
9. A Catalog and Description of Chalcatzingo's Monuments

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Over the years Chalcatzingo has been known almost solely for its bas-relief carvings. These were first studied by Eulalia Guzmán (1934), and since that time new carvings have been found and described (Angulo and Grove 1974; Angulo 1979; Cook de Leonard 1967; Gay 1966; 1972a; Grove 1968a; 1972a; 1974a; Piña Chan 1955). Until the project documented in this book, most known monuments were on the hillside, executed on boulders or bedrock exposures. Our excavations have uncovered a variety of other carved monuments, including stone stelae. These new finds, together with the previously known monuments, are cataloged and briefly described here. Additional descriptions together with analyses and interpretation are found in Chapter 10.

Two numbering systems are used in this presentation. One is a sequential system which began with Guzmán and which has been added onto by others. This system essentially numbers monuments by the order of their discovery, ignoring monument location or the proximity of other carvings. This is the system which has been followed by Grove, although "order of discovery" has not been strictly adhered to. The sequential system presented here has been slightly reworked and modified, and some monument numbers given by Grove (1981b) have been changed and updated.

The second system was designed by Angulo, who divided the site into eight zones based upon topographical features and monument groupings. The monuments within each zone are individually numbered with a combination of zone number and monument number (e.g., I-B-3: Zone I-B, Monument 3). Included within Angulo's zone numbering system are various archaeological features and structures in addition to the monuments. This system was presented in detail by Angulo (Angulo and Grove 1974)

and he has modified and expanded the system in the official INAH guide which he wrote for Chalcatzingo (Angulo 1979).

This chapter begins with a description of the eight topographical divisions of the site. These areas are illustrated in Figure 9.1. The catalog descriptions of the monuments are given area by area in the order of the sequential numbering system, with each sequential number followed by the Angulo system number. In Chapter 10, Angulo's analysis of the monuments uses his system of numbering, with the sequential number provided in parentheses. Table 9.1 correlates the two numbering systems. Figure 9.2 is a map showing the location of the various monuments (numbered in the sequential system) as well as the MCR stones (Chapter 11).

DESCRIPTION OF THE AREAS

Area I

The northern talus slopes of the Cerro Chalcatzingo, from approximately the 1,100 m contour level to the terraces below (PC, T-11, T-2; the 1,020 m contour) comprise Area I. Its western extent is marked by the deeply incised gully we call El Rey Drainage, which flows past Monument 1 (El Rey) on its course down the mountainside. Monument 1 itself marks the western boundary. The eastern boundary runs along the crest of the saddle separating the Cerro Chalcatzingo from the small knoll on the western extremity of the Cerro Delgado, along the base of the knoll, to the drainage edging T-4 and T-2.

Area I was described by Carlo Gay (1972a:37) as the "Sanctuary of the Reliefs" since it is here that most of the previously published and best-known carvings occur. This topographic section is divided into two subareas, I-A and I-B (Fig. 9.1). The reliefs of area I-A are carved onto the bedrock and a few boul-

ders which occur high on the hillside, adjacent to the mountain's major water drainage system. The I-B carvings are on massive boulders on lower talus slopes, but all are located at the base of a major cleft in the vertical cliffs of the mountain. These natural features are undoubtedly significant in the placement of the I-A and I-B carvings. Area I-A contains Monuments 1, 6-8, 11, 14, and 15, while Monuments 2-5 and 13 are found in Area I-B.

Area II

The second area has as its southern boundary the 1,100 m contour level on the northwestern slopes of the Cerro Chalcatzingo. Its eastern limits follow El Rey Drainage to the 1,030 m contour (where the drainage bends sharply eastward), then runs north along the east edge of T-11 to T-7. Here we utilized a natural northwest-trending drainage on T-7 as the eastern limit, effectively dividing T-7 in half. The boundary then follows a trail and small drainage north to the site's northern extent. The western limit of this area follows the site's western limits, essentially the western edges of S-39, T-9, N-2, and N-7. Three widely separated monuments, 12, 19, and 20, occur within Area II.

Area III

Beginning at the foot of the hillside talus slopes of Area I, Area III includes the site's uppermost terrace (the Plaza Central), T-3, part of T-7, T-15, odd-numbered terraces T-17 through T-45, and continues past these to the northern extent of the site. The western boundary is formed by Area II; the eastern edge by the sharply defined gully of El Paso Drainage which runs along the east side of PC and T-15, and which includes the water control "dam" built as part of the terracing to slow rainwater runoff.

Area III contains most of the major

terraces on the site. Two monuments (Mons. 9 and 18) are (or were) associated with the large platform (PC Str. 4) which forms the north end of the Plaza Central terrace. A second grouping of monuments (Mons. 21, 22, 23) occurs near the junction of T-15 and T-25. Other monuments from Area III are Monuments 16, 17, and 24.

Area IV

The fourth area encompasses the terraces and hillside slopes from El Paso Drainage eastward to the vertical cliff face of the Cerro Delgado. The eastern boundary follows the cliff face around the north side of the mountain and at the ca. 1,000 m contour follows a natural drainage northward. Monuments within this area (Mons. 25–28) occur only on T-6.

Area V

The fifth section includes the upper cliffs, caves, and hilltop terrace areas of the Cerro Delgado, including the terraces above the 1,000 m contour on the Tetla (east) side. While Area V contains numerous caves with painted art (Chapter 12), no carved monuments have been found here.

Area VI

Almost the entire non-hillslope area of Tetla, consisting of the fields north and east of the Cerro Delgado, is included within Area VI. It is delimited by Area V on one side and by the barranca on the north and east. The southern boundary follows the upper edge of a large stream channel which cuts eastward to the barranca. Although a number of Postclassic mound structures occur within this area, no monumental carvings have yet been reported.

Area VII

The seventh section is composed of land south of Tetla and behind the Cerro Chalcatzingo. Occupation remains here are Postclassic. One monument, Monument 29, was found in the stream bed on the north side of this area.

Area VIII

The last section is the upper area of the Cerro Chalcatzingo. Only one monument (Mon. 10), at the summit of the mountain, has been reported. Caves and artifact scatter are rare here, in contrast to their abundance on the Cerro Delgado.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENTS

Area I-A

These carvings are discussed in numerical sequence rather than by the order of their placement (see for example Gay 1972a: Fig. 9a).

Monument 1 (I-A-1) (Fig. 9.3)

The first carving is executed on the vertical north face of a very large boulder lying immediately adjacent to El Rey Drainage. This drainage carries most of the rainwater runoff from the northwest slopes of the Cerro Chalcatzingo. The drainage has been named for this monument, commonly called "El Rey," a term referring to the personage shown seated within the large U-shaped niche which is the focal point of this carved scene. Above the niche are three elaborate rain clouds from which !-shaped raindrops fall (Fig. 10.7). Several concentric circles and two plants are shown in the upper portion of the carving beneath the clouds. Plants also sprout from the outer edge of the large U-shaped niche.

Atop the niche is an oval eye motif which serves to identify the niche as an earth-monster mouth, an iconographic symbol representing a cave. Very large

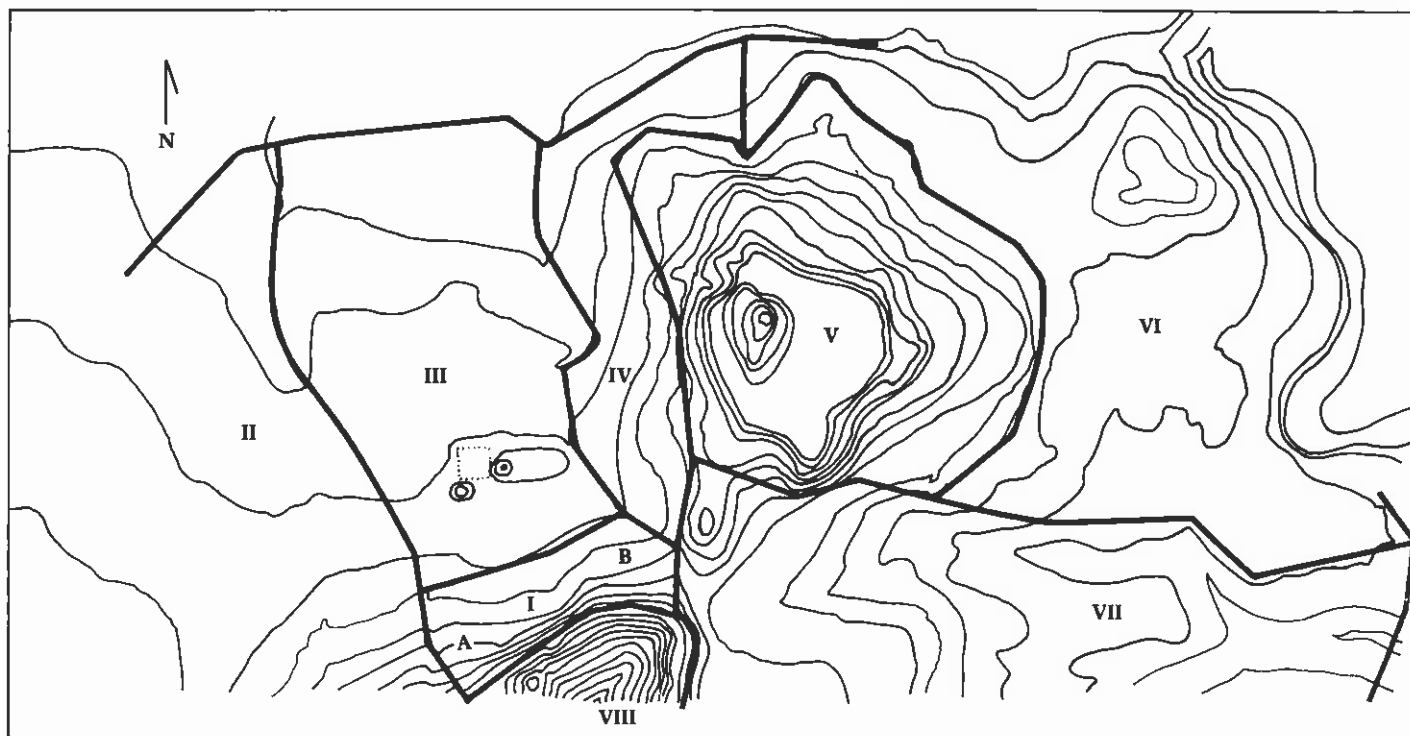


Figure 9.1. Map of topographical areas mentioned in Chapters 9 and 10.

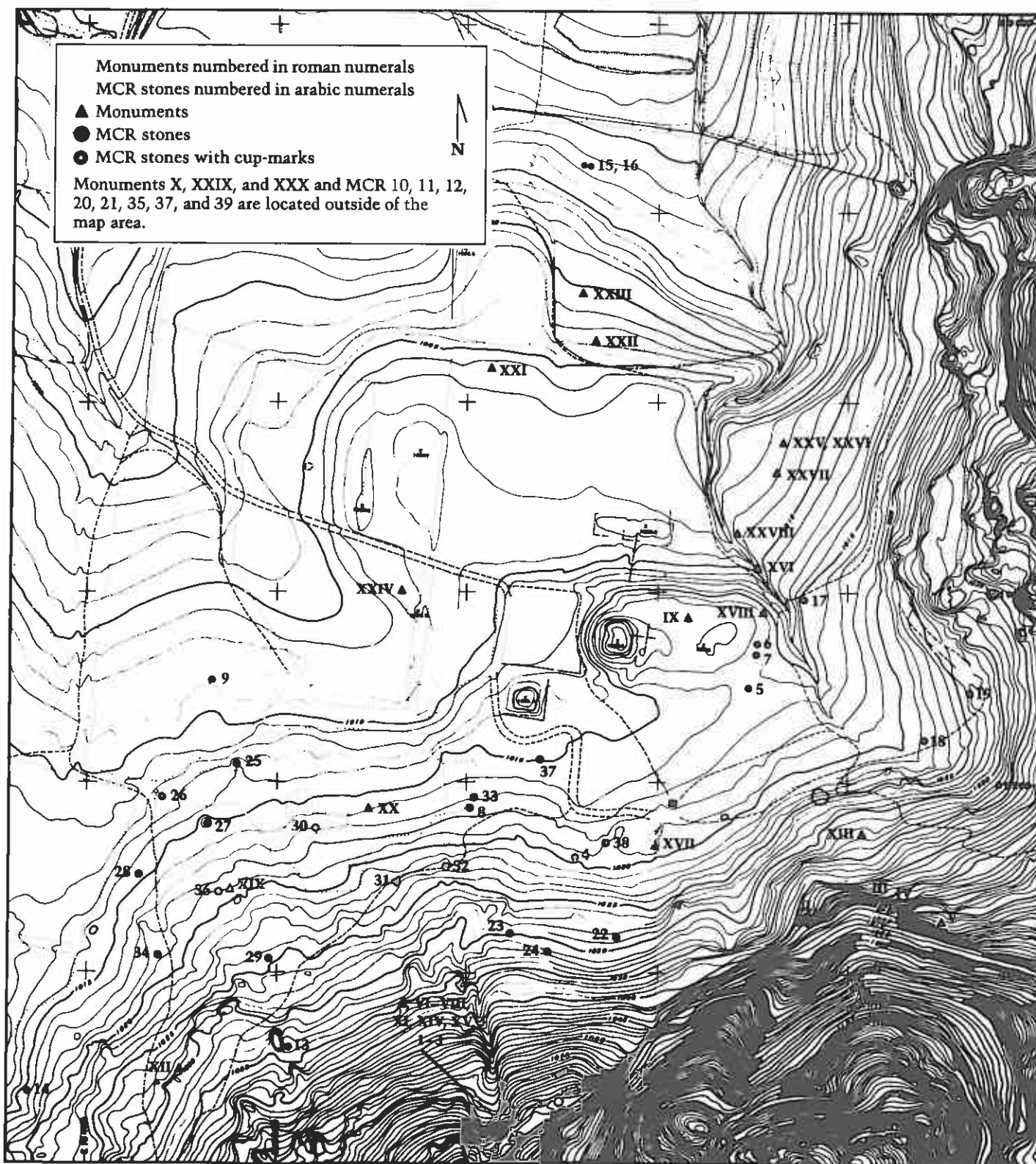


Figure 9.2. Map of site showing location of monuments and Miscellaneous Carved Rocks (MCR stones).



Figure 9.3. Monument 1, "El Rey."

Table 9.1. Monument Numbers

Monument No. (sequential)	Monument No. (Angulo 1979)	Dimensions in Meters
1	I-A-1	2.7 × 3.2
2	I-B-2	1.6 × 3.2
3	I-B-3	1.2 × 1.2
4	I-B-4	2.5 × 2.5
5	I-B-5	1.8 × 3.7
6	I-A-3	1.3 × 0.6
7	I-A-2	0.4 × 0.6
8	I-A-6	0.7 × 0.8
9	x-3 ^a	1.8 × 1.5
10	VIII-1	1.0 × 0.3
11	I-A-7	0.2 × 0.7
12	II-2	1.4 × 1.4
13	I-B-1	2.5 × 1.5
14	I-A-5	1.3 × 0.5
15	I-A-4	1.3 × 0.8
16	x-1 ^a	0.5 × 0.5
17	^b	0.2 × 0.175
18	III-9	1.6 × 1.7
19	II-8	1.6 × 1.0 × 0.8
20	II-9	0.4 × 0.5 × 0.3
21	III-7	2.4 × 0.9 × 0.4
22	III-4	4.4 × 0.9 × 1.4
23	III-5	1.0 × 0.5 × 0.3
24	III-13, III-14	1.0 × 0.5 × 0.2
25	IV-5	1.3 × 0.5
26	IV-6	0.7 × 1.0 × 0.6
27	IV-7	2.8 × 1.1 × 0.5
28	IV-8	0.4 × 1.0 × 0.8
29	x-4 ^a	1.2 × 0.9
30	x-2 ^a	Unknown

^aRemoved from the site.

^bNot numbered by Angulo.

scroll elements issue outward from the cave mouth, while within the cave is a seated personage (Fig. 10.8). The personage sits upon a large rectangular object containing a scroll motif, and holds a similar but smaller object in his arms. His tall headdress contains six raindrop motifs. Above and behind the headdress are unusual circular objects and two forms with long plumes. A small plant motif is found at the front of the headdress and also at the personage's forehead. El Rey's clothing includes a shoulder cape and a skirtlike garment with raindrop motifs.

Guzmán (1934:241–243) and Grove (1968a:487) view the scene as related to agricultural fertility, and the personage and cave as analogous to the Postclassic concept of Tlaloc and Tlalocan. Both Guzmán and Carmen Cook de Leonard (1967:66) relate the scrolls emanating from the cave to sound or thunder, although they may also be clouds or mist (Grove 1968a:486). The plants growing in the scene are usually identified as maize. Cook de Leonard (1967:66) identifies the oval eye motif with crossed bands, which sits atop the cave niche, as symbolizing the House of the Sun of the Underworld. The seated personage she identifies as the Sun God.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Gay 1966; 1972a; Grove 1968a; Guzmán 1934.

Monument 6 (I-A-3) (Fig. 9.4)

A small boulder about 5 m northeast of Monument 1 contains both the Monument 6 and Monument 7 reliefs. There is no doubt that the boulder was in this position when the carvings were executed. Although early investigators gave the carvings separate identification numbers, they unquestionably form a single unit.

The section of the carving numbered as Monument 6 is on the boulder's east face. It is a surprisingly realistic squash plant (Fig. 10.6). Seven leaves and four blossoms with young developing fruit grow from the plant's long stem, which is tipped with curling tendrils.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Cook de Leonard 1967; Gay 1966; 1972a; Grove 1968a; Guzmán 1934.

Monument 7 (I-A-2) (Fig. 9.5)

The carved area on the north side of the Monument 6 boulder was in poor condition when first viewed by Guzmán, who suggested it might be the head of an animal (1934:243, Figs. 6a, 6b). Its eroded



Figure 9.4. Monuments 6, squash plant (left), and 7, animal (right).



Figure 9.5. Monument 7, animal crouched atop scroll, highly eroded.

and lichen-covered state has likewise hindered more recent attempts at interpretation. Our analyses, carried out over many months and under a variety of light conditions and incorporating a rubbing as well (Fig. 10.5), have allowed us to identify this carving as representing a small zoomorphic creature positioned atop a scroll. This theme is repeated in other carvings nearby (see below).

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Cook de Leonard 1967; Gay 1972a; Grove 1968a; Guzmán 1934.

Monument 8 (I-A-6) (Fig. 9.6)

The small relief known as Monument 8, together with Monuments 11 (I-A-7), 14 (I-A-5), and 15 (I-A-4), were all carved on a sloping exposed rock face which begins adjacent to the Monument 6–7 boulder and runs eastward. Monument 8, near the east end of the rock face and the group of carvings, is heavily eroded. It seems to depict an animal with a bifurcated scroll emanating upward from its mouth, although where the scroll begins and the mouth ends is difficult to ascertain (Fig. 10.2). The bifurcated scroll nearly touches a thin horizontal rain cloud from which two raindrops fall. The carving's eroded state has made identification very tenuous. Guzmán (1934: 243–244, Figs. 7a, 7b) calls it an *animal fantástico*, possibly a dog or rabbit. A footnote by Carlo Gay (1972a:65) suggests it is a lizard-like creature, an identification also proposed by Grove (1968a:487).

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Cook de Leonard 1967; Gay 1972a; Grove 1968a; Guzmán 1934.

Monument 11 (I-A-7) (Fig. 9.6)

The easternmost carving known for this area's grouping was first published by Gay (1972a:71), who identifies it as a "coiled serpent and two pendant-dot signs." Closer examination shows it to be a small snarling animal crouched atop a scroll. The pendant-dot motifs are raindrops which fall from a thin, sinuous cloud located above and in front of the animal. The cloud is tilted, and the raindrops which fall approach the animal and scroll at an angle (Fig. 10.1).

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Gay 1972a; Grove 1974a.

Monument 14 (I-A-5) (Fig. 9.7)

The removal in 1972 of soil deposits covering the hillside's rock face between Monuments 6–7 and Monument 8 re-



Figure 9.6. Monuments 8 (*right*) and 11 (*center*).



Figure 9.7. Monument 14 (taken at night with flash).

vealed two previously unknown small reliefs, Monuments 14 (I-A-5) and 15 (I-A-4). Monument 14 was in an excellent state of preservation when uncovered, and has allowed us to understand the motifs in the adjacent, heavily eroded carvings. This relief also represents an animal positioned above a scroll (Fig. 10.3). A bifurcated scroll, such as that shown in Monument 8 (I-A-6), rises upward from the animal's mouth toward a nearly horizontal cloud from which six raindrops fall. When viewed closely, the animal has a distinct serrated eyebrow area. Beneath the animal and scroll is a small squash plant, a motif shared with Monument 7 (I-A-2).

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Grove 1974a; 1980.

Monument 15 (I-A-4) (Fig. 9.8)

A highly weathered carving lies between Monument 14 (I-A-5) and Monuments 6–7 (I-A-2 and I-A-3). A portion of a tilted, thin, sinuous cloud, one raindrop, and part of a bifurcated scroll are all that remain of the upper section of the carving. The area where an animal atop a scroll should be is completely destroyed. At the base of the carving is a small portion of a squash plant (Fig. 10.4). The bifurcated scroll segment and the squash plant indicate that a small animal and scroll had once been carved here as well.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Grove 1974a.

Area I-B

Monuments 2–5 (I-B-2–I-B-5) occur on large boulders on the talus slopes near the western end of the Cerro Chalcatzingo. All the carvings face to the north.

Monument 2 (I-B-2) (Fig. 9.9)

Four persons are depicted in Monument 2, a carving (Fig. 10.13) executed on a relatively flat face of the boulder. When originally discovered, the relief was barely accessible, since the boulder upon which it had been carved had shifted lower and possibly had tilted downward until it nearly touched a large boulder slightly downhill from it. To make the carving more accessible, Piña Chan's project dynamited off a large section of the lower boulder. The entire carving can now be seen, although access is still restricted and it is nearly impossible to photograph the entire scene.

The relief, nicknamed the "Marching Olmecs," is composed of three walking figures and, at the extreme right, a seated person. Two of the walking individuals

approach the seated man. Their arms are outstretched and they hold long, paddle-shaped objects. The person on the far left walks away from the others. He holds a plant-like staff. All three walking figures wear cape-like garments. All three are masked and wear tall headdresses which differ in their decorative motifs. The fourth person sits with his left leg fully extended. His right leg may be slightly bent (Grove 1968a:Fig. 3) or extended. His arms stretch down toward his knees. He appears to have a pointed beard. He wears a horned headdress, and his mask has been turned to the back of his head.

Cook de Leonard (1967:64–66) and Gay (1966:58; 1972a:45–48) see this scene as depicting a ritual dedicated to agricultural fertility. Cook de Leonard identifies the paddle-shaped objects held by the two central figures as digging sticks, while Gay calls them ceremonial objects. A different interpretation of this relief has been made by Michael Coe (1965b:766; 1965a:18), who sees the objects as war clubs and relates the relief to Olmec militaristic activity.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Cook de Leonard 1967; Gay 1966; 1972a; Grove 1968a; 1974a; Guzmán 1934; Piña Chan 1955. **Monument 3 (I-B-3) (Fig. 9.10)**

A large recumbent feline is depicted in Monument 3. To the right of the feline is a tall, vertical, and asymmetrical branching motif. The feline creature has a long arching neck, and its tail is held upright. A line running along its body and up its neck could represent the bicoloration of a puma. Cook de Leonard (1967:62) offers a different point of view, identifying the animal as a tapir.

Grove (1974a:155) likened the tall branching motif to the cardon cactus which grows in abundance on the hillside near the relief. He suggested the possibility that the animal licking the cactus might be ingesting a psychoactive alkaloid, linking the feline with a shamanistic transformation.

Separate studies of the carving by both Angulo and Grove discovered an area of unreported carved elements near the base of the vertical branching motif. These carved elements are difficult to discern today because molds taken in the 1950's left a residue of fiberglass resin adhering to the relief, obscuring details. These carved elements are discussed further in Chapter 10 (see Fig. 10.15).

A number of shallow concavities occur on the boulder to the left of the carving.



Figure 9.8. Monument 15, heavily eroded.



Figure 9.9. Section of Monument 2 showing seated person.



Figure 9.10. Monument 3.

Most of these contain a multitude of shallow striations, possibly due to artificial enlargement of the cavities or to ritual acts carried out here.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Cook de Leonard 1967; Gay 1966; 1972a; Grove 1968a; 1974a.

Monument 4 (I-B-4) (Fig. 9.11)

Monument 4 is a relief carved on a large rock slab which lies along the southeast side of the Monument 3 boulder. While Cook de Leonard (1967:58–60) believes that the relief rests in its original position, it is much more likely that the stone has fallen backward and onto its left side, or was repositioned in this way later. The four figures depicted in the relief are therefore 90° out of position. Originally the carving apparently stood upright at the upper east end of the Monument 3 boulder, facing northward.

When viewed correctly the carving shows two snarling felines (see Figs. 10.16, 10.17) atop two prostrate human figures. Both animals have similar postures and unsheathed claws, but differ in their head ornamentation. A cartouche above the eye of the upper jaguar contains a crossed-band motif, while two elements Peter David Joralemon (1971:59) associates with corn adorn its outer edge. The jaguar's ear contains a symbol similar to the Maya glyph for Venus (Grove 1972a:157). The lower jaguar likewise has a cartouche with a crossed-



Figure 9.11. Monument 4.

band motif. A stripe runs from below its eye along its body. In place of an ear the jaguar has an elongated element which ends in a cleft. At its forehead is a plume-like motif. The cleft ear and forehead plume appear also in the headdress of the walking figures depicted in nearby Monument 2. The tail of this lower jaguar shows three notched axe-like elements emanating from it (Grove 1968a: Fig. 5 and Grove 1972a: Fig. 2 incorrectly show these on the upper jaguar).

The human figures lie beneath the claws of the jaguars. Their positions are similar, for both have their left knees bent and their arms raised above their heads. Although each has a plumed head decoration, neither has clothing depicted.

Cook de Leonard's detailed interpretation of this carving links it with Monument 5, which lies a few meters to the east: In Monument 4 the sun descends into the underworld, and in Monument 5 it is shown being reborn. Grove's interpretation (1972a: 157–159) deals with the jaguars primarily in terms of dualities and oppositions.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Cook de Leonard 1967; Gay 1966; 1972a; Grove 1968a; 1972a.

Monument 5 (I-B-5) (Fig. 9.12)

Lying slightly over 10 m east of Monuments 3 and 4, Monument 5 is carved along the sloping underside of a large boulder which forms a shallow niche. Excavations beneath the boulder produced only a few highly eroded sherds and a large metate.

The carving's main figure is a large undulating reptilian-like creature with a crocodilian head (Fig. 10.18). A trilobed "fin" is depicted just behind the head, and small V-shaped elements cover the body. These latter suggest scales or "feathers." A human figure, identical to the humans depicted in Monument 4, is depicted in front of the creature's fanged mouth, as if being swallowed or regurgitated. The lower portion of the human's body is hidden by the creature's head, and only the left leg is shown, hanging below the saurian's lower jaw. The creature's very long bifurcated tongue extends past the recumbent person. Three large scrolls occur along the base of the scene.

The similarities between the human figures of Monuments 4 and 5 suggest that the monuments are not only contemporaneous but perhaps also share a common theme, as noted by Cook de



Figure 9.12. Monument 5.

Leonard. Grove (1968a: 489) has noted the similarity between the large creature and the *cipactli* of Postclassic codices.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Cook de Leonard 1967; Gay 1966; 1972a; Grove 1968a. **Monument 13 (I-B-1) (Fig. 9.13)**

A broken carving was found about 30 m downhill from Monument 5. It has been nicknamed "The Governor" because it depicts a seated personage and was found while the Governor of Morelos was touring the project's excavations. The carving is executed on a thick, flat slab of stone. It was apparently originally rectangular in form, and meant to stand upright. The rectangular slab had been broken diagonally in antiquity, and only the lower right half of the monument was found. Fortunately, this half apparently contains the major iconographic details of the relief.

The relief shows a cleft-headed, baby-faced person seated within the full-face mouth of an earth-monster (Fig. 10.12). The earth-monster is executed in the same manner as those of Monuments 1 and 9, including plants sprouting from the mouth's exterior. Only a small section of the earth-monster's eye remains, but it seems to be elongated rather than oval. It was surmounted by a large flame eyebrow (see Grove 1980: Fig. 5 for a hypothesized reconstruction). All details suggest that this earth-monster was

depicted in full-face view as in Monument 9.

The human figure, in profile, is seated facing to the left, with both arms extended outward toward the knees. A garment or covering is shown on the lower back. A similar garment is worn by Monument 16, the headless statue found by Guzmán (Fig. 9.18).

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Grove 1980.

Area II

Monument 12 (II-2) (Fig. 9.14)

At the southwestern extreme of the site, near S-39 and the foot of the hill's talus slopes, is a relief uncovered during the first field season. It had apparently been found several years earlier by looters who, we learned, had attempted to sell it on the antiquities market without removing it from the site. A good portion of the back of the stone has been chiseled away, also apparently by the looters, who wanted to lighten it for easier removal. The very top of the carving is missing, probably as the result of an old break but possibly due to the attempted theft. While the unsuccessful looters covered the carving with earth to hide it, their actions were noted by other villagers, who relocated it and brought it to our attention.

This relief, nicknamed "*El Volador*" or the "Flying Olmec," depicts a person ex-



Figure 9.13. Monument 13, "The Governor," broken, lying on edge. Figure faces down.

tended horizontally (Fig. 10.19). The person wears an animal headdress. The area above the headdress was also apparently carved, but is broken and missing. In front of the person's face between the upper lip and nose is a circular element, an ornamentation also depicted on some figurines at Chalcatzingo (Chapter 14).

The person's right arm is extended and holds a torch-like object. The object held in the left hand, against the chest, is too eroded to discern easily. By implication, through similarities to other "flying" figures depicted on Olmec jades (Cervantes 1969), the object might have been a "knuckle duster." However, the object held, in terms of available space, seems small for a "knuckle duster."

The figure's position and dress are very similar to those of the figures depicted in the background of La Venta's Stelae 1 and 2 (P. Drucker, Heizer, and Squier 1959: Fig. 68; Heizer 1967). In this instance the figure can be stated to be "flying," for a parrot is shown below him, and two long-tailed birds, possibly quetzales, appear above him.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Grove 1974a; 1980.

Monument 19 (II-8) (Fig. 9.15)

In 1976 a farmer working in the field we have designated T-13 cleared portions of a stone protruding slightly above the surface and discovered that it was worked.



Figure 9.14. Monument 12, "El Volador."



Figure 9.15. Monument 19.



Figure 9.16. Monument 20.

Apparently aware that no further field work was planned by the Chalcatzingo Project, and spurred on by curiosity, he excavated this large carved stone himself. Although it contains no bas-relief art, its form, size, and elaborateness render it suitable for inclusion among the site's monuments.

The carving's major feature, covering nearly the entirety of one long surface, is a very shallow (4 cm average), well carved and smoothed rectangular depression, measuring ca. 1.1×0.9 m. The sloping edges of the rectangle create a shadow-box effect. The workmanship on this monument is superb. Although it contains no carved iconography, its precise lines and smoothed surfaces make it aesthetically pleasing.

Previous description: Angulo 1979.

Monument 20 (II-9) (Fig. 9.16)

An egg-shaped stone with an area of bas-relief carving was found incorporated into a Cantera phase wall segment on T-11 (Fig. 4.21). Although the depiction represented by the carving was not immediately clear, in time we realized that two bent arms with objects held in the hands were shown. This was probably originally an anthropomorphic carving, but the head had been removed and was not found. The left hand grasps a "knuckle duster," and the right hand holds a curved object, possibly a torch (Fig. 10.20). The "Flying Olmec" of Monument 12 seems to hold similar objects, as do other Olmec art objects (Cervantes 1969).

Previous description: Angulo 1979.

Area III

Monument 9 (x-3) (Fig. 9.17)

Monument 9 was looted from Chalcatzingo and is currently in the collection of an art institute in the state of New York. While we decry its theft from the site, we fortunately have been able to determine its provenience. Our excavations atop PC Structure 4 uncovered an area of disturbed soil near that mound's northern edge. Several workers informed us that the monument, in fragments, had been found there.

It is obvious that the monument was freestanding and not a bedrock carving. However, Gay's (1972a:65–66) description of it as of "slipshod character" and somehow different from Chalcatzingo's other carvings is incorrect. Though eroded, the carving shows careful execution. Thematically it is identical to Monuments 1 and 13, since it is an earth-

monster face with a cruciform mouth. Plants identical to those on the other two monuments likewise sprout from the mouth's exterior clefts. Interestingly, the mouth's interior is hollow and slightly worn at the base, suggesting that it may have served as a ritual passageway (Grove 1972a: 161).

The eyes of the earth monster are ovoid. Joralemon's illustration (1976: Fig. 6b) shows faint crossed band motifs on the pupils. The eyes are surmounted by undulating eyebrows which end in cleft-like elements. A circular motif between the eyebrows contains two dot-and-pendant elements, essentially the reverse of the falling raindrop elements found on the Area I-A reliefs.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Easby and Scott 1970; Grove 1968a; 1972a; Joralemon 1976.

Monument 16 (x-1) (Fig. 9.18)

Guzmán (1934: 248–250) found a headless statue lying in El Paso Drainage between T-15 and T-6. It is now on display in the National Museum of Anthropology. Mutilation of the monument has removed the head and hands of the personage, who sits with legs crossed, hands resting on the knees.

A rectangular pectoral with a crossed-band motif is worn at the chest. At the waist is a wide band with a decorated "buckle" containing five points on its upper edge and four points along its bottom. A band also runs across the person's lap to the crossed legs. A garment also covers the back.

Previous descriptions: Cook de Leonard 1967; Gay 1972a; Grove 1981b; Guzmán 1934.

Monument 17 (Fig. 9.19)

A decapitated statue head was found in association with Burial 3, a subfloor burial in PC Structure 1d, a Cantera phase elite residence. A section of the left forehead and eye is missing, apparently broken off by one of the blows which decapitated the monument. The face is framed by an unadorned head covering. The covering's shape suggests that it depicts a cloth or leather covering draped over some type of rectangular support which extends over the top of the head from ear to ear. The rear of the head is undulating (Fig. 9.19a), a treatment also found on the Las Limas statue (Medellín Zenil 1965: Photo 7), and a stone babyface head from Chiapa de Corzo (Pailles H. 1980: Fig. 14). The undulation seems to represent cranial deformation (see Pailles H. 1980: Figs. 55, 56).



Figure 9.17. Monument 9, now in private collection. Courtesy of Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York.



Figure 9.18. Monument 16, headless seated statue, National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City.

Two headless monuments (nos. 16 and 20) are known at Chalcatzingo, but neither was the source of this carved head. Although it is relatively common to find decapitated statues at Gulf Coast centers, the heads are seldom found, particularly in good archaeological association. Thus, this discovery is of particular interest, for it provides one piece of data on the disposal of mutilated monument fragments.

Previous descriptions: Grove and Angulo 1973; Grove 1981b.

Monument 18 (III-9) (Fig. 9.20)

During the third field season a large boulder on the sloping east end of PC Structure 4 was laboriously turned over on the chance that its large flat underside might be carved. It was, although the carving itself is relatively small. The carving consists of concentric ovals, the outermost being 65 cm in diameter. A parabolic nose-like protuberance extends from the oval motif and points to a natural rounded cavity in the stone's flat surface. A crude pecked line runs from the cavity to the boulder's edge. While the cavity is relatively crude, an artificial cup-like hole also occurs on the surface (upper right in Fig. 9.20).

The two cavities, one apparently natural, the other purposely ground into the surface, suggest that the flat surface was originally horizontal, in the manner of the site's many "water ritual" stones (Chapter 11). The association of the relief carving with a "water ritual hole" indicates that the site's other water ritual holes may be contemporaneous with the bas-reliefs; in other words, Middle Formative.

Previous description: Angulo 1979.

Monument 21 (III-7) (Fig. 9.21)

A stela, broken in half, was discovered lying face-down in the plow zone of T-15. Excavations in the same area uncovered T-15 Structure 5, a Middle Formative stone-faced platform. Although the stela was no longer in situ, archaeological evidence of its original location in front of the platform was found (Chapter 4).

The stela is extremely important, for it depicts a standing female, the only anatomically definite female known in Middle Formative period monumental art. She stands in profile facing to the right, her arms touching a large vertical column. Her upper torso is bare, and her left breast is clearly depicted. Her skirt-like garment is held in place by a knotted belt. A large covering with faint eroded motifs hangs from her head and down

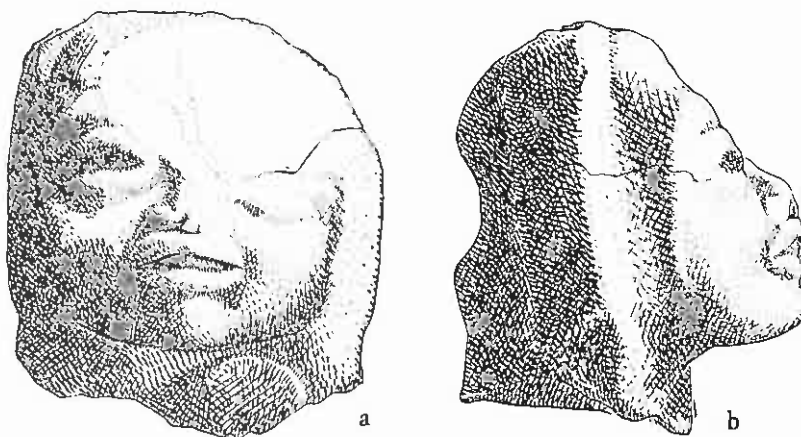


Figure 9.19. Monument 17, statue head; *a*, front view; *b*, side view.



Figure 9.20. Monument 18; carving only in lower left corner of stone.



Figure 9.21. Monument 21, depicting standing female.

her back. Her arms are shown with arm-bands; her feet are shod in sandals.

The vertical column which she touches contains three major iconographic elements. Running diagonally down the entire bundle are elongated oblongs set within undulating lines. This same motif occurs on Monuments 27 (IV-7) and 22 (III-4, see Fig. 27.6). Two horizontal bands cross the upper and lower areas of the column, and each contains a trilobe motif and a large cleft rectangle (also containing simple motifs).

Both the woman and the vertical column stand atop the highly stylized face of an earth-monster (see Fig. 10.21). The two crenelated eyes or eyebrows of the earth-monster rest above a band which forms a mouth with incurved fangs, a further iconographic symbol of the earth supernatural. The oblong and undulating line motif appears as a background

within the mouth area, while in the center of the mouth, between the fangs, is a diamond motif with interior scroll.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Grove 1981b.

Monument 22 (III-4) (Fig. 7.4)

Excavations on T-25 during the second field season uncovered a large table-top altar similar in form and presumably in function to those known from San Lorenzo and La Venta. Because Chapter 7 is devoted entirely to the excavations of this interesting monument, only a brief description is given here.

Unlike Gulf Coast altars, the Chalcatzingo example is not monolithic but is composed of a number of large rectangular stone slabs. It is essentially an earth-filled, three-sided rectangular construction. Only 1 m tall, it lacks the height of Gulf Coast altars, and the face is devoid of the symbolic cave-niche so

common on those altars and also frequently depicted in other forms of art at Chalcatzingo. Yet in form there is no question that this construction is meant to be the equivalent of Gulf Coast altars.

The front face of the altar has low relief carving covering most of the stones. This carving depicts the eyes and eyebrows of an earth-monster supernatural. The eyes of the earth-monster are variants of the "Olmec" eye form which Joralemon (1971:8) has classified as "L-shaped . . . with squared drooping corner," characteristic of his Gods I and V. Both eyes are shown with pupils, but no other iconography, such as crossed bands, is present. Unusual, almost sausage-shaped eyebrows are carved above the eyes. In form these are almost identical to those on Monument 9 except that they do not end in twin protuberances.

The evidence is conclusive that the altar had been at least partially disassembled at one time in the Formative period and reassembled differently. This rebuilding displaced at least one major carved stone slab, and therefore the earth-monster face covering the front of the altar is incomplete—the supernatural's left eye is only partial. The missing carved section is built onto another part of the altar.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Grove 1980; 1981b.

Monument 23 (III-5) (Fig. 7.24)

Excavations at the north end of T-25 during the third field season uncovered the remnants of a low stone platform (Str. 2) and, adjacent to this, the base of a well-faced stela, rectangular in cross-section (Figs. 7.23, 7.24). Although the base section lacked definite evidence of carving, the context of the stela and the fact that it had been purposely mutilated suggest that the missing upper section contained iconography of some sort. Continued excavations in the area did not uncover the missing section, indicating the probability that, as with mutilated Gulf Coast monuments, the broken section was purposely removed from the immediate area.

Monument 24 (III-13) (Fig. 9.22)

A broken stela was discovered by a villager clearing stones on T-7 during our third field season. It was one of a number of stones in a Classic period wall line, but apparently is a Middle Formative carving, mutilated and later used in that construction.

The stela is rectangular in cross-section and has a long tapering end. On its



Figure 9.22. Monument 24, as found.



Figure 9.24. Monument 26, stela base with traces of carved lines.



Figure 9.23. Monument 25, round altar.

"front" side is a highly weathered carving, much of which is missing due to flaking and general erosion. One small design occurs on the back side of the stone. The original vertical position of the stela is in question. Grove believes that the tapered end was the stela butt, and today the stone is erected in that position, moved to the fenced enclosure area of the T-25 altar. However, the position of several glyphs suggest to Angulo that the stela may be upside down today. Angulo's description is provided in Chapter 10 (see Fig. 10.25), Grove's in Chapter 27 (see Fig. 27.7).

Previous description: Angulo 1979.

Area IV

Monuments 25 (IV-5) and 26 (IV-6) (Figs. 9.23, 9.24)

During the second field season, Monument 25, a cylindrical carving ca. 1.3 m in diameter and 47 cm in height, was discovered buried at surface level near the north end of T-6 (Fig. 4.16). This circular monument is partially broken on one side and is scored along its upper edge by plow marks. While its top and bottom are flat and uncarved, two motifs in low relief repeat around the monument's circumference. Encircling the monument's upper edge is a series of pendant elements composed of a circle above an

oval. Nothing similar is known in Formative period iconography. Circling the monument's lower section is a sharply undulating or cog-shaped line beneath which are spaced several large oblong elements. This undulating line-and-oblong motif is only slightly similar to the wavy diagonal band-and-oblong motif on Monuments 21 and 27. The closest general similarity is with the base design on the left side of La Venta Altar 3 [e.g., de la Fuente 1973:22].

A second monument, no. 26, was found immediately adjacent to Monument 25's southwest side. Monument 26 is the broken basal stub of what must have been a large stela. Only 74 cm of the stub remain. It is oval in cross-section, with approximate dimensions of 100 × 56 cm. On the north side of the stub several carved lines occur, including one right at the upper (broken) edge, indicating that the missing upper section was carved. Together Monuments 25 and 26 appear to be a round altar and stela combination, the earliest so far known in Mesoamerica.

Because T-6 was due to be plowed soon, both monuments were moved ca. 10 m northward, to a roofed stone and cement platform built at the terrace's edge to accommodate them.

Previous descriptions (Mon. 25): Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974. **Monument 27 (IV-7) (Fig. 9.25)**

During the final major field season, the *ejidatario* of T-6 showed project co-director Raul Arana a small stone protruding from the surface near the center of the terrace. This stone, among the thousands which jumble the ground there, showed faint traces of low relief carving. The T-6 excavation grid begun for Monuments 25 and 26 was extended over this area of the field, and the stone was carefully excavated. This operation disclosed that the section protruding above the surface was the tip of a large stela. Excavations were continued and expanded until the entire stela was revealed.

In contrast to two of the other significant stelae on the site (Mons. 21 and 28), this stela is well faced on all four sides and is essentially rectangular in cross-section. It had been broken into at least three sections. The bottom half was still in situ. The fragment which stimulated the excavations is the monument's upper right half, which lay tilted back at an angle. The left upper section is missing and was not uncovered during the subsequent excavations in this area.

The main feature of the stela is the figure of a walking personage, facing to the left (Fig. 10.22). The breaks on the stela run horizontally across the hip section and vertically through the upper torso. Only the left shoulder, arm, and the extreme rear of the head are present on the remaining upper portion. The left arm is bent across a vertical scepter-like object. While the person's head is almost entirely missing, the remaining fragment appears to indicate a headband with two tassels (ties) hanging to the rear. On the lower section of the stela the person's legs are shown decorated with anklets and sandals. The sandals, like those on the female of Monument 21, seem to have some sort of element atop the foot. A hanging fringed belt appears in front of the person's waist.

The personage seems to be wearing an animal's skin or perhaps carrying the animal on his back. The hind legs of the animal hang down and forward, and extend beyond the person's legs. The animal's body is decorated with elongated oblongs separated by undulating lines. This design is the same motif which appears within the vertical column of Monument 21.

The major portion of the human's head and possibly the head of the animal were carved on the missing (upper left) stela fragment. This negates any possibility of identifying either one. The animal's short curved tail and long hooved limbs suggest that it is a deer.

Rectangular "brick-like" motifs run up each front edge of the stela, framing the figure. In addition, generalized curvilinear motifs occur on the stela's sides. A special feature of the stela is that it was carved not particularly for relief but for color contrast. The rock's "weathered" surface color is red. The artists executing this monument cut below the red surface on the background to expose the lighter buff-colored stone, essentially leaving the main figure and other relief areas in red. Thus the figure is actually in lower relief than other carvings at the site.

This unique manner of carving for color contrast raises an interesting point. This stela is well formed and faced on all four sides, implying that the stone was worked and shaped prior to the relief carving. If this was the case, then the finished stela-blank would not have had a "weathered" red exterior color. This would suggest that the surface color was



Figure 9.25. Monument 27, as discovered, mutilated.

artificially induced through subjecting the uncarved stela to fire, or by some other means.

The excavations of the stela also disclosed that it stood in front of a stone-wall-like feature. When completely uncovered, this proved to be a Cantera phase stone-faced stepped platform mound (T-6 Str. 1).

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Grove 1981b.

Monument 28 (IV-8) (Fig. 10.24)

A massive stela lay almost completely buried on T-6. Fortunately, its butt end projected into El Paso Drainage, and its slightly exposed underside was inspected by Raul Arana, who discovered faintly carved lines. The area was then gridded and the stela excavated. The monument is over 4 m long. Its carved surface is so weathered that the design is barely discernable. A rubbing was made of the carved area (see Fig. 10.23), and although the details are still faint, general features can be ascertained.

The carving depicts a standing personage in walking position, facing to the left, surrounded by a cascade of plume-like elements. These emanate from the large headdress area and also appear as a background to the body and exhibit an unusual branching pattern.

While the personage appears to wear a large headdress, below that the facial details are very eroded or perhaps effaced by mutilation. The ear ornamentation consists of a round earpool from which a pointed element dangles. This ear ornamentation seems identical to that worn by the figures of Monuments 1 and 10.

The right arm is slightly raised, while the left arm is bent at the waist and appears to cradle a large vertical bundle. Below the left arm is a waist band which runs to a vague rectangular area at the stomach. From this same area a hanging belt dangles in front of the legs. While both legs are clearly shown, the feet are difficult to discern.

Previous descriptions: Angulo 1979; Angulo and Grove 1974; Grove 1981b.

Area VII

Monument 29 (x-4) (Fig. 9.26)

An unusual carving was found in the Tetla zone of the site by villagers and brought by them to the village in late 1972. It stands today atop a pedestal in the village plaza.

This crudely carved stone is the only monument known from Tetla. No visible archaeological features occur in the



Figure 9.26. Monument 29 from Tetla area of site, now located on the plaza of the village of Chalcatzingo.

southern part of the zone, where it was found. It is roughly oval in cross-section and stands approximately 1.2 m tall. One end is roughly finished, the other unfinished. The crude motif on the stone's face gives little clue as to the carving's original vertical orientation.

Although it could be erected upside down today, the stone is presently positioned so that the deeply carved curvilinear element forms what resembles the highly stylized features of a crude human face, reminiscent of "Kilroy" faces during the 1940's—two arched eyes joined by a pendulous nose.

Area VIII

Monument 10 (VIII-1) (Fig. 9.27)

Monument 10 is a relief carved on the north face of a boulder located on the very top of the Cerro Chalcatzingo about 10 m east of a modern cross. The carving was first reported by Gay (1972a: 66–69) and consists of two motifs (Fig. 10.26). The major motif is a human head, shown in full face. The face has very thick lips and a very wide nose, and the eyes are slightly bulging rings. The brow and top of the head are covered by an unusual pointed cap. The ears are hidden behind large circular earpools with pendant triangle elements, the same style worn by the persons shown on Monuments 1 and 28.



Figure 9.27. Monument 10, carved on boulder atop the Cerro Chalcatzingo.

Above and slightly to the right of the head is an arm and hand motif positioned vertically. The hand (a left hand) has all fingers raised and the palm facing outward. Three large circles form a bracelet on the wrist. Gay (1972a:66-69) identifies the face as a rain deity, and the hand as a petition for rain.

Previous description: Gay 1972a.

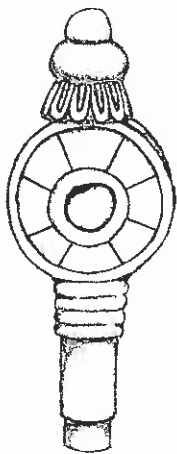
Area Unknown

Monument 30 (Fig. 9.28)

Cook de Leonard (1967:Pl. 8) has published a carved monument which is similar in form and style to the Teotihuacan ball game marker from La Ventilla (Angulo 1963; 1964; Aveleyra 1963), suggesting a general contemporaneity. The Chalcatzingo carving, which Cook de Leonard estimates at 70 cm tall, appears to have been made from one piece of stone rather than being composite, as in the case of the La Ventilla marker now on display in the National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City. The base of the monument is post-like. Above this is a solid circular disc divided into eight sections. This circle is in turn topped by three smaller rounded elements, the lowest of which represents down-hanging carved feathers.

According to Cook de Leonard (1967:73), the Chalcatzingo marker stood in the plaza of the village in 1945, but it has long since vanished. It may have been originally associated with the site's T-15 or Tetla ball courts, or could have been placed elsewhere on the site, since at Teotihuacan such markers may have been for a ball game played with a stick and not in a formal ball court.

Previous description: Cook de Leonard 1967.



RESUMEN DEL CAPÍTULO 9

Durante el desarrollo del proyecto, fueron descubiertos varios monumentos independientes y relieves al pie de monte, los cuales fueron catalogados junto con los bajorrelieves ya conocidos. El presente capítulo comprende la descripción de todos los monumentos, cuya interpretación aparece en los capítulos 10 y 27. La numeración de los monumentos se hizo en base a dos sistemas: uno, el sistema de secuencias, principalmente basado en el orden de descubrimiento; otro, el sistema de ubicación, basado en el lugar de origen del monumento, en función de ocho áreas geográficas definidas dentro del sitio.

El Area Geográfica I comprende, los piedemontes, al norte del Cerro Chalcatzingo. La mayoría de los bajorrelieves conocidos fueron encontrados en esta zona. En el Area I-A fueron encontrados el Monumento 1, llamado "El Rey," así como varios relieves representando animales pequeños, de los cuales algunos sentados debajo de nubarrones, Monumentos 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15. El relieve de "Los Olmecas Caminantes" (Mon. 2), un felino de gran tamaño (Mon. 3), una escena que representa a dos felinos atacando a dos seres humanos (Mon. 4), una creatura con rasgos de reptil (Mon. 5), y una figura humana sentada dentro de la boca de un monstruo de la tierra (Mon. 13), fueron hallados en el Area I-B.

El Area II corresponde a la parte occidental del sitio. En esta zona fueron encontrados: "El Volador" (Mon. 12), una piedra de gran tamaño con una cavidad rectangular bien trazada (Mon. 19), y una estatua burda decapitada, en la que sólo los brazos aparecen con claridad (Mon. 20).

El Area III comprende la parte central del sitio, incluyendo la Plaza Central, T-15, y T-25. Dos monumentos fueron erigidos en la parte superior de la estructura 4 en la Plaza Central (Mons. 9 y 18). El Monumento 9 es un relieve que representa, de frente, la cara de un monstruo de la tierra cuya boca es hueca y cruciforme. El Monumento 18 es una piedra de gran tamaño con un motivo grabado y dos depresiones semi-esféricas.

Otro grupo de monumentos del Area III fué hallado en T-15 y T-25: el Monumento 21, una estela representando a una mujer; un altar de estilo Olmeca en forma de mesa (Mon. 22); y la base de una estela (Mon. 23). Las dos estelas estaban asociadas a estructuras con revestimiento de piedra. Entre los monumentos del Area III también están la estatua decapitada que se encuentra actualmente en el Museo de Antropología (Mon. 16), la cabeza de una estatua encontrada en una sepultura (Mon. 17), y una estela rota con relieves erosionados (Mon. 24).

El Area IV está situada entre el drenaje de El Paso y el Cerro Delgado. Todos los monumentos hallados en esta zona se encuentran en T-6. Los Monumentos 25 y 26 son un altar asociado con la base de una estela; esta combinación es la más antigua que se conoce en Mesoamérica. El Monumento 27, que está roto, representa a una figura caminante y está asociado a la estructura 1 en T-6. El Monumento 28 es una estela imponente que representa a un personaje en bajorrelieve muy erosionado.

El Area V corresponde a los acantilados superiores y a la cima del Cerro Delgado, mientras que el Area VI corresponde a la planicie de Tetla. No se encontraron monumentos en ninguna de estas dos áreas.

El Area VII abarca la zona sur de Tetla y las laderas sur del Cerro Chalcatzingo. El Monumento 29 fué encontrado en esta zona: se trata de una piedra burdamente labrada, que ahora se encuentra en la plaza del pueblo de Chalcatzingo.

El Area VIII corresponde a la cima del Cerro Chalcatzingo, en donde fué encontrado el Monumento 10, que representa en relieve una cara humana.

Figure 9.28. Classic period ball court marker.

10. The Chalcatzingo Reliefs: An Iconographic Analysis

JORGE ANGULO V.

Takuhón illustrations by Chappie Angulo

Local, regional, and long-distance economic interaction between distant culture groups existed very early in Mesoamerica's prehistory. For instance, Michael Coe's data from the Ojochi phase levels (1500–1350 BC) at San Lorenzo indicate that the obsidian utilized there derived from sources associated with the Orizaba volcano (Guadalupe Victoria, Pico de Orizaba) 300 km to the northwest (Cobean et al. 1971). The establishment of local and long-distance exchange and trade systems is a recurring phenomenon in Mesoamerica. Such systems moved raw materials and manufactured goods common to one area to other places lacking these products. Such exchange or trade was usually reciprocal and could be relatively local (within one valley) or pan-Mesoamerican (e.g., between Tikal and Teotihuacan during the Classic period). It is certainly evident that if groups could trade or exchange raw materials, manufactured goods, technology, and other material elements, then they could also exchange their astronomical knowledge, religious concepts, ideas, and cultural features, often translated into symbols and graphic elements that would have been understood among the elite. This way of communicating and transmitting ideas has been classified and studied under the rubric "iconography."

This exchange of materials, as well as intellectual-spiritual concepts and traditions, was established at least by the Early Formative period. The collective cultural traits that developed in Mesoamerica as a result of this exchange have much to do with the similarities in glyphic and symbolic elements that appear to be characteristically "Olmec" but are also manifested in later cultures. Though these elements are similar, they show particular adaptations to different areas in terms of stylization of their characteristics. Nevertheless these sym-

bols conserved the basic elements of the "mother culture," as Miguel Covarrubias (1957: 83) called it. Only a cultural unity of this type explains the stylistic evolution of certain iconographic traits that lasted for three thousand years until the time of the Spanish conquest. It is amazing to note how some celebrations and ceremonies today contain identifiable traits of prehispanic origin, although often barely recognizable in the rituals of a hybridized religion. Examples of this can be seen in the traditional dances related to agricultural fertility and the petitions for food performed to the deities related to natural elements. A list of these dances with their explanations would require an exhaustive chapter in itself; therefore it is enough to mention only the dances of Los Tecuanes, La Pescada, and those performed during the Easter period in isolated parts of Mexico, especially in the mountains of Chiapas, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Jalisco, and Nayarit.

A concept opposed to cultural unity and persistence as presented here has been popularized and repeated in the past decade by George Kubler (1967; 1972). This has been an attempt to invalidate any comparisons or analogies that might be established between archaeological cultures and ethnic groups either before the conquest or today. The theory condemns comparison between Mesoamerican cultures, particularly when they do not correspond to the same cultural subarea or if they did not reach similar levels of development at the same time. It is based on the "law of disjunction," formulated by Erwin Panofsky, which Kubler (1967: 11–12) adapted for Mesoamerica, arguing for "... different meanings in similar representations." The concept favors a pluralistic interpretation of Mesoamerican religions based upon "intrinsic evidence" from the art forms (Kubler 1972: 1).

One principle followed in this chapter

is that the art form transmits a message as a complement of the social, political, economic, religious, and historical factors that constitute the culture of any group. I conclude, however, that many of the precolumbian iconographic representations do share the same basic concepts, and that they conserve a certain degree of continuity throughout the chronological horizons of their development. The various examples of this expression that have endured for more than three thousand years in Mesoamerica would require a lengthy list and a work dedicated exclusively to that theme, so only one example will be mentioned. This is the persistence of *chalchihuitl*, the jade bead that symbolically represents precious water (blood of the gods), as an element that frequently appears associated with representations of water-laden clouds. The most ancient expression known of this motif appears on a rock carving at Chalcatzingo (relief I-A-1, "El Rey"). It is also found with the same significance in the *Codex Telleriano Remensis* (Pl. 25) and in the copy *Vatican II*, both painted in the period immediately after the conquest, almost 2,500 years after the carving of the Chalcatzingo reliefs. This same motif is without question still found in drawings and paintings executed today on *amate* paper by artists in rural villages in the mountains of Guerrero and sold in folk-art stores throughout Mexico.

The following analysis of the monuments is based upon lengthy in-the-field studies of each relief under a variety of light conditions, supplemented with *takuhón* technique "rubbings" (which illustrate this chapter) and photographs. Because the concept of a continuity of beliefs and symbolism through time is followed, the analysis draws heavily upon ethnohistoric and Postclassic data. The presentation of the reliefs does not follow the sequential numbering order of

the catalog (Chapter 9), but discusses the most important reliefs in groups which exhibit unifying themes. The reader is referred to the catalog for additional locational and descriptive data.

ANALYSIS OF THE RELIEFS

Group I-A (Mons. 11, 8, 14, 15, 7, 6, 1)

The carvings of Group I-A convey the idea that they form a pictorial sequence, rather than each carving simply being an isolated phenomenon. At least three symbolic motifs are repeated in most of these carvings, with only minor variations between them. The first is a cloud, which appears to be growing thicker and changing its position from left to right in the sequence. Another is the raindrop motif which terminates in a small concentric circle (the *chalchihuitl*, which in later Mesoamerican cultures symbolizes rainwater, precious water, and the blood of the gods). The raindrops change in quantity, size, and position in the sequence of carvings. The third motif is a double scroll element that winds and unwinds, forming a horizontal S. This last element serves as a base for most of the zoomorphic figures of Group I-A and as the seat of the principal personage, "El Rey," of relief I-A-1 (Mon. 1), who sits within the mouth of an earth monster, the entrance to the underworld (Grove 1968a:486–487). El Rey holds within its arms a bar with the same scroll design, bringing to mind the ceremonial bars found in Maya carvings.

The Group I-A sequence must be viewed from left to right. Unfortunately, this is exactly the reverse of the sequence in which the reliefs were found and originally numbered. Relief I-A-7 (Mon. 11; Fig. 10.1), on the extreme left, begins with a cloud set at an angle of 60°. Beneath the cloud, but at some distance below it, raindrops fall perpendicularly, seemingly blown away by the wind. They do not quite reach the zoomorphic figure, which appears to represent a crouching jaguar lying in wait on top of the horizontal-S symbol and looking upward in the direction of the cloud.

The second relief in this series, I-A-6 (Mon. 8; Fig. 10.2) has been severely eroded and is barely perceptible today. It also includes a thin cloud, in this case directly over the zoomorphic figure. The head of this heavy-bodied figure is again upturned, facing the cloud. A bifurcated scroll emerges from its mouth. Where the scroll is close to the cloud, two rain-



Figure 10.1. Monument I-A-7 (Mon. 11).



Figure 10.2. Monument I-A-6 (Mon. 8).

drops are produced. It is difficult to determine whether the muzzle of the animal is large and the bifurcate element emerging from its mouth is short, or vice versa. The figure's face has remains of a wide eyebrow that could be interpreted as a "flame eyebrow." Two short legs terminating in claws protrude from the heavy body. The left leg appears to be shriveled and held close to the body, while something protrudes downward from the stomach. The most disconcerting part of this figure is the tail, which can be interpreted in different ways. One is to view the animal as a fish with some long element attached to its tail. Another is to view the zoomorph as a representation of a crocodilian with a long tail that branches out from the center and again at the tip.

It is difficult to identify the zoomorph based on the data available. It seems to be a fish-like animal with a large snout and large tail like a crocodile or *cipactli*, often referred to in Nahuatl mythology as the symbol of the material world, composed of earth and water. Or it may be the *acipactli*, which lives in the rivers and estuaries and has been frequently mentioned in sixteenth-century sources as *peje lagarto*, or alligator gar.

The third zoomorphic figure of this sequence, I-A-5 (Mon. 14; Fig. 10.3), was uncovered in 1972 and is in a good state of preservation when compared to the others. The figure is crouched over the horizontal inverted-S motif. The structure of a quadruped can be clearly seen. It may be a dog or a coyote with its tail curving upward. It also faces upward toward the cloud. The face has a clearly incised wide eyebrow, as is common among flame eyebrows in Olmec carvings. Emerging from the elongated snout is again the bifurcated scroll. When this touches the cloud above, it produces three drops of water that fall on each side of the figure. Below the figure is a plant consisting of a large stem with four large leaves, all morphologically characteristic of squash plants.

The fourth carving, I-A-4 (Mon. 15; Fig. 10.4), also found in 1972, is almost completely destroyed except for portions of the cloud's right half, one drop of falling rain, and the upper part of the bifurcated scroll. The destruction has removed almost all of the zoomorphic figure in this instance, as well as the scroll upon which these figures normally crouch. In the lower part of the carving another squash plant can be seen. This squash



Figure 10.3. Monument I-A-5 (Mon. 14).



Figure 10.5. Monument I-A-2 (Mon. 7).



Figure 10.4. Monument I-A-4 (Mon. 15).

plant contains at least one flower with incipient fruit. Although we have no way of knowing how long this relief has been destroyed or what caused its nearly total destruction, its position on the hill suggests that it may have simply disappeared through erosion.

The following scene is composed of two carvings on different sides of the same rock that seem to represent the same animal–scroll–squash–plant complex shown in the previous two reliefs. During the 1972 field season, a *takuhón* was made of I-A-2 (Mon. 7; Fig. 10.5). I believe it shows the zoomorphic figure to be an iguana. As with the other carvings, the zoomorphic figure is looking upward and also crouches over the horizontal-S scroll. Apparently missing here are the bifurcated scroll, the rain cloud, and the drops of rain. The other side of the same rock has a well-executed carving representing the vine, leaves, and young fruits of a squash plant, I-A-3 (Mon. 6; Fig. 10.6). The positioning of the zoomorphic figure and squash plant leaves little doubt that these two carvings form one unit.

Interestingly, the animal looks upward toward MCR-2 (Chapter 11), a small rock-carved canal about 2 m uphill. This canal may have symbolically or magically guided the torrents of water that during the rainy period formed the beginnings of a drainage system that started at the feet of El Rey and descended the hill, crossing the artificial terraces to irrigate the fields below.

The last relief of the sequence is “El Rey,” I-A-1 (Mon. 1; Fig. 9.3). On the uppermost part of the relief are three large double clouds, apparently filled with water. Vertical lines below these undulating clouds transmit the image of a fine but heavy rain (Fig. 10.7). Below the clouds, raindrops occur in abundance. Concentric-circle *chalchihuitl* glyphs larger in size than the raindrops are also present.

From the open mouth of the earth-monster niche, large scrolls curl outward in diverse directions, as if describing a torrent of wind. Previous classifications have identified this large zoomorphic earth-monster profile as the jaguar-serpent. The triple lines of the jaw mark the gums of a feline, while the eye motif with its St. Andrew’s cross is considered that of a reptile.

The St. Andrew’s cross here may relate to the “crossroads” (*omaxalli*) that Edward Seler (1963) frequently mentions in his analysis of symbology. The *omaxalli*

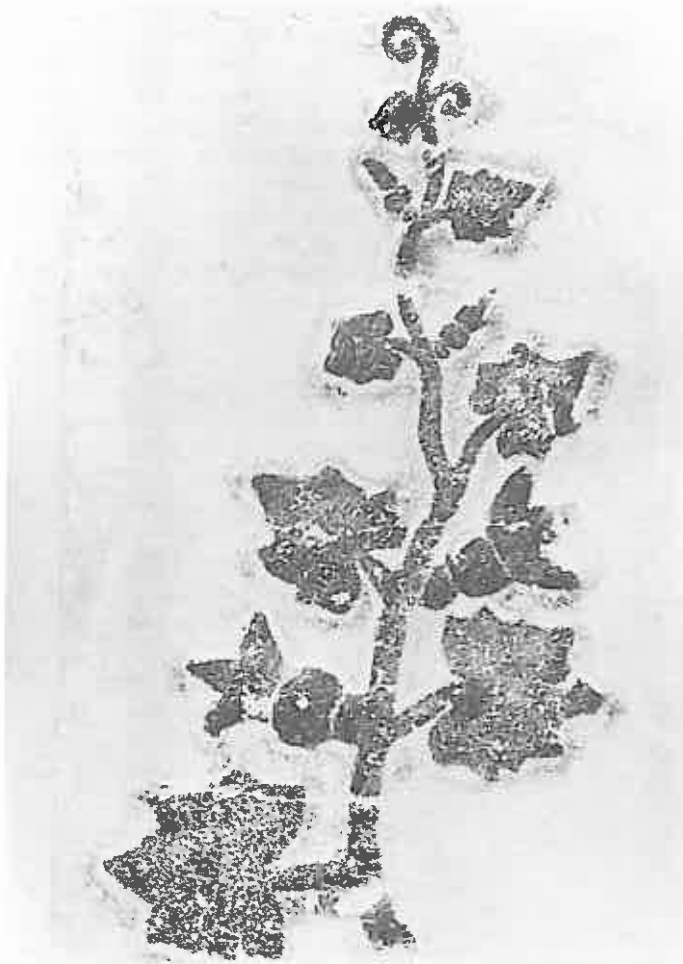


Figure 10.6. Monument I-A-3 [Mon. 6].



Figure 10.7. Cloud above "El Rey," Monument I-A-1 (Mon. 1).

probably had a mythical significance related to the cardinal points and to the definition of the five regions of the universe, of which the most important point was the center. This core would be where two different dimensions merge, as geographic space in the chronological moment of living experience, a combination of space and time that forms the present.

In the Mexica culture, the place where the roads crossed (*omaxalli*) was an important space destined for the construction of temples and altars dedicated to deities of the earth, especially Tlazolteotl, Tezcatlipoca, and Xipe Totec.

The St. Andrew's cross could also represent the dual deities of heaven and the underworld. The symbol would graphically express the crossing of the path of the sun in its daily journey with that of the Milky Way in the nocturnal sky.

Above the eye of the earth monster is a flame-eyebrow-like element which probably was derived from the eyebrow area of the quetzal bird or *guacamaya*. Donald Lathrap (1982) identifies it with the crest of the harpy eagle. In both instances it would personify the symbol of the sun.

In three areas of the open jaws of the earth-monster are plants, previously interpreted as maize (Coe 1965a:18), but identified below as a bromeliad that grows and adheres to the fissures of the rocks at Chalcatzingo.

The personage seated within the earth-monster's mouth not only sits upon a rectangular block which contains the horizontal-S symbol, but also holds in his/her arms a "ceremonial bar" with that same symbol (Fig. 10.8). This personage, popularly called "El Rey," wears an enormous headdress placed at the back of the head. The tall and tubular form of this headdress evidences certain similarities with the headdresses worn by personages shown in other Olmec art such as in Juxtlahuaca cave, Guerrero, Stelae 2 and 3 at La Venta, and to some extent on Altars 3 and 5 at the same site.

Within the headdress of "El Rey" are two rows of three raindrop symbols each. Three large concentric circles (as in the *chalchihuitl* glyph) are distributed along the back and top of the headdress and are adorned with eyebrow-like elements. Above and below the central circle are the figures of two quetzal birds with long tail feathers. Two bromeliad-like plants are present, one in the front and center of the headdress, the second emanating forward from the turban or dressed hair that



Figure 10.8. Seated figure, "El Rey," Monument I-A-1 (Mon. 1).

covers "El Rey's" crown and forehead. Where the hair or turban covers the side of the head there is an elongated ornament which includes a circular element like an earplug. A triangular form with the long point facing downward hangs from the circle. The circle and triangle combination evolved into the year symbol used by later central Mexican cultures.

"El Rey" appears to have an adornment covering the cheek and nose, and there is some type of element emanating from the mouth. In both cases the effects of erosion or intentional mutilation prohibit definite identification.

A cape covers "El Rey's" shoulders and falls to elbow level. Any designs on the cape have been lost through weathering. Raindrop symbols occur on the personage's skirt-like garment, but the designs on the *maxtlatl* or hanging belt are too eroded to identify. Ankle bands are clearly worn, but it is difficult to de-

termine if the feet are bare or shod in sandals.

With the idea in mind that the Group I-A carvings represent a pictorial sequence, this sequence can now be analyzed. One very significant feature is that all of the zoomorphic creatures executed in the reliefs are shown with their heads facing upward. Similar representations (especially of fish and birds) are found on Early Formative vessels from Tlatilco and Las Bocas (Coe 1963a: Figs. 22, 59, 61; Piña Chan 1958: 2: Pls. 4, 10). Three Late Formative ceramic figurines found during the 1974 excavations on T-27 (Fig. 8.17) wear duck-billed masks over their mouths in the manner of the Mexica Ehecatl and are also facing upward.

Various Gulf Coast sculptures are found in the same position, although at times they have been mistakenly set up horizontally. Examples include La Venta

Monuments 11 and 56, Tres Zapotes Monuments F and G (de la Fuente 1973: 68–70, 103–104, 295–299), and a carving from Arroyo Sonso, Veracruz (Fig. 10.9). This position is also repeated in Mexica sculptures such as the dog or *ahuizotl* displayed in the Puebla Museum and the statue of Coatlicue found during the subway excavations in Mexico City. Thus, just as people today kneel in church, these carvings suggest that an upward-facing posture may have been a common ritual position from the Early Formative period until the destruction of the indigenous culture by the Spanish.

This position is of significance for another reason as well. Among the recent discoveries related to the decipherment of Maya glyphs has been the identification of a glyph that signifies the "birth" of important personages. This glyph is always a zoomorphic head (usually identified as a frog) looking upward (Fig. 10.10; Barthel 1968: 134–135). Chalcatzingo's zoomorphic figures with upturned faces could possibly have been carved for the same reason, to indicate "birth," or the initiation of some special event in the celebration of a ceremony. The other sculptures and the ceramic vessels mentioned above could likewise have been related to the same concept. The special event celebrated might have been the birth or beginning of the rainy season, the rebirth of the vegetation that covers the surface of the earth after the first rains, the act of fertilization, and the giving of the "new life" that annually bursts forth from Mother Earth, assuring the survival of the inhabitants.

While the zoomorphs looking upward could be the symbol of the initiation of an event, the bifurcated volutes emerging from their upturned faces would have been the energy emitted as breath, materializing the prayers and chants directed to the clouds to give forth their precious drops of water (*chalchihuitl*). Similar single volutes were used by later cultures in highland Mexico as the symbol of speech and communication. When speech scrolls were adorned with flowers they represented prayers and chants. Without adornment they signified ordinary communication.

The bifurcated volute emerging from the zoomorphic figures at Chalcatzingo can also be simplified into the geometric form of a T. Among the Maya this form is a glyph known as *ik*, whose literal translation is "wind." *Ik*, as god of the wind, is part of Itzamna, a greater god. In addi-

tion, according to J. Eric S. Thompson (1960:73), "Ik . . . means not only wind but breath and by extension life itself." In referring to the usage of the *ik* sign in one portion of the *Codex Madrid*, Thompson says, "Here again, the Ik must carry the idea of germination, of coming to life." The bifurcated volute conceived as a supplication rising to the clouds could be an earlier expression of the Maya glyph, the breath of Ik. Among the Maya of the Petén and the area of the Usumacinta-Grijalva during the Classic period, glyphic writing consisted of a mix of pictographic and ideographic symbols which complemented other abstract symbols grouped as affixes, suffixes, prefixes, and others which generally represented a sound or phoneme (Kelley 1962). It is possible that Chalcatzingo's Group I-A reliefs are one of the first manifestations of this type of symbolic-representative writing, which may have begun in the Early or Middle Formative, although few examples exist from these early times to verify such a hypothesis.

The pictorial sequence of zoomorphic figures facing upward may imply a deeper meaning than simply the initiation of a new phase of life related to the fertility of the earth brought about by the coming

of the rains. The advent of the rains could have marked a new annual phase in the system of time measurement or calendric counts, the birth of a new year. All known calendars have seemingly arbitrary beginnings. It is possible that in the Formative period the calendar began the new year with the rainy season.

The passage of the sun across the true zenith is a phenomenon which occurs only in tropical latitudes. As Anthony Aveni (1980:40–46) has noted, the passage of the sun through the zenith may have been used in the prehispanic period, as it is today, to fix dates in the agricultural calendar. "The first (zenith passage) announces the rains at the end of April telling that it is time to clear the fields for a planting, the second . . . also signals rain accompanied by wind. These events are attended by elaborate ritual" (Aveni 1980:40).

Other scholars offer different beginning points for the precolumbian calendar. Alfonso Caso (1967:50–63) suggested that the calendric count began with the month of Atlcahualo, which he correlated with February 14. Coe (1975:13) suggests that the Maya year began during the second ten days of the month of July, when the sun passed over the zenith without leaving a shadow on a vertical stick. Aveni (personal communication) believes that the same zenith phenomenon took place at Tres Zapotes during the third week of May. He also notes (1980:245) that the initiation of the rainy season in Copán in the first week of May can be determined when Venus can no longer be seen through the window of the "observatory" at that site.

Today one of the principal festivals of Chalcatzingo is the Christian celebration of Santa Cruz on May 3. On this day a nearly constant procession of villagers can be seen climbing the Cerro Chalcatzingo to the cross which is erected atop the hill. They carry food and fruits as offerings for the year. Since the colonial period the indigenous populations have selected Christian festivals which coincided in time with their traditional ceremonies and festivals. However, it cannot be determined with certainty today whether the festivals are more important for their original indigenous aspects or for their more recent Christian significance.

Festivals and ceremonies today emphasize the continued importance of the beginning of the rains to Mesoamerican agriculturalists. In precolumbian Mesoamerica, in a cognitive system in which

the elements of nature and the obsession with agricultural productivity were so important, the rainy season undoubtedly marked the beginning of a new cycle, the rebirth of a new life.

Another important and not unrelated theme in the Group I-A reliefs can be found in the horizontal-S scroll that serves as a base for almost all of the crouched zoomorphic figures. This symbol, with its winding and unwinding, visually expresses two aspects of the same movement, but in opposition. In the double scroll we find the dual principle of the giving of life and taking back through death, the dryness and later the humidity that cyclically cover the surface of the earth.

Although the extremes of this horizontal-S symbol diverge in opposite directions, at the same time it forms an inseparable unit as a dual principle of contrary forces that compose the order of the universe, the essence that maintains all of the elements of creation in permanent equilibrium. The scroll is a clearly explicit visual form of the principle of equilibrium of contrary forces, the eternal duality of oppositions found in all philosophical theories, the same principle or scientific premise that explores the eternal dynamics which maintain active and alive all the components affecting the constant rhythm of transformation of life in nature. These eternal oppositions, notable in the contrast between night and day, heat and cold, rain and drought, life and death, express the concepts of duality that have been manifested in Mesoamerica from the Early Formative period to the Spanish conquest.

Because of the common association of the scroll as a symbol for sound, the horizontal-S scroll may also represent sound in one direction and the echo in the opposite direction. As noted below, the echo has an important association with the Lord of the Mountain as personified by the "El Rey" relief (I-A-1). Caves and mountain cliffs are an appropriate place for echoes, and it is likely that this opposing scroll motif represents the chants, prayers, and supplications projected toward the sacred cliffs of Chalcatzingo to obtain rain from the "Heart of the Mountain."

It is possible that the horizontal-S scroll, the symbol of dual opposition, evolved into glyphs such as *hurakan*, the *xonecuilli*, and others used during the Classic period. The constant use and



Figure 10.9. Arroyo Sonso carving, National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City.

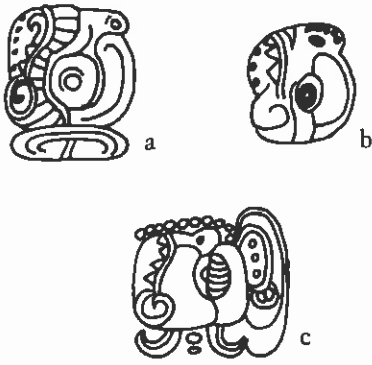


Figure 10.10. Maya "upended-frog" glyphs: a, T740:24; b, T740; c, T740 (after Kelley 1976: Figs. 55, 68, 73).

repetition of this symbol throughout many centuries may have converted it into a familiar and traditional motif applied to ceramics as decoration but no longer directly related to the mythic-religious symbolism of the original.

From the above discussions it can be seen that the zoomorphic figures in Group I-A are extremely complex iconographically, for they encompass concepts such as birth, new life, and oppositions. Their variety suggests a further interpretation, that they may also be totemic representations of clans or other kinship-oriented groups from the settlement of Chalcatzingo or the valley, who participated in ritualistic petitions for rain here on the side of the sacred mountain.

The first animal (I-A-7), identified here as a jaguar, would have been the most important clan or lineage, related to the sun or creator from the east who is crouched in wait.

The second relief (I-A-6) depicts a figure related either to the *cipactli* (crocodile) or the *acipactli* (alligator gar or *peje lagarto*), both of which represent the water from ponds, lakes, rivers, and estuaries, and are considered as a link between water and earth. There are some similarities between this figure and Izapa Stela 25, in which the *cipactli* is converted into a strong tree, evidently related to fertility (Norman 1976:37). Here this animal could also represent another clan participating with petitions in the ritual.

In the third relief (I-A-5) the figure is considered to be a coyote or some type of canine. It could have been related to a clan from the vicinity whose mythical

animal would have guarded the *milpa* from rodents and other predators. It would also have been the symbol of a cosmic star, the moon, or some other form of cosmic energy.

Since the fourth relief (I-A-4) is almost completely eroded, it is impossible to identify the figure. However, in the sequence of zoomorphic figures there is none related to water and air; thus it might have been a duck or a bird. In the black ware ceramics from Tlatilco and Las Bocas, many vessels have been found in the form of birds, especially ducks. The duck would be considered here as an animal related to human groups as well as to the aquatic and aerial elements of nature, since it is often represented in Olmec and Middle Formative iconography.

The last zoomorphic figure of the sequence (I-A-2) depicts an iguana, a well-known symbol of fertility related to both plants and human beings.

This whole sequence of reliefs may in one aspect represent the collaboration of the clan groups, each one related to natural elements, in their petitions through prayers and ritual to bring the rain clouds from afar to the mountain of Chalcatzingo, in a ceremony associated with fertility.

As a complement to the fertility rites, the sequence clearly shows the progressive growth of the clouds. Relief I-A-7, at the extreme left of the sequence, shows a cloud on the distant horizon. The cloud keeps growing in the subsequent reliefs until it reaches its full size (repeated three times) above "El Rey" (I-A-1), where each cloud is three layers thick (Fig. 10.7), giving the impression of rain falling from three different levels to the earth-monster below.

A further complementary sequence occurs with the squash plants. Carving I-A-5 shows a vine with four leaves, while on the following relief, I-A-4, the vine (heavily eroded) bears a small flower with an incipient fruit. The adjacent relief, I-A-3, depicts a third squash plant in full florescence with two ripe fruits which are represented with flowers, while two other small fruits are beginning to grow at the end of the exuberantly carved vine. These three representations leave no doubt that they form part of a sequence showing the florescence of one of Mesoamerica's oldest cultigens, as a result of the rains brought through the fertility rituals depicted by this entire sequence.

A completely different type of plant is depicted in the "El Rey" relief, where it grows from the exterior of the earth-monster mouth. Although often identified as maize, these plants are more probably bromeliads, common on the Cerro Chalcatzingo (Fig. 10.11). The granodiorite of the cerro regularly weathers and flakes, forming large and small vertical rock faces and clefts into which the humid outside air penetrates. Here moisture condenses into drops of water which run down the fissures, providing sustenance to a variety of plants such as bromeliads and even to large *amate* trees which grow clinging to the mountain's vertical cliff faces.

The bromeliad is a plant that has the ability to store rainwater at the base of its large leaves, which sprout from a central core, and also to absorb atmospheric humidity through these same leaves. Bromeliads are native to the western hemisphere, ranging from the southern United States to South America. The pineapple is the most familiar of the two thousand bromeliad species, some of which house "mini-kingdoms" of bacteria, algae, insects, frogs, and spiders in and around their stored water (Zahl 1975). Large bromeliads have supplied water for human use, but Chalcatzingo's small plants certainly did not serve such a function.



Figure 10.11. Bromeliads growing near Monument I-A-1 (Mon. 1).

Bromeliads occur in quantity on the cliffs and fissures of the Cerro Chalcatzingo. Considering that they retain water that gives life to the dry mountain, and because they visually resemble the plants carved on the "El Rey" relief, it seems likely and logical that these rather than maize (which does not grow on the mountain) are the plants growing from the earth-monster mountain-cave symbol. The carved bromeliads can be seen as symbols of the life-sustaining water gathered from the air, and intimately related to the deities of the mountain, caves, and water.

This fits in well with the sequence of zoomorphic figures who attract the rain and humidity from the clouds, so that they will condense and drip their precious liquid over the sacred mountain of Chalcatzingo.

The personage of "El Rey" clearly played the most important role in the scene depicted in the Group I-A reliefs, perhaps as the Lord and Heart of the Mountain that converted water from the air into the streams of water that formed the ravines of Chalcatzingo. Symbolically speaking, the personage would be the mediator between human beings and the gods.

The concept of Lord of the Mountain is extremely important in Mesoamerica as well as other world areas. It is crucial to a complete understanding of Chalcatzingo, and thus is explored in detail here. The Lord of the Mountain may be a very ancient belief, for it occurs in the Old World as well as the New. For instance, in Korean folklore certain mountains are considered sacred and given the name Miruk. In these sacred mountains ceremonies have been carried out for centuries to attract rain. There are carved reliefs which predate the Buddhist conversion in this area (AD 370). Buddhist temples were constructed in various parts of the mountain in different periods, while large and small villages were established around them (Strom and Strom 1972). On the 38th parallel which now divides Korea into two independent countries, people still speak of the "spirit of the sacred mountain" called Koo Weal, which is identified as a legendary white tiger that the Koreans call "the king of the Mountain." In other references to Korean folklore, Yong-Hun Shing (1966: 5-7) relates a story of Tan Gun as "... a heavenly King (who) sent his minister of wind, rain and clouds to visit the earth ... descending at the top

of the mountain. The mountain and its spirit become the intermediary between men and Heaven with all elements of nature."

For Mesoamerica, Barbro Dahlgren de Jordan (1954: 237-238) points out that in the Mixteca "That the peaks of the hills were sacred areas has been confirmed by archaeology and historical sources" (my translation). The Mixtec had their idols on the highest points in the mountains, where they performed ceremonies to the gods of rain.

Calixta Guiteras Holmes (1965: 231-234), in a study on symbiotic concepts of the religion of the Tzotziles of Chiapas, says that "They believe that the hills and mountains are apart from the earth, that these constitute the home of Angel, God of Rain, Lord of Animal life and protector of 'our sustenance.'" Later, with respect to caves, she notes, "... they are entrances to the mansion of the God of Rain ... the water sources and springs are the givers of that which is offered to man ... The angel is the god of rain, Lord of the Mountains, he that gives us maize, master of the animals and of the divinity of the waters. The lightning belongs to him. The angel guards the planted fields at the foot of the hills and the ones on the pine-covered slopes" (my translation).

These Tzotzil concepts closely parallel the symbolism of the relief of "El Rey," who sits within the mouth of the earth-monster and may be related to the figure of Tepeyollotl of centuries later, the Lord of Caves and Heart of the Mountain. These attributes were also associated among the Mexica with the figure of Tlaloc, god of rain, whose most ancient name in Nahuatl is Tlaloc-Tlachpanquiahuitl, meaning "the one who sweeps the rain toward the earth." The Spanish chronicler-priest Diego Durán (1967: 1:81) translates it as "road under the earth" or "large cave," while Edmundo O'Gorman in the index to Bartolomé de las Casas' *Los indios de México y Nueva España* (1971: 220-221), translates it as "the one who is inside the earth" (my translations to English).

Both Tlaloc and Tepeyollotl may have derived from a single concept in the Middle Formative. Both are associated with the wind that pulls the clouds filled with rain to the Lord of the Mountain, who then absorbs the water from the clouds, storing it in the caves and releasing it as rivers.

In the Maya area there are myths de-

scribing U C'ux Cah as the heart, the guts, and the living principle of the heavens, the spirit of the lakes, and the heart of the sea. This god is a triple deity who controls lightning and thunder. Caculha Hurakan is the one-legged lightning, Chi'pi Caculha is the small lightning, and Raxa Caculha is the green lightning bolt, lightning, or thunder (*Popol Vuh* 1947: 90-91 footnote).

In the *Popol Vuh* (1947: 23-24) it is mentioned that the gods "... joined their words and thoughts [and] brought forth the creation and the growth of man. It was brought forth in the fog and in the night by the heart of the heavens who is called Caculha Hurakan" (my translation).

Seler (1963: 1:114) considers U C'ux Cah related in some form to Tezcatlipoca because it represents the solar deity of the west who is introduced to the earth from that point to reappear in the east. In reality U C'ux Cah is another version of Tepeyollotlicuhtli, the jaguar god who inhabits the caves and is similar to Tlaloc in many of his attributes (Seler 1963: 1:174). He also controls the waters that come out of the caves, and he is surrounded by clouds, lightning, and thunder. This god keeps the fire of the lightning hidden behind the clouds and is a dual deity who produces water and fire at the same time.

Thompson (1960: 74) makes a similar observation: "... Tepeyollotl, according to commentaries of *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, was the echo and lord of animals; his name means heart of the mountain ... he is invariably in association with a temple, which in one case has a façade shaped as the open jaws of the earth monster. He usually has features which suggest the jaguar ... His association with the echo suggests a clear connection with another earth god, Uo'tan, deity of the Tzeltales and Tzotziles whose name signifies "heart." Uo'tan corresponds to the day of Akbal in the Maya calendar and, according to Seler (1963: 1:175-176) "was the Lord of the hollow tree, the *Atabal* [drum] of wood called *Teponaztli* [who] was the first male that god sent to divide the earth among men ... he owned a temple inside a cave—a somber house—a great treasure that he had produced by blowing ... it was protected by a female priest and some *Tapianes* [guardians]" (my translation).

Uo is also the name of the second month among the Mayans. Its glyphic

representation is formed by the St. Andrew's cross and the affix that symbolizes the color black and represents the jaguar god of the underworld. Uo could have been the patron of one of the pre-Mayan calendric months that marked fertility rites such as expressed in the reliefs of Group I-A.

One wonders if relief I-A-1, "El Rey," represents a deity who preceded the concept of Tepeyollotl among the Mixtecs and Mexicas. The relief seems to symbolize the ancient concept of the God of the Mountain who lives in the caves and in the interior of the earth, the one who controlled the echo expressed graphically as sound and resound. It is evident that the concept personified by "El Rey" underwent change through time and that the attributes became distributed among various later Mesoamerican deities. Other scholars generally agree in identifying the personage "El Rey" with rain and fertility, a type of Tlaloc, sitting at the entrance of the underworld in the mouth of the earth-monster.

To summarize, the Group I-A carvings should not be viewed simply as individual reliefs, but as the earliest pictorial sequence now known in Mesoamerica, a sequence probably meant to be viewed from left (east) to right (west). Important features of the sequential reliefs are the upward-facing animals, their bifurcated scrolls, the clouds, raindrops, and squash, and the horizontal-S motifs. The sequence is brought to a climax in the "El Rey" relief, which contains the essence of the total message. The wind coming out of the cave carries the clouds of rain to the top of the mountain, where they are transformed into raindrops, the precious water (expressed by the *chalchihuitl*) that will permit the green mantle of vegetation to return, covering the earth once more. This completes the cycle of renovation, produced by seasons of rain and drought in the eternal dialectic rhythm of nature transformed into a concept of life and death in an agricultural society.

Reliefs I-B-1, x-1, x-3 (Mons. 13, 16, 9)

There are two other monuments with the same motif and possible symbolism as "El Rey." One is relief I-B-1 (Mon. 13), called "The Governor," which was found during the 1972 field season. The other is composed of two sculptures, x-1 (Mon. 16) and x-3 (Mon. 9), at present exhibited in different museums but which might possibly have formed a unit when carved.

Relief x-3 is today in the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute in Utica, New York; x-1 is in the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City.

In both I-B-1 and the combination x-1 and x-3 one can find, as with "El Rey," a stylized jaguar-serpent with open jaws representing the earth-monster and a personage seated inside the mouth as in the entrance to the underworld. The reliefs "El Rey" and "The Governor" are two-dimensional, while sculptures x-1 and x-3 are three-dimensional. The reliefs in discussion show the earth monster motif full face while in "El Rey" it is seen in profile.

"The Governor" relief (I-B-1; Fig. 10.12), carved on a square slab, was found broken diagonally. Fortunately, the half recovered contains the major part of the central motif which depicts a person seated within the earth-monster's mouth. A bromeliad grows from the side of the mouth in the same manner as those on the "El Rey" relief. The mouth is formed by parallel bands modeled to give a feeling of depth to the carving.

The eroded nature of the carving has obscured the many rich details executed nearly three thousand years ago. The characteristic features of an Olmec face can still be recognized on the seated personage. The head is elongated upward and backward and cleft in a manner similar to some carvings and axes found at La Venta. The personage is kneeling or seated in a lotus position and is atop an element similar to the *icpalli*, a seat with a back of woven mats. The arms are extended toward the knees, manifesting certain tension and force in a position similar to sculptures of the Gulf Coast area, such as Monument 1 at Cruz de Milagro, Veracruz, Monument 1 of San Martín Pajapan, Veracruz, and Monuments 8, 10, and 73 of La Venta. Grove believes that this position in seated figures is a good chronological marker for Middle Formative carvings. By the position of the hands it appears that the figure may be holding a ceremonial bar (e.g., San Martín Pajapan Mon. 1; de la Fuente 1973:242-244), but since the rock is broken in this spot one can only be sure that it wears wrist bands.

The personage wears a garment or cape over the torso, and appears to be using a wide belt that could represent the bands that hold the *maxtlatl* (loincloth) or might be an item such as those worn by ballplayers (e.g., yokes).

Monument x-3 (Fig. 9.17) was found by

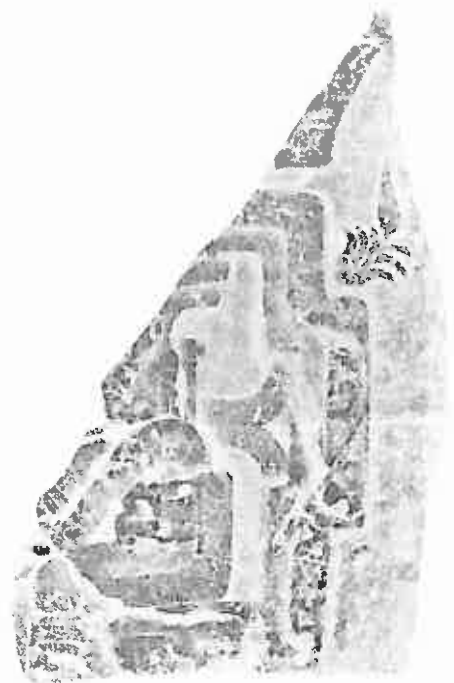


Figure 10.12. Monument I-B-1 (Mon. 13).

looters, apparently atop PC Structure 4. This sculpture repeats the earth-monster motif of "El Rey" and "The Governor," here manifested with a full-faced cruciform-shaped mouth. From the four clefts on the exterior of the mouth bromeliad-like plants again grow. In contrast to "The Governor," but similarly to "El Rey," x-3 has ovoid eyes that may have contained St. Andrew's crosses (symbol of sun or heavens of the Maya). The two wide eyebrow elements terminate in twin protuberances. There are similarities between these twin protuberances and the headdress motif of figure c in relief I-B-2 (Mon. 2; Fig. 10.13). The same form appears in the headdress of the lower jaguar in relief I-B-4 (Fig. 10.16) and the eyebrows on the earth-monster face on the T-25 altar (III-4 [Mon. 22]; Fig. 7.4). There is a small motif between the eyebrows, apparently a stylized jaguar face with two raindrop-like elements.

The large open mouth of this jaguar-monster is formed by a hollow cruciform that passes completely through the carving. The lower portion of this opening is worn and indicates not only that this sculpture was erected as a vertical panel but also that persons could have crawled through the mouth as a ritual passage through the earth-monster's mouth related to death and entrance into the underworld (Grove 1972a:161).

Monument x-1 (Fig. 9.18) was found by Guzmán (1934:248–250, Figs. 10, 12, 13) lying in El Paso Drainage between T-6 and T-15. It could be a component of Monument x-3. The figure depicts a seated person, arms held tightly to the body, but mutilated, lacking head and hands. The mutilation probably took place during the Formative period and was related to the same factors as the mutilation of Gulf Coast Olmec monuments (discussed later in this chapter). The figure wears a rectangular pectoral with a St. Andrew's cross motif (celestial glyph) and is quite similar to Monument 30 from La Venta.

The anthropomorphic statue of x-1 could have originally been seated inside a stone and mud construction (representing a natural cave) behind earth-monster relief x-3, the entrance to the underworld through its open cruciform mouth. The worn opening in relief x-3 may have been produced by offerings placed there for the deity behind. The dim light illuminating the seated sculpture placed inside the artificial cave would have completed the three-dimensional image of the message, that of the Lord of the Mountain, of wind, of heavens and earth, of life and death, sitting in the entrance to the underworld.

Together with "El Rey," "The Governor" (I-B-1), x-1, and x-3 depict this important deity who brings the clouds to produce rain that results in the fertility of the earth and the renovation of all living elements, the lord who lives atop and inside the mountains at the entrance of the underworld in the cave-mouth of the earth-monster, a life and death deity.

Relief I-B-2 (Mon. 2)

The relief I-B-2 is executed on a rock which not only has become tilted through time, but also has difficult access. Thus this analysis has been based on a *takuhón* made on the fiberglass copy of the relief on display in the National Museum of Anthropology. This copy (Fig. 10.13) places the figures and their proportions more accurately than previous illustrations, but much of the carving's detail has been lost. Therefore the analysis was supplemented with drawings and photos made at the site.

The scene depicted is popularly known as "The Processional" or "Marching Olmecs." It is made up of four anthropomorphic figures equally distributed across the lower surface of the large boulder.

The first figure on the left (*a*) seems to be moving away from the scene. On his large headdress there is a square form, crossed by two thin bands which might have tied the headdress together or could have been a vertical St. Andrew's cross, identifying his affiliation with a heavenly deity. Another wide, transverse band fastens the cylindrical form of the headdress to the head of the personage. These horizontal bands tie another element that protrudes in the front, from which two long forms emerge as feathers, a plant like teosinte or another type of wild maize. The element closest to the headdress is rigid, while the other is flowing. The personage wears a square mouth mask held together by a *chalchihuitl* in the same way as the masks of the Lords of the Night that surround the sarcophagus of the tomb in the Temple of Inscriptions at Palenque and the mask of jadeite from La Venta (Covarrubias 1957: Fig. 33).

He is wearing a short cape that covers only the upper arm and a heavy *pañó de caderas*, possibly of leather, like a small skirt, which covers his waist and thighs. One can barely discern a light or translucent tunic that reaches the calf of the leg. The arms are extended forward, sustaining a multifoliated element that could represent a wreath of corn stalks and cobs.

The two central figures (*b*, *c*) are moving toward the fourth figure (*d*) on the extreme right. These two middle figures carry lances that are as long as their own height and are held by their forward-extended arms. Both wear high headdresses, although the symbols that adorn them are different. These symbols probably identified their clan, political, or religious affiliation.

The headdress of figure *b* has a band that fastens a round jade bead to it. Out of the bead comes a vertical element, opening in two directions, that probably represents a plant or a bunch of feathers. A mask with the beak of a bird completely covers the face of this personage. This mask has been represented in previous drawings as the beak of a bird on a human face and classified by David Joralemon (1971:9) as "Bird Beak." After careful in situ observation and study of the *takuhón*, the mask appears to represent the complete head of an eagle, identifiable by the strong curve of the beak and the presence of short sharp feathers spread over the face.

A cape worn on the shoulders undu-

lates backward, expressing a rhythm of movement. A bulky short skirt is held up by the loincloth or *maxtlatl*, whose extremes end in feathers. An object like a buckle on the front of the waist is adorned with circular forms, probably jade beads. It seems this second personage wears bands on the knees and the ankles. The ones on the ankles extend to the instep of the foot, possibly to tie the sandals that no longer appear in the relief.

The headdress of figure *c* is adorned with two symbols similar to those in the stylized jaguar face of the mosaic floors at La Venta and to other Olmec reliefs and carvings. The upper symbol, apparently corresponding to the eye, seems to relate to the rain clouds analyzed in Group I-A, while the lower symbol probably corresponds to the Olmec feline's thick lip with fangs at the end of the mouth (Fig. 10.14).

A band of laced ties (interpreted in other drawings as the St. Andrew's cross) sustains the headdress and another element to the front of it, out of which emerges an eagle's talon with three long nails. This same talon shape is found on a headdress of one of the jaguars of relief I-B-4 (Mon. 4). A jade bead emerges from the talon with a vertical element rising from it, similar to the ones identified on personage *a* as feathers.

The figure wears a mask which is apparently held in place by the same laced bands that tie the headdress and form the chin strap. It seems to be a mouth mask with a double line that represents the gums of the jaguar, the feared feline, with a curved fang at the end of the mouth. This type of mask represented Tlaloc in the Classic period. This personage, like the others, wears a short cape, skirt, and *maxtlatl* of an apparently heavy and rigid material.

In this relief is found one of the few cases of superimposed figures in Mesoamerican stone art. Figure *c*'s front leg crosses in front of person *d*'s outstretched leg.

Person *d* is in a seated position, either languishing or deceased. The figure is in left profile with the legs outstretched, while the arms extend along the body, resting freely on the leg. Grove notes that some small clay figurines from Chalcatzingo assume this same position (Fig. 27.4). These figurines are perforated, indicating that they were used as pectorals.

The facial features of figure *d* are typi-



Figure 10.13. Monument I-B-2 (Mon. 2).

cally Olmec, with wide nose and thick lips. He also has a sharp-pointed beard. A long element that curves up and behind the figure emerges from the top of his head. On the back of his head there is an anthropomorphic mask with the beak of a bird. Below the mask there is a square form with an eroded design which it has not been possible to identify and which serves as a support for the seated figure.

Peter Furst (1965:42–43) believes that the seated figure represents a shaman, identified by the horn-like headdress. The figure of the shaman or religious leader is in a position of total relaxation, in ecstasy, seeming exhaustion, defeat, or possibly death. The mask on the back of the head indicates that his function is finished (due to either termination of a ritual or his death).

A question has been raised (Grove 1968a:488) whether the seated figure had an erect penis in the original carving, or whether that was added more recently by someone wishing to accentuate an imprecise area of the carving. Grove suggests that the so-called penis is actually part of the right leg of the reclining figure. Aside from any mechanical analysis to define the original outline, it can be noted that none of the represen-

tations classified as Olmec (except the "Olmecoid" *danzantes* of Monte Albán) have been represented with sexual organs. The presence of a penis would make figure *d* an extraordinary case, especially since the position of the figure is of complete relaxation while the "phallus" is erect. If there actually is a phallus represented it might symbolize the readiness and ability to fertilize something which does not appear in the relief, as if it were relating to a myth of insemination by some legendary person during his trip through the underworld.

To understand the message in this relief, it is necessary to consider the figures as a unit. Figure *a*, on the extreme left, seems to be leaving the scene and appears to be separated from the action of figures *b* and *c*, while concentrating on the wreath of maize. His presence might relate to a fertility rite, as would that of figure *d* on the extreme right, especially if the representation of the penis is authentic. Legends compiled by chron-

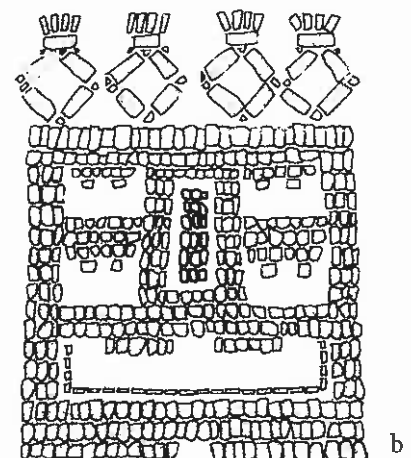


Figure 10.14. For comparison: *a*, masked figure on Chalcatzingo Monument I-B-2 (Mon. 2); *b*, La Venta massive mosaic mask.

iclers in the sixteenth century discuss the event of the semigod Quetzalcoatl bleeding his penis to give life to humanity, a legend that Mesoamerican cultures could have inherited from earlier groups.

The eagle and jaguar masks of the two central figures suggest that they are warriors whose personal, lineage, or clan identification was shown by the symbols on their headdresses. They could have been fulfilling a special function in this ceremonial scene as celestial or underworld warriors. The relief might then be a representation of an actual ritual related to fertility and warriors.

If Grove is correct that the phallus is a recent addition to figure *d*, the relief could be an early depiction of the sacrifice of captured warriors (in this case the "shaman") celebrating the ceremony of fertility, similar to the one described by Bernardino de Sahagún (1956:1:65) for Xipe-Totec of the Postclassic where "... they made a series of wreaths of maize ... one side was of the team of Xipe-Totec ... the other side was of valiant and brave warriors ... bellicose ... who were not afraid of death" (my translation).

Relief I-B-3 (Mon. 3)

The whole face of the rock upon which relief I-B-3 is carved has been worked to create a large, undulating, abstract surface with many concavities. It is evident that the form of the rock face was caused not by natural erosion but by human agency, possibly to complement the carved relief (Fig. 9.10). The interiors of several of the concavities appear to have been reworked to enlarge them with a tool which left long parallel scratches, similar to marks left by jaguar claws. The relief is carved to the right of the area of concavities.

The zoomorph featured in this carving seems to combine characteristics of diverse animals, as often found in other representations of Olmec art as well as in Mesoamerican iconography in general. The first visual impression that the figure transmits is that it is a feline, with its large tail raised. The animal's head is attached to an extremely long neck, almost suggesting a camellid, much like a llama. The body of the animal is divided from the neck to the tail by a longitudinal line indicating a separation that might imply a change of color or texture such as the bicoloration of a puma, which is tan on its side and back and has a white belly.

The crouching position of this creature is unusual, for its legs are bent in a way different than that natural for felines but similar to that of the felines depicted in Río Chiquito Monument 2 and San Lorenzo Monument 7 (Grove 1972a:155).

The animal's mouth is quite similar in form to that of the serpent shown in La Venta Monument 19 (P. Drucker, Heizer, and Squier 1959: Fig. 55). A long tongue-like form protrudes from the mouth, touching a long, thin, asymmetrical branching design which is nearly as tall as the rock upon which the relief is carved (Figs. 9.10, 10.15).

At least two types of felines can be found in the reliefs at Chalcatzingo and probably at other Olmec sites. One is the jaguar (*Felis onca*), for example in relief I-B-4, and the other is the puma (*Felis concolor*), which is probably represented in this relief.

All previous publications have illustrated the carving only down as far as the animal's paws, where it seemed to end. Our recent *takuhón* discovered another probable figure below the animal's front paws (Fig. 10.15). The newly discovered but obscure form seems to be the head, shoulders, and right arm of an anthropo-

morphic figure, rising from beneath the boulder. Previous descriptions of this relief have misidentified the arm as part of the branching linear motif.

The figure has an Olmec face and seems to wear a mask covering the area of the eyes, and also has an ear ornament. The nose area may have been erased by mutilation. On the top of the head there is a large oval element, either a headdress with the form of a jaguar's skull or a turban which is interwoven with the figure's long hair extending downward. Feathers emerge from the back of this turban or headdress and curl down in three different directions. The figure appears to wear a necklace of beads or knots connected to a cape or piece of cloth hanging down toward its back. The right arm of the figure is extended upward with the elbow almost touching the snout of the feline while the open hand almost reaches the linear branching object that extends toward the upper part of the rock. The arm is being licked by the tongue of the feline. The figure thus appears under the feline's paws and is apparently being devoured or held imprisoned by the animal, very much like the figures on relief I-B-4.



Figure 10.15. Portion of Monument I-B-3 (Mon. 3) showing feline's head and possible human below.

The *takuhón* revealed another surprise, an unidentified symbol in the puma's ear, which is probably a key to identifying the feline with its meaningful representation. One can possibly assume that it is meant to identify it with the earth's satellite, a star, a constellation, a planet, or a deity related to either cosmic or natural forces.

The intent of the elaborate and complete reworking of the boulder's face is unknown. It is possible that the concavities were enlarged to convert them into niches where ceremonial offerings related to a feline cult could be deposited, or for some other ritual purpose. The relief may represent a special ceremony practiced during the celebration of a calendric event, with the sacrifice of a deified person, identified by the elaborate headdress and the row of *chalchihuitl* beads, in honor of cosmic or natural forces that are represented by the feline. This mythic or real sacrifice could have been practiced to preserve the maintenance of the water sources expressed by the linear elements with *chalchihuitl* endings.

Relief I-B-4 (Mon. 4)

Monument I-B-4 is a relief made up of four forms equally distributed over the surface of the rock (Fig. 9.11). Although the theme of the relief constitutes a unit, it can be divided into two repeated scenes, each made up of a feline on top of a human. The lower feline (Fig. 10.16) is somewhat similar to the one in relief I-B-3, as it is also shown with a long neck and has a stripe dividing its body along the back. It is the puma type of feline found in Olmec art.

On top of the head there is a long double element, like the ears of a rabbit, stylized horns, or the typical cleft Olmec axe. In the center of this element are the barely visible features of a face that has a flaring upper lip with drooping lower corners, often represented as the symbol of royalty or priestly caste.

On the feline's face, above the nose, there is another element very similar to the eagle talon found on the headdress of personage c in relief I-B-2. In this instance, rather than representing the eagle talon, it looks like an upside-down axe or a sacrificial knife out of which emerge three long curved nails or fangs; it might symbolize sacrifice. A vertical form that could be considered as the handle of the sacrificial knife ends in another element that curves like a feather.



Figure 10.16. Lower feline, Monument I-B-4 (Mon. 4).

The eye of the zoomorphic figure is made up of two tangent circles, with an appendix that extends to the bottom and extreme left circle close to the occipital bone. This is the form that Joralemon (1971:8) describes as "L shaped eye with a squared drooping corner, common for Gods I and V" (the jaguar god with flame eyebrows and the cleft-headed deity, respectively). From the tail of the feline, three cleft axes spread out like rays or sparks thrown out from the movement of a shaking tail.

On the upper part of the relief is a characteristic Olmec jaguar bearing two motifs that are symbols of astrology in the Classic Maya culture (Fig. 10.17). One is the cartouche over the eye of the jaguar, substituting for the eyebrow, that holds a St. Andrew's cross. In this case the cartouche has two double feather-like elements coming out, upward and forward.

The second symbol is in the ear of the jaguar and closely resembles the Maya Venus glyph. Venus is the Chac Ek (the

Large or Red Star) of the Maya, or the Huey Citlalli of the highland cultures of central Mexico. Venus is identified with the deity Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli.

The two anthropomorphic figures under the claws of the zoomorphic figures have similar characteristics. Their position is one of complete abandon or muscular relaxation, characteristic of someone without consciousness or life. Both figures have their heads turned backward, and the right arm of each figure is half bent, as if trying to protect the head. The left arm is extended toward the left leg, which is bent, as if the individual was trying to dive into an abyss. Both figures have a marked cranial deformation in the style of the ceramic Olmec hollow baby-face figurines. They wear a bunch of hair on their foreheads that could be a representation of *aztaxolli* (a tassel of heron feathers) used to adorn the sacrificed warriors during the Postclassic.

An interesting parallel to this Chalcatzingo scene occurs in Mochica art of Peru (AD 300–600). Elizabeth Benson

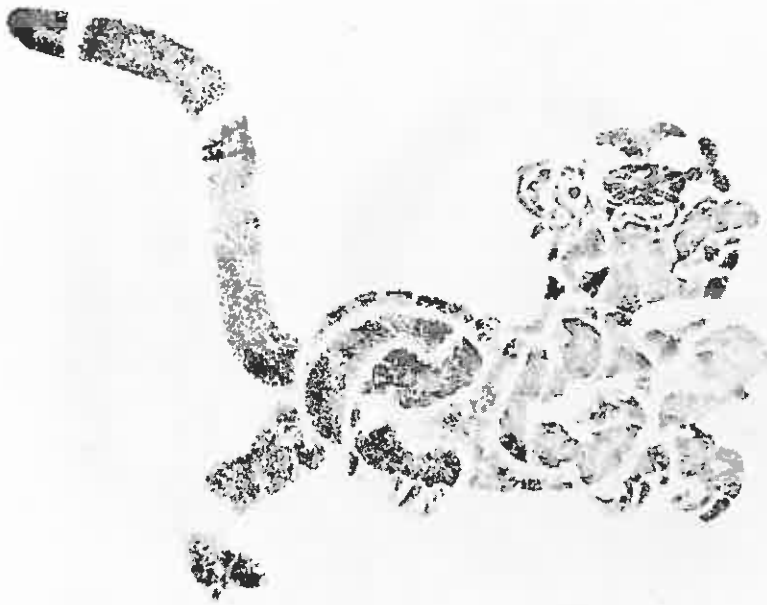


Figure 10.17. Upper feline, Monument I-B-4 (Mon. 4).

(1974) describes a number of Mochica ceramics which depict a man held under the claws of a jaguar. The majority of the men seem to represent warriors or prisoners-of-war as victims of the jaguar. In one typical description, Benson (1974: 16–19) states, "... the jaguar's forelegs go straight out so that only the claws of the uppermost paw threaten the neck of the man ... The man has a rope around his neck; his hands seem to be tied behind his back; and, again, his shirt is that of a warrior suggesting that perhaps he is a prisoner-of-war stripped of his head-dress and weapons."

In her analysis (1974:24), Benson suggests that the jaguar deity may have as its ancestor a Chavín period deity and that it probably had multiple attributes, including those of creator god, god of the sky, the sun, and the mountains. As she says (1974:24), "The Mochica presumably went into the mountains, where this deity dwelt, to make sacrifices ... These sacrifices undoubtedly propitiated the mountain deity, who must also have been the deity of fresh water, of the rivers that come down from the mountains to make agriculture possible ..."

In Mesoamerica a similar belief system may have been present. The offering of a prisoner-of-war or some other chosen

person as a sacrifice could have been initiated by the shamans of the Formative period to calm the voracity of this mysterious feline that abounded in the mountains and forests of tropical and subtropical Mesoamerica.

The offering of the life of the sacrificed one could have been dedicated to a mythical entity of whom the jaguar became a symbolic representation, such as the Bolon Ti Ku, the Lords of the Night. The first four Lords have diverse attributes of the solar deity (Seler 1963:1:171). The fifth is the god of the underworld and death (*miquiztli*). The last four are related to earth and water and are represented by the jaguar. These lords combined and controlled the elements that produce the fecundity of the earth at the indicated time because they ruled the calendric cycles manifested yearly in the change of foliage that covers the surface (skin) of the earth through its periods of rain and drought. The ritual sacrifices were probably made on specific dates to remind the deities representing planets to fulfill their appointed journey through the sky in order to conserve the earthly rhythm.

As previously stated, the jaguar carved on the upper part of the relief has a glyph of Venus in the place of its ear and the

glyph of the St. Andrew's cross over the eye. The glyph of Venus is similar in meaning to the glyph of the day Lamat among the Maya of the Classic period, especially in the version that is cut in half, which Thompson (1960:220) describes as "an inverted 'w' with a circle set in each loop" in which possibly each circle is related to the planet in its morning and evening cycle, the two aspects of the dual deity (the divine twins).

Many legends and traditions in diverse areas of Mesoamerica make reference to a set of twin brothers who participate in intricate stories related to the creation myth or cosmic deities, the formation of the word, and the origin of humanity. The sacred book of the Quiché focuses its stories on the experiences of various generations of twin brothers involved in the ordering of the heavens, the earth, and their regent deities. In the highlands, there are stories about Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcoatl, and other deities as multiple personalities. Among the avocations of Quetzalcoatl is Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli as the morning star and Xolotl as the evening star (two aspects of Venus). Although Xolotl can be one aspect of Venus, the personality of Xolotl is sometimes confused and overlapped with that of Nanahuatzin, a deity who became the sun. In some myths the protagonists transform themselves into the sun and the moon, while in others they become the sun and Venus.

Thompson (1960:218) discusses the importance of the sun and Venus in the *Popol Vuh* of the Quiché of highland Guatemala, where the sun and Venus are seen as brothers. He states that, "Hunahpu was the name of the brother we assume to have become the planet Venus but *Hunahpu* is the Quiché equivalent of the day 1 *Ahau*, which is precisely the day sacred to Venus ... *Nohoch ich* 'great eye', *Chac ek* 'red star' or 'giant star' and *Xex ek* 'wasp star' ..."

Herman Beyer (1965:276–279) mentions that Venus was known as Huei Citlalin (Large Star) and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli among the Mexica. This deity "is painted with white skin and red stripes. It symbolizes, without a doubt, the pallid light of the dawn ... this same symbolic painting [is found] in the figure of the victim ... because of the parallel between the morning star and the human victim. When the sun rises the star is not visible, which makes it appear as if the death of the morning star gives life to the sun." Beyer continues, "The Mexica

sacrificed human beings to give food to the sun . . . in that fashion the victim played on earth the same role as the warrior-star, the morning star of the heavens" (my translations).

Sahagún, quoted by Aveni (1980:26), says of Venus, "Captives were slain when it emerged that it might be nourished. They sprinkled toward it, flipping the middle finger from the thumb, they cast the blood as an offering."

The two figures of relief I-B-4 have their faces turned behind them, precisely in the position that Seler (1963:1:143) describes a sacrifice which was consummated at sunset in the seventeenth festival of the year, in honor of the month Tititl, in which the priest danced stepping backward and waved his feet backward. That is to say, he made backward movements as if he wished to throw himself head downward in a dive. Later (1963:1:164–165) Seler adds that the turning of the head backward can be interpreted as a symbol of darkness, Tlil-lan, the dark house; of the earth; of the night in which the sun doesn't shine but only the fire, or rather a time before the sun was born, a remote time.

Thus, in view of the strong relationship of Venus to human sacrifice, it seems likely that this relief depicts a myth about the creation of heavenly twin gods, in which a human offering is portrayed as the sacrifice of deities (or their anthropomorphic representations) to assure the reinitiation of the harmonic rhythm of the stars, giving life to the people of the Preclassic world.

The basic elements to support this concept would be found in the following symbols: (1) the *aztaxolli* (an ornament of heron feathers) found on the head of the anthropomorphic figures (a symbol which represented sacrifice to the Mexica); (2) the journey to the underworld presented by the backward-looking head in a "diving" position; (3) the Lords of the Night, the darkness and the underworld, represented by the felines with their complementary attributes; (4) the symbol of the planet Venus in the ear of the upper feline, the jaguar, identifying it as a celestial representation; and (5) the second sacrifice, being consumed by the puma, who is decorated with axes and flint knives and who could be an earlier manifestation of the concept of the deity Iztli (one of the Lords of the Night), intimately related to the Tepeyollotl and the Tlaloc of the Mixtec and Mexica of the Postclassic.

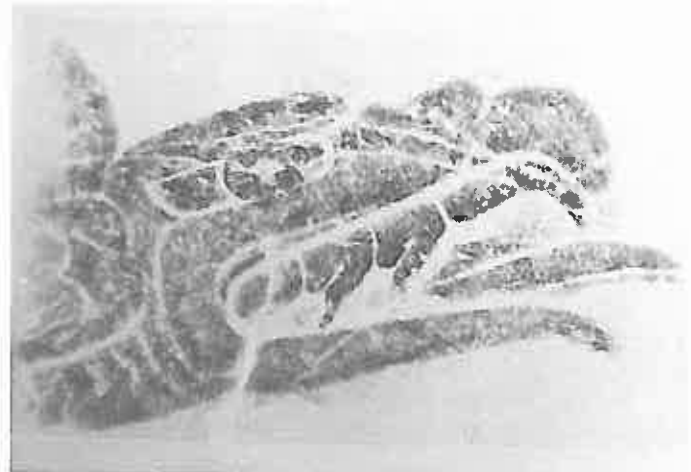
Relief I-B-5 (Mon. 5)

The main features in relief I-B-5 are a zoomorphic figure and a human form (Fig. 9.12). In the guide to the archaeological zone of Chalcatzingo (Angulo 1979), the zoomorph is classified as the *acipactli*, the *peje lagarto* (fish-gator or alligator gar) mentioned in the myths related to the formation of the earth.

The zoomorph here is represented with an open mouth, showing the characteristic folding fangs of the serpent and the tearing teeth of a shark. It has a clearly carved fish-like fin behind the head (Fig. 10.18a). The body is contorted in a form reminiscent of the movement of a worm traveling along the earth rather than the weaving of a serpent or the smooth sliding movement of a crocodile or large fish over the surface of a pond.

There are two elements in the middle section and at the end of the long body of this animal that are difficult to identify because of the advanced state of erosion (Fig. 10.18b). They seem to represent feathers, fish scales, or the rough skin of the crocodile. If feathers, the figure would acquire a divine status; if scales of fish, it might represent an iguana or the *acipactli*; but if the design represents the rough texture of the skin, it would perhaps identify the mythological *cipactli* (crocodile).

There is an element at the end of the sharp tail that has previously been drawn as the rattle of the rattlesnake. It is interesting to note that if it is a rattle, it is in an inverted position. This part of the relief is barely visible.



a



b

Figure 10.18. Saurian creature, Monument I-B-5 (Mon. 5): a, head; b, undulation showing pointed feather-like details.

The human figure is of the same size and position as those in relief I-B-4, with head thrown backward. The body is partly hidden from the thigh down by the snout of the aquatic animal. There is no way of knowing whether the animal is devouring or regurgitating the human figure, which seems to have lost consciousness or life as in the case of the I-B-4 figures (considered in this study as examples of human sacrifices).

There are three other elements, scrolls somewhat similar to those found at the base of the zoomorphic figures in the series of reliefs of Group I-A, although in this case the volutes are not open but united at the end. They are distributed below the *cipactli*. Their position around the animal suggests they represent water, although if so, such symbols did not continue into later cultures. The form also has a certain resemblance to an enclosed *xonecuilli*, a symbol that could be related to the sound of thunder and lightning when associated with water deities, the echo produced in caves and cliffs, or the sound of the ocean's waves.

Representations of *cipactli* or *acipactli* not only refer to the first day of the year in the calendar of the Mexica or the corresponding Cimi of the Maya, but also represent the region of the west. Seler (1963:2:52) states that the west is the region of Tamoanchan, the house of the birth of *atl ayahuican*, the land of water and fog. In the west is found the great sea, where the sun sets at day's end, and also the river which the souls of the dead must cross to arrive at their place of rest. In this manner the symbol of the west could only have been an aquatic animal. The reference was probably to the Pacific Ocean or to the swampy lands of the Pacific Coast where one would find the crocodile (*cipactli*) or alligator gar (*peje lagarto*, *acipactli*), the great fish that (the gods utilized) to make the earth (*Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* 1941:210–211).

In Mexica mythology these concepts relate perfectly to that of Tezcatlipoca, the god of only one leg who, as Seler (1963:1:114) says, "is a solar god . . . who in the afternoon is devoured by the earth and transformed into a god of night, continuing his trip through the underworld, and who, because of his magic ability, rises the next morning to the heavens once again, converted into a young god." Seler also mentions that Sahagún said of Tezcatlipoca, "he walks in the heavens, on earth, and in the under-

world" (my translation).

Seler (1963:2:52–55) also speaks of Xochipilli, "... the young god, the god of morning and of life, the sun that rises . . ." (my translation), who faces the sea monster *acipactli* and loses a foot in the encounter. Seler notes that this is shown in the *Codex Fejervary-Mayer* and the *Codex Borgia*, where the person is identified as Tlahuizcalpantecuhli (Venus), the morning star.

Mary Helms (1977:68) relates an indigenous Costa Rican myth in which the early ancestors were victims of an alligator that "lived in a large pool [and caught] whatever he wanted . . . When he saw people he would stick out his tongue and pull them in . . ." According to this myth, Sinu (a culture hero and deity) "was annoyed with this and sent a man to pull the tongue out . . . which he gave to the sun to make its rays." Although perhaps only coincidental, it is interesting to note that the face of Tonatiuh depicted in the center of the so-called Aztec Calendar Stone has a solar ray (flint knife) as a tongue.

This relief can be interpreted as representing the sacrifice of an actual or mythical hero who symbolized the setting sun. He was probably swallowed by the dual earth-aquatic monster *acipactli* who dwells in the swampy areas of the west and the great sea. As the nocturnal sun he would then have traveled through the interior of the earth to be reborn in the east the following day as a young god, full of life and vigor, to start his daily journey as the rising sun. The relief might also be a combination of the two aspects of the same solar deity, as sunset and sunrise (rebirth), that during the Postclassic became two gods, Tezcatlipoca and Xochipilli.

Reliefs II-2, II-9, and III-9 (Mons. 12, 20, 18)

The style of relief II-2 can be considered as typical La Venta Olmec. It represents the extended figure of a person ("El Volador" or "Flying Olmec") wearing an elaborate loincloth, bracelets, arm and ankle bands, and sandals. The figure appears as if suspended in the air, in a dynamic position an athlete might assume in the middle of a vigorous jump (Fig. 10.19). The person carries an element like a torch or long stick in the right hand, while the left hand is touching an element that could be an elaborate pectoral made of jade laced together in a complicated design.

The *volador* is surrounded by various birds shown in flight. A parrot (*guacamaya* or *arara*) flies beneath the knees, and a long-tailed bird such as a quetzal is above the left leg. Three long tail feathers and part of the feet of another quetzal-like bird are above the personage's back, remnants of the missing upper fragment of this carving. The *guacamaya* and the quetzal, both tropical birds, are related to the sun in the symbolism of various Classic and Postclassic Mesoamerican cultures.

Most of the person's headdress was in the missing fragment. The face occurs in the open mouth of an animal, part of the remaining headdress section. The animal is identifiable as an opossum through the form of its nose, jaw, slanted eye, and sharp ear. However, the nose and ear of the opossum can likewise be viewed as the lower beak of a huge bird head (the upper beak part of the missing section), in which case the feathers hanging over the back of the *volador* might be those of the headdress rather than a second quetzal.

From the elegant ornaments that the figure is wearing and the lighted torch held in its hand, it might be thought to represent a messenger of the gods sent to earth, possibly flying through the darkness of the underworld; however, figures wearing similar garments found in other examples of Olmec art have been identified as ball players (e.g., Coe and Diehl 1980:268). Some of the prehispanic ball games have been related to astral movements, such as the *citlaltlactli* (ball game of the stars) to which early Spanish chroniclers made reference. The relation of the relief's birds as numina of the sun fits with both interpretations, but the person's garments correspond to those of ball players, with a thick loincloth as part of the skirt that covers the hips and a great portion of the legs. The loincloth is knotted in front, from which point a long band falls, ending in small pleats as a decorative design that has to date been associated with the ornaments of dancers in certain ceremonies.

The position of the figure has been compared with those carved on the upper portion of Stela 3 at La Venta (Grove et al. 1976:1207). From the position he seems ready to hit the ball in the middle of a spectacular jump, as has been represented engraved on Olmec jades from the Gulf Coast (Cervantes 1969: Figs. 7, 9–11). A similar position is found on the sculptures of the Maya area

such as the disc of Chinkultik and the monumental sculpture of Temple 11 at Copán, Honduras (Stromsvik 1947:25 left). This latter figure is shown kneeling on the earth and holding a bar in his left hand with a flaming ball carved with an *ik* (wind) glyph. The mask worn on the face identifies this figure as a messenger of the solar deity, although the position identifies him as a ball player in the middle of a jump. The personification of the sun would relate this to the celestial ball game, *citlaltlachtli*, in which the sun (rubber ball) was hit with lighted torches until the rubber caught on fire. It probably represented the movement of the king star through the heavens.

José Corona Núñez (1942) describes a game he observed in Michoacán in which the players used bats to hit and set on fire a ball made of the dried roots of cactus plants. He suggested that the sun represented by the ball on fire would be thrown from east to west as in its daily movement, to be sent back (in its nightly trip) through the underworld by the opposite team of players. There is a mural painting at Tepantitla, Teotihuacan, on the same wall as that of the famous Tlalocan mural, in which the main scene depicts a ball game played with bats (Angulo 1964:103–110). There are other clay sculptures clearly identified as ball players (such as certain Jaina figurines) modeled in the typical crouching position adopted by ball players at the moment of hitting the ball.

Before arriving at any conclusions about this relief, two other Chalcatzingo carvings, related in a way to the "Flying Olmec," must be considered. One, relief II-9 (Mon. 20; Fig. 10.20), was found fragmented and very eroded in the T-11 excavations (Chapter 4). Even though the relief is seriously damaged, it is possible to perceive part of the torso and the crossed legs of a figure seated in the lotus position. Although the head and shoulders are missing, one can see the arms at the center of the body holding a round object like the knuckle duster, similar to other examples depicting ball players in Olmec art. This relief is essentially a two-dimensional copy of three-dimensional Monuments 10 and 26 of San Lorenzo (de la Fuente 1973:190–191, 211), which can be considered ball players.

The second relief, III-9 (Mon. 18; Fig. 9.20), was found on PC Structure 4. It also seems to be related to the reliefs of the ball player and resembles the relief on the altar of Santiago Tuxtla and the



Figure 10.19. Monument II-2 (Mon. 12), "El Volador."

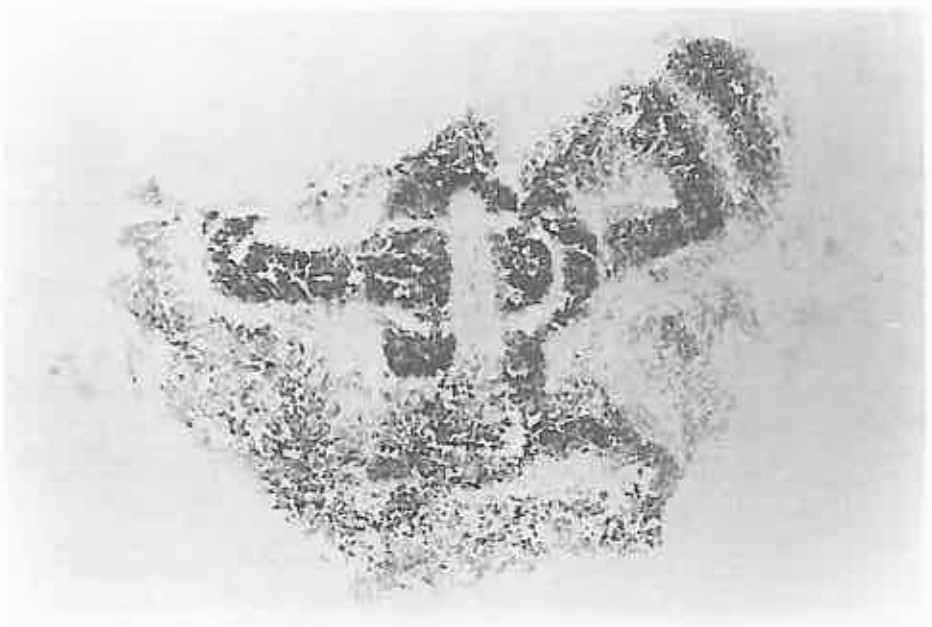


Figure 10.20. Monument II-9 (Mon. 20), arms holding "torch" and "knuckle duster."

disc from Laguna de los Cerros discussed by María Antonieta Cervantes (1969: Figs. 1, 2). I believe relief III-9 has a face enclosed in a rectangular form with round corners which can be seen only during a few months of the year and at certain hours of the day, when the sun's light hits the stone at the proper angle. This effect could have been calculated to be used in the ritual activities related to the ball game, although much remains to be known about these ceremonies and games. It may have coincided with the appearance of a star or a constellation similar to the one the Mexica called *citlaltlāchtlī*.

Reliefs II-2, II-9, and III-9 I believe represent different aspects of the ball players depicted in Olmec art. All three figures have in their hands implements of this complicated game, such as the lighted torch and the knuckle duster. These objects probably correspond to the *arreos*, or garments referred to in the *Popol Vuh* (1947: 125) as used in the ball game.

Relief III-4 (Mon. 22)

Found on T-25, Monument III-4 consists of a group of rectangular rocks, each about 1 m long, that form a composite table-top altar (Chapter 7; Fig. 7.4). The front surface of the construction is carved to form a full-faced stylized earth-monster mask, very similar to that painted above Oxtotitlan cave (Grove 1970a: frontispiece). It was noted upon discovery of this altar that not all of the pieces of this three-dimensional "puzzle" were located in their original positions. An important stone containing the carving of part of the left eye and eyebrow was out of place and was eventually found installed in a different position on the eastern side of the altar. This suggests that the monument had been rebuilt and possibly moved from the place where it had originally been carved and erected. It may have been moved and reassembled either to preserve it from physical danger or for psychocultural reasons.

One such reason might relate to the custom of monument mutilation. This "mutilation" might explain the "mistake" in reassembling the altar. It is difficult to believe that such a mistake was unintentional. At the moment we have no data to indicate how long the altar stood in its original form prior to its possible removal and reassembly at a new location (on T-25). Associated artifacts and burials date the reassembled altar to the



Figure 10.21. Monument III-7 (Mon. 21).

Cantera phase. It can be assumed that the reassembly was done by the same group which created the original, if not by the same people.

Relief III-7 (Mon. 21)

Monument III-7 is a stela found close to the northern edge of T-15, apparently associated with T-15 Structure 5. The stela's style is different from that of the Group I-A and I-B carvings, suggesting that it was carved at another time. The carved area (Fig. 10.21) can be divided into three large elements, all described in Chapter 9: (1) the feminine personage, as the principal motif of the stela; (2) a long vertical bundle that covers the right section of the monument; and (3) a rectangular element on which the other two forms stand.

The feminine personage is shown in right profile with her arms extended forward. She is touching the vertical bundle in front of her with the palms of her hands. The position of her arms is not a common one, suggesting that it could have a specific meaning for the inhabitants. They would have understood the language of the gesture mimicked in the carving to emphasize the message. This posture also appears in the *Codex Cospi*, *Codex Vaticanus-Ríos* (3738), and others, where it is related to deities or important personages who are giving or receiving offerings and tributes.

The second element, a long bundle in vertical position, has diagonal bands with long designs which fill the surface of the bundle. The designs probably manifest the nature of the material of

which the bundle is made (such as the skin of an animal) or indicate what is packed in the solid bundle. The package is tied by two transverse bands that are equally distant from the extremes of the bundle. They are decorated with a trilobal motif similar to the one found on the headdress of the third figure in relief I-B-2. A rectangular element, like a buckle, sticks out from each band. Its shape seems to be like the stylized motif found on stone cleft axes. The simple design of these axes is also similar to attributes in the large buried "jaguar" masks found at La Venta.

The third element, below the previous ones, is a rectangular form bordered by a band that turns up in the middle to form a mouth. It resembles the symbol of the earth monster or "ground mask or ground panel" described by V. Garth Norman (1976) as related to the earth and underworld.

In the middle of the earth-monster mouth there is a hollow diamond motif. This symbol is found in the central highlands at Cuicuilco and subsequently at Teotihuacan, where the glyph appears related to the water and fire numina. It is invariably associated with the Old Fire God, better known in the Postclassic Valley of Mexico as *Hehuetateotl*.

The combination of the earth-monster face and diamond symbols might represent "earth of fire" or "*tierra caliente*." The term *tierra caliente* today refers to the region south of Chalcatzingo in the state of Guerrero, where the Ríos Amatzinac, Atoyac, and Amacuzac join to become Río Mezcala-Balsas.

T-15 Structure 5, with which this stela was associated, could have been the dwelling of a matrilineal group related to the ethnic groups of the Pacific Coast and lower Balsas area, the area known as *tierra caliente* by the Spanish conquerors who dared to go into Cihuatlan, the "land of the women," where they reported the existence of a matriarchal organization (Barlow 1948:181–190). It could be that stela III-7 indicates the presence of the matriarchy settled on T-15, whose members periodically collected tributes from the *tierra caliente*, as specified by the bundle shown on the stela which possibly symbolizes animal skins.

Reliefs IV-7 and IV-5 (Mons. 27, 25)

The human figure depicted in relief IV-7 (Mon. 27) is shown with legs spread, in a walking position (Fig. 10.22). He seems to be carrying the inert figure of a long-limbed animal on his back. The slender hind legs of the animal protrude past the front of the personage, and appear to end in hooves.

Both the head of the human and the head of the animal were executed on a section of the stela that is now missing. Thus no identifying characteristics of the personage or attributes of the animal are preserved. The animal's short curved tail, long neck, and slender legs suggest it is a deer. An oblong design, distributed between undulating diagonal bands, is carved along the animal's body. The same motif occurs on the vertical bundle of relief III-7, where it is hypothesized to symbolize animal skins. A somewhat similar motif occurs on a round altar (IV-5) discussed below.

Could this oblong glyph identify the deer? Although there are no data concerning the mythical importance of deer among Formative period groups, the deer is well identified with the sun and peyote among Postclassic Nahua groups, particularly among the Huichol and Cora (Furst and Anguiano 1976).

During the 1973 field season a stone in the form of a circular altar, Monument IV-5 (Mon. 25), was found on T-6 about 16 m north of stela IV-7. This stone is ca. 1.3 m diameter and 47 cm high. Its cylindrical body is divided by a sharply undulating line. The upper circumference is decorated with small vertical oval motifs, while large horizontal ovals are distributed along the base (Fig. 9.23).

If the identification of the oblong motif with the deer is correct, then the large ovals on the lower part of the circular altar may represent the skin of the deer, while the small oval shapes along the upper circumference could be drops

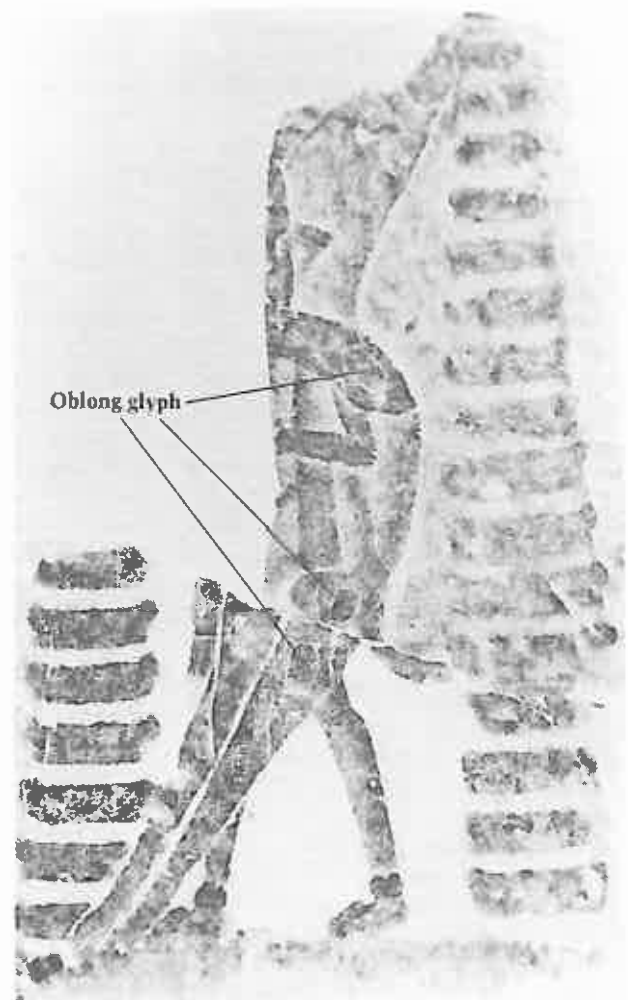


Figure 10.22. Monument IV-7 (Mon. 27).

of blood of the sacrificed animal. This could begin to explain why the human figure on stela IV-7 is represented as carrying an inert deer.

The deer has apparently been long associated with solar and hunting deities. This is true not only of hunting-gathering Indians in Mesoamerica, but among agricultural Indians as well. Many agriculturalists regard the deer as master and protector of crops and fertility, and they invoke its spirit at every turn of the agricultural cycle, from the clearing of the forest to the first fruits of harvest time. Among the Huichol every agricultural endeavor is preceded by a ceremonial deer hunt. Deer deities and their related ceremonies were of overriding importance to many ancient Mesoamerican groups, and this is reflected in the calendrical system (Furst and Anguiano 1976).

The stela and round altar on T-6 were probably utilized in a fertility cult in which the deer played an important role. Ceremonies were most likely celebrated on special dates, chosen by the position of the sun, defining the beginning and end of a given period of the agricultural cycle.

Relief IV-8 (Mon. 28)

The anthropomorphic figure on stela IV-8 is quite elegantly attired, seeming to wear a headdress with long feathers that extend in all directions with a soft waving movement (Figs. 10.23, 10.24). The central motif of the headdress is a confusing design that might be interpreted as a skull or the head of an animal.

The personage wears a long cape, open in the front, that falls almost to the knees. The state of damage to the relief is such that the background is unclear. It could be made up of undulating lines that unite several sections of the relief or could be representations of feathers that float freely, embellishing the cape of the personage.

The figure is in a sustained walking position. The left arm is bent to the waist and has something in the hand that is difficult to identify. The right arm is extended forward, the right hand holding a scepter-like object that could be a shaft ending in a flint point attached to a circular base. The personage seems to have a facial decoration of a dark horizontal band that covers the eyes and is parallel to another band that goes from mouth to ear. In Postclassic iconography, this type of facial decoration identifies Mixcoatl

as a warrior, as well as Tlahuizcalpantecutli, the morning star, in figures of the Borgia type codices from the Mixtec area.

The incomplete *takuhón* made of the side of the stela seems to reveal the continuation of the scene. There may be another person kneeling or sitting in front of the principal personage in a position of submission.

If the side of the stela does depict a kneeling figure, it would be closely similar to the scene depicted in the Olmec style painting in Juxtlahuaca cave, Guerrero (Gay 1967: Figs. A, B). Chalcatzingo stela IV-8 could have been a commemorative stela, related to the conquest of a town by a brave warrior or ruler invested with godly power, like scenes from the Bonampak lintels and stelae of the Classic Maya, in which the kneeling person represents the submission of a defeated chief.

However, if only the face of the stela is carved, it would relate more to other examples of well-ornamented warriors, such as those on the warrior columns of Chichen Itza and the one carved on the hill of La Malinche, near Tula, which shows a well-ornamented warrior-priest with the waving figure of a feathered serpent as background. This latter carving was identified by Pedro Armillas (1947: 161) as Ce Acatl Topiltzin. The freely floating feathers that embellish the cape of the personage of stela IV-8 might correspond to the same feathered serpent.

The personage of stela IV-8 could likewise be an elegant Tlahuizcalpantecutli, the morning star, that is always found related to one of the aspects of Ce Acatl Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl, the culture hero of the Toltecs. Although both of these names were used by Nahuatl-speaking people of the Postclassic, during the Formative period those deities must have had other names and probably were conceived of as deities which interrelated cosmic and natural forces with humanized representations.

The stela might have been carved as an example of this concept to commemorate one of the many rituals and ceremonies dedicated to the cosmic deities who, like the morning star, reappeared in the expected place in the sky as an indication to the people that life would continue because the cosmic deities would allow them to begin a new calendric cycle.

The constant observation of the movement of the stars and planets, such as the

synodic cycle of Venus that shows intervals of appearance and disappearance, has been characteristic of most of the ancient agricultural societies, a reasonable practice considering that the stars probably indicated when to start burning the fields, when to plant, and when the rainy season would begin, as expressed in several of the names of the months of both the Maya and the Mexica calendars.

Reliefs III-13 and III-14 (Mon. 24)

The original position of stela III-13 is still uncertain, as is the identity of the symbols enclosed within the squares carved upon it. The appearance of the five glyphic areas (Fig. 10.25, nos. 1-5) suggests to me that this broken monument was meant to be oriented as discussed here. Each area is discussed below:

Glyph 1 is extremely eroded and hard to discern. It is formed by two elements. The main element (1a) seems to represent either a knuckle duster or two drops of water hanging from the remains of a quadrangular band that encloses the glyph. The second element (1b) looks like a vertical band divided by a central groove.

Glyph 2, directly below 1, is also made up of two elements. The main element (2a) is a square Maya-style frame enclosing two drops of rain similar to those depicted on the "El Rey" relief (Mon. I-A-1). The secondary element (2b) resembles the clouds on the "El Rey" relief. The 2b element extends downward to nearly touch the main glyph, 2a.

Glyph 3 is likewise composed of two elements. 3a is a square frame enclosing either another raindrop motif or a motif such as a bowl containing a plant with three leaves. There is space within the square frame for an additional motif which appears as a band or serpent coming from the upper middle portion of the square down toward the lower right corner and curving to end in a round form which is superimposed over the left corner of the frame. Two horizontal bars (3b) similar to Maya and Zapotec numerals complement glyph 3.

Glyph 4 is the best-preserved glyph and identical to 2a. The fifth area (5), separated from the other glyphs, can be partially seen in the lower corner of Fig. 10.25, where the stela is broken. The design might represent feathers, perhaps from a headdress or from the tail of a bird executed on the missing fragment of the stela.



Figure 10.23. Monument IV-8 (Mon. 28).

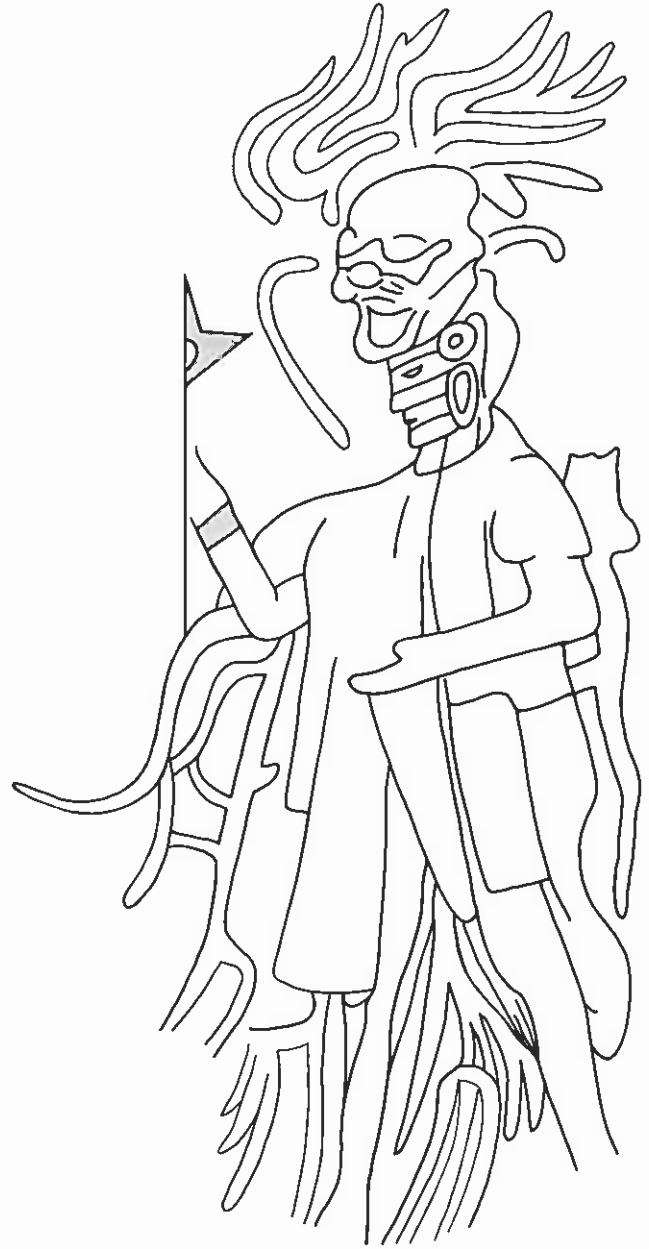


Figure 10.24. Reconstructed details on Monument IV-8 (Mon. 28).

A final carving, III-14 (unillustrated), on the back of the stela, is fragmentary. The motif could represent the claws of an animal or three feathers of a head-dress lost in the missing section.

The repetition of the glyphs with two drops of water enclosed in squares (2*a*, 4) could indicate the presence of calendric glyphs, especially when accompanied by numeral bars (3*b*) such as used in stela 1 of Tres Zapotes and in Zapotec and Maya writing of the Classic period. For example, the element "cloud with rain" (2*b*) over the enclosed square glyph could

be the symbol of a day or a year known as "Water Drops," or simply "rain," as in the style of the Mexica of the Post-classic. Glyph 3, with a possible serpent, together with the symbol of "rain" and two numeral bars in the square, might be a calendric date "10 Rain Serpent."

It is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about the meaning of this fragmented stone or to situate it chronologically in any good cultural context at Chalcatzingo. It is important that the carving is stylistically similar to Chalcatzingo's other Middle Formative period



Figure 10.25. Monument III-13 (Mon. 24) [oriented according to Angulo].

carvings and this is significant because it appears to contain a bar-and-dot numeral system.

Relief VIII-1 (Mon. 10)

Relief VIII-1, at the top of the Cerro Chalcatzingo, was first reported by Carlo Gay (1972a). It is the only representation found of the head of a personage full face (Fig. 10.26). The personage is wearing a conical hat and two-piece earrings that hang down to the chin. The features are coarse and have the characteristic Olmec wide nose and heavy lips with the ends turned down, as on the colossal heads from the Gulf Coast. The eyes are carved in circular form on natural bumps in the rock, giving the impression at first glance of the goggle eyes of Tlaloc as represented in the Classic and Postclassic.

Above the head is a graphic representation of a left forearm, with hand open

and fingers extended upward. The distance between the head and the hand is correct anatomically, although there are no lines uniting these two elements.

The most outstanding aspect of the anthropomorphic head on this relief is that it is shown full face, as were the deities represented during the Classic period. The first impression of this carving as a representation of Tlaloc disappears with careful observation. Also, since the surface of the relief is considerably eroded, it is uncertain whether the headdress is really conical, or whether it could be a *xiuhtototl*, the small bird that the young deity of fire wears as an emblem on his headdress. If the hat ends in a point as originally described, it could be equivalent to the Mexica deity Itzli (the god of the flint knife), related to the mountains, thunder, lightning (the fire that comes from rain), and the numen of

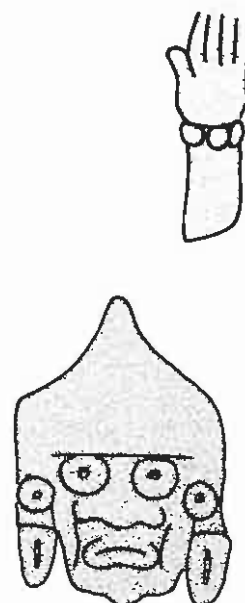


Figure 10.26. Monument VIII-1 (Mon. 10).

punishment. No written or graphic reference has been found that would identify the meaning of the body language of the raised hand of this figure.

This relief is very close to a modern metallic cross and a "box of offerings" (also of metal) located among the rocks at the top of the sacred mountain. Surely there must have been a sanctuary here (although now destroyed) similar to the small pyramidal structure at the top of the Cerro Delgado (still not dated).

These sanctuaries were probably dedicated to the deities of rain, wind, lightning, thunder, and fire, who dwelt in the mountain, deities that would have related to the total symbolism found in the figure of "El Rey" (Mon. I-A-1). Those deity attributes are also associated with Uo'tan, the angel Tohil according to modern Tzeltal and Tzotzil Maya groups, a deity that rules above and below, that con-

trols the heavens as well as the natural elements, fertilizing the earth to assure human sustenance. This almighty deity is represented during the Classic period as Itzamna among the Maya and as the Dual Deity of the year and fertility in Teotihuacan.

MONUMENT MUTILATION

Because many of the reliefs and carvings from Chalcatzingo and the Gulf Coast were found mutilated, it seems pertinent to review the present theories as to why mutilation happened.

The earliest theory was that the mutilation was done years or centuries later by different ethnic groups who considered the monuments as pagan art (Stirling 1940:334). A later alternative suggested that mutilation was a reaction against old deities by "disillusioned people imbued with iconoclastic fervor" (Heizer 1960:220). Michael Coe (1968b: 63-73) has suggested that mutilation was "the result of internal strife . . . more than a peasant revolt."

Grove (1981b) has recently reanalyzed monument mutilation and suggests other possible causes: that the mutilation occurred at the end of calendric periods or ritual cycles, similar to the fifty-two-year cycle of the Postclassic; or at the change of rulers or ruling dynasties; or at the death of a chief, when the monuments depicting him were destroyed to release their supernatural power. He believes that the last alternative is the most probable explanation.

With the exception of Grove (1981b), all the theories have considered mutilation as an act of hatred or violence. Instead, it could have been a philosophical and profoundly religious concept, an act of piety to protect and liberate the spirit of the dead personage and to eliminate any remnant breath in the representations that might impede the spiritual development in the journey undertaken through the underworld. It may relate to the same concepts employed in the practice of *curanderismo* (folk healing), still carried out by many Mesoamerican groups today, in which some sickness is attributed to *susto* (fright). In various cases of *susto* found in the literature on *curanderismo*, the spirit (*alma*, *ch'uel*, *nahual*, or some other name used to designate the intangible force which gives life energy, and knowledge to humans) has attributes similar to those of the air. It is believed that as some of the most

dangerous spirits are in the wind or air, they are introduced to a person through the nose or mouth (breathing) and thus have to be eliminated through *soplo* (blowing) by a shaman.

If we relate this concept to the partial destruction of the faces of the principal personages on Gulf Coast sculptures, the Chalcatzingo reliefs, and the paintings of the Juxtlahuaca cave, the mutilation might then be seen as an act of love, piety, protection from evil spirits, and respect for the soul of the person represented in the monuments instead of an act of violence or hatred against a deceased leader as was previously considered.

A good example of mutilation by decapitation was found during the 1972 field season in the offering of Burial 3 (Chapter 8). It consisted of a stone head with typical Olmec characteristics, obviously separated from the body of a statue at the neck by a strong blow that was delivered over the left eyebrow, destroying part of the forehead and eye (Chapter 9, Mon. 17).

Actual decapitation was apparently an act carried out with some frequency. At Chalcatzingo, Cantera phase Burials 37 and 111 are skull burials, possibly decapitations. Decapitation is depicted in Classic and Postclassic period art, particularly in association with ball courts.

Decapitation as a ritual act raises an interesting question. Does the decapitation of a stone monument, or the destruction of the faces of sculpted personages, correspond to the same symbolism as the breaking of the heads from clay figurines (an act common from the Formative period to the conquest)? If so, and if the monumental sculptures represent deities, rulers, warriors, and religious leaders, or elite personages, couldn't the great part of the figurines (which have defied explanation over the years) represent the common people?

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The basis of philosophic and religious concepts of the people who carved the reliefs at Chalcatzingo can best be understood when the reliefs are analyzed as a series of scenes reflecting the sociopolitical structure and mythic-religious concepts that gave a particular homogeneity to the Mesoamerican cultures of the Middle Formative. This structure was preserved both graphically and orally, through legends and traditions (such as

those found in the *Popol Vuh*) and other "chants" that described the myths of creation and cataclysms, which eventually were recorded by the chroniclers of the hispanic period. The differences between the legends among the present ethnic groups and the ones gathered in the first years of the colonization seem understandable. The fact that these legends managed to survive the four hundred years of transformation since the conquest in any form indicates how strongly they must have been embedded in the psychological structure of the prehispanic world.

The following pages present the conclusions drawn from this analysis.

Basic Beliefs

Among the first agricultural groups, the fertility of the earth, as well as that of women, represented the security of sustenance and enrichment. It can be concluded that in all cultures whose fundamental base rests on agricultural production, the principal preoccupation is conserving and perpetuating the observed cycles of nature that produce the fertility of the earth. For this reason many rites and ceremonies are dedicated in petition to the rain to fertilize the cultivated fields. With this in mind, one can understand the basic Mesoamerican belief in a universe made up of the elements of nature, which are deified on various levels and have dual aspects.

The celestial deities were usually seen as self-created and creators. The earth deities were also creators and in charge of the maintenance of the earth. The deities who controlled the inside of the earth were related to maintenance, renovation, and life after death. These three groups collectively close a dynamic circle of creativity, sustenance, death, and renovation in a philosophy of constant cyclic evolution.

The three large groups of deities are related to the various elements of nature whose vital forces they personified as gods of constellations, stars, lightning or fire, thunder, wind, air, clouds, rain, and water in diverse forms and states. Each element that formed part of their active life was considered to be alive because it contained the vital spirit or essence of the deity with which it was identified. For this reason the stones, plants, and animals represented and shared the activities of daily life and the mythic-religious concept of the Mesoamerican world.

This explains how the socioeconomic system (control of production, storing, and distribution) was so intimately correlated with the politico-religious structure. With this philosophy, the social order would be integrated to a naturalistic rhythm such as utilizing cosmic and stellar movements that were controlled by the gods to direct the time to plant and to reap the harvest.

The concept of correlating abstract deities with elements of nature is fortified where one can find certain plants and animals that have attributes that identify the characteristics of the deity. This would be the case with the Lord of the Caves who lives in the heart of the mountain, a deity who controls the winds and moves the clouds to open the way to the celestial waters, a deity of the rain and thunder, a god of the flint knife, a deity of lightning that carries the hidden fire through the clouds that cover it, a dual deity who produces water and fire at the same time and is related to heaven and earth, day and night, life and death, and also evident in the fertility of the earth or a devastating drought.

This dual deity as masculine-feminine is self-fertilizing and later on is found subdivided into diverse deities with specific characteristics among the cultures of the Classic and particularly the Postclassic.

A System of Graphic Communication

The Chalcatzingo reliefs were obviously carved to convey a message. They are not simply art for art's sake. They should be considered as a communication system in which the figures are expressing specific ideas.

Just as the Maya "upended frog" glyph has been recognized as the symbol of "birth," so too the Group I-A animals looking upward may symbolize the beginning of a great event. The pictograms in Group I-A portray part of a ceremonial act as a symbolic expression representing birth or renovation, and could be the origin of the Maya glyph that was part of a much more advanced writing system, where there were fewer pictograms and more ideograms with affixes, prefixes, and suffixes along with other elements of a phonetic character. The Group I-A pictograms would indicate the fertilization of mother earth once again, and possibly the birth of a new year or cycle of life.

Reliefs on the Talus Slope: Ritual Sacrifices as Myth or Parables?

A subsequent aspect of the system of communication that transmitted more complicated messages is found in the series of reliefs of Group I-B, where it seems the pictographic scenes represent traditional legends or more complicated rituals that indicate the practice of human sacrifice, probably in honor of deities connected with principal stars of the calendric system or with the concept of fertility. They might likewise have depicted parables whose function was to communicate the ample knowledge of astronomy of the Olmec.

The reliefs on the cliff (Group I-A) and those of the talus slopes (I-B) can be divided into two separate groups in which slight stylistic variations of little transcendental value can be discerned, although a hidden psychic purpose is reflected in each group, still too subtle to define. They were probably carved within different periods of the same cultural phase, divided by the application of a different system of control of the group from new rulers.

An example of sacrifice or death ceremony is manifest in relief I-B-2, where a personage (*d*) is represented lying on an unidentified bundle with a mask on the back of his head, indicating that he is no longer functioning (either dead or dismissed). Two warriors armed with lances approach the personage while another with a crown of corn plants (symbol of transformation) moves away from the scene. The ritual or legend is probably related to fertility.

An even clearer example of sacrifice is found on relief I-B-3, where a richly adorned personage offers his life to produce the currents of bifurcating water that irrigate the surface of the earth. The sacrifice was probably in honor of the deity represented by the feline figure (puma) whose symbol in the ear is related either to fertility or to the stars in the night sky.

Both sacrifice and legend are found in relief I-B-4, where two felines are attacking two men. This could represent a parable of the sacred mythical twins who appear in many of the Postclassic stories related to the creation and destruction of the world. The relief is identified with the cosmic deity of Venus and of forces concentrated in mountain gods, such as Hurakan, Uo'tan, Itzamna, or Tepeyolotl of the Postclassic.

In relief I-B-5 a sacrifice related to a

legend or parable is found in an anthropomorphic figure who is semi-devoured by a sea monster identified as an *acipactli* or *peje-lagarto*. This legend could be the same one expressed later in a Mixtec codex depicting a god losing his foot in the mouth of a *cipactli*.

The relief "El Volador" (II-2) is related to myths and explicative concepts of the movement of the stars. The sun seems to be represented by the zoomorphic figures of the quetzal and *guacamaya* birds.

Reliefs on the Cultivated Terraces: A Socioreligious Function

The group of reliefs found on the cultivated terraces of the site seem to correspond to a style more characteristic of the Late Formative Izapa reliefs than to those on the talus slopes or cliff. Along with the notable change of style there is also a change in the philosophical focus and ritual practices of the scenes and motifs. They were found next to stone-faced platform structures which could have been centers of reunion, administration, or some other activity required by the political-religious organization to which they belonged.

This group of stelae seems to reflect a message related to a more defined thought representing established activities of the social organization. They were probably used in relation to ritual practices that could have been held in front of structures whose open space would have been designed specifically for the performance of ceremonies.

The stela and round altar complex of T-6 occurs at Izapa beginning in the Late Formative and is repeated at numerous Classic Maya centers. This confirms the existence of an organized activity in which there must have been established systems of endoethnic and exoethnic participation in the complicated festivities held in front of these monuments.

A notable difference between the reliefs on the cliffs and talus slope and those of the cultivated terraces is that those on the mountain have little available space for ceremonies, limiting the number of people involved to a performer and a few observers, while those below had ample space for large groups of participants and more complex ceremonies.

The female stela (III-7) seems to indicate the presence of a distant group (from the *tierra caliente*) with an established relationship to the people of Chalcatzingo. They might have participated in an exchange system, accommodating

the merchants from that area and receiving the pilgrims attending the festivities and ceremonies periodically held in the religious center.

The reliefs associated with the structures on the cultivated terraces imply an efficient incipient organization whose economic and political control was based on a religious belief. They differ in this from the hillside reliefs, which seem to represent animistic-totemic beliefs manifest in a metaphoric language.

One could conclude that the sequence of representations of the various cultural periods through which this archaeological zone has passed contains scenes and motifs representing legends, historical traditions, parables, and mythical stories of philosophic concepts that probably survived until the Postclassic. These scenes would have been carved for all the ethnic groups living around Chalcatzingo to unify the clans and lineages by manifesting the accepted attitude about mythic origins, historical events, and rituals performed to preserve the economic and religious status attained through a sociopolitical structure, an incipient theocratic administration, that was based on myths and legends.

The Sacred Mountain within the Socioeconomic System

In this analysis one can visualize certain aspects of the socioeconomic organization at Chalcatzingo and possible political relationships with neighboring groups. These groups would have considered Chalcatzingo as a type of "sanctuary" and rector-administrative center, where there was intense regional commercial exchange at the time of the diverse religious festivals and ceremonies.

The information gleaned from the analysis of the graphic representations also reveals details about rituals, ceremonies, and deities that ruled and motivated the philosophic concepts and religious activities at the base of the "sacred mountain." This activity was possibly the reason why this area was converted into an important political-economic center that would have been on the route of merchants trading between the Gulf and Pacific coasts.

Chalcatzingo was on the obligated pathway, a settlement that became a port of exchange, trade, and distribution for serpentine stone (*chalchihuitl*), feathers, cacao, and other merchandise that came from the hot lands (*tierra caliente*) beyond the rugged Sierra Madre to the

south, to be distributed among cultural centers disseminated in the area of Mesoamerica during the Middle and Late Formative (Angulo 1979).

The Sacred Mountain through Time

Even from a great distance, and even among people accustomed to an urban scene and insensitive to natural landscapes, the Chalcatzingo mountain complex creates an impression of solemn monumentality. This might be why the area was considered a place of oracle and center or origin of mythic concepts that were concentrated on the sacred mountain for groups whose beliefs were of a naturalistic character.

From the first agricultural settlement (Early Formative), this region must have attracted pilgrims and merchants from populations near and far who shared the philosophic-religious concepts and participated in the periodically staged ceremonial events. The functions of sanctuary and ceremonial center were consolidated when the reliefs were carved on the cliffs. There are abundant examples of works from this period such as the reliefs from Groups I-A and I-B, relief II-2, and altar III-4 (composed of reassembled carved stones).

The subsequent carved stelae and architectural structures distributed over the cultivated terraces seem to be slightly later in time. They indicate a continuity of occupation, with implicit changes in the social, political, and economic order that affected the development and transformation of the artistic styles of each period. This new form of artistic expression, although identified with Chalcatzingo, has much more stylistic relation (in the distribution of spaces, the way of framing, and motivation) to other sculptured pieces found along the Pacific Coast—those of Izapa, Santa Lucia Cotzumalhuapa, El Meson, and El Baúl—than with the earlier reliefs carved on the talus slopes of the Cerro Chalcatzingo.

Following the Classic period establishment of principal centers in cultivated valleys, the main activity of Chalcatzingo was moved to the site of Las Pilas, 4 km to the west. Las Pilas was by a water source ample enough to provide for the whole agricultural population, even up to the present time.

However, the information gathered during the Chalcatzingo research indicates that Chalcatzingo continued to be a center of socioreligious power even during the height of the Classic, since a

ball court and various pyramidal structures occur there. The area called Tetla and the *adoratorio* below relief I-B-2 correspond to the Postclassic period. Considering that the *adoratorio* was found precisely at the foot of relief I-B-2, erected more than two thousand years earlier, it can be concluded that the construction was destined to perpetuate ritual and ceremonial practices that were related to the ancient monument. This association reveals the perseverance with which religious concepts were transmitted through the generations, perpetuating the memory, respect, and veneration of a symbol of a place destined to be permanently consecrated.

There is no doubt that Chalcatzingo's "sacred mountain" retained its importance through all the prehispanic culture periods. Even today it is revered and used for religious ceremonies (now Christian) by the people of the surrounding area.

Obviously the external form and type of ceremony has had to adapt to technical and social changes through the years. However, the basic motivation of these mythic and religious convictions apparently has been maintained in the adornment of the deities, the way of conducting the ceremony, and even the names and iconographic figures used in substitution for the ancient gods. In this same spirit, the "sacred mountain" has remained a place of reverence where the gods of fertility and maintenance dwell, the place where the celestial gods, those of the earth, and even those of the underworld meet. In this sanctuary rituals have been carried out without interruption for almost three thousand years, and for reasons probably similar to those described by Sahagún (1956:2:260–264) when he refers to the constellations of Mamalhuaztli and others, which the Mexica expected to appear over Citlaltepētl (Cerro de la Estrella), where festivities were carried out in which "they made sacrifices and ceremonies when they reappeared in the east, after the celebration of the sun or when the Pleiades appeared in the night sky announcing the proximity of the rains" (in the first week of May) (my translation).

It is notable that the inhabitants of the town of Chalcatzingo annually take offerings of food and gifts to the cross and metallic box at the top of the "sacred mountain," still associated with rain, wind, earth, and, most of all, with fertility. This ceremony takes place on May 3, just before the rainy season. It is the day

when the Santa Cruz is celebrated in the Christian calendar. This cross could be considered a symbol of the sacrifice and death of Christ, substituting for the prehispanic sacrifice and ritual to bring rain. One could possibly argue that the appearance of the ritual does not correspond to a prehispanic ceremony as much as to rituals whose style is more in tune with the present era; however, there is an evident symbiosis in which the elements of nature, the gods of creation, fertility, and maintenance, and the cycle of the stars or constellations mingle with the sacrifice of the Messiah who gave his life on the cross. This rite surely interweaves characteristics of two belief systems of distinct origin into the resultant hybrid beliefs of the hispanic conquest over the Mesoamerican religious structure.

RESUMEN DEL CAPÍTULO 10

En este capítulo se analiza la iconografía de los monumentos de Chalcatzingo, basándose en el principio de la continuidad de ciertos conceptos básicos, desde por lo menos el Formativo hasta el Postclásico. Así, estas tempranas obras de arte pueden ser interpretadas por analogía con los principios iconográficos y religiosos conocidos de pueblos mesoamericanos más tardíos.

Resulta claro que algunos relieves, que aparecen en grupos, están relacionados unos con otros. Los relieves del Area I-A forman una secuencia gráfica que principia con el relieve I-A-7 (Mon. 11) y que concluye con I-A-1 (Mon. 1), "El Rey." Esta secuencia empieza con cuatro representaciones de criaturas zoomorfas que miran hacia arriba y que están asociadas con calabazas y nubarrones. A la manera del glifo maya "rana descendiente," estas criaturas pueden significar el "nacimiento" o el inicio de la temporada de lluvias, la "nueva vida" de la tierra. Las volutas que emergen de sus bocas pueden representar oraciones para pedir la lluvia, y su semejanza con el glifo maya Ik conduce a pensar que también podrían representar la respiración, la germinación, y la vida.

Las criaturas zoomorfas están sentadas sobre volutas horizontales en forma de S, las cuales podrían simbolizar las eternas oposiciones: lluvia y sequía,

vida y muerte, etc. Los animales, identificados como jaguar, cipactli, canidae, e iguana, también pueden referirse a los clanes que formaban la sociedad local.

La secuencia del Area I-A muestra el crecimiento progresivo de las nubes, el incremento de lluvia, y el crecimiento y florecimiento de las calabazas que culmina en el relieve llamado "El Rey." Este último ha sido identificado como el Señor de la Montaña, debido a la presencia de características de la deidad del Postclásico Tepeyollotl. Está sentado en la boca de la cueva, la boca del monstruo de la Tierra, y bromeliáceas brotan de las esquinas de la cueva. El viento que de ahí sale lleva a las nubes cargadas de lluvia hacia la cima de la montaña, completando así el ciclo de renovación anual.

Tres relieves del Area I-B comparten rasgos estilísticos y parecen representar eventos míticos o rituales. El relieve I-B-2 (Mon. 2), "Los Olmecas Caminantes," representa a cuatro personajes, que bien podrían estar participando en un ritual de la fertilidad, similar al que se dedicaba a Xipe-Totec en la época Postclásica. El relieve I-B-3 (Mon. 3) muestra a un felino de cuello largo, echado. El felino aparentemente está sujetando y/o devorando a una figura antropomorfa que lleva un tocado de plumas. En un estilo semejante, el relieve I-B-4 (Mon. 4) muestra a dos felinos, un puma y un jaguar, atacando a dos seres humanos, los cuales pueden haber sido víctimas para el sacrificio, y que podrían estar relacionados con el concepto mesoamericano de los héroes gemelos, que representan al Sol y a Venus. El relieve I-B-5 (Mon. 5) muestra a una criatura que ha sido identificada como el acipactli o cipactli, el cual está devorando, o tal vez vomitando, a una figura humana cuya pierna podría estar dentro de la boca de la criatura. Esta figura puede estar relacionada con aquellas concepciones más tardías que rodean a Tezcatlipoca, el dios que perdió una pierna al enfrentarse con el monstruo terrestre-acuático, y que representa al Sol en su recorrido diurno. Entre otros monumentos importantes, que no aparecen en grupos, está el relieve II-2 (Mon. 12), "El Volador." Su postura, que sugiere movimiento, así como su atuendo, permiten pensar en un jugador de pelota. Hay, además, varias estelas que representan personajes individuales. El relieve III-7 (Mon. 21) muestra a una mujer tocando, con la palma de las manos, un bulto en posi-

ción vertical que se encuentra frente a ella.

Esta figura femenina se encuentra parada sobre una máscara del monstruo de la Tierra. El relieve IV-7 (Mon. 27) representa a un hombre que aparentemente lleva cargando a un venado sobre sus espaldas. En el relieve IV-8 (Mon. 28) aparece un personaje vestido con una larga capa hecha de plumas.

Los relieves de Chalcatzingo fueron creados para transmitir un mensaje y deben ser considerados como parte de un sistema de comunicación. Los relieves del piedemonte son, antes que nada, escenas pictográficas, y hasta narrativas. Estas representan leyendas tradicionales y rituales relacionados con el sacrificio humano dedicado a las deidades asociadas con el sistema calendrico y con la fertilidad. Los monumentos que se encuentran en las terrazas residenciales cumplen una función tanto sociopolítica como religiosa. Probablemente se llevaban a cabo prácticas rituales frente a las estructuras sobre las cuales se encontraban dichos monumentos. Por el contrario, los relieves de piedemonte son mucho menos accesibles al público, ya que no existe un espacio desde el cual los espectadores pudieran observar los rituales.

11. Miscellaneous Bedrock and Boulder Carvings

DAVID C. GROVE

A wide variety of carved and worked stones and areas of bedrock, not strictly classifiable as monuments, are found at Chalcatzingo. A separate sequential numbering system, beginning with the prefix MCR (Miscellaneous Carved Rock), is used to separate these from the site's monuments. In keeping with the precedent set in the monument chapters (Chapters 9 and 10), the MCR's are ordered and discussed by site areas and subareas, within two sections. The first section describes *maquetas* (models) and quarry stones; the second section, stones with deeply ground "cup-marks."

The Miscellaneous Carved Rocks are found primarily in site areas I, II, and III, the upper terraces and hillside slopes of the archaeological zone. Stones bearing ground cup-marks are even more restricted, most of them occurring on the talus slopes of the Cerro Chalcatzingo and the terrace fringes immediately adjacent to the talus slopes. Figure 9.2 provides the location of the majority of the stones discussed below. Most were plotted on the map by sight, and thus their position on the map is accurate in some cases only within 1 or 2 m.

CARVINGS AND QUARRY STONES

Area I-A

MCR-1 (Fig. 11.1)

Carved into the exposed bedrock about 3 m east of Monument 1 is a shallow rectangle, ca. $30 \times 25 \times 2.5$ cm. This carving has been previously published by Carlo Gay (Altar 20; 1972a:83).

MCR-2 (Fig. 11.2)

Excavations during the first field season removed soil deposits from bedrock exposures adjacent to Monuments 1, 6, 7, and 8 high on the hillside of the Cerro Chalcatzingo, uncovering Monuments 14 and 15. These same clearing operations also disclosed a narrow and shallow canal (MCR-2) carved into the

bedrock above Monument 1, above and behind Monuments 6 and 7. This canal, with a maximum width of 14 cm and a maximum depth of 4 cm, is approximately 2.6 m long. It is within the drainage carrying rainwater runoff past Monument 1. Its position and height are such that water flowing out of the canal will fall into a group of mortar-like holes (MCR-3) near the base of Monuments 6 and 7.

MCR-3

Just west of the base of Monument 7 is a group of seven mortar-like holes (Altar 19; Gay 1972a:82–83), obviously positioned to catch falling water from the canal (and drainage) 1.8 m above and to the south. It is also probable that these water catchment stones and the canal were designed to function primarily at times when there was a minor rather than a major water flow. The canal is shallow,

and the catchment holes were probably meant to hold "sacred" water. A torrent of water would obscure both carved features.

Area II

MCR-8 (Figs. 11.3, 11.4)

Gay (1972a:80) reported this stone, which lies near the east end of T-11, as Altar 9. When originally seen by our project, the stone looked exactly as photographed by Gay (1972a:Pl. 16)—a large flat area, ca. 1.4 m in diameter, with a raised area on the south side and a ground cup-mark on the flat surface. Irregular pecked grooves ran east and west from the cup. Grove was intrigued with the possibility that the stone was a crude model (*maqueta*) of the Cerro Chalcatzingo and site, with the flat area representing the fields at the base of the *cerro*.



Figure 11.1. MCR-1, carved rectangular depression near Monument 1.

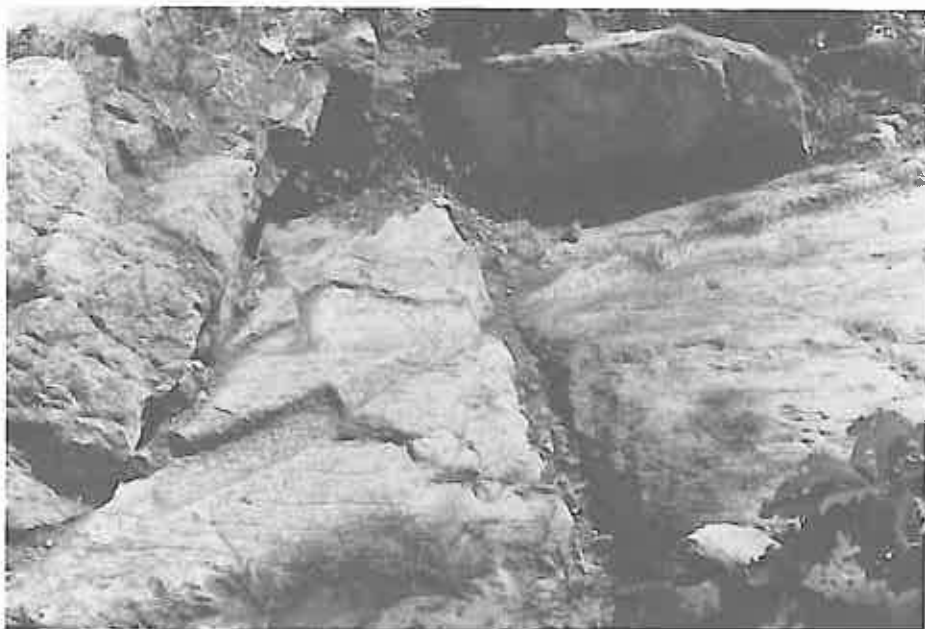


Figure 11.2. MCR-2, shallow canal cut into bedrock above Monuments 1, 6, and 7.



Figure 11.3. MCR-8, *maqueta*.

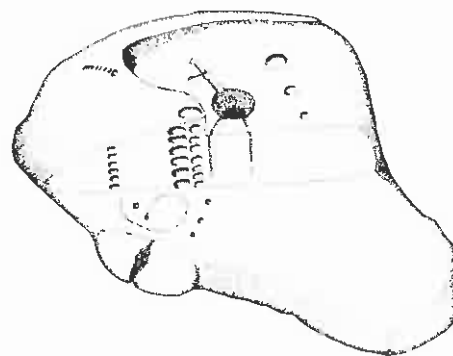


Figure 11.4. Drawing of MCR-8, showing details.

During the second field season, the sides of the stone were cleared, and it was discovered that the stone was larger and more complex than imagined, and indeed apparently was a *maqueta*. The area originally exposed on the ground surface is the top of the *maqueta*. Below this (to the east; up, in Gay's photo) is another large flat area with a pecked spiral. This flat area ends with another raised area (barely projecting from the surface in Gay's photo).

Today we believe that the main raised area symbolically represents the Cerro Chalcatzingo. The vertical drop to the lower flat area and spiral represents the cliffs of the *cerro*. Two pecked grooves running from the cup continue over the face of the "cliff," and when rain water overflows from the cup, it flows along these grooves and over the "cliff" as well.

This might seem slim evidence to consider this small vertical drop the "cliffs" of the *cerro*, but an examination of the carving clearly shows small pecked "stairs" on the face of the "cliff." On the back side of the uppermost projection of the "cerro" is a small natural hole in the stone. Small pecked "stairs" also occur up to this hole, a "cave" in the *maqueta*. Actual well-carved stairways have been found on the far western hillside of the Cerro Chalcatzingo (see MCR-11).

It is probable that the second raised area on the *maqueta* (today broken from the stone) represents the Cerro Delgado. The *maqueta* is not a realistic depiction of the hills and site; rather it seems to be a symbolic representation. The facts that the *maqueta* emphasizes water and shows two drainages on the cliff face are significant when it is remembered that the Area I monuments on the hillside at Chalcatzingo occur near the two major water drainages.

MCR-9 (Figs. 11.5, 11.6)

During the excavations of T-9A Structure 1, which exposed the remnants of a Cantera phase house structure, a large stone slab, ca. 85 × 50 cm, was uncovered within one of the interior stone lines. A small (ca. 16 × 10 cm) rectangle was engraved on the surface of the slab. Within the rectangle a crude "sunburst" motif had also been pecked and engraved. The presence of a glyph-like engraved motif on this slab and the highly possible association of the slab with a Cantera phase subfloor burial (Chapter 4) suggests the intriguing possibility that the symbol was linked to the deceased individual.



Figure 11.5. MCR-9 in situ in wall line of T-9A house. Arrow points north.



Figure 11.6. Details of MCR-9 engraved design. (Orientation is different from that in Figure 11.5.)

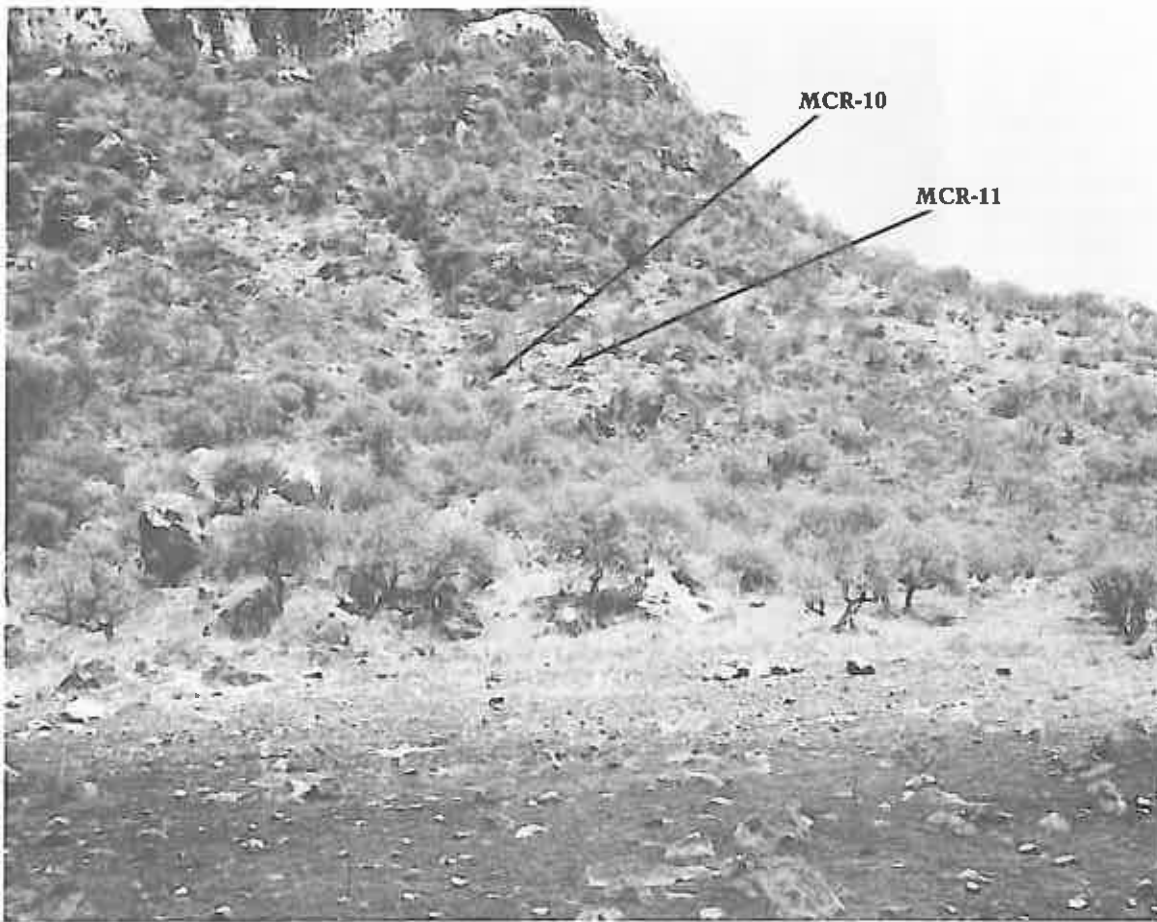


Figure 11.7. Hillside of Cerro Chalcatzingo showing locations of MCR-10 and MCR-11.



Figure 11.8. MCR-10.



Figure 11.9. MCR-11, lower stairway.

MCR-9 is located today in the municipal building in the village of Chalcatzingo.

MCR-10 (Figs. 11.7, 11.8)

An unusual relief carving occurs on a sloping section of exposed bedrock on the Cerro Chalcatzingo above the southwest limit of the site (S-39). It is located at about the 1,040 m contour level. This shallow relief carving takes the form of a long parabolic line, with the open end of the parabola pointing uphill (south). The parabola's east leg is ca. 3 m long; the west leg is 2 m. It is the uphill section that is raised in relief. The parabola crosscuts natural fissures and contours of the stone, and therefore is believed to be an artificial construction.

MCR-11 (Fig. 11.9)

This carving consists of two well-carved sets of stairways on the exposed rock slopes of the Cerro Chalcatzingo. They are located about 30 m west and 10 m above MCR-10.

The two stairways, of five steps each, are separated from one another by ca. 3 m vertically. The lowest (eastern) stairs (Fig. 11.9) extend up a ca. 40° rock face. These well cut and ground steps are ca. 44 cm wide. Their length varies from 20 to 30 cm and their depth from 9 to 12 cm.

The uphill (western) group is somewhat different, for rather than each step being integrally connected, they appear more as a sequence of well-cut steps separated by small areas of natural rock slope. This set of steps varies in width from 50 to 70 cm, but they are only 10–20 cm in length and 10–12 cm deep.

Today these steps do not appear to begin or terminate at any significant point on the hillside. Erosion on this highly exposed section of hillside may have long ago removed any artifact debris or simple constructions. The only other feature of interest in this hillside area is a group of stone slabs, another 30 m higher on the hillside. One of these slabs (MCR-12, see below) is partially cut through by a deep groove, suggesting that this hillside area was a source of large flat blocks of stone for the site.

MCR-12 (Fig. 11.10)

A large slab of stone lies on the hillside surface about 30 m above (south of) MCR-11 and near some low, cliff-like exposures of stone. However, this slab, ca. 164 cm long, 100 cm wide, and 36 cm thick, has a deep groove cut across its upper face and two sides. This groove, 55 cm from one end of the slab, is 12 cm



Figure 11.10. MCR-12, partially cut stone slab.

wide and 7 cm deep. The groove was apparently made to cut or trim this slab to size.

Three other smaller slabs nearby may be the unneeded remains of already cut slabs, although they are now eroded and weathered (a few are partially buried), and it is difficult to ascertain if they were once cut. However, the possibility exists that this area may have been a small quarry site, perhaps using slabs removed from the low outcrops nearby.

MCR-13

About 55 m east of Monument 12 is a buried stone slab with only its upper surface exposed. This slab, 150 cm in length and 70 cm wide, has a groove cut from side to side across its exact center. It may have been originally "quarried" on the hillside near MCR-12 and moved to this location, although this is speculation.

MCR-14 (Fig. 11.11)

About 80 m downslope (west) from Monument 12 is a roundish boulder, ca. 190 cm in diameter and 65 cm tall. A cut groove encircles 90 percent of the boulder at its mid-point. No other worked stones have been found in the adjacent area.

Area III

MCR-4

This small stone, labeled Altar 12 by Gay (1972a:80, Pl. 18) stands within the front wall line of PC Structure 2 (Fig. 4.7). As noted by Gay, it is ca. 74 cm tall and contains a 1 cm deep carved rectangular cavity ca. 23 cm long and 13 cm wide.



Figure 11.11. MCR-14.



Figure 11.12. MCR-5 as found on PC Structure 6.

MCR-5, MCR-6, and MCR-7 (Figs. 11.12–11.14)

These are large stone slabs which have been ground to a smooth surface on all sides. While roughly rectangular in shape, the sides and end pieces are sometimes rounded or tapered, giving the stone an irregular shape overall. All three stones lack evidence of any carved or painted motifs, and their relatively short length and general shape suggest that they were not meant to be erected vertically. All were found buried on or near the southeast end of PC Structure 4, in intrusive pits, and the local villager who farms this piece of *ejido* land informed us that in the past he has buried large stones here to remove them from the area he plows yearly.

MCR-5 (Fig. 11.12) was found during excavations of PC Structure 6, adjacent to Structure 4's southeast edge. Unlike MCR-6 and MCR-7, it has one large flat side, ca. 125 cm long and 65 cm wide, and a curved (ovoid) cross-section ca. 50 cm thick.



Figure 11.13. MCR-6 in situ, PC Structure 4.



Figure 11.14. MCR-7, PC Structure 4.



Figure 11.15. MCR-15 (left) and MCR-16 (right) in field.



Figure 11.16. MCR-17, T-2.

MCR-6 (Fig. 11.13) was found buried on the east slope of Structure 4 in excavations carried out during the first field season. It is more rectangular than either of the other stones, but unlike them has one unfinished (or broken) end section. It measures ca. $100 \times 60 \times 40$ cm.

MCR-7 (Fig. 11.14) was also found on the east slope of Structure 4, about 5 m from MCR-6 and east of the looted tomb feature. It has generally flat sides and rounded ends, and measures $95 \times 60 \times 50$ cm.

There are also well-finished large broken stones buried on the east end of Structure 4, and others which lie along the edge of the El Paso Drainage gully adjacent to this structure (Fig. 6.3). The presence here of all these worked stones suggests that they may have been originally located atop the east end of the platform mound. At this time we cannot conjecture as to their function, although it is possible they served as part of an architectural feature (wall, floor, etc.). The dating of these carvings is unknown, and we can only presume that they date to the period of major use of the platform mound, the Cantera phase.

MCR-15 and MCR-16 (Fig. 11.15)

Until recently, two large stones projected from the surface of the lower, flat area of T-29, but they apparently have been destroyed or removed. These stones, spaced ca. 3.8 m apart and with an approximate orientation between them of N85-1/2W, occurred in an area away from the hill-sides, where no natural boulders are found. Therefore, these two monoliths must have been purposely erected in this location.

At the time of our project the western stone (MCR-15) projected ca. 50 cm above the ground surface, and the eastern stone (MCR-16) ca. 120 cm. Each was roughly quadrangular, with sides of ca. 70 cm. Neither exhibited faced side surfaces or traces of carving, but since their upper surfaces are angular, both may be the basal stumps of broken monoliths.

Area IV

MCR-17 (Fig. 11.16)

Several small boulders occur at the northwest corner of T-2, just across the El Paso Drainage from the large Middle Formative platform mound on the Plaza Central (PC Str. 4). A concentric circle and a backward-S element are depicted on one of the boulders. Because of weathering and an overhanging tree, the carvings are usually visible only in the mornings

when they are highlighted by the sun.

While I cannot offer an interpretation for the backward-S symbol, the concentric circle probably represents the *chalchihuitl* glyph, the symbol of "precious water." This motif also occurs on the "El Rey" relief (Mon. 1), and both that carving and the T-2 boulder are located beside gullies which carry rainwater runoff. It is impossible to date the T-2 carving, since the *chalchihuitl* glyph was important from the Formative period onward, and while this carving is probably Middle Formative, it could instead be related to the site's Classic or Postclassic period occupations.

MCR-18 (Fig. 11.17)

This carved rock was reported by Gay (1972a:85, Pl. 22; Mon. 2) and is a relatively small angular boulder projecting above the surface at the upper (southern) end of T-2. The stone, whose exposed dimensions are ca. 2 m long, 1 m wide, and 50 cm high, has small, step-like parallel lines carved on its surface, giving the impression that it is a miniature representation (*maqueta*) of a mountain with stepped paths to the top. Another *maqueta* stone was found on T-11 (MCR-8).

MCR-19 (Figs. 11.18, 11.19)

A boulder with a large horizontal surface sits on the west edge of T-4 near its southern extremity. Shaded by a tree, this rock served as a convenient resting spot during the two seasons of excavations on T-4. During that time the archaeologists noted small, purposefully ground pits in the boulder's surface and recorded this information in the T-4 field notes. However, it was not until several years later that astronomer John Carlson, during a visit to the site, noticed faintly carved lines connecting the pit marks. Carlson notified me of his discovery, and I then studied the carving during a visit to the site in 1978.

Several faintly carved lines on the upper surface of the boulder create a quadrangular form. Small pit marks are found at each of the quadrangle's corners, at its center, and at the midpoints of the NW and SE sides. The quadrangle measures 85 × 63 cm, and its lines orient to ca. N11-1/2E and ca. N80-1/2W. When this latter line is projected westward, it crosses the north side of the Classic pyramid, T-3 Structure 1. When projected to the east, it crosses the Classic period platform, T-4 Structure 3, only a few meters away. The orientation of T-4 Structure 3 is essentially the same as that of the quadrangle pecked onto the stone.



Figure 11.17. MCR-18, T-2.

The various orientations strongly suggest that the quadrangle dates to the Classic period.

Area VI

MCR-20

At the first major bend in the broad path which runs along the north side of the Cerro Delgado to Tetla is a large boulder on the north side of the path. The path (south) side of this boulder has a shallow carved rectangular depression (30 × 20 cm) and a faint series of weathered lines which could be remnants of miniature carved steps (see MCR-8, MCR-18) near the rectangle. A smaller rectangle (20 × 15 cm) is found on the boulder's north side.

MCR-21 (Fig. 24.20)

This is a group of at least fifteen mortar holes ground in the bedrock at the edge of the river in the barranca north of Tetla. They are located at the foot of the only access trail from Tetla to the barranca in this area. Although Tetla has evidence of Formative, Classic, and Postclassic occupations, I would suggest that these bedrock mortars are probably Postclassic simply because they have not been completely eroded and destroyed by the river's annual flooding, indicating perhaps that they do not have great antiquity.

CUP-MARK STONES

Cup-mark stones are boulders or exposures of bedrock containing deep circular ground depressions. They were first reported at Chalcatzingo by Gay (1972a: 73–84). The holes are mortar-like and can occur as solitary examples or in groupings. The holes differ from normal bedrock mortars in their relatively small diameters, carefully ground vertical walls, and by the fact that they are seldom located near water sources.

Several points related to cup-marks are worth mentioning. Only one example can be even tentatively dated. Monument 18, found on the east end of PC Structure 4, has a cup-mark which seems to be an integral part of that monument's carved design (Fig. 9.20). This suggests that some, if not most, of the cup-marks are Middle Formative if we can assume that Monument 18 itself is Middle Formative in date. In addition, a few of the cup-marks are found on boulders on the surface of the site's Middle Formative terraces, demonstrating that they date to or after the terrace building.

Cup-mark stones are not restricted to Chalcatzingo or to Morelos. Similar stones have been found in other areas of Mesoamerica (e.g., Guanajuato; Emilio Bejerano, personal communication).

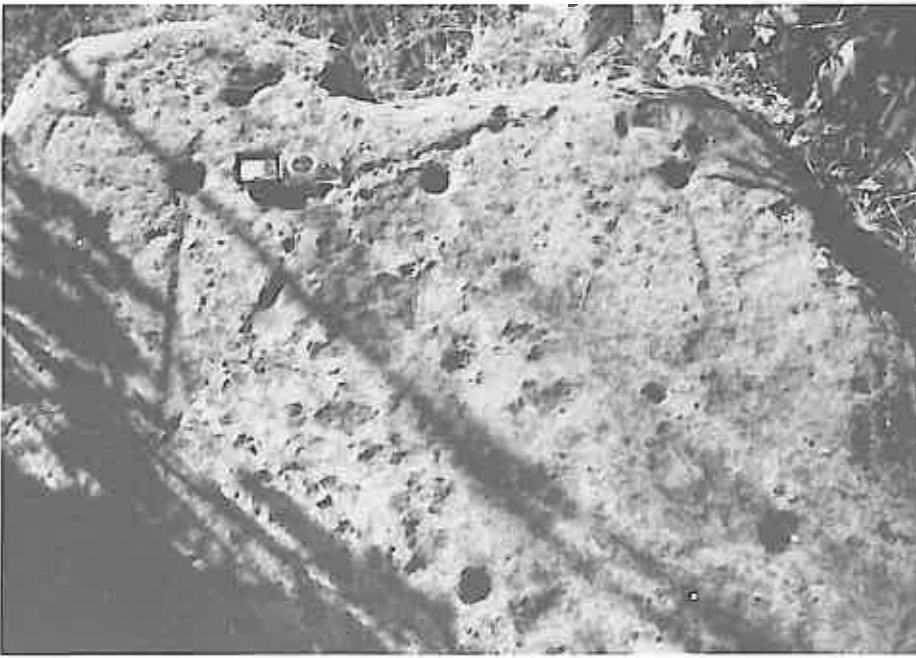


Figure 11.18. MCR-19, T-4.

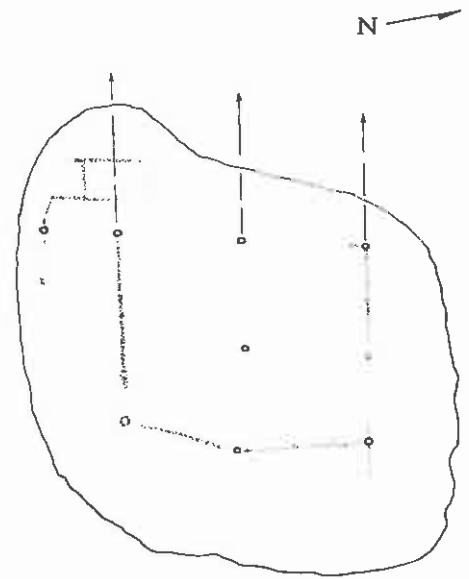


Figure 11.19. MCR-19 showing alignments of shallow pits in stone. Arrows at top point to Classic pyramid.

However, they are not usually mentioned in site reports.

The survey of cup-mark stones by Gay and Gillett Griffin (Gay 1972a:73–84) was comprehensive and located the majority of the stones which we observed during our field work. Gay's use of the term "altar" for these stones seems inappropriate, however. His map (1972a:74) provides a good generalized idea of their distribution (compare to Fig. 9.2). It should be noted, though, that while illustrations in his book depict clusters of cup-mark stones (1972a:Figs. 40–42), the illustrations are stylized and are apparently meant only to portray individual stones. No such clusters occur, orientations vary, and the illustrations are obviously not meant to depict exact spatial distributions.

I share Gay's (1972a:84) opinion that the cup-mark stones served ritual rather than utilitarian functions, and that they were probably receptacles for "sacred" water (rainwater and/or ritual water). MCR-8 demonstrates very well the relationship of water to these deeply ground holes, as does the location of MCR-22. While I hypothesize that these stones functioned to hold "sacred" water, the possibility of significant alignments between some or all of them cannot be ruled out and remains to be tested.

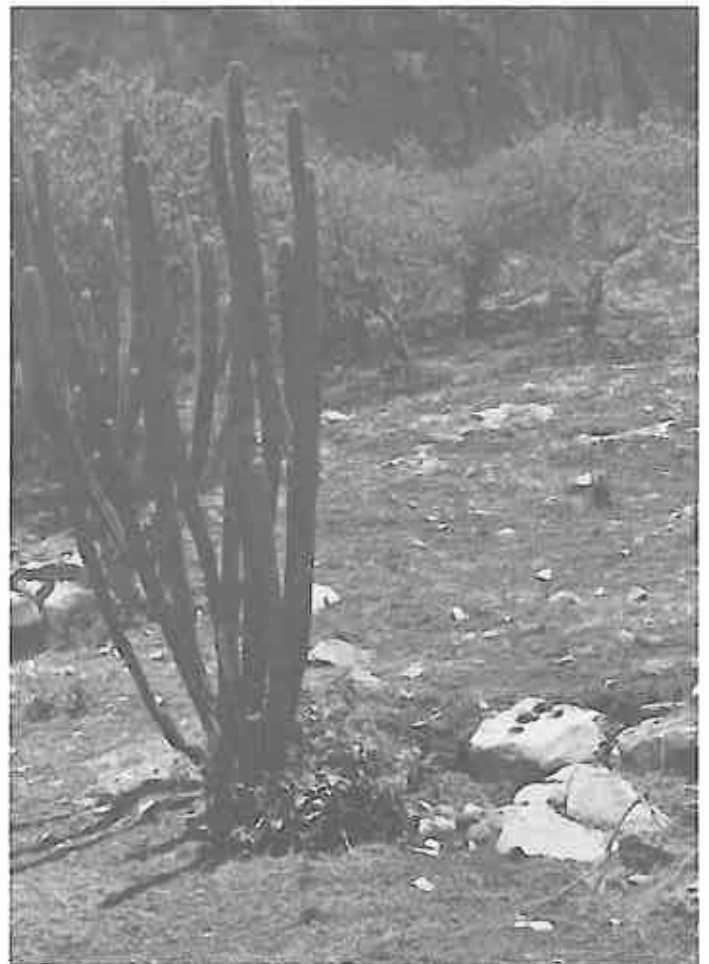


Figure 11.20. MCR-22.



Figure 11.21. MCR-26, T-11.

Area I-A

MCR-22 (Fig. 11.20)

This stone lies at the southeast corner of CT-1. It was found at the beginning of the second field season as we were removing earth from a small natural spring. The stone has four cup-mark holes, three in a line and one to the side. Its location by this minor trickle of water again points out the relationship of cup-mark stones and water. This carving was not reported by Gay.

MCR-23

A stone with one cup-mark lies 20 m east of the El Rey Drainage, and 5 m west and 3 m south of the small CT-2 Classic platform on the hillslope below Monument 1. This or MCR-24 could be Gay's Altar 16 (1972a:82, Fig. 42).

MCR-24

A cup-mark stone sits about 25 m east of MCR-36 and about 5 m higher. A single cup-mark is found on its upper surface.

Area II

MCR-25

A large flat rock, almost 6 m in diameter, lies at the northern edge of T-11. This large rock, with at least ten cup-marks of varying sizes, is Gay's Altar 1 (1972a:73–74, Fig. 38). Two of the highly eroded cup-marks are connected by a small groove. It is unfortunate that this large stone has apparently been dynamited in

the recent past as part of the *cantera* mining on the hillside, since we cannot determine today how much of the rock is now missing.

MCR-26 (Fig. 11.21)

A shallow design rings the cup-mark on this stone (Gay's Altar 2; 1972a:76–77, Fig. 39), which protrudes slightly from the surface at the west end of T-11. It is the only design of this type recorded at Chalcatzingo, although several similar but far more complex motifs occur on rock exposures on the Cerro de la Cueva, across the valley from Chalcatzingo, visited by Grove and Angulo in 1972. The carving makes this cup-mark stone unique at Chalcatzingo.

MCR-27

Two cup-marks are found on the upper surface of the stone that Gay calls Altar 3 (1972a:77, Fig. 40). It is located in the T-13 area, ca. 35 m southwest of MCR-25. As Gay noted, this stone has also been partially destroyed by *cantera* mining activities.

MCR-28

Located 40 m south of MCR-26, at the west edge of T-13 and beside the path to Monument 13, is stone with one cup-mark. It may be the stone Gay labels Altar 4 (1972a:77, Fig. 40).

MCR-29

Located on the unfarmed hillside south of T-11, this stone with one cup-mark

may be Gay's Altar 5 (1972a:77, Fig. 40).

MCR-30

This stone may be Gay's Altar 6 (1972a:80, Fig. 40). It is located in an area of unfarmed rocky land surrounded by T-11. The stone has one cup-mark.

MCR-31

As with some other cup-mark stones, it is difficult to correlate this stone to those reported by Gay. Nevertheless, this is probably his Altar 7 (1972a:80, Fig. 41). It is located above the eastern end of T-11, 30 m southwest of MCR-32.

MCR-32

About 35 m south of the T-11 *maqueta* stone (MCR-8), a group of three cup-marks is found on what is probably a large buried boulder whose top is exposed in two areas. Two cup-marks occur on one large exposed section of rock, while the third is on a smaller exposure. This is probably Gay's Altar 8 (1972a:80, Fig. 41), although the positioning of the cup-marks is slightly different than that illustrated in his publication.

MCR-33 (Fig. 11.22)

A large angular stone, with a single cup-mark, lies 5 m north of MCR-8, the T-11 *maqueta*. This is Gay's Altar 10, although somewhat different than illustrated (1972a:80, Fig. 42).

MCR-34

A stone with one cup-mark is almost midway between MCR-28 and Monu-



Figure 11.22. MCR-33 (*foreground*) and MCR-8 (*background*).

ment 12, west of the infrequently farmed area we have labeled T-13. At this time we cannot correlate it with any specific stone reported by Gay.

MCR-35 (Fig. 11.23)

At the extreme southeast of the site, in a small drainage about 60 m south of Monument 12 (and located off the south edge of our map, Fig. 9.2), is a small boulder with two cup-marks and two other rocks with slightly shallower depressions. These were not recorded by Gay.

MCR-36 (Fig. 11.24)

A one-cup-mark stone was recently found just a few meters west of Monument 19.



Figure 11.23. MCR-35.

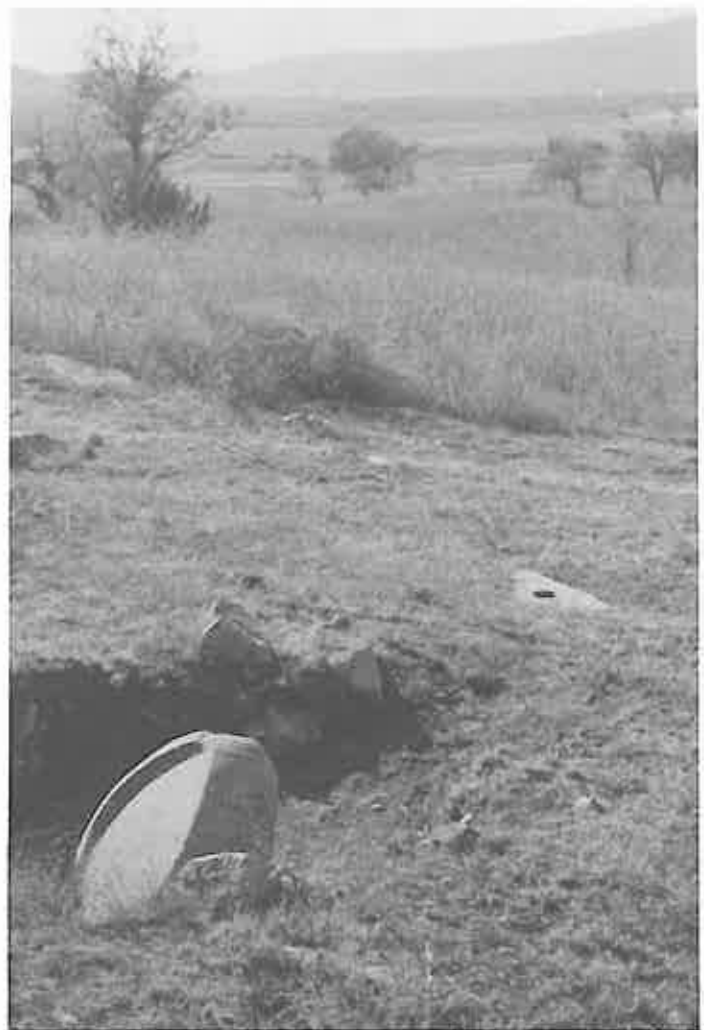


Figure 11.24. MCR-36 (*center*) and Monument 19 (*foreground*).



Figure 11.25. MCR-37 (foreground) and Classic period pyramid (background).

Area III

MCR-37 (Fig. 11.25)

Ten meters south and behind T-3 Structure 2, a Classic period mound, is a stone with one cup-mark reported by Gay (1972a: 80, Fig. 41) as his Altar 11.

MCR-38 (Figs. 4.6, 11.26)

Sitting on the southwest edge of the Plaza Central, between PC Structures 1 and 2, this large, tall boulder has two cup-marks on its upper surface. This cup-mark stone is unusual in that it is located very close to structures. It lies on the surface of a terrace and is the tallest of the cup-mark stones. This is Gay's Altar 13 (1972a: 83, Fig. 42).

Area VIII

MCR-39

There are two cup-mark depressions at the base of Monument 10, on the peak of the Cerro Chalcatzingo. They were first reported by Gay [Altar 21; 1972a: 83].

RESUMEN DEL CAPÍTULO 11

Además de los monumentos, Chalcatzingo presenta un número de piedras esculpidas, trabajadas, y en pedacería que hemos designado Rocas Labradas Miscelaneas (MCR). Estas incluyen: maquetas, tabletas de cantera, y piedras con incisiones profundas "con marca de taza." Su ocurrencia principal está localizada en las terrazas superiores y en las pendientes de las laderas de la montaña en el área del sitio principal.

Algunos de estos labrados se encuentran asociados claramente con el agua, por ejemplo, piedras para canales pequeños y recipientes de agua, tales como las que presentan el motivo "marca de taza." El simbolismo del agua también se exhibe en la maqueta grande (MCR-8), la que presenta no sólo los dos cerros sino también espirales, tazas, y ranuras para contener agua de lluvia. Además, hay un glifo de un chalchihuitl labrado en un canto rodado (MCR-17) al través del drenaje de El Paso.

Las otras piedras labradas designadas MCR incluyen escalones labrados en la ladera del cerro, piedras con marcas de cantera, y piedras con cortes irregulares o incompletos y ranuras. Casi ninguna de las MCR puede fecharse, ni sus ubicaciones por ahora permiten descubrir patrón alguno respecto de ellas entre sí o con relación a estructura alguna.



Figure 11.26. MCR-38 (right foreground), Classic pyramid, T-3 Structure 1 (left background), and PC Structure 4 (right background).

12. Chalcatzingo Painted Art

ALEX APOSTOLIDES

Although seldom reported, painted rock art occurs on cliff faces, rock outcrops, and cave walls in many regions of central Mexico. A marked dichotomy exists in this art. In rare instances it is extremely well executed, depicting personages and/or supernatural themes (e.g., Juxtahuaca and Oxtotitlan caves; Gay 1967; Grove 1970a). Far more common is the cruder art usually composed of geometric designs, painted spots, and occasional zoomorphic and anthropomorphic representations. Although this latter type of painting is far simpler than the elaborate Oxtotitlan and Juxtahuaca cave art or the frescos at sites such as Teotihuacan, Cholula, and Cacaxtla, there are no data to indicate that the cruder art is earlier rather than contemporaneous, and it is distinctly possible that the simpler paintings are different due to function, location, or the artist's skill and purpose, rather than to chronology.

The simpler art is usually ignored in the literature in favor of the more spectacular achievements of central Mexican cultures. Nevertheless, several publications deal with occurrences of such art in areas adjacent to the Chalcatzingo project's research area. José Luis Lorenzo (1957:16) mentions rock paintings on the slopes of the volcano Popocatepetl; and Verve Piho and Carlos Hernández (1972:85) discuss white paintings near Yecapixtla, slightly northwest of the Chalcatzingo project's survey zone. Pictographs stylistically similar to Yecapixtla's occur 20 km to the east at Texcalpintado, 7 km south of the village of Hueyapan. The Texcalpintado paintings, first reported by Antonieta Espejo (1945), are only 20 km north of Chalcatzingo, but again were outside of the project's survey area. Like the Yecapixtla paintings, they include crude human figures executed in white. Both the Texcalpintado and Yecapixtla paintings are appar-

ently Postclassic in date.

The simple style of painting occurs at Chalcatzingo and is markedly different from the elaborate bas-relief art for which the site is so well known. Unfortunately it is difficult to date the majority of the paintings. Although Chalcatzingo had a significant Middle Formative period occupation, it also contains evidence of Classic and Postclassic period structures, and some of the painted art can be shown to be Classic period in date (see below).

The painted art was first seriously published by Carlo Gay (1972a:17-33). The paintings he illustrates occur in the saddle area between the Cerro Delgado and the Cerro Chalcatzingo. He has termed that area the "Sanctuary of the Pictographs" (1972a:17-18, Pl. 2). However, paintings at Chalcatzingo are not restricted to that area but occur at various locales (see Fig. 12.1) including both the west and east faces of the Cerro Delgado, on boulders on the west slopes of the Cerro Delgado and west slopes of the Cerro Chalcatzingo, and in the barranca of the Río Amatzinac. Only one small painting group has been found on the Cerro Chalcatzingo itself.

On the Cerro Delgado and in the saddle area the paintings occur in caves and erosion niches of various depths. To avoid confusion in separating Cerro Delgado cave and niche numbers from saddle area cave and niche numbers, all those of the Cerro Delgado are numbered as caves, those from the saddle area as niches, and the term shelter is used to designate painted areas on the western slopes of the *cerros*.

NUMBERING, RECORDING, AND DESCRIPTION

This chapter is primarily descriptive, and no serious attempt will be made to interpret the pictographs. In the same

vein, few of Gay's (1972a) interpretations of various painting groups will be discussed since I disagree with most of them. In addition, to provide a more flexible numbering and identification system, I have not used Gay's all-inclusive sequential numbering system but instead use a system which labels each painted cave, niche, or shelter separately. Sequential numbering is used only within these separate areas. This allows for the incorporation of any newly discovered pictographs into the numbering system. Our investigations, for instance, found numerous unreported pictographs in the areas previously discussed by Gay, and it is probable that future investigators will add to our list. Table 12.1 correlates Gay's areas and numbering system with ours.

In describing the pictographs by groups, no attempt will be made to describe each individual design, line, or spot of paint. For later comparative purposes, however, some general names have been given to certain recurring designs:

(a) *Stick figures*. These are composed of linear elements, intersected (usually perpendicularly or nearly so) by one or more other linear or curvilinear elements. In some instances these stick figures may have represented anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures, and in other instances such identifications cannot be made.

(b) *Triangle-and-slit*. This design consists of a down-pointing triangular outline, with a short line bisecting the lower interior angle. Gay (1972a:29) identifies this as a "vulval representation . . . manifestly female in value." I agree that such an identification in this case is probably valid.

(c) *Sunburst*. This is an outline circle with outward radiating lines completely around its circumference. The use of this term is not meant to imply that this motif depicts the sun.



Figure 12.1. Air view of Chalcatzingo showing locations of paintings.

(d) *Plumed*. This term refers to lines radiating upward from the top of a circle or arc (e.g., plumed circle). Again, this is simply a descriptive term, with no implications that plumes are actually depicted.

(e) *Clockwise and counterclockwise spirals*. Direction is designated from the inside of the spiral outward.

In recording the paintings, we utilized a technique which I had used previously in surveys of pictographs and petroglyphs in California's Mojave desert (Apostolides 1975). This involves tracing the art on an overlay of transparent plicofilm, using felt pens with non-water-soluble black ink for copying the designs and a Rapidograph pen with India ink for writing comments and brief notes on the

plastic overlay itself. This provided as objective a depiction as possible, together with a permanent, actual-size record. The overlay can even be photographed in the lab if field conditions do not permit adequate photographic recording of the art (compare Fig. 12.31 to 12.32). In addition, field notes and sketches were made, and photographs were taken.

It should be noted that the plicofilm tracing technique was not used for all the less accessible paintings in the caves of the Cerro Delgado or for the barranca art. Most of these were recorded with drawings and photographs. The reader will also find throughout this chapter that the depictions of various pictographs here are not identical to those

published by Gay. This is not a criticism of the previous work, but merely reflects the difficulty in recording faded pictographs.

THE PICTOGRAPHS

Cerro Chalcatzingo

At present only one group of paintings has been discovered on the Cerro Chalcatzingo. This group, not previously reported, is passed by nearly every person following the trail to Monument 1. The paintings occur about 6 m up on the cliff face, approximately 8 m east of the large *amate* tree which sprawls over the cliff face and is a very visible landmark to visitors seeking the trail to the upper relief group. Of the five areas on the cliff face showing red pigment, four are too faded or encrusted with mineral deposits to allow an adequate determination of their original design. The sole distinguishable painting (no. 1) is a large triangle with the interior painted in an irregular interlaced network of lines, resembling a net (Fig. 12.2).

The Saddle Area

Referred to by Gay (1972a:17-18) as the "Sanctuary of the Pictographs," this grouping of paintings is situated on a small cliff area in the saddle between the site's two hills (Fig. 12.3). The majority of the paintings have been executed within a group of large shallow erosion niches on the exposed rock face. The hillside talus slopes immediately in front of the cliff face are primarily exposed bedrock and likewise contain a number of shallow niches. Only one definite pictograph (Niche 1) occurs in this latter area, and the remaining painting group (Niches 2-6) are on the cliff face, their niches facing to the northwest.

Niche 1

Niche 1 is located above one of the many ledges on the exposed bedrock slope to the northwest of the small cliff (Fig. 12.4). The shallow niche faces to the southwest and is hidden by cacti and plants growing on the ledge's thin soil layer. The gently curving wall of the niche contains a previously unreported cruciform pictograph executed in deep brown-red pigment (Fig. 12.5) about 1 m above the ledge.

No other definite pictographs occur in this area. Although Gay's Pictograph 1 is only a few meters immediately downhill from the Niche 1 cruciform, examination indicates that it is more likely a

Table 12.1. Correlation of Chalcatzingo Project's Designations with Gay's Designations of Pictographs

Gay (1972a)		Chalcatzingo Project	
Designation	Pictograph No.	Designation	Pictograph No.
—	1	(probably mineral discoloration)	
Shelter A	2	Niche 5	4
	3		6
	4		7
	5		8
Shelter B	6	Niche 4	
	7		Area B-2
	8		B-2
	9		B-2
	10		B-3
	11		B-4
	12		B-?
	13		B-1
	14		B-15
	15		A-1
	16		?
	17		A-5?
	18		A-6?
	19		D-4?
	20		?
	21		D-8?
	22		D-12
Shelter D	23	Niche 2	A-1
	24		D-1
	25		D-4
	26		D-5
	27		D-6
	28		B-13
	29		B-14
	30		B-19
	31		E-1
	32		E-2

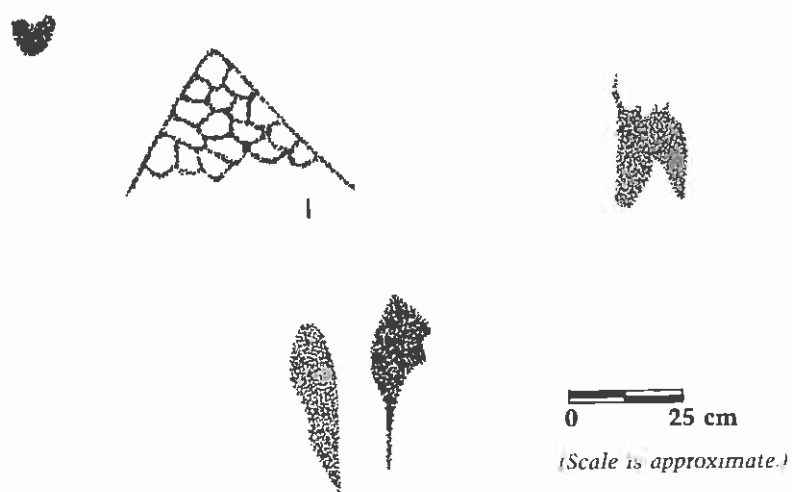


Figure 12.2. Cerro Chalcatzingo painting alongside trail to "El Rey," Monument 1.



Figure 12.3. Saddle area showing Niches 2-6.



Figure 12.4. Saddle area showing location of Niche 1.

natural red stain of irregular shape. Such natural stains are common on rock outcrops at the site.

Niche 2

Niche 2 (Gay's Shelter D) is the highest and northernmost of the pictograph niches in the saddle area. The mouth of the niche is approximately 7.5 m in length, and the niche's depth is about 3 m. There is a sheer drop of nearly 12 m from this niche to Niche 3 and to the talus slopes below.

Within Niche 2 is a nearly continuous line of shallow weathered ovoid concavities running along the back wall just above the floor line. It is within these concavities that the majority of the pictographs are found. The paintings occur in seven groups or areas (Areas A–G). Except where noted, all of the Niche 2 paintings are executed in red paint.

Area A. Only one pictograph (Fig. 12.6) is found here, in a shallow concavity. The pictograph, composed of six vertical lines, is described by Gay (1972a:29) as a "barbed sign."

Area B. The largest pictograph cluster in Niche 2, this group of paintings (Fig. 12.7) is surrounded by the other painted

areas. Within this group are twenty pictographs, including five stick figures (nos. 3, 13, 14, 17, 20), one representational human figure with plumed head (no. 19), and on the left a comb-like design (no. 1) painted in white but superimposed over red pigment traces.

Area C. This group of pictographs is 1 m to the right of Area B. Of the four pictographs (Fig. 12.8), one is a solid trilobal design (no. 1), and another is a rectangular outline surrounding a U-shaped element (no. 2).

Area D. This group of six pictographs (Fig. 12.9) is 60 cm above Area B. The paintings are grouped around a small ovoid concavity which has red pigment smeared on the lower left rim. The six pictographs occur in two's: two stick figures (nos. 2, 3), two triangle-and-slit designs (nos. 1, 6), and two solid circles (nos. 4, 5).

Area E. These two pictographs (Fig. 12.10) are 20 cm above Area C. Pictograph 1 is a stick figure; no. 2 is not identifiable.

Area F. Two pictographs (Fig. 12.11) make up this group located above Area E. Painting no. 1 is a triangle-and-slit, and

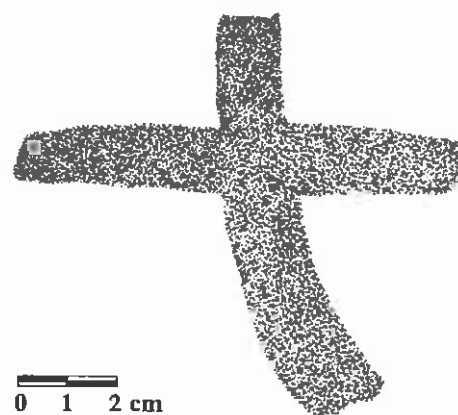


Figure 12.5. Niche 1 painting.



Figure 12.6. Niche 2: Area A painting.

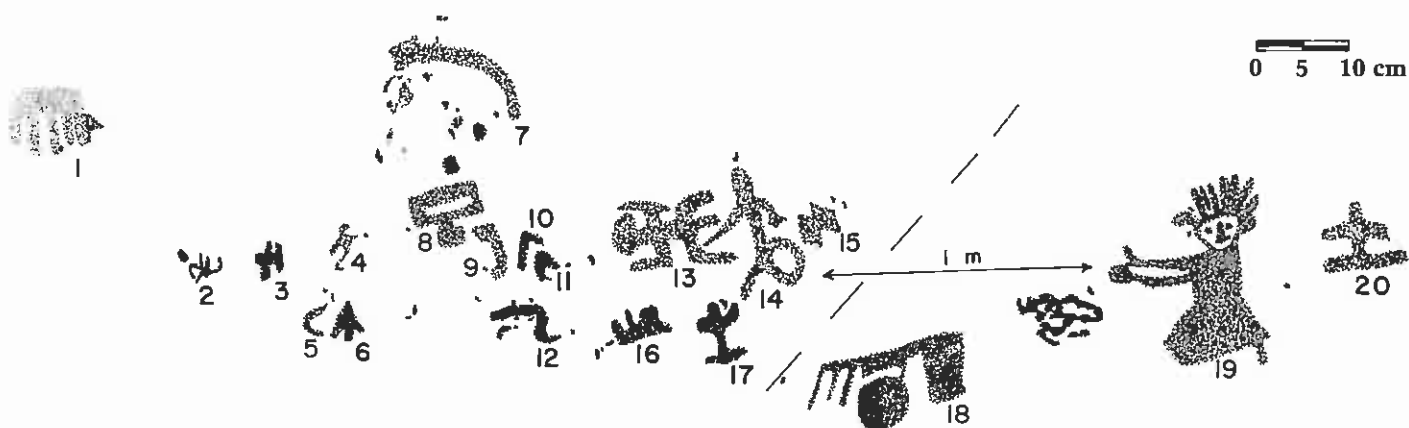


Figure 12.7. Niche 2: Area B paintings.

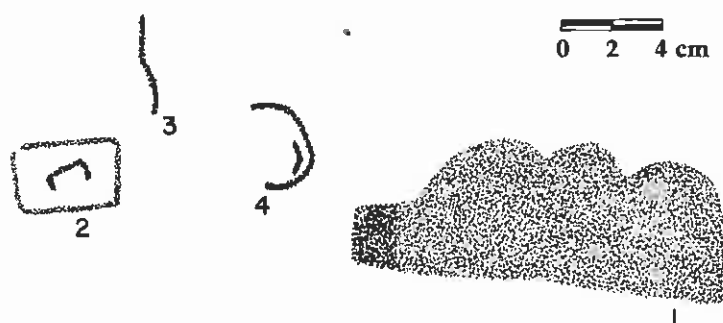


Figure 12.8. Niche 2: Area C paintings.
(Scale is approximate.)

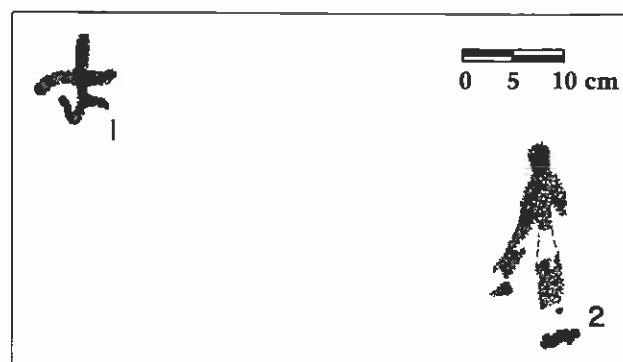


Figure 12.10. Niche 2: Area E paintings.

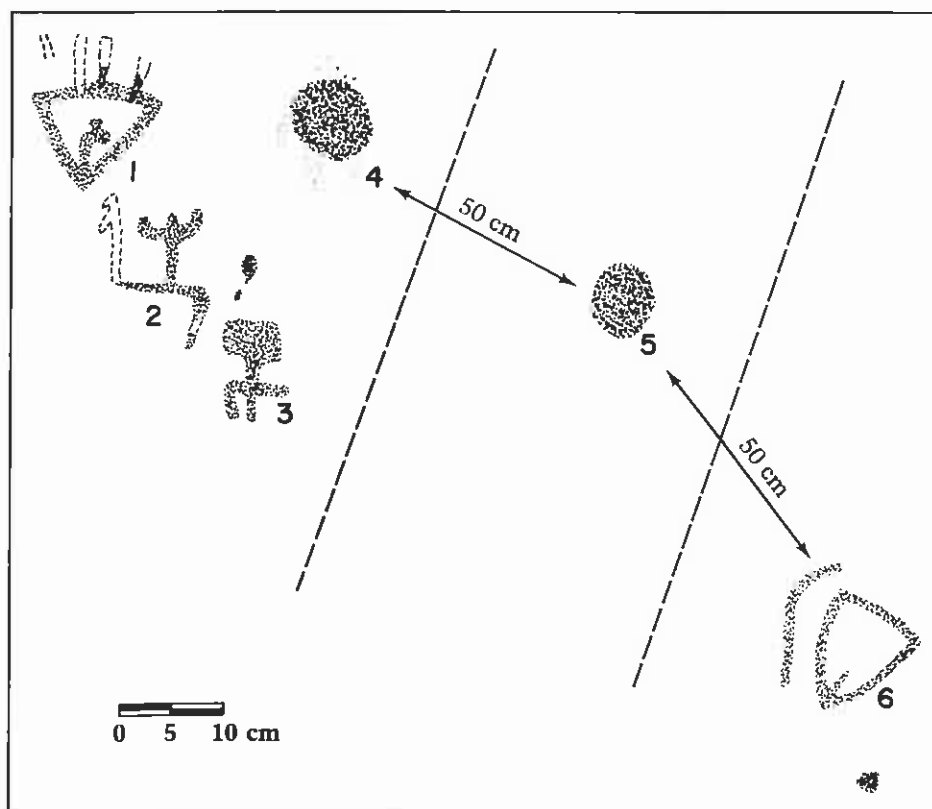


Figure 12.9. Niche 2: Area D paintings.

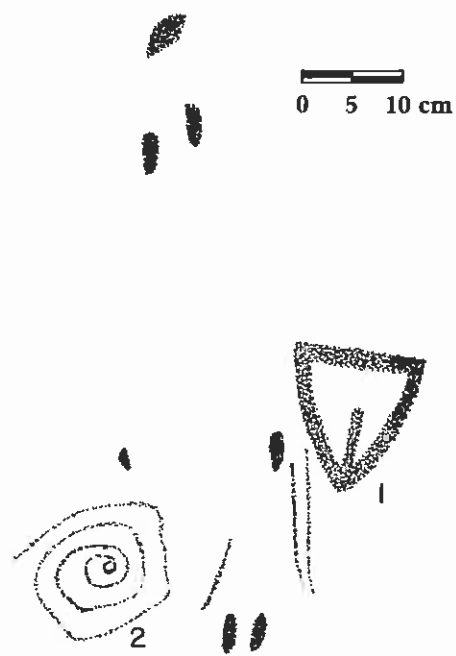


Figure 12.11. Niche 2: Area F paintings.



Figure 12.12. Niche 2: Area G paintings.

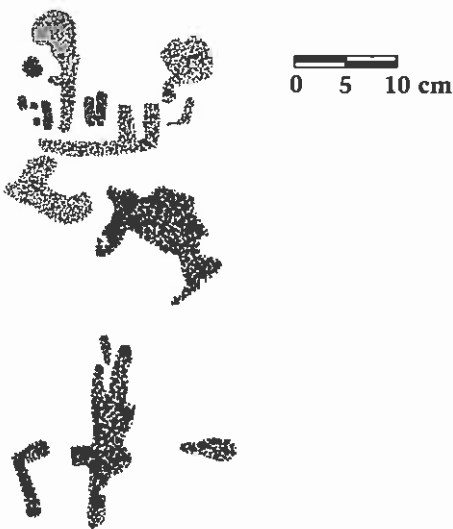


Figure 12.13. Niche 3: Area B paintings.

no. 2 is a very faint counterclockwise spiral. This latter design has been partially vandalized by a recent retracing with a red crayon. In addition, a recent drawing of a human head in profile occurs below no. 1. There are also seven small areas of red pigment and a few traces of white pigment near the two pictographs, all of which are apparently prehispanic.

Area G. Two areas of white pigment are found to the left of Area F on the wall above Area D (Fig. 12.12).

Niche 3

A long, odd-shaped niche (Gay's Shelter C) lies below and slightly south of Niche 2. Gay (1972a:29) refers to "scattered trickles of red paint" and a "red smear" in this location. Our investigations of this niche revealed two pictograph areas, nearly 12 m apart, and Gay's reference is apparently to our Area B paintings.

Area A. Three small side-by-side concavities occur at the northernmost (up-hill) end of Niche 3. Above these concavities, slightly over 1 m above the niche floor, is a spot of red pigment ca. 4 cm in diameter (not illustrated). The rock in this area is spalled, and it is difficult to ascertain if this was originally simply a red spot or perhaps a larger design.

Area B. Within a large concavity at the south end of the niche is a small cluster of red linear elements and splotches (Fig. 12.13). No definite images can be discerned.

Niche 4

This large niche (Gay's Shelter B) contains four groups of designs executed in red pigment (Areas A–D) and two large designs painted in white (Area E). It is also unique in that a "chimney" or vent runs into the ceiling of the niche at its north end.

Area A. Although the majority of the paintings in Niche 4 occur in the long, shallow concavities on the walls, this cluster of paintings is associated with the "chimney" in the ceiling. Twelve pictographs were found along the upper rim of the opening (Fig. 12.14) and seem to cluster around a central pictograph (no. 1). This pictograph resembles a weathervane rooster, although it is basically a double curved line surrounding a circle. Pictographs 3, 4, 8, and 12 are possibly eroded stick figures; nos. 5, 6, 7, 10, and 11 are unidentifiable, perhaps due to erosion; and nos. 2 and 9 are splotches of paint. A further area of red paint is found to the right of no. 12.

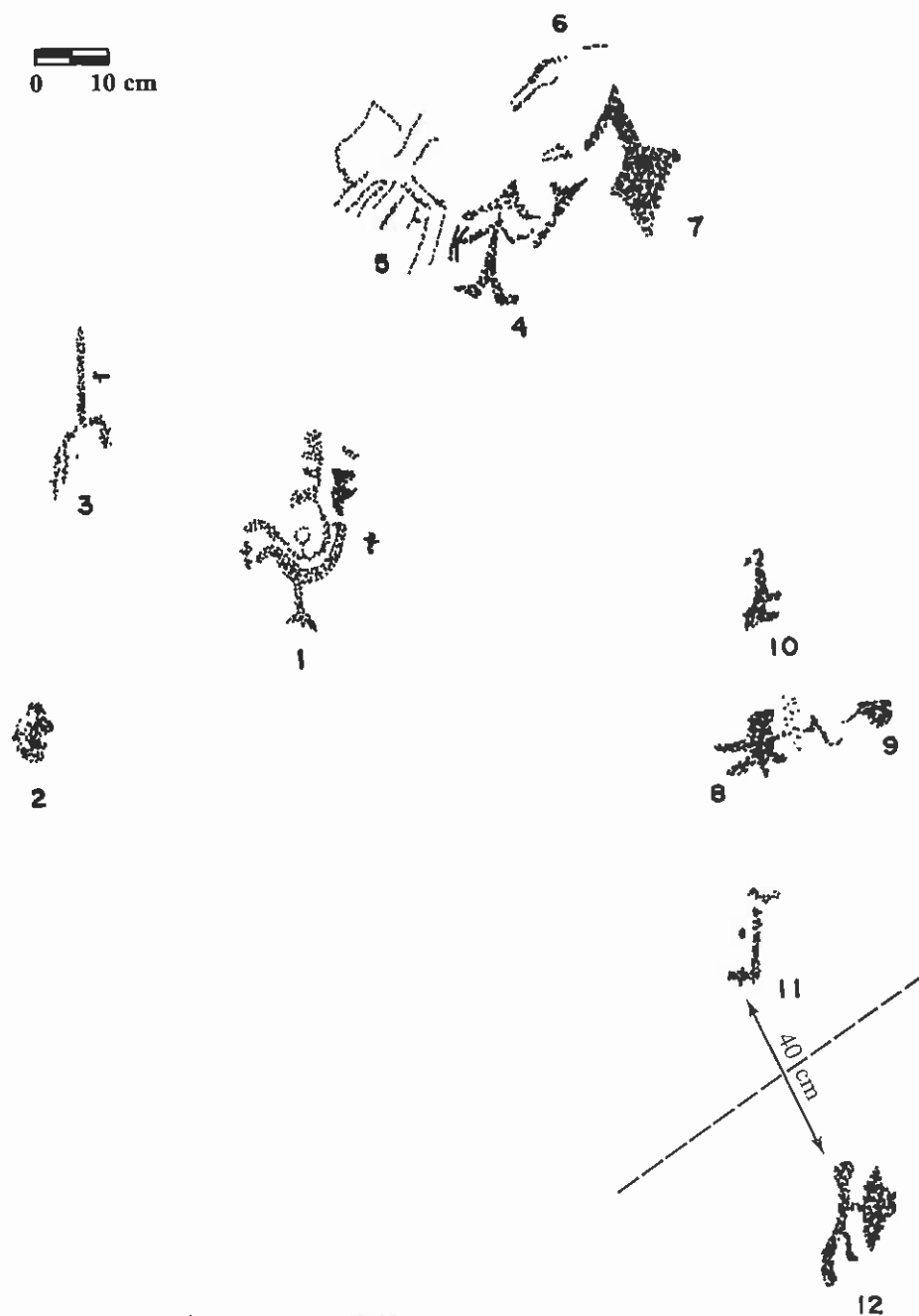


Figure 12.14. Niche 4: Area A paintings.

Area B. Situated along the curving wall at the north end of the niche, this group (Fig. 12.15) is composed primarily of stick figures (nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13). In addition there is a group of horizontal V's (no. 2), other simple linear motifs (nos. 3, 11), an unidentifiable design (no. 14), and, near the left edge of the "chimney," a double inverted U motif (no. 15). The similarity of this last motif to the Olmec earth glyph has been pointed out by Gay (1972a: 26), although because these paintings cannot presently be dated and may actually belong to the Classic period, the similarity could be coincidental.

Area C. Three small designs (Fig. 12.16), quite difficult to see, occur to the right of Area A. Two are small stick figures (nos. 1 and 2), and the third (no. 3) appears to be a small inverted U motif, although other paint traces around this design indicate that it may have originally been part of a larger painting.

Area D. At the south (entrance) end of the niche, about 2 m above the steeply sloping floor, is a deep concavity with a cluster of seventeen small pictographs (Fig. 12.17). These include one small positive handprint (no. 12) and what may be a partial handprint (no. 8, three fingers). Also visible are two stick figures (nos. 2 and 4), some unidentifiable designs (nos. 1, 9, and 17), eight red splotches, and a small concavity with a single red dot (no. 10).

Area E. Two large white designs are found on the rock face below and about 2 m south of Area D, at the access point to Niche 4. They resemble a large crescent (no. 1) and a very large bird (no. 2) (Fig. 12.18). The size of these paintings is such that they are visible from the Plaza Central area of the site. Their execution in white suggests that they may be contemporaneous with the white Post-classic paintings of Texcalpintado and Yecapixtla.

Niche 5

Niche 5 (Gay's Shelter A) is near the southern end of the cliff face. It is formed by an overhang of the rock face which shelters two ledges. Within the niche are eight pictographs in three areas.

Area A. There are four pictographs here: a large smear (no. 1) within a small ovoid concavity (the concavity also has pigment smeared along its rim), small linear elements of no definite pattern (nos. 2 and 3), and two vertical lines (no. 4) (Fig. 12.19).

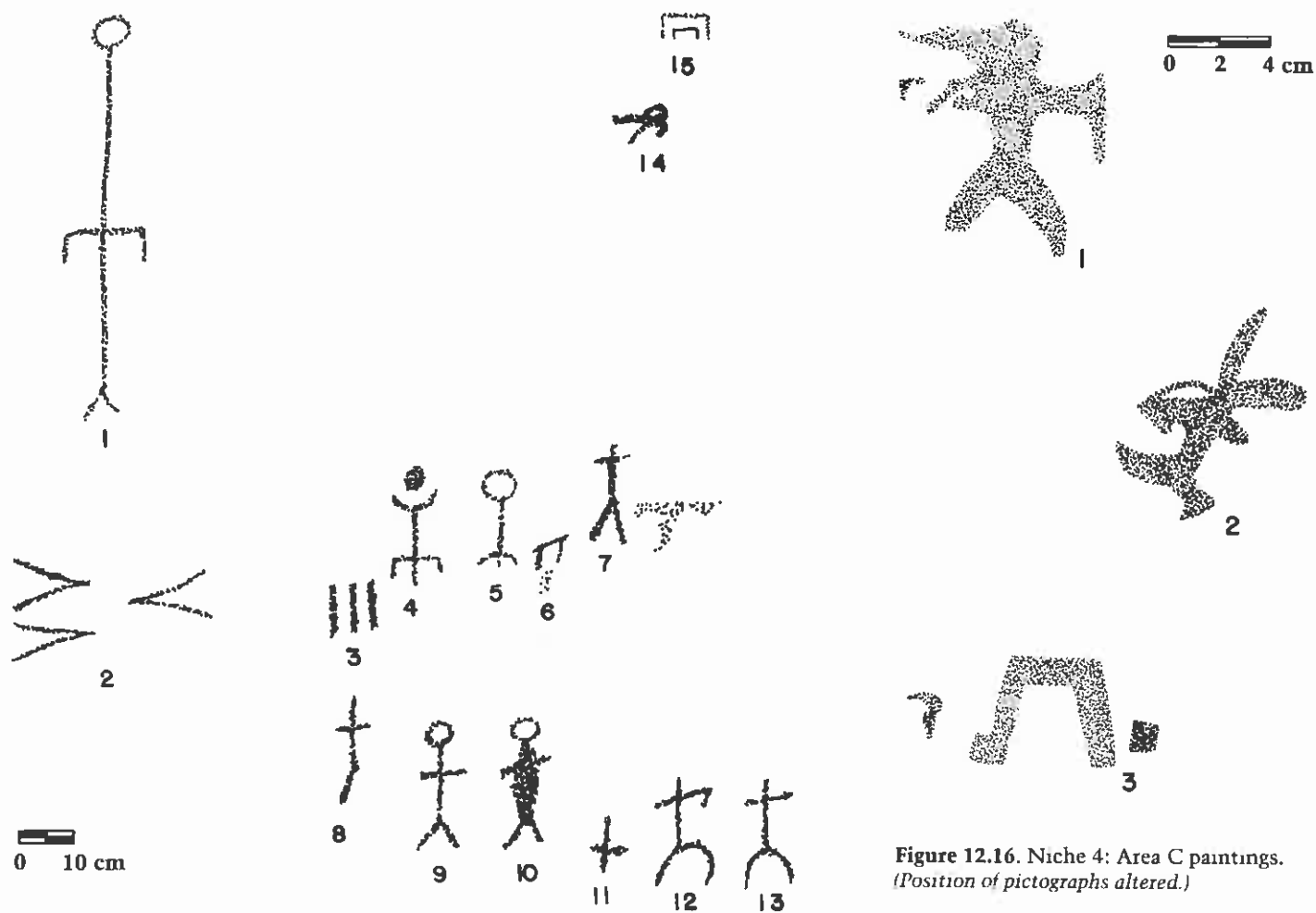


Figure 12.15. Niche 4: Area B paintings.

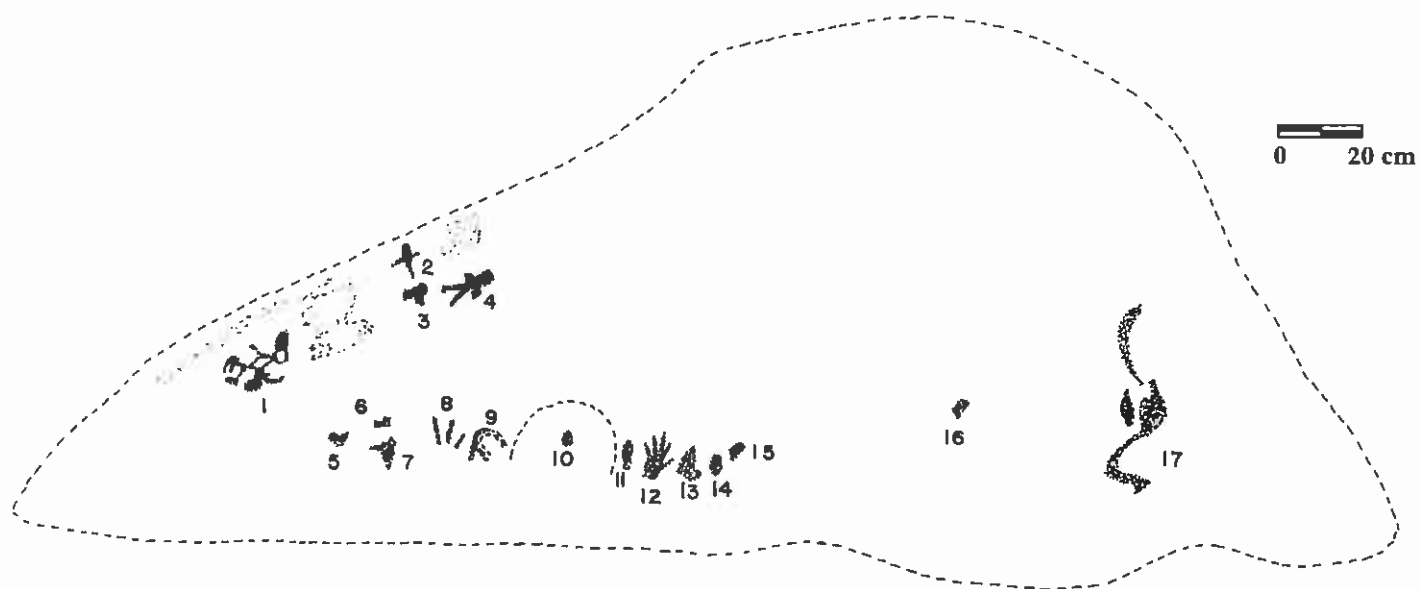


Figure 12.17. Niche 4: Area D paintings.



Figure 12.18. Niche 4: Area E paintings.

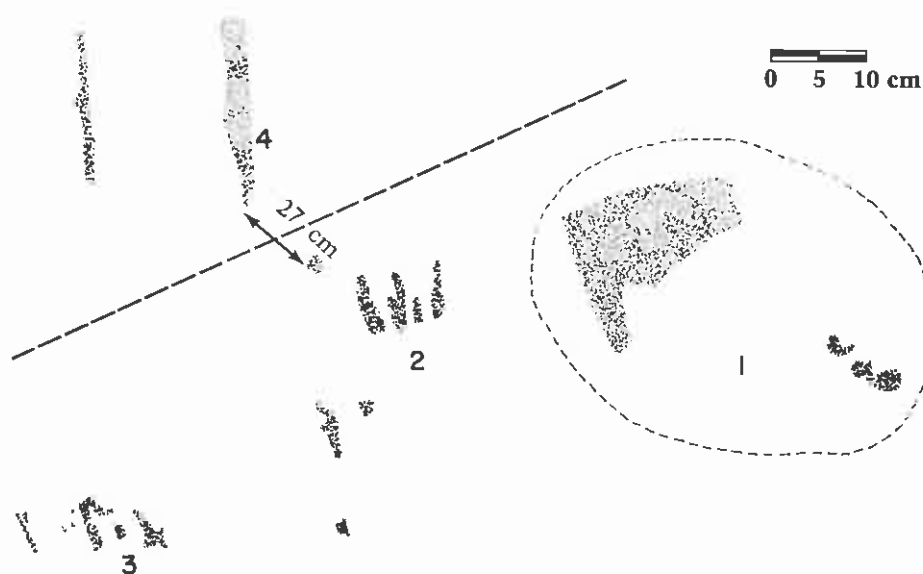


Figure 12.19. Niche 5: Area A paintings.

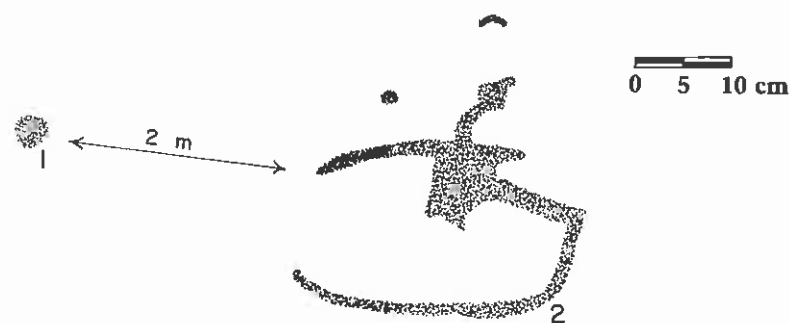


Figure 12.20. Niche 5: Area B paintings.

Area B. This area has two pictographs: a solid circle (no. 1) and a rectangular outline with a solid splotch of paint in the center of its top line (no. 2) (Fig. 12.20). Area B is above and to the east of Area A, while Area C is almost directly above Area A.

Area C. The remaining two pictographs are an up-pointing arrow (no. 1) and a down-pointing comb-like depiction (no. 2) (Fig. 12.21).

Niche 6

About 2 m below Niche 5 the rock face makes a curve. Here there are six small concavities caused by weathering. The fourth concavity from the left contains an irregular area of red pigment ca. 50 cm in length (not illustrated).

The North Shelters

Three groupings of pictographs occur on rocks or rock clusters (shelters) adjacent to the terraces on the western slopes of the Cerro Delgado.

North Shelter 1

Near the center of the small unnumbered terrace immediately above (northeast) of T-4 and approximately 100 m northwest of the saddle area's painted niches is a large boulder resting upon two other rocks, with a low exposed underside canted at an angle of about 30° (Fig. 12.22). The low (ca. 1 m tall) shelter thus formed faces northwest. The underside of the rock is heavily blackened from smoke, but faint traces of red pigment (not illustrated) show from beneath the carbon deposit. No designs could be ascertained.

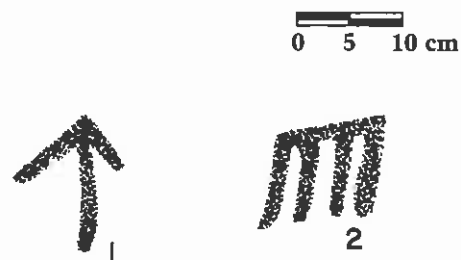


Figure 12.21. Niche 5: Area C paintings.

North Shelter 2

A large rockfall of boulders is found along the Cerro Delgado's talus slopes north of T-4. Within this rockfall, facing northwest onto T-10 is a large rock slab tilted at about 60° (Fig. 12.23). Thirteen pictographs are found on the underside of this sloping rock (Fig. 12.24). Twelve of them are executed in white pigment, while the thirteenth (no. 7) is done in a yellowish paint. Most of the pictographs occur as a cluster (nos. 3–11). Pictographs 1 and 2 are above the cluster; nos. 12 and 13 are below it. Pictographs 1, 2, and 5 are four-legged stick figures; nos. 4, 10, and 12 are irregular stick figures; no. 7, in yellow, is a pear-shaped outline with a stick figure on its narrow end and with its interior crisscrossed by perpendicular lines; no. 6 is a stick figure associated with a solid crescent, splotch, and linear elements. Pictographs on the right side of the central cluster are rectangular outlines (no. 3 and no. 8, which has a dot in its center). The bottommost pictograph in the central group (no. 11) consists of two parts: an outline rectangle below and an irregular crescent shape above.



Figure 12.23. North Shelter 2.



Figure 12.22. North Shelter 1.

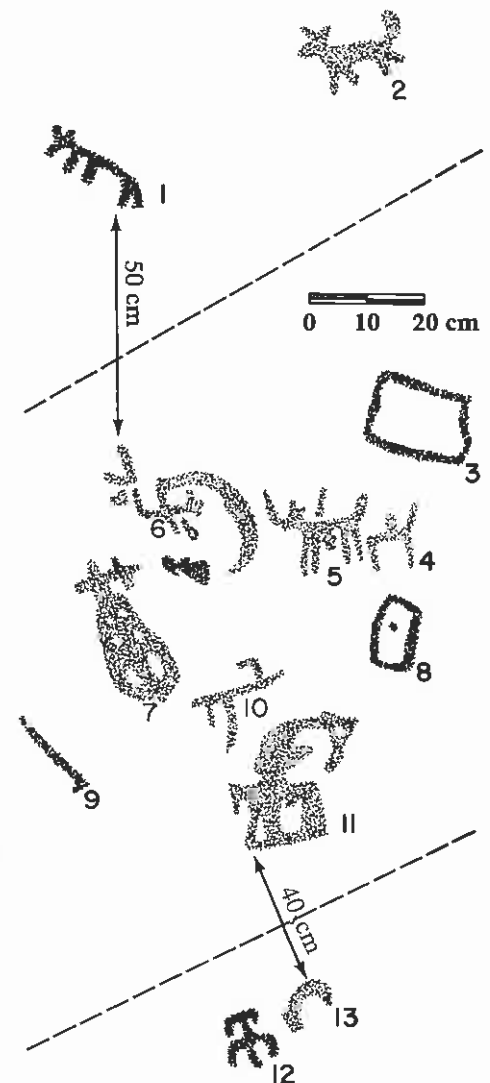


Figure 12.24. North Shelter 2 paintings.

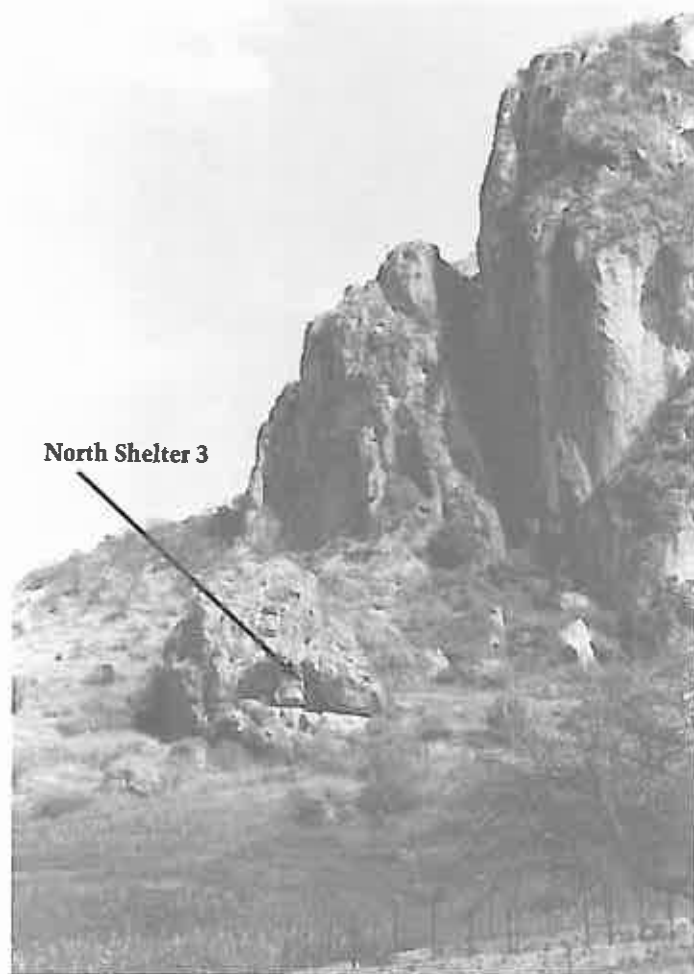


Figure 12.25. Rock mass at base of Cerro Delgado (*center foreground*) showing location of North Shelter 3.

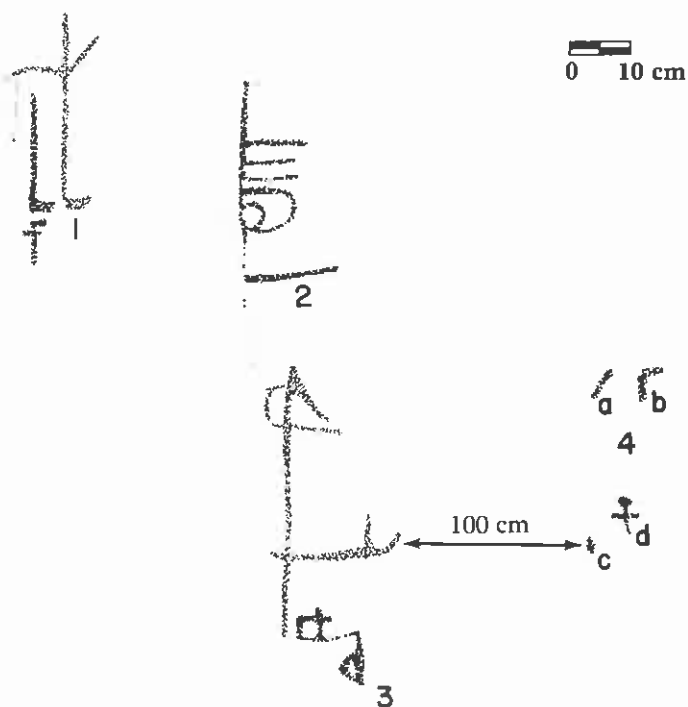


Figure 12.26. North Shelter 3: Area A paintings.

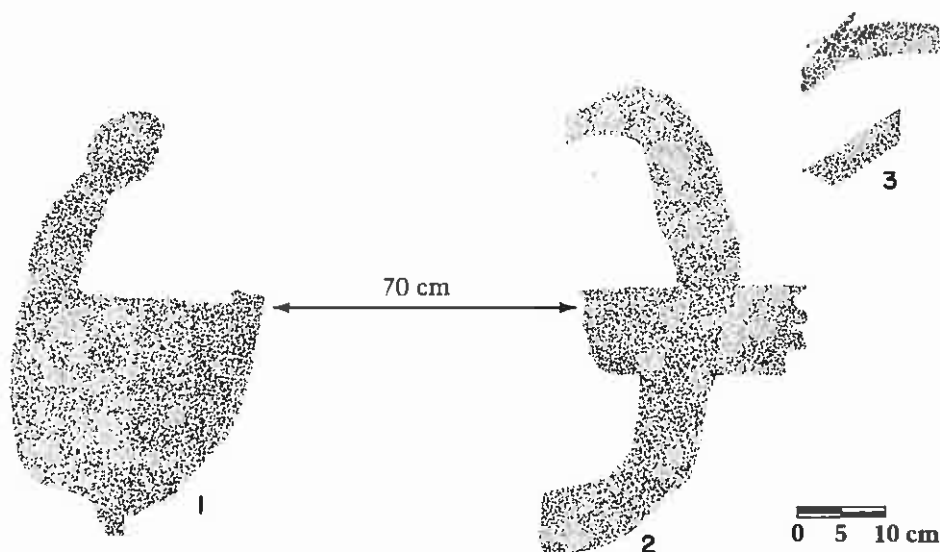


Figure 12.27. North Shelter 3: Area B paintings.

North Shelter 3

This shelter is part of a large rockfall cluster at the northern edge of T-20 (Fig. 12.25). A tall, narrow shelter is formed by the westernmost two rocks of the cluster, and pictographs occur at the west-facing mouth of the shelter and within the shelter itself.

Area A. Four pictographs are found at the mouth of the shelter on the right side (Fig. 12.26). Pictographs 1, 2, and 3 are complex, composed of linear elements which are difficult to discern clearly. Pictograph 4, 1 m to the right of nos. 1–3, is a cluster of four discrete elements, of which no. 4d is a simple cruciform stick figure.

Area B. Further inside the shelter, on the south wall, are paintings executed in

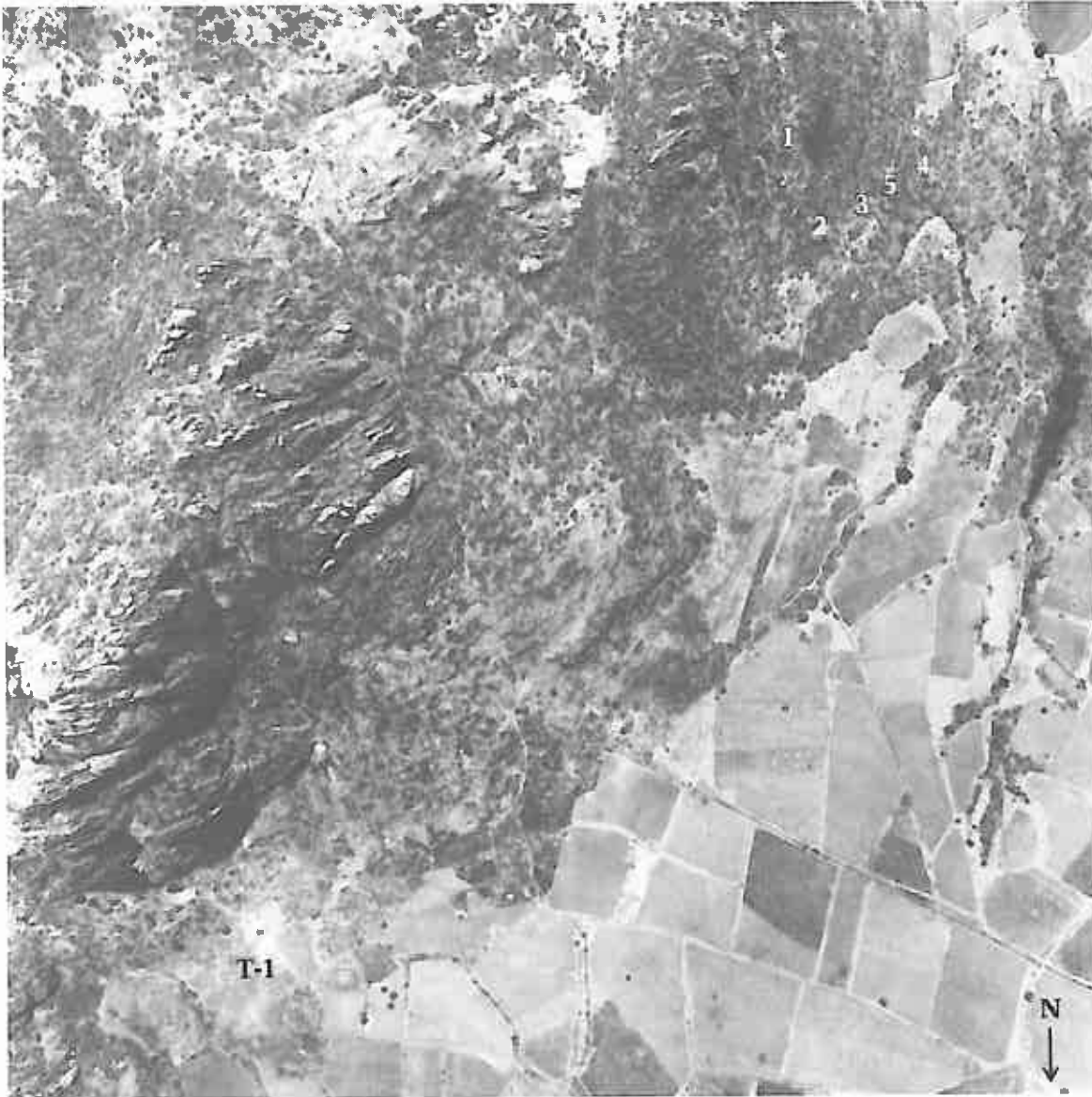


Figure 12.28. Aerial view of western side of Cerro Delgado showing locations of the South Shelters.

white pigment in relatively large, thick lines (Fig. 12.27). Pictograph 1 is a solid semicircle with a curved line coming up out of the left side, no. 2 is a curved line with a short perpendicular line intersecting it at its center, and no. 3 consists of two short lines.

The South Shelters

Rockfalls and minor outcrops of granodiorite occur in the field to the southwest of the Cerro Chalcatzingo, about 1 km south of the southernmost extent of the occupation zone, S-39 (Fig. 12.28). Of the "shelters" formed by these rocks and outcrops, we have found five with paintings (Fig. 12.29), all executed in red pigment, with one including superimposed white designs.

South Shelter 1

A west-facing shelter, on the boulder-jumbled western slopes of the Cerro Chalcatzingo, is formed by a massive stone slab resting at an angle of ca. 45° on several large boulders. The underside of the rock slab and several other rocks in this cluster are blackened by heavy carbon deposits, suggesting that the shelter had been utilized in the past. Spalled rock and smaller stones cover any traces of a possible occupation floor.

All of the nine pictographs in this shelter (Fig. 12.30) are painted in a dark red pigment. These paintings all occur on the side of one of the northern boulders supporting the shelter's massive roof slab. Pictographs 3, 4, and 7 are concentric circles (nos. 3 and 4 have three



Figure 12.29. South Shelters 1–5.

circles and no. 7 has two). Pictograph 1 is a small counterclockwise spiral; no. 5 is an outline funnel shape; no. 6 is a zigzag; and nos. 2 and 8 are vertical lines; and no. 9 is an irregular form. Paintings 1 and 2 are to the left of the main cluster.

South Shelter 2

This shelter, part of a massive boulder group about 300 m below South Shelter 1 and partially visible from S-39, has three clusters of red paintings, all executed on one large boulder in this group. Area A's pictographs occur on the boulder's north face, while those of Areas B and C are on the west face. The Area C pictographs are sheltered by a second, overhanging rock.

Area A. There are fourteen pictographs in this group (Figs. 12.31, 12.32). They include four groups of curved lines (nos. 1, 4, 5, and 8), three stick figures (nos. 2, 10, and 14, the latter two being relatively complex), a circle outline (no. 6), a small sunburst (no. 7), a slanted line (no. 9), four linear forms with right angles (nos. 11–14), and a splotch of pigment (no. 3).

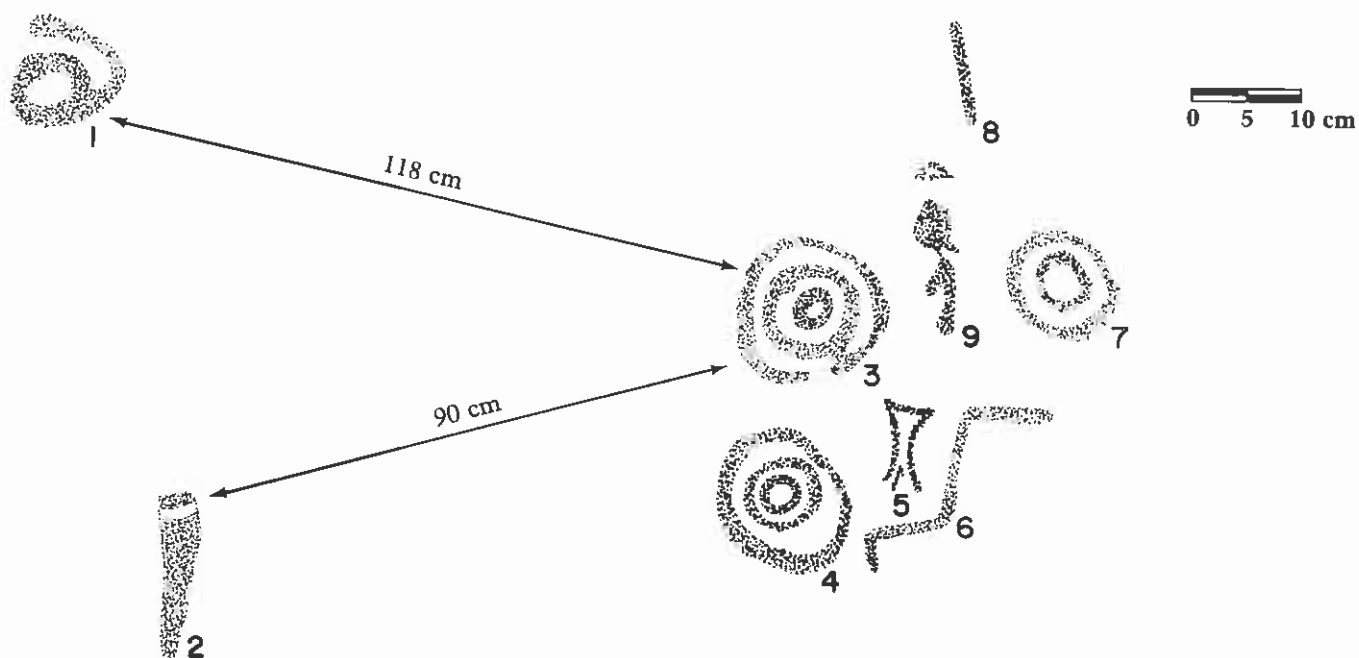


Figure 12.30. South Shelter 1 paintings.

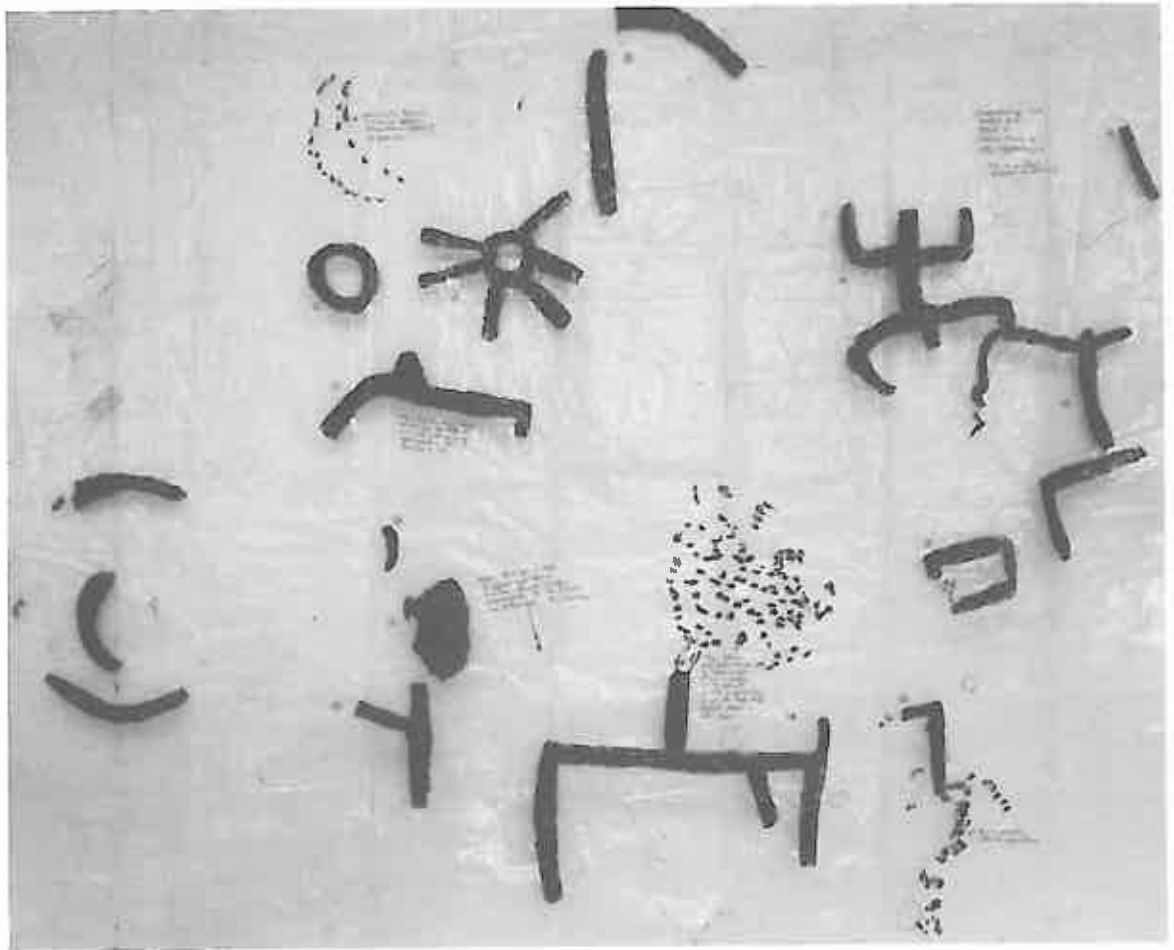


Figure 12.31. South Shelter 2: Area A paintings (pliofilm tracing).

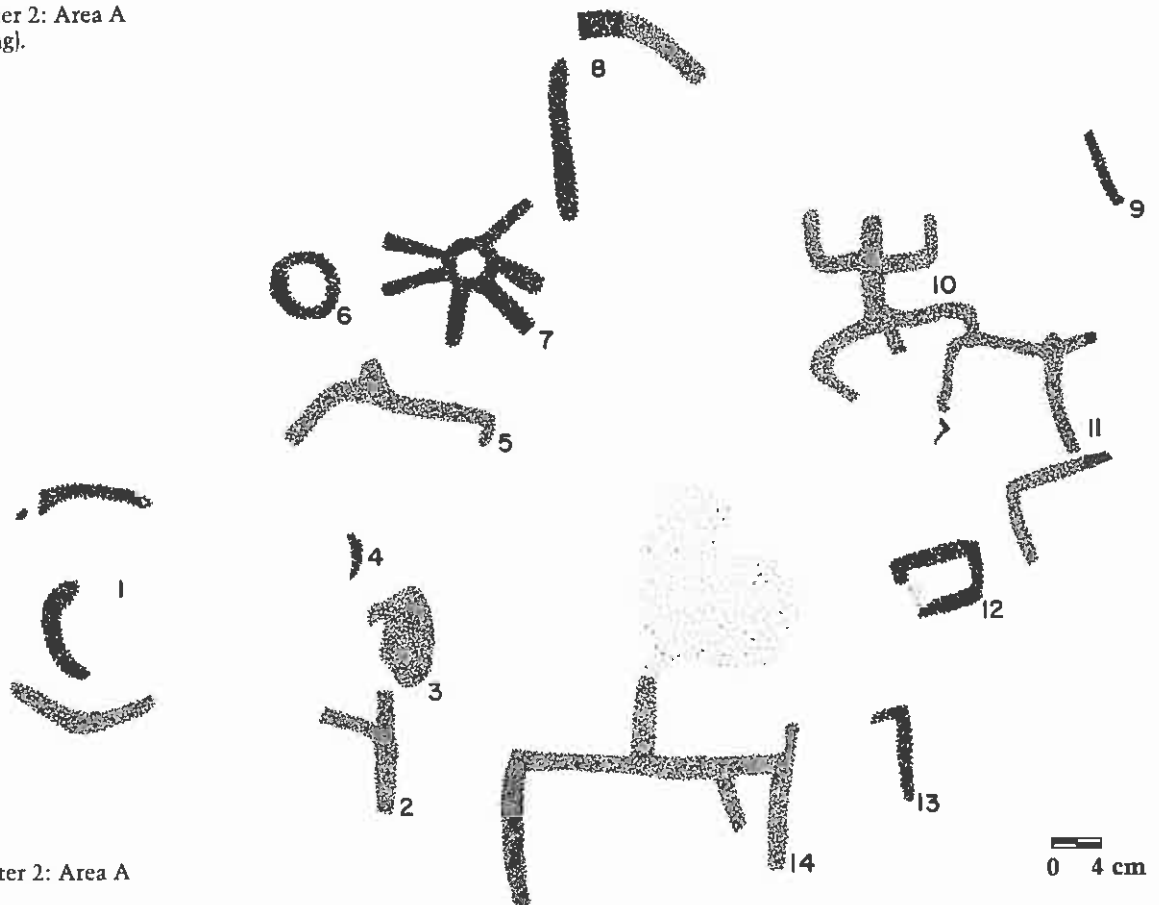


Figure 12.32. South Shelter 2: Area A paintings.

Area B. There are four pictographs in this group (Fig. 12.33). Pictograph 1 is a large, complex stick figure with six "fingers" at the end of each crossbar; no. 2 is a solid, upside-down funnel shape; and no. 3 is a symmetrical cluster of design elements. From top to bottom the elements of no. 3 are: *a*, a boat-shaped solid painting; *b* and *c*, crosses, one on each side of and below no. 3*a*; *d*, a micro-cluster of even smaller elements—rectangles, lines, and dots; *e* and *f*, lines that curve down and outward at the bottom of the cluster. Pictograph 4 is also complex. It is composed of an outline oval connected by a curved line to an outline crescent. Both outline shapes contain dots and lines within them.

Area C. Twenty-two pictographs are found in this area (Fig. 12.34). Pictograph 1 is a curved comb-like element atop an outline circle; no. 6 is three nesting squared-U motifs; no. 3 is a hook-shaped line with three associated dots; no. 2 resembles an upside-down small letter *e*; no. 7 is a cluster of small, vertically oriented curving and straight lines; no. 10 is an L-shape with a splotch of paint on one end; no. 12 is a cluster of small lines and splotches; nos. 5, 11, and 22 are short, straight lines; no. 14 is a thick, irregular vertical line; no. 15 is highly eroded, but was probably originally two concentric circles; no. 17 is a sunburst; no. 18 is a vertical line with downslanting lines coming off it on both sides; no. 19 is a backward C-shape, more incurved than a crescent; no. 20 is a stick figure; and no. 21 is a cluster of three vertical lines—the one on the right has other, perpendicular lines attached and is thus a stick figure as well. There are also five small crosses (nos. 4, 8, 9, 13, and 16).

South Shelter 3

Near the base of the hill slope, about 100 m below South Shelter 2, is another large boulder group, again with a west-facing overhang that creates a shelter. Some traces of red pigment can be found on the outer surface of the overhang near the shelter's south end. Within the shelter are several faded splotches of red pigment. The only identifiable pictograph in the shelter's south end is an outlined circle within which is a smaller, solid circle (placed off-center, Fig. 12.35). In the north section of the shelter a cruciform pictograph (not illustrated) occurs at the right edge of a small but deep concavity in the rock.

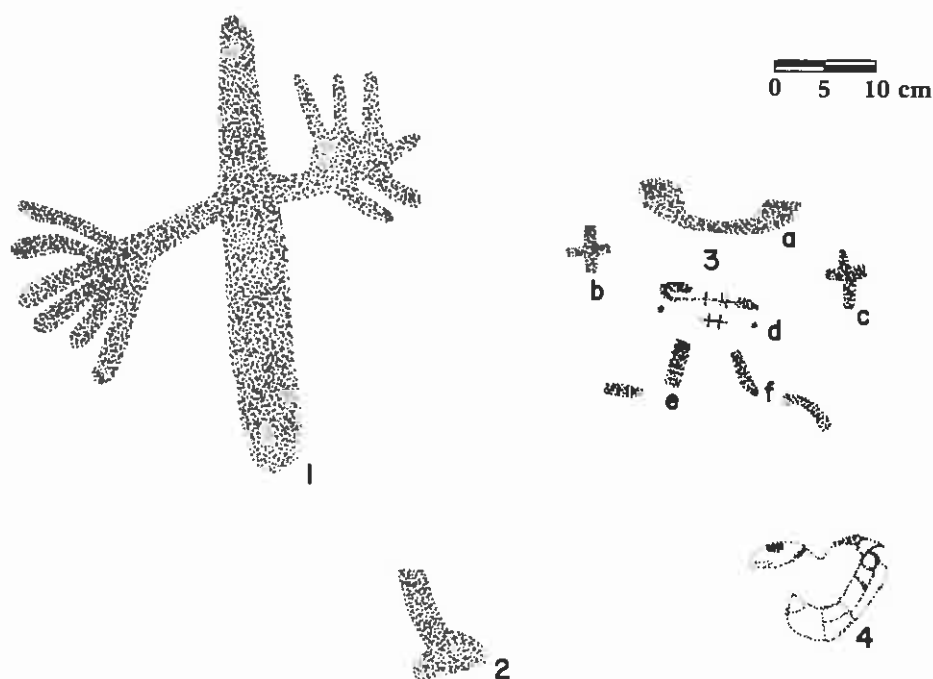


Figure 12.33. South Shelter 2: Area B paintings.

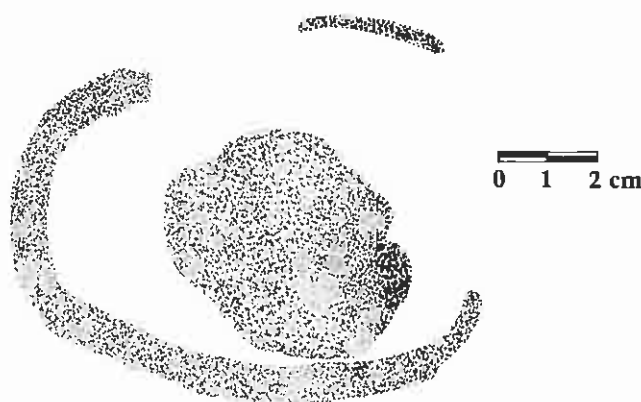


Figure 12.35. South Shelter 3 painting.

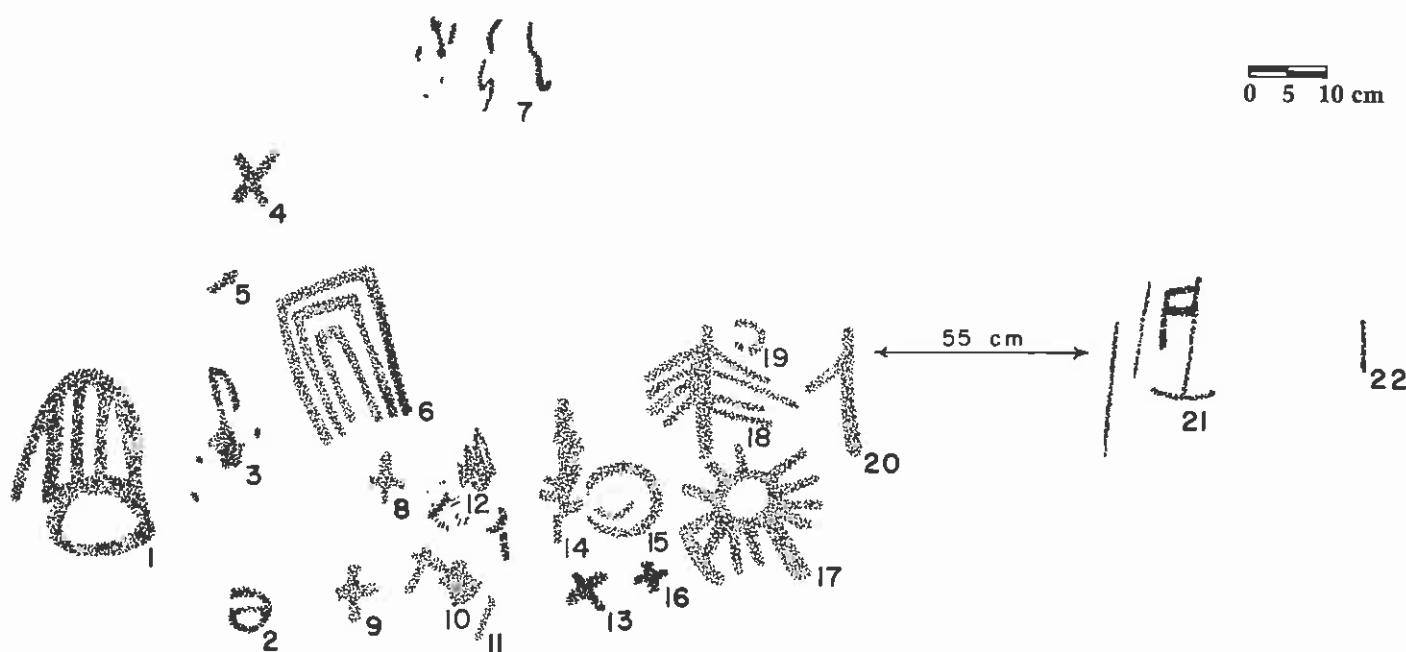


Figure 12.34. South Shelter 2: Area C paintings.

South Shelter 4

Between South Shelter 3 and the small creek is a group of massive boulders. The angular sloping west face of the huge central boulder forms a tall but shallow shelter. The only painting discernable here occurs at the south edge of the overhang and consists of five faded vertical parallel red lines (not illustrated). The lines were each originally about 16–18 cm in length (three have been partially destroyed by exfoliation of the stone), and about 1–2 cm wide. They are spaced 3–4 cm apart.

South Shelter 5

This shelter, about 40 m south of Shelter 4, is actually a deep cave formed between two great boulders. The cave, which contains bats, can be entered only from the south. Unlike the other South Shelters, the two painted areas here occur on the eastward-facing wall. The innermost painted area is too faded to discern any motifs, and only traces of red pigment can be noted. The painted area nearest the entrance, also in red and likewise faded, does include a recognizable positive handprint (not illustrated). White paintings with no clear motifs are superimposed over the red pictographs.

The Cerro Delgado Caves

Because of their extremely difficult accessibility, the upper cliffs and caves of the western face of the Cerro Delgado and the plateau on the eastern side of the *cerro* represent site areas seldom visited by anyone in recent years. One very agile villager discovered a way to scale the lower western cliff faces, thus gaining access to firewood sources not available to most villagers. In 1973 he informed the project directors that paintings existed in the caves visible high on the upper portions of the *cerro*'s western face. With the aid of a rope, Grove climbed the *cerro* with the informant and viewed the paintings in Caves 3 and 19. More paintings were found by the informant in subsequent weeks, further ascents were made, and serious investigations of the Cerro Delgado caves were begun.

From the access area, after the initial climb up the sharply sloping cliff face, the path to the upper western face of the *cerro* follows a series of narrow ledges. In some areas the ascents between ledges are aided by small pecked steps and hand-holds which are apparently prehispanic, indicating that the project's route was the original highly treacherous and defensible route used in the past. Several of the ledges midway up the

cerro are wide and sheltered by overhanging cliff faces; these have a surface scatter of artifacts, including stone grinding tools and sherds (e.g., Cave 22). Occupation debris also occurs in several of the caves situated adjacent to the upper talus area high on the *cerro*.

The cave area is still inaccessible to visitors today. The ascent is dangerous and should not be attempted without proper equipment, a skilled guide, and the permission of INAH.

The numbering system used in the following description of the painting groups derives from reconnaissance, collecting, and investigation of the caves. The numbers were assigned to the caves in the order in which they were studied and not for their convenience in discussing the painted art. The discussion below will first consider paintings on the western cliffs (Caves 3, 5, 6, 7, 19, 20, 23, 24, and 25) (Fig. 12.36). This will be followed by a discussion of the eastern plateau and painted Caves 1, 2, 9, 12, and 16 (Fig. 12.37).

Western Caves

Cave 3: The red painted designs here are restricted to one area of the cave's sharply sloping back wall, slightly above the present level of the cave floor. They occur in two groups:

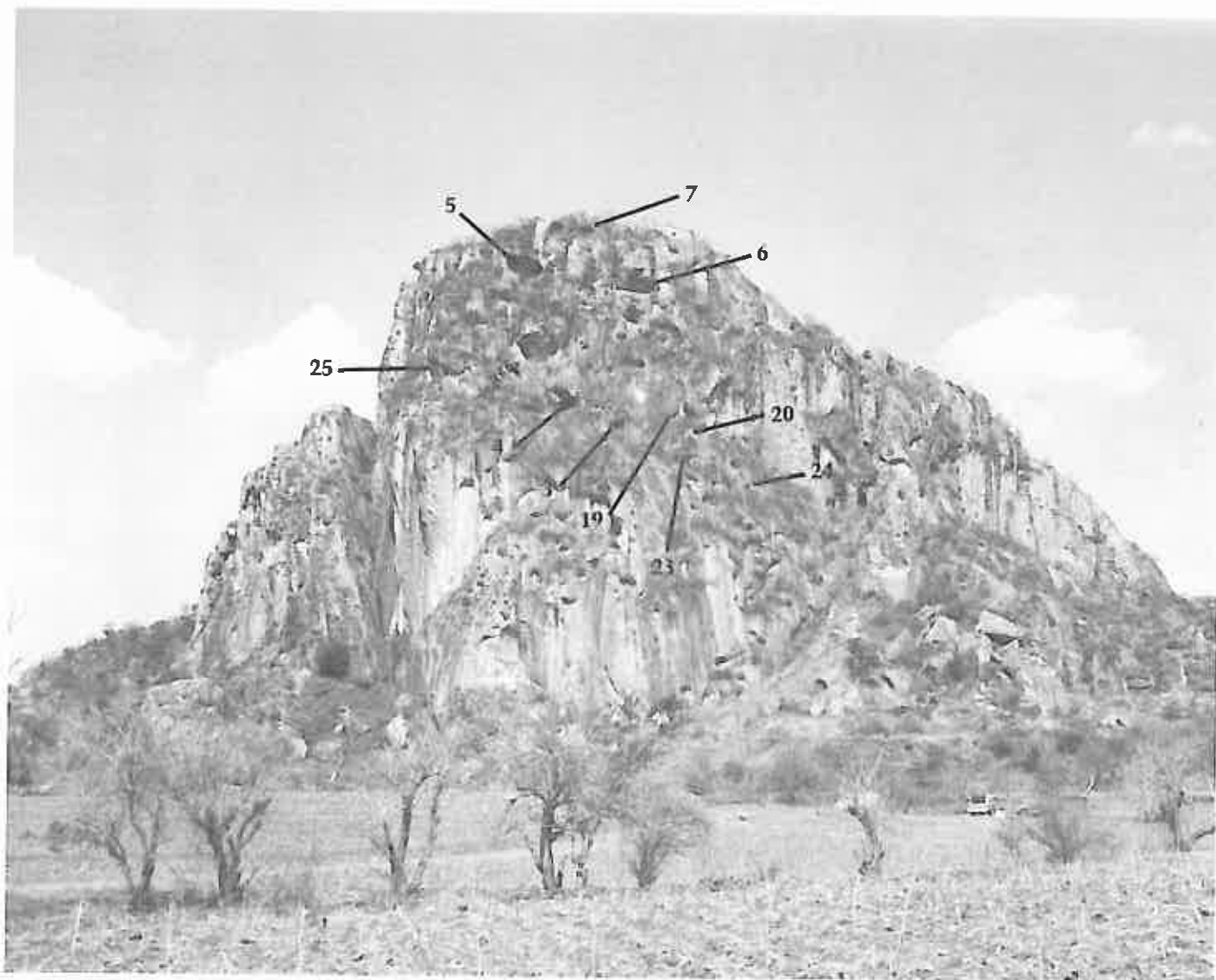


Figure 12.36. Western face of Cerro Delgado showing numbered caves.



Figure 12.37. Eastern face of Cerro Delgado showing numbered caves. (Caves 9 and 12 are not shown.)

Area A. There are six pictographs here (Fig. 12.38): no. 1 is a child's solid positive left handprint; no. 2 is a splotch of paint; no. 3 consists of two stick figures connected by a long horizontal line; and nos. 4, 5, and 6 are stick figures which are more anthropomorphic-zoomorphic than those previously described from other areas of the site. Pictograph 4 may represent a lizard or other long-tailed animal, and nos. 5 and 6 appear to be human representations.

Area B. This area is about 30 cm below Area A, and has seven pictographs (Fig. 12.39): nos. 1 and 7 are solid splotches of paint, although no. 1 may once have had a discernible shape; nos. 2, 3, 4, and 6 are anthropomorphic stick figures like those in Area A (above), no. 6 having a semi-circular "plumed" corona above the figure; and no. 5 is a sunburst with a dot in the center and an elongated lower ray.

Cave 5: This cave, one of the uppermost on the *cerro*, is deeper than caves 6 or 7, the two other high caves. Cave 5 is below and to the left of Cave 7 (see Fig. 12.36). Its mouth is about 12 m tall and 10 m wide, and the cave has a depth of ca. 14 m. There are ten pictographs here, occurring in two groups:

Area A. This group, near the left side of the cave mouth, has three pictographs (Fig. 12.40): no. 1 is a solid circle with three outline lobes attached to it in a petal-like fashion. Due to weathering, the base and right side of this pictograph cannot be discerned. Pictograph 2 is a positive, solid right handprint with a small solid circle near the thumb, and no. 3 is a negative adult right handprint.

Area B. This group is near the rear of the cave and consists of seven pictographs (Fig. 12.41): nos. 1 and 2 are negative adult right handprints (no. 2 includes negative lines on two sides of the hand); no. 3 is an elongated oval and associated dot; nos. 4 and 5 are a child's left and right positive handprints, which may have belonged to a single individual; and no. 7 is two parallel lines. Pictograph 6 is extremely complex. It is a composite design with two symmetrical linear element clusters (*a* and *b*): no. 6*a* is composed of three vertical lines topped by a comb-like element that projects out to the sides, and its center is crossed by horizontal lines; no. 6*b*, partially destroyed by spalling, is composed of one vertical line topped by a comb-like element, with a horizontal line intersecting the vertical line near its base. Clusters

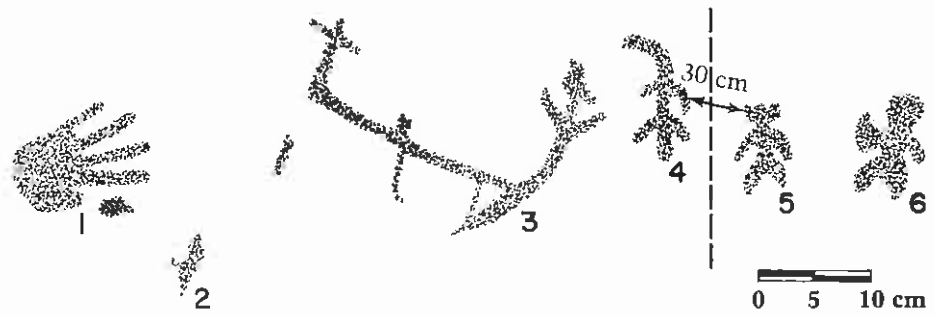


Figure 12.38. Cave 3: Area A paintings.

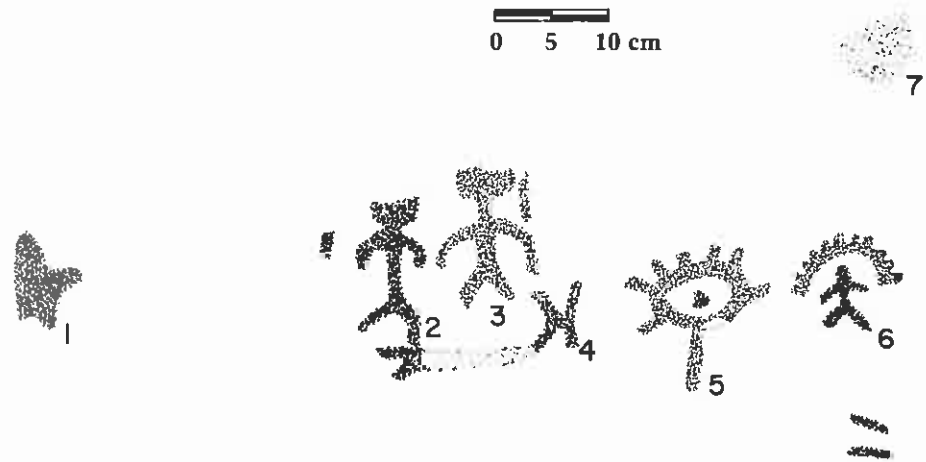


Figure 12.39. Cave 3: Area B paintings.

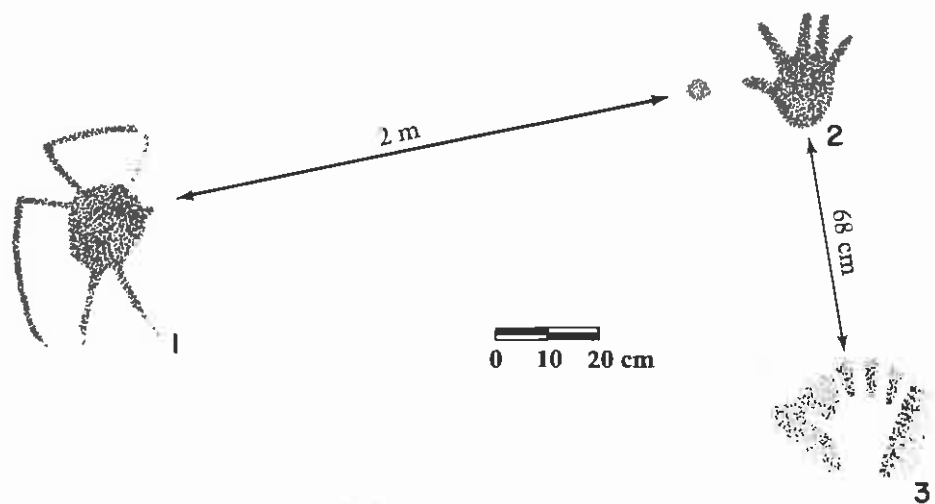


Figure 12.40. Cave 5: Area A paintings.

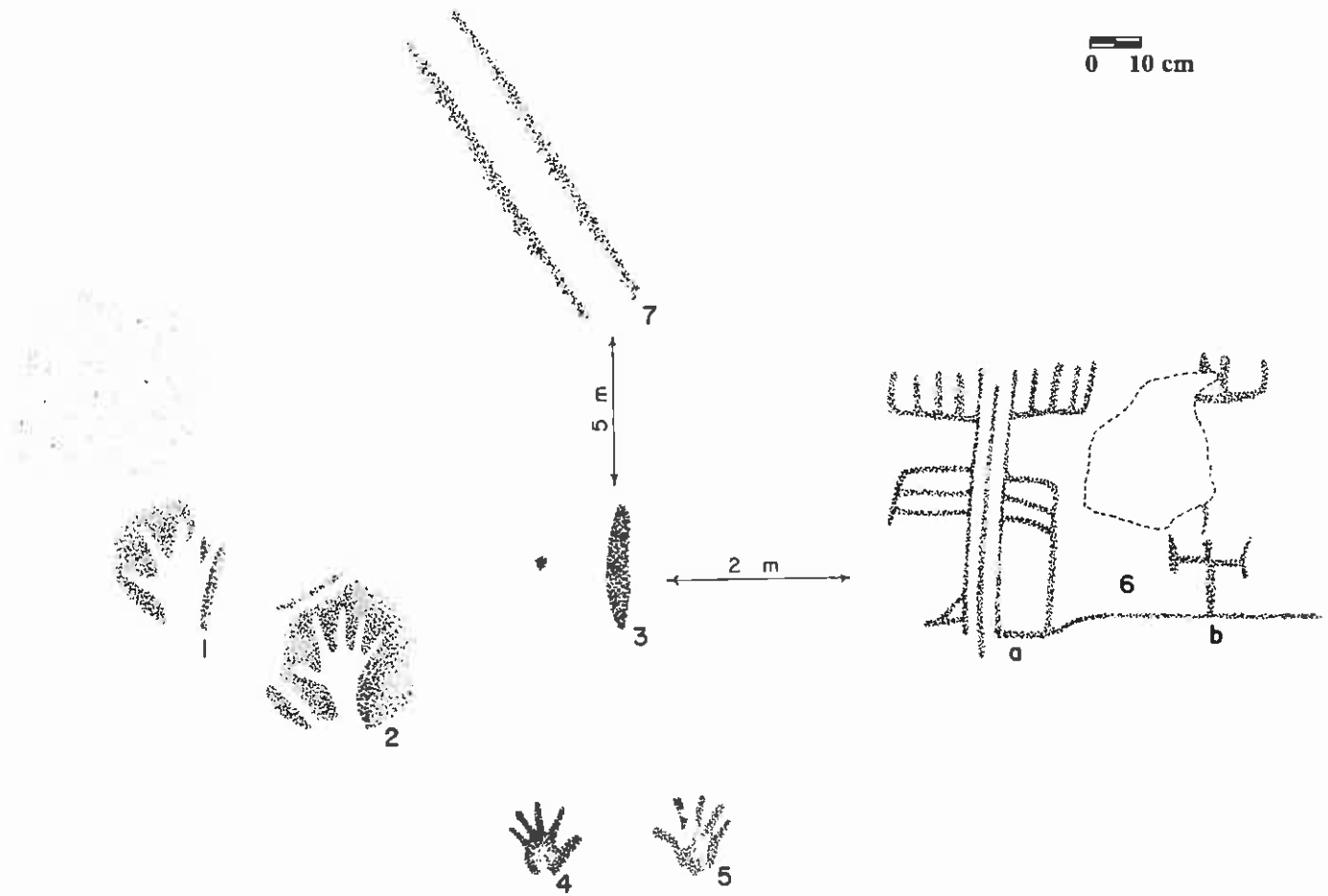


Figure 12.41. Cave 5: Area B paintings.

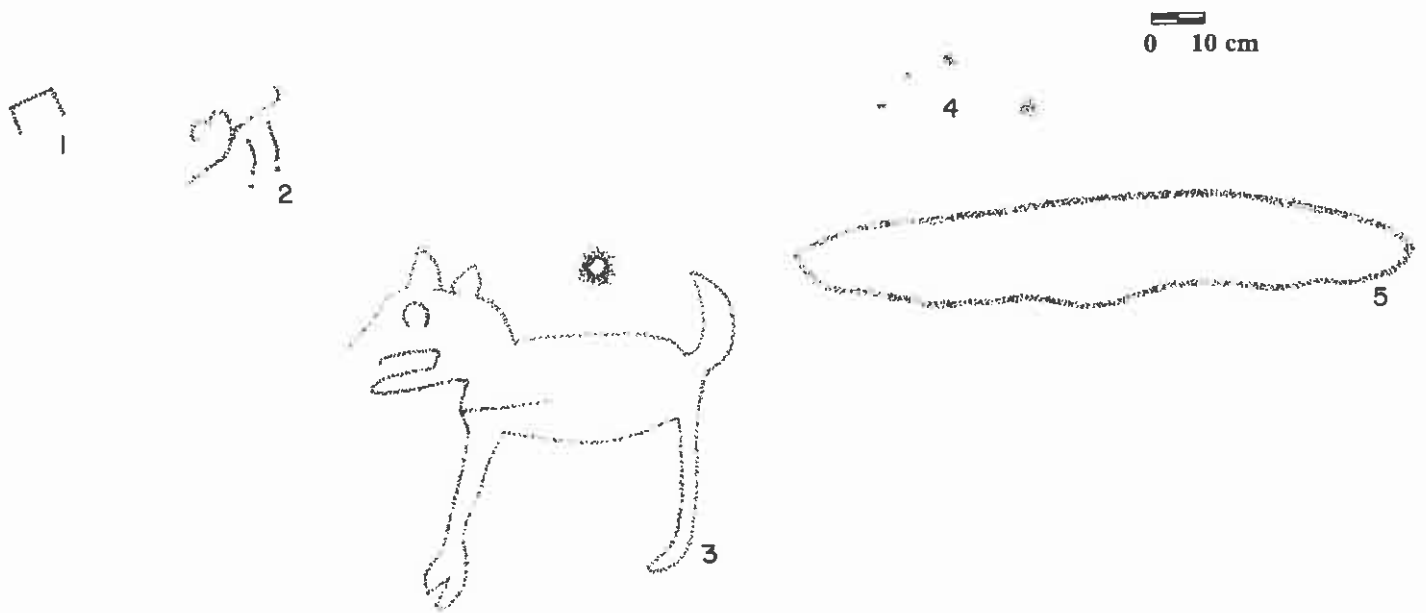


Figure 12.42. Cave 6: Area A paintings.

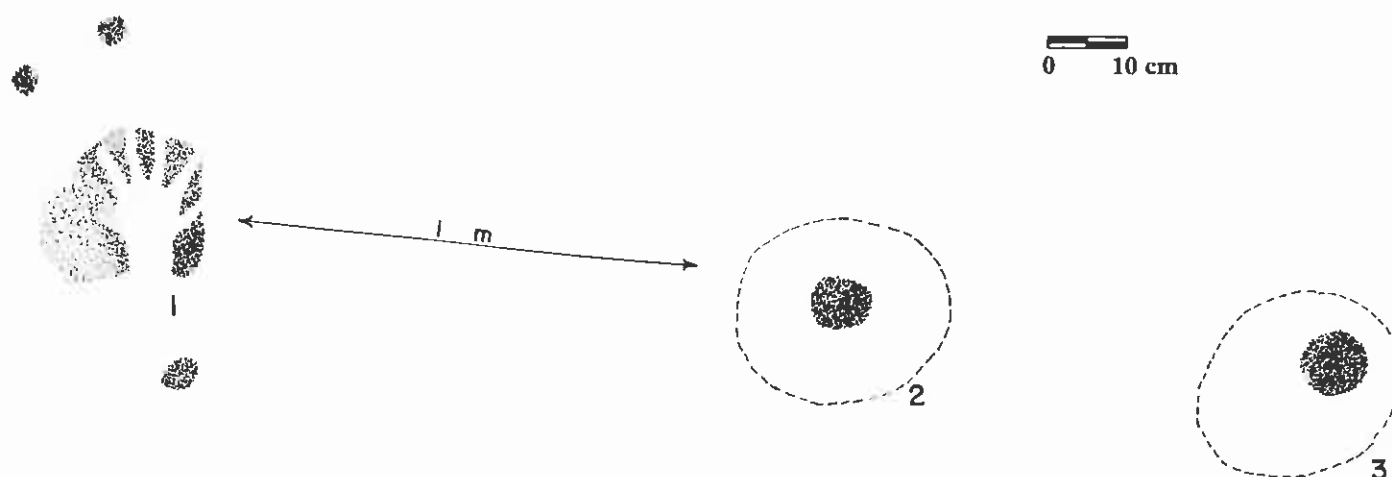


Figure 12.43. Cave 6: Area B paintings.

6a and 6b are connected by a horizontal line at their bases.

Cave 6: Access to this cave crosses a small natural reservoir of water immediately to the north of the cave. Some traces of paintings occur in this area. Spots of thrown paint are found high on the sloping cave ceiling. Eight pictographs in the cave, painted in red, occur in two groups:

Area A. There are five pictographs here (Fig. 12.42): no. 1 is an inverted squared U shape; no. 2 is a cluster of straight and curved lines which slightly resemble a monkey; no. 3 is an outline drawing of an animal which, although resembling a dog, has a cloven front foot suggesting the hoof of a deer, and an outline circle is above the animal's back; and no. 4 consists of four solid dots above a shallow niche outlined in red, which is no. 5. Pictograph 3 deserves some comment. Although the similarities are perhaps coincidental, three deer depicted in the *Codez Tro-Cortesianus* (1967:45, 46) are shown associated with sun-like elements which could represent a star or planet, and Grove (personal communication) has seen a similar theme in a pictograph near Chilapa, Guerrero.

Area B. Three pictographs are in this grouping (Fig. 12.43): no. 1 is an adult right handprint in negative with two solid circles above it and one below; and nos. 2 and 3 are solid circles placed within individual concavities in the cave wall.

Cave 7: This shallow cave is only about 14 m below the top of the *cerro*. It faces

northwest but is almost entirely hidden from view from the site by a projecting section of cliff (see Fig. 12.36). The cave has two parts: Area A is the cave itself, while Area B is a shallow niche on the north side of the cave's mouth (Fig. 12.44).

Area A. Three pictographs occur in this section of the cave, as well as a large area of red pigment to the left of the pictographs. Pictograph 1 is a simple profile of a human head and shoulder; no. 2 is a zoomorphic stick figure which is unusual because it is painted in yellow; and no. 3 is a complex design composed of several elements including two outline circles with dots inside, two symmetrical L-shaped elements, and an inverted U shape.

Area B. There is only one pictograph here, but surprisingly it is a relatively realistic profile representation of a human head. Although the head has some attributes which make it appear similar to some Olmec depictions, there is no evidence to suggest that the painting is Formative period or Olmec-influenced.

Cave 19: The red paintings in this very shallow cave were first recorded by Grove during the initial investigations on the *cerro*. They are far more elaborate and sophisticated than any others known so far from Chalcatzingo or the general region (Fig. 12.45).

Pictograph 1. This painting is at the north end of the cave in a position which exposes part of it to weathering and mineral deposits. The design, 45 cm in height, is composed of two ovate lobes,

each containing a small circle and a curvilinear segment. It is possible that a third lobe occurred on the left side of the painting but has faded and become covered by white mineral deposits. At the center of the design is a mouth-like motif with "teeth" and two streamer-like lines issuing downward and possibly representing a tongue. Comments on this follow the description of Pictographs 2 and 3.

Pictograph 2. The most elaborate of the three pictographs, this painting could represent a name or place glyph. Some 60 cm tall, it can perhaps best be described in terms of human anatomy, for it resembles a human torso, neck, and head. The uppermost element in the painting is a five-plumed feather headdress. This sits atop a disk of two concentric circles, the inner circle having hatch marks around its inner circumference. The "neck" area is composed of three elements: a central rectangular "neck" and a slightly outcurving "collar" on each side. All three elements contain diagonal bands. The "torso" area is dominated by a large semicircular four-strand necklace and oval with interior hatch marks. Each strand of the necklace contains five spaced circular bead-like elements. A large spear-shaped object hangs from the bottom of the necklace. Each "arm" of the torso is a rectangular element containing designs which are not discernible.

Pictograph 3. This painting initially aided the identification of the three pictographs as probably Classic period in

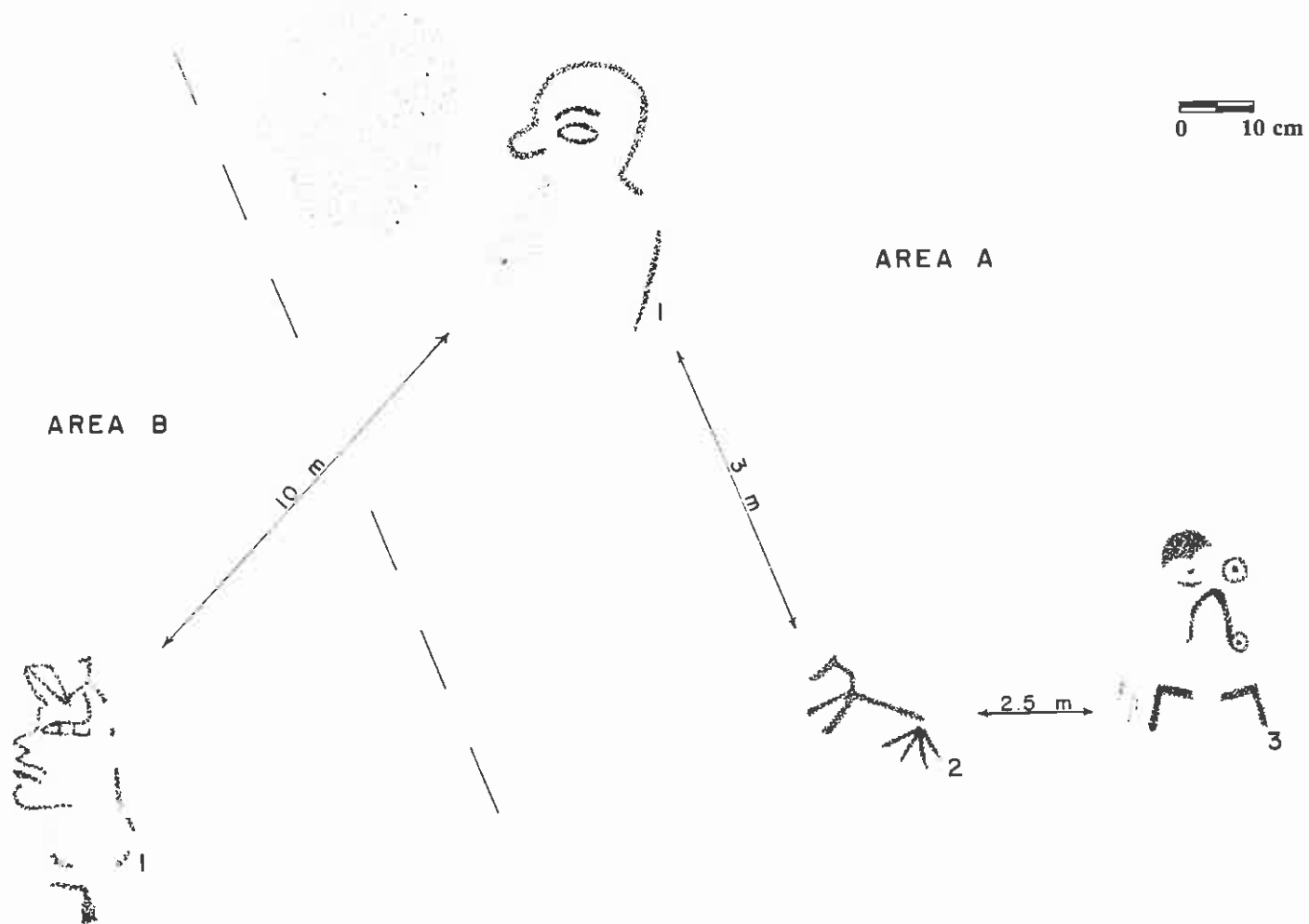


Figure 12.44. Cave 7: Areas A and B paintings.



Figure 12.45. Cave 19 paintings.

date. It is an inverted U-shaped band which varies in width from 17 to 25 cm, depicted by two parallel lines. Within the band at least five five-pointed star motifs are visible. Each star contains a circle at its center. This star motif is common in Teotihuacan art (see, for example, Miller 1973) and is also found at Cholula (Marquina 1970: Pls. 2, 3). Such stars at Teotihuacan usually occur within undulating "water" bands or similar water contexts (e.g., Fig. 12.46), as in Pictograph 3.

With the initial discovery of the three elaborate red paintings high on the Cerro Delgado, attention was focused on Pictographs 2 and 3; no. 2 because it was elaborate and no. 3 because of its similarities to Teotihuacan paintings. During subsequent analysis of the site's paintings, it became apparent that no. 1 is not unique and that it is essentially identical to Teotihuacan mountain glyphs. The mountain glyph is usually a trilobal motif, each lobe containing a circle and often a curvilinear element (Von Winning 1961: 128, Fig. 1v). Such glyphs occur on Teotihuacan ceramics (Kubler 1967: Figs. 30, 36; Séjourné 1966: Figs. 66, 160) and in at least one instance on a Teotihuacan mural (Miller 1973: Figs. 133, 134).

Pictograph 1 is the same motif except that it may be bilobal. Careful examination of the rock did not reveal any red painting where a third lobe should be, and it is possible that Pictograph no. 1 is purposely a bilobal mountain glyph. If this is the case, then it seems reasonable to suggest that the purposeful rendering of only two lobes identifies this particular glyph with the two mountains which are Chalcatzingo's landmarks. The right lobe is depicted as larger than the left, a parallel to the actual size differences in the two *cerros*.

The mouth-like motif below the bilobal glyph makes good iconographic sense, for in this context it would symbolize a cave, and the Cerro Delgado has numerous caves and niches. The streamer-like scrolls associated with the mouth motif are also found in Teotihuacan art and with similar symbolism. For instance, the major figure above the famous Tlalocan mural at Tepantitla (Fig. 12.46) is interpreted by Esther Pasztory (1972: 150) as containing cave symbolism. It includes iconographic motifs which also are found in Pictographs 1 and 3 on the Cerro Delgado: mountain-glyph-like motifs at the side of the

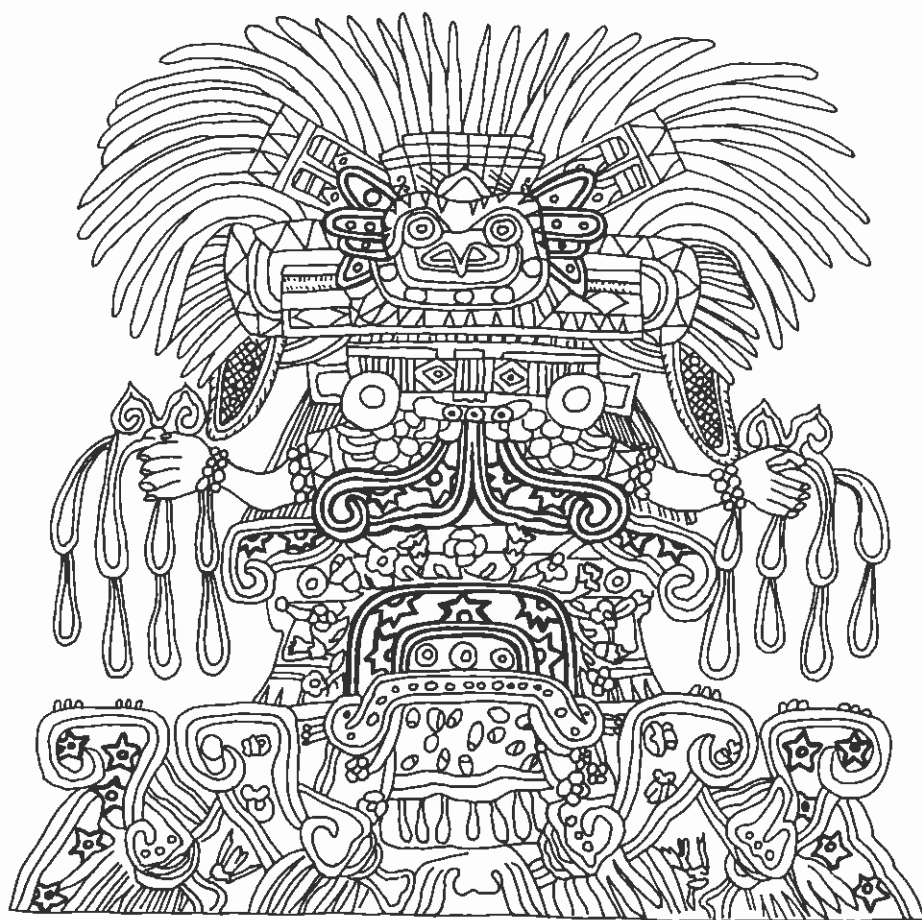


Figure 12.46. Teotihuacan mural with features comparable to Cave 19 paintings highlighted.

bird head in the elaborate headdress, streamer-like scrolls issuing from the mouth, and numerous star motifs.

The interpretation of Pictograph 2 is more problematical. While originally the thought was that it might represent the glyph of Chalcatzingo's "site name," Pictograph 1 now seems a more likely candidate. Without doing a detailed analysis of individual elements in the painting, a few points should be mentioned. The three elements comprising the "neck" area are similar to Xochicalco renderings of the *acatl* (reed) glyph (Sáenz 1964: Fig. 2 [B8, C1]; Pl. 3 [B5, D14]; Pl. 4 [B5, B6, B8, C10, C11, D15]). The base of the glyph is dominated by a pendant V-shaped element. This element also occurs at Xochicalco as both the "flint knife" glyph and the "solar ray" glyph (Sáenz 1964: Fig. 3 [C8, C10, D17]). The Chalcatzingo example points downward in the "solar ray" position.

The similarities of Pictographs 1 and 3 to Teotihuacan symbols is unquestionable. Pictograph 2, at least outwardly, appears more similar to Xochicalco glyphs. This situation may be clarified as more research is carried out at both Xochicalco and Teotihuacan.

Cave 20: A stick figure with a diamond-shaped head (no. 1), two curvilinear paintings (nos. 5 and 6) which may have originally been parts of a larger design, and three small elements (nos. 2, 3, and 4) occur within this cave (Fig. 12.47).

Cave 23: There are two pictographs here (Fig. 12.48). The major painted design (no. 1) is composed of a stick figure made of one vertical line crossed by two outline ellipses, all surrounded by an outline generally conforming to the shape of the stick figure. Pictograph 2 (not illustrated) was not very clear but might be the handprint of a child.

Cave 24: A faded painting with vertical

linear elements occurs within this cave, but the design could not be ascertained.

Cave 25: A horizontal row of dots is found in a long shallow concavity on the southeast wall of the cave.

Eastern Caves

The eastern side of the Cerro Delgado, which overlooks the Tetla archaeological area, is composed of three sections: cliff faces forming the lower portion of the hill, a long plateau above the cliffs which slopes upward toward the summit of the *cerro*, and another group of exposed rock faces near the summit (Fig. 12.37). Caves are found in the lower cliffs and in the rock faces near the summit. There is a heavy concentration of sherds on the plateau area, primarily Early Postclassic in date, and there also is a small mound structure at the summit. Due to the *cerro's* configuration, the summit is at the northwestern edge of the mountain. Pecked hand-holds on the lower east cliff face provide access to the plateau, although after centuries of weathering they are extremely precarious today.

Caves 1, 2, and 16 are on the lower cliff face. Cave 2 is one of the few dry caves encountered on the *cerro*. Caves 9 and 12 are in the rock exposures above the plateau and near the summit. All of the caves face eastward or northeastward.

Cave 1: There are two pictographs on the back wall (Fig. 12.49): no. 1 is a stick figure, anthropomorphic, with an enlarged solid oval head with short lines radiating out of the upper half; and no. 2 has its center section missing due to spalling, so the design is not identifiable.

Cave 2: There is only one discernible pictograph, a child-size positive right handprint, solid, located on the northern side of the cave entrance (Fig. 12.50). Pigment traces occur in other areas of the cave but are difficult to make out.

Cave 9: Five pictographs were found here (Fig. 12.51). Pictographs 4 and 5 (not illustrated) are negative red handprints; no. 4 is a left handprint, and no. 5 is apparently a partial negative outline of the finger area of a hand. Pictograph 1 is a solid circle between two short verticle lines; no. 2 is an outline circle with an X in the center; and no. 3 is a grouping of linear elements.

Cave 12: A red handprint occurs on the ceiling of this cave.

Cave 16: A large (ca. 1 m tall) simple anthropomorphic figure from about waist up, in frontal view, was found about 3–4 m high on the wall of this cave. It was too inaccessible to sketch clearly.

The Barranca Paintings

The Río Amatzinac runs in a deep barranca east and south of the site behind the two *cerros*. Access to the barranca near the site occurs in only three places: one where the site's small spring-fed stream enters the barranca, another at Tetla north of the major pyramid complex, and the third at the south end of Tetla. The colonial road to the town of Tenango, which passes through Tetla, crosses the river at this last point.

Three groups of paintings were found in the barranca near Chalcatzingo (Fig. 12.1), and all are executed in white pigment. Informants report other barranca paintings near Jantetelco, to the north.

Area A

This pictograph group occurs in a cave on the east side of the barranca just north of the point where the site's spring-fed stream enters the barranca (Fig. 12.52). The cave is located about 4 m above normal river level and would probably be dry even in times of flooding. There are four pictographs spaced at intervals around this cave (Fig. 12.53): no. 1 is a triangular clockwise spiral just inside the north mouth of the cave; no. 2 is a cluster of dots and two lines on the north wall; no. 3, near the rear of the cave, is a "butterfly antenna" motif associated with dots arranged symmetrically on either side, painted in a small concavity formed by the removal of a cobble from the wall (Fig. 12.54); and no. 4 is a small outline drawing of a four-legged animal, executed on a cobble which protrudes from the cave wall near the south side of the entrance (Fig. 12.55). White pigment traces on the cave walls indicate that other pictographs may once have also existed in this cave.

Areas B and C

Two groups of barranca paintings occur on the east side of the Río Amatzinac, downriver from the southernmost access to the Tetla zone, about 1.5 km southeast of the Area A paintings (see Fig. 12.1).

Area B: The two pictographs here are painted within a deep niche just below the rim of the barranca, at a point near where the barranca makes a sharp bend to the south. Pictograph 1 is an undulating line, and no. 2 is a small circle (Fig. 12.56).

Area C: Below the sharp bend in the barranca and Group B, the river straightens prior to beginning another sharp meander loop. The pictographs occur in the section where the river is running straight

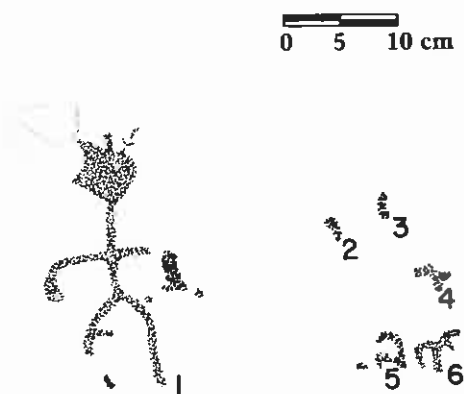


Figure 12.47. Cave 20 paintings.

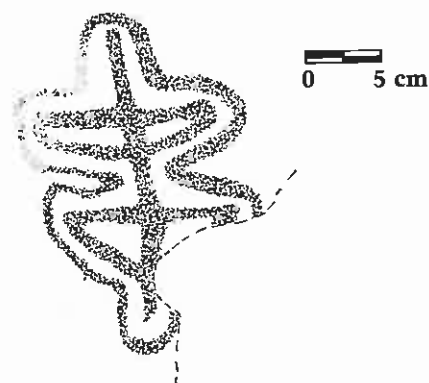


Figure 12.48. Cave 23 painting.

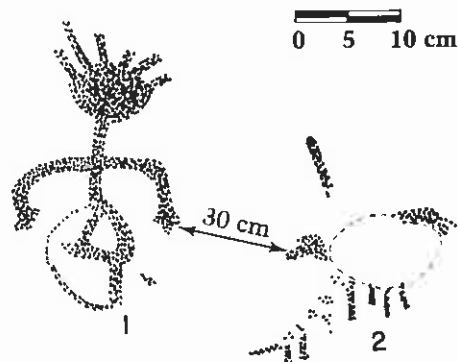


Figure 12.49. Cave 1 paintings.

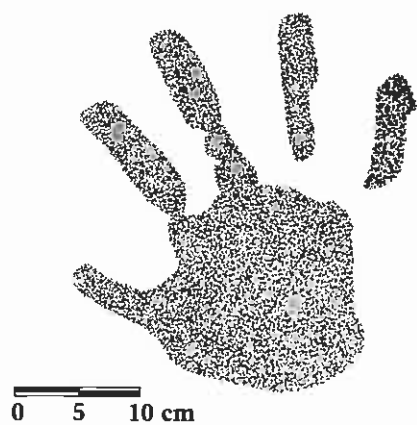


Figure 12.50. Cave 2 red handprint.

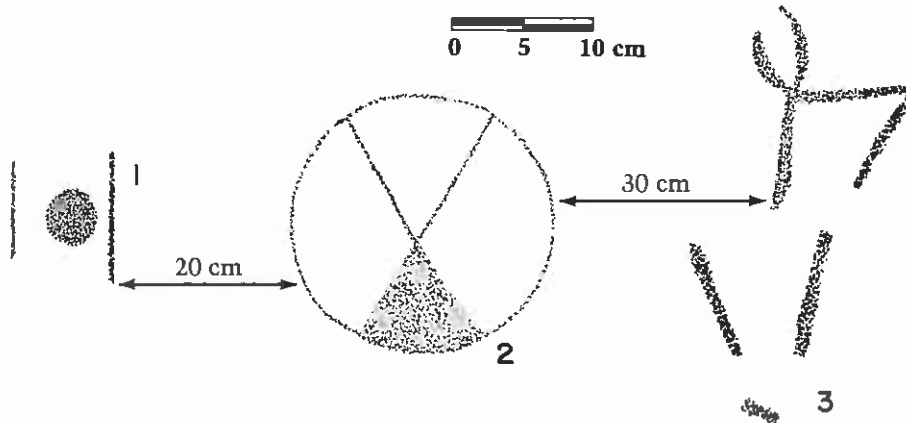


Figure 12.51. Cave 9 paintings.



Figure 12.52. Barranca Area A cave.

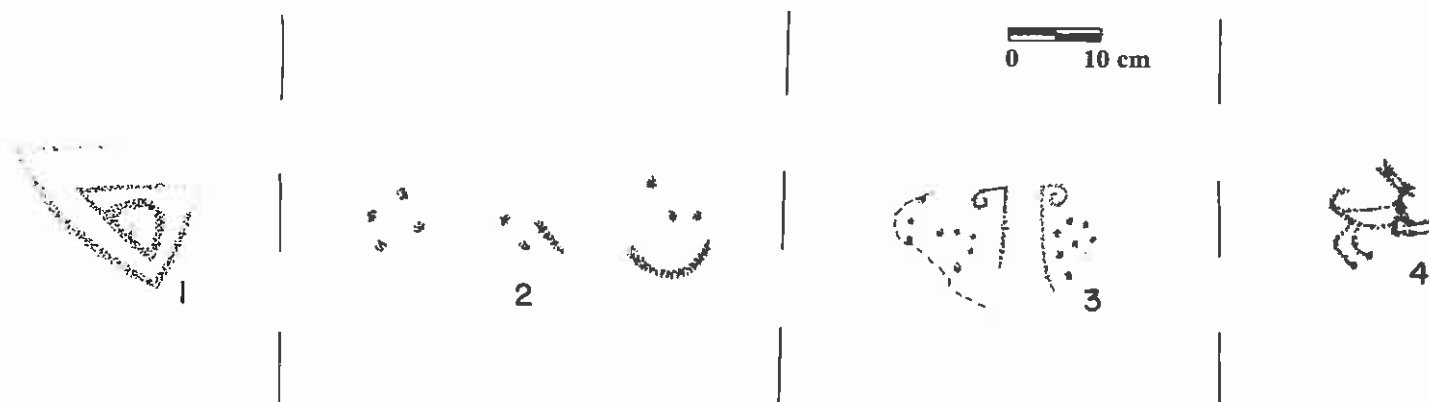


Figure 12.53. Barranca Area A paintings.



Figure 12.54. Barranca Area A painting no. 3.



Figure 12.55. Barranca Area A painting no. 4.

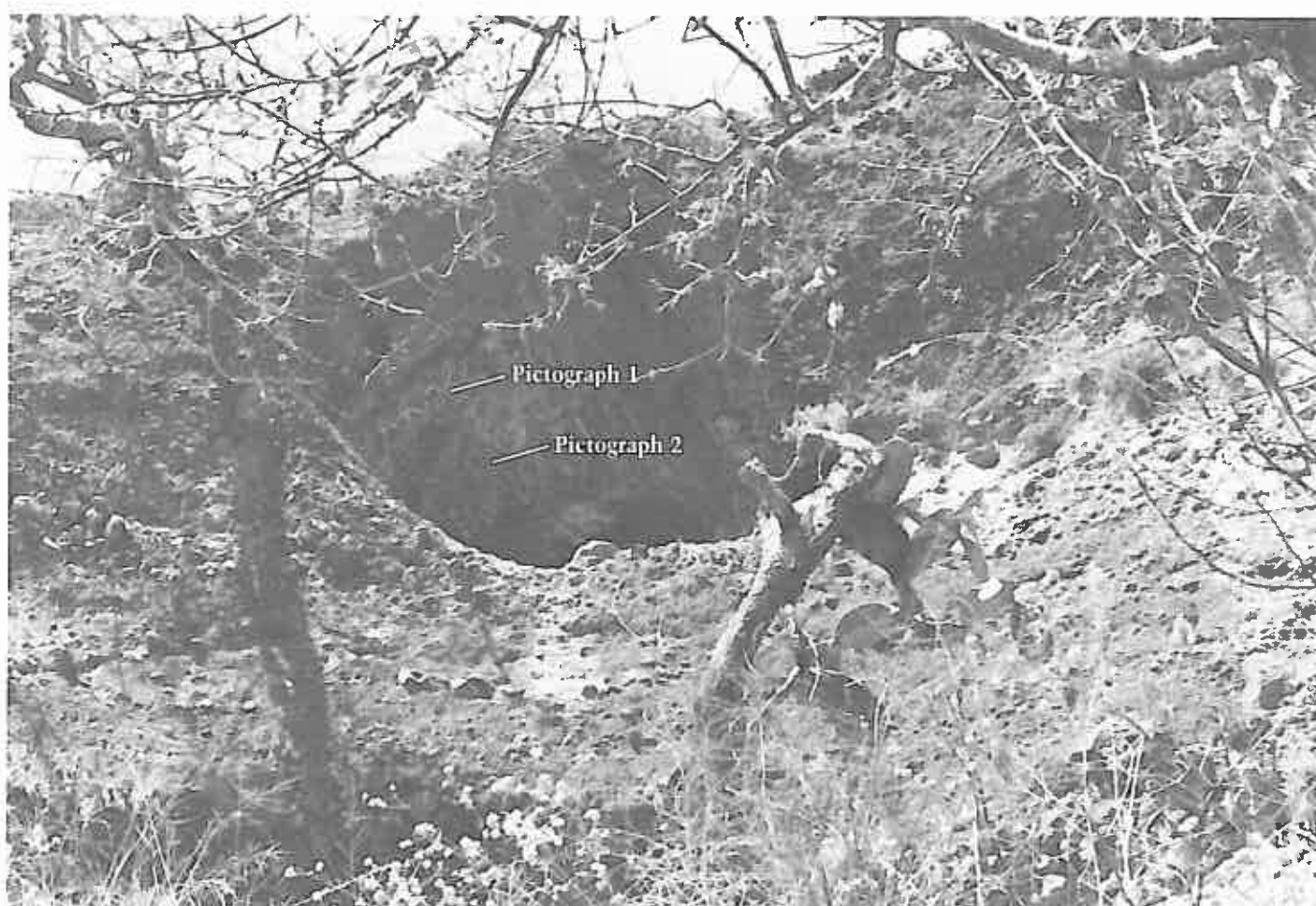


Figure 12.56. Barranca Area B: painting on upper left portion of cave.



Figure 12.57. View of Barranca Area C.

and are painted on various cobbles and boulders in the conglomerate strata on the northeast barranca wall, about 10 m above the river level (Fig. 12.57).

Thirteen relatively complex pictographs comprise Area C (Fig. 12.58). As with Area B, close access to these pictographs is extremely difficult, and they had to be studied from a distance. Their size is therefore only an estimate.

Pictograph 1 is a cluster of elements including an outline circle, curved and straight lines, and dots; no. 2 is an outline rectangular face, frontal view, with short lines radiating out from the top ("plumes"); no. 3 is composed of a series of curved lines around an outline circle; no. 5 is a rectangular outline with lines within and below it, surmounted by an outline oval; no. 6 is an outline rectangle with a "corkscrew" line and an L-shaped line coming out of the top; no. 9 is an anthropomorphic stick figure with an outline circular head with simple eyes and nose and topped by short radiating lines; the figure is apparently holding something in one hand; no. 10 is an outline circle with five upward-radiating lines; no. 11 is an outline circle with a dot inside and two upward-radiating lines; no. 12 is composed of two concentric circles connected by a curved line to a clockwise spiral, with several lines beneath it; and no. 13 is a square with a vertical line down the center. Pictographs 4, 7, and 8 are similar in that they all have outline circles (eyes?) above outcurving "fang-mouth" elements (nos. 7 and 8), and no. 4 has two arched lines over the "eyes" with curved lines beneath them. All of the pictographs but nos. 3, 4, and 5 are on projecting cobbles.

COMMENTS

At least three and possibly four pictograph types or styles can be ascertained at Chalcatzingo. The initial dichotomy is a division between red and white paintings (Table 12.2). Because white pictographs are occasionally superimposed over red ones, but never the reverse, it can be concluded that the white paintings are more recently executed. Since white Postclassic paintings occur at Texcalpintado and Yecapixtla, the Chalcatzingo white paintings can be tentatively dated as Postclassic. This dating is somewhat tenuous because many of the white pictographs are stylistically different from those of Texcalpintado and Yecapixtla. At Chalcatzingo there is great variation between the groups of white pictographs, both in size and in content. It remains debatable whether the white pictographs are all contemporaneous.

Similarities and differences are exhibited by the red pictographs as well. One major similarity is that the majority of the red pictographs are painted within shallow concavities in the rock or in close association with such concavities. Differences occur among the three major groups of red pictographs: Cerro Delgado caves, saddle area niches, and the South Shelters (see Table 12.3). The South Shelters pictographs contain all of the concentric circles and almost all of the cruciforms but lack human handprints. In the saddle area, Niche 2 and Niche 4 contain the majority of stick figures. In addition, Niche 2 is the only area with the triangle-and-slit motif, while Niche 4 is the only saddle area niche with handprints. Excluding the elaborate paintings

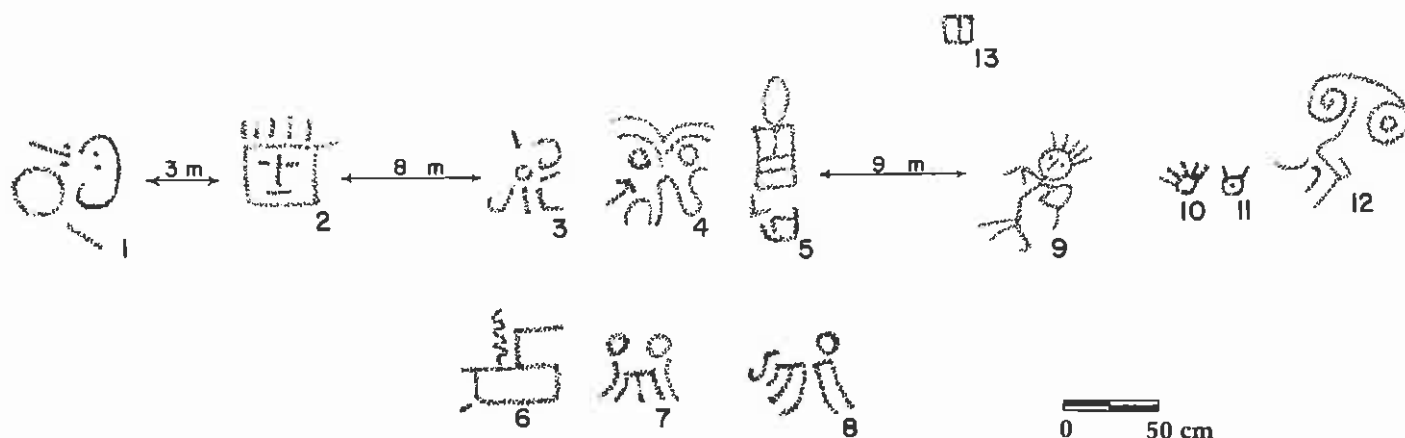


Figure 12.58. Barranca Area C paintings. [Scale is estimate from a distance.]

of Cave 19, the Cerro Delgado pictographs and particularly those of the high caves have few stick figures but include relatively realistic zoomorphic and anthropomorphic representations. These latter are particularly abundant in Cave 3, while Cave 5 has six handprints, including three of the five negative handprints known for the site. The other two negative prints are also in Cerro Delgado caves.

The differences among the site's red paintings could be at least partially temporal, but many of the differences may be due to the function of the pictographs and related to the areas in which they occur. For example, the South Shelters face a small stream at the base of their hill and contain concentric circles, a motif in Mesoamerica which has long been associated with water. In the Southwestern United States as well as in other world areas, hand prints are frequently associated with sacred places, and their limited distribution at Chalcatzingo might serve to identify a particular type of sacred place. Of all the red pictograph groups, Niche 4 appears to have been particularly important, since it contains seventeen stick figures, two handprints (but in only one concavity within the niche), and two U-motifs.

In order to decide whether the differences in the red pictographs are due to temporal reasons, it is necessary to determine their dating. Although the red paintings in Cave 19 have been tentatively assigned to the Classic period, it would be imprudent to conclude therefore that all other red paintings at the site are also Classic period in date, just as it would be wrong to assume that the saddle area paintings were "Olmec" because they contain a few pictographs with inverted U-motifs. The Cave 19 paintings are far more elaborate than any others at Chalcatzingo, and are not stylistically similar to the cruder paintings. Nevertheless, their presence on the Cerro Delgado does indicate the possibility that the simpler paintings have as much probability of being Classic as they do of being related to the site's Formative period occupation.

Table 12.2. Location of Paintings by Color

<i>Location</i>	<i>Red</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Yellow</i>
Cerro Chalcatzingo	X		
Saddle area niches			
Niche 1	X		
Niche 2			
Area A	X		
Area B	X	X	
Area C	X		
Area D	X		
Area E	X		
Area F	X	Traces	
Area G		X	
Niche 3	X		
Niche 4			
Area A	X		
Area B	X		
Area C	X		
Area D	X		
Area E		X	
Niche 5	X		
Niche 6	X		
North Shelter 1	X		
North Shelter 2		X	X
North Shelter 3	X	X	
South Shelter 1	X		
South Shelter 2	X		
South Shelter 3	X		
South Shelter 4	X		
South Shelter 5	X	X	
Cerro Delgado, western caves			
Cave 3	X		
Cave 5	X		
Cave 6	X		
Cave 7	X	X	
Cave 19	X		
Cave 20	X		
Cave 23	X		
Cave 24	X		
Cave 25	X		
Cerro Delgado, eastern caves			
Cave 1	X		
Cave 2	X		
Cave 9	X		
Cave 12	X		
Cave 16	X		
Barranca paintings			
Area A		X	
Area B		X	
Area C		X	

Table 12.3. Distribution of Major Red-Painted Motifs

Location	Stick Figures	Anthropo- zoomorphic Figures	Con- centric Circles	Out- line Circles	Solid Circles	Spiral	Sun- burst	Plume	Positive Hand- print	Negative Hand- print	U- Motif	"Comb"	Triangle- and- Slit	Cruci- form	Profile Head
Niche 1															1
Niche 2	8	1			2	1		1			1		3		
Niche 4	17								2		2				
Niche 5					1							1			
NS 3		1													
SS 1			3			1									
SS 2	6		1	2			2				1	1			7
SS 3				1	1										1
SS 5									1						
Cave 1		1							1						
Cave 2									1						
Cave 3	2	7					1	1	1						
Cave 5					1				3	3		1			
Cave 6		1		1	5					1	1				
Cave 7				2							1				2
Cave 9										2					
Cave 12									1						
Cave 16		1													
Cave 20	1														
Cave 23	1								1						
Totals:															
Saddle Niches	25	1	0	0	3	1	0	1	2	0	3	1	3	1	0
North Shelters	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Shelters	6	0	4	3	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	8	0
Caves	4	10	0	3	6	0	1	1	7	6	2	1	0	0	2

RESUMEN DEL CAPÍTULO 12

En Chalcatzingo, las muestras del arte de roca pintada se han encontrado en cinco áreas separadas entre sí. Muchas de las pinturas están muy descoloridas o incrustadas con depósitos de mineral que dificultan el poder determinar su diseño original. La mayoría son motivos simples, regulares, y repetitivos, tales como las figuras antropomórficas y zoomórficas delineadas, triángulos con mordedura, discos solares, espirales, y huellas de mano. La mayoría fueron ejecutadas con pigmento rojo, aunque se conocen algunas pictografías blancas y amarillas.

Con algunas excepciones, la simplicidad de los diseños impide fecharlos a través de la comparación con otras expresiones artísticas mesoamericanas. Aun cuando pueden variar en tiempo desde el período Formativo hasta el Postclásico, los datos indican que las pinturas realizadas con el pigmento blanco probablemente son más recientes que las que fueron ejecutadas con el rojo. Las pinturas blancas pueden ser del Postclásico. Aun cuando la mayoría de las pinturas rojas son sencillas, los tres motivos provenientes de la

Cueva 19 del Cerro Delgado claramente pertenecen al período Clásico e incluyen un glifo de montaña de Teotihuacan.

En cuanto a su ubicación las pictografías exhiben un patrón. La mayoría fueron pintadas en cuevas, nichos grandes, y refugios de roca. Dentro de estas áreas, por lo general, se encuentran pintadas dentro o alrededor de concavidades en forma de cajete, en la roca. También varían, dentro de las áreas del sitio, los motivos pintados. Por ejemplo, los círculos concéntricos (símbolo del agua) ocurren en los refugios de roca hacia el surponiente del Cerro Chalcatzingo, junto a una pequeña corriente de agua, pero no así en las catorce cuevas pintadas del Cerro Delgado ni tampoco en los seis nichos pintados en la hendidura entre los dos cerros.