

### **Author's Note**

In preparing this thesis for posting with FAMSI, I have made several changes, which are limited to new formatting requirements. The thesis itself remains essentially unchanged, as does the database. In the original document, which can be found in the University of Texas, Austin Library System, the Pabellon corpus I compiled appeared as a list of figures in Appendix C. Here, however, the corpus is in database form, allowing for searches, etc., thus necessitating a change in pagination as well as in the way the individual images are referenced in the text (W# or Pabellon Database: W# instead of fig. #). Several minor errors were also corrected. Additionally, extraneous supplementary images were deleted, although if the reader is curious, in the text, I have indicated sources where these images may be found. Because there have been no changes made to the content of the thesis itself, it seemed appropriate that I include, as a supplement to the original document, my latest thoughts on, and interpretations of, Pabellon iconography. For this reason, I am attaching below the text of a talk I gave at the annual SAA meetings in Salt Lake City in 2005. For easy reference, readers are directed to images already appearing in the thesis; any additional images can be found in Justin Kerr's Maya Vase Database (referred to, in the text, as Kerr Database) or the Linda Schele database of drawings (Schele Database), also available on the FAMSI website.

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**Talk given at the Annual SAA Meetings Held in Salt Lake City, Utah, 2005**  
**Introduction**

Pabellon vessels, through their status as luxury goods, wide distribution, complex imagery and iconographic variation can certainly shed light on the types of messages circulated and disseminated by the elite during the Terminal Classic, a time of collapse and decline. I will suggest interpretations of scenes associated with the Pabellon record, which will hopefully encourage further examination of the Pabellon type and its ability to add depth to the current understanding of the Classic Maya collapse. In conjunction with my MA thesis, I collected a corpus of published and unpublished Pabellon and Belize Molded-Carved vessels and sherds. I also refined existing scene categories first defined by R.E.W. Adams (1973b: 46) and developed an additional four scene groupings. The first scene, the Reclining Figure Scene, accounts for the vast majority of vessels and sherds found in the current corpus. Here I will concentrate on interpreting this scene, after which I will briefly introduce the other scene groupings. The significance of such visual messages and possible connections across scene categories will be suggested in the conclusion.

**Scene 1**  
**Reclining Figure Scene**

Richard E.W. Adams (1971: 49) first identified Scene 1 (Pabellon Database: W1.33) as the Reclining Figure Scene. Adams (1971: 49) noted diagnostic elements for the scene, which include a recumbent figure bracketed by serpent heads. This individual usually holds an *atlatl* and wears a neck ornament, an elaborate headdress, a loincloth, and a beaded leg cuff that appears just below the knee. The crosshatching on the loincloth and on many versions of the necklace or scarf seem to indicate jade adornment. In assuming the reclining pose, the figure

always raises one foot and twists to present a frontal view of the torso in coordination with a profile rendition of the head. I will suggest that the Pabellon Reclining Figure can be related to two seemingly contradictory groups—captives and elites.

The reclining pose, as a recurrent convention, can be connected with five basic classes: ballplayers, individuals receiving enemas, victims or prisoners, actors emerging or being born, and the Maize God. From a brief perusal of Classic iconography, those who lie down take the posture in order to reference one of the five figural types just mentioned.<sup>i</sup> There is no apparent relationship between the Pabellon Reclining Figure Scene and ballgame and enema scenes (cf. Kerr Database: K1550, K3842). Not only is the pose slightly different in each case, but the paraphernalia associated with the ballgame and enemas is also conspicuously absent in Pabellon representations. That leaves images of captives, birthing or emergence scenes and the Maize God as possible iconographic complexes that might include the Pabellon Reclining Figure.

Captives and sacrificial victims (cf. Tikal Altar 8, Schele Database: Schele number 2065) often appear in the supine pose (Miller 1985: 8-9). Prisoners are also commonly divested of their clothing and jewelry (Baudez and Mathews 1978: 32). Significantly, however, some prisoners are allowed to retain a few accoutrements to mark their elite status (Baudez and Mathews 1978: 22). In Pabellon vessels, this would include the jade ornamentation and a headdress (Pabellon Database: W1.33, W1.67). The K'awiil heads that substitute for the framing serpent heads in some cases further indicate royalty. While many examples portray the prisoner as lying on his stomach, a significant number exist that render the prisoner on his back, in a pose much like that of the Pabellon Reclining Figure type. As Baudez and Mathews (1978: 32) note, the “falling-on-the-back posture” is linked with the “fallen warrior” and his impending sacrifice. This pose, as opposed to the other captive pose type, may be meant to indicate the dynamism of

battle while, at the same time, indicating the individual's ultimate fate. Several captive images from Tonina provide striking visual comparisons (cf. Schele Database: Schele number 149).

Both the Pabellon figure and the Tonina prisoners recline with a frontal chest and a profile view of the head, while sporting elaborate headdresses, loincloths and a beaded necklace. The Tonina victims also pull their outside legs away from the viewer, which may be another way of indicating the movement or imbalance implied by the raised left leg of the Pabellon Reclining Figure.

The Pabellon figure often holds an *atlatl*, which contributes to the sense of dynamism found in the “falling-on-the-back” pose. In the Maya region, prisoners hold weapons in some select cases outside the Pabellon corpus. Stela 7 from Itzimte, for example, shows an unbound prisoner in the top register holding a spear (see thesis, chapter 2, figure D, page 24). This figure has already been captured since he takes the reclining pose of the Pabellon figure and wears little clothing while an individual stands over him, holding his hair in one hand. This seeming inconsistency can be explained by the fact that warfare and captive-taking were inextricably related for the ancient Maya. In other words, captives were taken during battle for subsequent sacrifice (or servitude) in the conquering site center. Baudez and Mathews' (1978: 31) statement concerning the Bonampak Structure 1 lintels can be equally applied to the Itzimte example: “At first sight, we are facing a battle scene, where a disarmed or wounded warrior has fallen to the ground while the victor...grasp[s] his hair. But the meaning of the sculpture goes far beyond this: as much as the recently vanquished, it is the future captive and next victim that concern the artist.” Thus, in the Itzimte and Pabellon examples, the spear or *atlatl* could refer to the way in which the prisoner was captured, i.e., through battle, while other elements, like dress, indicate his status.<sup>ii</sup> Baudez and Mathews (1987: 32) argue that the “captive sculptures express at once three

successive states: the vanquished, the captive and the victim of sacrifice.” I would add that in some cases, such as Stela 7 from Itzimte and the Pabellon Reclining Figure scene type, images allude to a fourth ‘state’ as well, one that refers to the military engagements necessary in obtaining captives.

Pabellon Reclining Figure vessels might also contain information about location. The serpent heads that bracket the scene in almost all cases vary a great deal. In some cases the zoomorphic heads seem to refer to *witz* monsters, while in others, the central Mexican feathered serpent or the K’awiil mountain head, mentioned earlier, appears.<sup>iii</sup> The variation in these bracketing elements indicates a sense of universality and may even be connected with Pabellons’ wide distribution, although specific correlations have yet to be made between the type of framing device and the location of excavation. The appearance of the ‘7 Death’ glyphic combination in the center of one Pabellon example (Pabellon Database: W1.48) may reference a name well known to us from the Popol Vuh and thus imply an underworldly or otherworldly setting corresponding with the general theme of sacrifice and transformation.<sup>iv</sup> This example is particularly interesting since it does not follow the usual model but, instead, presents two figures facing one another amidst serpent heads that seem to have fangs and darkness markings.

The reclining pose also appears in representations of babies (cf. Kerr Database: K521). While there is no evidence supporting a reading of the Pabellon scene as one of birth or infancy, the similarity in pose may occur due to the powerlessness associated with both infants and prisoners. As Martin (2002: 56) notes, generally, “flexed postures of submission and powerlessness may themselves be derived from, and allusions to, the pose of the sacrificial infant.”

Representations of the sacrifice and subsequent rebirth of the Maize God provide the final category of reclining figures that require consideration. In the Pabellon scene, obvious references to the Maize God do not appear; the foliating head of the deity and the characteristic jade skirt are conspicuously absent.<sup>v</sup> In a few cases, the Pabellon reclining figure does point to a circular element composed of concentric bands that bound a series of dots (Pabellon Database: W1.53, W1.155). These dots might refer to corn kernels and the circular shape could be meant to indicate the bag of maize grain often associated with the Maize God and his rebirth (Taube 1985: 177, for representations of such sacks, see Taube 1985: fig. 6).<sup>vi</sup> On the other hand, this element could simply symbolize darkness or a watery setting (Taube, pers. comm. 2005), which would correspond nicely with the ‘7 Death’ reference already mentioned.

While no evidence exists that definitively links the Maize God with the Pabellon figure, both may be using an established convention for referring to the transitional nature of sacrifice (see thesis, chapter 2, figure E, page 25; Kerr Database: K688). As Taube (1994: 673) states, “the Tonsured Maize God is at times portrayed as a sacrificial *k’ex* offering in its journey to the underworld.”<sup>vii</sup> The transformatory nature of the Maize God sacrifice is indicated specifically through his relative lack of regalia and recumbent position in association with serpent heads, as indicated by a black-background vase and Pakal’s sarcophagus lid (Quenon and Le Fort 1997: 885-6; Martin 2002: 53).<sup>viii</sup> It is this combination that reoccurs in Pabellon examples. The similarity in pose between the Pabellon Reclining Figure and a clear representation of the Maize God in one of the other Pabellon scene types solidifies this connection (Pabellon Database: W1.33, W3.1a). Thus, it seems clear that Pabellon artists were consciously emphasizing the prisoner-war-sacrifice complex, which overlaps, unsurprisingly, with elements of the Maize God sacrifice.

If any or all of these links are viable, then Scene 1 in the Pabellon corpus would certainly provide justification for human sacrifice, specifically the sacrifice of elite individuals whose lives could be seen as being more ‘precious,’ and thus, more ‘valuable,’ in the context of sacrifice (Houston and Stuart 1996: 295). Such imagery has a long tradition in the Maya region and also indicates and legitimizes the lords’ right to rule. The fact that this scene accounts for approximately 65% of the current corpus implies that elites involved in the dissemination of the Pabellon type were most concerned with the message conveyed by this particular image set.<sup>ix</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Despite the great deal of hieroglyphic and iconographic variation found in the current corpus of Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics, these vessels display seven identifiable scenes to date.<sup>x</sup> Tentatively, I wish to suggest that these scene types can be grouped into larger categories that deal with connected themes. Scene 2, the Conference Scene, Scene 3, the Scene of Three Figures, and Scene 6, the Mirror Symmetry Scene all seem to relate to mythological contexts. The Conference Scene depicts two seated figures deliberating, usually over an offering of some sort (Pabellon Database: W2.14, W2.15). This imagery can possibly be connected to the birth of the Maize God through the ropes that appear in one example and the bone thrones that occur in another, although such iconography may simply indicate communication with ancestors or lineage founders, as on Altar Q from Copan (compare Pabellon Database: W2.8b and thesis, chapter 2, figure F, page 33). Three figures in various poses can be found in the Scene of Three Figures (Pabellon Database: W3.1a, W3.7). This grouping almost certainly refers to the birth of the Maize God at creation, given the appearance of the Maize God hairdo in some examples and the birth glyph in others. Finally, the Mirror Symmetry Scene incorporates two seated figures in each scene panel (Pabellon Database: W6.1a, W6.4). Both individuals are represented as God L,

sit on monster heads and are connected with serpent maws. This group is the hardest to relate to such a continuum of scenes. Generally, though, God L can be connected with maize foliation (Taube 1992: 81) and there seems to be a play between foliating maize and serpent heads in the Pabellon examples (see Taube 1985: fig. 2g for examples of maize foliation). Such a connection is tentative, however; further understanding of the way in which God L looses his clothes, for example, might solidify the Mirror Symmetry Scene's place in the continuum of scenes suggested here.<sup>xi</sup>

The three other scenes—Scene 7, from the Belize Molded-Carved variety, which I have called the Presentation Scene, Scene 4, the Military Scene, and Scene 5, the Procession Scene—can also be classed together. The Military Scene depicts battles (Pabellon Database: W4.1, W4.2a). These very battles provide the method of procuring prisoners. The Procession Scene seems to show warriors either participating in a ritual procession, going out to fight, or returning with prisoners although no prisoners can be seen in the fragmentary remains of this scene type (Pabellon Database: W5.1a and b).<sup>xii</sup> The Belize Molded-Carved Presentation Scene incorporates references to a single king and the vision quest that includes the presentation of a captive to a specific ruler (Pabellon Database: W7.2). In a sense, the Pabellon Reclining Figure Scene acts as a bridge between these two thematic categories (Pabellon Database: W1.33). While it clearly fits into this second grouping due to its emphasis on sacrifice and warfare, the transformatory nature of the scene, and its apparent references, in some cases, at least, to mythological places like the underworld, provides a link with the first thematic set.

Unfortunately, given time constraints, I can only briefly suggest some future avenues of research. Why would elite groups want to disseminate imagery that related to mythology and an expression of military prowess that hinges on the sacrificial complex? Could leaders be trying to



bolster (failing?) support for the institution of divine kingship through the dissemination of such iconography? Furthermore, other aspects, like the increasingly foreign appearance of Pabellon iconography, call for additional investigation. During the Classic period, references to the central Mexican war complex through the inclusion of *atlats*, for example, were probably meant indicate military supremacy (Stone 1989); does the renewed emphasis on foreign iconography in Pabellon vessels serve the same purpose? Furthermore, as already stated, these ceramics were being created in centers on the verge of collapse; yet, despite impending decline, these sites continued to produce refined ceramics, as evidenced by the fine paste and detailed iconography of the Pabellon corpus. In other words, the Pabellon type does not indicate an artistic decline or a “degradation” of the imagery, although it does indicate the development of a different aesthetic that emphasizes molding rather than polychrome decoration. Why does this aesthetic develop at this time? Can socio-political connections be made? The extremely wide distribution of the Pabellon type, which, at the same time, retained repetitive iconography in the form of finite, recognizable scenes also implicates a shift in the artistic community at large. Why does this shift occur and does it suggest an attempt at consolidation rather than regionalization, for example? While many questions remain unanswered and even unasked, I hope that this presentation has, in some way, indicated the many fascinating possibilities through which the Pabellon Molded-Carved variety may add to our understanding of the Terminal Classic Maya, the collapse and the artistic, political, and cultural changes that were occurring in the Terminal Classic period. Thank you.

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<sup>i</sup> Miller and Samayoa (1998: 66) note, for example, that the pose taken by the Maize God and captives is the same and argue that “these may be overlapping categories.”

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<sup>ii</sup> Baudez and Mathews (1978: 32) state, “Thus... ‘captive’ sculptures express at once three successive states: the vanquished, the captive and the victim of sacrifice.” I would add that in some cases, such as Itzimte Stela 7, images allude to a fourth ‘state’ that refers to the war event necessary in obtaining captives.

<sup>iii</sup> I would like to thank Dr. David Stuart (pers. comm. 2005) for calling the witz references to my attention and Dr. Karl Taube (pers. comm. 2005) for noticing the K’awiil connection.

<sup>iv</sup> Seven Death is the name of one of the lords of Xibalba in the Popol Vuh (see Christenson 2003, for example). I would like to thank Dr. David Stuart for pointing out this possibility to me. In some cases the framing serpent heads are clearly marked witz monsters. In other examples, however, the type of serpent is not clear or shifts; see examples of central Mexican style feathered snakes, for instance.

<sup>v</sup> There is no obvious Maize God symbolism in Pabellon scenes. Some elements do appear that are common to both, however. Miller and Samayoa (1998: 57) call attention to the type of regalia worn by the Maize God, for example: “The Maize God drips with jade, the precious material identified as a permanent manifestation of maize itself, configured into particular adornments: diadem and headband (with quetzal feathers), necklace and face pendant, ballgame yoke with spondylus shell, beaded overskirt, bands for wrists and cuffs, and jade earflares and counterweights.” The Pabellon reclining figure sports a headdress made up of feathers (although it is impossible to identify their type), a necklace or a checkered (jade?) scarf, beaded loincloth (also checkered and somewhat skirt-like) and bands around at least one of the legs. It may also be significant that the Reclining Figure in Pabellon scenes wears a bird headdress. According to Miller and Samayoa (1998: 64) a combination of Maize God and Itzam-Yeh bird headdress occurs in a Nebaj-style jade found at Teotihuacan.

It is also interesting to note that a pair of recumbent Maize Gods appear at Chichen Itza (see Tozzer 1957: fig. 678), much in the same way that one of the Pabellon Reclining Figure Scene subgroups incorporates two supine individuals (and serpent heads). Miller and Samayoa (1998: 62) connect the Chichen examples with Chakmool imagery.

<sup>vi</sup> As Taube (1985: 177) notes, such sacks often are shown with an “‘X-ray’ view” of the contents, as would be the case here if such an identification is correct.

<sup>vii</sup> See also Martin (2002: 71).

Quenon and Le Fort (1997: 885) also note the emphasis placed on sacrifice and death in the mythology of the Maize God.

The sacrificial nature of Maize God imagery is specifically referenced in the Dresden codex where, on page two, a figure identified by Michael Coe (1989: 179) as One Hunahpu has been decapitated and, most importantly here, has his arms bound behind his back in the manner of a prisoner (Baudez and Mathews 1978: 31-2).

<sup>viii</sup> Interestingly, the chacmool at Chichen Itza appears framed between two feathered serpents. Mary Ellen Miller (1985) and Miller and Samayoa (1998: 60-66) connect the chacmool reclining figure with sacrificial and Maize God imagery. In several Pabellon examples, the Reclining Figure is surrounded by central Mexican feathered serpents.

<sup>ix</sup> Approximately 65% of identifiable vessels and sherds fall within this scene category. The other categories account for approximately 11%, 7%, 2%, 1%, 5%, and 9% respectively. These numbers, of course, only reflect whole ceramics and fragments that contain identifiable imagery relating to scene groupings developed thus far. Thus, Scene 1 dramatically outnumbers the other Pabellon scene groups. While this might turn out to be a sampling issue, at this point the fact

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that the percentages aren't even close clearly implies that, among all the scenes associated with the Pabellon record, the Reclining Figure Scene received the most attention and emphasis and therefore conveyed the most important message as far as elite groups were concerned.

<sup>x</sup> The author, like Adams, refrains from identifying or discussing additional, possible scene categories as such analysis would be fragmentary at best. As the corpus grows and more scenes are identified, however, it will be interesting to see if the new scenes can be connected with the continuum of groupings suggested here.

<sup>xi</sup> Miller and Samayoa (1998: 57) note the oppositional relationship between God L and the Maize God.

<sup>xii</sup> The Reclining Figure Scene may also overlap with this larger thematic grouping due to its visual connections with representations of prisoners, although it does seem to include mythological references connecting it with the first grouping.

**Pabellon Molded-Carved Ceramics:  
A Consideration in Light of the Terminal Classic  
Collapse of Classic Maya Civilization**



Photographed by Maline Werness, permission of Museo Nacional de Antropología y Etnología in Guatemala City

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Masters Thesis  
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2003

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by  
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Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of the University of Texas at Austin  
in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements  
for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2003

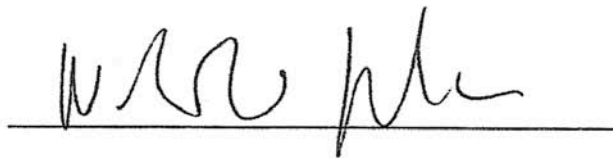
**Pabellon Molded-Carved Ceramics:**

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Classic Maya Civilization**

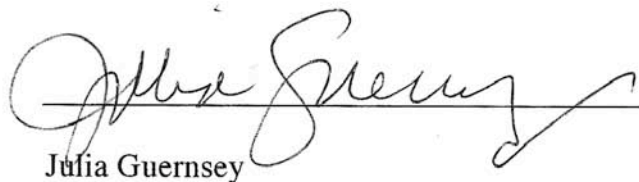
**APPROVED BY**

**SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:**

**Supervisor**

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several loops and a long horizontal stroke at the end, written over a solid horizontal line.

**Nikolai Grube**

A handwritten signature in black ink, featuring a large, stylized 'J' and 'G' followed by a long horizontal stroke, written over a solid horizontal line.

**Julia Guernsey**

## **Acknowledgements**

I would first like to thank my advisor, Dr. Nikolai Grube, for suggesting this topic to me and for providing advise and direction when needed. Dr. Grube also helped me develop important contacts, as did Drs. Richard E. W. Adams, Hugh Robichaux, and Fred Valdez while I was still in the process of compiling the existing corpus of Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics and sherds. I would also like to thank my friends and family for reading drafts of this paper and participating in innumerable discussions related to the topics and issues explored in this thesis. My gratitude goes to Dr. Julia Kappelman, my second reader, for her careful reading of my thesis and for the excellent suggestions she made regarding its revision. Additionally, I benefited greatly from discussions I had with Drs. Dorie Reents-Budet, Ronald Bishop, Steve Bourget, Eric Boot and a host of other people connected in some way with the issues I had to deal with in this thesis.

I would like to explicitly thank Peter Keeler for the many talks we had concerning a host of issues. These discussions, as with those mentioned above, helped me develop the interpretations that appear in this thesis. Keeler has also been kind enough to keep me abreast of his ongoing analysis with regard to what has been called the pseudo-glyphic text that appears on many Pabellon ceramics. Cherra Wyllie also deserves mention; she has been very generous in providing me with images of Pabellons that she collected previously, in connection with her dissertation at Yale University.

Several other people who helped me gather examples that appear in the current corpus should be thanked. A fellow graduate student and friend, Nila LaVanaway, was kind enough to help me while I took pictures in Guatemala. Ruben Larios, the then sub-director and Claudia Monzón, current director of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología in Guatemala City were very



generous in letting me view the collection and take pictures of the Pabellon vessels and sherds they had. At the Museo Nacional, Don Rodolfo Oyaquián was also extremely helpful in tracking down vessels, sherds and information regarding provenience. My thanks goes to Oswaldo Chinchilla and the staff at the Museo Popol Vuh, Universidad Francisco Marroquín, Guatemala, also in Guatemala City, for allowing me to photograph their Pabellon bowl. The staff, and specifically Licenciado Paulino Israel Morales Guos, at the Guatemala City Ceramoteca (a part of the Departamento de Monumentos Prehispanicos y Coloniales, Instituto de Antropología e Historia—IDAEH—Guatemala City) also deserve my thanks for the time they allowed me with their collection, and for the photographs they gave me permission to take. I would also like to thank Dr. Jaime Awe who let me see and photograph some recently uncovered sherds from Caracol that fit into the Belize Molded-Carved grouping related to the Pabellon type. My thanks also goes to Brian Woodye and the staff at the Department of Archaeology in Belmopan, Belize for their help in trying to track down Pabellon vessels and sherds. Dr. Norman Hammond also helped me by letting me view a recently excavated piece from La Milpa.

## **Resumen**

Un tipo de cerámica que se llama Pabellon Moldeado-Tallado es el tema de esta tesis de Maestría. Estas cerámicas aparecieron en la zona Maya durante el período clásico terminal (700-900 d. de JC). La introducción muestra que las cerámicas Pabellones son importantes por muchas razones. Por ejemplo, los Mayas antiguos consideraban los Pabellones un artículo de lujo. Los Pabellones se hacían con un tipo de pasta fina que se llama naranja fina. Después de hacer la forma de la cerámica, el artesano moldeaba y luego tallaba la cerámica. Estas cerámicas fueron repartidas por toda la zona Maya. También exponen iconografía detallada que estaba relacionada a las preocupaciones de la clase dirigente. Se puede encontrar variaciones del tipo Pabellon en Belice moderno y se llama Belice Moldeado-Tallado. Los recipientes de Belice fueron hechos usando técnicas similares de producción. Estos recipientes también contienen iconografía detallada pero no fueron hechos con pasta naranja fina. El hecho de copiar este diseño, sin utilizar la pasta fina, muestra la importancia y la influencia de los Pabellones.

La introducción sugiere que un estudio de las cerámicas Pabellones puede añadir dimensiones nuevas y emocionantes a la discusión del período clásico terminal.<sup>1</sup> Por ejemplo, los eruditos todavía no entienden completamente el tema del contacto entre los Mayas antiguos y los extranjeros. Con frecuencia, las imágenes de los Pabellones contienen elementos Mayas y, también, elementos

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<sup>1</sup> La mayoría de la literatura sobre los Pabellones intenta, sin mucho éxito, identificar un sitio exacto para la fabricación de los Pabellones (Capítulo 1, página 10). Mi tesis, por otro lado, se trata de temas relacionados a la iconografía y a los glifos de los Pabellones.

extranjeros. Por eso, un estudio de los Pabellones puede clarificar la relación entre los dos. Además, los Pabellones pueden añadir al entendimiento de los eruditos sobre el cambio político y las crisis ideológicas durante el período clásico terminal.

A pesar del hecho de que esta variedad de cerámica puede añadir al entendimiento actual del colapso de la civilización de los Mayas clásicos, nadie ha estudiado estas cerámicas a fondo. Mi tesis presenta una colección extensa de las imágenes de pedazos y recipientes de los Pabellones. Esta colección incluye imágenes publicadas y fotografías que tomé en Guatemala y Belice (Pabellon Database y Apéndice C). El Apéndice A es una lista de los sitios donde se han encontrado los fragmentos y recipientes de tipo Pabellon en el colección.

Las cerámicas Pabellones se pueden dividir en grupos según el tipo de escena. En el segundo capítulo, realizo un estudio de cada escena. Primero, identifico las escenas diferentes y les pongo nombres (para una lista de escenas, véase Apéndice B). En los casos donde otros eruditos le han puesto nombres a una escena, no le pongo otros nombres porque prefiero usar la terminología existente. Las escenas que estudio son:

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| Escena 1 | Escena de la figura recostándose (hay pseudo-glifos, una figura se recuesta también, entre cabezas de serpientes)                     |
| Escena 2 | Escena de conferencia (dos figuras se sientan y discuten algo)  |
| Escena 3 | Escena de las tres figuras (hay tres figuras, sentadas o recostadas)  |
| Escena 4 | Escena militar (dos figuras pelean)   |
| Escena 5 | Escena de desfile (los individuos parecen estar de pie y parecen tener en la mano objetos que posiblemente se relacionan a la guerra) |

- Escena 6      Escena de simetría de espejo (dos figuras de personas mayores se sientan encima de cabezas de monstruos y miran a dos cabezas de serpientes en medio de la escena)
- Escena 7      Escena de presentación (se le presenta un cautivo a un rey o el rey participa en una búsqueda de visión).

Las ilustraciones de los Pabellones en Pabellon Database están numeradas. Los números indican el tipo de imagen. Por ejemplo, las cerámicas que muestran la escena de la figura recostada empiezan con el número uno, pero fragmentos y recipientes que exponen la escena de las tres figuras empiezan con tres. Las ilustraciones que contienen imágenes que no pueden ser asociadas con una escena empiezan con el número ocho. En el Capítulo 2, para cada escena describo elementos que aparecen repetidas veces y son diagnosticas. Por ejemplo, la escena de la figura recostada casi siempre está entre cabezas de serpientes.

Cuando hay suficientes datos, también estudio variaciones dentro de cada grupo de escena. Dentro de la gran escena de la figura recostada, por ejemplo, primero estudio el grupo principal. Segundo, porque hay variaciones dentro de esta escena, también desarrollo cuatro grupos secundarios e identifico elementos características para cada grupo:

- Escena 1.1      Figura recostada, con un *atlatl* en la mano
- Escena 1.2      Figura recostada, con las manos levantadas
- Escena 1.3      Figura recostada, con las manos bajadas
- Escena 1.4      Una pareja de figuras recostadas.

La segunda escena, la Escena de conferencia, también expone variación; describo dos escenas secundarias e identifico los aspectos que se repiten:

- Escena 2.1      Escena de conferencia, dos planos

## Escena 2.2 Una figura solamente?

Después de discutir cada escena, analizo el estilo y la iconografía de las cerámicas. Para cada escena, en la iconografía, identifico elementos del estilo Maya o extranjero. En general, descubro que, a veces, hay evidencia de influencia extranjera. Pero la mayor parte de la iconografía expone aspectos del estilo Maya. Por ejemplo, los *atlatls* aparecen repetidas veces en la escena de la figura recostada. Usualmente, los *atlatls* se asocian con México central (para un escrito sobre los *atlatls*, véase Capítulo 2, páginas 22-23). En la escena de la figura recostada, los *atlatls* son el único ejemplo de influencia extranjera que aparecen repetidas veces. Todos los otros elementos en Escena 1, como las proporciones de la figura recostada, son del estilo Maya. Ocurre lo mismo en las otras escenas; hay algunos elementos extranjeros, pero la mayor parte de la iconografía es del estilo Maya.

Después de la descripción de cada escena y su estilo e iconografía, sugiero interpretaciones posibles de las cuales doy aquí un resumen breve. La figura recostada en la Escena 1 puede ser relacionada con los prisioneros y las esculturas que se llaman Chacmool. Los *atlatls* se refieren a la guerra y a un método de obtener prisioneros. Es posible que la figura recostada se relacione con el nacimiento, pero tal conexión no se ha establecido definitivamente hasta ahora.

Es posible que las figuras en la Escena de conferencia indiquen un cambio en la estructura política de la de un solo rey a un grupo de gobernantes. O, posiblemente, se refieran a lazos de familia, porque hay semejanzas entre esta escena y el Altar Q de Copán (figura F, en Capítulo 2). En otra interpretación, sugiero que las figuras pueden ser relacionadas al nacimiento del Dios del Maíz.

La Escena de las tres figuras también parece tener relación con el nacimiento del Dios del Maíz porque una de las figuras lleva un tocado del Dios del Maíz.

La Escena militar supone una lucha entre dos personas. La Escena de desfile parece contener imágenes de guerreros. La Escena de simetría de espejo parece indicar una combinación de dos deidades, los dioses L y N. Finalmente, la Escena de presentación trata de apresamiento, sacrificio, y la búsqueda de visión. También observo que hay imágenes en el Apéndice C que no están asociadas con los grupos de las escenas mencionadas. Pabellon Database: W8.3, por ejemplo, incluye una figura que está de pie y levanta un *atlatl*, cerca de un texto de glifos que son ilegibles. En la medida que va creciendo la colección de fragmentos y recipientes de Pabellones, es posible que en el futuro se pueda identificar y definir nuevas categorías de escenas que incluirían los fragmentos encontrados en W8.3.

En el Capítulo 3, estudio los textos jeroglíficos que se encuentran en el Apéndice C. Estos textos se pueden dividir en tres grupos:

- Grupo 1        Textos pseudo-glíficos
- Grupo 2        Textos jeroglíficos de los Mayas
- Grupo 3        Glifos con orlas cuadradas.

La mayor parte de los textos pseudo-glíficos aparecen en la escena de la figura recostada. Peter Keeler ha sugerido que estos textos jeroglíficos son legibles y que son formas de la secuencia de la primera estándar (en inglés se llama Primary Standard Sequence, o PSS, un texto Maya que aparece repetidas veces en bandas en el borde de recipientes). No se puede decir más sin más información y más análisis.

Los textos jeroglíficos que son evidentemente legibles ocurren en la escena de conferencia, la escena de las tres figuras, y la escena de presentación.

Por lo menos hay cuatro versiones del PSS que aparecen en la colección de Pabellones y refieren al dueño y a la acción de tallar el recipiente. El glifo de nacimiento **SIH** aparece en varios ejemplos y posiblemente se relacione al nacimiento del Dios del Maíz (Pabellon Database: W3.7, por ejemplo). Hay otros textos que se refieren a un individuo que se llama Olom (Pabellon Database: W7.1, por ejemplo), que aparece en una estela de Jimbal (ver Schele Database: Schele number 2029). Además, hay varios fragmentos que representan diferentes versiones del PSS. Desafortunadamente, no hay suficiente información actualmente para definir versiones adicionales del PSS.

Los jeroglífos en orlas cuadradas son el ultimo tipo de texto que se puede encontrar en las cerámicas Pabellones. Las orlas cuadradas indican influencia extranjera y se pueden encontrar en otros sistemas de escritura como aquellos que se encuentran en Veracruz, por ejemplo (hay una breve discusión sobre las orlas cuadradas en el Capítulo 3, página 64). En la colección de Pabellones, muchas de las orlas cuadradas pueden ser asociadas con tales sistemas de escritura, aunque no podría hacer conexiones específicas en este momento. Pero en un caso, la orla cuadrada contiene un glifo que parece ser un glifo Maya ('Cimi,' o el signo Maya para muerte; Pabellon Database: W2.8).

Las orlas cuadradas se encuentran en la escena de conferencia y la escena militar. Están situadas en la escena entre dos figuras que miran el uno al otro en cada caso. Porque son signos del día, estos glífos probablemente se refieren a nombres o fechas. Es improbable que estos glífos se refieran a nombres específicas. Una razón por eso es que, en varios casos, hay más combinaciones glíficas que personas. Las orlas cuadradas que contienen glífos que no son Maya

también aparecen en otras partes de la región Maya. Estos glífos se encuentran en las estelas de Seibal, Jimbal, Ixlu, y Ucanal.

En mi conclusión, sugiero que los grupos de escenas que describo arriba se puede agrupar en grandes categorías que tratan de temas conectados. Por ejemplo, la escena de la figura recostada, la escena de las tres figuras, la escena de conferencia, y la escena de simetría de espejo pueden estar relacionadas al Dios del Maíz y su nacimiento. La escena de la figura recostada puede estar relacionada al Dios del Maíz a causa de su posición acostada y el hecho que el está entre dos cabezas de serpientes. Esta posición se puede ver en la tapa de sarcófago de Pakal, donde el rey, imitando al Dios del Maíz, se recuesta entre mandíbulas con dientes (fig. E, Capítulo 2). Es posible que la escena de las tres figuras se refiera al nacimiento del Dios del Maíz porque hay un tocado del Dios del Maíz y un glífo de nacimiento **SIH**. La escena de conferencia probablemente tenga relación con este nacimiento también, porque las cuerdas (las cuáles pueden asociarse con el cordón umbilical del cielo) y los tronos de hueso aparecen en dos ejemplos (Pabellon Database: W2.15, W2.14). Finalmente, la escena de simetría de espejo posiblemente se relacione con los individuos que ayudan al Dios del Maíz durante su aparición, o al período de creación en general.

Las otras tres escenas que se pueden agrupar juntos son: la escena de presentación, la escena militar, y la escena de desfile. En la escena de presentación, un guerrero presenta un cautivo a un rey específico. La escena militar representa batallas. Obviamente, estas luchas eran necesarias para obtener prisioneros. La escena de desfile representa guerreros que salen a luchar o que regresan de la batalla.



En mi conclusión, también sugiero temas de investigación en el futuro. Por ejemplo, las relaciones entre las categorías de escena necesitan más definición y refinamiento. También, estas conexiones suscitan preguntas específicas, como ¿Por qué querría repartir un rey imágenes que se relacionan con el nacimiento del Dios del Maíz, la creación, y la destreza militar? Las imágenes representan sistemas de creencia tradicional que sostienen la institución del soberano divino, por ejemplo, además de indicar habilidad militar. ¿Afirman estas escenas los precedentes mitológicos que estaban empezando a cuestionar durante el período clásico terminal? Estos y otros temas, incluyendo los de contacto entre los Mayas y los extranjeros y la cuestión de fabricación en serie, se mencionan en la conclusión.

La información que contiene esta tesis suscita muchas preguntas. Esta tesis proporciona una introducción al tipo de cerámica Pabellon. Una colección de las cerámicas Pabellones se presenta por la primera vez. Además, la descripción de las categorías de escena y la discusión e interpretación de la iconografía (Capítulo 2) añaden al entendimiento actual de los recipientes Pabellones. Estas cerámicas también se relacionan con el período clásico terminal generalmente, donde se considera apropiado. Adicionalmente, el contenido jeroglífico (Capítulo 3) nunca se había considerado en forma constante. En todos estos casos, hay mucho más que se puede decir, pero se espera que esta tesis fomente la investigación de la variedad del Pabellon Moldeado-Tallado y que este tipo de cerámica nos revele más sobre los Mayas antiguos, el colapso, y el período clásico terminal.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

A series of mini-collapses shook the Maya region during the Terminal Classic period (700-900 CE). By the end of the Terminal Classic, inhabitants had begun to leave and in some cases had already completely abandoned centers throughout the Maya area.<sup>1</sup> A period of general decline ensued, bolstered by the decay of many sites that were both geographically and chronologically distinct (Adams 1973a: 21, 33).<sup>2</sup> Many factors, such as resource degradation, increased warfare, and ecological catastrophes contributed to this widespread pattern of collapse (Sabloff 1973: 36). No single cause can be named for the gradual decline that afflicted the Classic Maya, given variety found between sites (Webster 2002: 219). For this reason, the Terminal Classic remains a mysterious period that is not completely understood.

During this chaotic time of change, Maya potters shifted from making polychrome vessels and began producing a unique ceramic type known today as

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<sup>1</sup> The designation Terminal Classic refers to the period of transition that occurs between the Classic and Post-Classic periods in the Maya area. In other words, what has often been referred to as the 'collapse of Classic Maya civilization' began during the Classic period, but general decline become most obvious during the Terminal Classic. Dates spanning the years 700 to 900 CE are generally associated with the Terminal Classic period, which is also referred to as the Epiclassic by some and included within the Late Classic by others (for a discussion of the various terms used to refer to this period, see Diehl and Berlo 1989: 3).

<sup>2</sup> For an example of this variety, the decline at Copán can be compared with the collapse at Aguateca. At Copán, the disappearance of civilization was gradual and can probably be related to resource degradation (Paine and Freter 1996: 44-45). Aguateca, on the other hand, provides a drastically different perspective for the collapse. This site was hastily fortified during the Terminal Classic. The rapidly built walls did not protect the inhabitants for long, and Aguateca was sacked and then completely abandoned sometime between 790 and 830 CE (Inomata 1997: 346).

Pabellon Molded-Carved.<sup>3</sup> Pabellons typically exhibit no temper and come in several different shapes and sizes (for the different vessel types, see figure A).

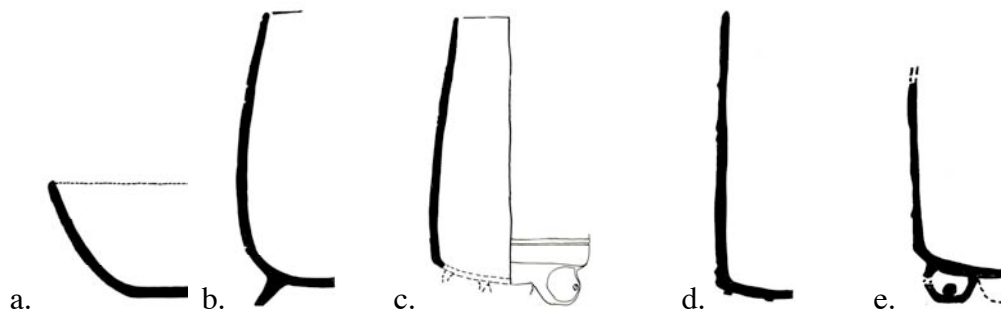


Figure A.

- a. Bowl Shape (see Pabellon Database: W1.2; drawing by Maline Werness after Sabloff 1975: fig. 385)
- b. Barrel shape (see Pabellon Database: W2.1; drawing by Maline Werness after Culbert 1993: fig. 98c1)
- c. Tripod feet (see Pabellon Database: W7.1; drawing by Maline Werness after Helmke 2000: figs. 5 and 71)
- d. Cylindrical shape (see Pabellon Database: W7.2; drawing by Maline Werness after Graham 1987: fig. 3a)
- e. Cylindrical shape with tripod feet (see Pabellon Database: W7.4; drawing by Maline Werness after Graham 1987: fig. 3b).

They have been referred to as the “porcelain” of the Maya for several reasons (Wyllie 2003). Most obviously, the Pabellon type is made from an orange paste that has an extremely fine texture (hence the term fine orange), which results in thin vessel walls (Smith 1971: 151).<sup>4</sup> In addition, Dorie Reents-Budet (pers.

<sup>3</sup> Pabellon Molded-Carved vessels are also known by the name Pabellon *Modeled*-Carved (Sabloff 1970: 365; Adams 1971: 49). Pabellon Molded-Carved is the term used to indicate both this type and variety of ceramic (since the two are the same in this case), and I refer to both the Pabellon type and the Pabellon variety, interchangeably. In literature published before the 1960’s, Pabellons can be found in fine orange groupings.

<sup>4</sup> Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics are the “most widespread type” found within the Fine Orange Altar Group, also known as the Y Fine Orange Group (Smith 1971: 19; Wyllie 2002: 114). While I have found that the other fine orange groups, such as X, V, and U, can be excluded due to their later appearance,

comm. 2003) has pointed out that this type of ceramic would have taken a lot of time and effort to produce. The length of time needed to develop a fine orange paste, build a pair of molds (one for each half of the ceramic), shape a vessel and apply the molds would have been extensive.

The application of the mold would have taken some effort as well.

Ancient Maya potters almost certainly created the ceramic shape first and then impressed the mold; if the mold was applied first and the ceramic formed after, the image would be noticeably affected by stretching. Additionally, the artisan probably used a smooth ceramic rocker on the inside of the vessel to apply pressure to the ceramic/mold combination, thus transferring the mold imagery to the outer vessel wall. The producer would then repeat the process with the second mold on the other side of the vessel.<sup>5</sup> The fact that Pabellons exhibit smooth, even vessel walls supports this hypothesis since pressing the clay into the mold without using a rocker would result in finger marks that would then have to be smoothed out, resulting in slight, but noticeable irregularities in thickness (Dorie Reents-Budet, pers. comm. 2003). Furthermore, after the mold was applied and the vessel was allowed to dry, the artist added or refined detail by extensively carving both scene panels on each individual ceramic.<sup>6</sup> Thus, while these ceramics had the potential for mass production, the evidence implies that each individual ceramic took a great deal of effort to make. In fact, Pabellons

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chronologically, Pabellons may occur in Z Fine Orange groupings that are also associated with the Terminal Classic. However, I have only found Pabellon vessels in Y Fine Orange collections. A few Pabellons also fall into a Fine Grey grouping (for example, see Pabellon Database: W1.12); according to R.E.W. Adams (pers. comm. 2002), this results from a variation in the length of time for which a piece of the fine orange ceramic is fired.

<sup>5</sup> For evidence of the two mold technique, see Pabellon Database: W6.7—on one side the mold clearly shifted, creating double lines, while on the other side, no shifting occurred and the image is clear and straight.

<sup>6</sup> Marks from carving tools can be identified in sherds and vessels of the Pabellon type.

required more time to complete than many polychrome ceramics (Reents-Budet, pers. comm. 2003).<sup>7</sup> Only a few examples of Pabellons produced from the same mold exist, further weakening any suggestion of mass production.<sup>8</sup> As with other studies that deal with archaeological data, this could be a result of the available sampling. The current record does tend to imply, however, that the molds were not used to create many copies of a single vessel. Thus, Pabellon ceramics acted as a “luxury ware,” a fact emphasized by the costly production process and fine textured paste used (Sayre, Chan, and Sabloff 1971: 165).

The detailed and complex iconography exhibited by the Pabellon type further increased the value of these prestige objects. As Panofsky (1955: 30) states, in any individual work of art, there are “underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion—qualified by one personality and condensed into one work.”<sup>9</sup> For this reason, Pabellon imagery, as a body of artistic production, demonstrates something about the culture within which it was manufactured, thereby increasing the modern, art historical value of these pieces. Pabellons were status wares very likely disseminated by rulers who wished, through gift giving, to convey a specific message and solidify political ties. Such a message not only relied on the type of ceramic ware—fine—but was also conveyed by the images chosen for representation.

The rapid and widespread distribution that the Pabellon variety experienced demonstrates its range of influence as the map of the Maya area,

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<sup>7</sup> This would not include polychrome ceramics like the Holmul dancer vessels, which the artist clearly spent quite a bit of time creating. This applies, rather, to vessels that have relatively simple iconography.

<sup>8</sup> It would be useful to compare the actual vessels in cases where the same mold has been used (Pabellon Database: W3.1-3.5) to see how much the subsequent carving individualized each ceramic.

<sup>9</sup> George Kubler (1962) was one of the first to expressly use this approach with regard to Mesoamerican cultures.

below (fig. B), indicates; some sites where Pabellons have been found are marked in yellow (for a complete listing of the sites where excavations have recovered Pabellon ceramics in the current corpus, see Appendix A.

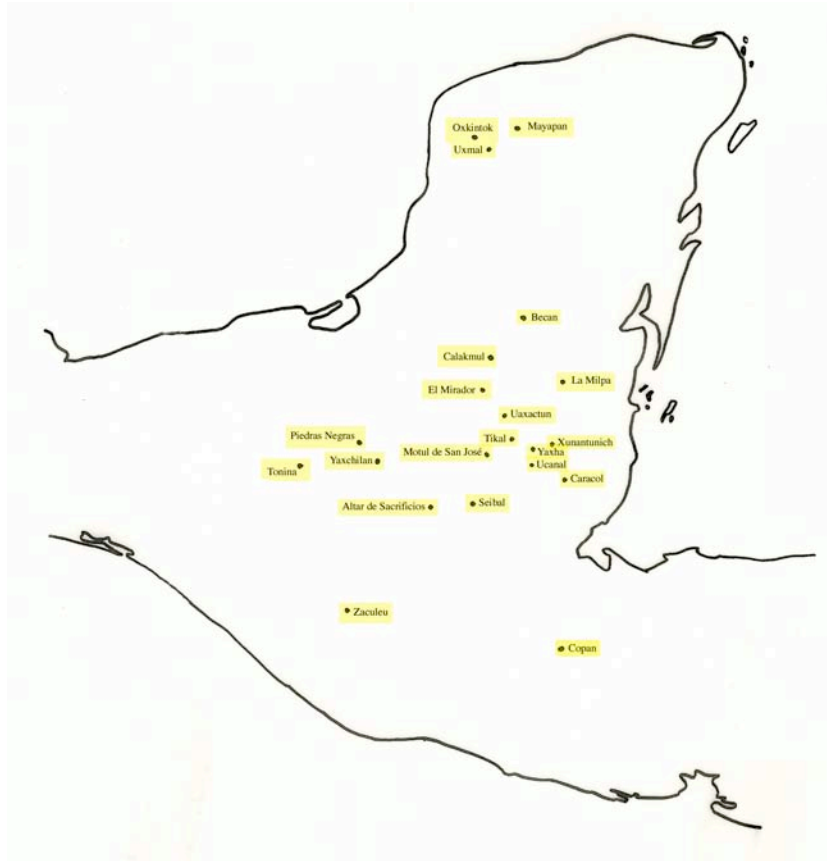


Figure B. Map of the Maya area with sites where Pabellons have been found highlighted in yellow. Drawing by Maline Werness.

The southern Maya lowlands experience the heaviest concentration of Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics.<sup>10</sup> Pabellon ceramics can also be found in the Yucatan and even made their way into the highlands, although with lesser frequency. Additionally, a variation of the Pabellon Molded-Carved type appears in Belize and is called Belize Molded-Carved in formal accounts (Awe1985: 260). These

<sup>10</sup> This statement is based on archaeological data and may be refined as more Pabellons are found.

ceramics do not, most notably, utilize a fine paste. The implication is that Maya potters in the Belize area made pots in the Pabellon style while neglecting to imitate the paste type (Awe 1985: 260). Perhaps the Maya living in Belize did not have the technology needed to create the fine orange paste. Nevertheless, it seems that the status associated with the Pabellon type inspired production of a variety that imitated, at least outwardly, the appearance of Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics.<sup>11</sup> The fact that ancient Maya in what is now Belize would have chosen to copy a ceramic type while not being able to replicate the fine quality of the paste with which it was made implies that the imagery, with its associated message, was the most important component of the ceramic variety being copied.<sup>12</sup> The copying of Pabellon vessels is not unique to the Belize variety. A vessel from Tikal, for example, falls into the Sacaba Molded-Carved complex and is a “tempered locally made imitation” of the Pabellon type (Ronald Bishop, Dorie Reents-Budet, pers. comm. 2002, 2003). The fact that imitations appear even at centers where Pabellons have also been found further substantiates the status of Pabellons as luxury goods. This copying, paired with the wide distribution of true Pabellons, indicates that the Pabellon type exerted a great deal of influence throughout the period of its manufacture.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> While the Belize Molded-Carved type does, on the whole, represent a different scene type from that found on Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics, the two ceramic wares share stylistic similarities. The fact that at least two of the Belize Molded-Carved examples can be securely placed in Pabellon scene categories further corroborates the association between Belize Molded-Carved and Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramic types (for further discussion, see Chapter 2).

<sup>12</sup> As I just noted, Belize Molded-Carved ceramics do, for the most part, display a distinct scene category. However, some Belize examples replicate Pabellon scene groupings and the Belize scene fits nicely within the militaristic section of Pabellon scenes. I will elaborate on this suggestion in my conclusion, please see Chapter 4.

<sup>13</sup> Ceramic complexes are defined as “the pottery...made by a group of people during a particular interval of time and used throughout an identifiable



Not only is Pabellon iconography complex, but it also can be considered as an ideological statement created within a political institution that was on the brink of extinction, as I have suggested above. In this way, Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics provide iconographic and iconological information that provides insight into the Terminal Classic period. Pabellon vessels, however, are limited to a ceramic type and cannot be expected to provide or support a single explanation for the collapse of Classic Maya civilization. Nor can they be expected to further clarify scholars' understanding of a host of issues such as environmental concerns, for example, which faced Terminal Classic populations. Nonetheless, a careful consideration of the Pabellon type provides exceptional information regarding specific theoretical models for the Terminal Classic collapse.

Many theories can be found in the literature regarding the collapse, and a few examples follow.<sup>14</sup> For example, J.E.S. Thompson (1954: 87) hypothesized that commoners, composed of farmers among others, overthrew the ruling, priestly class. George Cowgill (1964: 155), on the other hand, proposed a foreign invasion. According to this theory, Mexican warriors first conquered Maya sites

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geographical distribution" (Gifford 1976: 4). These complexes are split up into a series of phases, which are "distinct and definable inventor[ies] of specific cultural items linked through common archaeological associations (Gifford 1976: 4). Thus, there is a "temporal dimension" to each phase, as well as a geographical dimension when a comparison is made between the contemporary phases of certain sites (Gifford 1976: 4-5). In this way, ceramic complex and phase names may vary from site to site, but can be compared based on the period of time they cover. Pabellons can be found in Tepeu 3, late Boca, Jimba, or equivalent ceramic complexes, which all converge at around 900 CE, supporting the identification of the Pabellon type as a Terminal Classic phenomenon (Wyllie 2002: 114).

<sup>14</sup> An in depth discussion of such theories appear in two landmark studies regarding the Terminal Classic collapse of Classic Maya civilization: *The Classic Maya Collapse*, edited by Patrick T. Culbert (1973), and *The Fall of the Ancient Maya, Solving the Mystery of the Collapse* by David Webster (2002).

and then forced the inhabitants to resettle in other areas, closer to Chichen Itza in Yucatan, a site which has long been attributed to a Mexican invasion (Cowgill 1964: 155). In contrast, Malcolm Webb (1973: 400) suggested that trade routes in the Peten would have begun to disintegrate due to a shift in emphasis from “very long-distance trade of ceremonially precious items in small amounts to a trading network dealing largely in useful items.” According to Webb (1973: 401-402), the Peten area did not have the type of goods utilized by such a system, causing a shift in ideology and ultimately resulting in widespread collapse and abandonment. Yet another theory has been proposed by Richardson Gill (2000). A megadrought, Gill (2000: 374) argues, increased stresses on Maya civilization that may have resulted in increased warfare and the commoners’ loss of respect for their ruler’s ability to provide for them.

Each of these theories has its own weaknesses. Thompson, for example, probably overestimated the cost in terms of labor needed to construct and maintain ceremonial centers and the associated stress placed on the commoner population (Webster 2002). Cowgill does not explain why foreign invasion would crush the Maya area while earlier foreign contact did not have this effect.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Throughout Maya history, elites associated themselves with foreign imagery; the Teotihuacan war costume, for instance, clearly seems to have been associated with added prestige (Stone 1989: 157). Stela 31 at Tikal demonstrates just such a connection (cf. Schele Database: Schele numbers 2036 and 2037). The figures on the stela sides are represented in battle dress that has foreign origins, as the *atlatl* and the goggle eyed deity on the square shield on the right side of the stela show (Stone 1989: 157). Andrea Stone (1989) suggests that, by using this imagery, the Maya reference great, foreign militaristic powers. Stone (1989: 168) does not imply that these powers participated in the wholesale destruction of Maya regions; Stela 31 was, after all, carved long before the collapse of Tikal. Additionally, foreign imagery continues to reappear in the Maya area for several centuries. At Tikal, Stela 31 is not the only example of Teotihuacan influenced iconography. To name one other case, James Borowicz connects the frontal representation and the feline headdress, as well as the figure’s war attire, seen on the earlier Stela 4 with imagery found at Teotihuacan (Borowicz 2003: 223 and

Webb does not acknowledge the fact that rulers should have been able to find other sources through which they could procure important, high-status items (Culbert 1988: 78). Finally, Gill's megadrought argument not only fails to account for the geographic variety found in the Maya region, it also neglects to explain why the collapse affected different centers in different ways at different times (Webster 2002).

Pabellon iconography cannot address issues concerning peasant rebellions and megadroughts, given its role as an elite status ware, but it can be used to elucidate other issues pertinent to the Terminal Classic period.<sup>16</sup> While the foreign invasion hypothesis has basically been refuted, the nature of Maya/foreign contact still remains a poorly understood topic (Schele and Mathews 1998: 199-201). In what little literature exists concerning Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics, the foreign stylistic elements within the Pabellon iconographic program are repeatedly mentioned (Adams 1971: 51; Sayre, Chan, and Sabloff 1971: 180). I will investigate links between Maya and foreign symbol systems when I consider the stylistic aspects of Pabellon scene categories in my second chapter

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fig. 8.3a). These are just a few of the cases that demonstrate the intrusion of foreign iconography into Classic Maya images.

<sup>16</sup> Archaeology provides most of the data used to reconstruct the decline of Classic Maya civilization. Fortunately, some archaeologists have begun concentrating on the overall structure of Maya society and are considering settlement patterns and investigating indications of depopulation [For a demonstration of the ways in which each of these approaches can be used, see David Webster's (2002) fifth chapter, "The Classic Maya, or What Collapsed?"]. On the other hand, elite complexes and city centers have received the majority of archaeologists' attentions. Thus, much of the evidence regarding the collapse of Maya civilization reflects the decay of elite society and its political institutions; most of the monumental architecture and sculpture in the Maya region relates to exclusively elite concerns and ambitions. The resulting iconographic and epigraphic studies have focused on issues relevant to high status individuals. In addition to monumental art, archaeology also uncovers luxury goods, like Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics, which just as obviously relate to and demonstrate elite ideologies.

and aspects of writing style in my third chapter.<sup>17</sup> If there was contact between the Maya and other areas during the Terminal Classic, it should appear in the style with which status goods—Pabellon Molded-Carved vessels—were created during that time.

Pabellons can also add to scholars' understanding of political change and ideological crises during the Terminal Classic period. In some cases, Pabellons might actually indicate a shift in political structure (I will introduce this idea in more depth through my analysis of Scene 2 in Chapter 2). Generally, though, an in depth consideration of the Pabellon type can result in a better understanding of the decay of political ideologies and can help answer the following question: During a time of extreme stress and dramatic shifts, what messages begin to appear in political imagery?

Despite the fact that this ceramic variety can add to the current understanding of the collapse, no one has considered these ceramics in depth. Thus far, what little literature exists concerning Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics can be divided into two groups. Much of the literature attempts to determine, with little success, the exact area in which Pabellons were produced.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> In using the term “style” here, I am referring to Meyer Shapiro’s (1953: 287) use of the word as a “diagnostic means” that is “a system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist [or group of artists] and the broad outlook of a [cultural] group are visible.”

<sup>18</sup> Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics have a particularly consistent chemical makeup (for example, see Bishop and Rands 1982: 283). The provenience postulate states “that in many instances there will exist differences in chemical composition between pottery from different sources that will exceed, in some recognizable way, the differences observed within pottery from a given source” (Bishop, Harbottle, and Sayre 1982: 272). The provenience postulate and the chemical consistency in the Pabellon group have encouraged scholars to try to identify a single site of production (Sayre, Chan, and Sabloff 1971: 176, 180).

The chemical analysis of Pabellons does not match with that of any tested center, however, allowing scholars to identify a range of possibilities. R.E.W Adams (1971: 51) has suggested the Pasi3n area as one possibility, given the fact

The second group is made up of archaeologists who have briefly mentioned and described the Pabellon type within larger discussions of ceramics at the site where they are conducting excavations. R.E.W. Adams (1973b) is one such scholar. He has done a masterful job of identifying four basic scene categories for Pabellons found at Altar de Sacrificios:

1. “Reclining human figures,”
2. “Conference scenes,”
3. “Military scenes,” and
4. “Mirror symmetry” (Adams 1973b: 146).

However, many more Pabellons have been found since Adams conducted his initial study. I have catalogued and created a visual record of Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics that includes both published as well as unpublished fragments and whole vessels drawn from a wide variety of sites (for a listing of sites where Pabellons in this compilation have been found, refer to Appendix A). This collection is the largest such corpus to date (Pabellon Database and Appendix C). Given the increased sampling size, I am able to refine Adams’ scene categories while also defining new scene groups. Thus, my intent in this thesis is to conduct analyses that can be used as a point of departure for the

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that the Pasi3n functioned as a “trade axis” during the period of distribution for Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics. Ronald Bishop and Robert Rands (1982: 283) have proposed that Pabellons have “loci toward the Pasi3n and downstream on the Usumacinta,” although, unfortunately, the actual location of manufacture remains elusive (Ronald Bishop, pers. comm. 2002).

The situation is further complicated by the fact that Pabellons may actually have been made at several different sites. The chemical analysis only proves beyond doubt that the Pabellon variety is distinct from all other ceramic types (Dorie Reents-Budet, pers. comm. 2003). If the Pabellon corpus were divided according to stylistic parameters, the group could be retested to see if there is any chemical variation between style groups. Such variation would imply that several sites were manufacturing Pabellon ceramics (Dorie Reents-Budet, pers. comm. 2003).

greater discussion of Pabellon ceramics and the Terminal Classic period. I will identify scenes, discuss stylistic issues, and suggest interpretations for each scene grouping in Chapter 2. In my third chapter, I will analyze the hieroglyphic content of these vessels. In both of these chapters, I will contextualize the Pabellon type within the Terminal Classic period when appropriate. Finally, in my conclusion, I will highlight the ways in which Pabellons reflect elite ideologies and other issues pertinent to the Terminal Classic period.

## Chapter 2

### A Consideration of the Iconography of Pabellon Molded-Carved Ceramics

The iconography on Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics is extremely repetitive in certain, key aspects.<sup>19</sup> Each Pabellon displays a specific scene, which varies from vessel to vessel. Individual elements often reoccur on pots that fall into the same scene category. In fact, while Pabellon imagery displays a great deal of variation, significant inclusions reappear within each scene grouping. I consider such elements diagnostic indicators of respective iconographic sets. Thus, it is important to identify and define the representative components of each scene type. As I noted in my introduction, R.E.W. Adams has already defined four scene categories found on Pabellon ceramics. In what follows, Adams' scene categories and his terminology are used. New groupings and subcategories drawn from an extensive corpus of Pabellon vessels augment these scene categories. This has necessitated the development of a sequential numbering system and the addition of new descriptive titles for each scene (For a listing of the scenes—including numbers and titles—found in this thesis, see Appendix B).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The corpus I have collected includes drawings. These drawings often show the whole scene at once, an impossibility in reality. I would just like to briefly note here that our readings rely on understanding the entire scene as a whole, while the Maya, and anyone considering the actual object for that matter, would only see parts of the scene at any given time. I will not discuss the different reactions this causes as such a discussion is outside the scope of this thesis.

<sup>20</sup> I will be adding several scenes to Adams' collection (his categories form a small part of his larger analysis of ceramics at Altar de Sacrificios). Some of these added scenes contain similarities to existing scenes. For that reason I have inserted these where it seems fitting, thus forcing me to break up Adams' continuum of scene categories. Therefore, Adams' Reclining Figure Scene is my Scene 1 of the same name, his Conference Scene is my Scene 2, the Military Scene is my Scene 4, and Adams' Mirror Symmetry Scene is my Scene 6.

The impartial naming of groups should prevent confusion in the event that interpretations change regarding a specific scene. Accordingly, this chapter will be broken up into sections based on scene type. Within these sections, I will also identify subgroups when applicable. Ultimately, I will also conduct iconographic and stylistic analyses within each broader scene grouping, from which I will develop an interpretation of the scene itself. The interpretations are based on the corpus I have collected; thus information that affects these interpretations may become available later, given a larger sampling. Any consideration of hieroglyphic content will be saved for a detailed discussion in Chapter 3. Here, however, I will briefly note the recurrent appearance of hieroglyphs when appropriate.

### **Scene 1**

#### **Reclining Figure Scene**

Adams (1971: 49) introduces ‘reclining human figures’ as his first scene category. He makes the following comments regarding this scene (please refer to Pabellon Database: W1.1):

Reclining human figures, usually with one foot raised and the head turned in the direction opposite to the length of the body [occur in this scene]. The human faces a serpent whose body twines in the background or around, and ends by framing, the feet of the individual.

Furthermore, the human usually faces the serpent’s head (Adams 1973b: 146, Adams 1971: fig. 67c)). There are many vessels that depict a human figure stretched out facing a serpent maw. In fact, there are so many included in my sampling that this scene grouping accounts for approximately sixty five percent of Pabellons (not counting illegible fragments of course) in the corpus. Furthermore, within the broader Pabellon variety, this scene contains so many variations that it is second, in this respect, to only one other scene (Scene 2, the



Conference Scene). However, there are some aspects that reappear in almost every example of this scene and minimal variation occurs between the two panels on each vessel. I would like to identify the characteristic elements now.

In addition to the reclining figure Adams describes, what appear to be pseudoglyphs can almost always be found in the top register and also appear frequently as framing elements between the two scenes (for further discussion of these elements, see Chapter 3). The figure is male and always appears in a prone position, with a frontally depicted chest. As Adams notes, the figure faces a serpent maw; however, in most of the images, the serpent head reappears at the feet of the reclining figure (Pabellon Database: W1.32).<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, sometimes a K'awiil figure can be substituted for the serpent head (see Pabellon Database: W1.57).

The recumbent individual's legs are always bent at the knee and one foot, the one that is the farthest from the viewer, is almost always raised slightly. Furthermore, the figure wears a neck ornament and beaded bracelets. There is, however, considerable variation in the neck ornament, which takes the form of a beaded necklace in some examples while in others, a checkered scarf is

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<sup>21</sup> I support a reading of the framing elements as serpent heads. It is important to note, however, that such an identification is probably simplistic. Michele Bernatz (pers. comm. 2003), for example, interprets the serpent heads in Scene 6 as K'awiil heads instead. Since the Scene 6 heads resemble those found in the Reclining Figure Scene, it is possible that both are meant to refer to K'awiil. K'awill, or God K, is, of course, often associated with serpents, and the two are not mutually exclusive (Taube 1992: 73, 79). Further support for the K'awiil association can be found in the Pabellon Database: W1.57, where the traditional, serpent head is replaced by another head that bears a closer resemblance to K'awiil than to snakes. The upturned nose typically associated with K'awiil appears, on a head that seems more human in its proportions. Additionally, the indication of a supraorbital plate is gone and the eye is more rounded. While K'awiil associations should not be ruled out, however, it seems that the serpentine aspect of the god is emphasized more frequently in this scene, as can be seen in the repeated indication of a supraorbital plate, for example.

represented, with the cross hatching probably indicating jade decoration (Pabellon Database: W1.1, W1.32). In the vast majority of cases, the reclining figure also displays a beaded cuff that is wrapped around the leg closest to the viewer, just below the knee (often the beading on this cuff overlaps the thigh of the same leg as well). In some cases, though, this beaded element appears on both legs and in a few cases the design is reduced to a simple cuff probably made of leather or cloth that ties in front of the leg (Pabellon Database: W1.46, W1.47). In the majority of the examples, the artist gives the reclining figure a simple ear spool.

Usually the figure wears one of two distinct types of headdresses. Commonly, he sports a bird headdress with feathers fanning out behind him (Pabellon Database: W1.1). These feathers typically follow the top register and then slope down towards the figure's back. The other type of headdress found on the reclining figure curves around the face and has long feathers coming from the top; these feathers share distinct similarities with the feathers in the first type of headdress described and also act as a framing element (Pabellon Database: W1.23). Other headdresses that appear in this scene category seem to be variations of these two types. There are some instances where a very simple headdress appears; in these cases, the feathers are treated in the same fashion as those found in the other headdresses and it seems that the artist simply needed to conserve room and sacrificed detail in the headdress for this reason (Pabellon Database: W1.12)

The characteristics I have described above are found on the majority of Pabellon ceramics of this scene type. As I noted earlier, though, there is a great deal of variation. In fact, there appears to be one main and several sub groupings that can be made within the greater scene type. Division into subcategories is based on repeated and diagnostic differences in posture and included elements.

### Scene 1.1 Reclining Figure Holding an *Atlatl*

This grouping is by far the largest within the larger Reclining Figure Scene category (for a representative example, see Pabellon Database: W1.32). Here, the person always faces left and raises his left arm, reaching back over his bent legs. He also holds a spear thrower or *atlatl* in his left hand. The elbow of the right arm rests on the lower register and the hand can either be placed next to the chest or raised in front of the figure's face. In a few cases, the raised right hand, for a reason that still remains opaque but seems significant, given the repetition, points to a circular, crosshatched element near the top register (Pabellon Database: W1.34). It appears that the scarf-like neck ornament complements the bird headdress while the other types of headdresses seem to be paired with the necklace of circular elements (some variation appears in the representation of this necklace; when variation does occur though, the neck element bears a strong resemblance to the beaded necklace).

The positioning of the *atlatl* accounts for another variation within this smaller grouping. In some cases the figure clearly reclines, facing left and it seems that his left hand is raised in the same manner (the position of the hand is not entirely clear, though, since the two examples I have for this are both sherds that break after the head of the figure, see Pabellon Database: W1.31). Significantly, the *atlatl* is held in the right hand and raised in front of the face. While the arrangement of elements shifts slightly in this instance, I have still included them within this subgroup because there are not enough examples for the successful development of another scene category. Furthermore, even though the elements have been rearranged, they all still appear in these examples—the figure reclines, faces left, looks into a serpent maw and holds an *atlatl*. The figure also holds the *atlatl* in his right hand but next to his chest instead of in front of his face in one example (Pabellon Database: W1.30).

### **Scene 1.2**

#### **Reclining Figure with Hands Raised**

This subgroup follows the same basic layout found in Scene 1.1. Here the figure always faces left and his hands do not touch the bottom register in most cases (Pabellon Database: W1.2). Typically the elbow of the figure's right arm rests on the bottom register while the hand is raised and cupped slightly. The left arm is raised and the left hand gestures toward the serpent framing the feet (a serpent also appears before the figure's head, of course). In all legible instances, the figure wears a necklace made out of spherical elements, although this may not be diagnostic, given the scarcity of examples for this subgroup.

### **Scene 1.3**

#### **Reclining Figure with Hands Lowered**

This grouping receives the least amount of representation; in fact there are not enough examples of this scene to make discussing it in depth worthwhile. A few things should be noted though. The figure, like the others already introduced, faces left. Uniquely, his hands rest on the bottom register in this case and he does not hold anything. His headdress characteristically has feathers that follow the line of his left arm (the upper part of which is parallel to the frame) and curve down slightly. This figure often wears a bird headdress, although the artist depicts a very simplified headdress in several cases. There is also usually an indication of either breath or speech. This subgroup appears very infrequently in the available sampling.

### **Scene 1.4**

#### **Double Reclining Figures**

Again, unfortunately, there are very few examples for this subgroup, although they appear to fall into two distinct sets. In the first, the lounging

figures face each other (i.e., one faces right and the other faces left). There are only two obvious examples of this kind. In both cases, the figures face each other across the serpent head that divides them. In one case (Pabellon Database: W1.47), at least one of the figures holds an *atlatl*. In the other, however, no *atlatl* appears (Pabellon Database: W1.12). Furthermore, the hands appear in two different positions, one of the figures raises his left arm but does not hold anything, while the other rests his hands on the bottom register.

The other double reclining figure subgroup also occurs in very few examples in the current corpus. For this reason I will not attempt to analyze it, although I would like to point out that this scene contains imagery that differs markedly from the other reclining figure scenes. Again, the two figures face each other. Here though, there is no intervening serpent head. The figures appear to be holding *atlatls*, one in front of the face and one over the knees, as before (Pabellon Database: W1.48). In one case, interestingly, a free-flying bird appears in the space between the two figures. The headdresses look like types similar to those discussed above. The pectorals worn by the figures are completely different though. In fact, one wears a simple limpet shell pendant (Wyllie 2002: 333).

Before concluding the discussion of this scene category one observation is worth mentioning. The majority of reclining figures face left (see Pabellon Database: W1.32). When a figure faces right and both panels of the scene are visible, the right facing figure looks toward a recumbent individual who faces left (thus the feet of both figures are close together as well) (see Pabellon Database: W1.12). In the instances where only sherds are available, a right facing figure might imply a reclining figure looking to the left (see Pabellon Database: W1.13). Unfortunately nothing more may be said about such a combination without a bigger sampling.

### **Scene 1 Stylistic and Iconographic Analyses**

Stylistically, Pabellon vessels combine foreign and Classic Maya elements. A good example is the serpent head in this scene (see Pabellon Database: W1.32 for a representative image). Like many other Maya snake images, the serpent is depicted without its lower jaw. Furthermore, the supraorbital plate is almost always emphasized and references are made to fangs, traits that are well-known from Classic Maya art.<sup>22</sup> In these instances, small, underemphasized feather-like elements appear between the supraorbital plate and the upturned nose. In contrast, there are a few cases where the artist has chosen to represent more foreign-looking serpent heads (Pabellon Database: W1.68, W1.69). In these representations, the serpent still lacks its lower jaw. The supraorbital plate, however, can hardly be identified and fangs appear to be even more summarily depicted than in the more typically Maya example. Feathers, on the other hand, are quite detailed and can probably be related to Central Mexican feathered serpent imagery. Even so, serpent images, at least, involve more Maya traits than Central Mexican ones.

The reclining figure in this scene also appears to be less foreign than has been suggested in the literature to date. His dynamic pose, overall proportions, often elaborate neck ornamentation, and sloping forehead all relate to the characteristic Maya style. There is a large degree of variation in each of these elements, which can be seen throughout the Maya area. The standing figure on a panel from the Palenque region (see Schele database: Schele number 120) shows just one of the ways in which Maya artisans chose to depict movement. This figure also exhibits proportions characteristic of the Maya style, as well as the sloping forehead and an elaborate pectoral like those mentioned above. These same aspects can be seen in seated figures as well (see Schele database: Schele

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<sup>22</sup> For further discussion of these aspects, see Proskouriakoff 1950: 39-46.

number 124). The figures in the Palenque Palace Tablet all lean in one direction or another, thus breaking the vertical axis and encouraging a certain visual reading order. Such qualities are not distinct to the Palenque region; Altar Eight from Tikal shows the reclining figure type in an equally, although different, active pose (see Schele database: Schele number 2065). In this case both horizontal and vertical axes are broken. The artist has also paid a lot of attention to the figure's feet; one is shown from the bottom, implying that the attached leg is thrust out from the body, away from the viewer, while the other foot is shown from the side, indicating that this leg lies in line with the recumbent individual's body. This variation adds to the liveliness of the scene generally. Significantly, the reclining figure also wears a beaded necklace like that found in many of the Pabellon Reclining Figures, and exhibits a sloping forehead.

When compared to a drawing of the murals in Tomb 104 at Monte Alban, the Maya figures are rendered more fluidly.

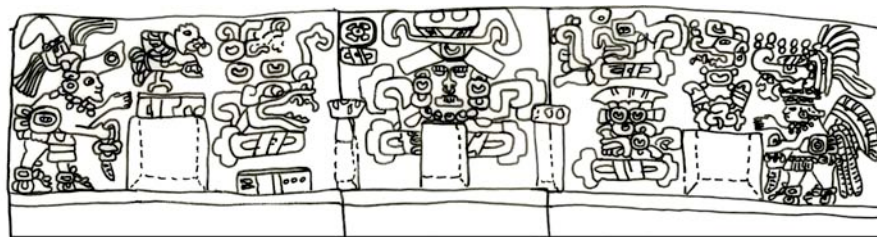


Figure C. Monte Alban, Tomb 104 murals. Drawing by Maline Werness after Clancy 1983: fig. 1.

As can be seen, the proportions between legs, torso, arms and head in the Monte Alban example differ completely from those found in the Maya examples, including the Pabellon Reclining Figure. Furthermore, there is no differentiation between the right and left hands in the two Monte Alban figures. In looking at the figure on the right, especially, the viewer faces possible confusion when trying to understand the details of the image—if the empty hand is attached to the right arm, as it seems it must be, why are fingernails shown? None of this

confusion appears in the Maya examples—as already mentioned, the feet of the reclining individual on Altar Eight are clearly differentiated. The Monte Alban figures also clearly differ from the Maya characters mentioned above in the formation of the cranium; there has been no deformation in the Monte Alban example.

Although the representation of feathers on Pabellon ceramics is somewhat different from more Classic Maya examples, they are also still recognizably Maya in nature. The late date of Pabellon ceramic ware may account for the appearance of the feathers in the individual's headdress; these highly individualized feathers are rounded at the tips and have a deeply incised line marking the shaft of each feather.<sup>23</sup> In discussing headdress types, Tatiana Proskouriakoff notes that late Classic Maya art "is characterized by a deliberate manipulation of elements to produce significant lines of motion in the design. The panache of the headdress is extended and its sweep becomes one of the major directions in the composition" (Proskouriakoff 1950: 47). In most of the depictions of this scene, the feathers on the headdress do exactly that (Pabellon Database: W1.12, W1.32). The viewers' eye works its way from left to right. The serpent maw begins the progression that neatly leads into the figure's hand and arm. The figure's elongated body and the feathers on the figure's headdress push the eye further along until the scene ends in the second serpent head. This scene also receives an incredible amount of detail and the space in each panel is entirely filled with iconographic elements. This filling of space and inclusion of extensive detail appears repeatedly in the Maya area and is indicative of the Maya style generally (Clancy 1983: 228).

In fact, the only clearly non-Maya feature in W1.32 is the *atlatl* held by the reclining figure. This object is both stylistically and iconographically foreign. Stylistically it does not resemble most *atlatls* depicted in the Maya area (for

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<sup>23</sup> For a more in depth consideration of Maya feathers generally, see Proskouriakoff 1950: 46-7.



several examples of Maya *atlatls*, cf. Stela 5, Uaxactun, Schele database: Schele number 6604; and Proskouriakoff 1950: figs. t, u, and v). Instead, in more detailed examples (Pabellon Database: W1.32), it seems to be comprised of rods bound together by a row of circular elements close to the hand and a decorative device nearer the hook. The diagnostic hook at the end of the *atlatl* does appear in almost all instances though. Finally, the *atlatl* is iconographically foreign as well; in scholarly literature, the *atlatl* is always referred to as part of the “garb of ‘Toltec’ warriors” (see Schele and Mathews 1998: 225, for example). As Schele and Freidel (1990: 147) note, “the Maya borrowed the costume, and probably the rituals that went with it, from the great central Mexican city, Teotihuacan.” Additionally, the appearance of *atlatls* and darts, among others, reference a “new kind of warfare,” associated with Teotihuacan (Schele and Freidel 1990: 164).

### **Scene 1 Interpretation**

The reclining figure in this category is posed in a position similar to that of the so-called Chacmool sculptures associated with the Terminal and Post-Classic periods all over Mesoamerica (see Pabellon Database: W1.32 and Schele database: Schele number 5007). As Mary Ellen Miller (1985: 8) notes,

The distinctive posture of the Chacmool is what allows the many sculptures to be united under one term, regardless of their origin. In all cases, the figure reclines on his back, his knees bent and his body on a single axis from neck to toes. The elbows rest on the ground and support the torso, creating tension as the figure strains to sit upright. The hands meet at the chest, usually holding either a disc or a vessel. The head rotates ninety degrees from the axis of the body to present a frontal face.

The Pabellon reclining figure also lies on his backside, with bent knees. Visually, the body appears to rest on a single axis, like the Chacmool, and in many cases at least one of the elbows rests on the ground. Furthermore, Miller discusses the

tension evident in the Chacmool's position. This tension is emphasized in the Pabellon Reclining Figure Scene. In these vessels, the medium of low-relief ceramics enabled the artists to expand the imagery; raising one foot and drawing the arms away from the body further increases tension and unbalance.

Before I further connect the reclining figure with the Chacmool however, the Chacmool and some of its various associations must be understood. Miller states that the Chacmool originates in the Maya area during the Terminal Classic period (instead of being introduced into the Maya area by foreign, 'Toltec' invaders) (Miller 1985: 7-8).<sup>24</sup> She then connects the recumbent Chacmool with prisoners who also recline and, in some cases, look at the viewer face on. It is this reclining position that indicates prisoner status, since many depictions of captives represent the face in profile (Miller 1985: 9).

While there are differences in posture between the Chacmool and the reclining figure—frontal representation of the torso and depiction of the head in profile in Pabellon examples, as opposed to sideways depiction of the chest and frontal representation of the head in many of the Chacmool examples—this particular reclining pose (on the back instead of on the stomach, with knees drawn up and bent) is relatively unique in the Maya region. Thus, because of their specific posture, and additionally because they appear in the Maya area during the same time period, I connect the Pabellon reclining figure with the Chacmool. The fact that feathered serpents flank one of the Chacmools at Chichen Itza further solidifies such a connection (see Schele database: Schele number 5007). Not only do almost all examples of the Pabellon Reclining Figure Scene contain serpent heads at the head and feet of the reclining figure, in some cases, these entities are explicitly represented as Central Mexican feathered serpents (Pabellon Database: W1.69). Other, more Maya examples of serpent heads in the Pabellon Reclining

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<sup>24</sup> Miller notes that “antecedents in Central Mexico do not exist” (Miller 1985: 8).

Figure Scene also appear to have feather-like elements between the supraorbital plate and the edge of the nose, as noted previously. The Pabellon reclining figure can then be associated with Chacmools and prisoners.

If the reclining figures on Pabellon bowls are prisoners, why then do they hold *atlatls* in many cases? This seeming contradiction can be explained by the fact that warfare and prisoner-taking were inextricably related for the ancient Maya. Thus, the held *atlatl* refers to the way in which the prisoner was captured, i.e., through battle. Furthermore, weapons can be seen held by prisoners in some select cases outside the Pabellon corpus. For example, Stela 7 from Itzimte shows a prisoner in the top register holding a spear.



Figure D. Itzimte, Stela 7. Drawing by Maline Werness after Euw 1977: plate ITZ: St. 7.

Clearly this figure has already been captured since he is reclining and his hair is held in the hand of the individual who stands over him. Additionally, the standing figure is clearly about to decapitate the prisoner, an action that would probably not have happened on the battlefield but rather in one of the ceremonial precincts after the battle was over.

The Pabellon reclining figure must be a prisoner, but of what status? As Miller states, “Maya rulers are known to appear in a host of penitential circumstances that require humble dress, transvestiture, or personal blood-letting. In these acts of penitence or sacrifice, rulers may even dress as captives, offering themselves to the gods” (Miller 1985: 9). She also notes the iconography on Pakal’s sarcophagus lid (fig. E), which can clearly be associated with both sacrifice (akin to the sacrifice of prisoners) and rebirth.



Figure E. Pakal’s Sarcophagus Lid, Palenque. Drawing by Hope Werness, used with permission.

In the Pabellon grouping, with the possible exception of the sub-group within Scene 1.4, all reclining figures only wear a simple loincloth, probably decorated with crosshatching, similar to the one Pakal wears on his sarcophagus lid (see Pabellon Database: W1.32).<sup>25</sup> Thus, their simple garb and reclining posture link them with captive imagery. These figures also seem to have elite status; the necklace of circular elements seems to refer to jade beads, a high status commodity, and the headdresses are elaborate, certainly. Furthermore, in some cases, the framing serpent head is replaced by what seems to be a K'awiil head (Pabellon Database: W1.57, W1.67). I interpret these two figures as K'awiil for several reasons. First, these are obviously not the serpent heads that appear so frequently in this scene group. Second, the half-open mouth complete with lower jaw can be seen in many representations of K'awiil (see Taube 1992: fig. 33, for example). Third, each entity has the characteristic upturned nose of K'awiil, and the individual on the far right in W1.67 seems to have flaming elements emerging from his forehead, a motif typically associated with K'awiil (Taube 1992: 69). Unsurprisingly, K'awiil is often associated with elite status; K'awiil scepters, for example, indicate rulership (Taube 1992: 78).

I would now like to make some striking comparisons between Pakal's tomb and the Pabellon Reclining Figure Scene (fig. E, Pabellon Database: W1.32). To begin with, both individuals recline in similar poses; Pakal even has his right foot raised higher than his left, although this probably refers to bloodletting, which is certainly not the case in Pabellon iconography since the foot is represented in profile. Additionally, serpent jaws frame both Pakal and the reclining figures, although the type and form of representation differs. Thus,

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<sup>25</sup> I associate the piece of iconography that appears between the figures' rear and their heels with the loincloth they obviously wear. This checkered loincloth can be connected provisionally with Maize God iconography; Pakal, for example, wears a jade skirt on the Palenque sarcophagus lid.

Maya viewers probably would have associated the reclining figure not only with captives and sacrifice, but also with elite status. These are complex issues and there may be further advances as the corpus grows and the variation within this scene is better understood. Regardless of their class standing though, the individuals in the Reclining Figure Scene almost certainly relate to prisoner iconography.

In the Maya area, other reclining figures appear that are not specifically associated with prisoner status. These individuals, as Simon Martin (2000) points out, can be connected with birth and child sacrifice, especially since the birth glyph UNEN appears in some cases. Martin (2000) also considers the Chacmool figures, wondering if they can be connected with references to birth as well (Martin 2000). At this point, the connection between the Pabellon reclining figure and the birth scenes referenced by Martin is unclear because, as already mentioned, the Pabellon individuals almost always hold an *atlatl*. It is interesting to note, though, that in some representations of the birth of the Maize God, he is depicted as reclining with his legs in exactly the same position as that found in Pabellon examples (see Pabellon Database: W1.32 and Kerr database: K2723).

## **Scene 2 Conference Scene**

R. E. W. Adams refers to ‘conference scenes’ in his second category: “Two human figures are seated cross-legged and apparently discuss something across a plantlike motif which may stem from a square, glyph-like element. Again, serpents intertwine throughout this scene” (see Pabellon Database: W2.1) (Adams 1971: 49). The variation that can be found in this set surpasses any variety found in the other scene categories (the Reclining Figure scene just discussed follows as a close second). Furthermore, it is the second largest scene group, making up about ten percent of the current corpus. It is important to note

first that these ceramics contain two distinct images. Each vessel contains two panels; each panel contains the scene mentioned above, in which two seated figures face each other. Despite similar postures, however, the paired figures are not the same between panels, although they often share common elements.

Each figure wears a headdress, although there is little consistency between headdresses from different ceramics. A bird, however, is almost always represented in one of the figures' headdresses. The whole bird appears in one instance (Pabellon Database: W2.9), but more frequently only the eye and open beak over-shadow the figure's face (see Pabellon Database: W2.8, or for a more stylized example, see Pabellon Database: W2.1). The figures usually sit on raised elements, which in many cases resemble monster heads. There is no consistency in the depiction of these heads either; some are composed of toothy jaws (Pabellon Database: W2.9) while others appear to be whole animal composites (Pabellon Database: W2.1). In many cases, though, these benches include symbols that are reminiscent of highly stylized hieroglyphics. Additionally, as Adams notes, glyph-like elements occur between the two seated individuals in some scenes. Several of these actually seem to be day signs set in square cartouches (Pabellon Database: W2.8). About half of the conference scenes I have collected do not contain these glyph-like elements though, so they cannot be used for diagnostic purposes (Pabellon Database: W2.2, for example). Other glyph-like objects appear on the rim band, although infrequently (Pabellon Database: W2.5, W2.7, W2.8). Most of the items are purely geometric (Pabellon Database: W2.5, W2.7), while others approximate hieroglyphs in a more convincing fashion (Pabellon Database: W2.8). For further discussion of the hieroglyphic content, please refer to Chapter 3.

Pose is another characteristic element. All of the figures lean toward each other in varying degrees. Typically the figures gesture toward the center of the panel while keeping their outside arms close to their bodies. Sometimes offerings

appear in the figures' outstretched hands, but again, in instances where they appear, the offerings show no consistency. Furthermore, in all cases, the individuals look at each other and often one of them speaks (in the form of speech scrolls) (see Pabellon Database: W2.8). Some sherds display unusual iconographic elements; in the sherd seen in W2.17, for example, one of the figures holds an object that does not appear in any of the other examples. In unique instances like this one, I will not attempt to identify a subgroup.

### **Scene 2.1 Conference Scene, Double Register**

At least two subgroups can be identified, despite the variation evident within this scene as a whole. Most vessels, however, fall under the general scene 2 description. The elements of this subgroup are apparent in two whole vessels (Pabellon Database: W2.14, W2.15). Both of them contain four figures in each panel instead of just two. I call this the Double Register subgroup because the two additional figures appear above the first set of paired individuals, effectively creating a second, upper register. The top register does not strictly replicate the bottom; no monster head/composite animals appear as seats and the top two individuals seem to be different people although there are similarities between opposing panels and registers. In these examples, the basic formation of the scene, especially with respect to the lower register, replicates that found in Scene 2.

### **Scene 2.2 Single Figure?**

In a few examples derived from sherds, there does not seem to be enough room for two figures (Pabellon Database: W2.16, W2.17, W2.27). In these examples, one figure is clearly represented, as is the general distance to the



framing bar that ends the scene; however, no answering figure appears in this space. While the iconography is similar, i.e., the single figure is seated and faces toward the center of the panel, this scene may not even fit within the conference scene category. I mention this scene here though, because there is not enough evidence to develop a completely new scene category. Thus, Scene 2.2 will be left out of any stylistic and iconographic analyses and interpretations conducted for Scene 2 generally.

### **Scene 2 Stylistic and Iconographic Analyses**

Stylistically and iconographically, the Conference Scene, like the Reclining Figure Scene discussed earlier, contains many Maya elements. In fact, as before, the appearance of Maya traits outweighs indications of foreign intrusion. However, this scene, unlike the Reclining Figure Scene, does contain several elements that can be classified as foreign. The way the figures are drawn—the proportion of head to body and the overall size of the torso—reflects foreign stylistic practices (throughout this discussion, I will be referring to Pabellon Database: W2.8 unless otherwise noted). In this case, the figures bear a closer resemblance to those found, for example, in the Monte Alban murals (see fig. C) discussed earlier than they do to Classic Maya examples (see Schele database: Schele number 124). The short upper-body, large head, and bulky hands in the Pabellon representation clearly mimic foreign iconographic systems, like those found at Monte Alban, more than it does Maya examples like the Palenque Palace Tablet (see Schele database: Schele number 124).

At the same time, though, the way in which the bodies are positioned closely resembles Maya stylistic conventions. In the Maya area, as Proskouriakoff notes, grouped seated figures (usually depicted frontally with their heads represented in profile) can bend from the waist, creating an “unbalanced” stance (Proskouriakoff 1950: 28). This unbalanced pose can be seen, as has been

noted previously, in the Palenque Palace Tablet (see Schele database: Schele number 124). Thus, the overall placement of the figures seems representative of Classic Maya customs. The filling of space is another characteristic of the Maya style; as in the Reclining Figure Scene, details fill almost every piece of available room (see Pabellon Database: W2.1).

A few foreign traits appear regularly in the Conference Scene. In many cases the figures themselves are identifiably non-Maya. The individual wearing the bird headdress in W2.8, for example, clearly has not experienced the cranial deformation to which the ancient Maya were subjected. Thus, physiologically, the characters are foreign. Eyebrows also rarely appear in images that are traditionally Maya in nature (Proskouriakoff 1950: 157). Hence, the representation of eyebrows, apparent in almost every instance, is a non-Maya trait. Many of the headdresses also indicate foreign influence. For example, the headdress worn by the individual on the right in the right panel clearly exhibits foreign elements; the circular designs that appear to be placed on a mat or possibly on a jade backing are reminiscent of Toltec examples.<sup>26</sup>

## **Scene 2 Interpretation**

Currently there are three possible interpretations for this scene. The first connects Conference Scene iconography with changes in political structure. The individuals found in the Conference Scene are clearly of the same rank. They are both seated, a convention often used to differentiate rulers from standing, lesser

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<sup>26</sup> The goggle eye-like elements can be seen in the shield on Stela 31 at Tikal (see Schele database: Schele number 2036).

A similar headdress appears on the left-most figure in the left panel. It apparently is not meant to identify a specific individual, since this figure clearly wears a beard, unlike the figure discussed above, in addition to displaying a different pectoral. Thus, this headdress may be used in this case to indicate foreign connections rather than for the identification of a specific individual.

elites and commoners (and reclining prisoners) in the iconography (Houston 1998: 341, 343). Furthermore, the importance of each seated individual is often indicated by the scale of the two (or more) figures seated on thrones. In the Pabellon Conference-Scene example, neither figure can be given precedence due to placement and/or relative size, implying that these individuals have equal status. Clearly they can also be identified as elites by their elaborate headdresses, pectorals, and refined hand gestures.

While there is not much evidence that further identifies the status of the individuals shown, they could be rulers. In several instances *ajaw* heads appear (Pabellon Database: W2.5, W2.9, W2.10; see Chapter 3 for a discussion of glyphic elements). In all cases where these heads occur, they cannot be clearly associated with texts or dates. This leads me to believe that the heads are supposed to indicate royalty generally. The fact that, in some cases, the heads are held as offerings between the two individuals further supports this hypothesis (Pabellon Database: W2.9).

The paired figures then, are clearly elite, possibly even rulers of equal status. Nikolai Grube argues that some sites experienced a shift in political organization during the Terminal Classic period (Grube 1994). In the hieroglyphic texts at Xcalumkin, for example, “the distribution of names is almost equal. No single name stands out as the name of the divine king” (Grube 1994: 320). This appears to mimic the “*multepal* form of councilor rule” that some argue can be found at Chichen Itza (Grube 1994: 320, for a discussion of the *multepal* at Chichen, see, among others, Webster 2002: 204 and Schele and Freidel 1990: 361).<sup>27</sup> The emphasis placed on equality in the Pabellon

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<sup>27</sup> The idea that a group of elite individuals, as opposed to a single divine king, controlled certain sites has been, and still is, hotly debated (Eric Boot 2003). Given the evidence provided by Grube and Schele and Freidel, though, a shift away from a single, all-powerful king seems to have occurred toward the end of

Conference Scene may relate to this new type of governing body that is based on the coordination of several ruling elites as opposed to a single, divine king.

Unfortunately, more evidence is needed to solidify such an interpretation. Even if these figures are kings, for example, how can we be sure they are from the same site? Furthermore, how do stelae that include equally ranked seated figures in a top register, placed above what must be a ruler, fit into such an interpretation (see Seibal Stela 3, Caracol Stela 17, and Caracol Altar 12)? These individuals also defy clear identification.

The second possible interpretation relies on the fact that the Classic Maya were extremely concerned with lineage, as can be seen from numerous statements and images that refer to lineage ties and ancestry. Altar Q from Copán (a site where Pabellons were found) exhibits this preoccupation with past rulers.



Figure F. Altar Q, Copan. Kerr Precolumbian Portfolio: K7350, included with permission

As David Webster (2000: 18) states,

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the Classic period (Grube 1994: 320, Schele and Freidel 1990: 361-3). This shift was not universal however, and was not implemented in the Central or Southern Lowlands. Furthermore, in areas where this change appears—the Yucatan for example—not all sites are affected (Grube 1994: 323).

Around the four sides of [this] rectangular stone monolith are depicted all the rulers of Copan in the order of their succession, each sitting on his own name glyph. The front shows Yax Pasaj himself facing the founding ancestor of the dynasty, and accepting from him a baton or scepter of rule. Yax Pasaj's accession date is carved between them, a clear assertion of his royal legitimacy.

This arrangement shares striking similarities with the Pabellon Conference Scene. First, all the rulers are of equal status, which is, as in the Pabellon examples, shown through seated posture and basically equivalent size (Yax Pasaj is almost imperceptibly larger than his counterparts). Furthermore, the founding predecessor hands Yax Pasaj something, indicating that rulership passes on to him, just as one figure hands *ajaw* heads to the other in some examples from the Conference Scene (Pabellon Database: W2.5, W2.9). In other cases, something precious is being offered, a shell from which something emits, for example (Pabellon Database: W2.1). Several of the Pabellon pieces, in the same way as Altar Q, include (what seem to be) dates as well (these dates are written in square cartouches, however, and many of them cannot be clearly identified at this time, see Chapter 3 for further discussion). Unfortunately, these dates cannot currently be connected with accession dates for any individuals.

The stelae mentioned above seem to further support the ancestor hypothesis for Pabellon Conference Scene images. The top register of equal individuals conferring could relate to ancestors. This explanation is, at least, more plausible than one that attempts to explain the discrepancy between the main image in these stelae that represents a single king and the upper register, which, as already noted, depicts two elite people.

A third interpretation relies heavily on two images from this Scene grouping. In one of these images, clear reference is made to bone thrones (Pabellon Database: W2.14), which can be connected with the birth of the Maize

God.<sup>28</sup> In another example, already mentioned (Pabellon Database: W2.15), ropes distinguish the top register from the bottom. In many cases, these twisted ropes can be linked with the birth of the Maize God. A black background Classic Maya vessel, for example, clearly connects the Maize God's birth with a "'living cord,' or umbilicus that ties together all of Creation" (Schele and Mathews 1998: 218).

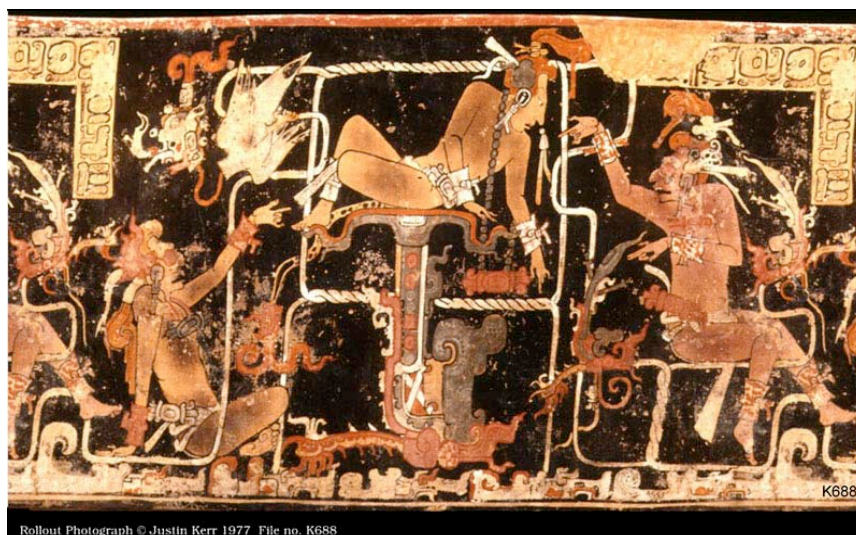


Figure G. Black background vase. Kerr Database: K688, included with permission

Thus, it seems that the combination of bone thrones and twisted cords in the Pabellon Scene 2 examples could relate to creation and the birth of the Maize God. While this hypothesis is tempting, it must remain preliminary at this point since an obvious representation of the Maize God does not appear in any of the Conference Scene examples. Perhaps the bone throne and twisted ropes are meant to demonstrate the idea that the figures can be spatially located at the sacred location (*Na-Ho-Chan*) associated with the birth of the Maize God.

<sup>28</sup> I would like to thank Michael Carrasco (pers. comm. 2003) for pointing out the bone thrones in the Pabellon example and reminding me of their connection with the birth of the Maize God.

### Scene 3 Scene of the Three Figures

Three figures appear in a scene category that is not mentioned by Adams, although it accounts for approximately seven percent of the current corpus (not counting fragments with unidentifiable iconography). Interestingly, while slight differences might appear due to erosion or carving (after the mold was applied), several of the examples seem to be identical and were probably made from the same mold, even though they come from different sites (Pabellon Database: W3.1-W3.5).<sup>29</sup> Like all Pabellon vessels, ceramics in this scene category consist of two panels. In the left panel, three seated figures interact with each other.<sup>30</sup> The figure on the left is represented in profile and sits cross-legged. The figures in the middle and on the right also sit cross-legged but are pictured frontally with their faces in profile, looking to the left and speaking (indicated by speech scrolls). This implies that the two figures to the right speak to the figure on the left. This clarity of speech only appears in four examples (Pabellon Database: W3.1-W3.5). In other examples, only one figure, usually central, is obviously represented as speaking. Generally though, each entity has its own anthropomorphic head to sit on.

In the right panel, three figures appear again. Again they have three anthropomorphized heads for seats. The poses of these three figures, however,

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<sup>29</sup> The two different sites mentioned here are Tikal and Uaxactun though; obviously it is not surprising that similar vessels show up at sites so close together. I mention it here because, despite the size of my corpus, these four vessels are the only examples that can be unquestionably identified as coming from the same mold.

<sup>30</sup> In using the terms left and right I do not mean to imply a specific reading order. I use these directional words in order to clarify which panel I am discussing and am perfectly willing to acknowledge that the panels appear on the left or right arbitrarily.

differ from those described above.<sup>31</sup> In what appears to be a representative example<sup>32</sup> (Pabellon Database: W3.3), the figure on the left sits sideways but twists his body around so that his torso may be seen frontally. His face appears in profile and he looks to the right. Often, he also throws his arms up. The middle figure retains much of the aforementioned posture but leans toward the left more distinctly. In instances where the rightmost figure has changed position completely, he reclines, with knees bent and right hand resting on the anthropomorphized support. This pose is very similar to that found in Scene 1. Now it is the middle and the leftmost figure that converse (again depicted visually through speech scrolls), while the figure on the right looks on. In some cases, the conversing figures even bear a strong resemblance to those found in the Conference Scene; however, as I noted above, there are only four examples that show this pattern of speech clearly. As with the left panel, speech is less apparent in other examples.

There is some variation within this scene. In one instance the third figure from the left in both panels repeats and is completely different from the third figure in most other cases. Additionally, in some images, the scene panels replicate each other more clearly, while the majority of panel combinations represent distinct images. Variation for the third figure sometimes consists only of a change in posture (Pabellon Database: W3.7) while in other examples, the shift is more dramatic (Pabellon Database: W3.10). Additionally, the seated figure to the left in the left panel enjoys a range of variation; in most cases the variety applies to facial depiction and slight changes in pose. Furthermore, the central figure's pose varies slightly as well. Sometimes, instead of appearing

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<sup>31</sup> I do not intend to imply here that the same figures are being repeated. I do not think that this is the case.

<sup>32</sup> I choose this vessel as a representative example because a very similar treatment of the scene appears on eight ceramics or sherds in this scene category, of which W3.3 is the most legible instance.



cross-legged, the figure's legs are bent at the knee, which is drawn up toward the chest (Pabellon Database: W3.7).

### **Scene 3 Stylistic and Iconographic Analyses**

In this scene category, as with the previous two, Maya stylistic elements appear more often than do foreign ones. For instance, each figure's anatomical proportions seem to be Maya in nature (Pabellon Database: W3.3). Additionally, many of the examples contain poses that, according to Proskouriakoff, are typically Maya (Proskouriakoff 1950: 28-31). One aspect of foreign stylistic influence does appear, however, in the facial details of some of the figures, which do not seem to have experienced cranial deformation (for example, see Pabellon Database: W3.13).

Despite the appearance of some stylistically foreign elements in the Scene of the Three Figures, I would like to emphasize the Maya nature of this scene. True Maya hieroglyphs, for example, can be seen in the upper register (for example, see Pabellon Database: W3.1-W3.5) (to be discussed in more depth in chapter 3). Furthermore, in most cases, the reclining figure in the right panel seems to sport a Maize God foliating headdress, an iconographic element that has its origins in the Classic Maya symbol system (Pabellon Database: W3.1).<sup>33</sup>

### **Scene 3 Interpretation**

Because of the similarities it shares with the Conference Scene, the Scene of the Three Figures could fall under the same interpretive umbrella. There are some telling differences, however, that lead me to believe that a totally different explanation is called for. The individuals represented appear in very specific poses that do not mimic those found in the Conference Scene.

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<sup>33</sup> For further discussion of the Maya Maize God, also known as God E, see Taube 1992: 41-50.

To begin with, I would like to focus on the right panel. In many instances, two figures to the right seem to be conversing and gesturing to each other (Pabellon Database: W3.1-W3.5). A third figure appears to their right; as already noted, this figure takes a semi-reclining posture. The pose and gesture of this third figure share marked similarities with the Maize God's pose and gesture on a black background vessel from the Classic period (fig. G). In this black background pot, the Maize God, flanked by attendants, is being born out of a relatively characteristic serpentine-like head that symbolizes the crack in the earth prepared by Chaak for the Maize God (Schele and Mathews 1998: 217-218).

The entity to the right in the right panel on a number of Pabellon three figure scene vessels can also be identified as the Maize God, due to his headdress that contains elements reminiscent of sprouting corn. Furthermore, he sits on a throne head that can be connected with the head from which the Maize God emerges in the black background ceramic example. Some aspects are surprisingly different; the two attendants do not flank the Maize God, nor do they seem to be paying any attention to him in the Pabellon examples. However, the fact that three figures appear and that the Maize God reclines and can be associated with the throne from which he emerges, leads me to identify this scene as the birth of the Maize God at creation.

Further connections must remain tentative at this stage. The left scene in the examples discussed above does not contain any obvious Maize God associations, although the triadic arrangement is interesting. Furthermore, while we don't get the birth glyph in these examples, it does appear in other instances that fall into the Scene of the Three Figures category although in these cases, the Maize God is not readily identifiable (Pabellon Database: W3.7, W3.8). The K'an cross "is a kind of 'X marks the spot' symbol of rebirth and Creation," and can be connected with the birth of the Maize God (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 94). This cross appears above and to the left of the eye in the throne head

in W3.11.<sup>34</sup> Thus, while many details still need to be examined, it seems that the Scene of the Three Figures relates to the birth of the Maize God.

#### **Scene 4** **Military Scenes**

Adams describes what he calls Military Scenes in some detail: “The warriors carry shields, *atlats*, and in one case wear what seems to be quilted armor. They confront other warriors...or attack what seems to be a wall with a human figure behind it” (Adams 1971: 49) (Pabellon Database: W5.1, W4.1). Adams’ description, while telling, leaves out some key points. First, he does not differentiate between a scene that involves active fighting (Pabellon Database: W4.1) and one that depicts a procession (Pabellon Database: W5.1), again, probably due to a restricted sampling that only included one example of each. In the current corpus, there is more than one example for each case, though—accounting for two and one percent, respectively, of the corpus, not including illegible fragments—and I have split them into two distinct scenes. In the first, fight scene, anthropomorphic, serpent-like heads frame each panel (Pabellon Database: W4.1). Square glyphic elements appear here as well. The wall that Adams mentions is interesting too, since it does not reach the top register; there is enough room for the right hand warrior’s headdress of feathers to flow over the top. Additionally, the wall in the right panel distinctly lists to the left. The figure on the right side of the wall in both panels places his arm against it with his palm facing him and his fingers slightly cupped. Thus, it is more likely that the wall is, in fact, a large rectangular shield, which is being contrasted with the circular one that is associated with the other figure in each panel. The bracelet

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<sup>34</sup> Nothing can be said about the appearance of the Maize God in this example, due to its fragmentary nature. Another example might also have the K’an cross, although it is much harder to identify as such (Pabellon Database: W3.9).

that appears on the figure's wrist where it touches the shield further supports this. Additionally, the repeated loops on the left side of the shield appear to be an attempt to represent a side view of Central Mexican rectangular shields ornamented with mosaic patterns.

#### **Scene 4 Stylistic and Iconographic Analyses**

The rectangular shield seems to reflect Central Mexican influence. As Andrea Stone notes, "the implements of war, the fringed square shield and *atlatl* (a weapon strongly associated with Central Mexico), are...distinctive of the Teotihuacan military costume" (Stone 1989: 157). Furthermore, the square shield on the right side of Stela 31 from Tikal is specifically Central Mexican in nature, since it contains mosaic patterns that represent a goggle eyed entity.<sup>35</sup> As I have already noted, the loop-like elements on the exterior of the shield in the Pabellon example (Pabellon Database: W4.1) might represent just this type of Central Mexican mosaic patterning. The influence was probably not direct, however, since we see square mosaic-ornamented shields of foreign origin much earlier in stelae from Tikal and Uaxactun (e.g. Stela 31 at Tikal). Thus, this suggestion of Central Mexican square, mosaic shields probably references a Classic Maya tradition. The other shield type that occurs in this scene category is more complicated to discuss in terms of stylistically foreign or Maya elements (Pabellon Database: W4.1). Circular shields do occur in the Maya area (Proskouriakoff 1950: 89). However, the shield decoration and fringe of darts that appears to come from the center of the shield in this case seem to be foreign in origin. Furthermore, the *atlatl* and glyphs with square cartouches provide other examples of foreign influence. Again, though, these foreign elements probably entered the Maya area long before Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics were

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<sup>35</sup> Stone, for example, connects this goggle eyed individual with the Central Mexican god Tlaloc (Stone 1989: 162).

produced, since we see examples of *atlatls* and the different shield types much earlier.

This scene does incorporate many aspects that are stylistically Maya. The serpent head that frames the scene in each panel resembles those appearing in the Reclining Figure Scene. This serpent, with its pronounced supraorbital plate and fangs, is stylistically Maya. Furthermore, the figures' headdresses in this scene and the figure's headdress in the Reclining Figure Scene bear marked stylistic similarities.<sup>36</sup> For example, the depiction of feathers in both cases serves to fill out the scene and adds to the visual flow of the images.

#### **Scene 4 Interpretation**

Clearly this scene indicates a fight between two people.<sup>37</sup> Initial approaches to this scene might have encouraged the identification of two different, warring ethnic groups. Such classification is impossible at this point, though, given the fact that both the shields contain references to Central Mexican precedents. All that can be said currently is that this scene depicts a battle between two people and might include a date rendered glyphically in square cartouches (see Chapter 3 for an interpretation of the square cartouche day signs).

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<sup>36</sup> It is interesting to note that, in at least one case, one of the figures in the Military Scene wears the same checkered scarf seen in the Reclining Figure Scene.

<sup>37</sup> These two figures seem to appear in the second panel as well, but seen from the other side, so that the round shield is blocked from view by its bearer's body. The square shield, however, and the same poses repeat in mirror images from panel to panel. Such an interpretation of the iconography must remain tentative at this time, due to the fact that some costume elements change from panel to panel.

## **Scene 5 Procession**

Given the relative lack of samples for this scene (3 out of 243 identifiable sherds and whole vessels), I will not discuss it in great detail. It contains several characteristics, however, that differentiate it from the others. As in Scene 4, the Military Scene, warriors are represented; however, this time they do not openly attack each other (Pabellon Database: W5.1). Instead they stand facing each other, casually holding objects. Given the fact that these elements exhibit few diagnostic traits, I cannot specifically identify them. Adams' suggestion that these items are weapons, such as *atlatls*, spears, or clubs, is an attractive one, and one of the items even bears similarities to Maya representations of *atlatls* (the figure on the right in W5.1). The other objects held by the figures might refer to banner staffs. Unfortunately there are not enough examples at this time to identify further characteristic elements. A stylistic and iconographic analysis will follow but will be extremely brief, as will the interpretation of this scene, given the limited sampling size.

### **Scene 5 Stylistic and Iconographic Analyses**

If the object held by the figure on the right in W5.1 is an *atlatl*, then elements that are clearly foreign have entered into the depiction of this scene. If it is an *atlatl*, the potter has chosen to represent it in a more typically Maya fashion in comparison to the other depictions that occur in the Reclining Figure Scene and the Military Scene. Maya *atlatls* characteristically have circular elements that appear right above the haft of the weapon (cf. Stela 5, Uaxactun; Schele database: Schele number 6604). Examples of *atlatls* from Teotihuacan, on the other hand, do not have these additions (see Schele database: Schele number 7311). The slight bulges at the base of the object in the Pabellon example (Pabellon Database: W5.1) may refer to these circular elements. Thus, if the object is

indeed an *atlatl* in this case, it has been depicted in the Maya style. If the object is a spear, it resembles Maya spears found in the iconography at Chichen Itza (Proskouriakoff 1950: fig. 34m).

The facial details of each individual appear to be non-Maya in the few examples we have for this scene. No cranial deformation can be seen, the eye is drawn differently, and the facial features are generally more pronounced than in Classic Maya examples. Headdress feathers, on the other hand, seem to be stylistically Maya in nature. Unfortunately, nothing more may be said about this scene, given the lack of several, whole vessel examples.

### **Scene 5 Interpretation**

Like the Military Scene, not much can be said about this scene, given its fragmentary nature. As noted above, there does seem to be a procession that involves warriors. Hopefully more examples of this scene will be found in the future, resulting in a more complex and detailed interpretation.

### **Scene 6 Mirror Symmetry**

My sixth scene is relatively well represented, comprising about six percent of the current corpus (not counting sherds and vessels that cannot be placed in categories at the present time). The Mirror Symmetry Scene is equivalent to Adams' (1971: 49) fourth scene designation, which he describes as follows (see Pabellon Database: W6.1):

Two persons with wrinkled (aged?) faces sit on animal heads facing each other and symmetrically joined serpent heads which divide them. They wear wide-brimmed hats.... They also wear what is apparently a basketry or cloth garment rather like a cocoon.... This cocoon probably represents an armadillo shell, as a person is shown wearing both the shell and head of an armadillo on a Chama vase...with much the same stylistic effect. At least

one of the figures wears a loincloth and both have earplugs and rather wide wristlets.

Again, this description, while quite good, fails to note some important elements. In giving a brief overview of the scene, Adams, for example, does not emphasize the fact that this scene, especially in comparison to the other scene categories found within the Pabellon variety, is extremely repetitive. Those differences that do occur, in fact, probably only result from slight stylistic disparities between molds.

There are several other things that Adams does not mention. First, the two figures are not just facing what Adams designates as serpent heads; the heads actually appear to be emanating from the figures' hands. The figures rest their feet on central elements that are emitted from the monsters' nostrils. In the full drawing of this scene (Pabellon Database: W6.1) the left hand figure's hat in each panel contains an avian element, which is characteristic and thus diagnostic. This hat appears to be of a type typically associated with merchants (Taube 1992: 79). Finally, the orientation of the central serpent heads is ambiguous; do they radiate from the figures' hands, facing away from those hands or do the jaws open around the hands?

### **Scene 6 Stylistic and Iconographic Analyses**

As just mentioned, the direction of the serpent heads is ambiguous.<sup>38</sup> In each case, though, the head seems to face away from the hand closest to it. The diagnostic element that indicates this also relates to stylistic and iconographic issues; the hand of each figure seems to hold the pronounced supraorbital plate of the serpent. The eye appears under this plate, indicating that the serpent maw opens toward the center of the scene. In most cases, this makes sense, since the

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<sup>38</sup> Michele Bernatz suggests that these elements are not even serpent heads but rather K'awiil heads (Michele Bernatz, pers. comm. 2003).



nose of the serpent, when read in this direction, turns up as it should, and the loopy elements at the top of the scene can then be read as fangs. This serpent, like those discussed before, can clearly be connected stylistically with Maya precedents. Furthermore, the imagery associated with the seated figures can be connected with two gods (L and N) in the Maya pantheon. Since the demonstration of the conflation of these two gods will take some time, I will save this discussion for this scene's interpretative section. There do not appear to be any elements that indicate foreign influence in these scenes.

### **Scene 6 Interpretation**

As I noted in the stylistic and iconographic section for this scene, I believe that the individuals represented here can be associated with a conflation of Gods L and N. The identification of God L is certain. The individuals in Pabellon examples are represented with wrinkles, a trait that almost always appears in representations of God L. Additionally, the hat worn by both figures closely relates to that typically worn by God L. It has a broad brim and a bird is attached to the top, both details that are diagnostic of the deity (Taube 1992: 79). Furthermore, God L commonly "appears with a wrapped bundle" which in many instances resembles that associated with the figures in the Mirror Symmetry Scene (Taube 1992: 81 and figs. 40b, d, 41b). Whether the Mirror Symmetry individuals wear a bundle or not is not entirely clear, however. While the carapace-like element may be associated with bundling, it can also be compared with patterned capes of finely woven fabric, such as that seen worn by God L (cf. Taube 1992: fig. 39c).<sup>39</sup> In many cases though, God L appears with a staff, which is absent in the Pabellon images.

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<sup>39</sup> I would like to thank Michele Bernatz (pers. comm. 2003) for reminding me of this particular aspect.

God N is also an old god that is often depicted with wrinkles around the mouth. Furthermore, the bundling element worn by Pabellon individuals in this scene has strong connections with carapaces in addition to the God L bundle. In some Late Classic Maya representations, God N wears a turtle carapace (Taube 1992: 94). Thus, while the bundling element in Pabellon imagery certainly refers to God L, it may also, in association with God N, reference carapaces generally (although it clearly is not a *turtle* carapace), in association with God N (Pabellon Database: W6.1; figure H).



Figure H. Classic Maya Vessel. Kerr Database: K0511, included with permission

Furthermore, in some Terminal Classic instances, God N individuals emerge from zoomorphic heads that can be connected with the Cauac Monster or Witz (i.e. Mountain) Monster head (Taube 1992: 94 and figs. 38a, b). While the monster heads in W6.1 are not as easily identifiable as Witz Monster heads, their role as such is implied by the fact that the individuals' feet rest on a (misty?) breath scroll that can be associated with the monster heads while each individual's 'carapace' seems to originate from inside the monster heads themselves (Pabellon Database: W6.1).<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Taube (1992) notes that the association of God N with these monster heads appears specifically at sites like Copán and Seibal, interestingly both sites where Pabellons of this scene type have been found.

Taube (1992: 97) states that *mams*, or deities linked with God L, “are merged with the Chaaks and the gods of winds. They are four in number, and their domain is the mountains and the underworld.” In the Pabellon scene, there are four individuals, two per panel, which seems to be characteristic of God N; as Taube (1992: 92) notes, “in both Classic and Post-Classic Maya iconography, God N is strongly quadripartite” (Pabellon Database: W6.1). Even more telling, the figures in the left panel do not exhibit breath, unlike the individuals in the right panel who seem to have breath coming from their nostrils. Thus, it seems that here too, there is a conflation occurring between Chaak and God N, with domains, simultaneously depicted, in both the mountains and in the underworld.

Furthermore, one of the roles of God N is that of sky bearer. In one example, God N “supports a band of twisted serpents that probably refer to the sky; in Yucatec, *ca’an* is ‘sky’ and *can*, serpent (sic.)” (Taube 1992: 94 and fig. 46g). In the Pabellon examples, the figures hold onto the supraorbital plates of serpent heads that meet in the center of the scene and touch the top register. In this case, perhaps the same homophonous reference is being made to *ka’an*/sky and *kan*/serpent.<sup>41</sup>

Thus there is clear evidence that God L and God N are conflated in the examples found within the Pabellon Mirror Symmetry Scene corpus. What such a conflation might imply is, at this stage, unclear. However, the clear relationship between the four sky bearers and God L’s mercantile hat and bundle provide interesting avenues for future investigation. Similar figures, for example, appear on ‘poison bottles’ in the private collection of William and Bettye Nowlin. In the ‘poison bottle’ scenes, however, the God L/N conflation only appears at the right

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<sup>41</sup> If the serpents are K’awiil heads instead, then the appearance of K’awiil solidifies the God L connection, since God L is commonly shown with K’awiil (Michele Bernatz, pers. comm. 2003). Additionally, this may be a case where K’awiil is manifested in a more serpentine fashion...

of each scene, while another figure takes the position to the left (additionally, in the 'poison bottles,' the God L figure does not sit on a Witz head, nor do serpent heads emanate from his hand...a closer examination should clarify whether these figures also have associated God N imagery). A glyphic text appears between the two individuals. Further consideration of these 'poison bottles' would lead to a greater understanding of the role played by the God L (and N?) figure. My interpretation of these figures on Pabellon ceramics as God L/N conflation could then be further substantiated and interpretations as to their significance could be made.

### **Scene 7 Presentation Scene**

This scene is one of the most complicated scenes in this corpus and accounts for approximately nine percent of vessels and sherds with identifiable scene content. Technically the ceramics that are found within this scene category are Belize Molded-Carved, and thus not part of the fine orange Pabellon type. As I have noted before, however, these ceramics fit into the iconographic program developed by Pabellon artists. At least two of the Belize examples clearly fall into true Pabellon scene categories mentioned previously. Pabellon Database: W2.3 and W2.4, for example, fit within the Conference Scene (Scene 2). Furthermore, both Pabellon Molded-Carved and Belize Molded-Carved ceramics are made using the same techniques of molding and then carving; only the paste type differs. Likely the Maya in the Belize area were aware of this difference but were more concerned with the appearance and method used to make the ceramics. Possibly, the technology needed to make fine wares of the Pabellon variety was either nonexistent or still being developed for the Belize area. In this case, artisans chose to copy elite status items like the Pabellon type to imitate elite

objects, even though part of what made them status wares, i.e. the paste type, was unavailable.

Typically, the left panel begins with what Christophe Helmke (2000) has identified as a dog (Pabellon Database: W7.3). A warrior follows to the right and seems to be presenting a victim who kneels on the ground. All three figures look right. A king, represented in warrior garb, appears next. He looks left and his body is depicted frontally as often occurs in Classic Maya art. The king often holds a spear in this panel. To the king's right another kneeling figure can be found. It is unlikely that this individual is a captive though, given the elaborate headdress.

In the right panel, a dwarf replaces the dog. In some cases, a small ancestral-type figure floats over the dwarf and his companion (Helmke 2000). An attendant holding a mirror substitutes for the warrior figure in the left panel. A kneeling figure reappears in front of the vassal but in a slightly different pose; the individual bends over at the waist and seems to be doing something to the king's shoes (the shoes are also more elaborate in this panel than in the left and the knee cuffs worn by the king change as well). The ruler appears in the same position in both panels, although in the right panel he holds his hand out instead of wielding a spear. The same or an extremely similar individual kneels to the right of the king.

### **Scene 7 Stylistic and Iconographic Analyses**

This scene is unique within the larger corpus because it contains only Maya stylistic and iconographic elements. The frontally depicted king contrasts with smaller, subsidiary figures that all face the ruler (Pabellon Database: W7.1). This formal arrangement of figures appears repeatedly in Maya iconography. Additionally, all the texts in this scene are composed of Maya hieroglyphs. The display of these texts also draws from formal properties found in Maya

iconography; in other words, a rim text is evident and supplementary texts can be found close to the figures to which they refer.

The wealth of detail in all of the headdresses relates to Maya stylistic conventions. Furthermore, iconographically, this scene draws from Maya precedents. For example, the spear the ruler holds in the left panel is a slightly abbreviated form of a Classic Maya type (for an example of this spear type, see Proskouriakoff 1950: fig. 34g). The ruler's belt and loincloth also draw upon Maya conventions, both stylistically and iconographically. Heads appear on belts throughout the Maya region; furthermore, the illustration of heads on this ruler's belt contains representations of hair that are extremely similar to other, Maya examples (for representations of heads on belts—and the way in which the hair is depicted—see Proskouriakoff 1950: fig. 23n, i', k', and l').

The only element that could be mistaken as evidence of foreign influence is the shield that appears on the ruler's arm in the left panel. This shield, however, is round, without any of the stylistic and iconographic indications that, in Scene 4, pointed toward a non-Maya representation. Furthermore, as can be seen in many of the other scenes, the style of representing the shield plays on the viewer's ability to 'read' the image. As Flora Clancy notes, when discussing a stela from Tikal, "The Maya artist depends on the observer to make inferences about images that have been hidden by overlapping motifs" (Clancy 1983: 227). In other words, the viewer must understand that the shield is attached to and rests behind the arm of the ruler as he is presented.

### **Scene 7 Interpretation**

Christophe Helmke (2000) provides a sound interpretation for this scene. He identifies the scene as relating to captive taking and thus warfare, but also to the vision quest. Helmke (2000) connects the vision quest with bloodletting in the left panel because "the pointed hipcloth worn by the lord" is "associated with

bloodletting at Yaxchilan” (Pabellon Database: W7.1, W7.3). Further support for this is garnered from the fact that Helmke (2000) identifies the iconographic element that occurs in both panels in the top right as the vision serpent.

In the right panel, Helmke (2000) suggests that the vision quest is in the process of occurring. He also notes that while the names for each kneeling individual presented to the king differ, they might be the same person because “both panels depict a sequence of events that is in keeping with the content of Late Classic texts and the murals of Bonampak” (Helmke 2000). The mirror, typically used for scrying, supports such an identification. Helmke (2000) goes on to propose that this particular scene refers to identifiable, historical individuals and that it commemorates a period ending that occurred “early in Cycle 10.” While Helmke (2000) notes that not all the owners would have known the individuals involved in this ritual, given the wide distribution of these ceramics, he also states that “nonetheless the scenes depicted thereupon likely commemorated the general practices of captive-taking and associated rituals.”

### **Discussion of Additional Scene Categories**

There are many sherds that contain recognizable iconographic elements in the current corpus. Many of these sherds can be placed within the above scene categories and have been presented accordingly (in the Pabellon Database). There are some, however, that do not appear to fit within any of the groupings already defined. Given the fragmentary nature of the evidence and the lack of several representative examples, I have not defined further scene categories. However, I would like to demonstrate here that several existing motifs do not seem to relate to any of the groupings discussed above.

For example, an unusual headdress form appears in the Pabellon Database: W8.82, although this may just represent variation within one of the already defined scenes. Another headdress type appears in W8.21. This form

may, again, be simply another example of the variation that occurs in each scene category. Another sherd shows what appears to be either a square shield or a cloth with designs on it (Pabellon Database: W8.25). If the object is a shield, it is represented more in the Classic Maya tradition and does not seem to relate at all to the other scene that contains shields (Scene 4); it, in fact, does not fit into any of the current scene categories. These sherds should, however, be carefully considered as the corpus grows, to see if further scene categories can be defined.

Yet another example, Pabellon Database: W8.3, implies that there are indeed other scene categories that are not represented within the current corpus. In these sherds, the figure seems to raise an *atlatl* above his head. Hieroglyphic texts that are, at this point, unreadable, appear to the right of the *atlatl*. None of the scenes already discussed have an *atlatl* in this position when associated with a presumably standing figure. *Atlatls* do appear before the faces of several recumbent figures in the Reclining Figure Scene, but the individual in this example obviously does not recline. Furthermore, none of the figures that hold *atlatls* in this position can be connected with glyphic texts within the image itself. This inter-image text is extremely unique, both in the hieroglyphic shapes it employs and in the formal layout of those glyphic elements. The glyphic forms, for example, are connected by a rectangular framing device and are arranged both vertically and horizontally. The transition between horizontal and vertical text strings is particularly interesting since an oddly triangular glyph shape appears in this area. At this point it seems likely that pseudo-glyphs comprise this passage. If the glyphs are readable, the reading order of this formation is still uncertain.

There are several other examples that do not seem to connect with any of the current scene categories. It is possible that many of these sherds might fit into the existing groupings but are unique examples of the variation that occurs within each scene. At this point, though, it seems that there is at least one additional scene set that the current corpus does not provide enough evidence to develop



further. Thus, as the corpus grows, careful consideration should be given to examples that cannot currently be classed within the existing categories so that new scenes can be clearly and quickly identified.

### **Chapter 3**

#### **The Hieroglyphic Texts on Pabellon Molded-Carved Ceramics**

Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics contain several different hieroglyphic sequences. Many of the vessels contain what has been referred to as pseudo-glyphic texts. In contrast, some exhibit standard Maya passages. Hieroglyphs with square cartouches also appear, often on vessels that clearly display Maya texts as well, and seem to be non-Maya in nature. This chapter will provide a general overview of the categories of Pabellon pseudo-glyphic texts, hieroglyphic texts, and square cartouche day signs just named.

#### **Pseudo-Glyphic Texts**

The vast majority of pseudo-glyphic texts appear on ceramics that fall into the Reclining Figure Scene category. Interestingly, almost all examples of the Reclining Figure Scene feature these pseudo-texts, which can therefore be seen as a diagnostic element for this scene type. Furthermore, since vessels ornamented with the Reclining Figure Scene are more numerous than any other type, the most extensive body of hieroglyphic content in the Pabellon variety can be associated with pseudo-glyphic texts.

Within the Reclining Figure scene, extremely repetitive pseudo-texts appear in rim bands and the vertical panels that border each scene. Peter Keeler (2003) has suggested that the pseudo-glyphs are actually recognizable Maya hieroglyphs. He argues that the rim text, which he calls the Rim-Text Standard Sequence or RTSS for short, has a clearly definable order. Keeler also notes that substitutions are made in a number of instances (Keeler 2003). These are some of the aspects that characterize the Primary Standard Sequence (or PSS), a Maya text that repeatedly appears in rim bands on ceramic vessels.

Before I introduce Keeler's observations further, though, a few words must first be said about the PSS generally. As I have already noted, the PSS is a

rim text that can be found on many Classic Maya ceramics (Coe 1973: 18-22, Stuart 1989). While it can take many different forms, the PSS is composed of several recurrent elements. An initial sign, containing an **a** always begins the passage and indicates the starting point (Coe 1973: 18-20). The PSS then proceeds to give information regarding the production of the vessel. In other words, the PSS almost always refers to the technique used to create the ceramic in question. This can take several forms; in instances where vessels, Pabellons for instance, received molding and/or carving, the scribe used the term *y-uxul* (the main sign of which is the “**lu**-bat”), translated as ‘its or his carving/polishing’.<sup>42</sup> Often, the PSS also contains information relating to the function of the ceramic (i.e., a drinking vessel for tree-fresh cacao or a plate for tamales) and in many instances, the owner’s name (and titles) and the artist’s name (and titles).

The rim pseudo-texts exhibited on Pabellon ceramics appear in exactly the same location generally reserved for the PSS. After recognizing the fact that the rim texts on the Reclining Figure category of Pabellon ceramics contained a band of pseudo-glyphs that repeats from vessel to vessel, Peter Keeler began a structural analysis of the RTSS. Keeler’s analysis showed that, while the glyphic band was highly consistent within the Reclining Figure Scene grouping, there were many instances where glyphic substitutions appeared (Keeler 2003).

Keeler then began trying to associate certain pseudo-glyphs with specific, widely recognizable Maya hieroglyphs. For example, Keeler suggests that the

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<sup>42</sup> The connection between the “**lu**-bat” glyph and the carving of the vessel was first made by David Stuart during a talk titled “The **lu**-Bat Glyph and its Bearing on the Primary Standard Sequence” at the *Primer Simposio Mundial Sobre Epigrafía Maya*, August, 1986, Guatemala, C.A. (MacLeod 1990: 187). Stuart later published his interpretation and suggested that the initial **yu** forms the *y* pronoun, readings which Nikolai Grube also supported (Stuart 1989: 154; Grube 1990: 323).

two pseudo-glyphs seen in figure I are really an unusual version of the introductory glyph.

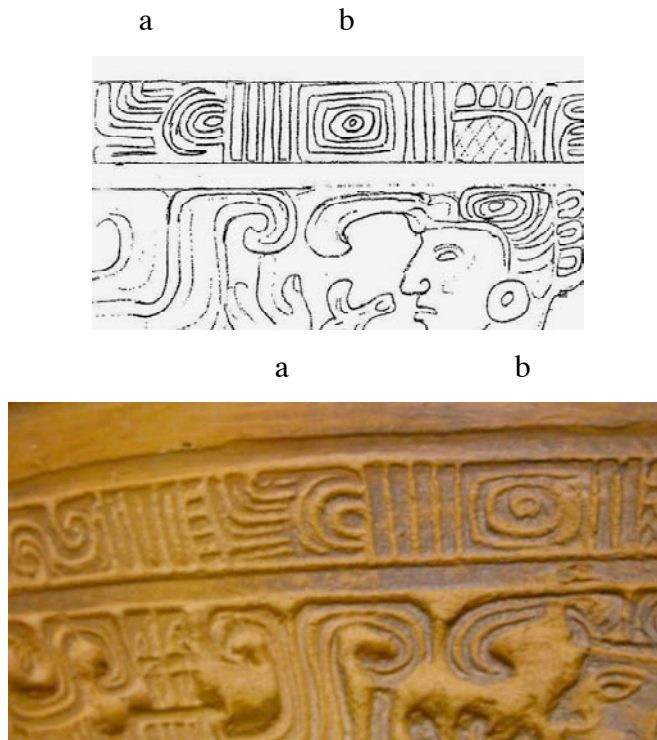


Figure I. Pseudo-glyphs, Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramic. Drawing by Cherra Wyllie, used with permission. Photograph by Maline Werness, permission of Museo Popol Vuh. For the whole vessel, see Pabellon Database: W1.34.

He argues that the first is a phonetic **a**, oriented on its side in this case, instead of its normal, vertical position. Keeler identifies the second sign in figure I as the mirror sign that appears as the initial hieroglyph in the PSS. Interestingly, the **a** mentioned before precedes and connects to this introductory main sign in ordinary sequences (Keeler 2003). The association of these pseudo-glyphs with readable Maya hieroglyphs finds support in the fact that some of the vessels contain what appear to be more understandable Maya glyphs. The vertical text in

the Pabellon Database: W1.153, for example, seems to contain the “**lu**-bat,” possibly referring to the carving of the vessel.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, Keeler proposes that the RTSS contains a readable text that bears a strong resemblance to the PSS found most commonly on Classic Maya ceramics. He suggests that the ‘pseudo-glyphs’ only appear to be illegible because Pabellon scribes were using artistic license (Keeler 2003). An addition to this hypothesis can be made; in the Terminal Classic period scribes were generally using more abbreviated and/or calligraphic hieroglyphic forms.

There are several possible questions concerning the hypothesis that Pabellon pseudo-glyphs are actually readable though. For example, many of the signs within the Pabellon pseudo-texts remain unidentified. Additionally, other scenes in the Pabellon corpus certainly demonstrate literacy as well as knowledge of the PSS, shown by clearly readable examples. Why would a scribe choose to alter the PSS to make it almost unrecognizable (to our eyes)?<sup>44</sup> None of these questions are unanswerable. The last query, for example, can be partially answered by noting the link between iconography and text. Perhaps, in coordination with the Reclining Figure Scene, the artists wanted to reference both a sky band and the PSS in the rim text; the lazy s shapes that appear repeatedly throughout the RTSS are certainly reminiscent of celestial bands.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> The rim text is much more abbreviated, however, although without the whole vessel it is impossible to say whether such a text is readable or not.

<sup>44</sup> In support of the readability of these texts, Keeler (2003) notes the great variety for which Maya scribes are known. Keeler (2003) points out some elements, for example, which were originally assumed to be unreadable but are now clear instances where the scribe used abbreviated forms for the sake of variation.

<sup>45</sup> Keeler (2003) identifies most of these elements as fillers that differentiate between repeated text strings although he notes that there is a variation that appears within what he designates as readable text that seems to have linguistic meaning.

### **Hieroglyphic Texts on Pabellon Molded-Carved Ceramics**

Several ceramics in the current corpus contain Maya hieroglyphic texts in the form of the Primary Standard Sequence discussed above. Vessels with clearly readable Primary Standard Sequences can be found in the Conference Scene (Scene 2), the Scene of the Three Figures (Scene 3), and the Presentation Scene (Scene 7). At least four different versions of the Primary Standard Sequence appear in the current corpus.<sup>46</sup> As with the PSS generally, the texts on Pabellon ceramics range from extremely abbreviated to more detailed accounts that include additional information about the patron.

A vessel that falls into the Conference Scene category provides an excellent example of a simple PSS (Pabellon Database: W2.8). A relatively clear **a** precedes the mirror sign that always begins the PSS (in Pabellon Database: W2.8, the **a** appears at the end of the text string due to the way the scene has been drawn; it really belongs in front of the first sign starting at the left for proper reading). The flat hand glyph, loosely translated as ‘it was finished/completed/concluded’ occupies the second slot (MacLeod 1990: 103).<sup>47</sup> A noun providing information regarding the vessel’s form of decoration follows the flat hand glyph. It takes the form of a bat with prefixing and suffixing and reads *y-uxul*, ‘the carving of.’ The ceramic’s function is referred to next; it translates as *y-uk’ib*, or ‘his/her drinking vessel’ (MacLeod 1990: 328, 352). Presumably the owner’s name comes next. This glyph is hard to read, however, although *chi* seems to be a part of it (Eric Boot, pers. comm. 2003). Interestingly,

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<sup>46</sup> I would like to thank Eric Boot for pointing this out to me and also for looking over the texts and confirming my translations and adding to them where noted.

<sup>47</sup> A Pabellon fragment from Altar de Sacrificios may replicate the flat hand glyph and thus provide a second example of this particular variation of the PSS (Pabellon Database: W8.4; Eric Boot, pers. comm. 2003). Unfortunately, the sherd only displays this single glyph. Therefore, the fragment cannot be definitely connected with this version of the PSS.

this PSS appears over the left panel; in fact, the initial sign is located at the beginning of the panel, assuming a left to right visual reading order.

The second version of the PSS on this vessel occupies the same position relative to the second panel. This PSS also replicates the first, except for the name of the patron. In this instance, the owner's name seems to take a different form, although it is impossible to read in its current state. Perhaps the variations reflect different titles for the same individual referred to in these Primary Standard Sequences. Hieroglyphs in square cartouches can be seen within the scene panels themselves and will be discussed in the next section.

The second version that appears in the corpus has at least four examples, possibly five (Pabellon Database: W3.1-W3.5).<sup>48</sup> These texts come from the four vessels that were made from the same mold. Unlike most of the other examples just discussed, in these cases, the PSS does not repeat over each scene panel; instead it forms one long string of text that appears above both scene panels. Furthermore, the text string contains more information than the example discussed above, as can be seen from its sheer length in comparison to the version already discussed. Many of the glyphs, however, are extremely hard to decipher, so much of the information contained within this PSS remains illusive. A few things may be said though. First, this PSS appears on vessels situated within the Scene of the Three Figures. Additionally, in all the examples the PSS begins at the right of one of the scene panels; thus, as in the first example, the reading of the PSS can be coordinated with a visual reading of both scene panels.

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<sup>48</sup> Pabellon Database: W3.5 seems to be yet a fifth instance in which the same mold has been used. The glyphic elements in this fragment appear to be the same ones that are located over the second panel in Pabellon Database: W3.1-W3.4. Furthermore, the scene looks like it replicates the scene found in the second section in W3.1-W3.4. In this case, the first glyph looks like the God N head dedicatory glyph.

Not surprisingly, the PSS on these ceramics starts with the introductory sign. The second sign appears to be the “**lu**-bat” compound or *y-uxul*, the carving of the vessel. The third glyph might be the God N head that refers to dedication, although at this point, it is hard to say given the lack of detail in the four examples. The glyph *u-tz’ib* follows, referring to the writing on the vessel.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, the hieroglyphs that follow are hard to read. They probably contain information concerning the patron and possibly the scribe. Since these glyphic forms are difficult to interpret, I will not attempt to analyze them at this time.

Within the Scene of the Three Figures, one other clear variation of the rim text occurs (Pabellon Database: W3.7). Unfortunately, this text is also difficult to decipher. Several interesting things may be said about it though. Alfonso Lacadena has deciphered the **u-ja-yi** collocation as a word for ‘the drinking cup of’ (*u-jaay*), a reading that accounts better for the vowel disharmony in the spelling (Nikolai Grube, pers. comm. 2003). Furthermore, the introductory sign is followed by the birth glyph, read **SIH**. Titles presumably come next. This, then, is a relatively unique, if abbreviated, version of the PSS. The formal arrangement of this text string is also unique. It cannot be coordinated with a visual reading of the scene, unlike the other examples already discussed. Assuming the drawing is correct, both introductory glyphs appear over the middle of each scene panel instead of at the beginning. Several different fragments appear to mimic this arrangement. The same introductory and birth glyphs can be seen in Pabellon Database: W3.8. Furthermore, the introductory glyph clearly does not begin the scene in this example. This not only indicates that these glyphic fragments are arranged in the same unique position, relative to the image, but also that the drawing in W3.7 is correct. Two other fragmentary instances

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<sup>49</sup> Stuart (1987: 3) was the first to suggest such a reading.



seem to include the gopher head seen in the above examples (Pabellon Database: W8.6, W3.14).

The final variant of the PSS found within the extant corpus of Pabellon ceramics falls within the Presentation Scene. According to Helmke (2000), the initial sign is followed by the glyphs for ‘*yuxul-najal y-ak’utu*,’ which refers to the carving of the ceramic. Hieroglyphs that refer to the owner of the vessel appear subsequently. This passage refers to Olom, an individual who is referred to in several different texts including that found on a stela from Jimbal (see Schele database: Schele number 2029).

Pabellon Database: W3.10 may represent yet another variant; it falls within the Scene of the Three Figures but the glyphic sequence does not appear to resemble any of the other two variations found within this scene category. It shares similarities with the Primary Standard Sequences found in the Presentation Scene; it would be very interesting if similar hieroglyphic sequences could be found in two different scene categories, since currently it seems that variants of the same textual string do not cross scene boundaries. Furthermore, this text, while in an extremely good state of preservation, is hard to read. There is, however, an easily readable reference to Olom, an individual who, as just noted, also appears in the Primary Standard Sequences on Presentation Scene vessels. Furthermore, several other glyphic collocations are shared between the PSS seen in the Pabellon Database: W3.10 and the Presentation Scene variation. Both *och’k’in* and *kalomte* seem to occur in both cases, although the order appears to be different.

Several sherds seem to deviate from the variations discussed above. These sherds are so fragmentary though, that a new variant cannot be defined at present. Pabellon Database: W2.19, for example, might include a unique PSS as well as possibly representing an as yet uncategorized scene. W8.3 can be read; it has an introductory glyph followed by the “**lu**-bat” head designating the carving

of the vessel. Given that these are the only two glyphs that can be read, however, the vessel might fit into any of the variations since they all include the introductory and *y-uxul* glyphs. Yet another fragment contains glyphs that are so abbreviated as to be almost unreadable (Pabellon Database: W8.5). It does not appear to follow any pattern found in the Pabellon Primary Standard Sequences to date. Two vessels from Belize are too eroded in one instance, and both too eroded and fragmentary in the other, to undergo comparison or analysis (Pabellon Database: W7.2, W7.6). Finally, a ceramic sherd from Xunantunich includes a reference to the individual named Olom in its PSS (Pabellon Database: W7.5).

### **Glyphs with Square Cartouches**

The use of the square cartouche specifically is non-Maya, and can be seen in other Mesoamerican writing systems. In addition to appearing sporadically in the Maya area during the Terminal Classic period at the sites of Seibal and Jimbal, to name a few, these non-Maya square cartouche glyphs are found in Veracruz and Gulf Coast writing systems at sites such as Rio Blanco, Maltrata, Piedra Labrada, and Cerro de Las Mesas (Wyllie 2002: 164, 170). Cartouches that are basically square can also be found in Zapotec-influenced writing systems at sites like Xochicalco (Wyllie 2002: 163). Additionally, rounded square cartouches can be found at Teotihuacan in Central Mexico, as well as at Cacaxtla, and even at Nuñe in Oaxaca (Wyllie 2002: 170).

Thus, Pabellon vessels refer to non-Maya precedents by using square cartouche hieroglyphs. On Pabellon vessels, glyphs with square cartouches only appear within the frameworks of pictorial scenes. There are few examples, but this type of hieroglyph seems to be associated solely with the Conference Scene and the Military Scene (and probably one sub-grouping of the Reclining Figure Scene). These glyphic forms seem to be day signs, given their repetitive nature and numeral coefficients. As Cherra Wyllie (2002: 225) has noted, these glyphic

forms occur between two facing figures. This further supports the identification of these hieroglyphs as day signs since they function either as indicators of the day a particular event or action took place or as nametags identifying the actors involved. Both these functions are commonly associated with day signs in many Mesoamerican writing systems.

There does not, however, seem to be any consistency with regard to the placement of the numerical coefficients. They appear in all possible configurations; they can be seen to the left, the right, on top and at the bottom of the glyphs with square cartouche. Furthermore, a reading of these glyphs is difficult because in some cases they seem to reference Classic Maya day signs, while in others, the hieroglyph can be connected with other forms of writing. As mentioned above, square cartouches appear in a variety of cultures and at various sites distributed throughout the Gulf Coast, Veracruz, Central Mexico and Oaxaca. A discussion of each of these day signs follows. Unfortunately, many of the day signs are extremely hard to identify, given their abbreviated form and the lack of an understanding of the glyphic system the Maya artist employed. Thus, although a few are based on solid evidence, many of the readings must remain tentative.

One example of a square cartouche hieroglyph that is easily understandable appears in the Pabellon Database: W1.48. This glyph is associated with one of the Reclining Figure Scene sub-groupings (e.g. Scene 1.4). Given the infrequency with which this scene is represented, it is not clear whether other scenes of this type contain square cartouche glyphs. In this case, though, the hieroglyph clearly takes the form of a skull. As Cherra Wyllie observes, the skull can be associated with the sixth day sign, “death,” in many Mesoamerican calendars (Wyllie 2002: 227). The numeric coefficient associated with this glyph—seven—has been attached to the bottom of the glyph. Thus, the glyphic combination can be read Seven Death. Interestingly, this format of representing

numbers appears more commonly in Central Mexican and Oaxacan writing systems than it does in Maya systems (Wyllie 2002: 227).<sup>50</sup>

Pabellon Database: W2.8 provides an excellent example of the many problems that arise when trying to decipher Pabellon day signs with square cartouches. In the right panel, the day signs seem to be relatively easy to read. Not only do the glyphs themselves repeat, they also reoccur in the same order; only the numeric coefficients change. In the first position (reading from top to bottom) a crocodile head appears. The crocodile head forms the main part of the first day sign in many Mesoamerican calendrical systems and is thus easily recognizable. The coefficient associated with this day sign reads five and can be found resting along its bottom. Interestingly, this form of representation—a bar symbolizing five—can be associated with Classic Maya writing systems, even though the placement of the number does not coincide with normal Maya arrangements. Thus, this glyph can positively be read Five Crocodile.

The second glyph in the top combination of square cartouches can also be associated with Maya representations. Given its unique form, it appears to be an easily identifiable form of “Cimi,” the Maya day sign that refers to death. Again, the bar-dot number associated with this day sign—either five or six—is located below the square cartouche. Thus, this hieroglyph can be readily identified as Five or Six Death. If the coefficient is six, perhaps the previous glyph is really an unusual glyphic representation of a serpent, resulting in two, sequential day signs, 5 Serpent 6 Death.

As I have already noted, the second level of square cartouche glyphs repeats the main signs. Only the associated numbers differ. Interestingly, the

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<sup>50</sup> Wyllie goes on to suggest that the glyphic form cannot come from Central Mexico or Oaxaca though because, stylistically, it bears a closer resemblance to Veracruz and related areas (Wyllie 2002: 227). Such an analysis is outside the scope of the present thesis.

artist has placed the numeric coefficients on the top of the square cartouches in this case, as if to emphasize the change in number, since this placement means that the numbers for the two text strings are closest together instead of the day signs. The second bar of hieroglyphs then, can be read Six or Seven (?) Crocodile, 8 Death. Thus, the glyphic evidence presented in the right panel points toward a Maya symbol system cloaked in foreign-looking square cartouches. Again, perhaps the Crocodile glyph is really a representation of a serpent, so the day names could be sequential.

The left panel, however, demonstrates the complexity found in the glyphic texts contained in the Pabellon corpus. None of the four signs are easily identifiable. Furthermore, none of them can be easily associated with Maya day signs. The first sign cannot be read, although it is preceded at the top by a coefficient of seven. A second day sign follows next, appearing underneath the first, with a numeric eight located to the right, in typical Maya form. Just like the first day sign, this second sign is hard to identify. It only bears slight resemblance to three of the known day signs. It might be a reference to the Mixtequilla second or tenth day sign or the tenth Maya day sign.<sup>51</sup> Given these issues, I will not suggest a reading for it here.

The second band of square cartouches is slightly easier to understand. Cherra Wyllie associates the first glyph with the seventh day sign, “deer,” in several Mesoamerican calendars (Wyllie 2002: 202, Table 9.1a). It certainly does resemble the deer seen in almost all instances of this day sign. Interestingly, the Classic Maya version is the only one not to include a direct visual reference to the deer. This glyph can be tentatively read Five (?) Deer (?). The second glyph is equally hard to identify. The division of the central sign into three main elements

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<sup>51</sup> Wyllie disagrees, associating this form with the twentieth day sign in many Mesoamerican calendars (Wyllie 2002: 203, 203, Table 9.1b).

can be most easily associated with the thirteenth day sign in both Mixtequilla and Nuine systems.<sup>52</sup>

Other theoretically identifiable day signs appear in the Military Scene. In the Pabellon Database: W4.1, the first sign in each panel is easily identifiable as Crocodile. The whole sign can be read Five Crocodile. Although it is followed by a numeric coefficient of 8, which implies readability, the second glyphic form is unidentifiable at present; it cannot be associated with any of the day signs in known Mesoamerican calendars.<sup>53</sup> A similar situation can be found in the right hand panel. The Crocodile glyph reappears, this time without any recognizable coefficient. The second sign is again unidentifiable and does not resemble any known day sign, even though the scribe has attached a numeric five to the bottom of the glyph.

Another example of the Military Scene yields different glyphic combinations (Pabellon Database: W4.2). Crocodile seems to be represented again with a numeric coefficient of five, resulting in Five Crocodile. The second glyph in this panel fragment looks like a fairly clear representation of a bird, although association with a specific day sign remains problematic [Wyllie associates this bird with the fifteenth day sign, “eagle” (Wyllie 2002: 203, Table 9.1b)]. A numeric eight modifies this day sign. This glyphic combination shares marked similarities with the glyphic combination found in the Military Scene just discussed (Pabellon Database: W4.1). Not only is the first number/sign combination the same, the second number is also the same and located in exactly the same position relative to the square cartouche it modifies. Furthermore,

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<sup>52</sup> It is interesting to note that if the number associated with this day sign is indeed a six, the scribe has chosen to ignore Classic Maya conventions that would place the dot centrally in relation to the bar. This happens in the right panel too, where the second crocodile sign seems to have a coefficient of six, even though the dot is justified right instead of centered over the bar.

<sup>53</sup> Wyllie concurs (Wyllie 2002: 228).

both combinations of day signs appear in the same scene panel (the fragment can be clearly identified with the left panel in W4.1 since the round shield is easily identifiable). Thus, the bird sign may be a substitution for the unreadable glyph that appears in W4.1 or may refer to a different date. In either case, the variation in the second day sign is significant.

Other fragments containing almost no iconographic detail provide further examples of square cartouche glyphs. These glyphs are just as difficult to read, however. In the Pabellon Database: W8.4, for example, the first sign, associated with the number eight, is not readily identifiable. The second sign seems to be a repetition of Crocodile, reading Seven Crocodile. Adams (1971: 50) refers to a date on Pabellon pottery that seems to read Eight Cozcaquauhtli or Eight Vulture, Seven Crocodile (“Cipactli”), so perhaps the first glyph can be read as Vulture. In this case, the orientation is reversed; the crocodile head faces right instead of left as in all the other examples (which may actually refer to the day sign “Serpent” instead). Another square cartouche appears in W8.5; this glyph seems to be a recurrence of the unidentifiable second glyph located in the left panel of the Military Scene discussed above (Pabellon Database: W4.1).

Seemingly glyphic forms appear on other Pabellon vessels. These forms are not contained in square cartouches but I include them here due to their placement within the scene. Furthermore, two of the examples are placed within cartouches, although these cartouches take an odd shape. What seem to be glyphic forms can be located in the center of each scene panel in the Pabellon Database: W2.9. In the right panel, the glyphic nature of these elements is emphasized by dots that curve up and around the left and top sides of a slightly rounded, oblong cartouche. Perhaps this is yet another numbering system, commonly associated with Central Mexico, in which case the number would be nine. Dots appear in the left hand panel as well, but these cannot clearly be distinguished from visual ornamentation. The same ‘glyphs’ are found in both

panels and might refer to the twentieth day sign, “flower,” in many Mesoamerican writing systems; notably, this sign for the Maya translates as *ajaw*.<sup>54</sup> Thus, if these are indeed glyphs that can be understood they probably refer to royalty generally, given their repetitiveness and lack of clear distinction of numerical coefficients, instead of a particular date or name.

Other odd glyphic forms appear in the Pabellon Database: W8.3. These are located within a cartouche-like element; however, this item is completely unlike other Mesoamerican cartouches and might just be a way of distinguishing between the glyphs and pictorial scenes that carry iconographic significance. These glyphs seem to be more Maya in nature, although they are not readable at this point. The only glyphs that, thus far, are found within scenes but not within cartouches can be seen in the Pabellon Database: W8.6. These glyphs have, unfortunately, experienced enough erosion so as to make them illegible. Perhaps the birth verb **SIH** appears, followed by an *ajaw* head, but any reading must remain tentative.

It is tempting to identify the day signs as names given the repetition of Crocodile in particular. However, the variation in the numeric coefficient and in the iconography as well does not support such a reading. Thus, it seems, assuming that the square cartouche signs are indeed readable, that these hieroglyphs contain calendrical information instead of being nominative in nature. This hypothesis is further supported by the apparent substitution that occurs between W4.1 and W4.2 discussed above. At this time, unfortunately, many of the scenes cannot be associated with a specific date, given the difficulty in identifying the majority of day signs. Furthermore, some of the day signs seem to refer to broader concepts; the *ajaw* heads, for example, appear to reference elite standing rather than a specific date.

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<sup>54</sup> Wyllie disagrees, associating the sign with the eleventh day sign in many Mesoamerican systems instead (Wyllie 2002: 203, 203, Table 9.1b)



### **The Square Cartouche on Maya Stelae**

Square cartouche day signs appear elsewhere in the Maya region. They can be found on stelae from Seibal, Jimbal, Ixlu, and Ucanal. At Seibal, square cartouches appear on Stelas 3, 13, 18. Seibal Stela 3 (cf. Graham 1996: fig. 7:17) is particularly interesting, given that it also represents two sets of seated, equal-status figures speaking to one another, much like those found in the Pabellon Conference Scene (I have made this link in the previous chapter, see my interpretation of Scene 2). The further connection between these two figures and two square cartouche day signs appears in both the Seibal stela and in a Pabellon example (Pabellon Database: W2.8). The two signs seen on the Seibal stela differ, however, from those found in on the Pabellon Conference Scene vessel. In fact, as already noted, one of the hieroglyphs found on the Pabellon ceramic seems to be a Maya glyph ‘cloaked’ in the foreign form of the square cartouche. The Seibal Stela 3 glyphs, on the other hand, appear more foreign in nature and have been interpreted as reading Seven Crocodile, Five Crocodile (Proskouriakoff 1950: 153). While the Crocodile sign is found on many of the Pabellon vessels containing square cartouches, it is never repeated within the same glyphic combination as it is in the Seibal example.

Another interesting connection can be made between Jimbal Stela 1 (see Schele database: Schele number 2029) and Pabellon Molded-Carved vessels. Both the Jimbal stela and the Pabellon examples contain square cartouches. In the Jimbal case, though, there are three square cartouche glyphs, which can be interpreted as 12 Serpent, 13 Death (?), 1 Deer. The middle day sign is not obviously recognizable, but may refer to death because the human figure seems to be depicted in the gesture of mourning (Nikolai Grube, pers. comm. 2002). A reading of the glyph as Death is further supported by the fact that these day signs would then be consecutive in a number of Mesoamerican writing systems, including that of the Maya. A Pabellon example may have this sequential

numbering (Pabellon Database: W2.8), but such a reading is far from certain. More importantly, though, the Jimbal stela also makes reference to Olom, an individual whose name is also found in glyphic contexts on Pabellon vessels (Pabellon Database: W3.10, W7.5). Thus, the hieroglyphic text on the Jimbal stela shares several similarities with those found on Pabellon ceramics; not only do square cartouches appear in both instances, but a specific individual is also referred to in both cases. Further connections between the two might result from a closer consideration of the Jimbal stela text in light of Pabellon hieroglyphic contexts. It might also shed light on the current understanding of the form and function of these glyphic texts in both cases. Additionally, each of the monuments mentioned above contain dates that are all associated with the Terminal Classic period. The new usage of the square cartouche and the reference to Olom in several of the texts are mimicked in the Pabellon ceramic type and thus provide a chronological anchor for the Pabellon variety generally.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Conclusion**

Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics are a fine orange, luxury ware that experienced wide distribution. It is important to note that while images found on Pabellon ceramics can be highly repetitive, they exhibit, on the whole, a great amount of variation with little exact replication between vessels. Pots with hieroglyphic content, for example, demonstrate several different approaches to recording information. Some ceramics exhibit readable Primary Standard Sequences (of which at least four variations exist in the corpus currently), while others have what has been referred to variously as pseudo-glyphic texts or highly abbreviated and simplified versions of the glyphic forms that make up the PSS. Furthermore, several vessels also include hieroglyphs within the iconography that are comparable to Central Mexican writing systems in their use of the square cartouche.

Luckily, despite the great deal of hieroglyphic and iconographic variation found in the current corpus of Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics, these vessels display only a limited number of scenes. Clear examples exist for Scene 1, the Reclining Figure Scene; Scene 2, the Conference Scene; Scene 3, the Scene of Three Figures; Scene 4, the Military Scene; Scene 5, the Procession Scene; Scene 6, the Mirror Symmetry Scene; and Scene 7, the Presentation Scene. As previously noted, the Reclining Figure Scene contains recumbent individuals that appear to relate to the depiction of elites, captive figures, and the tradition of warfare that involves both. The Conference Scene depicts two seated figures deliberating, usually over an offering of some sort. There are several possible interpretations for this scene, which include the identification of the individuals as equal status, ruling figures in conference with each other, references to lineage ties, or as possibly connected to the birth of the Maize God. Three figures in

various poses can be found in the Scene of Three Figures. This scene seems to relate to the birth of the Maize God. The Military Scene, on the other hand, exhibits the most action, showing two fighting figures in each scene panel. A procession of warriors appears in the Procession Scene. In each scene panel, the Mirror Symmetry Scene incorporates two seated figures, confections of Gods L and N, connected with serpent heads. Several figures can be found in the last clearly identifiable scene. This scene, the Presentation Scene, incorporates references to a single king and the vision quest. Other scenes probably existed but cannot be defined at this time given the fragmentary nature of the sherds that do not fit into current scene categories.

It seems that the scene groupings just discussed can be grouped into larger categories that deal with connected themes. The Reclining Figure Scene, the Scene of the Three Figures, the Conference Scene, and the Mirror Symmetry Scene can all probably be related to the Maize God and his birth. The Reclining Figure Scene and its associations with captives, rulers, and serpents, can be connected with the Maize God, since in many representations of the Maize God he is depicted as reclining between two serpent heads or at least between serpent-like fanged jaws, as in the case of Pakal on the sarcophagus lid from Palenque (fig. E). Furthermore, the Scene of Three Figures almost certainly refers to the birth of the Maize God at Creation, given the appearance of the Maize God headdress in some examples and the birth glyph in others. The Conference Scene can possibly be connected to this birth through the ropes (which can be associated with the sky umbilicus) that appear in one example and the bone thrones that occur in another. Finally, the Mirror Symmetry Scene could relate to the individuals (through the possible association, for example, between God N and Chaak, who creates the cleft from which the Maize God is born) who assist the Maize God during his emergence. It is possible as well that the God N and L

conflations in the Mirror Symmetry scene relate to this Creation period more generally.<sup>55</sup>

The three other scenes—the Presentation Scene, the Warrior Scene, and the Procession Scene—can also be classed together. In the Presentation Scene, a warrior presents a captive to a ruler. The Warrior Scene depicts battles. These very battles provide the method of procuring prisoners. The Procession Scene might show either the warriors going out to fight or their return with prisoners (in the known fragments, though, no prisoners can be identified because only the head of standing figures can be seen in most cases and such an interpretation must remain a suggestion).

Future avenues of research include but are not limited to further defining and refining the interpretation of, and connections between, scene categories that have been suggested in this thesis. Then researchers could start considering the type of imagery represented. Why would a ruler want to disseminate imagery that related to the birth of the Maize God, creation, and military prowess? Leaders could be trying to bolster (failing) support for the institution of divine kingship through the dissemination of such iconography. The imagery does, after all, represent traditional belief systems that sustained such institutions in addition to indicating military skill.

Furthermore, the Pabellon corpus should be considered not only in terms of scene categories, as it is here, but should be analyzed and divided into groupings based on stylistic and iconographic connections. Once such a division has been made, the ceramics within these new stylistically defined and cohesive sets could then be scientifically tested in order to identify several different sites of production. If a site could be identified that was close to the Maya frontier, then the issue of foreign influence could also be addressed and resolved.

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<sup>55</sup> Sky bearers would obviously be needed after the Creation event.

Many of the issues relating to the Pabellon type are also important for the Terminal Classic period generally. Scholars have previously tried to explain the collapse of Classic Maya civilization that occurred during the Terminal Classic by developing hypotheses involving peasant revolts, internal warfare, foreign invasion, the disruption or collapse of trade networks, and ideological pathology. Ecological causes have also been used to explain the collapse; references have been made to catastrophes like earthquakes, hurricanes, and volcanic eruptions, climatic change (drought), and widespread disease as well as human destruction of the environment that can be seen through soil erosion, for example. While some of these theories have recently lost credence, others experience constant refinement. One thing that has become clear is that many of these premises must work together and that several interconnected causes seem to have resulted in the collapse. Issues that bear directly on an understanding of the Terminal Classic period should be refined further.

As already noted, Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics contain iconography that seems to relate to some of the issues that have been connected with the collapse of the Maya. For example, the Pabellon corpus provides a wealth of information that directly relates to the question of foreign influence mentioned previously. Certainly such influence did not occur because of a massive invasion by Toltec warriors, as has been hypothesized in the past. As the close analysis of stylistic qualities presented above has shown, almost all the elements within the Pabellon iconographic program can be connected with Classic Maya precedents.

Some evidence of foreign influence does occur in the Pabellon type, however, and remains poorly understood. The different physiognomies, for instance, may refer to an influx of non-Classic Maya ethnic groups into the Maya area during this time period. Just as likely, however, they may refer to a subset of Maya people that were Mexicanized-Maya or, conversely, Mayanized-Mexicans, living in the Maya area before and during the Terminal Classic. Future research

may clarify this important issue, and shed further light on the problem of contact and trade routes during this period.

Earlier I suggested that the depiction of elite individuals in some of the scenes on Pabellons might reflect political organization. Further exploration of this issue may clarify the imagery in the Pabellon corpus as well as elucidating the Terminal Classic system of elite hierarchies. A number of possibilities should be examined including the following: did some sites shift to a *multepal* form of rulership while others remained under the domination of one, supreme king? If so, do images in the Pabellon Conference Scene relate to this shift in power? Additionally, can the iconography of this scene add to our understanding of this new system of organization?

Other fruitful avenues to be explored relate to the ramifications of the remarkably wide distribution of Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics. What was the purpose of this distribution; in other words, what was its goal? Was it, for instance, being disseminated by elites who wanted to solidify ties with other sites? Furthermore, why did the distributors focus on the seven scenes thus far identified? Can these scenes be seen as reaffirming mythological precedents that were beginning to be questioned during the Terminal Classic, for example? The answers to these questions may be intricately related to shifts in political organization and/or the deterioration of the institution of divine kingship.

Another question relates specifically to the Pabellon type itself. What implications do the molding/carving techniques have for the distribution of these ceramics? As I have noted, they do not seem to be mass-produced in the sense in which we understand the term today. There are, however, four or five vessels that clearly came from the same mold. Is this more common than the current corpus indicates? Finally, as the corpus is augmented and further scientific material becomes available, it may be possible to more fully study the distribution of Pabellon pieces created using a single mold. At present, it is clear that in the

current examples, ceramics originating from the same mold occur at sites that are geographically close to one another. What would the recipients have thought about receiving a pot that was exactly the same as the one their neighbors already had? Would it lessen the value of the ceramics in their eyes?<sup>56</sup> Could it signify closer associations between individuals who possessed replications of the same image? The answers to these, and other questions that may arise, will lead to a more complete understanding of Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramics and the artistic, political, and cultural changes that were occurring in the Terminal Classic period. Perhaps the decrease in population might have had an impact. In other words, fewer artisans might have necessitated an increase in the amount of work produced by those remaining craftsmen.

Cherra Wyllie has also suggested that these ceramics display much less variation the farther away from a core center they are distributed (Cherra Wyllie, pers. comm. 2003). In this work I have not linked Pabellon iconographic variation with geographic areas. Given difficulties in identifying even a single site of production, it would be hard to reliably hypothesize a central area of production and dissemination. However, it would be interesting to see if iconographic variation can be linked with specific regions. Furthermore, are there scenes found in one region that do not appear in another? Not only would such an examination show which elements are completely diagnostic within each scene grouping, such a consideration could also affect the interpretations provided for each scene grouping in this thesis.

While the information contained in this thesis raises many questions, it has, at least, provided an introduction to the Pabellon type. A corpus of Pabellon ceramics is presented for the first time in this thesis. Furthermore, the delineation of scene categories and the discussion and interpretation of the iconography

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<sup>56</sup> Many people today place a great deal of value on originality, although this, in many cases, is a culturally distinct reaction.



contributes to the current understanding of Pabellon vessels. These ceramics have also been related to the broader Terminal Classic period where appropriate. Additionally, the hieroglyphic content has never before been consistently considered. While much more remains to be said in all these areas, hopefully this thesis will encourage a further investigation of the Pabellon variety and what it can say about the Maya, the collapse, and the Terminal Classic period.

## **Appendix A**

A Complete Listing of the Sites  
Where the Pabellon Ceramics in this  
Corpus have been Found  
(in alphabetical order)

Actun Tunichil Muknal, Belize  
Altar de Sacrificios, Guatemala  
Becan, Mexico  
Cahal Pech, Belize  
Caledonia, Belize  
Calakmul, Mexico  
Caracol, Belize  
Chanona Cave, Belize  
Chiccana, Mexico  
Copán, Honduras  
Chipal, Guatemala  
El Cayo, Belize  
El Mirador, Guatemala  
Footprint Cave, Belize  
Finca El Salvador Cave, Mexico  
Holmul, Guatemala  
Kohunlich, Mexico  
Kixpek, Guatemala  
La Milpa, Belize  
Mayapan, Mexico  
Motul de San José, Guatemala  
Nakum, Guatemala  
Piedras Negras, Guatemala  
Punta de Chimino, Guatemala  
San Agustin Acasaguastlan, Guatemala  
San Jose, Belize  
San Nicolás, Guatemala  
Seamay Cave, Guatemala  
Seibal, Guatemala  
Tecolpan, Mexico  
Tikal, Guatemala  
Tonina, Mexico  
Uaxactun, Guatemala  
Ucanal, Belize

Uxmal, Mexico  
Valley of Peace, Belize  
Xcocom, Mexico  
Xunantunich, Belize  
Yaxchilan, Mexico  
Yaxha, Guatemala  
Zacualpa, Guatemala

## Appendix B

Scene 1	Reclining Figure Scene
Scene 1.1	Reclining Figure Holding an <i>Atlatl</i>
Scene 1.2	Reclining Figure with Hands Raised
Scene 1.3	Reclining Figure with Hands Lowered
Scene 1.4	Double Reclining Figures
Scene 2	Conference Scene
Scene 2.1	Conference Scene, Double Register
Scene 2.2	Single Figure?
Scene 3	Scene of the Three Figures
Scene 4	Military Scene
Scene 5	Procession Scene
Scene 6	Mirror Symmetry Scene
Scene 7	Presentation Scene

**Appendix C**  
**A Corpus of Pabellon Molded-Carved Ceramics**

**A Brief Note to the Database**

The database entries correspond to the scenes represented on each sherd. Thus, image numbers that begin with W1 fit into Scene 1, the Reclining Figure Scene. Those that begin with W2 would fall into Scene 2, the Conference Scene, and so on. Thus, for example, a figure numbered W3.14 is the fourteenth image for the third scene category, or the Scene of the Three Figures.

When a scene cannot be discerned, the sherd number begins with an eight. There are several sherds in this section of the catalogue that have identifiable iconography. Seated figures appear several times, for example. Although many of them probably can be included in the Conference Scene, the Scene of the Three Figures also has seated figures that sometimes take similar poses. Furthermore, there is a fair amount of variation in these two scenes, so while the neck ornamentation found in figure W8.113 resembles that found repeatedly in the Conference Scene, it can also be found in a couple of examples from the Scene of the Three Figures. For this reason, problematic sherds like the ones discussed above are placed in the miscellaneous section beginning with the number 8. In most cases, though, I have suggested the possible scene category, please refer to the spreadsheet for this information. I would also like to note that none of the images reproduced in the Pabellon Database are presented according to scale. I have sacrificed respective size indications in order to provide more readily legible illustrations.

**Appendix D**  
**Figure List (For Images Included in Text)**

Figure A.

- a. Bowl Shape (see Pabellon Database: W1.2; drawing by Maline Werness after Sabloff 1975: fig. 385)
- b. Barrel shape (see Pabellon Database: W2.1; drawing by Maline Werness after Culbert 1993: fig. 98c1)
- c. Tripod feet (see Pabellon Database: W7.1; drawing by Maline Werness after Helmke 2000: figs. 5 and 71)
- d. Cylindrical shape (see Pabellon Database: W7.2; drawing by Maline Werness after Graham 1987: fig. 3a)
- e. Cylindrical shape with tripod feet (see Pabellon Database: W7.4; drawing by Maline Werness after Graham 1987: fig. 3b).

Figure B. Map of the Maya area with sites where Pabellons have been found highlighted in yellow. Drawing by Maline Werness.

Figure C. Monte Alban, Tomb 104 murals. Drawing by Maline Werness after Clancy 1983: fig. 1.

Figure D. Itzimte, Stela 7. Drawing by Maline Werness after Euw 1977: plate ITZ: St. 7.

Figure E. Pakal's Sarcophagus Lid, Palenque. Drawing by Hope Werness, used with permission.

Figure F. Altar Q, Copan. Kerr Precolumbian Portfolio: K7350, included with permission.

Figure G. Black background vase. Kerr Database: K688, included with permission.

Figure H. Classic Maya Vessel. Kerr Database: K0511, included with permission.

Figure I. Pseudo-glyphs, Pabellon Molded-Carved ceramic. Drawing by Cherra Wyllie, used with permission. Photograph by Maline Werness, permission of Museo Popol Vuh. For the whole vessel, see Pabellon Database: W1.34.

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