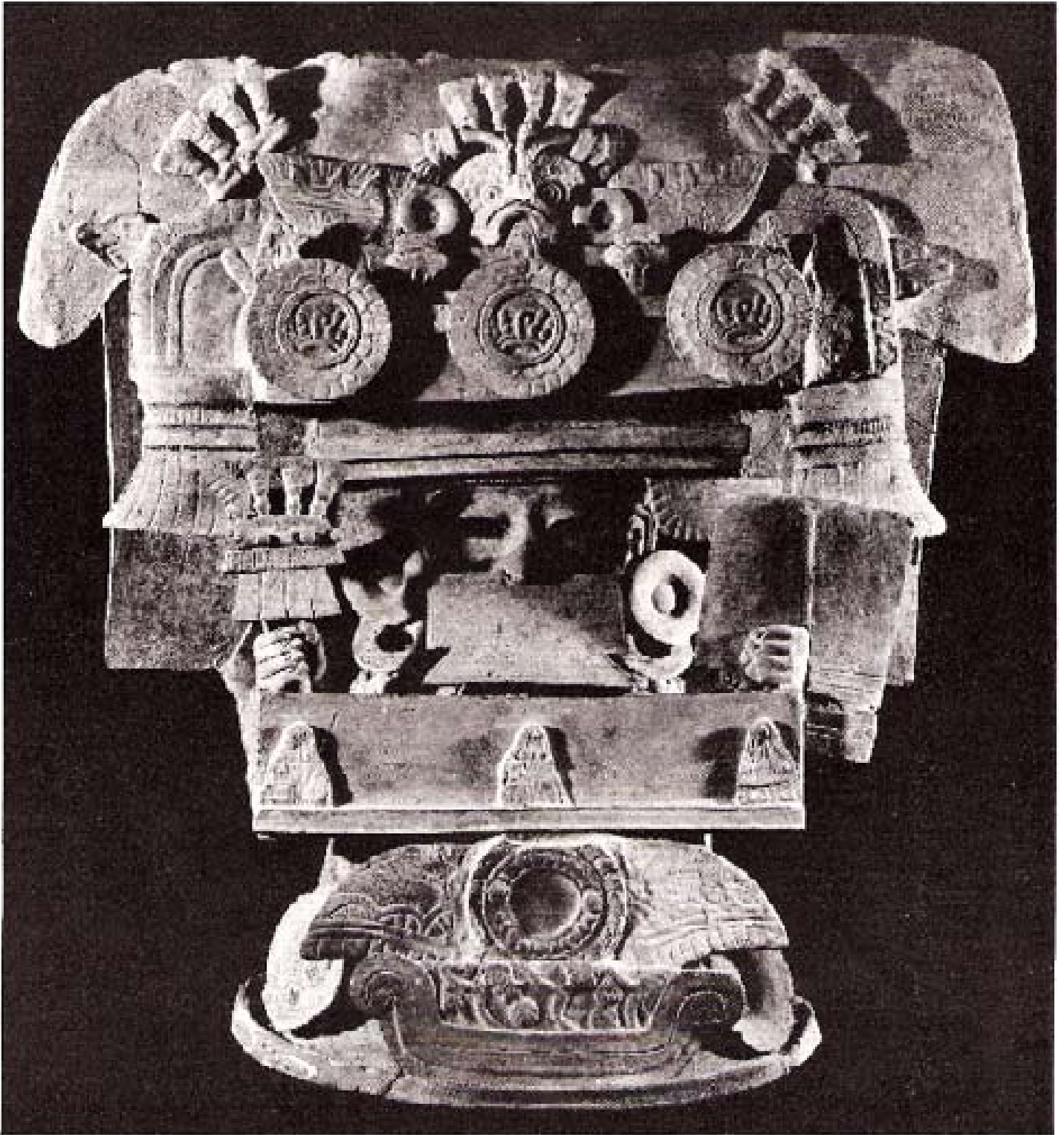


C



D

Plate 31A-D. Tiquisate-region Teotihuacan-related incensario lid, 500-650 AD. Male, winged variety: note the umbrella effect of chimney in side view. The headdress is a flat form not directly attached to the main structure. While each of the design elements can be traced to Teotihuacan prototypes, its juxtaposition and rendition are distinctly Escuintla. The origin molds could easily have been brought from Central Mexico, but each separately made casting for the incensario could be positioned to Escuintla taste.



(Courtesy Denver Art Museum; photography facilitated by Robert Strassman)

Plate 32. Tiquisate-region incensario lid, Denver Art Museum. Decoration supporting the bust resembles that of Plate 33; central horizontal bar with tri-mountain(?) symbols may have been added by a modern restorer. Spear ends show above bundle in right hand (viewer's left) with unidentified (but common) object in other hand. Headdress has bunches of ball-diamond spear-end symbols, butterfly eyes, and antennae.



Plate 33. Front view of particularly attractive Tiquisate-region Teotihuacan-related incensario lid, 5th-7th century, private collection. Chimney for copal incense smoke rises at rear center. Giant ringed eyes in the headdress represent both a butterfly and possibly Tlaloc, since below the eyes (still in the headdress) is the upper lip with coiled ends and a row of eighth animal teeth. Between the large eyes is the central coiled feeler or antenna of a butterfly, from its back to each side issue insect antennae with feathered ends.

The personage himself has a butterfly nose plaque with Reptile Eye glyph medallion on his chest, framed by a pair of avian or lepidopterous wings. Below is a coiled form, almost a reverse image of the animal lip, minus teeth. Actually, the entire male bust is meant to issue from between the upper denticulated mouth and the bottom lip of a mythical creature. Nestled in the bottom lip are a variety of seashells.

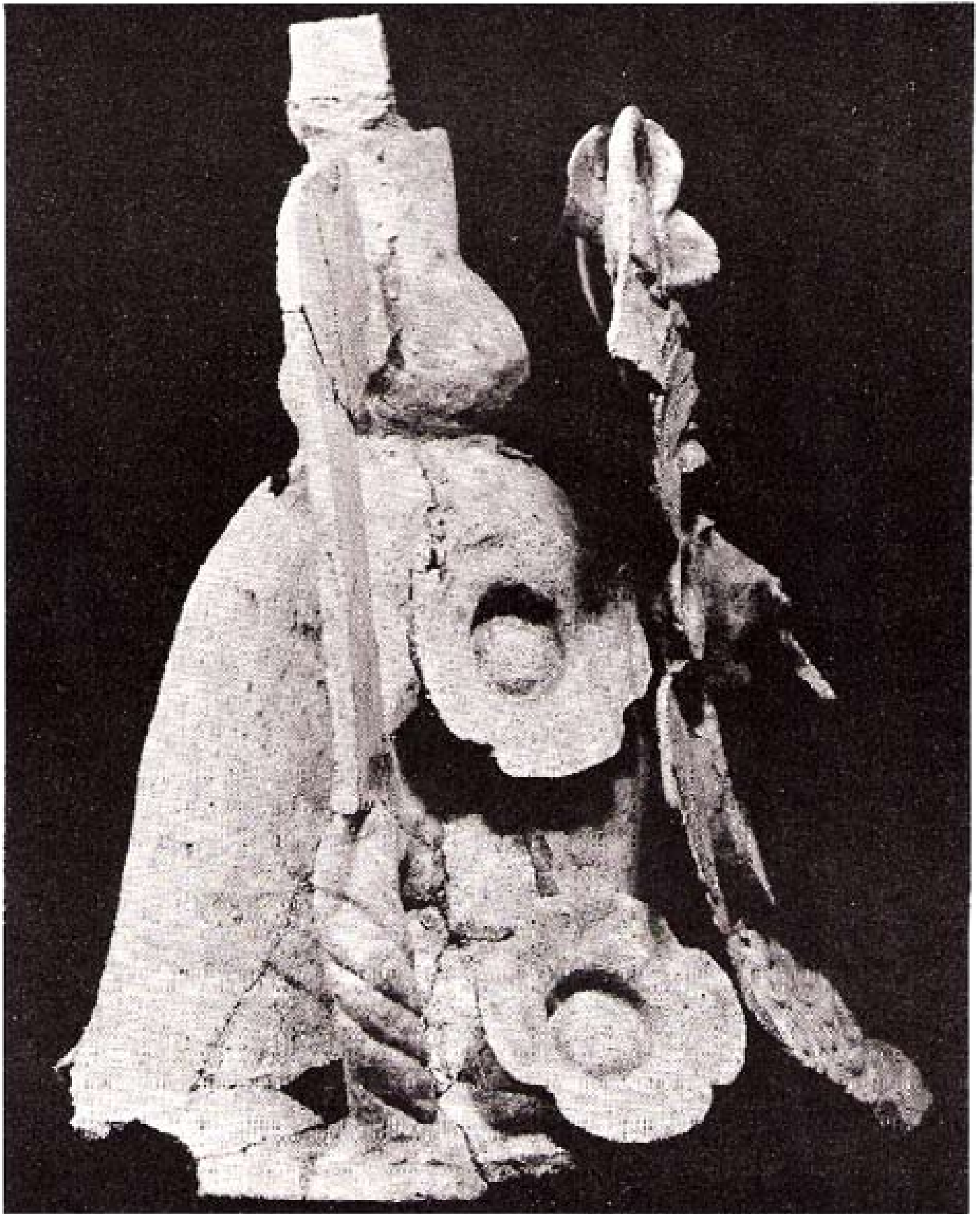


Plate 34. Side view showing plain unadorned back, basic bell shape of the body, chimney, and attached adornos (four-petal flowers) of this common incensario. Note that face and headdress are well in front of the chimney, joined to the bell. The various parts were made in molds and assembled; only lightly joined with clay, they separate easily.



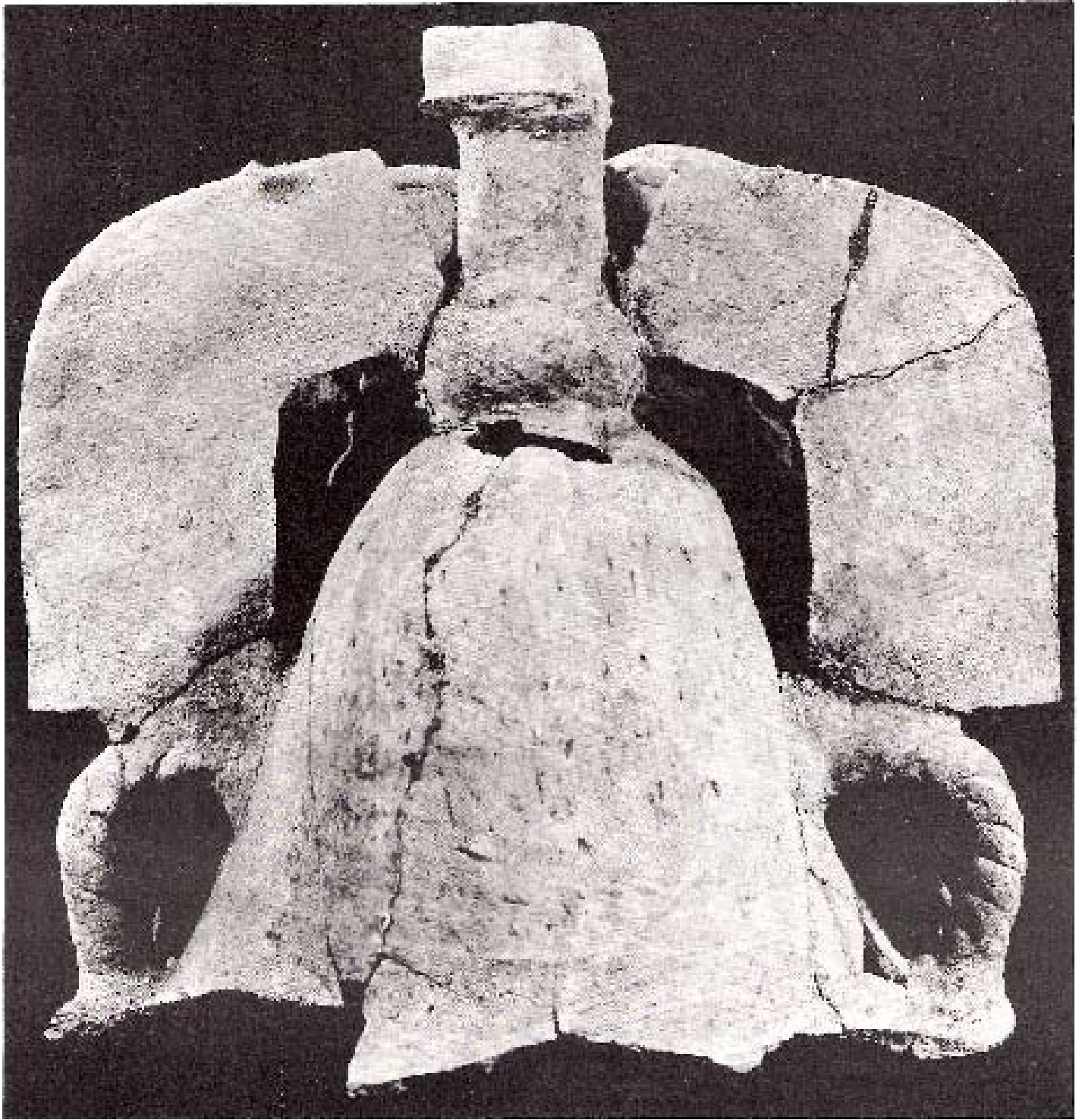


Plate 35. Back view of incensario of Plates 33-34, showing the rope-motif clay handles, bell-shape construction, chimney spout at top, and buttresses to support the headdress. Note how simple and unadorned these male bust incensario backs are, compared to female types and to flower and seashell varieties (Plates 36, 38, 39).



Plate 36. Bell-shaped, flare chimney, Tiquisate-region incensario lid, 500-650. Adornos of flower and plant segments, twisted knots, and other traditional symbols relate to water and fertility. These elements are common in Teotihuacan murals and stucco-painted cylindrical tripods, particularly the treatment of watery forms flowing from the hands of celebrants walking through maguey fields.

The ecology of the hot, rainy, tropical Escuintla plain was totally different from altiplano desert-like conditions at distant Teotihuacan (although ancient lakes and now dry irrigation canals may have made the 6th-century Teotihuacan landscapemore colorful--as depicted in the Tlalocan murals of Tepantitla). One might predict that these striking regional differences would produce different religious agricultural fertility symbolism.

This incensario has a completely preserved basal rim which fits into the upper groove of the hourglass base (not shown). The projecting clay shelf serves as handle. Although these artifacts are clearly for the burning of incense, surprisingly, none are stained with smoke or caked with copal or other carbonaceous particles. In the damp tropical Escuintla climate such evidence of use has perhaps disappeared. Only professional excavation will determine whether these incensarios were ever used or made only for symbolic purposes in tombs.



Plate 37. Tiquisate-region Teotihuacan-related incense burner lid (chimney and headdress missing), 500-650 AD, collection of Enrique Salazar L. Reptile Eye glyph in central shield medallion, butterfly nose plaque, tri-mountain symbols (beside the medallion)-- each is a traditional Teotihuacan motif.

The original molds for these designs were probably brought south from Central Mexico, although the manner of assembly of the complex incensario is local. From each hand flows a set of related marine symbols, seashells, tablero-talud nose plaques, and other miniature devices usually seen issuing from the outstretched hands of celebrants in Teotihuacan murals. The difference here is that while the murals show celebrants in profile, this vessel gives a frontal view. Although this particular specimen is the male bust type, it is included here to demonstrate that a classification of Escuintla wares must be flexible.



A



Plate 38A-B. Tiquisate-region incensario lid, 500-650 AD. Masterpiece of coastal Guatemalan ceramic craftsmanship. Ceramic seashells and four-petaled flowers adorn a bell-shaped lid with handles resembling twisted rope. The top decoration has a human head emerging from the jaws of a raptorial bird; large circular heraldic medallion with wave curls dominates chest. This lid is handsomely decorated around its entire circumference, with the back including the flat feathered tail of the bird.

Note: Professional quality color photographs of this extraordinary piece are needed.



Plate 39A-C. Unusually ornate Tiquisate-region incensario lid, 500-650. Lid is adorned with colored replicas of seashells, a popular motif in Central Mexico as well as Escuintla. Teotihuacan portrayal of marine life, seashells, even shell divers, has always been considered curious, since Central Mexico is a dry, high plateau, hundreds of miles from water.

Marine iconography was probably brought to highland Central Mexico from either the Veracruz or the Pacific coast. Seashell and flower incensarios are decorated all the way around, suggesting they were viewed from behind. The palin male incensarios were possibly placed against an altar or temple wall where their undecorated backs were not visible.



## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PREHISTORY OF GUATEMALA

Investigations of the past six years immeasurably enrich the history of cultural development of Guatemala. The Department of Escuintla can take its place alongside the adjacent highlands and El Peten lowlands as the seat of significant pre-Columbian civilization. Guatemalan national folklore is enhanced by the discovery of three indigenous south-coast coast deities: the god with facial curls, the personage with upraised supplicant hands, and the personage with hanging, feathered arms. These ancient culture heroes from a glorious past deserve to be incorporated with the better known regional folklore heroes.

Escuintla developed a distinct eclectic, local Guatemalan manner of decorating cylinder tripods. Whereas the basic concept of this vessel was brought down from the north, Guatemalan artists combined Veracruz scrolls, Veracruz ballgame decapitation themes, and Teotihuacan ring-eyed deities to create their own mold-impressed and incised styles which are not at all Teotihuacan--they are Guatemalan.

Extensive photography of private collections has documented an entirely new 6th-7th century artifact class, the female figurine incensario lid, illustrated in color on the back cover. The Jorge Castillo collection includes about six of these, as well as several smaller (4-inch high) female non-incensario effigies. These mold-made sculptures in fired clay represent a high level of artistic achievement. Since no prototypes are yet known from outside Escuintla, we must credit local Guatemalan artisans with developing this female form, utilizing Escuintla concepts embellished with features like shoulder scarification (a trait shared with Veracruz), double nose beads (a trait shared with nearby Maya highlands), and clipped forehead bangs (a trait shared with both Veracruz and Teotihuacan). A sufficient number of these female figurines have been photographed so that a special future issue of F.L.A.A.R. PROGRESS REPORTS will be devoted to them.

White upper half, red lower half cylindrical tripods are an example of local Escuintla invention for decorating slab-foot offering containers (Plate 16). Pottery from Finca Toliman, Tiquisate, Finca San Antonio, Rio Seco, Nueva Concepcion, La Gomera, La Ceiba, Texcuaco, and other Escuintla-region sites, where the ceramic hoard has been unearthed, deserves to be better represented in the national and regional archaeology museums.

Six years of research has contributed considerably to an understanding of the military, religious, trade, and political expansion from Teotihuacan, southward through Oaxaca, into Escuintla, Kaminal Juyu, and the highlands, through Vera Paz, and into the Peten and adjacent Campeche. Other paths of Central Mexican diffusion possibly involved partly land, partly shoreline routes past Veracruz, through Tabasco, into Campeche, Yucatarl, Quintana Roo, and Belize. Teotihuacan-related sculpture or ceramics has been located as far east as Yaxhuna, Becan, and Altun Ha.

The surprising quantity of Teotihuacan-related (or inspired) ceramic art from Escuintla is an indication of the historic discoveries still to be made during this decade in Mesoamerica. Whole regions are actually blank with regard to their prehistory. J. Eric S. Thompson and a number of archaeologists at Monte Alto, Bilbao, and elsewhere on the coast never found a hint of the Escuintla hoards which began to appear in 1969. If Teotihuacan-related ceramic art can be located unexpectedly by modern digging and construction, we may expect similar surprises from elsewhere in Middle America as well.

We must credit Prof. Ruben Chevez Van Dorne for his perserverence in gathering examples of the Escuintla-region 6th-7th century artifacts for exhibition in the La Democracia archaeology museum. Alcaldes, school teachers, governors, finca owners, and businessmen in the principal settlements of Escuintla should preserve their prehistorical heritage by developing a departmental museum in the city of Escuintla, and a second regional museum, or Casa de Cultura, in Tiquisate, the center of pre-Columbian culture in this area.



An unexpected result of the Foundation's photography has been the discovery of a previously unknown hieroglyphic writing system, totally unrelated to either Maya or Teotihuacan glyphs. The thick cartouche and the form of the heads are possibly derived from either a Veracruz or Oaxaca prototype. A mold-impressed vase from Veracruz (Fort Worth Museum of Science and History) has a double-head hieroglyph superficially similar to one of the Tiquisate specimens. It is possible that the Tiquisate hieroglyphs are prototypes of the later Cotzumalhuapa writing system of Bilbao, a site about 60 miles from the Teotihuacan-influenced Tiquisate region.

Photographs of the Tiquisate Escuintla hoards have documented the introduction of a Tlaloc religious cult in coastal Guatemala. Three Tlaloc figurines were unearthed in the same cache as the figurine in Plate 41E. These Tlaloc miniatures each hold lightning bolts in their hands (not illustrated). In Hellmuth (1976) drawings of Tiquisate cylinder tripods from the Foundation's archives will present several Tlaloc images, including a Tlaloc bust set inside a temple, and a frontal Tlaloc holding lightning bolts and surrounded by four smaller Tlalocs each also holding lightning bolts (Plate 40 shows only part of this scene).

The collection of former president of Guatemala General Carlos Arana O. includes a magnificent Tlaloc holding a smaller idol, altogether quite similar to Tlalocs from Teotihuacan (Lujan, 1974: Fig. A0.4). Line drawings or rubbings are needed so that a more precise analysis can be initiated to determine the degree to which these Tiquisate Tlalocs copy the provincial variations of Central Mexican originals.



Plate 40. Portion of a mold-impressed Tiquisate-region large Teotihuacan cylinder tripod, drawing by Barbara Van Heusen. The remainder of the scene has a striding celebrant carrying a strap bag and sowing; typical Teotihuacan fertility symbols complete the scene. This Tlaloc surrounded by four (representing compass directions) smaller lightning Tlalocs can be considered a symbol of Teotihuacan influence on south coastal Guatemala. Information on the spread of the Tlaloc cult needs to be obtained from controlled archaeological excavation, and the stratigraphic relationship of this kind of tripod to other coastal ceramics also needs verification.

More important than the rain Tlalocs, however, is a poorly understood War Deity with ringed eyes, neither a rain or fertility god. Esther Pasztory has correctly pointed out that ringed eyes by themselves do not automatically identify a Tlaloc: many Mexican deities had goggle eyes. The new evidence from Escuintla confirms her classification system, a ringeyed, fanged war deity--along with helmeted warriors--having been found on the Guatemala coast. There are additional indications as well.

Military and religious subjugation were two aspects of Teotihuacan expansion into Escuintla. Behind this combination movement were probably imperialistic designs on monopolizing commerce in Guatemalan products, such as Escuintla cacao and highland obsidian. Escuintla is also on trade routes to the mines much further south of Costa Rica blue jade. Foreign control lasted perhaps until the late 7th century.

War imagery is noticeably prominent on male incensario lids: characters holding bundles of spear-end symbols, and others with sets of spear-end clusters in their headdresses. The Tlaloc with lightning establishes the introduction of Teotihuacan religion into Escuintla; the goggle-eyed war deity, helmeted soldiers, spear motifs, war chief, and eagle imagery document Teotihuacan intrusion into Escuintla by military force. This historical invasion is corroborated by Teotihuacan-related warriors on three stelae from Tres Islas, two sides of Tikal Stela 31, as well as ring-eyed war deities on Yaxha Stela 11 and on a shield on the side of Tikal Stela 31.

We conclude that the main center of Teotihuacan expansion into Guatemala was the tropical coastal plain centered around Finca Toliman, Tiquisate, Nueva Concepcion, Rio Seco, La Ceiba, and La Gomera. Far more Teotihuacan-style artifacts have been located here than in the highland region of Kaminal Juyu. Controlled excavation is needed to determine whether Teotihuacan presence is earlier on the coast or in the highlands. It seems likely that the Peten Maya learned of Teotihuacan culture not from Central Mexico directly but from its colonial outposts throughout Escuintla.

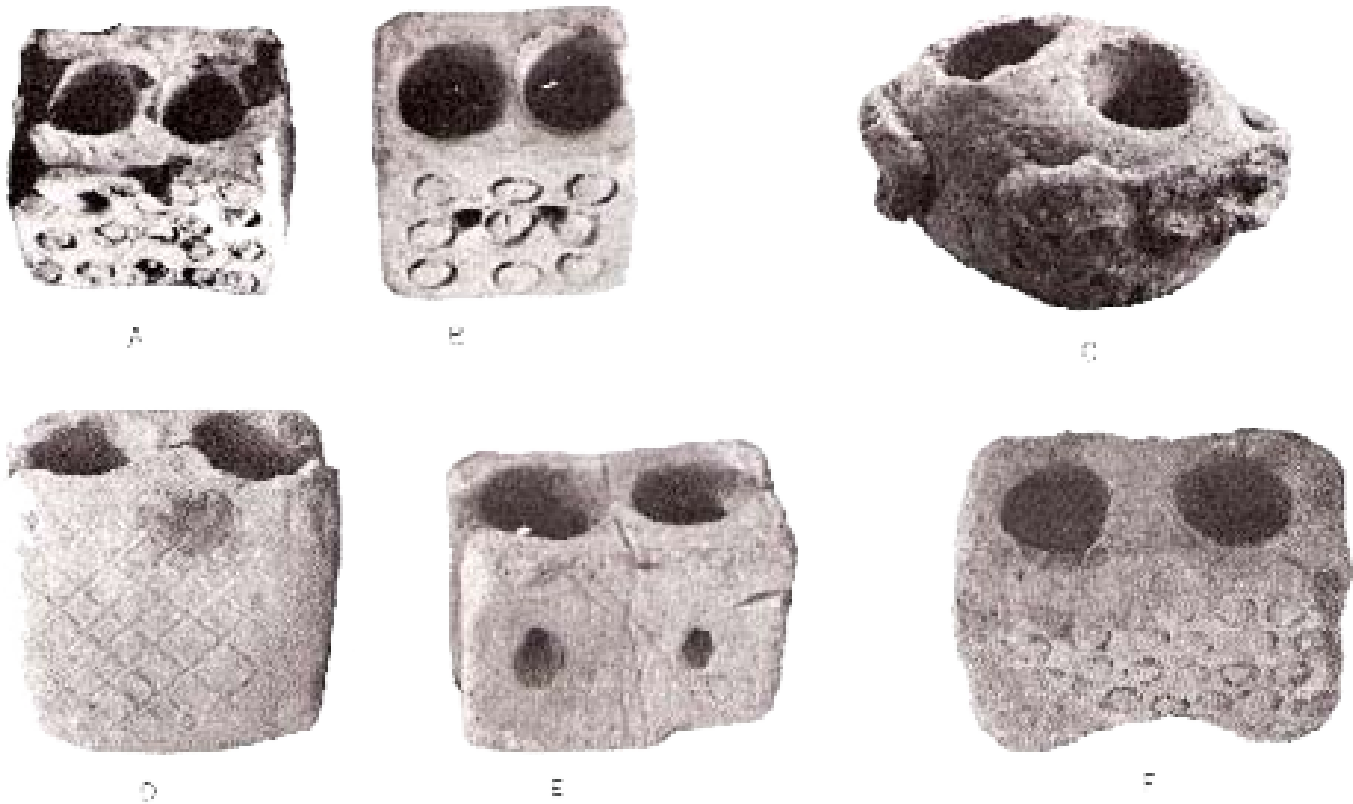


Plate 41A-O. "Candelaros" (candlesticks) from the Tiquisate region. These curious objects are a hallmark of Teotihuacan culture, presumed to be household artifacts. Few if any were discovered at Kaminal Juyu, leading archaeologists to assume that whereas Teotihuacan merchants, missionaries, soldiers, and diplomats may have occupied Kaminal Juyu, colonies of Teotihuacan families did not. The presence of hundreds of candelaros throughout Escuintla suggests that Teotihuacan culture there permeated even to local households.

Plate 41E. Miniature Tiquisate figure, about 3 inches high, Teotihuacan style, from a cache of about 10 such figurines. These objects are generally similar to those found in a Teotihuacan-related cache at Becan, Campeche. The Tiquisate figurines are usually male, and resemble Teotihuacan prototypes; they seem to come from the same sites as Tzakol 3-Esperanza cylinder tripods and hourglass incensarios.





A



B

(Photographs by Edwin Steink)

Plate 42A-B. Hollow Teotihuacan-style figurine, Tiquisate region, private collection, United States. Several smaller figurines are housed inside. This artifact is the same as those found in a Teotihuacan cache at Becan (Ball, 1974). This extremely rare ceramic is also similar to ones in Central Mexico. Close-ups of what is inside the legs are needed; color photographs would also be helpful for research purposes.

The eyes were shiny substances, perhaps iron pyrite or mica. Similarly glittering eyes were placed on the male incensario lids. The mica usually breaks and falls out, while the pyrites decompose with humidity, leaving a gold, crusty material frequently seen in the eyes of large figures and male incensario lids. Iron pyrite ("fool's gold") was not smelted--metal work was unknown until the 10th century or later in Guatemala--but was a naturally occurring mineral which Escuintla people fashioned like any precious stone. Pyrite segments were also set mosaic fashion as mirrors, often found in Maya tombs.

TEOTIHUACAN ART IN THE PETEN

The abundance of Teotihuacan-related ceramic art in the Escuintla and Kaminal Juyu regions shows that the Peten Maya did not have to travel 1000 miles north to Central Mexico to encounter Teotihuacan culture. In fact, the special kind of pottery named Tiquisate ware has already been found at Tikal, demonstrating that the Tikal community was quite familiar with the Teotihuacan outposts of Escuintla.

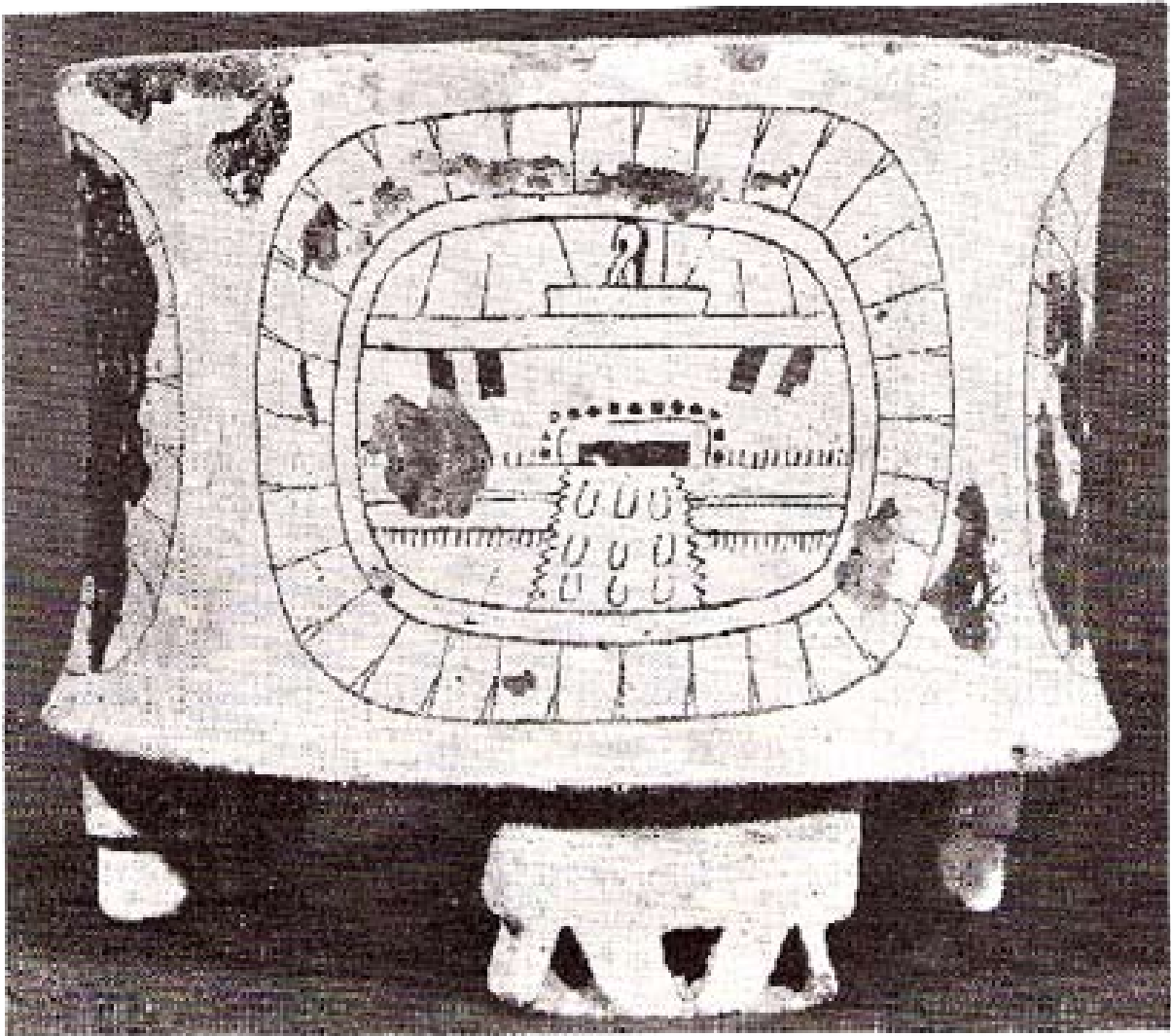


Plate 43. Stucco-painted cylindrical tripod, El Peten region, private collection, Florida. Exceptionally well preserved medallion repeated four times, featuring a rare, complex architectural form of Reptile Eye glyph; similar (but not identical) to examples from Teotihuacan itself, illustrated in Sejourne.

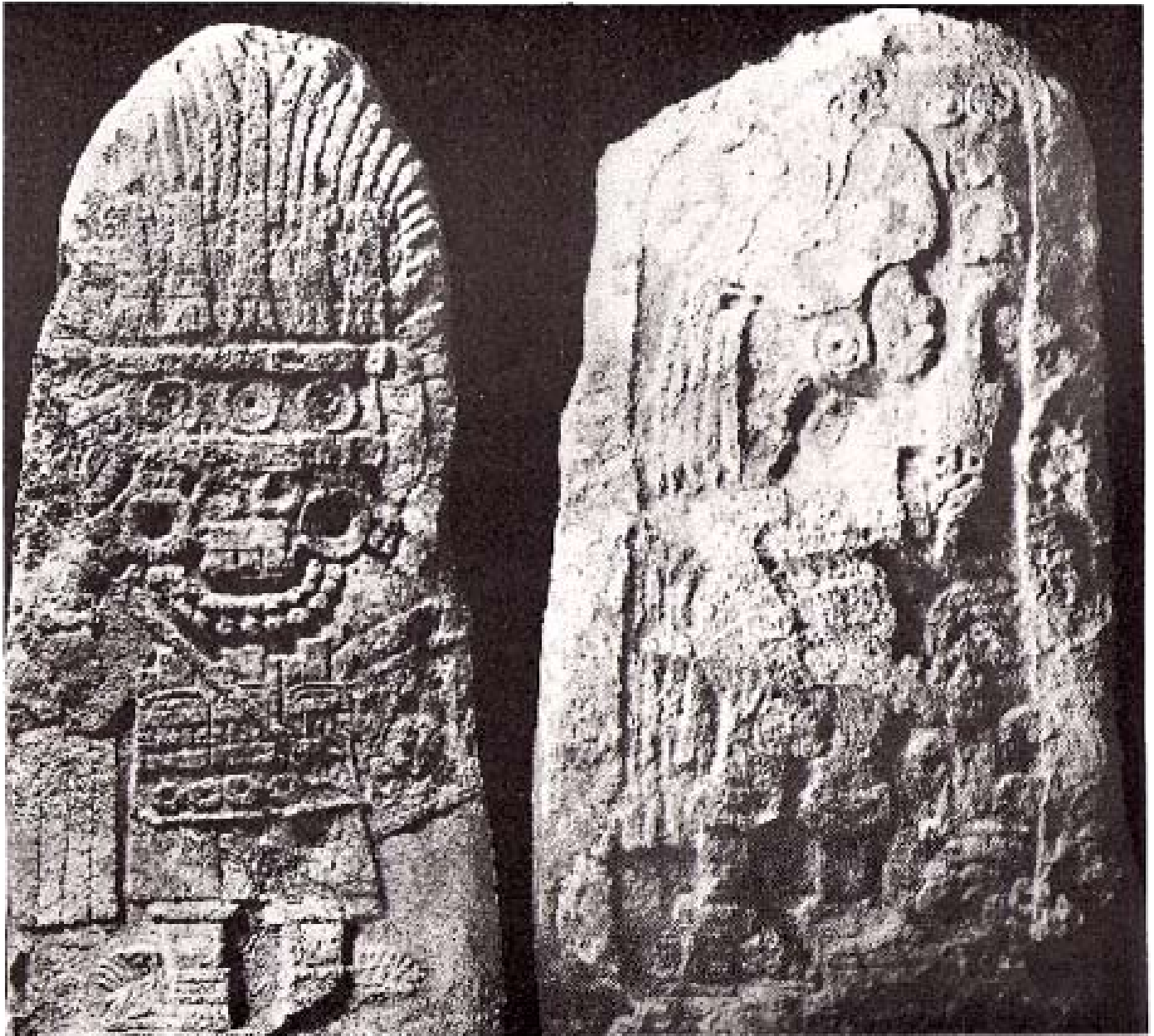


Plate 44 (above, left). Yaxha Stela II, photographed at night with floodlights to reveal full detail. The clothing depicted will be discussed in a subsequent issue of F.L.A.A.R. PROGRESS REPORTS devoted to excavations at Yaxha during 1970-74 seasons.

Plate 45 (above, right). Uaxactun Stela 5, photographed at night with floodlights. A complete analysis of the iconography of this remarkable non-Classic warrior will also be presented in a future issue.

Assessments of Teotihuacan influence on the Maya are based exclusively on the few items excavated at Tikal. Major Peten expressions of Mexican influence--such as Uaxactun Stela 5, three Tres Islas Teotihuacanoid warrior stelae (Ian Graham unpublished drawings), and monumental Yaxha Stela 11--have not been fully considered in the literature. Furthermore, an appreciable number of unpublished provincial Peten Teotihuacan-related cylindrical tripods exist in private and museum collections throughout the world.

A larger quantity of vases, moreover, from heretofore unaccounted sources is now available for study than that produced in fifteen years of excavation at Tikal and two decades of digging at Uaxactun. During the past two years the Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research has photographed several dozen Peten Maya renditions of Teotihuacanoid cylindrical tripods. These tripods are distinctly Peten versions of foreign themes; surprisingly, few if any Tiquisate Esperanza deities (such as Curly Face) are pictured frequently in the Peten. When Teotihuacan gods are portrayed the local artist has altered the image or added traditional Maya decorations.

The long-range goal of several independent investigators--Kubler, W. Coe, Quirarte, Pasztor, Hellmuth--is to understand the Peten use of foreign motifs. What aspects of Peten culture were influenced along with art styles? More importantly, what was the degree of Teotihuacan influence? Was Maya culture overwhelmed by foreign domination as happened at Escuintla and Kaminal Juyu?

From mostly unpublished data, first from the Tikal Project--ceramics uncovered fifteen years ago yet never made available by the University Museum, and principally from archives of the Foundation's current photography work, it is possible to make the following conclusions with respect to Teotihuacan influence on the art of the Peten Maya:



Plate 46. Six views of a carved cylinder tripod with Teotihuacan-shaped lid, El Peten region, John Fulling collection, Florida. This extraordinary vessel combines El Tajin, Veracruz, scrolls on the lid with a Teotihuacan shape (vase and lid) and a unique representation of the human body--neither Mexican nor Classic Maya. Except for later Quirigua Stela E, the El Tajin curl motifs are rarely found in Maya art. This important work is consequently of great iconographic interest and illustrates the importance of publishing unknown masterpieces of ceramic art from private collections.



(Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art; photography facilitated by Julie Jones)

Plate 47A-B. Carved cylindrical tripod and lid, El Peten region, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. An unusual vase encircled with a ceramic ballgame yoke; on the vase are several seated players facing a rubber ball decorated with long plumes. The entire circumference of this piece, as well as its lid, will be illustrated in Hellmuth (in preparation), *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Gift of Mrs. Charles S. Payson, 1970.

First: So-called "Teotihuacan" art at Tikal is a distinct variant of Maya art, usually with admixtures of either highland Maya or lowland Maya design elements. In other words, Teotihuacan art at Tikal is clearly not imported from Central Mexico nor even formed by Mexican artisans. No truly Teotihuacan artifacts, paintings, or carvings have yet been found at Tikal, Yaxha, Uaxactun, or elsewhere. It is much more likely that the Peten Maya learned of Teotihuacan culture from provincial outposts in the Guatemala highlands or adjacent Escuintla plain.

The often published Tikal cylindrical tripod scene labeled "temples and warriors of Teotihuacan" (W. Coe, 1960) is incorrectly interpreted as portraying distant Teotihuacan. The scene presents a number of traits, including temple tops, never seen in the murals of Central Mexico. This Tikal work most likely depicts Kaminal Juyu, Tiquisate region, or some other provincial tablero-talud outpost in Guatemala. Rene Millon long ago indicated that the actual Tikal tripod vase in question was not a purely Teotihuacan form (1969: personal communication). We may conclude that the source of Teotihuacan elements in Tikal art were Kaminal Juyu and Escuintla.

Second: The degree of Teotihuacan influence on the Tzakol 3 Maya has been greatly underestimated because of the considerable quantity of hybrid Teotihuacan-Maya pottery and stelae that is not yet appreciated. Scores of slab-foot cylindrical tripods from private and museum collections, including many stucco-painted examples, reveal the actual extent to which Maya culture received foreign influence during the 6th century AD. Whereas none of these are importations direct from Teotihuacan, they are the results of Maya interest via imitation of a popular imported style.



In particular, the degree of Uaxactun utilization of foreign motifs has been poorly appreciated; Stelae 5 and 26, Structure B-XIII murals (headdress of the black figure), ceramics, and other artifacts, especially Tlaloc earplugs of Tzakol 3 Burial A-31. The most non-Maya sculpture at Uaxactun, Stela 5, has a Tikal emblem glyph on its side (not noted in the Thompson Catalog) which suggests that the historical incursion of foreign traders, representatives, missionaries, or warriors affected both Uaxactun and Tikal simultaneously. It may not be entirely coincidental that Tikal was surrounded by a dry moat and defensive embankment at this time, fortifying it against Uaxactun.

Third: Religion, warriors and military prowess, and historical events or personages are the foreign themes most frequently represented on Teotihuacanoid art in the Peten. Trade too is represented by green obsidian found in excavations.

To form a realistic perspective of historical relationships between the two great civilizations it is essential to take all available evidence into account, not solely a few often published artifacts misidentified as imported from Teotihuacan. Instead of relying only on Tikal Stela 31 and 32 and a few ceramic artifacts to provide visual information on international relationships of that time, studies need to include lesser known stelae, and not incidentally, fresh material from museum and private collections.

Rather than repetitiously looking to distant Teotihuacan or Kaminal Juyu as sources of all El Peten foreign traits, furthermore, the region of Tiquisate must be considered. Finally, the relationship of El Peten with El Tajin, Veracruz, Mexico, in connection with the popularization of the ballgame and scroll motifs, must also be studied.

Utilizing all the varied resources of previously unrecorded artifact collections, we can reassess statements about the degree and nature of contact between Maya and provincial Teotihuacan outposts. As research and publication funds become available the Foundation will issue all the Tzakol 3-Teotihuacan related material from its photographic archives, in order to provide a basis for reopening the complex Question of Maya El Peten-Teotihuacan relations.



Plate 48. Black cylindrical tripod, Campeche, Mexico (near the Peten). This masterpiece of Tzakol 3, 6th-century ceramic art features a bird whose wings embrace the vase; its tail forms the third support. The upper beak curves like a nose of the popular Tzakol "Long Nosed" mythical creature. A similar bird appears on a double-chambered vase at the Museum of Primitive Art, New York. Lee Parsons has drawings of Kaminal Juyu stone bas relief sculpture with similar long-nosed faces (not necessarily on bird bodies). Such faces also decorate Tzakol Tikal temple pyramid facades adjacent to stairways.

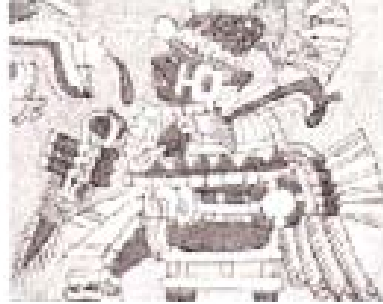
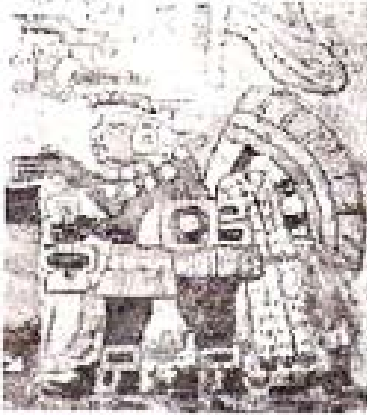
TEPEU 2 RENAISSANCE IN CLASSIC MAYA USE OF TEOTIHUACAN MOTIFS

From the year 534 AD (Maya Long Count 9.5.0.0.0) until 593 a distinct lull in commemorative stela erection suggests a period of stress at most Maya sites. Willey, Proskouriakoff, and other scholars have characterized this period as one of unknown--but momentous



Plate 49. Portion of Piedras Negras Lintel 2 (9.11.15.0.0, Tepeu I), Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Originally studied by Robert Rands in his unpublished doctoral dissertation and also mentioned by Kubler, this work is the most blatant example of Teotihuacan-related militarism in the Maya area. The helmets are distinctly Teotihuacan, similar forms being quite common, especially in Metepec-period Teotihuacan mold-made figurines; they are of the same type as found on Tiquisate figures (Plate 36), on Tres Islas stelae, and here, surmounted by a blunt imbricated trapiziform.

The upswinging back plumage and pendant tails are likewise often seen in late Teotihuacan murals, as well as on Tzakol 3 ceramics (Plate 6A-C) and on the figures shown in Plates 50A, 50B. Less understood is the clothing of these kneeling Piedras Negras warriors, but it is also effectively copied from Teotihuacan prototypes, such as on the Linne Calpulapan vase. Only the spears and jewelry seem to be local Maya.



CHRONOLOGICAL CHART--APPROXIMATE CORRELATION  
Maya Realm Central Mexico

A.D.		
890	Collapse of Classic Maya civilization	
	TEPEU 3	
850	Beginning of decline of Maya civilization	
750	Destruction and abandonment of Teotihuacan	
700	TEPEU 2	METEPEC/TEOTIHUACAN IV
	Tablero-talud architecture at Tikal and Yaxha	
600	TEPEU I	
-----		
	TZAKOL 3 Cylinder tripods	XOLALPAN/TEOTIHUACAN III
500		
400	TZAKOL 2 Teotihuacan sculpture in El Peten	TLAMIMILOLPA/TEOTIHUACAN IIA
300		
200	TZAKOL I	
-----		
150	Preclassic Teotihuacan influence on Altun Ha	MICCAOTLI/TEOTIHUACAN II

Plate 50A. Monte Alban Tomb 104 with Teotihuacanoid figure wearing upswinging back plumage and pendant tails of Central Mexico; compare with Piedras Negras Lintel 2 and Tres Islas monuments (not illustrated) .

Plate 50B. Kaminal Juyu stucco-painted cylindrical tripod (from Kidder, Jennings, Shook, 1946: PI. 204) showing seated warrior with atlatl, strap bag, and typical Teotihuacan back clothing often worn by warriors.

Plate 50C. Detail from Piedras Negras Lintel 2. This warrior has an unusual headdress, but the rest of his uniform is standard provincial Teotihuacan, especially the back plumage, shoulder hangings, and rectangular shield with imbricated trapiziform (seen by turning the page at an angle). Notice the ringed eye; the Tlaloc ring is sometimes done with inset seashell. The spear, jewelry, and facial features indicate Usumacinta River Maya, so we are not considering a Teotihuacan-related army, but a local Maya special force--a military order--utilizing Teotihuacan-derived symbols. Implications of this need to be studied.

--culture change. Willey asks whether the withdrawal of Teotihuacan influences did not precipitate the stela hiatus and associated cultural disturbances (1974: p. 423).

Archaeologists have unanimously recognized that after the hiatus, and especially after destruction and abandonment of Teotihuacan (about 750 AD), Teotihuacan influence on the Maya ceased. Unaccounted for, however, is the fact that tablero-talud provincial Mexican-related architecture was erected both at Tikal and at Yaxha (unpublished) during Tepeu 1 times--shortly after the hiatus. At about the same time of supposed Teotihuacan withdrawal stelae in the Usumacinta River area shows a resurgence in portrayal of Teotihuacanoid military uniforms; in particular, the helmet and shield of Lacanja Stela 1 is dated 9.8.0.0.0, making it the first monument erected after the hiatus. Even more



Plate 51A. El Peten-region Maya plate demonstrating archaism: an 8th-century painting reproducing a Late Classic version of earlier 6th-7th century Tzakol 3 Teotihuacan-Maya motifs. A complete iconographic analysis of this attractively painted work is forthcoming. Formerly from a private collection, Florida, it was recently donated to a museum.

Plate 51B. El Peten-region Maya Tepeu 2 (8th century) three-legged plate adorned with imbricated trapeziforms, ring-eyed Tlaloc faces, and Kan Crosses. Photographed in 1971 in the Guatemala City collection of Jorge Castillo, this plate is now missing; Sr. Castillo or the author will welcome information on its present location so as to effect its return. It will be reproduced in larger scale, with detailed enlargements in a future issue.

dramatic demonstration of Teotihuacan resurgence is Piedras Negras Lintel 2 (circa 9.11.15.0.0, about 670 AD), also with military accoutrements. Other Tepeu 1 examples include Copan Stela 5 and 6, and Pusilha Stela C.

During Tepeu 2 times the following patterns, which will be documented by illustrations in future F.L.A.A.R. PROGRESS REPORTS and Foundation technical publications, have been deduced:

First: Tlaloc is no longer featured as a dominant, large-as-life deity as on Tzakol Yaxha Stela 11 or Tikal Stela 32; instead he is reduced in size and combined with traditional Maya costume, such as in the Bonampak murals (Room 1 dressing scene), Copan Hieroglyphic stairway (central seated personages and miscellaneous sculpture in Peabody Museum storage); Piedras Negras Stela 8, Usumacinta River region ballgame sculpture (Art Institute of Chicago), Palenque stucco pil-lars (loincloth motifs), and other similar sculptures.

Second: Reduced Tlaloc faces often adorn hand-held strap bags (often termed Copal Bags); such bags are frequently included in late Teotihuacan murals. A few Tepeu 2 examples of Tlaloc-decorated bags are La Mar Stela 1, Tikal Stela 16 and Stela 22.

Third: Reduced Tlaloc faces occasionally adorn clothing of females. This is depicted on Bonampak Stela 2, Tikal lintel of Temple 2, and a painted vase, private collection (Foundation archives).

Fourth: Reduced Tlaloc faces often have a protruding curl issuing from the nose, probably derived from the god's relation to the butterfly. Examples are the Jonuta sculptured fragment (Houston Museum of Art), Usumacinta River region ballgame sculpture (Art Institute of Chicago), frequently on sculptures of Yaxchilan and elsewhere.

Fifth: Reduced Tlaloc faces often adorn warriors who usually wear or carry other Teotihuacan symbols, such as trapiziform, rectangular plumed shields, atlats, and Xochicalco Xi sign: see Dos Pilas Stela 16, Aguateca Stela 2, Yaxchilan Lintel 8, and 41, and so forth. In general, warrior chiefs are the most common personages adorned with Teotihuacan-derived symbols, especially at Piedras Negras, where most of them carry rectangular shields and helmets or other clothing from earlier Mexican prototypes.

Sixth: Imbricated trapiziforms (Mexican "years signs") are often utilized in headdresses, but usually in a Tepeu 2 Maya form sufficiently altered from the original so as to defy immediate recognition, such as on Tikal Stela 16 and Naranjo Stela 24. Such headdresses are especially popular at Piedras Negras, Dos Pilas, Aguateca, Yaxchilan--the Usumacinta River and its tributaries, the region demonstrating strong ties with Teotihuacan outposts during Tzakol 3 times (e.g. the three Tres Islas stelaes).

Seventh: In ceramic art several Tepeu 2 trends can be noted: no longer are foreign vase shapes copied. Teotihuacan motifs now appear on traditional Maya vases.

Eighth: The imbricated trapiziform becomes a popular decoration for Tepeu 2 ceramics. Robert Smith illustrates many for Uaxactun; the Foundation's photograph archives have numerous unpublished examples which will be presented in future publications.

Ninth: Tlaloc faces, usually front views, often have triangular frames on the sides, possibly indicating a simple trapiziform.

Tenth: The Kan cross, a common Tepeu 2 motif in traditional Maya contexts, was quite common in the murals and ceramics of Teotihuacan during Tzakol 3 times (and was probably originated by the Olmec). Kan cross earplugs are common for figures also

otherwise dressed with trapiziforms, Tlalocs, Xi signs, rectangular shields, strap bags, and other foreign devices (Copan and one Tikal Central Acropolis wall carving are examples). Kan crosses are also present on Tepeu 2 painted pottery with Tlalocs and trapiziforms.

Eleventh: Southern Lowland El Peten and Chiapas Maya use of Tlalocs, trapiziforms, and associated motifs peak during the period between 9.15.0.0 and 9.18.0.0 except at Copan and Piedras Negras, where Tepeu 1 treatments are also frequent.

Certainly the traditional concept of Late Classic Maya purity of design (meaning absence of Teotihuacan or other Mexican foreign symbolism) needs to be replaced with a thorough analysis of the changing patterns of Maya employment of foreign designs throughout pre-Columbian history.

#### SOME CONCLUSIONS

Uaxactun Stela 5, Yaxha Stela 11, Tikal Stela 31, and three Tres Islas stelae, as well as Kaminal Juyu stucco painted scenes and Tiquisate mold-impressed cylindrical tripods, demonstrate that some form of warrior society was introduced along with Teotihuacan cult symbolism into Guatemala during Tzakol 3 times. After the stela hiatus on the western frontier, at Lacanja (Stela 1) and at Piedras Negras (Lintel 2), Mexicanized warriors are still prominent.

Until the date of the two strange Tikal Central Acropolis sculptures is released, the situation at Tikal remains unclear. Around 9.15.0.0 throughout the Central Maya lowlands a noticeable resurgence of militarism takes place. Not unsurprisingly, the warrior chiefs surround themselves with the trappings of the greatest military force known to the Maya--the former Teotihuacanos. Ceramic decoration followed this Teotihuacan admiration.

The degree of Teotihuacan influence on Maya art and society during Tzakol times was apparently sufficiently great to alter forever the content of Maya symbolism. Of course, after 750 AD Teotihuacan itself no longer existed as a source of inspiration; Xochicalco took over limited contact with several Maya sites through as yet unknown intermediaries, but most likely the Tepeu 2 renaissance of Tlaloc and trapiziform symbolism is an archaism returning to cults and practices already introduced to Guatemala during the 6th century.

Late Classic Maya ceramic art and stelae are a mine of information on historical events throughout the Maya realm. Archaeologists have tended to restrict themselves solely to the internal constituents of ceramic temper, paste, and shape--a scientific approach which conveniently ignores the pictorial representations painted on the pottery's surface. As photography of museum and private collections continues we can look forward to further documentation from which clearer understandings of the historical process in ancient Mesoamerica will emerge.

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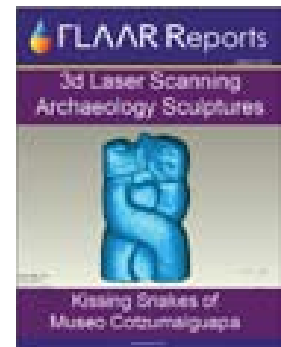
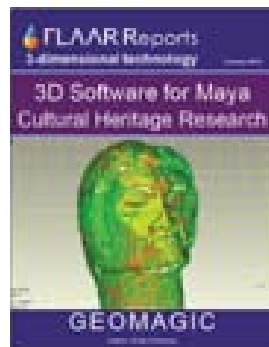
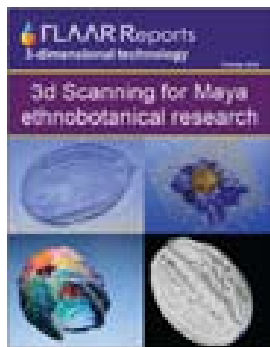
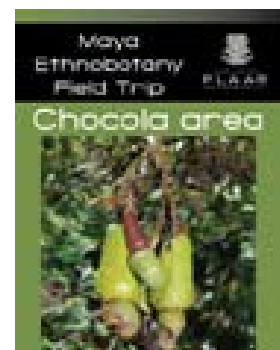
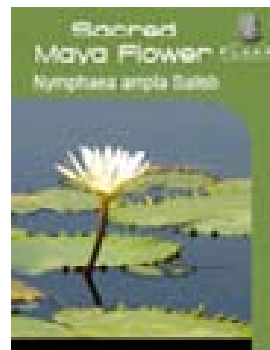
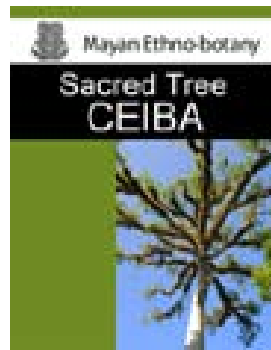
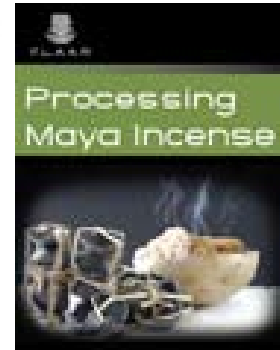
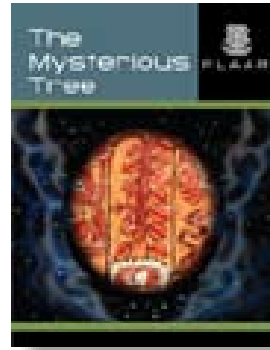
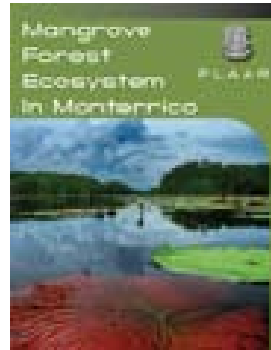
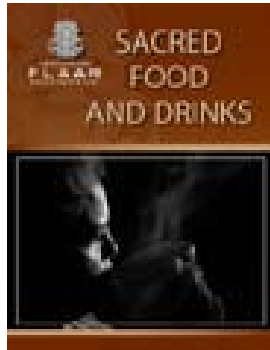
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