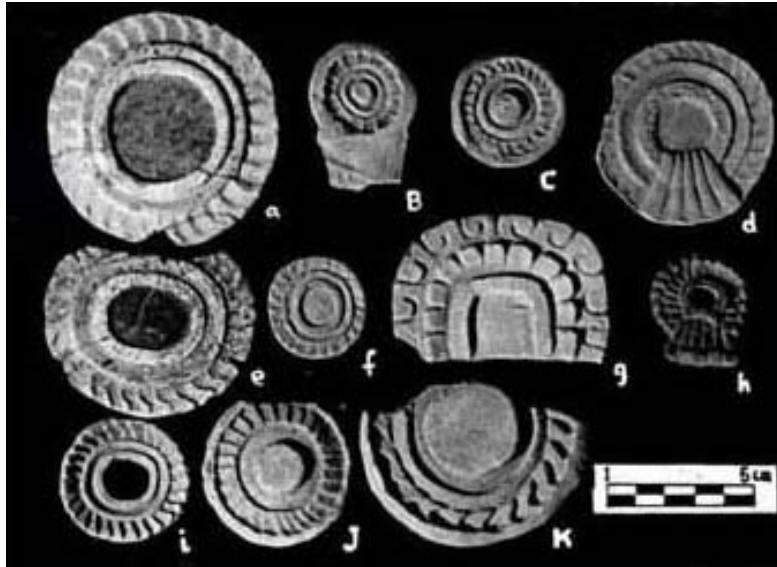


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Censer Symbolism and the State Polity in Teotihuacán



Research Year: 1998

Culture: Teotihuacán

Chronology: Late Pre-Classic to Late Classic

Location: Highland México

Site: Teotihuacán

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Introduction

The research project focused on the so-called theater-type censers that have been found mainly in Teotihuacán, and the highlands and Pacific slopes of Guatemala. It was intended to provide new perspectives, particularly on state involvement in ceramic production. Specific meanings and functions of images associated with the censer complexes were also examined within broad social contexts; this may lead to a better understanding of Classic period Teotihuacán presence abroad.

A ceramic workshop for censer production was found by the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) in 1982, providing an ideal opportunity to interpret imagery in socio-political contexts (Rodríguez, 1982; Múnera, 1985; Langley, 1992). More than 20,000 pieces of molds and ornaments called "adornos," with tools and production debris, were excavated within the largest precinct of the city, called the "Ciudadela" complex (Múnera, 1985). The workshop was located in the western part of the northern enclosure attached on the North Platform of the Ciudadela (Compound 2 of Sector N1E1, according to Millon, Drewitt, and Cowgill, 1973). This long rectangular space was completely closed from the outside with thick, high, masonry walls, but had direct access to the interior of the Ciudadela through two staircases. Therefore, the location can functionally be considered as a part of the Ciudadela complex. Significant amounts of the censers fragments and "adornos" were also found in one of the residential complexes, called "Palaces" in the "Ciudadela." Excavation contexts in the workshop and in the "North Palace" of the "Ciudadela" lead us to the hypothesis that the production and distribution of these objects was most likely controlled by the state. The project was designed to provide further specific, and substantive data, in order to test this proposition through comparative analyses of the censer iconography found in the city and abroad.

The project consisted of contextualizing the data from the workshop by publishing it together with a catalog, including library and museum research, a review of public and private collections, and other samples in Teotihuacán and Guatemala. Although the original project was carried out as planned in terms of data collection and analysis, the publication has not been accomplished yet, mainly because a much greater quantity of data was collected than was originally expected, and the complexity of this data required further work in cataloging and analyses. Therefore, the effort supported by the FAMSI grant was dedicated primarily to organizing the data gathered in different places as described below. As a consequence, two volumes of the catalog were prepared to be included in this final report, one titled "Ritual Ceramics at a Workshop in the Ciudadela, Teotihuacán: Catalog" almost ready to be published in México, and another called "Data Base for Theater-type Censers Found in Teotihuacán and Abroad #1," which will be useful in further comparative analyses by any interested researchers. When the included information is published as a book or articles in the future, a copy of them will be sent to the FAMSI Library.

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Recording and Cataloging

Despite the important implications of the discovery, data on the workshop have not been published, beside limited access to Múnera's thesis from the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH), which briefly discusses the discovery. With the FAMSI grant, the applicant obtained permission from INAH in 1998 to approach again a part of the workshop materials, and was able to independently prepare additional photographic records and general statistical data of the workshop materials. Newly gathered materials were integrated into the catalog originally prepared by Múnera and Sugiyama in the 1980s. The first volume included in this final report presents the nearly final form of the publication in Spanish for México.

In addition, INAH further provided opportunities to go over the fragmented censer material, so-called "adornos," found by INAH excavations at various locations within the city. The major portion of the data was arranged to form the second volume of this report; general information of the catalogs is described very briefly in the next paragraphs as the analysis is still going on, and the final text for publication will be prepared when the research is concluded. It also should be mentioned that a significant amount of the information on the Teotihuacán-type censers found in museums and private collections in Guatemala was also obtained; however, the pictures and descriptive data were not included in this report, since they were taken with special authorization of the providers only as personal information for analyses and will not be published without their permission.

Ritual Ceramics at a Workshop in the Ciudadela, Teotihuacán: Catalog

by Carlos Múnera B. and Saburo Sugiyama

The cataloging process is described in the Spanish volume, with the notes on the quantification procedure, grouping of pieces for the photos, and preliminary comments.

The iconographical motifs were divided into five categories: plants, animals, anthropomorphic figures, other motifs, and other parts of censers (i.e., fragments of functional parts, like vases or chimneys). The molds and ornaments—both originals and copies made with original molds—were included to show the wide variety of motifs within the same category. Pieces were selected for photos, with the idea that the catalog

should include wider iconographic variety; therefore it does not necessarily represent the quantitative proportion by motif. The photos include materials of unique motifs that were not applied in other pieces. Applications of the molds were made by Múnera and Sugiyama to better understand negative motifs in positive copies, with the clay used by modern ceramic manufacturers living in San Sebastián, a village to the south of the Archaeological Tourist Zone in Teotihuacán. Each piece in the photos is indicated with a different type of letter according to whether they are original molds (capital letters), original copies (small letters), or modern copies made with original molds (small letters underlined).

Quantitative data should be considered as being tentative information, since the grouping depends on the definition of each motif, and one piece often has two or more motifs and can belong to other categories at the same time. However, I believe that these numbers adequately represent quantitative trends by motif for censer imageries in Teotihuacán. The symbolism produced at this workshop can be characterized quantitatively, and the data can be compared with other sets of motifs found in different parts of the city and abroad.

Presentation

Teotihuacán, one of the archaeological sites more intensely explored within the Mesoamerican area, presents a varied range of information originated in archaeological excavations, the study of which has allowed to largely understand the process of growth of its inhabitants, the urban pattern of the ancient city, and several artistic manifestations such as mural paintings, while some overall notion regarding the funerary system or the burial pattern has also been obtained. Also, there's information concerning ideology and religion, and regarding as well the cultural relationships that the great metropolis of Teotihuacán maintained with other Mesoamerican areas.

The excavations of the Teotihuacán Archaeological Project (TAP) carried out by the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) during the years 1980-82, have also provided material numbers and a rich corpus of information, while results of most of such studies have become available through different publications; however, the project ceased to exist before work was concluded. A number of researchers who participated in the above project have continued studying the materials, integrating information, widening discussions and presenting results in different forums and scientific gatherings. Three books have been the result of such studies, and nine Bachelor dissertations presented at the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH) were elaborated; some of them have been published, thanks mainly to the interest of the researchers who integrated said project.

However, due to the lack of the necessary supports, it was not possible to continue and to make progress in regard to the analysis of the substantial materials recovered during the excavations, and most of these archaeological collections are presently stored and awaiting to be studied.

This study, displayed as a catalog, is a part of those recovered materials that remained, for a long time, awaiting to be published. It provides highly interesting information, mainly in the field of iconography, and being as they are, materials originated in a rare finding, the study is imbued of a particular significance. This is a part of a ritual ceramic workshop located in the North Quadrangle of the Ciudadela, and because of its context, it has been said that the workshop was established under the initiative of the residents of this large architectural compound, considered to be the ruling center of the Teotihuacán state. In other words, this was a workshop that produced luxury objects of an ideological character.

This collection includes numerous ceramic objects, uncommon in Teotihuacán, mainly molds and object reproductions that were used as decorative appliquéés in censers known as "theater-type censers" (*braseros tipo teatro*), typical of this great religious center. Together with these substantial materials, numerous mass elaborated figurines mainly made of clay were found, as also clay masks with their molds, and several tools and remains of possible ceramic furnaces. This material, presented in five groups, has been classified based on the different subjects represented in them. The general classification was first undertaken by Carlos Múnera, who included part of this information in his Bachelor dissertation; later, Saburo Sugiyama carried on with the classification and made its final arranging. Both scholars were a part of the project we have referred to.

The iconographic analysis of these materials is still to be made, and this is why they are now presented in this publication, so that experts in this field may use the information and produce their own interpretations, which will represent a valuable contribution and increase knowledge on the Teotihuacán culture.

Rubén Cabrera Castro
Project Coordinator
Teotihuacán Archaeological Project 1980-82

Introduction

The material displayed in this catalog was recovered during the excavations carried out by the Teotihuacán Archaeological Project 1980-82, INAH (Cabrera *et al.* 1982a, 1982b) in the so-called North Plaza of the Ciudadela (Rodríguez 1982). There, the working area of a workshop destined to the manufacture of ritual ceramic pieces, mass-produced with molding techniques was found, particularly set for the production of the well-known biconical censers ornamented with appliquéés also known as "theater-type censers," as well as for the production of other figurines that include the so-called portrait-heads, and the little masks that were added to the larger censers and masks, probably used in funerary rituals (Múnera 1985).

It is possible, though we are unable to assert it at this time, that the postfire incised decoration (sgraffito) and the frescos on tripod cylindrical vases were also made here; this is suggested by a certain amount of fragments (heavily deteriorated) found in the refill of an architectural modification.

The workshop was located at the far west of the North Plaza, within the Ciudadela, which is found in turn between the northern platform and the fertile lowlands of the San Juan River, delimited to the west by the Avenue of the Dead and to the east by a small wall that enclosed a space measuring 60 m x 47 m. The rest of the North Plaza to the east has not been explored, and we anticipate the possible presence of other workshops or activity areas.

The communication between this space and the interior of the Ciudadela was made possible by means of two staircases situated on the slope of the North Platform. The first staircase lies immediately south of the workshop, while the second is a bit more to the east; this one headed to the upper part of the North Platform and possibly communicated with the North Palace of the Temple of Quetzalcóatl, where important amounts of censers similar to the ones manufactured at the workshop were found.

Probably due to social problems existing before the destruction of the Ciudadela, and from discoveries made in the palace mentioned above, where traces of violent acts were identified (Millon 1988), the accesses to this workshop had been blocked with soil and coarse stones. However, and as opposed to the palace, no evidence of violent actions were found at the workshop, as shown by the fact that in the main structure (small room), right in the middle of it and on the floor, in an amazing state of preservation, the stone sculpture of the Old God, or Fire Lord was found; it looked to the west across the portal arch, while the pyrite earflares had come off and lied at each side of the sculpture. In association with the sculpture, a Tlaloc-type vessel and several censers were recovered; the less damaged one exhibited a decoration of molded appliques of small animals emerging from marine shells, and also featured a band of a type Hasso Von Winning (1985) has referred to as combs.

The workshop activities that involved a mass production through the use of molds, allowed for a rapid and abundant output, and this has led us to consider the participation of a small number of craftsmen; maybe simply a teacher with some assistants who may have learned the craft, not only in relation to their training as potters, but also in the knowledge of symbols and glyphs, many of which are represented in the mural paintings. Just like a typographer composing a text, the potter, while arranging the different molded pieces on the front part of the censer, and in combining different symbols and colors, was capable of representing a certain reading or message in each one of the censers.

As to the elaboration technique and the manufacturing process, evidence was found, under the collapse of the walls and above the final stage floor of the workshop, of the use of raw materials, work instruments, leftovers and imperfect pieces, utensils elaborated, and the spatial distribution of the different activity areas, where the

preparation of clay, the molding, and firing of the pottery took place (for a detailed discussion on this subject, see Múnera 1985).

General Comments on Cataloging

The classification presented here includes groups of the different motifs in a very general manner and by no means pretends to be exhaustive; we are simply interested in making this material available, and we have classified it in four groups as shall be later seen.

For more complete information regarding the iconography of the materials found in the context of a ceramic workshop, we have attempted to illustrate with photographs, and as widely as possible, the huge variety of designs from this collection, including those pieces that feature the more extravagant motifs and which do not correspond to any of the established groups. Instead, pieces with the more widely known and more frequently repeated motifs, such as a variety of shells, the repeated volutes, the feather representations, etc., required just a small number of pictures, notwithstanding the large amount of existing pieces. The content of the tables included in this catalog may provide some idea of the number of pieces included in each group.

As to the analyses of the materials, a first classification was completed by Múnera, who prepared an overall grouping for his dissertation (Múnera 1985). Later, Múnera and Sugiyama undertook a second revision of the materials that had already been set apart from the fragments that contained poor iconographic information, with the purpose of verifying the original classification or changing it altogether for this catalog. Once the second classification was completed, Sugiyama took the pictures presented here. Then, Sugiyama revised once again the materials related to the ceramic workshop that were accessible to him, with the purpose of quantifying them in accordance with the second categorization established by Múnera and Sugiyama. The additional photographs were taken upon completion of the final modification.

The quantitative analysis was accomplished during a short season. Besides, after concluding the analyses conducted at the Teotihuacán laboratory, the access to this facility was restricted to us, due to situations that affected both the authors and the materials involved. For this reason, we were unable to verify some quantification data and to modify the original classification design. Therefore, a deeper analysis of said materials that takes into account the ceramic components, a typological classification, and the corresponding chronology, is still pending. However, we consider that the preliminary data presented here do reflect significantly the ceramic production activities that have taken place in the excavated area.

We must point out that not all ceramic materials found in this place, such as the different types of vessels and figurine fragments, have been included here. Although such materials were not directly related to the ceramic workshop, they may provide references for the information presented here. The archaeologist Ignacio Rodríguez,

who conducted the excavations here, is in charge of analyzing this material. Therefore, the tables prepared by Sugiyama that follow the photographic order from this catalog, do not necessarily match the one originally prepared by Múnera, who included, in his dissertation, several general tables. However, the numbers in both tables feature an identical quantitative characteristic. The difference between both tables is due mainly to the different manners of grouping, and to the fact that a large number of pieces with different iconographic elements, may belong to different groups. We believe that the two tables prepared under two different points of view, provide references about the same set of materials.

The total number of materials revised by Sugiyama amounted to 20,637 pieces (3,281 molds and 17,356 appliqués). Preliminary analyses indicate that the primary function of this ceramic workshop was the production of censers. We are sure that more than 60% of this material was used for the theater-type censers. This assertion is based on the existing literature in regard to these censers (i.e. Berlo 1983; Gamio 1979; Helmuth 1975, 1978; Séjourné 1966; Von Winning 1987). Should we include other appliqués probably made for censers, then the total pieces would cover a percentage of 80%.

As suggested in Múnera's dissertation, the workshop may have probably been at the service of people residing inside the Ciudadela. This proposition is supported by the fact that a large amount of molds and reproductions, similar to the ones described in here, were found by archaeologists Ana María Jarquín and Enrique Martínez in the northern residential complex of the Ciudadela (Jarquín and Martínez 1982). Unfortunately, those materials could not be revised by the authors to provide wider information in this catalog. Future studies on the aforementioned pieces, together with the ones presented here, will provide richer information about the function that the ceramic workshop may have had, information which in turn will contribute to a greater understanding of the history of this great monumental complex known as the "Ciudadela".

General Classification

- I. Phytomorphic Motifs: Realistic and Schematized Representations. Photos: 1-16.
 - II. Zoomorphic Figures: Realistic and Schematized Representations. Photos: 17-49.
 - III. Anthropomorphic Figures: Attributes of Deities and Characters. Photos: 50-129.
 - IV. Other Motifs: Different Representations and Symbols. Photos: 130-207.
- Other Pieces: Censer Fragments. Photos: 208-216.

Quantification Tables

Table I. Phytomorphic: Realistic and Schematized Representations				
Photo No.	Description	Molds	Reproductions	Total

1	Maize ear, variants	3	69	72
2	Squash, fruit	0	2	2
3	Vegetable, variants	2	5	7
4	Chile, variants	2	7	9
5	Possible cacao fruit	1	17	18
6	Fruit	1	10	11
7	Cacao	1	0	1
8, 9	Possible cactaceous	1	12	13
10, 156	Possible cotton flower, variants	15	632	647
11	Water lily, variants	8	270	278
12, 13, 14	Flower, variants	24	109	133
15	Leaves, variants	10	27	37
16	Flower with a central mouth	0	1	1
Sub-Total		68	1,161	1,229

Table II. Zoomorphic: Realistic and Schematized Representations				
Photo No.	Description	Molds	Reproductions	Total
17, 18, 19	Birds, variants	16	174	190
20	Feathered eye	5	51	56
21	Birds, front	0	2	2
22	Body of bird and duck head	2	1	3
23-29	Butterflies, variants	30	522	552
30	Butterfly, fragment	1	0	1
31	Butterfly antennas	4	93	97
32	Stylized butterfly or nose plug	25	112	137
33	Butterfly wings	11	13	24
34	Tlacuache?	3	35	38
35, 36, 37	Feline fauces or jaw	19	46	65
38	Animal claw	1	1	2
39	Animal fauces, profile	0	3	3
40	Animal head	2	14	16
41	Rabbit, turtle, monkey, etc.	0	8	8
42, 43	Snails, variants	8	303	311
44-47	Shells, variants	11	460	471
48	Animal emerging from a shell	1	13	14
49	Stars, variants	3	70	73
Sub-Total		142	1,921	2,063

Table III. Anthropomorphic: Attributes of Deities and Characters				
Photo No.	Description	Molds	Reproductions	Total
50-56	Tlaloc, variants	4	241	245
57	Characters with Tlaloc attributes	4	4	8
58	Tlaloc mustache cover	0	4	4
59	Bifid tongue with three fangs	0	1	1
60	Tlaloc ray	2	1	3
61	Xipe Totec	0	3	3
62, 63	Feathered serpent	14	10	24
64	Snake rattles	2	21	23
65, 66, 67	Characters with Feathered Serpent Headdresses	1	7	8
68, 69, 70	Characters, variants	5	11	16
71	Characters with bead necklaces	3	5	8
72-76	Characters, variants	16	0	16
77	Obese characters	0	3	3
78	Chubby-cheeked characters	2	10	12
79	Fragments of molded bodies	0	8	8
80	Flat little heads, variants	0	31	31
81	Flat little heads, monkeys and variants	0	11	11
82-84	Characters, and females with quechquemilt	2	33	35
85-86	Figurine bodies, variants	0	84	84
87	Figurines, foreign style variants	0	2	2
88, 89, 91	Figurines, molded, prognathous, etc.	0	6	6
90	Molded figurines with incised eyes	0	57	57
92	Molded figurines with prominent forehead	0	16	16

93, 94	Figurine heads, portraits	0	26	26
95, 96	Portrait figurines, mask type	5	1	6
97	Small masks	0	2	2
98	Character with hanging lower lip	0	2	2
99	Figurines, variants	0	5	5
100	Figurines, variants	0	2	2
101-105	Figurines with headdress, variants	0	66	66
106	Figurines with scraped traits	0	5	5
107	Elder characters, or with ball nose plugs	0	7	7
108	Asymmetrical faces	0	4	4
109-110	Faces, variants	0	6	6
111	Figurines without a face	0	3	3
112	Little heads, appliqués on vessel handles	0	9	9
113	Little heads, appliqués on tripod vases	0	14	14
114	Figurine and miniature on thin orange	0	2	2
115-116	Fragments of mask and vessel	0	2	2
117-122	Masks, variants	84	107	191
123-125	Hands, variants	11	71	82
126, 127	Hands holding a vessel	0	9	9
128-129	Footprints	1	7	8
no photos	Figurine fragments of arms and hands	0	68	68
no photos	Figurine fragments of legs and feet	0	86	86
no photos	Cylindrical fragments of possible body	0	118	118
Sub-Total		156	1,191	1,347

Table IV. Other Motifs: Different Representations and Symbols				
Photo No.	Description	Molds	Reproductions	Total
130	Representations of miniature flutes	1	36	37
131	Whistle, molded	0	1	1
132	Representations of miniature metates	6	18	24
133	Architectural representations	3	3	6
134	Merlon representations	11	37	48
135-137	Knife representations, variants	19	240	259
138	Arrow heads, variants	4	2	6
139	Arrow heads, variants	30	440	470
140-143	Volutes, variants	101	527	628
144	Wings with volutes, variants	15	26	41
145-148, 150	Feathers with varied motifs	1,004	2,699	3,703
149	Stripes, braids, other geometric motifs	17	3	20
151	Molds and earflares, variants	38	771	809
152-154	Circular motifs, four-leaf flowers	115	1,338	1,453
155	Figure with central circle	5	1	6
156	Rim fragment with cotton flower	(see Photo 10)		0
157-160	Feather bindings, variants	24	240	264
161-165	Interwoven cord or knot, variants	38	246	284
166-168	Reptile eye, variants	15	158	173
169-175	Mantas or censer plaques, variants	42	1,254	1,296
176	Figure with earflares and nose plugs	1	1	2
177	Eye, variants	16	60	76
178	Lateral censer plaques, variants	21	392	413
179	Parts of upper censer plaques, etc.	88	122	210

180	Triple mountain, variants	9	83	92
181	Quincunx, variants	9	23	32
182	Triple spiral or Trilobulated, variants	0	11	11
183	Feather ornament with other motifs	0	2	2
184	One type of pendant	3	13	16
185	Double lobe motif	1	21	22
186	Semi-circular element with bands and punches	1	14	15
187	Band with two unidentified motifs	1	0	1
188	Band with unidentified motif	1	0	1
189	Stepped figure	1	65	66
190	Fragments with several motifs	1	21	22
191	Drops, variants	2	444	446
192	Bands or drops, variants	4	6	10
193	Semi-circular figure with pinched decoration	0	26	26
194, 195	Appliqués of varied forms	0	20	20
196	Motifs, variants	0	7	7
197	Discs with several motifs	2	5	7
198	Circular motif with several elements	35	164	199
199, 200	Several plaques with semi-spherical decoration	34	625	659
201-204	Small discs, variants	3	35	38
205-207	Combination of motifs, virgula words, etc.	42	40	82
Sub-Total		1,763	10,240	12,003

Table V. Other Pieces: Censer Fragments and Molds				
Photo No.	Description	Molds	Reproductions	Total
208, 209	Censer fragments	See Unidentified Pieces		
210	Censer handles and funnels	0	15	15
211, 212	Molds for censer manufacture, etc.	19	0	19
213-215	Censer form, mold and appliqués, etc.	11	3	14
216	Mold for figurine manufacture	1	0	1
no photo	Unidentified pieces	1,091	2,807	3,898
Sub-Total		1,122	2,825	3,947

Total Amount			
Description	Molds	Reproductions	Total
I. Phytomorphic: Realistic and schematized representations	68	1,161	1,229
II. Zoomorphic: Realistic and schematized representations	142	1,921	2,063
III. Anthropomorphic: Attributes of deities and characters	156	1,191	1,347
IV. Other Motifs: Different representations and symbols	1,793	10,258	12,051
V. Other Pieces: Censer fragments and molds	1,122	2,825	3,947
Total	3,281	17,356	20,637

Note on the Conventions Used for Captions

Considering this is a collection whose origin was a workshop fully dedicated to mold production, most pieces presented are molds and reproductions.

In those cases where only the mold could be recovered, and to obtain examples of the pieces involved, reproductions were made with the clay that modern potters from the village of San Sebastián Xolalpan nowadays use.

An alphabetical order was adopted for the reading of captions, making reference to what we have enunciated in the previous lines:

Therefore:

- A. Capital letters indicate: **Prehispanic Mold.**
- b. Small letters indicate: **Prehispanic Molded Reproduction.**
- c. Underlined small letters indicate: **Modern Reproduction Accomplished with a Prehispanic Mold.**

In the case of **Molded** pieces, they will be indicated throughout the text; to the effects of making comparisons of pieces between two photos, we have indicated: See Photo No....

Example:

Photo No. 1.

- B. **Mold.**
- a, c, d, e, h, i. **Prehispanic Molded Reproduction.**
- f, g. **Modern Reproduction Made with a Prehispanic Mold.**

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Data Base for Theater-type Censers Found in Teotihuacán and Abroad #1

In order to compare the materials from the workshop, information on censers from wider contexts was obtained from museums, storage rooms of various institutions, and private collections in México and Guatemala. Along with them, pieces obtained by four projects at Teotihuacán were included in this second volume. They are from the INAH's Teotihuacán Archaeological Project 1980-82 (TAP80-82), INAH's Scholarship Program formed in Teotihuacán in the early 1990s, the Teotihuacán Mapping Project of Rochester University which took place in the 1960s and '70s and whose materials have been stored in the Archaeological Research Center in San Juan Teotihuacán, and from the Project of the Feathered Serpent Pyramid in 1988-89, a joint project of Arizona State University and INAH.

Each project used a different recording system, and the excavation contexts vary from one to the other. In addition, I could not obtain sufficient chronological information in some cases to compare iconographic characteristics with those of other sets; the materials, therefore, may correspond to different ceramic phases. However, each set apparently reflects locational variability in censer production, from where the samples originated. In some cases quantitative data were available, while in others the information was insufficient, and the time to examine it was very limited; therefore, quantitative comparison is difficult at this stage. Only iconographic varieties will be taken into account for the analysis and interpretation.

The TAP80-82, directed by the Archaeologist Rubén Cabrera Castro, recovered, in addition to the workshop data, a large amount of "adornos" and molds for censer production from the "North Palace" in the Ciudadela that was excavated by Anna Maria Jarquín, and Enrique Martínez (1982) of INAH. The exact locations of the discoveries are unknown; however many of them evidently were associated with a burial found in the southern section of the Transversal Platform of the "North Palace," according to a plan published from the project (Cabrera, *et al.*, 1982:117). Many of the "adornos" are very similar to those from the workshop as shown in the volume; some of them were identical in terms of the motifs, the size, the clay used, and the applied techniques. Some pieces could have been manufactured with molds found in the workshop.

The Scholarship Program excavated Compound "Group 5" of the Sector N5W1 (Millon *et al.*, 1973) under the coordination of the Archaeologist Eduardo Matos Moctezuma of INAH. Relevant pieces for the censer study were kindly shown to me by Dr. Kim Jilote, who excavated at the site and carried out the figurine analysis with the materials from the excavations. "Adornos" were found as fill materials without clear association with specific structures. Related stratigraphic or chronological information is not available for comparison; however the iconographic variety in the collection clearly indicates a strong analogy between two sets of the "adornos." On the other hand, the variety of the "adornos" from the workshop was wider than those found in "Group 5," and the former were also quantitatively much greater than the later.

The Teotihuacán Mapping Project, directed by René Millon, also recovered a small amount of censer bodies and "adornos." Since they were mostly collected by surface survey, many of the materials were fragmented and dispersed widely in various places of the city. As neither precise nor abundant information on their iconography or chronology is available, the comparison with the workshop materials is difficult.

The excavations at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid were carried out extensively around and in the pyramid in 1988-89, and found a mass-sacrificial burial complex (Cabrera, Sugiyama, and Cowgill, 1991). The excavation contexts indicate that more than 200 people were sacrificed and buried in dedication to the erection of the pyramid around 200 A.D. Most of the censer fragments were found on the posterior east side of the monument. Although the precise temporal assignment of the "adornos" is difficult, as most of them were found on the upper floors or in the fill above them. The iconographic similarity with the workshop materials is self-evident. The unusually large amount of "adornos" and its close location to the workshop also suggest that censer production was associated directly with the Feathered Serpent Pyramid; as discussed later, the production may also have had to do with the military symbolism of the Feathered Serpent Pyramid.

A small amount of clay appliqué, similar to "adornos" for censers, was discovered in the pyramid fill and inside the looters' tunnel, which was excavated after the 4th century (Sugiyama, 1998). None of them have been identified as parts of typical theater-type censers, although a few pieces, too small to be precisely identified, still could have been part of them. Because fragments of the body or chimney were included in the pyramid nucleus, it can be concluded that the censers themselves, probably in simple form without "adornos," were used by the time of the pyramid erection. The data indicate that the production of the theater-type censers with strong militaristic connotations began most likely with the erection of the Feathered Serpent Pyramid.

Apart from these censers found in Teotihuacán, Teotihuacán-type censers stored in the Popol Vuh Museum, National Museum of Ethnology, and private collections in Guatemala City were studied.

Preliminary Comments

We do not know exactly when the production of this particular censer type began. The stratigraphy of the workshop does not provide precise information on its absolute chronology, because the layers with censer materials were shallow and several Teotihuacán floors on which the materials were found had been seriously disturbed. The only other kinds of datable ceramic materials discovered in this area and other sections of the city, where censer materials were found in association with them, suggest that they were in use by the Late Tlamimilolpa phase (4th century), and were continuously produced until the Metepec phase (6th century) (e.g., Berlo, 1984:45; Múnera, 1985).

Within the nucleus of the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, no pieces related to theater-type censers were found; this stands in sharp contrast to their rather sudden, significant presence outside the pyramid in the palace area. This means that censer production post-dated the Feathered Serpent Pyramid which is believed to correspond to the beginning of the Early Tlamimilolpa phase. In the North Palace, censer ornaments were found in grave contexts corresponding to the last architectural level, according to a brief preliminary report by excavators (e.g., Jarquín and Martínez, 1982:117). In addition, excavations conducted by the Feathered Serpent Pyramid project in 1988-89 uncovered hundreds of "adornos" on the upper (latest) floor on the east side of the main pyramid. These data confirm the temporal assessment of the censer workshop mentioned above.

As shown in the first catalog, a wide variety of molds and applications ("adornos") recovered at this central precinct in the city included almost all known iconographic elements for the theater-type censers in Teotihuacán. This may imply that the location was a major workshop controlled by the state that officially produced and distributed censers city-wide, and beyond. Elites living in the Ciudadela may have been actively engaged in typical censer production, or else they might have overseen and controlled manufacture. In fact, many molds and "adornos" were also found in the North Palace and an opened space behind the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, indicating that these most complex ritual ceramic objects had been mass-produced with molds, both at the workshop and at the largest ritual precinct in Teotihuacán for certain later periods.

The aforementioned assertion may make sense when one closely examines the iconography of the symbolism involved and the functions of the Ciudadela suggested by recent research. The Ciudadela was extensively excavated in 1980-82, and the Feathered Serpent Pyramid was intensively, and systematically, explored in 1988-89 (e.g., Cabrera *et al.*, 1982; Cabrera, Sugiyama, and Cowgill, 1991). As a consequence, I identified the Ciudadela as a ritual space in which militarism, human sacrifice, and rulership of the Teotihuacán state were symbolically proclaimed through the events associated with the erection of the Feathered Serpent Pyramid (FSP) around 200 A.D. (Sugiyama, 1992; 2001). With the study I conducted with the FAMSI grant, I further argue that a wide range of iconographic elements used for the censer complex emerged after the erection of the pyramid, following a cultural tradition of state symbolism

originated at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid (Sugiyama, 1998), and that the production of theater-type censers seems to have been one of the socio-political activities strongly associated with the military institution. After the 4th century, censers with martial features were widely distributed probably by the state network in the city and abroad, particularly in the Tiquisate region, from which many Teotihuacán-type censers were recovered. The involvement of the state in production is also suggested by the fact that the specific form and composition of the Teotihuacán censers abruptly disappeared with the collapse of the state, although certain ideological features even survived in post-Teotihuacán periods.

These censers may not have conveyed merely general meanings of militarism. The abundant, greatly varied "adornos" attached to the censers may have communicated specific meanings in complicated ways. The fact that there are no two censers combining identical elements, among the censers found to date, suggest that artisans composed them to endow each censer with a specific meaning, as Berlo (1984) pointed out. Information from the workshop included in the catalog supports this assertion; as previously mentioned, almost all elements from known censers can be found at the workshop. The most common elements at the workshop (that is, groups consisting of more than 100 pieces of applications or molds) in the "Phytomorphic" category are the flower with four petals, cotton (?), water lily, and various other flowers; in the "Zoomorphic" corpus, butterfly, bird, bivalve shell, and spiral shell; in "Anthropomorphic" representations, Storm God, masks, and nose pendants; and then in the category of "Representations and Symbols," feathers, circles, scrolls, Manta complex, earspools, arrows, shields or lateral plaques, ropes or knot, bundles, knives, water or drop, and Reptile's Eyes. We know that some of them, and others in smaller quantities, became glyphs in post-Teotihuacán periods. The excavation contexts suggest that, although censers appear to have been widely distributed and used on household levels and in grave contexts, production of censers was rather restricted to certain social groups, some of whom worked in this closed workshop controlling a symbolic notational system with almost any kind of combination of codified "adornos".

The censer imagery that emerged at this particular location may be better understood in this social, and historical context. The data obtained with the FAMSI grant should be further explored systematically, and analytically, to better understand more specific meanings and functions, as well as the politico-religious structure of the state.

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