

# THE TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS

AT

CHICHEN ITZÁ, YUCATAN

BY

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BAS-RELIEFS

from

TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS CLUSTER

by

JEAN CHARLOT

# BAS-RELIEFS FROM TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS CLUSTER

## INTRODUCTION

This study is limited to the interior decoration of the Temple of the Warriors group, which consists of polychrome bas-reliefs executed on pilasters and columns in three distinct architectural units: the Temple of the Chac Mool, the Temple of the Warriors proper and the Northwest Colonnade. The sculptured frieze of the south dais in this last unit is also examined. The friezes on the outside of the Warriors Pyramid, the sculptures in full round, serpent columns, seated figures, and Chac Moos are not mentioned here, as originally they were all a part of the outside scheme of decoration and were unified with the architecture. They are therefore studied in that part of this book which considers architecture.

In Part I of this book reference is made to the columns and to the technique employed by the sculptors, and in Part III much is said about the coloring and technique of the painters, but both these aspects are also to be touched upon here, as they fall within the scope of this study. Unavoidable repetition was preferred to obscurity.

The bas-reliefs examined and illustrated in this study total 337 panels, each comprising a life-sized human representation and two decorative *motifs*. An exhaustive study would have required more time and knowledge than were at our disposal, and it was therefore considered sufficient to copy and classify this great amount of fresh material, making it available to other investigators who, it is hoped, will complete the task.

Our first concern was the obtaining of a correct and complete reproduction of the originals. Photographs, though they eliminate any doubt as to accuracy, failed to prove satisfactory. It is difficult to follow the extremely low relief of the sculptured line through the cracks, traces of roots and other accidents of weathering that mar the panels, as can be seen by examining the photographs included among our illustrations (Plates 38, 63 to 67). Moreover, the necessity of color notes made photography inexpedient.

It was therefore decided to draw to scale the material considered, and the first problem that presented itself was the projection on a flat surface of the four-sided, somewhat irregular, square columns. A process similar to that used for reproducing pottery decoration was adopted, which has the advantage of giving simultaneously the four sides of each column, while still preserving their unity. One angle of each column was established as an axis of development and the four faces were spread

out flat. Such a procedure presupposes geometrically straight and true vertical lines, and involved a theoretical correction of the somewhat ragged, sloping edges of the blocks, thus distorting slightly the width of the band that frames each panel.

The best-preserved specimens are reproduced in full color with all the details of their actual appearance. This work was successfully done by Ann Axtell Morris (Plates 32, 33, 34, 36, 37). A simpler schematic method was adopted for the other panels, by which the various accidental defects caused by decay are eliminated. Though these defects (holes, scratches, traces of roots, broken blocks) are now optically dominant on the panels to the point of obscuring the real design, they were obviously never intended by the sculptor and can be of no aid to the student. To avoid half-tone reproduction, no attempt at shadowing or at distinguishing between distinct depths of line was made. An ink-line of constant width represents the sculptured line, making a pattern clear enough to be easily traced or copied by the student, even when reduced.

Wide gaps occur between the blocks comprising the columns. These did not exist originally, as defective junctures were carefully hidden with stucco, modeled and painted to the point of optical identification with the neighboring areas of stone, as can still be observed on the best-preserved samples. A semirealistic rendering of these gaps by horizontal lines running into the design would have made a confusing presentation, and the gaps are therefore indicated at the proportionate height of each break by dotted lines in margin of the drawing proper.

It was also found impracticable to reproduce the true polychromy of the sculptures in the line drawings. Five flat tones were therefore adopted to represent the almost numberless color combinations of the originals. A gray stands for both blacks and grays; a blue, for all the shades from cerulean to Prussian blue; a red represents browns, carmines and vermilions; a green, both yellowish and bluish greens; a yellow stands for clear ochers and lemon yellows; and an occasional purple has been represented by superposition of red and blue. This limited palette, though schematic, is not too far removed from the actual hues of the much-faded panels. Restoration of line and color was not attempted except in one minor instance (t.1, N base).

It can be added that the copyist's work was not concluded in the field. Given the unusual and most delicate relation of color to line on the originals, in which the painted version does not always coincide with the sculptured, he thought it advisable to work on the lithographic color version, himself fixing the color outline on the 141 plates necessary for these reproductions. The result is thus as accurate as could be procured. A certain number of photographs of the material reproduced in drawings is also included for comparative purposes.

Columns are referred to by number, and their sides by orientation. More specific details about the illustrations are given in the study of each unit.

The text, as already stated, is intended mainly as a guide to the illustration accompanying it. It contains a description of the materials and methods used by the builders. The material is described in chronological order, in two groups. The representations of the Chac Mool Temple fall into the first group, while those



of the Temple of the Warriors and of the Northwest Colonnade are studied together, being contemporaneous. Objects of the same kind in each group are described together, regardless of their positions on the monuments. Such a method eliminates the exhausting repetition that would occur if each bas-relief were described separately, and furthermore it admits of interesting comparisons regarding garments and weapons. This analysis reveals that a number of accessories frequently appear together, worn by similar characters, and a study is attempted of the more constant of human types.

This part of the text, which is the longest, is not open to much discussion since it is descriptive. It is followed, however, by consideration of the artistic aspect of the monuments, for after all these reliefs are primarily objects of art, and a study of them which omitted more specialized æsthetic observations would have been incomplete. A few remarks about the style of each unit follow the description of its subject-matter and, when it seems necessary, some attempt is made at attributions. The conclusion consists of a comparative study of the art of the Warriors group in relation to that of other Chichen Itzá buildings, and more generally of the Maya area.

Clearly, the scope of this part of the text opens it to criticism. However, it is not nearly so arbitrary as might be supposed. Knowing the solutions found by Maya artists enables us to reconstruct their problems with some security. Furthermore, the very hesitations of the artist at work and his successive changes or improvements can still be seen by comparing the final version with the preliminary sketches which are often visible, and thus one may follow the artist's shifting mental attitude. As a craftsman, the sculptor had to deal with the constant factors involved in working in hard material. He had also to develop a style suited to the greatly limited space of the columnar panels. The mental æsthetic ideal and the material conditions of work are the two elements whose successful union produces an original art style. Both are considered in this study in the light of the writer's experience, during the past ten years, as a creative painter and sculptor.

I am much indebted to Lowell Houser for the skilful and careful assistance which made the conclusion of the work possible within the appointed time.

### TECHNIQUE

Nearly all the bas-reliefs to be described in connection with each architectural unit appear on the faces of columns. The same technique was probably followed in all of them, from their quarrying to the last coat of paint. An attempt to describe the phases of this work is here made. Some of the statements are evident facts; others are deductions presented without supporting explanation for the sake of brevity, but analyzed at length later.

The columns were made of relatively soft limestone, as were the other architectural elements of the building, and consist of rectangular blocks varying greatly in height. Only four of the six faces of each block were carved. The other two were left unpolished, since the rough surface helped to catch the mortar with

which the parts of a column were joined. The surfaces to be sculptured were smoothed, but were not polished. Probably because of the great number of stones required, blocks with serious defects and holes or depressions were not rejected, as it was apparently assumed that the stuccoing and painting to be later applied would obliterate these faults.<sup>1</sup>

The blocks were probably sent from the quarry already trimmed, to avoid useless weight, and in groups, each of which constituted a single column. Irregularities in shaping the blocks and the imperfect measurement of the squared stones, as they lay horizontally in the quarry, are sufficient to account for the slight differences that occur between the heights of the columns in place. Some correction of initial errors was possible by varying the spaces between blocks when these were filled with mortar. The carving proper could not begin before the stones had been thus sealed together, because of the delicate continuity that must exist between two segments of one line in passing from one block to the next. Various indications, described at length later, demonstrate that the sculptor did not begin his work until the room or gallery had been roofed and the columns were actually functioning as supports for the finished arches. It would seem logical that the artist could not work freely upon his composition *in situ*, before the roughest work was concluded and the masons' scaffolds had disappeared. The junctures between blocks, which broke the continuity of the surface and thus interfered with the preliminary sketch, were smoothed over with stucco before the artist set to work; while the delicate work of relating two segments of carving in stone by stucco modeling naturally would be done only after the carving was completed.

The artist began his work by dividing the column into three components—base, shaft and capital—and on each a general massing of the elements to be included in the picture was sketched with hard charcoal. Then followed delineation of details with more accurate depiction in view. When one considers the enormous number and variety of ornaments portrayed in minute detail, and their fusion in human representations, nearly all with a strong individual stamp, some even with a name and obviously portraits, it seems impossible to suppose that the artist worked only from memory. Rather it is highly probable that work on the stone itself was preceded by preparatory sketching from living models on a more perishable material and on a smaller scale. The artist, working from such sketches, could amplify and modify as the permanent version might require.

After the subject was drawn on the stone, the carving followed. This was a process of cutting away the background from the outline, so as to silhouette the figure upon it in relief. Then the details were cut inside this silhouette. The most important lines were made by double diagonal incisions which met in the middle, like a furrow, the sloping edges thus formed giving to the plane a suggestion of

<sup>1</sup> In columns of the Northwest Colonnade serious depressions are found that were never filled with mortar, as the carved line continues into the sloping surface of the hole. In such cases the faulty side of the stone was turned to the east, where it stood in the shade and against the strong outside light. Thus the defect was partly minimized.

spheric modeling. Minor lines were made by one vertical stroke, while the lightest were simply scratched on the surface.

Though the stone is soft, it would appear from the constant hesitations in line and the irregularities of the surface, that a tool of but slightly harder material was used, probably a roughly chisel-shaped stone. A point was used to deepen the furrow and to trace small lines. Holes were prepared for incrustations, the hollow remaining unpolished in order to insure adherence. In the parts of the Temple of the Warriors where the light was bad, and especially in corners distant from the altar, the sculpture consisted of hardly more than a few scratches, partly on stone and partly on stucco, barely an indication for the painter to work upon. On columns that stood in a particularly good light, or in a prominent place, the carving was finished off by polishing, so as to prepare a finer ground for color. Attempts to round the surfaces more thoroughly are rare and occur mainly in portrayals of small objects. The incrustations were probably inlaid after carving and before painting. All of them were intended as eyes. The best incrustations are of white shell with a circular hole in the middle, which was filled with a kind of tar to serve as the pupil of the eye. It seems that in some cases (Chac Mool, col. 5 S.) a cheaper material, probably white lime, was substituted for the shell.

When the carving and inlay were entirely completed, the painter began his work. Since his technique and materials were the same as for the wall paintings, they need not be described here in detail (see page 352). A fixed scheme was followed. The background was painted dark red, the frame blue, and the objects portrayed as near their natural colors as the limitations of the Maya palette permitted. The painter did not, however, adhere slavishly to the line made by the sculptor. It is interesting to note that he followed it freely, and often ignored it entirely. In some cases, he changed the proportions of the objects in the painted version, apparently for no other than an aesthetic purpose; in others, he added objects or completed parts forgotten by the sculptor. These variations between carving and painting on the same surface are sometimes so marked as to point to a conflict, and would indicate that painter and sculptor were two separate individuals.

The entire work of painting, laborious as it seems, was re-attempted from time to time, though not so often as the exterior decoration of the temple. While in the Chac Mool Temple there is only one coat of paint, thus bearing testimony to the short use of the structure, numerous coats are still in place in the Warriors Temple and the Northwest Colonnade. Seventeen can be counted on the dais of this colonnade. Some incrustations were buried under this process of successive repaintings (dais, North Colonnade) and preserved until revealed by the disappearance of some of the coats of paint after exposure. Painted eyes, concealing the original incrustated shell eyes, were found in one such instance, thus demonstrating that the existence of the latter had been forgotten by the time the last coats of paint were applied.

## TEMPLE OF THE CHAC MOOL

The two rooms inside the Chac Mool Temple originally held eight columns and four door jambs (fig. 147). Of this total, two columns and two door jambs were not recovered. For purposes of reference, the columns have been numbered from 1 to 6, beginning in the front room north, following the movement of the vaults, and ending at the south of the altar room. The pilasters are referred to as C and D.<sup>1</sup> A reference to a particular side of one of these architectural members includes, with its number or letter, an abbreviated symbol of its orientation.

The average height of the columns is 3.13 meters. They are practically square, each side measuring about 61 cm. across. The pilasters from the door jambs are approximately 2.57 meters high, and their breadth varies from 31 cm. on the broadest side to 30 cm. on the narrowest. The number of drum-shaped blocks per column varies from eight to ten, these ranging in height from 18 to 59 cm.

Each column was decorated on four sides and each pilaster on three, which gives a total of 44 decorated panels, of which only 30 (6 columns, 2 pilasters) remain. The sculpture is in excellent condition, with much of the delicate stucco work still in place. The best-preserved examples as to color in the front room were 2 E., 2 N. and 3 W. (see Plate 32). The two pilasters of the partition door were also excellently preserved, due to the fact that the jambs were dismembered when the temple was filled up and were used in the construction of a masonry box at the west side of the front room. Since the decorated blocks were laid face to face, the polychromy was fortunately well protected. When discovered (season of 1926), it seemed impossible that better preserved examples would come to light, so a careful copy was made (see Plates 33 and 34). However, excavation in the second room (season of 1927) uncovered column 5, at least their equal as to preservation, and column 6, so marvelously intact that its painting seemed new. Two other copies were therefore made, all four being the work of Ann Axtell Morris (Plates 36 and 37). The other sculptured decorations are reproduced in line drawing, the tones being conventionally indicated. By comparing them with the realistic copies they can, however, be more nearly visualized.

Each decorated face of both columns and pilasters is divided horizontally into three portions, the middle segment being by far the most important (2.02 meters high), while the upper and lower divisions are practically square (58 cm.). These divisions correspond in proportion and position to base, shaft and capital, and for the sake of clarity will hereafter be so designated. Each base and its corresponding capital bear similar designs—masks in the case of the pilasters, Atlantean dwarfs on the columns. All the shafts bear human figures of life size, fully dressed and armed.

The bas-reliefs sculptured on the horizontal member of the tail-capital of the serpent columns at the entrance of the temple are identical in size and style to the inner bas-reliefs, and are included in the detailed analysis of subject-matter that follows, although these columns belong more to the outside plan than to the decora-

<sup>1</sup> A and B were reserved for the serpent columns.

tion of the interior. These tail-pieces, though found torn away from their corresponding shafts, can be assigned to their original positions with reasonable certainty, as it is customary for the two Atlantean dwarfs sculptured at the back of the blocks to face each other. The plan shows the two tail-pieces returned theoretically to their respective places. They are referred to here as A and B. The carvings on both are reproduced in line-drawing, with the exception of the south face of B, which is included in Plate 14, the color presentation of a serpent column.

Stubs of what had once been a square colonnade were uncovered at the base of the pyramid, standing in the same relation to the Chac Mool Temple as the Northwest Colonnade does to the Warriors. Eighteen columnar elements were found, those of the west row being 69 cm. square, those of the east row 57 cm. Unfortunately no drums were recovered, but on the red floor, where the stucco surface met the column itself, traces of blue paint were plainly visible, suggesting that the reliefs were enclosed in a blue frame. Thus it seems probable that the columns had the same scheme of polychromy as the contemporaneous columns from the Temple proper, though they were different in size.

## DECORATIVE PANELS

### MASKS

The sculptured pilasters at the entrance of the Chac Mool Temple are missing. But in view of the accustomed manner of decoration of Chichen builders, it can be surmised that they bore the same *motifs* as those of the inner door, that is, on each of the three sides a standing figure on the shaft and masks corresponding to base and capital. This would have made originally a total of twelve figures and twenty-four masks, of which only half now remain. Two alone of the eight floral bands that ran vertically on the jambs along the pilasters are left—those on the south side of the partition door.

The mask *motif* (fig. 138) is evidently the equivalent on a flat surface of the architectural mosaic masks used on the outer walls of temples. These sculptured masks, enclosed in rectangular areas, are conspicuous over the doors of the Castillo, the building stylistically nearest to the Chac Mool Temple. Differences between the sculptured and the flat masks show interestingly the changes in appearance brought about by a change of medium. The "elephant" nose which appears on the sculptured masks could not be projected successfully on a flat surface, and it is therefore replaced by an approximately circular area painted red. The two green nose-plugs tipped with red rising upon this surface help to suggest perspective. In one case (D. N. capital), the nose is represented by twin circles.

If similar to other eyes still preserved, those on these flat masks were originally incrustations, probably white shell with the black pupil made of tar. Bits of plaster that sealed the incrustations to the stone orbits are still found in place. The missing incrustation was enclosed between a blue supraorbital plaque and an S-shaped suborbital device. A similarly shaped plaque is found on the heads

of the columnar serpents, and in both cases these plaques are ornamented with cross-bars or dots. The suborbital S is sometimes replaced by a ring that completely encircles the eye (D. W.). Curved fangs protrude from the yellow lips, shaped like the mouth of a Greek theater mask, disclosing the red cavity inside. The face is encased between triple ear-plugs (pink, yellow, green, ending in a long green stem and a bead) on each side of it and by a rectangular linear device suggesting the contracted head-dress peculiar to the technique of the sculptured stone mosaic masks.

Similar faces used also as bases and capitals are to be found in the Temple of the Tigers. They are intimately related to the old South Maya *motif* of the water-plant. At the back of that temple the water-plant shapes itself on the base of the columns to form the features of the mask. The composite eye-frame (S device and eyebrow plaque) is identical to that of the old-faced gods of the codices, as are



D. N.

FIG. 138—MASK MOTIF

FIG. 139—GOD MASK FROM  
THE DRESDEN CODEX

the fangs and the triple ear-ornament (fig. 139). On the other hand, the circle around the eyes that replaces the suborbital plaque on B. W. faintly recalls the Tlaloc heads of the Valley of Mexico.

#### ATLANTEAN FIGURES

The bases and capitals of the columns are practically square spaces. The sides, on the average, are 58 cm. long. On each the design is the so-called Atlantean figure. A man—or if compared with the human figures on the shaft, a dwarf—with characteristic features and insignia seems to support with his raised arms the superimposed architectonic elements. This psychological assistance to the balance of the building is given by the man on the base in relation to the shaft, and by that on the capital to the now missing beams.

What would be the typical Atlantean figure can not be defined and described completely; only the elements that recur constantly in representations of that

character can be noted. Other variable characteristics require individual description or at least grouping.

The human type is constant—an old, toothless, bearded man, who appears identically in the Castillo reliefs and also in the Temple of the Tables.<sup>1</sup> His skin is a deep red-brown, his beard gray, and the long hair—a play of black parallel lines—falls loosely on the breast. The nose-stick and ear-disk are green. He wears bracelets of green mosaic and a necklace of green beads, from which is hung an oval-shaped plaque with two flowerlike appendages which rest upon his breast. In the center of this plaque appears a small, deeply carved, concave oval which would suggest some incrustation, now missing, if it did not still retain traces of color. The function of this concavity is as yet unknown. At the waist two racquet-shaped yellow appendages, with a cross-line pattern and fringes, fall in front and in back, suggesting the end-flaps of a loin-cloth. The sandals are adorned with spherical rosettes. The head-dress is always partly hidden by the shoulder and



FIG. 140—COMPOSITE RESTORATION OF ATLANTEAN HEAD-DRESS



FIG. 141—DISTRIBUTION OF ATLANTEAN TYPES IN CHAC MOOL TEMPLE

raised arm, but it can be fully described in a composite picture summing up the visible details of different representations (fig. 140). A crown of yellow mosaic is made of squares or leaflike elements; on the side, a pink rosette, its center a bunch of green plumes; on top, a form similar to an inverted Phrygian cap often disclosing a twin shape from which rises a long panache or scroll. The body of this upper element varies as to color, being usually blue or white, with decorative rings and fringe of yellow.

The other elements, which would correspond to the clothing of the torso from waist to shoulders, vary greatly, but they can be grouped into three types: sea-shell, turtle-shell and spider-web. The first two are definitely identified as sea-shell and turtle-shell, but the third, though descriptively a spider-web, can not be strictly so interpreted. The 53 Atlantean panels that remain fall into the following groups: 27 with representation of sea-shells; 13 with representation of spider-webs;

<sup>1</sup> The only exception to this type occurs in the Temple of the Tables, where a youthful priest with a long robe appears in the Atlantean attitude on one of the capitals.

9 with representation of turtle-shells; 4 doubtful; 1 lacking symbolical ornaments. Figure 141 shows the distribution of these panels. The indication nearest to the column refers to the base *motif*, the more distant to the capital.

The simplest form is the spherical shell, with flat or elongated opening (fig. 142a, 5 S.). Another example (col. 5 E. capital) shows the snail issuing from its shell (fig. 142b). The conical shell is another type, one example of which is a transition from the spherical (col. 5 W. base, fig. 142c). It covers the man vertically, whereas the others are in diagonal position and apparently attached to the human back as the shell is to the snail's body. Figures 142d and e give a simple and a more complex form (A. N., B. N.). The shells are painted white, outlined and dotted in gray.

The spider-web object, whatever it may have been intended to symbolize, can be described theoretically as a succession of concentric circles divided by rays (fig. 143). In the best representations, the outside circle can be traced completely like a halo behind the figure, thus doing away with the possibility that the *motif* might have been intended to represent wings or batlike membranes to which it bears a superficial resemblance. It is colored gray with black lines.



FIG. 142—EXAMPLES OF SHELLS WORN BY ATLANTIAN FIGURES

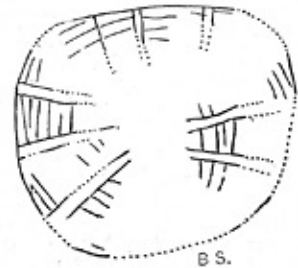


FIG. 143—EXAMPLE OF THE SO-CALLED "SPIDER-WEB"

When a turtle-shell is used, the man is supposedly armored with the shell, his body filling the inside and his arms and legs extending out from it in the position of the limbs and head of a turtle. Thus, in a standing position and from the front, only the under shell and the overhanging border of the upper shell are plainly visible (fig. 144). The normal color is dense yellow ocher.

It seems unusual to choose such a weak type as the oldish dwarf for the purely physical function of supporting a weight. In the mind of the builders, it must have been endowed with supernatural powers, and is probably a god. The resemblance to God B in the Dresden Codex (figs. 145a and b) is striking, and a similar personage, wearing the same collar-plaque and plaque-appendages and dressed in a sea-shell, is to be found in the Peresianus Codex (fig. 146a). Another shell-man with similar oldish features is painted on a Chama vase (fig. 146b). In Chichen this figure was not used merely as a support, for it is carved on the south jamb in the back chamber of the Temple of the Tigers with the same paraphernalia and insignia, though not in the Atlantean posture. Furthermore the



constant occurrence of a beard in this representation, and the rarity of it in other human figures, points also to its identity as a historical or mythological character.

As to the geographical origin of this *motif*, it must be considered that the effigy of a man used as an architectural support is too easy and logical a concept to establish any plausibility of inter-relations between peoples. However, when both the attitude and the characteristic features of the man himself are repeated, a relationship can be suspected with more justification. Such evidence occurs in an Atlantean representation from the Tro-Cortesianus Codex, which shows not only the uplifted arms but the characteristic profile and toothless mouth. We find also in Palenque a relief of a small man or god with oldish features supporting a larger standing human figure (bas-relief of the sun). The famous anthropomorphic columns of Tula and two statuettes of Ehecatl in the National Museum of Mexico are also human supports, but they resemble the Chichen figures only in attitude and differ widely in the other characteristic features.

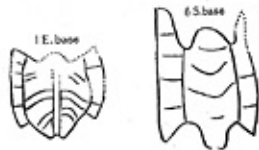


FIG. 144—TURTLE-SHELLS WORN BY ATLANTEAN FIGURES



FIG. 145—*a*, PROFILE OF ATLANTEAN FIGURE FROM CHAC MOOL TEMPLE; *b*, PROFILE OF GOD B FROM DRESDEN CODEX



FIG. 146—*a*, PERSONAGE FROM PERESIANUS CODEX, SHOWING ATLANTEAN AFFINITIES; *b*, SHELL MAN FROM A CHAMA VASE

HUMAN REPRESENTATIONS

The human representations on the shafts are sculptured life size. Their average height, including the plumes of the head-dress, is 2.01 meters. The height of the personages alone varies from 1.72 meters for the warrior type to 1.30 meters in the case of the oldish men in a stooped attitude.

They are all shown in the same position: the head and feet are in profile, while the torso is usually in three-quarter front. This gives to each figure the suggestion of a walking movement. When drawn extended, the personages on one column appear as two pairs of two figures each, confronting each other on the axis of development, with the single exception of column 4 where three figures meet one. In plan, with this exception, the figures on the east and west faces of the columns turn from the outside toward the central axis, and those on the north and south face from the back wall toward the door (fig. 147). As to the gesture, when one

of the hands is left free or bears only a light weapon, it usually extends across the breast toward the other shoulder in a movement believed to indicate salutation or worship. When both hands are used they carry defensive weapons, ornamental spears or baskets of offerings.

The human types depicted cover a wide range; their psychological and professional characteristics are given so accurately by the artist that they can be defined before the use of the accessories is made clear. These types can be broadly grouped as follows: the warrior, whose principal pride is strength, even showing scars from his battles (col. 3 S.); the patriarch, an old man of decrepit appearance, whose counsel must have been more respected than his strength, if we judge from his aging body (col. 6 W.); and the priest, his long robe characteristic of a more con-

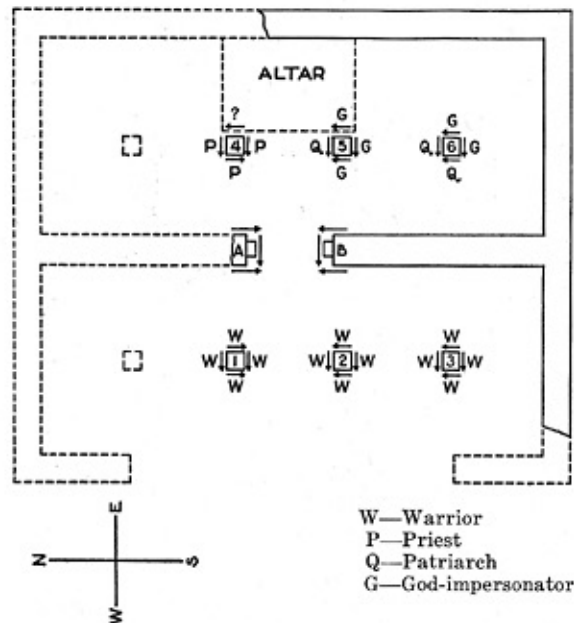


FIG. 147—PLAN OF CHAC MOOL TEMPLE SHOWING ORIENTATION OF HUMAN REPRESENTATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF CHARACTERS

templative life, the peaceful features pointing to temple service (col. 4 S., W., N.). A fourth category includes the mask bearers, delegates and embodiments of the divinities (col. 6 E.).

The plan presented (fig. 147) shows the distribution of the different characters in the two rooms. The room at the entrance contains only warriors; while the second room, where the altar once stood, has been reserved mainly for the more significant representations. Thus the artist by his choice of figures demonstrates the hierarchy of sanctity between the two rooms.

## BODY-COLOR, TATTOOING AND MUTILATION

The natural color of the skin is approximated by tones varying from yellow to deep red. This is as near an approach to the real appearance of the Maya skin as a limited palette permitted. The red is especially appropriate for the sun-burned pigmentation of the warriors, while the yellow is reserved for the more peaceful priests and attendants (col. 4) who lived in the shadow of the temple. It is also the color set apart for women's skin.

The artificial coloring of the skin for military or ceremonial purposes departed completely from natural appearance. When one tone was applied to the entire body, it always stopped at the wrist, leaving the hand in natural color. Thus the personages on columns 2 N., 2 W. and 6 N. are covered with black paint; on 6 N., though a peltmask sheathes the mouth and jaws, it appears that the cheeks and nose are painted black and the forehead blue; on 6 W. the lower part of the leg and the foot are covered with black, and this would give the appearance of a stocking if the toes were not visible; also a circle near the upper edge of the black area which has been left a natural skin-color shows that the leg is simply painted. On pilaster C. W. a dark paint applied to the leg stops at the middle of the thigh, while the arms are painted similarly from wrist to shoulder.

Another type of body-decoration consists of alternate stripes. The whole body on Column 3 N. is made into a pattern of vertical blue and brown bands, with the exception of hands and face, which are left unpainted; 3 W., judging from a few remnants of color on the leg, must have been identically decorated. On 5 N., tiny horizontal red lines alternating with the lighter red of the skin, leaving the hands and face unpainted, are displayed. Broader alternating red and white lines, completely concealing the natural color except at the hands and feet, cover 5 S. The face is unpainted, or at least it seems so from that part of the mouth area not concealed by the mask.

A third type of skin decoration is shown on pilaster D. N.—red circles outlined in black are scattered on the brown torso. This is the only case in the Chac Mool reliefs which might be tattoo rather than painting. Smaller blue circles appear on the cheeks and near the nostrils of a few figures, but these are most probably neither paint nor tattooing, but ornamental insertions of hard material; they are referred to together with other facial accessories.

On column 3 S. (Plate 31) the right leg of the standing figure, a warrior, is amputated. The limb is cut at half length of the thigh, showing a clean horizontal section. Directly under it, as if issuing from it, is shown a flower from which starts an intricately flowing scroll. This might emphasize the fact of the mutilation by charade writing, as in Maya, "nicaan," *cosa que ha cesado*, a thing that is no more; and "nican," *cosa que esta florida*, a flowering thing, are well-nigh the same (*Diccionario de Motul*, page 327b). The possible implications of this figure are discussed at the same time as are other similar representations to be found in both the Temple of the Warriors and the Northwest Colonnade (page 275).

## GARMENTS, BODY ORNAMENTS AND ACCESSORIES

The vestiture of the figures includes head-dress, face paraphernalia, nose and ear ornaments, masks and wigs; around the neck are collar and breast ornaments; on the left arm, a sleeve; on the wrists, cuffs; on the torso, sometimes a closely fitting tunic, and tied around the waist the loin-cloth or a skirt hanging from it; on the leg, knee- and ankle-bracelets or leggings; and on the feet, sandals. Sometimes a long cloak drops from the shoulders over the whole body. Weapons and other objects are carried by these figures, and will be considered along with the vestiture.

## HEAD-DRESSES

The hair, when visible, usually falls loosely on the shoulders, as a thick mass (col. 4 S.), or parted in thick strands that resemble braids (col. 1 N.). It is clipped in a clean, horizontal cut across the forehead. More complex arrangements are part of an artificial head-dress.

The skeletal structure of the head-dress can be reduced to four fundamental forms: the diadem or crown, the cap, the hat, and the turban.

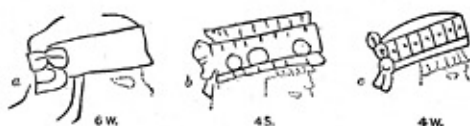


FIG. 148—CHAC MOOL TYPES OF DIADEMMS

*a*, textile; *b*, mosaic; *c*, intermediate form between diadem and cap.



FIG. 149—CHAC MOOL CYLINDRICAL CAP

The simplest form of the diadem is shown in figure 148*a*. A yellow cloth is thrown over the head, covering the hair and hanging down over the shoulders and back. To keep it in place, a long rectangular band of white cotton encircles the head horizontally and is knotted behind. The older man (col. 6 W.) who wears this primitive diadem is dressed differently from other figures, wearing simple unadorned garments with, nevertheless, an obviously religious significance, so that we may consider this head-dress an old form of head covering, discarded except for liturgical use. Figure 148*b* shows a more elaborate band, with blue disks on a yellow background, folded upon a wider band that overhangs it on each side of the head. Figure 148*c* shows the cloth having become a part of the band and the band transformed into a mosaic coronet. The knotting at the back of the head is still conspicuous, though now it is probably merely decorative. This head-dress is an intermediate form between the diadem and the cap. The material used for it seems to be a series of square solid plaques carved with simple designs, dots or diagonals. These band-crowns are usually painted green.

The cap (fig. 149) is the typical head-dress of the warriors. It is of cylindrical shape, with a flat top and "stepped" ear-flaps, retaining, too, something of the outline of the diadem and has, like the diadem, a knot in back which might be looked

upon as a survival from the earlier form. The cap is always painted blue and almost always has a blue bird affixed in front. On the best-preserved examples (D. W.), black lines are plainly visible on the blue background of the cap, giving the texture an appearance of tenuous mosaic, possibly feather.

The hat seems the direct ancestor of the modern "sombrero." It has an equally broad rim and a hemispherical or conical crown (figs. 150*a* and *b*). In its simplest form, for daily use, it appears made of braided straw (fig. 150*c* from a fresco). It is highly probable that even in its most ceremonial form it remained of the same texture. This hat offered an ample base upon which to build the accessory material displayed in elaborate head-dresses, and also a foundation upon which to erect the pyramidal structures frequent in such head-dresses. One of the less luxuriantly ornamented examples (5 N.) still permits the crown to be seen. In others (6 N.) the feather decoration has climbed over the entire form and hides the foundation hat completely. In the most elaborate examples the crown is concealed under the mask of a deity.<sup>1</sup> The hat mask bears a feathered head-dress and is adorned at the back by rows of multicolor feathers.

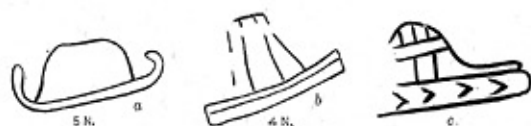


FIG. 150—CHAC MOOL HATS

*a*, semi-spherical crown; *b*, conical crown; *c*, straw texture of hat, from a fresco.



FIG. 151—CHAC MOOL TURBAN  
MADE OF CLOTH ENTWINED  
WITH A SNAKE

The turban occurs twice (2 E., D. E.), each time in association with the snake, a natural combination as its twisted conformation suggests of itself a serpent-like movement. In one example at least (fig. 151) the skin or stuffed body of a snake seems actually entwined with the other clothlike material.

Very striking decorative effects were obtained on head-dresses by the use of feathers, though probably they were somewhat exaggerated by the sculptor for the sake of his design. Of feather ornaments the most conspicuous are the long, green, curved plumes of the quetzal tail-panache; after them should be mentioned the straight black and white quills of the eagle (fig. 152*a*); the smaller, less identifiable feathers are colored green, red or yellow. Rings, made of feathers also, were used to bind the long plumes of a panache together, thus strengthening them and at the same time unifying the movement of the curves (6 N.). Stuffed blue birds, said to have been the escutcheon of the Xu family, frequently adorn the front of the warriors' hats (fig. 152*b*).

<sup>1</sup> These masks occur here (col. 5) at the juncture between two blocks. They were modeled mainly in stucco, at this breach, and disappeared when the stucco crumbled or fell off. The remaining traces, mostly the half-socket of the incrustated eye and the nose-plugs, seem to indicate that these masks were similar to the better preserved face masks which are studied later.

Among other objects used to decorate head-dresses can be listed a bone, probably human (6 W.), and the serpent (2 E., D. E.). More difficult to identify are the great sweeping scrolls on column 3 S., the unknown pear-shaped elements hanging from some of the quetzal feathers (fig. 152*c*), as well as the standardlike devices fixed into some head-dresses (fig. 152*d*). Fringes, rosettes and tassels completed the decoration.

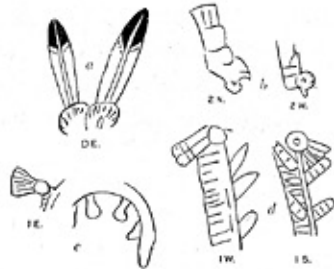


FIG. 152—CHAC MOOL TYPES OF HAT ORNAMENTS

*a*, eagle feather; *b*, blue birds; *c*, pear-shaped pendants; *d*, white pennons

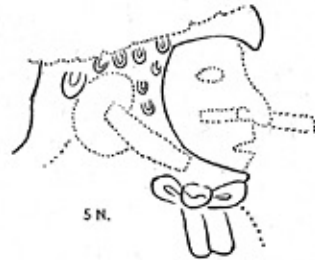


FIG. 153—CHAC MOOL: TYPE OF WIG KNOTTED UNDER CHIN

#### WIGS

A cloth thrown over the head and falling on the shoulders, for which "wig" seems an appropriate term, is cut across on the forehead coincident with the hair-line, and is often divided on the shoulders in strips that hang loosely like braids (6 E. and N.). It seems to have been used chiefly to conceal the back of the head of the mask bearers, in order to complete or emphasize the illusion created by the mask. However, as its black-and-white pattern suggests that it was made of the same material as the left-arm sleeve, it might also have been used, like the sleeve, as a defensive weapon, together with the back-shield. In figure 153 a variant of this covering is used without a mask. It is ornamented with crescent shapes and knotted upon the chin.<sup>1</sup>

#### EAR AND NOSE ORNAMENTS

The usual type of ear ornament is a solid flat circle, green or blue, which conceals the ear. One or two concentric circles are often traced upon the blue disks, as a simple decoration, and a more complex example displays human features (fig. 154*a*). The green disks are often elaborated by a tubular projection in the middle, also green, tipped with a white bead (fig. 154*b*). It seems likely that the ear-disk, given its position and size, was kept in place by a string which passed around the ear. The ear-disks displayed by god-masks are of the same type but usually the circle is doubled or trebled, overlaying one upon the other.

<sup>1</sup> Though the knot in this figure hangs upon the shield, it seems more related to the wig because of its color and texture. Furthermore, shields of the kind that appears here are fastened by a red strip which passes around the neck (6 N.), the portion of red under the ear-plug would in this case indicate a similar arrangement.

A different type of ear ornament requires a pierced ear-lobe (fig. 154c). In this example the crescent as well as the string of beads may well have been made of gold, as they are painted yellow.

Two principal forms of nose-plug seem to have been in equal favor for the decoration of the figures in the Chac Mool Temple—a pear-shaped pendant and a rod used transversally. Sometimes both are used together (col. 2 N.). They are kept in place by means of a hole bored through the septum. Though the rod is often conventionally represented in the unnatural and impossible position shown in figure 155a, more skilful representations are found in the profile of figure 155b and the front view of both ornament and nose taken from a shield decoration, as in figure 155c. A complicated variant of the rod is to be found on figure 155d, the ornament consisting of three tiny darts.

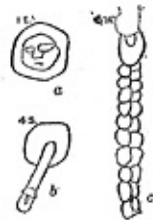


FIG. 154—CHAC MOOL TYPES OF EAR ORNAMENTS

a, blue disk with human features; b, green disk with stem; c, ear plug, crescent and string of beads

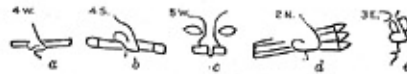


FIG. 155—CHAC MOOL NOSE ORNAMENTS

a, erroneous representation of position of nose and stick; b, truthful representation of same; c, front view of same; d, unusual stick variant, made of three arrows; e, nose button and excrescency

A third type of nose ornament is the button, known to have been used also in Mexico, made of precious material, often turquoise. It appears in C. S. and C. E. as a small blue circle inserted over the line of the nostril. This same circle also occurs as a cheek-button (col. 1 N. and W.), or as twin ornaments connected, apparently, through the upper ridge of the nose (fig. 155e).<sup>1</sup> In this case it is similar in appearance, at least, to the nasal excrescences displayed by human representations from the South Maya area (Chama vase).

#### MASKS

A striking example of a realistic mask is to be found on column 3 W. (Plate 32). This is an awesome death's head, worn to advantage by a warrior. A more abstract creation can be seen on column 6 N. (Plate 37). From careful observations of the manner in which the nostrils are curved upward to allow room for the nose-plug, it would appear that the nose portrayed is a natural one, and consequently that the whole upper part of the face is unconcealed, though thickly coated with black and blue paint. The mask then seems reduced to an artificial mouth and chin, made of jaguar's hide, and a lolling white tongue.

<sup>1</sup> An ornament of this sort is sculptured clearly on the life-sized stucco head from Uxmal in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City.

Still more stylized masks are the four identified with long-nosed gods. Three of these (col. 5 W. and S., col. 6 S.) are very similar, having in common the elephant nose and nose-plugs, the suborbital S-shaped device and the theater-mask mouth opening (fig. 156*a*). They are painted green, with the forehead and nose, blue. In spite of stylistic divergencies, their features are identifiable as those of Schellas' God B, both representations, similarly, having conspicuous proboscis and eye-plaques. The other of these four masks (fig. 156*b*) differs from the first three particularly by a rigidly articulated lower jaw and the more elaborately ornamented long nose that characterizes Schellas' God K (fig. 156*c*), with which it can be identified. The scrolls that appear behind some of these masks flow so elegantly as to suggest that they have been added more for decorative than for descriptive purposes.

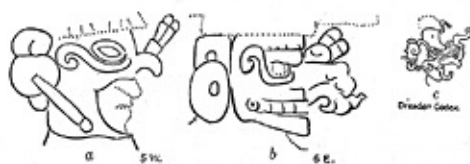


FIG. 156—CHAC MOOL GOD MASKS

*a* and *b*, from column reliefs; *c*, profile of god K from Dresden Codex

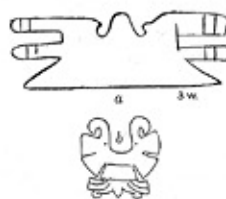


FIG. 157

*a*, breast-plaque in shape of a stylized bird;  
*b*, Mexican stylized butterfly (after Saville)

#### NECKLACE, SHOULDER CAPE AND BREAST ORNAMENTS

The usual necklace consists of six or seven cylindrical coils, with isolated beads occasionally pendant from the last coil. The entire ornament is painted blue. In column 2 N. is to be found an ornament of the same outline, which, seemingly, is a solid plaque of yellow mosaic. On columns 5 S. and 6 E. and S. the necklace is replaced by a cape that covers the shoulders, breast and back. It is made of green, square or scalelike pieces articulated into mosaic, and is finished off with a red outline and a fringe of white beads (Plates 36 and 37).

The simplest breast-plaque is a small round shield (cols. 5 E. and N. and 6 N. and S.). A more elaborate breast ornament is that described by Maudslay as the synthesis of a flying bird (fig. 157*a*) but which is not unallied to the Mexican goldsmith's stylization of a butterfly (fig. 157*b*, after Saville). This peculiar plaque, always painted blue, seems to be an ornament reserved for warriors. A bone, seemingly a human femur, is used as a breast ornament on the figure of the old man on column 6 W., hanging around his neck from a white band.

#### BODY COVERING

The torso is often bare, though painted or tattooed. However, a line that passes around the upper part of the arm, dividing two areas of different color, the lower of which is intended as the natural skin, indicates that a kind of closely fitting bodice was sometimes worn, like the pinkish garment on 2 E. It had short



sleeves and was molded tightly to the body as far as the waist, where it met the other garments, a loin-cloth or skirt. This bodice sometimes becomes a tunic, with the upper part identical to the shorter garment, but continuing from under the belt to hang horizontally above the knee. The simple green tunic on column 2 S. is of this type. A more elaborate tunic (col. 1 W.) is adorned with dangling snake rattles. On column 2 N. is to be seen a garment similarly shaped, but made of a very fine white stuff apparently pleated in a multitude of tiny vertical folds or perhaps striped with ornamental lines and transversed horizontally by a rich decorative band in black and white. On column 6 N. the material used for the tunic is a jaguar's pelt which has been cut rectangularly so that the limbs of the animal are removed, but the tail is retained and hangs behind the wearer.

A tunic falling to the knee was apparently considered sufficient clothing to cover the body, but usually other garments were used, bound at the waist. The loin-cloth seems to have been wrapped around the body, its ends crossing in front diagonally upon a second piece, the *maxtli*, which hung loosely between the legs in a triangular flap. The loin-cloth ends with a fringe or festoon. Loin-cloth and *maxtli* are usually white. On column 6 N. an elaborate *maxtli* is shown, colored two-thirds blue, one-third pink, and covered with black marks similar to the stamp made by the human hand with fingers extended. In the Dresden Codex is to be found a tree with human characteristics, its trunk girdled with a cloth, shaped like a loin-cloth, of which the piece corresponding to the *maxtli* also bears black imprints, in this case, however, the sole of a human foot. But the general appearance and the idea suggest the garment described. On Column 5 S. the loin-cloth is even more elaborate, the flap being made of multicolor mosaic with fringes.

At the back of the usual loin-cloth hangs a flap that corresponds to the *maxtli*. It commonly appears as a fan-like appendage of white cloth gathered in at the waist and spreading out downward. In its more ceremonial form this flap becomes two apparently tubular shapes, painted blue at the upper half and clear pink or yellow to the tip (5 E. and W. and 6 E., N. and S.). In this form it strongly resembles an animal tail, probably its prototype. On the Atlantean figures the *maxtli* and the back-flap appear as twin forms that can be described as oval racquets braided from a yellow material (straw?) with festoonlike edges. Figure 6 W. wears them, thus showing Atlantean affinities.

The simplest type of skirt is short and falls from waist to knee, like the lower half of the tunic. On column 6 W. is to be seen such a model, made of white cloth with a decoration of horseshoe designs. The same design is modeled in relief on column 5 N. but apparently remains part of the stuff itself. A short skirt of green feathers hanging vertically appears on column 2 E. On columns 6 E. and S., the skirts, almost concealed under heavily decorated belts, are made of jaguar skin.

A long robe was a ritual garment, associated apparently with the bearing of ceremonial offerings. It appears on columns 4 N., W. and S. of purple color, elaborately decorated with green galloon and beads and ending in a yellow fringe.

The skirt seems replaced on column 5 S., though not very distinctly, by loosely fitting trousers. This garment reappears more distinctly in the Warriors Temple.

## SLEEVE AND WRIST ORNAMENTS

The sleeve covering only the left arm seems identical to the quilted garment used at the time of the Conquest for defensive purposes. It displays a series of horizontal areas crossed by diagonal lines, which may indicate that the cloth was first cut in long bands which were twisted into a thick rope, then wound spirally around the arm. A curious detail connected with the use of the sleeve is the dart point found inserted between its upper edge and the bare arm (2 N., Plate 32), probably an emergency reserve in case of loss or breakage. A more ornamental sleeve appears on column 3 W. This consists of a cylinder of quetzal plumes, fastened to the upper arm by a ring of smaller plumes and making a kind of veil through which the forearm emerges when in movement.

A simple form of wrist ornament is a cloth wound around like a band (col. 3 N.) or tied on the forewrist with the ends of the knot hanging loose (col. 4 E.). A more solid material, painted blue, is used on column 2 S. This is a cylinder constructed of a series of rings. On column 4 W. a mosaic, shaped like a truncated cone, appears. Beads are used as wrist ornaments on column 4 S., and on 6 W. is a circle of white oliva shells.

## BELTS, LEG AND FOOT GEAR

The simplest belt is 2 S., a plain band of cloth with two narrower tongues tying it in front. When the cloth is broader the belt is tied with two knots, which is the most usual method. An extreme case of complication, a belt made of six super-

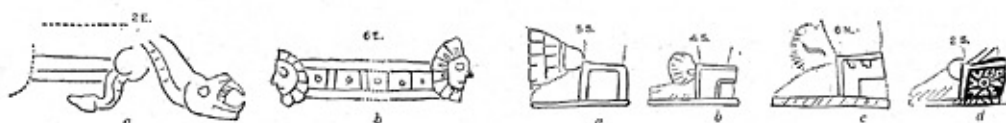


FIG. 158—CHAC MOOL BELTS

*a*, snake-belt; *b*, mosaic belt with human masks

FIG. 159—CHAC MOOL TYPES OF SANDALS

*a*, plain; *b* and *c*, hollowed at heel; *d*, complex decoration painted on a sandal

posed elements, the corresponding knots heaped in a vertical row, is shown in 4 E. The knot lent itself to ornamental refinements. In figure 158*a* we see a knot formed by the body of a snake whose head is stuffed most realistically.

Belts of more ceremonial purpose are made of solid material. The belt on column 4 N., W. and S. is made of rigid plaques and supports a much ornamented robe. On figure 158*b* the decoration includes also small human masks.<sup>1</sup> Often successive rows of dangling shells (col. 6 E.) or of beads and shells (col. 6 S.) hang from a belt of this type. All the belts of the warriors support at the back a blue shield decorated with concentric circles and rays, its outer circle broken in a scalloped outline.

A turbanlike type of knee ornament is seen on 2 S. A more usual form around ankle and knee is of rings from which drop rows of vertical or diagonal hachures that could very well be feathers, the usual color being white, gray and

<sup>1</sup> On the column the gouged sockets show that originally they contained incusted eyes.

yellow. On column 5 N. (Plate 36) a string supports two spherical green beads on the leg, one in front and one in back. On column 6 N. (Plate 37) a whole string of beads encircles the leg just below the knee. A most ceremonial type, column 6 E., is made of mosaic, green framed in red, with a stepped outline. Perhaps the most sophisticated of these ornaments appears on column 2 N. (Plate 32). The material, simple enough, seems to be cloth knotted in front, but the color scheme is of unique boldness; the left leg is clad in green, the right in red. Such an ensemble of nonsymmetrical coloring for symmetrical limbs reminds us of some of the European court fashions at the end of the Middle Ages.

The legging is another type of ornament. On column 6 N. can be seen one formed of the sandal strings, criss-crossed upwards (Plate 37). The two white bands with irregular black markings that appear here are most probably snake skins. On column 4 E. the leg is entirely encased in alternating rings of red and yellow cloth, the knots massed in a vertical row down the front.

The sandal consists of a sole and an upper part which covers only the heel. It is usually held on the leg by a diagonal band, and the woven sole is fastened in place by means of strings passing between the toes. The semicircular upper portion which covers the heel sometimes appears made of solid plaques (fig. 159a), but occasionally this piece is perforated by a square hole at the back through which the heel can be seen (figs. 159b and c). The band knot in front is usually elaborated into an ornamental device, with either a spherical bunch of feathers or a tassel (figs. 159b and c) or a fan of multicolor beads (fig. 159a). Much of the woven texture of the sole is still visible, painted at the edge and with other decorative designs on the upper heel portion (figs. 159c and d, and column 2 W., D. S., C. N.). Usually sandals are colored a tone of black or white, but green also appears (col. 4 W.) and likewise brown (col. 6 N.).

#### CLOAKS

A cloak hanging from the shoulders upon the back and sides of the body, covering much of the other clothing, is to be found on C. E. It is made of black feathers and adorned with a circular design. The figure on D. W. wears a similar cloak of red feathers fastened from a yellow collar of the same material. Another type of cloak appears on column 3 E. It hangs in front and in back but is open at the sides, much like a modern Mexican *tilma*. This particular example seems made of white cloth with a collar and fringes of red, yellow and green feathers. Other cloaks covering only the back are seen on columns 5 E. and N. and 6 N. They are of the same black and white stuff as the wigs. An elaborate textile cloak is worn by the figure on column 6 W. (Plate 37). This is decorated with a complex geometrical pattern woven into the white background.

#### WEAPONS AND ACCESSORIES

The simplest offensive weapon shown is a stone knife (col. 4 E.), an object not to be found elsewhere in these reliefs. The bearer of it is sculptured on a column together with three priestly figures in long robes, a fact that establishes his probable

connection with temple service. It can be supposed that such a knife, uncommon then as a war weapon, was retained for ritual or sacrificial uses.

Other offensive weapons are two stone axes with wooden hafts. The diagonal strap tying the blade to the haft is visible on figure 160*a* and there are knotted bands at the two ends of the staff. A similar weapon on column 6 E. has three blades, imbedded in a massive clublike staff with a hanging ornament at the handle. The weapons on column 6 N. and figure 160*b* are decorated spears, on the second of which the staff is so crested with feathers that the weapon seems more like a standard. A double-pointed spear is shown in figure 160*c*. The existence of such a weapon was known to the Spanish historians, but this seems to be its only sculptured appearance, at least in this area. The staff of the spear is carved with two approximate circles that recall a similar staff in the Dresden Codex, the tip of which has the same silhouette as the spear in question, but in this case is elaborated as a hand of bifurcated outline (fig. 160*d*). The offensive weapons mentioned

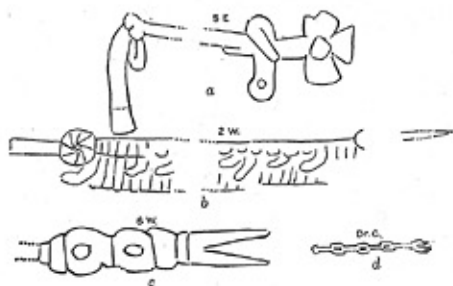


FIG. 160—CHAC MOOL OFFENSIVE WEAPONS

*a*, axe; *b*, spear; *c*, spear from bifurcated head; *d*, staff from Dresden Codex

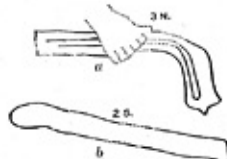


FIG. 161—CHAC MOOL DEFENSIVE WEAPONS

*a*, curved stick; *b*, simple form of same



FIG. 162—CHAC MOOL SHIELDS

*a*, with human features; *b*, from Palenque

here are few, and since they are carried by dignitaries only and are usually over-decorated, it would seem probable that they are ceremonial. The only plain one, the knife, is probably also a ceremonial object, to be used in sacrifices.

The principal defensive weapon that appears is the curved stick with which darts can be batted out of their deadly course (fig. 161*a*). One or two of these weapons are carried by each of the warriors, and it appears no less than seventeen times in its normal form. A cruder stick appears in figure 161*b*, but, given the striking absence of offensive weapons in the hands of the warriors, this can be considered *a priori* as a defensive weapon intended for the same purpose as that already described.

Small round shields have been mentioned in connection with the breast-plates and the belt. On column 5 S. a rectangular shield appears, carried on the forearm of a mask wearer. This shield is made up of a white field divided by a

horizontal black line and is enclosed by a red frame. The upper part is concealed by the drooping feathers of a yellow fringe which is also attached to the other three sides.

Perhaps the most complex of all these accessories is the shield in figure 162*a*. It is elaborately decorated with a hanging fan of tubular beads and bears a human face, enclosed in a circle, to which is added an appendage shaped like a lolling tongue; the mouth itself is not connected with the tonguelike appendage. Segments of circles on the cheeks may represent ear-plugs foreshortened in profile view. Though less conspicuous, because of over-elaborated details, an excrescence similar to the lolling tongue appears on the shield in the panel of the Temple of the Sun at Palenque. This excrescence, however, seems due to the extension downward of the lower lip or beak (162*b*).

Among accessories other than weapons may be mentioned the fan, which appears in two forms. On column 6 S. (Plate 37) it seems to be a large dried leaf, while on 6 W. (Plate 37) it is more elaborate, made up of a wooden handle, a carmine center of unknown material and two concentric bands of woven straw. On column 4 S. appears a stick with a reptilian head, carried by a long-robed priest. On 4 N., W. and S. are found baskets containing scarcely identifiable material, perhaps heaped copal flakes.

#### HUMAN TYPES

It may be of interest to follow the description of the clothing and accessories of the figures portrayed on the Chac Mool columns by an attempt to establish the associations between certain garments and accessories with certain types of individuals. A number of constant types emerge, defined by a more than accidental resemblance between the garments and accessories of the individuals thus grouped.

#### WARRIOR

On the four sides of column 1 (Plate 29) are depicted individuals in simple attire, each carrying one or two defensive bats. The four obviously belong to the same class or calling. They are so unobtrusively dressed that they may possibly belong to a lower class than their more theatrically clad neighbors and, because of the weapons they carry, we may call them warriors. Each wears a short blue tunic, fastened at the waist by a textile belt. The hat is the cylindrical blue cap, the chief features of which are the blue bird in front and short ear-flaps shaped into a stepped pattern. They wear typical warrior ornaments: a bead, pendant at the nose, a blue cheek-button and blue ear-disk, in this case partly covering the side-flaps of the cap, and a necklace wound many times around the neck and hanging down upon the breast and shoulders. The hair is long and braided. The left arm is covered by a voluminous cotton sleeve, and the right arm is bare except for a bracelet at the wrist. A circular blue shield is held in back, over the belt, and from the belt itself a fanlike back-flap drops to the ankle. The legs are bare except for knee and ankle ornaments made of plumes. The feet are shod in black-and-white sandals.

Although this might be called the "standard" type of warrior, yet the figures vary widely in details. Instead of the tunic the figure may wear a plume skirt (col. 2 E.) or a loin-cloth with a *maxtli* (cols. 2 W., 3 N.); in the second case the torso is left bare. The blue cap with the blue bird may be replaced by a turban (col. 2 E.) and the figure may also wear, in addition to his other garments, a plume cloak which falls to his feet (C. E., D. W.).

Other variations than these apparently fortuitous changes seem to have a special significance and reappear in the other architectural units. One such variant is the cripple or one-legged man on column 3 S. (Plate 31). He is dressed like a warrior, and the mutilation and unusual scrolls on his shoulders are discussed on page 275.

Column 3 W. (Plate 32) is clearly enough a warrior-type. He wears a blue cap and ear-disk and carries the defensive bat. The breast-plaque is the familiar bird shape found more frequently in the Warriors Temple and the Northwest Colonnade. The usual cotton sleeve on the left arm is replaced by a large wrist bracelet, apparently made of cloth. The right arm is concealed by a veil-like plume sleeve. But the departure from the normal type is most striking in the face, for the features of the man are totally hidden behind a gruesome and realistic death's-head mask.

Column 2 N. (Plate 32) is a personage of even more unusual type. He is related to the warrior class chiefly because of his blue cap, decorated with the typical blue bird, the left-arm cotton sleeve, with the dart point inserted between flesh and sleeve, the blue back-shield and the defensive bat. But he wears cloth leggings, a short embroidered tunic and a necklace which are all of unusual color and form. The face has extraordinary features, difficult to identify because there is a breach between the two blocks upon which it appears. It is bearded, and a pendant as well as three rods, shaped like arrows, pass through the nose. The eye is concealed by a blue ring, and there is evidence to show that this blue eye-ring is associated with a god that seems related to the Mexican Tlaloc. But, in spite of the religious significance of the mask, it is surely a warrior, if the constant characteristics of that class are accepted as descriptive of the type, *i. e.*, blue cylindrical cap, blue ear-disk, back-shield, defensive sleeve and non-ceremonial weapons.<sup>1</sup>

#### PRIEST

Three figures are depicted on column 4 N., W. and S. (Plate 35) bearing offerings. Because of their religious appearance and attitude, they can be identified as priests. The skin, instead of being painted red like that of the warriors, is painted yellow, a color also reserved for women. The features are softer and the expression more peaceful. The hair falls loose on the shoulders. On the head is a diadem made of solid square plaques. The ear ornament is cylindrical, green, with a long-beaded stem. A long rod is inserted in the septum. The shoulders are

<sup>1</sup> That the peculiar costume of the figure is not a haphazard combination appears clearly by comparison with figure C 17 (Maudslay, vol. III, Plate 49) of the sculptures in the lower chamber of the Temple of the Tigers. This figure wears, like column 2 N., the tunic with vertical lines, the horizontal knee ornament knotted in front, the small darts in the nose, and also the Tlaloc eye-ring.

covered by a cape of green mosaic, fringed with beads. The torso is clothed in tight-fitting pink cloth. Both arms are bare, except for wrist ornaments which are made of green mosaic. The belt is of the same material and is also fringed with beads. A skirt drops from waist to ankle and is decorated by a broad pattern (crisscross, spheres or beads), green on a red background, finished off with a yellow fringe. The most usual sandal for this costume is green. The constant features of the type are the long skirt, the basket or pot of offerings, and the absence of weapons.

#### GOD IMPERSONATOR

The distinctive feature of this type (Plates 36 and 37) is the mask, which has been described at length. The rest of the costume includes an ear ornament that is part of the mask; a black-and-white wig over the head, concealing the back; a mosaic shoulder cape, identical to that worn by the priests; and a heavy mosaic belt, fringed with beads and shells, which holds in place the extremely ceremonial *maxtli* of multicolored mosaic and the split two-tone back-flap. The torso is bare. The wrist, knee and ankle ornaments are also mosaic; leggings are worn by preference. The sandal is green. The figure carries a shield and spear or a ceremonial ax. This type is related in some ways with the priest—through the mosaic shoulder covering and the green sandals. It is also connected with the warrior, particularly through the use of weapons, even though in this case they are ceremonial.

#### MISCELLANEOUS PERSONAGES

There are other human figures of a complex character (cols. 5 and 6) too isolated to be fitted, with confidence, into classes. They include chiefly the figures of elders which have been described as patriarchs. One of the simplest is to be found on column 5 N. (Plate 36). He appears in a decrepit, stooping attitude, a position quite different from the erect carriage of other figures. He wears a short skirt, and a wiglike cloth around the head, both of which are decorated with scattered crescent shapes. The body is painted with tiny horizontal red and white stripes. A curved-brimmed hat with plume ornaments, a breast-shield, a mosaic wrist bracelet and a beaded knee ornament complete the costume. Other figures with similar features are found in the Warriors Temple and the Northwest Colonnade. They might be associated, because of the crescent designs, with the idea of night.

The figure on column 6 W. (Plate 37) wears a short skirt also decorated with crescents, and is also stooped. His features are distinctly old. He wears a textile diadem, folded upon a yellow cloth thrown over the head and dropping at the back, shell bracelets, bead knee ornaments, a long cloak of black and white pattern, and a heavy string of yellow beads, hanging from the lobe of the ear. The most striking feature of this personage is the use of bones as ornaments. They seem to be human bones judging from their size and use. A humerus, apparently, is fastened diagonally in front through the diadem, together with plume ornaments, and a femur hangs on the breast from a white band around the neck. It is probable that this old man is associated with the idea of death. A fragment

of an identically costumed figure was found painted on the bench of the Chac Mool Temple (Plate 133).

On column 6 N. (Plate 37) the personage is disguised as an animal. He wears a jaguar pelt and a chin-mask simulating the animal's jaws and tongue. However, in spite of his costume, he can be linked to the other two figures because of his general attitude and elderly features.

One last significant figure may be noted, column 4 E. (Plate 35). This man appears on the column together with three long-robed priests. He wears black and white leggings, a very broad belt with multiple knots, a nose-rod, and carries a stone knife in his right hand. This unusual weapon and his association with the priests might identify him, as has been suggested, as a sacrificing priest or an attendant.

*Comparison between types*

	Warrior	Priest	God Impersonator
Skin	Red	Yellow	Red.
Head-dress	Blue cap	Mosaic diadem	Hat, broad rim, with mask.
Face	Cheek-button		Face-mask.
Ear	Blue disk	Green disk with stem	Triple disk.
Nose	Bead-pendant	Stick	Stick.
Shoulders	Necklace or plaque	Mosaic covering	Mosaic covering.
Arms	Defensive sleeve	Mosaic bracelet	Mosaic bracelet.
Belt	Textile with back-shield	Mosaic	Mosaic with shells.
Garment	Loin-cloth or tunic	Long robe	Tiger pelt or loin-cloth.
Back-flap	White	None	Blue and pink or yellow.
<i>Maxilli</i>	White	None	Blue and yellow or mosaic.
Knee and ankle	Feather	None	Mosaic.
Sandal	White	Green	Green.
Weapons	One or two defensive sticks	None	Staff, spear, or ax, shield.
Other accessories	None	Basket of offerings	None.

#### ART CONSIDERATIONS

There is evidence that more than one artist worked on the bas-reliefs of the Chac Mool Temple. While the human figures are most carefully carved, the decorative panels, especially the capitals which are placed so that they can not be examined easily, are inferior in workmanship to those on the shafts. They might be attributed to a less skilled artist, a helper, as the entire work was probably directed by one master, a sense of homogeneity pervading the style as a whole.

#### ATLANTEAN SKETCH

An interesting discovery was made pointing to some such working arrangement. This was an informal charcoal sketch on the southern wall of the altar room (fig. 163) which appeared on the white stucco revealed upon removal of the bench. It is drawn in hard charcoal at the intersection of the main axis of the room and the wall, not high above floor level. The subject-matter is the upper part of an Atlantean dwarf: torso, uplifted arms, profile and head-dress.

This dwarf is similar to the figures on the decorative panels of the columns, but while, on the latter, the human outline is over-burdened with elaborate





FIG. 103—ATLANTEAN FIGURATION SKETCHED ON SOUTHERN WALL OF ALTAR ROOM, CHAC MOOL TEMPLE

decorative elements, in the sketch the human features are especially emphasized. The artist's interest in this is indicated by his indecision as to the proper expression to be given the face, and this led to two versions of the mouth (fig. 164*a*), drawn separately here for the sake of clarity (figs. 164*b* and *c*). The hands and arms are also traced with close attention, in striking contrast to the treatment of the ornaments, many details of which have been omitted. The ear-plug and necklace are only hastily sketched, the nose-stick is indicated by a single line, and there is scarcely more than a faint trace of a bracelet on the left wrist, while the other wrist is left bare. The head-dress is lightly suggested by a simple, though extremely skilful outline, proper to a drawing at the stage of "massing" by which professional artists try out the balance of volumes in themselves, before giving closer attention to descriptive detail. The torso emerges from the upper part of a shell, which is faintly indicated.



FIG. 164—DETAIL OF ATLANTEAN FIGURATION SHOWN IN FIGURE 163  
*a*, profile of the head; *b* and *c*, two successive versions contained in *a*

Since this sketch is drawn on the white stucco of a part of the wall which was hidden behind the masonry bench throughout the whole period the temple was in use, it can have been made only before the bench was built; or else after the bench had been torn out but before the room was finally filled in.

If we consider, first, the latter possibility, it must also be assumed that the drawing is not the work of a professional artist, as none was involved in the process of dismantling the temple. It most likely would have been made for amusement by one of the masons, as a copy of one of the Atlantean *motifs* already sculptured on the columns. If such be the case, the figure which was copied was visible from where the sketch was made; but the only decorative panels meeting this requirement are the base and capital of column 6 S. The capital, from the peculiar squatting posture which drawing at such a low level would require, appears far away and in bad perspective. It is, indeed, a shell-man, but in reversed position to the drawing. The assumption that the sketch was a copy of it is also disproved by the fact that the sculpture always lacked, even when seen at close range, the fine details that appear in the sketch. The base of 6 S. remains as the only logical model to be considered. But its Atlantean figure is a turtle-man while the sketch represents a shell-man, and, moreover, the position of the arms is dissimilar. It is apparent, then, that the base, also, could not have served as the model for the sketch.

The nature of the drawing itself is in conflict with the theory that the sketch is a copy. Details easy to draw and conspicuous on the column reliefs, such as the flowing plume-rossette on the head-dress and the wrist bracelets would not have been omitted by a copyist, as they catch the eye even before the human features can be discerned. In the drawing, on the contrary, the human features are emphasized and much of the accessory matter is omitted. The two conflicting versions of the mouth, each of which corresponds to a definite facial expression, would indicate that the drawing was made from succeeding mental impressions and not from a passive sculptured or painted model.

The purposeful nature of the sketch is heightened by contrast to two untrained graffiti and a chance drawing found on the snake fresco (fig. 261). These drawings were probably made during the time the temple was no more in use and, as could be surmised beforehand, are very poor artistic achievements, having no relation whatever to the much more skilful sketch, which is patently a careful study and the work of a professional artist. Thus both technical and stylistic data contradict the possibility that the sketch was made after the room was dismantled.

All indications point to the period between the stuccoing of the wall and the building of the bench as the time when the sketch was drawn. On the white area on which it is traced are found also segments of four horizontal lines. These were traced to mark the position of the three bands that ran around the room between the dado and the serpent fresco. The bench was built in after these preliminary lines were traced, and then the painter proceeded with his work of painting in the bands, concealing the first tracings under a black brush-line. The section of the charcoal line that happened to be walled in behind the bench thus remained unpainted. As no other drawings appear on the same area, this line and the Atlantean sketch can be supposed contemporaneous and made before the bench was placed in position.

Though the assumption that the sketch is not a chance drawing, nor a copy, has been made plausible, it bears an evident relationship to the room in which it was found, the subject-matter being identical with figures on the decorative panels. It seems most likely, therefore, that the drawing is a model made by one of the master artists, when the temple was being built, and was intended as a guide and aid to his less skilled pupils. The quality of the work and the care displayed point to a master hand. This sketch is exactly what a drawing intended as a model would be, for the parts emphasized are the upper part of the torso, the hands, head and head-dress, that is, the constant elements of the figure, whatever the variation in costume and insignia. It has been remarked already that shafts and decorative panels are often by different hands, the shaft displaying the best technical qualities, while many of the decorative panels are evidently carved by less experienced assistants, so that if any of the workers needed a model it would be those who were employed on the panels in which the Atlantean figure appears.

These indications agree with the more probable date of the sketch, which, if accepted, would imply that the sculpture was executed on these columns at a late

step of the architectural process, when the columns were in place and the room was roofed, and the wall had been given the first coat of stucco.<sup>1</sup> The sketch furthermore corroborates the assumption that the sculptor began work by massing the general lines of his subject in a tentative charcoal drawing similar to the one discussed. In that case the sketch would constitute a unique document of the earlier and most ephemeral stage in the process of sculptured decoration.

#### CARVING AND PAINTING

At the next stage of the work, that is to say after the preparatory drawing of the subject had been completed and the carving begun, the artist was confronted by new problems. He was liable to error in following a decorative scheme previously planned. Such errors, when corrected at an early stage, would not have left any traces that could be detected now, but in one case at least an error and the ingenious method used by the artist in correcting it are discoverable.

The Atlantean figure on the capital of column 5 E. is costumed in a shell from which a snail issues (fig. 165*a*). However unmistakable this detail, the

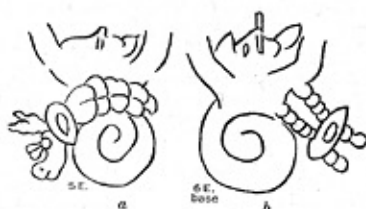


FIG. 165—CARVED VERSIONS

*a*, unusual representation of shell and snail, from a capital; *b*, normal representation of shell-man

shape and components of the animal's body are found to follow rather closely the elements of the necklace that the Atlantean figure commonly wears (fig. 165*b*). The body recalls a double string of beads; the oval at the neck is the oval plaque that hangs from the string, and it has the characteristic concave depression; the eye and ear occupy the area generally reserved for the two flowerlike pendants that hang from the plaque. Necklaces of this kind always fall diagonally in front of the wearer. Thus a necklace with the oval plaque at the left of the shell would indicate that the wearer also would face left. But in this case there is no necklace and the head of the man is turned to the right, while the body of the animal faces left. It is thus highly probable that the sculptor began carving a necklace and finding he was facing his figure in the wrong direction, as on this column the dwarf, following the general scheme, would face to the right, he modified his work when it was half executed and, unable to erase the carving itself, re-employed the forms in another manner.

The artistic interest of the Chac Mool decorations lies much more in the nearly intact painting of some of the reliefs (C. D. 5, 6) than in the carving proper. These examples, as they are today, are the best available key to the relationships between carving and painting in polychrome sculpture in the whole Maya area.

<sup>1</sup> That the rooms were roofed before the carving proceeded seems to have been a common habit, and it was the case in the Warriors Temple, as is indicated by the bad quality of the work in the parts that were in the dark when the roof was in place.

This painting is, like the carving, far removed from dry conventions. The painter at the same time finished off the sculpture and also improvised much that the sculptor had not planned. On column 6 W., for example, the skin over the knee shades realistically into a hue of red, darker than the skin of the leg. In 6 S., the painter made the yellow background of the jaguar's pelt vanish delicately toward the edges into the white of the ventral area. In a decorative scroll on column 3 W., a green melts into a blue by imperceptible transitions.

It also happened that the painter, besides finishing the sculptor's work and adding new details of his own invention, sometimes departed from the sculptor's indications, even to the extent of completely discarding the carved line. Examination of some of these discrepancies reveals something of the attitude of the artists.

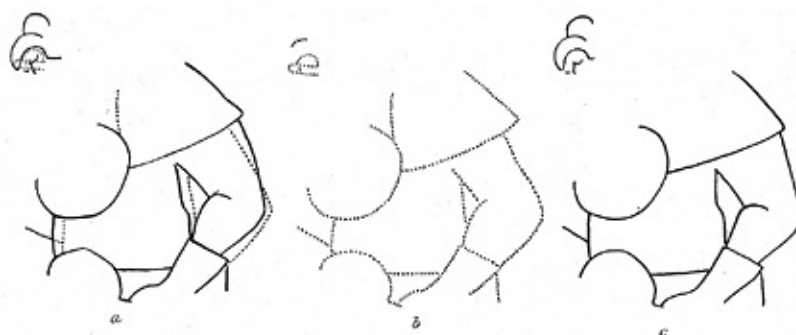


FIG. 166—DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN PAINTED AND CARVED LINE

*a*, comparative positions of both; *b*, carved line; *c*, painted line. From 6 S.

On column 5 N., the sculptured edge of the base panel sloped diagonally downward. The painter corrected this line by covering part of the frame area with the red used for background. Thus, in this case, the raised hand of the dwarfish figure does not grasp the blue ridge of the frame; instead, an empty space lies between arm and ridge (Plate 36).

As the polychromy on column 6 is excellently preserved, it is easy to follow the changes made by the painter. They are numerous and important. On 6 S. (fig. 166 and Plate 37), the superposed painted and sculptured lines as they now stand are shown in *a*, the dotted line being the sculptured one. If they are separated, we get the sculptured version, *b*, and the painted, *c*, a comparison between which shows that in the sculptured line the nose-stick was carved under the nose of the mask to correspond to the actual nose. The shoulder covering stopped vertically at the shield. In the painted version, the nose-plug has disappeared under paint simulating extra nose-scrolls, and the vertical limit of the shoulder covering has been ignored and concealed under the green mosaic stuff of the garment. Comparing the two versions again we see that the whole torso has been displaced to the left by the painter, and that bold black lines delineate a new arm, totally different from the sculptured limb. This change was re-emphasized by color (Plate 37).

The painted version of the arm does not seem, to a modern eye at least, better than the sculptured one. It is too small for the body and the outline is awkward, while the carved version is more satisfactory.

Another such change can be found in the discrepancies between the painter's and sculptor's work in and around the mask on column 6 E. (fig. 167 and Plate 37). In *b*, the carved version, there is a complex play of lines in front of the nose of the mask. Some of these lines can be interpreted as supplementary nose-plugs, others remain unintelligible. The line of the right edge of the frame curves diagonally inward; a few hair-lines are carved on the mask itself and it lacks both orbital plaques. The line of the lower jaw is straight, the upper jaw has no indication of fangs and ends in a curve independent of the nose-scroll. The neck is indicated by a double line, visible under the lower jaw. On the painted version *c*, the complex play of lines between the frame and the mask has been blurred by melting it with the background, through a red pigment; the line of the frame has been straightened to its vertical position; the hair-lines on the mask have disappeared and the two



FIG. 167—SAME AS 166. FROM E.

eye-plaques—the upper one, painted yellow, the lower one, scroll-shaped and blue—have been placed around the orbit; the line of the lower jaw has been modified, the upper jaw shows a new broadened outline and an indication of fangs or teeth. Part of the background has been added with blue paint to the nasal area, and shaped so as to make additional nasal scrolls into which that of the upper jaw is now included; the line of the neck and chest has been brought forward.

On column 6 N. (fig. 168 and Plate 37), we see that the sculptor merely indicated the limits of the ear area and ear-plug, but did not fill them with details (fig. 168*b*). A nose-stick is silhouetted and turned forward from the far side of the nose. A line over the nostril is probably meant as the fore-part of the stick. There are deep furrows on the cheek, two of which meet at an angle to form a rather high relief. The coat is indicated by a series of lines meeting at right angles, the arm and hand are outlined, and the carving of the handle of the fan appears all through the hand. A shell bracelet is barely suggested by two oval shapes, right and left of the arm outline. In the painted version (fig. 168*c*), changes are made in the drawing of the white diadem and of the man's profile. Some of these latter heighten the toothless effect of the mouth. The outlines of the ear and ear-plug are filled in with details, and the sculptured nose-stick has been entirely discarded. It has disappeared in the black paint that covers the staff; but a new nose-stick has

been painted, the front half this time, superposed on the cheek. The ribbon holding the bone in place and its two end-flaps and the right part of the bone as it reappears from under the beads of the ear-pendant were forgotten by the sculptor but are improvised in paint. A complicated textile decoration, whose design partly follows and partly contradicts the carved lines, enhances the surface of the coat. Horseshoe shapes are also painted on the tunic. The outline of the hand has been bettered; the line of the fan handle now disappears under the hand; the shell bracelet is fully detailed, but the painter acknowledged in paint only one of the two carved shells; the shell-shape on the left has optically disappeared, being camouflaged skin-color to match the neighboring area.

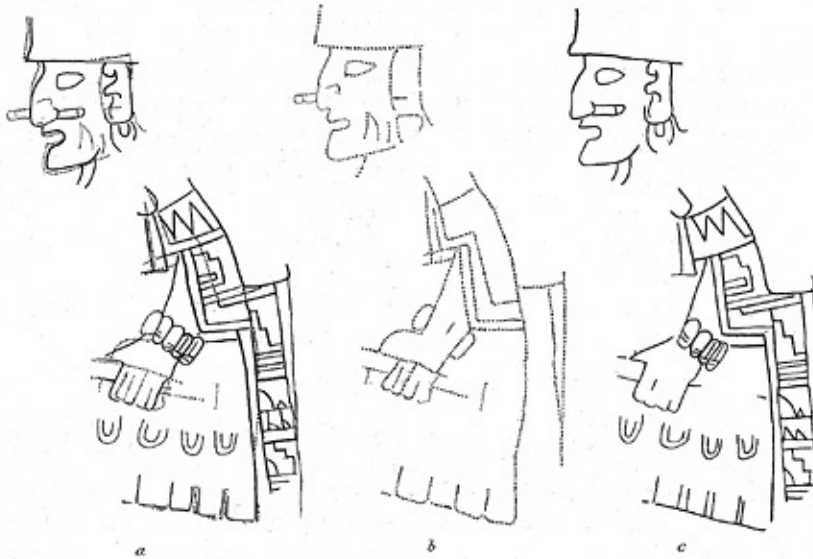


FIG. 168—SAME AS 167. FROM 6 N.

#### STYLE

A baffling characteristic of this group of bas-reliefs is, at least to a modern eye, the lack of a standard convention in the representation of the human body. It was remarked in the description of the shafts that the height of the figures varies from 1.71 meters to 1.30 meters, approximately; but more startling is the varying relative proportion of the different parts of the body, which phenomenon is closely related to the question of style.

A normal proportion of height to body is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  heads. These figures vary from 5 heads (col. 6 W., C. E.) to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  (col. 2 N.). This means that one moment of Maya art, judging from Greek standards, includes both fairly archaic proportions and the extreme elongation of decadence. Such variation, both in the size of the figures and in their proportion, does not need to be condoned, as the Maya artist was not ruled by our conventions, but it can, however, be partly explained by the difficulties that confronted the sculptor when he faced the problem of fitting his subject into the narrow faces of the columns.

The art style of the Chac Mool Temple is not impressionistic but strictly constructive. The artist could depict his subject only by adding detail to detail, until completion. Furthermore, he could not diverge greatly from a realistic and thorough enumeration of garments and accessories, because of their accepted symbolical meaning. So that one may infer from the finished product that when the artist sketched his subject on the given rectangle, his first concern was to reserve enough space for the bulky ornaments, especially head-dresses. After these volumes were provided for, he fitted the human body into the remaining space. This assumption is based on the fact that on reliefs including voluminous accessories (col. 5 W.) the head and shoulders of the figure are often drawn at a lower level, giving to the whole body a squatting proportion. On the other hand, when the head-dress is smaller, the head and shoulders move toward the top of the rectangle to help fill the extra space, and the body becomes elongated (col. 4 E.).

This same "horror of the void," most typical of Maya art, is probably at the root of another apparently awkward convention. On a single figure, in many cases (col. 6 E., W. and S., D. N., C. S.), the sculptor wholly ignores our conventions of anatomy and perspective and gives the hand in the background an exaggerated volume, while the corresponding hand in the foreground is reduced to less than



FIG. 169—CHAC MOOL HUMAN PROFILES SHOWING PORTRAIT-LIKE CHARACTERISTICS

its natural size. This treatment, which is repeated too often to be accidental, can be explained as a deliberate effort of the artist to make the hand at the back serve the same decorative purpose as a scroll, that is, of filling the background as much as possible, while the hand in front is reduced so that it will interfere as little as possible with the detailed ornaments of the body (see especially col. 6 W.).

Less radical departures from natural appearances also occur. The human ear is portrayed peculiarly, as on columns 6 W. (fig. 168c) or 4 E. The misleading respective positions of the nose-stick and nostril, as illustrated on figure 155a, are an evidence of the care with which the Maya artist avoided the representations of unintelligible points of view. When the face was in pure profile the nose-stick of a living model was so much foreshortened that only the end circle was visible. The sculptor, attempting the clearest representation possible, was led to combine the front view of the stick with a profile view of the face, thus displaying both at their best descriptive angle. The same problem reappeared in the portrayal of the bone hanging on the breast of the elder on column 6 W. The bone is shown in front view though the torso is in full profile (Plate 37). Aside from these thoughtful



departures from optical appearances the sculpture is most realistic. The work is technically inferior to the best work of similar subjects in the Maya area. But what it lacks in workmanship or in dignity it gains in freedom. The artist evidently enjoyed his work. His close observation of personages is ingenious and shrewd. It is true that the lack of a theoretical canon of beauty makes his work little fitted to embody, as of old, an impersonal collective feeling, but his more individual outlook on the world led him to fresher and unexpected realizations, especially in portraiture. Figure 169 presents some faces stripped of their ornaments (nose and ear-plugs) so as to make their human characteristics clearer.

### TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS

The Temple of the Warriors proper contains two rooms, in the outer of which there are twelve columns and eight in the inner. To these twenty columns must be added four pilasters from the door-jambs (see plan, fig. 170).

The average height of these columns is 3.74 meters. They are practically rectangular and measure approximately 69 cm. across. Each column is built of a number of blocks, varying from eight to eleven. The highest drum-block is 99 cm., the narrowest, 20 cm. The pilasters of the door-jambs vary in height. On the front door, they are of the same height as the columns, while those of the partition door are 2.43 meters. Both have an average breadth of 44 cm. and a depth of 31 cm.

The columns have been numbered from one to twenty, starting from the north corner of the front row and ending at the south corner of the last row, following the south-north orientation of the arches. In the front room and the altar room the east-west orientation has been followed. The pilasters are referred to as A, B, C and D. The faces of each column or pilaster are differentiated by the same scheme used for the Chac Mool Temple. In the following text all references to sculptures pertaining to the Warriors Temple are preceded by *t* (temple).

As this architectural unit is at the top of the pyramid, it was not entirely buried, but was covered chiefly by the débris of the collapsed roof and arches. The upper drums of the columns were still visible, at ground-level, before excavation was begun. These columns suffered a great deal more than those of the Chac Mool Temple. All the stucco fillings between drums are badly broken and the stone itself is often shattered. Column 18, especially, is in bad condition—almost entirely in fragments. Traces of color are numerous near the floor level, but decrease steadily upward and are practically absent at the top of the columns.

The columns are sculptured on all four sides, which makes a total of eighty panels. To these must be added the four pilasters which have three panels each, bringing the number to ninety-two. Each panel can be divided into three decorated zones: base, shaft and capital. The sculptured part of bases and capitals is approximately a square, measuring 57 cm. on each side, while the shafts are, on the average, 2.31 meters high.

The subjects of the bas-reliefs on the bases are the familiar composite representation of Quetzalcoatl; and on the capitals, a figure of a Sun God. Atlantean figures are portrayed on the shafts of the pilasters and on the panels from the tail-pieces of the serpent columns; the shafts of the columns bear human figures of monumental size. These are all reproduced in outline, as well as the nine floral bands on the jambs proper and the two pairs of Atlantean panels that flank the tail-pieces of the serpent columns. Wherever the color is of especial interest, it is reproduced by the same set of tones devised for the columns of the Chac Mool Temple. Since the color scheme is identical in both colonnades, Plates 36 and 37

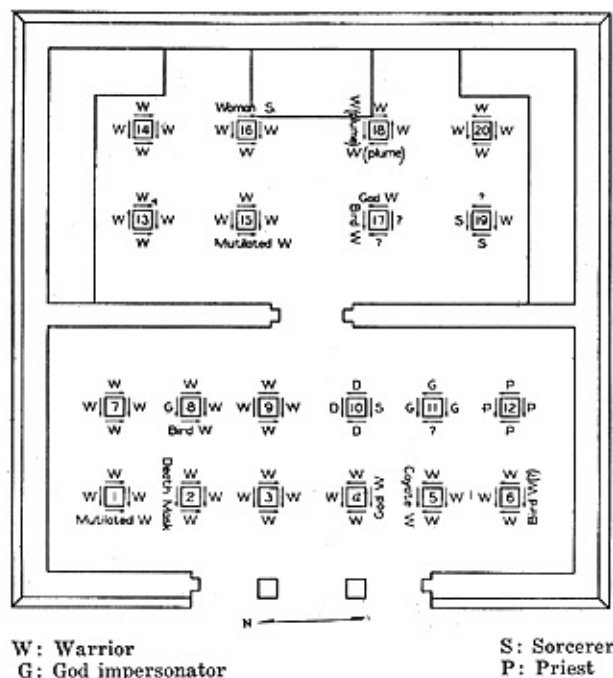


FIG. 170—PLAN OF WARRIORS TEMPLE SHOWING ORIENTATION OF HUMAN REPRESENTATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF CHARACTERS

from the older temple can give a fairly adequate idea of the general appearance, if not of the particular style, of the Warriors columns as they would look in a state nearer their original intensity.

The general plan of the bas-reliefs in the Warriors Temple was determined by exactly the same set of ideas that produced the Chac Mool carvings. The figures stand in similar attitudes and, as the plan reveals, face from the sides toward the center and forward from the back (fig. 170). There are three exceptions: columns 13 N. and 18 S. face east, that is, toward the back wall of the altar room, while 18 E. looks south, and thus turns his back to the altar.

The figures include warriors, elders, mask wearers and long-robed priests, the only new character being, exceptionally enough, an ugly female figure (col. 16 E.), a good match for one of the old sorcerers. No established plan is perceptible in the distribution of the different characters. The most significant—long-robed attendants and priests wearing god-masks—are crowded toward the southeast corner of the entrance room, while the more important inner altar room contains chiefly the common type of warrior (fig. 170).

#### NORTHWEST COLONNADE

This unit originally was made up of sixty-one columns and one pilaster (fig. 171). Its long axis runs north-south and is centered on the east-west middle line of the main stairway. It has a span of sixteen columns, four rows deep. Two altars, symmetrical to the stairway and built against the eastern wall, mark the centers of the colonnade wings. All of the columns are practically of the same height, 2.64 meters, but the other measurements fall into two groups. The columns that were part of the façade scheme are 76 cm. by 67 cm. in breadth and depth; all the others are 67 cm. by 52 cm. The pilaster, 76 cm. broad, was probably the same height as the columns. Each column is made up of from seven to nine blocks, while each block is from 67 cm. to 16 cm. in height.

The columns are numbered from 1 to 61, west-east, beginning at the northwest corner of the colonnade and ending at the southeast, instead of following the north-south orientation of the arches. This was done in order to keep together certain groups, similar in style and subject-matter, which would otherwise have been split. The pilaster is referred to as A. The faces of the columns are identified by their orientation. All reference to sculptures from this unit are preceded in the following text by *c* (Colonnade).

The two columns (30, 34) that stand on the staircase were not decorated. Three sides of the two columns, corresponding to the north altar (15, 19), are partially hidden by masonry, but were completely carved. The two columns embedded in the south altar (41, 45) are buried to about one-third of their height, but though the sculptured figures are cut off abruptly at the knee where they meet the altar, excavation revealed that the lower part of the shafts and the bases were not carved or painted. The other columns are carved on all four sides.

The shafts as uncovered were in varying states of preservation. In general the north wing is more nearly destroyed than the south, and the weathering on the entire colonnade decreases from west to east. This was determined by the extra protection of the fallen débris from the pyramid, as well as by the demolished roof.

Only the lower drums of four columns at the southwest corner (46, 50, 54, 58) could be found. The top drum is missing from nine other columns.

In accordance with the general state of preservation, the painting is particularly vivid on the southeast corner, except on 61, which was not sheltered by the pyramid. Fortunately the best-preserved columns (41, 45, 49, 53, 57) are among the most excellent in workmanship. Practically no traces of color are left on the façade row or on the entire left wing.

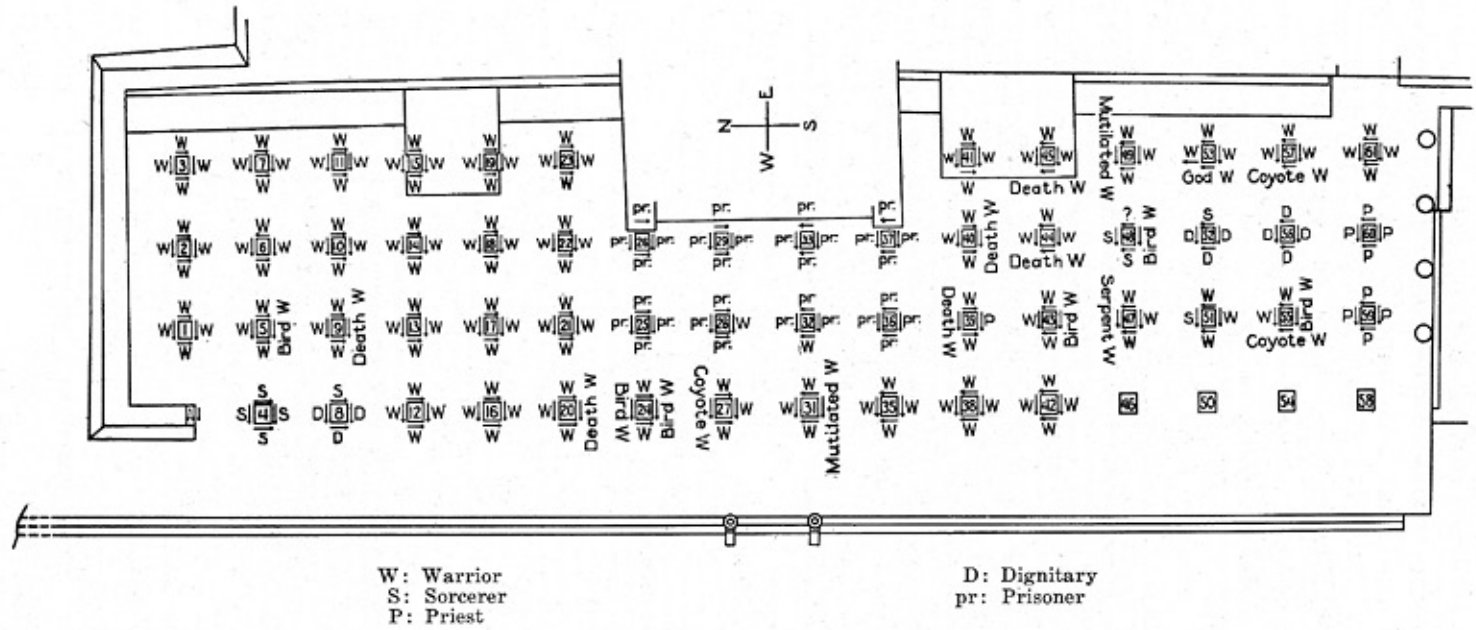


FIG. 171—PLAN OF NORTHWEST COLONNADE SHOWING ORIENTATION OF HUMAN REPRESENTATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF CHARACTERS

Discounting the two plain columns and the four that were too incomplete to be reproduced, 55 carved columns and a pilaster remain, making a total of 221 bas-reliefs. Each is divided, according to the adopted scheme, into base, shaft and capital. The bases and capitals average approximately 50 cm. in height and the shafts, 1.47 meters. The subjects are identical to those depicted in the Warriors Temple proper: a Quetzalcoatl *motif* on the base, a human figure standing on the shaft and a diving god on the capital.

Only the decorative *motifs* from the south half of the Colonnade were copied, as those of the northern half were less skilful and contained no new details. These *motifs* are reproduced in line only. The shafts are all reproduced in line with color notes wherever these might add interesting data. The usual method of presenting the joints of the stones was discarded for the jamb, as the position of the blocks is shown fully.

The sculptured figures are laid out as usual from the sides toward the center (in this case a prolongation of the middle line of the stairway) and from the interior outward (fig. 171). This plan, however, was interrupted by the architect's wish to emphasize another center of interest—the altar at the right of the stairway. Therefore a secondary scheme of symmetry was evolved, the axis of which passes through the middle of the altar and, as a result, the figures on the east side of columns 39, 40 and 41 do not follow the dominant plan but turn their backs to the stairway and face the second axis, and delineate, together with columns 43, 44 and 45, a short avenue which leads to the small conical altar and ends at the front of the sculptured dais. It is remarkable that column 38, though in the same row as the other columns thus treated, drops back into the general plan, its east and west figures facing the stairway. This change occurs because column 38 forms part of the outward scheme of decoration and this could not be disturbed for the sake of the secondary internal plan.

The sculptures on the two columns embedded in the north dais are not symmetrical to the center of the dais but, instead, face toward the stairway, following the general scheme. This helps to prove the suggestion made before on other grounds, that while the south dais was planned at the same time as the colonnade, the north altar was added later.

The sculpture on column 6 E. is inverted, the figure facing north; but given its position among bas-reliefs which face in the common direction, and, considering the poor quality of the sculpture itself, it can be supposed that this inversion was a thoughtless accident. Column 53 N. faces front, that is, the figure stands in the old South Maya conventional manner, with torso and legs in full front, the feet in profile and turned outward; but the head is turned westward, the normal direction for figures exposed to the north.

As in the older architectural unit, we find here well-defined human types, the familiar warrior carrying weapons, the long-robed priest, the old sorcerer with his pouch and snake. But a new type appears, unarmed men, with both hands tightly bound by a rope around the wrists. Since their costumes and ornaments

are as elaborate as those on the other figures they undoubtedly represent persons of high rank, while the armed figures would seem to be their conquerors. Another feature peculiar to the Northwest Colonnade, and met with only once before, is the use of ideographs above approximately one-fourth of the personages. They are most probably name-glyphs and suggest forcibly that at least the most individual of the pictures were intended as portraits.

As in the Chac Mool Temple, some scheme of distribution was apparently adopted in the grouping of the types. As a rule, each column bears figures similarly costumed and similarly significant. For example, warriors holding staffs, an unusual feature, are carved on all four sides of column 56 and repeated on three panels of the neighboring 52. Columns 59 and 60 on all four sides have long-robed priests with baskets of offerings in their hands. There is also a more general scheme of grouping (fig. 171). If the front row that was part of the façade is not considered, the colonnade falls into three groups: in the middle, the eight columns that stand in front of the stairway of which thirty-one of their thirty-two panels bear men of the prisoner type, the one exception being 32 W., a warrior. To the left of this group of prisoners, only armed warriors are depicted. To the right of the stairway, warriors and sorcerers are mingled together, but of the nine figures of long-robed priests that occur in the entire colonnade, eight are grouped together on the two columns 59 and 60, at the extreme right, along the passage leading toward the North Colonnade.

An Atlantean figure of the shell type, in the familiar upholding position, is carved on the jamb A.

#### DECORATIVE PANELS

##### ATLANTEAN FIGURES

This *motif* already studied in connection with the older temple reappears sixteen times in the Warriors Temple and once in the Northwest Colonnade.

Two pairs of Atlantean figures are found in the Warriors Temple enclosed in rectangles on the tail-pieces of the serpent-columns (fig. 172). Although they are nearly totally destroyed, the tail-pieces on which they are carved having been exposed ever since the destruction of the temple, it is evident from the remains that in size and style they are identical with those of the Chac Mool. It is interesting to note that three Atlantean figures cover the tail-pieces of the Chac Mool serpent-column, making a continuous frieze, while in this case they are reduced to a pair, enclosed in square frames, and the remaining space is filled with the feathers of the tail.<sup>1</sup> Twelve more Atlantean figures in the Warriors Temple are depicted, human size, on the shafts of the door pilasters. They differ from the other figures on the shafts in that they are mythical, instead of realistic, they are closely connected with other Atlantean representations, both in the Warriors Temple and the Chac Mool. These figures appear in profile, and are thus better adjusted to the

<sup>1</sup> The sculptural arrangement on the tail-pieces of the serpent columns in the Castillo are identical to those of the Chac Mool Temple, while the tail-pieces of the columns in the Tigers Temple are entirely covered with carved feathers.

elongated rectangle of the shaft. The position remains fundamentally the same, though the changed orientation gives a different appearance.

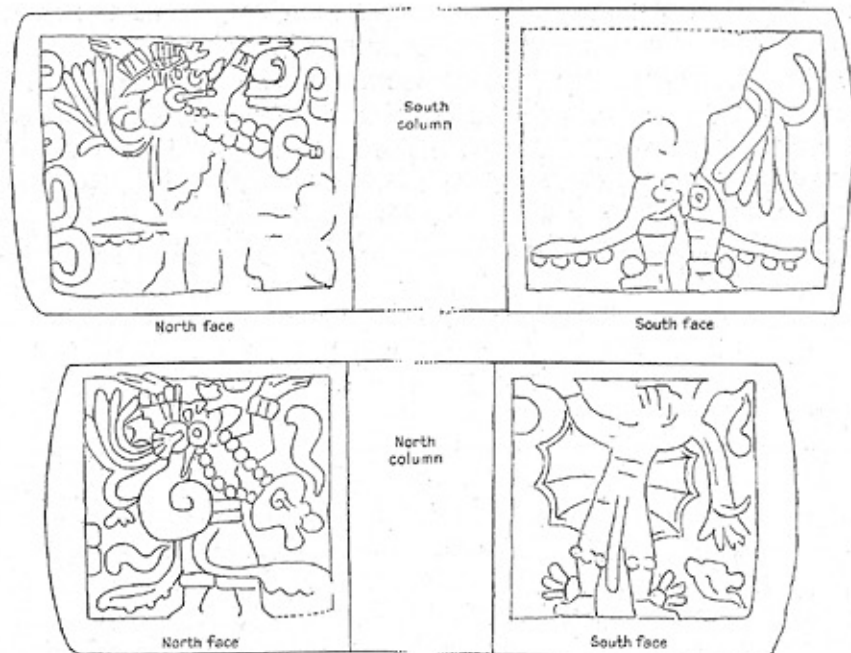


FIG. 172—REMNANTS OF FOUR PANELS WITH ATLANTEAN FIGURATIONS, ON TAIL-PIECE OF SERPENT COLUMNS, TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS

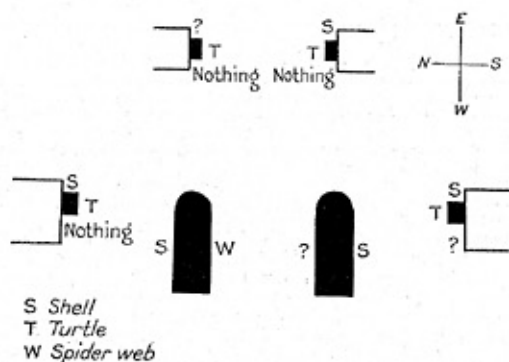


FIG. 173—RESPECTIVE POSITIONS OF ATLANTEAN TYPES ON SERPENT-COLUMNS AND PILASTERS, TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS

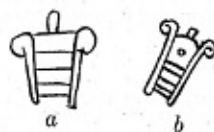


FIG. 174—BRACELETS  
a, from Temple of the Warriors; b, from Dresden Codex

Two of the Atlantean figures at the entrance, A.S. and B.N. (Plates 39, 40), are turtle-men. They face outward. The bodies fill the narrow spaces and they are

depicted in profile, thus making the costume clearer than in front view. The wide scales on the back, the smaller ones at the edge of the upper shell, and the broad horizontal lines of the undershell are well differentiated. The profile position also makes more distinct the way the body and arms emerge from the shell (A.S.). The garments of the limbs are the same as in other turtle-men portrayals, except that on the leg the usual knee and ankle ornament of feathers is replaced by a short legging ending in two volutes, very similar to the legging that often appears in the Dresden Codex (fig. 174*b*). Two more turtle-men stand symmetrically to these, on the north and south panels of the pilasters of the partition door. The figures on the eight narrow panels are: three wearing only the breech-clout, two with no decipherable symbols and three costumed in conical shells (see plan, fig. 173).

The single Atlantean figure in the Northwest Colonnade is A, on the pilaster of the northwest corner (Plate 68). It is a shell man.



FIG. 175

a, Quetzalcoatl motif; b, human features of same; c, ophidian features; d, bird features

#### QUETZALCOATL MOTIF

The composite monster known as the Quetzalcoatl *motif* appears on the bases of columns and pilasters in both architectural units. Figure 175*a* is the *motif*; *b* consists purely of the human features of the creature, *c* the reptilian, and *d* the bird elements. The best-preserved example available (t.20 E.) is colored as follows: skin of face and arms, red; hair, gray; facial and wrist ornaments, green; shoulder cape, green with red border and fringe of black and white beads; snake head, green with blue eye-plaques and a yellow ridge on the jaw; tongue, red; nose-plugs, green, tipped with a black and white bead; feather head-dress, short feathers at the base, yellow; plume panache, green. The bird claws are red with white nails lined with black. This color scheme seems constant.

The shape of the nose ornament sometimes varies, becoming a crescent or designed in a stepped outline, and the eye occasionally acquires the Tlaloc ring. Identical arrangements have been found infrequently in Mexico.<sup>1</sup> They occur commonly as a decorative feature in Chichen Itzá.

<sup>1</sup> Gamio, 1922, vol. I, p. 279; Spinden, 1913, p. 211.



SUN GOD

The Sun God is a figure that descends from a series of concentric half-circles decorated by patterns of hachures and larger triangular rays. The best-preserved example (t.D. W., Plate 54) shows each of the circular segments colored differently, making a series of tones from center to rim, green, blue, yellow, with the heavy rays in red. Similar figures, in a complete circle, appear in the frescos of the Temple of the Tigers. Other painted representations of this symbol are scattered over a rather wide area (Santa Rita-Mitla).<sup>1</sup> They have been identified as symbols of the sun disk. Cruder similar symbols, less closely related in details, however, have been found in Teotihuacan.<sup>2</sup>

The change from the complete disk to the half-circle in Chichen Itzá inheres in the convention adopted to represent the optical foreshortening of circular objects, such as shields and breastplates. The profile view of a circle was suggested by a drawing of a half-circle. The sun disk from the front view (Temple of the Tigers frescos) is represented not as a plain disk, but as a broad ring. The central circle is a circular opening, through which the god appears. In profile this became the half-ring sculptured on the columns, and the fact that it lies on a horizontal plane, as shown by the orientation of the line that corresponds to the diameter, indicates that the sun is at the zenith.

The god, visible to the waist, descends out of the center. He carries weapons and apparently casts his influence on the warrior below. No particular human type has been chosen to embody the god, as in the case of the Atlantean figures. Figure 176 shows several of its impersonations: a youthful boy, a classic Maya type, a Roman-nosed man and two elders, one of them bearded. The torso is adorned with a shoulder-plaque on which falls the long hair; occasionally a very elaborate breast-plaque is added, hanging loosely outward from the body. The god wears mosaic wrist bracelets and a stiff belt. The head is covered with a



FIG. 176—DIVERSE PROFILES OF SUN-GOD FROM THE CAPITALS

diadem-type hat, which sometimes has the blue bird in front (t.3 E.), or a bead design (t.3 S.) or, finally, the most interesting decoration—a human mask projected toward the front in a way that recalls similar head-dresses painted at Santa Rita<sup>3</sup> (t.17 N.). The weapons of the god are an *atlatl* in one hand and in the other a sheaf of darts and a defensive bat. On t.17 E., the god carries a decorated basket in addition to the weapons. Figures descending from the sky in a similar position are common in both Mexican (Vienna) and Maya (Dresden) codices.

<sup>1</sup>Gann, 1897, p. 308; Seler, 1904.

<sup>2</sup>Gamio, 1922, vol. I, p. 284. See for the possible chronological relationships between the sun-rays as represented in Chichen Itzá and Teotihuacan, suggested by Hermann Bayer.

<sup>3</sup>T. Gann, 1897.

## HUMAN REPRESENTATIONS

## SKIN-COLOR, BODY-PAINT AND TATTOOING

The natural human skin is represented by tones varying from deep red to yellow, which is the color specifically of long-robed priests (t.12) and females (t.16 E.).

Not many traces of artificial skin coloration remain on the figures, contrary to the case in the Chac Mool Temple. As much of the war-paint and tattooing was applied with brush rather than delineated by chisel, it must have existed and disappeared. However, some of the traces are interesting and significant. As in the Chac Mool Temple, when the body was artificially colored, the hands and face were left of the natural skin tone.

The most common body-paint is plain black. This is to be found on t.6 W., 17 W., 20 E. and W. and 11 E., which is an exception to the general rule, as the paint covers the face. Black paint also appears on c.9 S. Body and face are painted blue on c.8 S. and 52 S. A most interesting figure is c.28 N. (Plate 96), on which the traces of color show the arm divided into two longitudinal parts, one red and one blue.

Another common body decoration is a series of parallel lines, usually red and white. They occur horizontally on t.10 W. and c.52 W., and in red and yellow on c.52 E., vertically, on c.40 N., 45 W., 47 W., 49 N., and in red and blue on c.45 N.



FIG. 177

*a*, example of face painting;  
*b* and *c*, examples of tattooing;  
*d*, dubious representation of face painting, more probably a skin-mask

Carved circles are scattered irregularly over the body, arms and legs of t.1 W. and c.20 W. (Plates 41 and 88). They might be intended to represent tattooing. This kind of design has already been described in connection with Chac Mool 6 N., where it appeared painted red.

The most frequent face decoration is the Tlaloc ring, painted or incised around the eye. It is carved on t.10 S., painted red on t.10 N. and W., white on c.52 E., carved and painted blue on t.12 W. A segment of circle is sculptured around the mouth on t.1 S. and 15 S., and painted red on c.52 W. (fig. 177*a*), which latter also displays the painted Tlaloc ring.

Another type of facial decoration is a well-chiseled zig zag line that appears on the cheek of c.41 W., and represents, most probably, a relief tattoo (177*b*). The face of c.4 W. is furrowed so deeply that the lines seem deliberate incisions rather than natural wrinkles (fig. 177*c*).

A line of somewhat high relief runs horizontally under the nose of t.5 N., with the ridge showing in profile (fig. 177*d*). This line would suggest, rather than paint or tattoo, a mask of some ductile material, perhaps skin, fitted closely to the upper part of the face, leaving the mouth and chin uncovered.

## MUTILATION

The figure of a warrior with the right leg amputated was described in connection with the Chac Mool Temple (page 243). The flower that seems to issue from the stump was suggested as possible charade writing, and peculiar flowing scrolls on the head-dress were also noted.

Four figures, similar to this mutilated warrior, appear in the Warriors Temple and the Northwest Colonnade. On t.1 W. (Plate 41) the left leg is amputated above the knee. The stump ends in a double ring that may be an example of Maya surgery. On t.15 W. (Plate 57) the left leg is cut slightly below the articulation, and an ornament conceals the wound. Both figures wear the peculiar scrolls found on the head-dress of the earlier representation. The right leg is missing on c.31 S. (Plate 98). A flower replaces it, precisely as on the figure in the Chac Mool Temple. On c.49 N. (Plate 114) the left leg is amputated and the limb ends in the artificial form of an inverted cup. The head-dress peculiarities on these last two figures are indistinct. The lines that might indicate special scrolls on c.27 could as well be nondescript decoration, while c.49 seems to lack the special volutes found associated with mutilated figures in the three cases already mentioned.

These figures might be intended as portraits. They are varied, well-defined types, similar in style to the figures on neighboring shafts, which are obviously intended as naturalistic representations; the brutal characterization of the face of the warrior in the Chac Mool Temple is a particularly convincing piece of realism. The mutilated figures are all warriors and it is not improbable that soldiers wounded in battle might have parts amputated and survive the operation. The flowing scrolls on the head-dresses of these personages, both in the older and the newer temples, might represent the special distinction of warriors thus wounded. However, a stylistic peculiarity might contradict this theory, for, in spite of the different orientations of these figures, in each case the mutilated limb is always placed in the background, that is, if the right leg is missing the figures face left, and vice versa. This arrangement was admirably suited to the decorative effect desired by the sculptor, but it weakens the theory that these may be portraits, for it seems difficult to imagine the sculptor either choosing, from among the warriors, a man whose wound might best fit the requirements of each design, or treating the living model freely enough to invert the mutilation. We know also that similar figures occur relatively often upon Mexican monuments, with the difference, however, that in such cases the leg is severed not on the thigh, but at the ankle. Flowing designs also issue from the stumps. Such mutilations might, perhaps, have a historical import; they certainly have some theogonical significance.<sup>1</sup> The truth might be a compromise between the two possibilities. Mutilated warriors did exist, and there was a belief in a mythical personage who had suffered amputation. These two phenomena were probably associated. The

<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Zelia Nuttall says (1904, p. 24): "The sixteen one-footed warriors on the stone of Tizoc and those on the Penon rocks either prove that a native conqueror existed who was actually one-footed and had adopted the insignia of Texcatlipoca, or that it was customary, in representing living personifications of the god, to emphasize one of his symbols, the lame foot, even if the mutilation did not exist in reality."

unusual scroll that appears with the severed limb would in that case be another symbol connected with the legendary character that the warrior similarly wounded would personify.

## GARMENTS, BODY ORNAMENTS AND ACCESSORIES

### HEAD-DRESS—DIADEM OR CROWN

A head-dress, which seems to be a primitive form of diadem, was made up of a horizontal band around the head, which holds in place a cloth that hangs behind the wearer. This was described in connection with the Chac Mool carvings. It reappears on c.33 S. in a slightly elaborated form. It consists of a yellow cloth with a cross-line pattern, which covers the head, hangs behind and is held in place by a textile band around the head (fig. 178*a*). The feather ornaments are fastened diagonally toward the back and are tied at the stem in a cone. These elements are the same as those of the Chac Mool diadem, but two additional forms appear on this head-dress, one in front and one in back. They are shaped like ax-blades

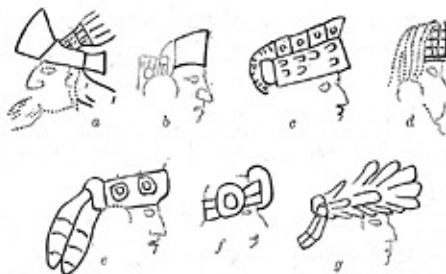


FIG. 178—EXAMPLE OF DIADEMS  
*a* and *b*, textile; *c* and *d*, mosaic; *e*, same with a knot of snake's rattles; *f* and *g*, variants of diadem



FIG. 179—HEAD-DRESS WITH ATLANTEAN CHARACTERISTICS

and seem to be made of the same material as the diadem. Another example of a simple diadem is c.53 N. (fig. 178*b*); the band is broader in front, like a tiara, and the hair falls over it at the sides and in back.

Various examples of the mosaic diadem, which seems a development of the textile band, reappear: t.9 S., decorated with circles; c.6 E., made of square plaques with a circle in the center of each; c.39 E., with a more complex, but rather indistinct, design; c.25 N. (fig. 178*c*) which is a combination of the mosaic made up of square plaques like c.6 E. and a mosaic of scalelike pieces. These diadems are not actually knotted, but there is a rosette similar to that found on sandals. A more elaborate version of c.53 N., which has already been described, is found in c.56 E. (fig. 178*d*). The band is made up of small square plaques and the overhanging hair is left unadorned. Especially interesting is c.25 W. (fig. 178*e*), because the knot at the back to be found in the oldest version has here become hypertrophied, for decorative purposes, to enormous proportions, and the two flaps are snake rattles, or at least imitate those objects.

There are other head-dresses that fall into the diadem class, but they are further removed from the simpler and more primitive model. A double ribbon, slipped through a number of rings like a belt through a buckle, is to be found in c.44 N. (fig. 178f), while c.37 N. (fig. 178g) is a band that fastens a green crown of leaflike shapes, conspicuously knotted at the back. New features appear on c.33 E. (fig. 179); a rosette, probably of small feathers, in which are set long plumes, is fastened on one side of the head-dress; the ax-blade form, described with c.33 S., stands out on the fore part of the crown, but another ornament of intricate outline (perhaps a monster's head) is set in front. Conical forms rise out of each other on top. The form and material of the diadem and the cylindrical ornaments on top

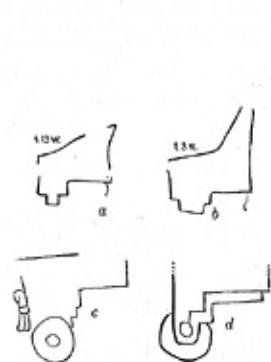


FIG. 180—CAPS

*a* and *b*, caps with triangular front; *c*, respective positions of ear-flap with ear-disk in Chac Mool Temple; *d*, respective positions of same in the newer units



FIG. 181—CAPS

*a*, with square mosaic texture; *b*, with scale-mosaic texture; *c*, possible fusion in one of cap and ear-disk



FIG. 183—TURBAN WITH SNAKE AND CLOTH ENTWINED

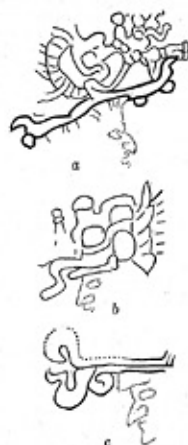


FIG. 182—HATS WITH GOD-MASK

*a* and *b*, complete masks; *c*, incomplete mask

are characteristic features peculiar to the head-dresses of the Atlantean dwarfs on the bases and capitals of the Chac Mool columns. In this case, however, the usual plumes or scrolls set in the top cylinder are replaced by the curved twig of a plant with notched leaves.

#### CYLINDRICAL CAP, HAT AND TURBAN

Practically all the warriors in both the Warriors Temple and the Northwest Colonnade wear the cylindrical blue cap with ear-flaps that is associated with the large blue ear-disks and which also has the stuffed blue bird in front. Thirty-six such head-dresses were counted in the Warriors Temple and 218 in the Northwest Colonnade. It is essentially the same cap found in the Chac Mool Temple, with

minor differences: the knot in back often disappears completely or is replaced by a tassel, nail-shaped studs (t.4 S.) or other ornamental devices. The band rises to a triangle in front (fig. 180a), which in the highest form looks like the Mexican royal diadem, the *xiuh-uitzolli* (fig. 180b). A more important though minute point of interest is that in the Chac Mool Temple sculptured and painted versions both portray the ear-disk independent of or partially covering the ear-flaps of the cap (fig. 180c), while here the contrary happens more often, that is, the flaps cover part of the ear-disk (fig. 180d). As the carved and painted versions agree in the older monuments, this unobtrusive detail, together with similar accessory points, might help to establish a comparative date for other objects.

The best-preserved examples afford some idea of the detailed structure of the caps. Thus, c.57 S. (fig. 181a) is a mosaic of rectangular pieces and c.45 N. (fig. 181b) is one of irregular scales. On c.53 W. (fig. 181c) there is no clear separation of ear-disk and ear-flap; the usual stepped line that outlines the lower edge of the cap is run into the ear-disk and also continues into the Tlaloc eye of the face. It would be difficult to say whether this indicates that the three objects were fused into one, or if the sculptor left for the painter the task of making a more accurate description of the objects.

The wide-brimmed hat seems to be worn by elders and priests. A rather simple form of this headgear appears on t.10 S. and t.12 E. and S. (Plates 50 and 52), in the last case of which even the texture of the straw is visible. A composite hat and diadem head-dress appear on t.12 N. (Plate 52); the diadem decorated with beads in front is easily visible under the brim of the hat. Particularly interesting is c.60 S. (fig. 189) because the crown is visible even to details of its texture; the material is probably straw, and diverse lines upon it indicate an elaborate woven pattern. This hat is worn together with a diadem, as in t.12 N., and is lavishly decorated with tassels, beads and plumes. As is general for a head-dress, the most elaborate hats are worn by the wearers of divine masks. The crown of t.11 N. (Plate 51), for example, is concealed by large disks that give the entire structure a conical form. This type of hat is also found as a base for masks of gods probably identical to those described in previous discussions, but here they are so worn that it is difficult to perceive them clearly. Two such examples are t.11 E. and t.19 N. (Plates 51 and 61). It may be that the twin tubular shapes set upon the crown were intended as nose-plugs, in which case the crown was adorned by a mask. Better preserved is c.33 N. (fig. 182a). The very large brim of the hat curving upward and decorated with hanging beads is here reproduced with a heavy line, for purposes of clarity. The details of the mask that conceal the crown or replace it are indistinct, but the cavity of the eye-orbit is visible, as are also forms that seem to be nose-plugs of various kinds and a feather fan that ornaments the back. On c.33 W. (fig. 182b) the hat has a smaller brim and one of the volutes of the god's proboscis hangs over it. The other volute is now indistinct, but a vertical nose-plug remains of it. C.4 S. (fig. 182c) is much weathered, but still visible upon it are three scrolls which might have delineated a different type of god-mask, to be

described later, together with the face masks. Part of the upper scroll has disappeared and is restored in the text-figure as it probably had been. A form similar to a nose-plug appears at the top of this bas-relief, and may have been also part of the mask.

The turban is nearly always depicted as made up of a cloth wound about with a snake. A clear and really beautiful example is worn by a long-robed priest on t.12 W. (fig. 183), while c.61 W. (Plate 123) shows a snake intertwined with what seems to be decorated textile, the snake's rattle hanging behind. On c.57 E. (Plate 120) the cloth is arranged in tiny horizontal folds. On c.38 S. (Plate 104) volutes curve from the reptile's mouth. These are probably decorative scrolls added by the sculptor, rather than an exaggerated form of the bifurcated serpent's tongue.

ANIMAL HEAD-DRESS

A few animal features appeared on the head-dresses in the Chac Mool Temple, but none that constituted an animal head-dress proper. In the newer architectural groups this type of head-dress is found, made up of an animal head that covers

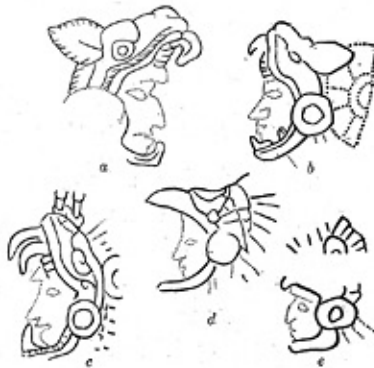


FIG. 184—ANIMAL HEAD-DRESSES

a and b, coyote; c, serpent; d, quetzal (?); e, parrot (?)



FIG. 185—COYOTE HEAD-DRESSES OF SO-CALLED NAHUA TYPE

a, from Dresden Codex; b, from Tro-Cortesianus Codex

the back and sides of the wearer's head, allowing the human face to be seen in the animal's distended jaws. The coyote type of this kind of head-dress appears on c.27 N. and an especially good portrayal of it is t.5 N. (fig. 184a). On c.57 W. (fig. 184b) it is worn, together with an additional back-shield identical to the belt back-shield, a feature found here for the first time. In c.55 W., though much weathered, a vertical line at the back of a head-dress of the same type may indicate that a shield was also depicted.

In the Warriors Temple only one doubtful example of reptilian head-dress appears (t.10 W., Plate 50), but it is depicted repeatedly and distinctly in the Northwest Colonnade. A particularly good example of this head-dress is c.25 S. (fig. 184c), as it includes the outside fangs of the serpent, indications of its scales, and well-defined nose-plugs and eye, while a voluminous plumed crest stands upon

it. The head-dress in c.36 N. is similar but poorly drawn and now rather indistinct. A new version of the reptilian headgear appears on c.47 N. (Plate 112). Here not only the reptile's head, but the entire body is worn. The body hangs down from the back of the head and ends at the height of the warrior's ankles in a clearly depicted rattle-tail, decorated with plumes. The reptilian nose-plug appears on this figure, and also a unique detail—a voluminous speech-scroll at the height of the mouth of the warrior. Throughout this architectural group, speech-scrolls rarely appear issuing from a human mouth, but several times from a snake's jaws. The speech-scroll on c.47 N. most probably, therefore, refers to the snake or possibly to the man considered as being endowed with the powers of the creature whose costume he wears. In c.37 E. another example of the use of all the reptilian characteristics is found, but in this case the lower jaw of the animal is eliminated, so



FIG. 186

a, skull-cap; b and c, hair-dressing



FIG. 187—FEMALE HEAD-DRESSES

a, from Temple of the Warriors; b, from Trocortesianus Codex

that the warrior's chin is uncovered. As the sculptor was much hampered by insufficient space, the tail-panache is reduced to two unusually small plumes, carved as if they hung over the blue ridge that frames the picture. Another example is c.38 E. (Plate 104). Much of the head is destroyed but the sculpture still gives a good image of the S-shaped curve of the serpent's body.

Bird head-dresses of several varieties also appear; t.17 W. and t.6 S. seem to fall into this class, although they are so badly preserved that it is doubtful. C.48 S. (fig. 184d) is a clear representation of an unidentified fowl; it is similar in form to c.24 N. (Plate 92), a man entirely disguised as a bird, but only the lower profile of the beak is distinct. Another such head-dress (c.5 S., fig. 184e) may be a parrot.

Such head-dresses are usually said to be characteristically Nahua, but they seem to have been used also by the Maya. One is to be found in the Dresden Codex (fig. 185a) drawn in pure Maya style. It represents the same creature as t.5 N. and is worn by a black god dressed also like a warrior. A similar figure appears in the Trocortesianus Codex (fig. 185b). The human face appearing in the animal's jaws is a feature common enough in both northern and southern Maya sculpture.

#### SKULL-CAPS, HAIR-DRESSING, HEAD-DRESS ORNAMENTS AND WIGS

Another type of head-dress appears, which might be called a skull-cap, as it fits closely the outline of the skull, but the material is, in most cases, not identifiable. Such headgear might just as well be a special decorative arrangement of the hair itself, with a few ornaments and the usual plume panaches added. For example,



in t.9 W., 10 N. and 16 E., though artificial elements appear, the hair seems visible all over the head. The head-dress in c.19 W. (fig. 186a) is no bulkier than natural hair, but is differentiated from it by a double ornamental band across the lower border of the outline. Perhaps the clearest of these arrangements is c.4 E. (fig. 186b). This seems to be natural hair with a kind of band knotted in front, while c.17 E., c.5 E. and c.32 E. are less distinct.

Another ornamental headgear that is more certainly a kind of coiffure appears on c.56 S. (fig. 186c) and on the similar figures c.52 N. and S. (Plate 116), c.8 N. and W. (Plate 76); and, doubtfully, on t.8 N. (Plate 48). This arrangement shows the hair tied by a broad band in such a way that the lower part is held tightly to the scalp, while the upper, that is the ends of the hair, stands erect, held in at the base by the knot and spreading upward and outward in the form of an inverted cone.

On the unique female figure, t.16 E., the hair is bobbed and hangs loose; a tall bulbous ornament set on a narrow horizontal base is held on the top of the head, and a tassel, standing stiffly upward, holds a sheaf of long plumes that drop behind (fig. 187a). A similar female head-dress from the Codex Trocortesianus is shown for comparison (fig. 187b).

Other head-dresses do not fall into any of the categories already discussed. For instance, t.20 E. (Plate 62) is a fluffy ball of slight feathers with two multi-color antennæ emerging from it; c.8 W. (Plate 76) is of similar material but has a circular ornament at one side; c.1 N. (Plate 69) is a shapeless mass of mosaiclike material; while c.29 N. (Plate 97) is made up of long feathers plucked or trimmed into fret-work, and arranged in the same way as a modern Plains Indian's head-dress. Cases parallel to this somewhat unusual head-gear are to be found in the fresco fragments of the Monjas Temple and likewise in the back chamber of the Tigers Temple.

All the objects used to decorate head-dresses in the Chac Mool carvings appear in the later architectural units, and there are a few new ones. Again we find plumes that seem to be the familiar quetzal and eagle feathers, though the relative lack of color does not permit absolute identification. The pear-shaped pendants on the long plumes also reappear (t.1 E. and t.15 E.) and likewise the small pennantlike ornaments (t.14 S., 15 N., 16 W., and fig. 191). Elaborately trimmed or plucked artificially composite plumes appear on 5 W. and 9 S. (fig. 188).

The head-dress of c.60 S. is reproduced completely here as it reveals indications both as to the details of the ornamental materials and the method of using them (fig. 189). At the top of the conical crown of the hat are set elaborate stems of semirigid strings of spherical beads, tipped with a small tassel or rosette from which issues a long panache. On the rim, a decoration of short feathers serves as a base for longer plumes. These rise upward and then drop with their own weight. Though this decoration appears here only at the front and the back of the hat, that is, to the right and left of the crown, it might indicate a circular decoration around the entire rim which in actual fact would have hidden the crown entirely. Maya requirements of full description in representations would have suggested this elliptic method of depicting the rim decoration, as thus the crown might remain

visible. Fully detailed tassels hang from the outer rim of the hat: cross-lines indicate that the clasp was made of woven material, perhaps the same as that of the tuft. This hat does not rest upon the wearer's head directly, but on a crown in the front of which is set a monster's head, with bifurcated tongue, carved, probably, out of some hard material.

The blue birds used as escutcheons on the warrior's caps are usually entirely realistic and are probably stuffed birds quite like the ornaments on ladies' hats used not so very long ago. Others, however, are made of other materials; c.53 W. seems to be assembled of carved bits of wood mounted and fastened together by tenons (fig. 190a); while c.17 S. and c.61 E. (fig. 190b and c) are mosaics made up of square pieces, probably turquoise or imitation turquoise, as the blue of that stone would correspond closely to the natural color of the bird.

The back-shield that appears on a few of the head-dresses is a new feature. It has been mentioned in connection with c.57 W., a coyote head-dress. Another clear example is c.61 S., in which the back-shield is associated with a cylindrical blue cap (fig. 191).

Another new, though infrequent, feature found in both the temple and the colonnade is that of a floral decoration as in c.4 W. (fig. 192a) where an isolated flower fastened in front of a head-dress is shown. On c.29 N. (fig. 192b) unusual



FIG. 188—PLUMES SHOWING ARTIFICIAL ELABORATION



FIG. 189—ACCESSORY ORNAMENTS ON HAT



FIG. 190—ARTIFICIAL BLUE-BIRDS

and decorative shapes appear, insistently suggesting the well-known Maya water-plant *motif*, while c.51 S. (fig. 192c), t.8 E. (Plate 48) and t.9 E. (fig. 192d) all have flowering twigs set into the hat. The enormous size of the flowers, in proportion to the size of the wearer, is probably a liberty taken by the sculptor who magnified the size in order to fill the space of the background. This throws doubt on the authenticity of the flowering branch on the hat of t.8 E., which might be merely an elaborated part of the decorative plant-scrolls on the lower left. However, the other two examples can not be doubted. In both cases the twig has been set on the hat through a tuft of hairlike material. On t.9 E. especially, the demarcation between cap and twig has been emphasized by the realistic way in which the other decoration has been parted and combed sideways in order to make room for the stem (fig. 192d).

Another type of ornament, a composite form of turban and diadem, appears on c.1 E. This ornament is probably cylindrical. It rises diagonally in front, and a flap of some soft stuff hangs from the end (fig. 193a). A pointed form stands out in front on c.16 S. (fig. 193b). Given the Maya sculptor's conventions for depicting perspective, it seems that this would be the same shape of

ornament used as a breast-plaque on c.24 S. (fig. 193c) but here seen in profile. In normal perspective, the breast-plaque, seen in full front on c.24 S., would become a rectangular plaque from which a cone rises, with its axis perpendicular to the plane of the base (fig. 193d).

As a form of head-dress, wigs seem to have fallen into disuse since the days of the older temple. In the Warriors Temple they are found on 11 N. and S., associated with god-personifiers, and also on 10 A., in a manner and with a type that recalls 2 N. of the Chac Mool Temple. In the Colonnade the wigs depicted are doubtful; they appear on dignitaries wearing unusual costumes (col. 56). The best example is 33 E., a figure whose entire costume retains survivals of older styles.



FIG. 191—PENNON AND SHIELD ON BLUE CAP



FIG. 193—ORNAMENTS

a, with flap; b, profile view of conical ornament; c, front view of same, from a breast-plaque; d, same in normal perspective

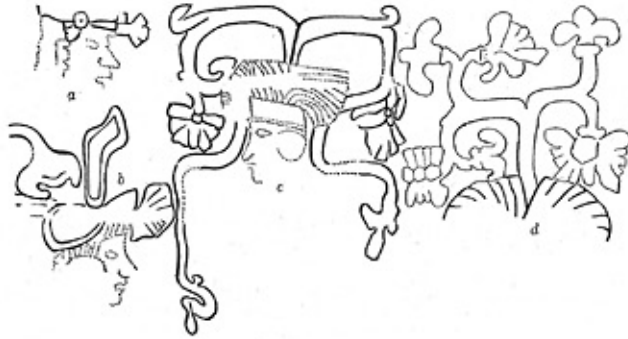


FIG. 192—FLORAL ORNAMENTS ON HEAD-DRESSES

EAR, CHEEK AND NOSE ORNAMENTS

Only once does the ear appear unadorned—on t.16 E., in which case it is portrayed in the same conventional way usual in the wall paintings.

By far the most common ear ornament is the disk covering the ear, used with or without a stem. All except three of the ear ornaments from the temple are of this type, and in the colonnade there are as many as 168 examples. The disk is plain or decorated by a small concentric circle, except in the cases of c.22 N. and t.5 N., which have a design of radiating lines. Ten rectangular ear-plaques, of the type seen on c.28 S. (fig. 194a), appear.

The ear-plug inserted through the distorted lobe of the ear, with the ear itself left visible, also appears. The commonest forms are the rod (c.29 W.) and the rectangle (c.57 N., fig. 194b and c). There are two variants of the rod: an S-shaped tube (c.43 S.) and the rod tipped with a hemispherical bead (c.16 S., figs.

194*d* and *e*). Of the rectangle there are several variants: c.4 N., which may be, however, a sheaf of small rods; and c.7 N., shaped like an ax-blade (figs. 194*f* and *g*). In a few cases long strings of beads hang from the lobe of the ear, or in clusters, like grapes, as for example c.40 S. and c.57 N. Both are worn together with the rectangular plug (figs. 194*i* and *j*). A unique feature is the disk or ring used as a plug on c.29 S. (fig. 194*h*).

An entirely different kind of ear-plug appears on c.52 E. (fig. 194*k*). Instead of being made of solid material, it seems to be a textile band inserted through the lobe, knotted or folded behind the ear, with the two ends hanging loose in front. The ear-plug in c.37 W. is similar though less clearly depicted, while in c.4 W. it is a kind of circular rosette (fig. 194*l*) and stands apart.

Sometimes more than one ear-plug is used. A favorite combination is the rod or rectangle with a bead or beads, as seen on c.40 E., c.43 S. and c.48 E.

A single cheek-button appears on t.2 S., 7 N. and W. and on c.31 E. and 45 E. Two buttons are used by c.61 S.

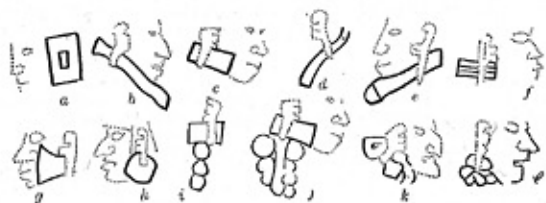


FIG. 194—EAR ORNAMENTS

*a*, rectangular plaque; *b*, stick-plug; *c*, rectangular plug; *d*, S-curved stick; *e*, stick tipped with bead; *f* and *g*, variant of rectangular plug; *h*, circular plug; *i* and *j*, composite ornament with beads; *k* and *l*, textile plug



FIG. 195—NOSE ORNAMENTS

*a*, bell-pendant; *b*, simultaneous use of pendant and stick; *c*, nose-button and excrescence; *d*, 8-shaped plaque; *e*, same plus semicircular ornament; *f*, *g*, *h*, unusual shapes; *i* and *j*, ornament starting from behind nose

The most common nose ornament depicted is the bead hanging from the septum, usually associated with the cylindrical blue cap and ear-disk; on t.4 N. (Plate 44) this seems to become a triple pendant. Another unusual example appears on c.28 N. (fig. 195*a*). The line at the base recalls the slit of a bell, and a scroll which possibly signifies the sound issues from this slit. The rod through the septum ranks second in favor to the pendant. It is usually worn by personages other than warriors. However, no sharp demarcation is made between the wearing of the two types of ornaments, and in several cases (c.3 S., c.14 S., c.32 N., c.47 W. and t.9 W.) both are worn. A good example of this combination (fig. 195*b*) is had in c.57 N., a warrior.

The nose-button reappears frequently, and always worn by warriors. There are three doubtful examples of this ornament: c.32 W. (fig. 195*c*), c.10 S. and c.49 N. On all of these a noticeable excrescence stands out from the ridge of the nose. It was remarked in connection with the Chac Mool sculptures that similar details appear occasionally on some of the South Maya monuments. In the Chac Mool figures,

however, one button was carved on the visible side of the nose. The bulge on the other side might indicate the ingenious attempt of the sculptor to depict the twin-buttons, the other part of which would be invisible from this point of view in normal perspective.

The semicircular ornament found in full-face view on the composite figures of the bases is also worn by the human beings on the shafts, here carved in conventional profile view. A new device also appears. This is a figure-eight plaque, of which a good example is seen on t.5 W. (fig. 195*d*). In some respects this resembles a twin-button, but it must be differentiated because the two disks are carved on the same side of the nose. Figure 195*e* shows this plaque worn in combination with the semicircular ornament.

There are several other unusual forms: c.39 N., the stepped outline of which recalls the nose-ornaments of some of the composite figures on the bases (fig. 195*f*); c.39 W., a series of inverted triangles (fig. 195*g*); and c.43 N. (fig. 195*h*) which may be, instead of a new kind of ornament, the outline of the semicircular ornament combined with the bead-pendant, sketched by the sculptor and left for the painter to finish. The ornaments on c.28 W. and c.37 N. are depicted in a manner



FIG. 196—DEATH-MASKS

a, with sub-orbital plaque; b and c, incomplete masks; d, with bisected skull outline



FIG. 197—BIRD-MASKS

a, parrot; b, owl; c, unidentified



FIG. 198—UNIDENTIFIED ANIMAL MASK

such that it is difficult to ascertain what was the real position of the original object (figs. 195*i* and *j*). The ornament on c.37 N. is particularly interesting. It is a carefully delineated silhouette of a crested bird, worn with the nose-button and the bead pendant. The glyph-name of the wearer, sculptured at the upper edge of the shaft, also happens to be a bird.

#### MASKS

Seven new examples of the death-mask appear in the architectural units under consideration. These are: c.20 W. and c.40 W., which completely conceal the face; c.40 W. which has the stone blade inserted in the nasal cavity; c.39 E. (fig. 196*a*), which also conceals the face and has an interesting sub-orbital plaque like the one depicted on the masks of the long-nosed gods; t.2 N. (fig. 196*b*) and c.44 W., which are incomplete masks, revealing the chin; c.45 W. (fig. 196*c*), which conceals only the lower part of the face, leaving the forehead, eyes, and the upper part of the nose and cheeks uncovered; and c.9 S. (fig. 196*d*), a very poor portrayal, but which, nevertheless, is of great interest. It has a hairy crest comparable to the one which appears on the same subject in the fresco on the exterior of the Warriors Temple. The skull is of the same heart-shape which in the Tulum frescos represents an abbreviation of the bicephalic features of the god.

The five bird-masks that appear are similar in form to the bird head-dresses. The jaw opening is smaller in the case of the masks, so that although the lower half of the beak covers the chin quite like the corresponding part of the head-dress, the upper part drops like a visor over the forehead, eyes, cheeks and nose. The eyes of the wearer coincide with the eye-holes of the mask, obviously so that he may see. Of these five masks, c.55 S. (fig. 197*a*) is a crested parrot; t.8 W. (fig. 197*b*) and, less certainly, c.43 S. represent an eared owl, probably the moan bird; t.17 N. and c.24 S. are unidentified; while 6 S. (fig. 197*c*) is extremely difficult to discern. The face seems to appear between the jaws of a bird's head, the sharp form that projects from the chin corresponding to the lower part of the beak; but the features of the face seem concealed by a narrow band of thin material. Thus, if the projection in front is the continuation of this band, the mask might represent a turkey's beak and flap, or, on the other hand, it may indicate merely the common nose pendant.

Because there is a tiny heart-shaped ear at the upper right of the head of c.32 S. (fig. 198) it seems to have been intended as an animal mask. The eye is enclosed



FIG. 199.—GOD-MASKS

*a*, similar to Chac Mool type; *b* and *c*, incomplete masks; *d*, analysis of scrolls on preceding figure; *e*, *f*, and *g*, masks with Tlaloc eye; *h*, degenerated god-masks (?)

in a heavily underlined oval; the nose seems to be human, and the mouth is concealed by an unusual design of lines which looks, to a modern eye, like moustaches and a beard. A tuft of hair above the tip of the nose and the upper part of an *atlatl* laid horizontally in front of the mouth make this composition still more puzzling.

Two of the later god-masks, t.11 E. and N. (fig. 199*a*), recall the older type described in connection with the Chac Mool Temple. These, however, lack the suborbital plaque. A new variant of the same subject as the type on t.10 E. (fig. 199*b*) appears more often. This is an incomplete mask fastened to the face by means of double prongs, much as the spur is fixed to the heel of a boot. The prongs are probably tied back of the ears and the whole object is held in place by the bridge of the nose. It gives the nose an artificial scroll shape which produces a profile reminiscent of a long-nosed god. Three others are constructed on the same principle; c.48 N., t.8 N. (fig. 199*c*) and t.11 S.; the last is so badly weathered that it can hardly be perceived. In the other two cases, however, the nasal volute is double instead of single, thus portraying in a composite form the two positions of the long nose, each of which is found independently on the architectural masks

(fig. 199*d*). In c.53 W. (Plate 117) and t.4 S. (fig. 199*e*), a slightly different principle has been employed. The device does not rest on the nose but is fastened under it, concealing the upper lip by an artificial lip and set of teeth, while the lower jaw is unmasked and thus, left to move freely, adds greatly to the general effect. In both cases this mask appears associated with an eye-ring, though not attached to it. Eye and nose pieces are made into a single object on 17 E. (fig. 199*f*) which is the same in appearance and significance as the others.

The design of c.28 S. (fig. 199*g*) is complex. The human nose, with its bead-pendant, is not covered; the eye is concealed by an eye-ring, and a piece of hard material also seems to mask the chin. This latter object recalls the similarly shaped mouth-mask found in the Chac Mool Temple (6 N.). The Tlaloc eye-ring appeared not painted or tattooed, but as a separate object made of hard material, as in the Chac Mool Temple (2 N.). It reappears similarly, seven times, used by itself or in combination with other facial ornaments (t.1 S., 15 S., c.2 E., 8 W., 48 N., 53 W. and 57 N.). Because of its use and significance, it might be considered a rudimentary god-mask.

A very degenerate type of god-mask, consisting of a minute scroll fastened to the nose, seems to appear on c.44 S. (fig. 199*h*).

#### NECKLACE, SHOULDER ORNAMENT AND BREAST-PLAQUE

The familiar type of necklace, with or without beads, reappears frequently as in c.39 E. (fig. 200*a*) which is an example of a shell necklace. The necklace in t.1 S. (Plate 41) is made of tiny shields, each decorated with two disks simulating eyes. A most unusual case is presented in c.20 N. (fig. 200*b*). The two concentric circular lines are like the strings of a necklace, which are probably made up of large irregular beads or shells used as pendants, carefully worked out on the column but not easily identifiable.

The shoulder cape, worn especially by non-warrior types, is identical to the one described in connection with the Chac Mool figures. Large shells hang from the lower border on c.4 N. (fig. 200*c*). This is a method of decoration often used on belts, but unusual on capes.

An ordinary shield used as a breast-plaque appears on c.8 N., W. and S. Here it is more a defensive weapon than an ornament, but in other cases the protected area decreases in size and the halo of rays and beads increases, so that the object becomes a real jewel. The shield-ornament takes on the shape of a half-circle on c.53 N. and c.52 S., and is further designed for its decorative purpose by the addition of elaborate bead fringes. In c.36 N. the same material is used, but with a more elaborately fretted outline and a markedly convex surface. Most of the shields are plain, but the decoration on some suggests a human face, varying from an extremely simple version such as t.1 S., on which two small circles simulate eyes, to a more detailed pattern such as is on c.60 N. A comparison between t.4 N. and t.18 N. (figs. 201*a* and *b*), the first a full-face and the other a profile view of similar breast-plaques, each decorated with a human face, will show that

the sculptor or smith did not content himself in such cases with merely scratching the features, but worked them out in high relief.

The peculiar rectangular shape of a stylized bird, already alluded to, reappears here worn by many of the warriors. Some variants develop, for example c.44 W. (fig. 202*a*), which has more than the usual three indentations on each side. Probably the most refined version of this ornament is the small brooch c.56 S. (fig. 202*b*), which has two loose flaps. This is worn by a high dignitary, fastened on the lower border of his mosaic shoulder cape.

Rectangular plaques other than the stylized bird are relatively rare. The cone projecting from a rectangle on c.24 S. (fig. 193*c*) has already been described. Three others appear: t.5 S. (fig. 203*a*), which is decorated with an indefinite pattern



FIG. 200—NECKLACES

*a*, shell; *b*, unidentified; *c*, use of shells on shoulder cape



FIG. 202—BREAST-PLAQUES

*a*, variant of stylized bird; *b*, refined variant of same



FIG. 201—SHIELDS WITH HUMAN FEATURES

*a*, front-view; *b*, profile



FIG. 204—ANIMAL MOTIF ON BREAST-PLAQUES

*a*, *b* and *c*, jaguar; *d*, rattle-snake; *e*, glow-worm (?); *f*, shell



FIG. 203—RECTANGULAR BREAST-PLAQUES

*a*, unidentified pattern; *b*, plaited pattern; *c*, with additional snake's rattles

of curved lines; c.8 E. (fig. 203*b*), which has a wavy design, and c.52 E. (fig. 203*c*), which is a cross-pattern with a fringe of outer rays, from which project two objects, probably snake rattles. These last two examples are unusual. They are both worn by sorcerers holding snakes, and, given the similar appearance and use, might have a special symbolic significance.

Animal representations occur frequently on breast-plaques. The most common of these is the jaguar. It is worn alone on c.2 W., and in combination with a necklace decorated with beads on c.9 W. (fig. 204*a*); c.37 S. (fig. 204*b*) is an example of a jaguar intended to look ferocious; while c.6 S. and c.13 W. (fig. 204*c*) represent the animal wearing a mosaic collar, a detail which suggests domestication. The little color remaining on the breast-plaques shows the animal painted, not in yellow, its



natural color and the color which is used when the living animal is represented, but in blue, which suggests derivation from a carving or mosaic of some semiprecious material.

Another animal that appears on the breast-plaques is the rattlesnake, beautifully carved on c.55 S. (fig. 204*d*), of which c.15 W. is a weaker replica. Most interesting is c.6 W. (fig. 204*e*). The warrior wears the usual bird-shaped breast-plaque, but another ornament closer to his neck seems to be a small wormlike creature. Comparison with the few insect representations that appear in the entire group, such as those on the floral relief of the Chac Mool Temple (Plate 19 and page 149), strengthens the idea that a larva is meant. In its natural state, this creature is far from being ornamental, and thus some other reason must have determined its choice; possibly it is actually a glow-worm, the Yucatecan variety of which gives a relatively strong light, which might have added an interesting effect in nocturnal processions. A large sea-shell is used as a breast-plaque on c.40 S. (fig. 204*f*). It is hung around the neck by a band, the fringed ends of which appear on the breast of the wearer.

#### TUNIC AND LOIN-CLOTH

The badly faded painting in the Warriors Temple and the Colonnade makes difficult the identification of any close-fitting bodicelike garment, or the distinction between long tunic and skirt. A bodice with short sleeves, molded to the torso, was indicated with the chisel on c.24 E. and c.51 N. and W., and can still be perceived by the carved line near the shoulder that separates the arm itself from the sleeve. On other reliefs, traces of color other than that of the body or of the usual body-paints can be found on the torso, though the face and arms are usually of a natural shade. Probably the traces are remains of the painted bodices. Two good examples are c.52 S., on which the skin was painted blue while the garment was green, and c.60 S., on which the bodice is pink and worn with a long robe (unless the two were one piece). An identical combination appears in the Chac Mool frescos.

A plain blue tunic hanging to the knee also occurs. On c.35 W. and t.2 S., snake's rattles have been sewed, dangling from the edge of the garment. Chac Mool 1 W. is an identical case. Another typical tunic is cut similarly, but it is white. It recalls Chac Mool 2 N. The material seems to be very fine and is decorated with a band running horizontally near the lower border, and with patterns of wide and narrow vertical stripes, combined with dots, over the entire surface. Examples of this tunic are had in t.1 S., t.15 S., c.48 E. and c.57 N. Traces in color of the vertical ornamental bands remain on the last two (figs. 205*a* and *b*). On figure 205*b*, the diagonal lines at the left are part of the surface of the sleeve. The manner in which they are disconnected from the lines of the tunic suggests that the decoration was woven in a broad piece of cloth, from which the sleeve and the main part of the tunic were cut separately and then sewed together, with no attempt at connecting the design. The lower part of a tunic, showing the remains of an intricate design, is seen in c.12 N. (fig. 206).

Some tunics, like c.36 W., were made partly of feathers, or decorated with them. Though almost covered by the cloak, t.8 N. and 17 E. might have been made entirely of plumes; t.11 N. is probably a tiger's pelt, similar to Chac Mool 6 N.

Garments covering the torso, other than tunics, infrequently occur, as in c.4 S. and t.19 N., which seem to be turtle shells, worn in the manner of the Atlantean figures on the Chac Mool bases. Another garment, unique to bird-men, fits closely to the body, is molded to the legs and imperceptibly vanishes into the leggings. As it is covered with feathers, it gives to the body of the wearer the realistic appearance of a bird (t.6 S. and 8 W. and c.48 S.).

The loin-cloth is usually white and finished with a fringe. It appears nearly as often in blue, scalloped with red, but on c.40 W. it is green, which is unusual. It may be plain or decorated. An elaborate one appears on c.36 N. (fig. 207a).



FIG. 205—PAINTED PATTERN ON TUNIC REPRESENTATION



FIG. 206—COMPLEX DECORATION ON TUNIC

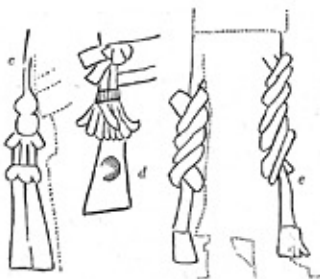


FIG. 207

a and b, decorated loin-cloths; c, d, decorated end-flaps; e, end-flaps worn on long skirt

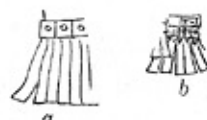


FIG. 208 — SKIRT MADE OF LOOSE WHITE FLAPS

a, from Temple of Warriors; b, from Dresden Codex



FIG. 209 — SCALLOPED SKIRT WORN WITH BACK-SHIELD

Moon crescents, used to decorate a loin-cloth on Chac Mool 5 N., reappear on t.10 S. and c.52 E. (fig. 207b), painted grey on the white garment.

The front flap or *maxtli* is generally a white triangular piece of cloth, either plain or decorated, in the latter case the ornamentation usually consists of a horizontal band of embroidery (c.16 N. and c.25 N.). This decoration matches the style of the bands on white tunics. The back-flap, which corresponds to the *maxtli*, is white and fanlike and usually, if the warrior wears it, drops from under the back-shield. The two flaps may become highly elaborated; beads and tassels are used on c.33 E., c.36 N. and c.56 E. (fig. 207c); feathers replace the cloth on c.32 N. and are added to the normal cloth *maxtli* on c.61 W. (fig. 207d). The front of t.13 S. is covered with a fluffy material, possibly short feathers, which type of decoration is also found on the frescos. On c.37 N. cloth is used in back and plumes in front, an order which is inverted on c.39 E.

However, in spite of the endless variety, certain conventions are observed. For usual figures, the back-flap is always white. Personages of special importance, such as mask-wearers, always wear a tubular, bifurcated back-flap, the lower third of which is painted yellow or pink and the upper part blue (t.11 N. S., c.8 S., c.33 E.). This is the same garment, both in shape and color, as found in the Chac Mool Temple (5 E. W. and 6 E., N., S.). The two oval racquets worn in front and in back which characterize Atlantean figures reappear also, always on the most exceptional personages: sorcerers (c.4 N. and W.), turtle-men (c.4 S., t.19 N.), other animal personifiers (c.32 S. and c.37 E.) and on the bearded prisoner (c.33 S.) who wears an Atlantean necklace also.

The bird-man (c.24 N.) is unique as regards this garment. Instead of the ordinary back-flap, a realistic imitation of a bird's tail issues from under his back-shield. An entirely new detail appears on c.60 E. (fig. 207e). Front- and back-flaps hang from the belt over the long robe of a priest. They are green, twisted like a very thick rope, and end in tassels.

It is to be remarked that though the *maxlli* and back-flap usually are worn with the loin-cloth, they can appear independently, that is, with the tunic (c.6 N.), the short skirt (c.16 S.), and even with the long skirt (c.60 E.).

#### SKIRT, TROUSER AND SLEEVE

A plain short skirt above the knee is the only garment worn by the female figure, t.16 E. (Plate 58). A most interesting version of the short skirt appears ten times in both of the later architectural groups. It is made of strips of white cloth, hanging loose, if the artist's indication of one strip blown a little apart from the others is accurate (c.24 S. and t.4 S., fig. 208a). In that case the garment is similar to but shorter than a skirt which appears in the Dresden Codex (pages 25 to 28) and is described in Landa as a priestly insignia (fig. 208b). The one in t.9 E. is of the same type but is worn with a loin-cloth of the normal kind, which covers the upper part. Similar, likewise, is t.17 N. except that it is decorated with black dots irregularly scattered over the garment.

An entirely new form of skirt appears on t.9 N. and W. (Plate 49). It strongly suggests a ballet skirt scalloped like a flower, and is worn unusually high on the waist. However, astronomical rather than æsthetic considerations seem to have determined the form, as the layout of the figure apparently reveals it to be the sign used to signify a starry heaven. This scalloped skirt may be worn together with the usual back-shield. A good example of the combination is c.40 W. (fig. 209).

Sacerdotal robes identical to those of the Chac Mool Temple and decorated similarly, with a crisscross pattern or circles, appear on all four sides of column t.12 and on columns 59 and 60. On c.51 N., the long robe is uniquely formed by superimposed rows of green feathers, each row ending in a short red knot with two yellow tips.

On c.20 N. (Plate 88) a loose flap skirt half reveals a garment that might be described as a pair of short trousers, finished with fringe and identical in form to the trousers on Chac Mool column 5 S.

The protective left-arm sleeve is usually worn the full arm's length. A half-length type appears on c.1 S. On c.31 W. (Plate 98), a dart is inserted between the arm and the upper edge of the sleeve, exactly as on Chac Mool column 2 N. Another sleeve, less usual than the ordinary cotton sleeve, is made of cloth bands and has a vertical row of knots in front (c.38 S.). The long, loose sleeve, described in connection with Chac Mool t.3 W., reappears in more detail on c.53 S. (fig. 210*a*). Here a broad gray band with yellow ornaments encircles the arms just below the shoulder. A circular piece of white material hangs from this band to the height of the thigh. It is finished by a decoration of green and red feathers. The



FIG. 210

*a*, feather-cylinder used as sleeve; *b*, bat-wing (?)

arm emerges, when in movement, through a vertical slit on the outside of the sleeve (t.9 S. and t.16 S.).

The long feather fringes, imitating wings which appear on the arms of the bird-men, can be classified with the sleeves. The warrior on c.48 S. (Plate 113) wears both the wing-sleeve and the ordinary cotton defensive sleeve. A crest or fringe, recalling a feather wing, appears along the outer edge of the arm on c.32 (fig. 210*b*). There can be little doubt that a wing is intended, but it is not a wing made of feathers, so that it does not correspond to a bird but rather to some other winged creature, possibly a butterfly. However, the same personage wears an ear characteristic of a mammal, which may indicate that the costume represents a bat. This suggestion might be corroborated by the existing tradition, both in northern and southern Maya art, of representing bats in more or less humanized form.

#### ARM, WRIST ORNAMENTS AND BELT

Twin bracelets worn high on the arm are depicted on c.56 S. and E. (Plate 119). The two chief types of wrist ornament, that is, the soft textile or plume band, and the stiff, usually mosaic jewel, appear in about equal numbers. Both may be worn on the same wrist, as is the case in t.16 S. (Plate 58); c.39 E. is a variant of the textile type, with voluminous knots (fig. 211*a*). The rigid type

appears in varied forms on c.41 S., c.52 N., c.59 S. and c.60 N. (figs. 211*b* to *e*). The band on c.60 W. (fig. 212*f*) belongs to the class described here as the Dresden Codex type. This ornament is infrequent and is worn only by special personages. It was found on the Atlantean figures, and is here worn by a priest who is making offerings.

The commonest type of belt used by the warriors is made of cloth, usually red with a single or double knot in front. This red band is tied upon a broader blue band that can be seen above and below the red. It seems to hold the back-flaps in place. Usually it appears in profile, but c.44 N. (Plate 110) gives a good front view of it. On c.61 W., t.16 S. and 4 N., the belt has a woven design which was probably accentuated by black and white, as on Chac Mool 2 N. The ordinary textile belt as on Chac Mool 2 E. reappears, combined with a snake skin on c.35 W.,

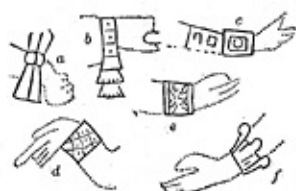


FIG. 211—WRIST ORNAMENTS  
a, textile; b, c, d and e, rigid;  
f, "Dresden-Codex" type



FIG. 212—SIMULTANEOUS USE OF  
SNAKE AND TEXTILE BELT



FIG. 213—BACK SHIELDS, NORMAL  
TYPE

a, front; b, profile; c and d, unusual  
decorations

c.41 W. and t.2 S. (figs. 212*a* and *b*). The head and rattles drop in front like the flaps of the usual knot.

The back-shield should be described along with the belt, as it seems usually to be associated with it. It is worn by nearly all of the warriors. Two good views of its appearance, in profile and in full front, are afforded by c.59 W. and c.51 N. (figs. 213*a* and *b*, respectively). On the inner circle of the shield of c.51 N. a parrot's head is sculptured in full round (fig. 213*c*). A smaller but really interesting relief appears on c.49 N. (fig. 213*d*). It is the profile of a curved projection similar to the proboscis of the long-nosed god. A few lines on the main portion of the semispherical base suggest mosaic.

On c.39 E. and N. (Plate 105) a shell is depicted hanging at the waist. Although it is carved on the belt, it seems to be really independent of it, and instead is an ornament worn *en bandouliere*, that is, hanging from a band or ribbon which drops from the left shoulder across to the right thigh.

The belts of stiff material, usually made up of square plaques and painted green, reappear relatively often but none is as heavily decorated with beads and shells as are the Chac Mool figures. The most elaborate versions are to be found on t.10 E., N. and 11 N., E. (Plates 50 and 51).

## KNEE AND ANKLE ORNAMENTS

The most common type of leg ornament depicted on these figures is a voluminous ring probably made of feathers, as the tiny vertical or diagonal lines scattered over it might indicate. The usual color scheme of such rings is: upper half, white; lower half, yellow, and black hachures over both. A second type, of soft material and corresponding to the sleeve, is made up of narrow parallel bands wound round the limb and tied in front so that the vertical row of knots becomes a decorative feature (c.57 W., fig. 214*a*, and c.40 W.). A similar leg ornament occurs on Chac Mool 2 N. Occasionally beads, fastened upon the bands or dangling from them, enhance the decorative effect still further, as on c.16 N. (Plate 84) and t.17 W. (Plate 59). On t.17 W. a wide ax-blade shape projects from the right knee, but curiously enough is not duplicated on the other leg of the figure. Stiff ornaments painted green reappear, but with no new details.

Several unusual knee ornaments occur: c.28 W., a simple cord wound twice about the leg below the knee and finished by a tassel (fig. 214*b*); c.40 S., on the same principle, but with a few spherical green beads threaded on the cord and ending not in a tassel but in the ordinary typical knot, the two flaps of which are tipped with beads (fig. 214*c*); and c.61 W., with more beads and also pear-shaped



FIG. 214—KNEE ORNAMENTS

*a*, textile; *b*, *c* and *d* intermediate forms between textile and rigid types

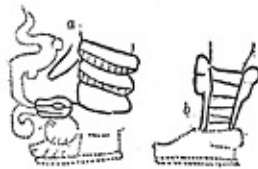


FIG. 215—LEGGINGS

*a*, snake; *b*, "Dresden Codex" type



FIG. 216—COATS

*a*, feather coat; *b*, triangular coat or shoulder cape

pendants hanging from them (fig. 214*d*). These three ornaments are transitional between the soft and the stiff types of knee ornament. Three of the prisoners, c.29 N. and S. and c.32 N., wear no ornament whatsoever. The turbanlike knee ornament discovered in Chac Mool 2 S. does not appear. Considering the large number of figures, this indicates that this type of ornament was no longer worn.

## LEGGING

The plain legging made of horizontal bands of alternate color (usually red and yellow) which appeared in the Chac Mool (cols. 5 W. and 6 E.) occurs in identical form. In the Chac Mool, too, a legging made of snake skin was depicted on column 6 N. Here the stuffed snake itself is realistically coiled around the leg, its head resting upon the rosette of the sandal (t.4 S., fig. 215*a*). The highly elaborate mouth-scroll which appears along with this reptile is probably not part of the legging itself, but merely a liberty taken by the sculptor for decorative purposes.

On c.32 S. (fig. 215*b*), an animal costume, the Dresden Codex legging is used. Two bird-men also wear it, one (t.17 N.) by itself and the other (t.8 W.) combined with a crisscross legging. On the bird-men t.6 S. and c.55 S. (Plates 46 and 118), the bird idea is emphasized by a closely fitting stocking running from thigh to foot, on which the bird's leg is elaborated with feathers and paint. There is only one other example of the crisscross legging. This is made of a black band that begins at the sandal (c.40 N., Plate 106). It is worn in combination with a knee ornament made of green beads. Except for the Atlantean figures on pilaster B. of the temple, only three figures wear the Dresden Codex ornament as a legging (c.32 S., t.17 N. and 8 W.).

#### CLOAK

Some of the warriors wear a long cloak thrown over the shoulders and hanging down the back. It is usually made of plumes; sometimes, as on c.6 N., a rosette of plumes furthermore adorns the shoulder. The front view of such a cloak appears on c.25 S. (Plate 93). It fastens at the neck, covers the shoulders, and the plumes reappear at the right and left of the body.

In addition to plumes, other decoration is used, for example seemingly small circular shields on c.25 W. (fig. 216*a*). The cloak on c.28 N. (Plate 96) looks entirely like a plume cloak, but the arm of the wearer lies upon it. Unless it is really an unusual plume tunic, this departure from actual appearance is probably due to the fact that as the arm is decorated with interesting tattooing, the artist probably wanted to include that in the picture and therefore took the liberty of putting the cloak under the arm. Those in c.48 N. and W. are made partly of plumes, but another material, probably cloth, seems also to have been used. The cloak on c.61 E. has a design of vertical and horizontal lines, and the lower edge is a fringe of cloth decorated with circles.

The bearded figure with Atlantean characteristics (c.33 S., Plate 100) wears three cloths at the back. The outer garment seems to be a cloth that covers the head and hangs behind as part of the head-dress, as on Chac Mool 6 W.; the second, is a textile cloak with black-and-white woven designs, and the third, which shows underneath, is similar to the first. The cloak that opens at the sides, described in connection with Chac Mool 3 E., occurs on c.61 N. (Plate 123), and an intermediary between that and the shoulder cape occurs on c.61 S. (fig. 216*b*).

The thick feather crests which occur along the back of many figures in the frescos rarely appear here, doubtless because of lack of space due to the narrow panels. When they do appear in sculpture they are usually considerably smaller than in the frescos, and the feathers are made to fold in upon themselves where they touch the vertical line of the frame (59 S. and c.60 S.). Feather crests appear on c.36 E. and 47 N. (Plates 102 and 112), but these have shrunken to tail-like tufts at the back of the belts.

#### SANDAL

The sandal with a square opening at the heel, noted often in the Chac Mool, reappears here only once, and that case is doubtful (c.37 W., fig. 217*a*). The ornament described before, consisting of a spherical tuft in front of the sandal (figs. 217*b* and *c*), and also the more elaborate decorative knot or stiff material reappear (fig. 217*d*).

Footgear imitating a bird claw appears on c.24 N. and S. (figs. 217*e* and *f*). Both still retain some semblance of a human foot; the knot in front remains and, in c.24 S., the sole and heel-part of the sandal. Both have a clawlike envelope over the foot, and an ankle ornament surmounts the whole. However, on c.24 N., the envelope affords barely enough space for the foot, and the whole weight of the body, furthermore, would rest on only the points of the claws. Thus, as in t.6 S., it may be supposed that the sculptor exaggerated the realistic appearance of the claw at the expense of accuracy. On c.24 S., the portrayal seems entirely reliable. The left foot has a normal outline except for a few curved lines that conceal part of the sole. These lines would be most unusual if they were supposed

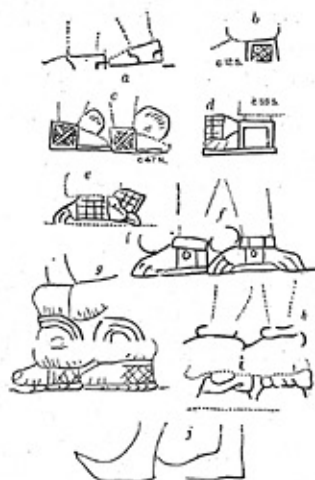


FIG. 217—SANDALS

*a*, with hollowed heel; *b*, *c*, painted ornamentation; *d*, rigid type of knot; *e*, *f*, claw disguise of foot; *g*, unidentified representation; *h*, *i*, cloth wrappings; *f*, female footgear

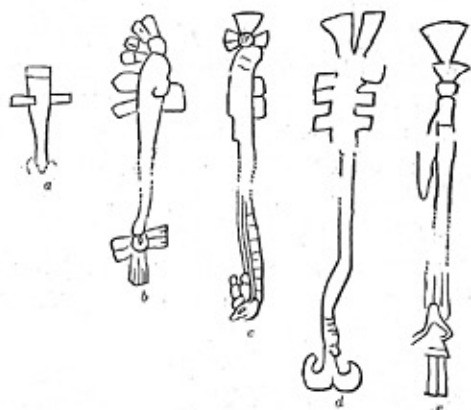


FIG. 218

*a*, *b*, axes; *c*, *d*, with snake representation; *e*, staff

to represent toes, but they are more probably intended as a sketchy representation of three hooked nails which make up a dummy half-claw, such as is plainly visible on the other foot. In the latter case the illusion is aided by fastening the other half of the claw to the heel, so that it also projects backward.

One figure, c.53 S. (fig. 217*g*), seems difficult to explain. The ordinary knee and ankle ornaments are plainly visible and the sandal is of the usual type, except that a series of curved lines appear on the leg, between the knee and ankle ornaments, somewhat like the variant of the high boot found occasionally on Old Empire stelæ at Macanxoc. An absolutely new, if inelegant, type of footgear appears on c.40 W. and c.51 N. and possibly also on t.8 N. This seems to consist of cloth bound around the foot, making a shapeless bundle which ties at the ankle. It is worn on c.40 W. (fig. 217*h*) by a skeleton personifier, and the foot thus arrayed



seems designed to imitate the backward spread of the calcaneum in a skeleton foot, as is shown on the outside frescos of the Warriors Temple. The other, c.51 N. (fig. 217*i*), is worn by a sorcerer who holds a snake. It is carefully carved and traces of green paint still remain. The last, t.8 N., is less distinct. It appears on a mask-wearer.

The female figure (t.16 E.) wears a very novel kind of shoe (fig. 217*j*). The point turns up *à la poulaine*, precisely like the traditional footgear of the modern Maya woman, which was in wide use twenty years ago, but is now rapidly disappearing.

#### WEAPONS AND ACCESSORIES

Few of the offensive weapons found in the Chac Mool Temple reappear in the newer units. The stone knife does not occur, and there is only one example of a long spear (c.42 W., Plate 108). The ax is the only weapon from the older temple that reappears more than once. A very simple type, with one blade embedded in the heavy haft, appears on c.43 N. (fig. 218*a*). The weapon carried by t.10 W. is similar, except that it is double-bladed. On d.52 N. (fig. 218*b*) a more ceremonial type of ax occurs, decorated at each end with ribbons and beads. It is carried upright, like a staff, grasped in the middle of the handle. There are two similar axes, t.10 E. and c.56 N. Although on t.10 N. the blades at present are not visible, since it is identical in other respects to t.10 E., it can be supposed that the traces of lines at the lower left of the ear-plug of the figure indicate the blades, or that the blades were depicted only in paint. Though almost hidden by the body, t.11 S. seems identical to the others. Another ax, c.56 S. (fig. 218*c*), goes a step further from the simple form of the weapon. The lower part is composed of a snake's body with the head realistically turned outward, showing the traditional nose-crest and nose-plugs. A cruder example of this same type, probably representing a wood-sculpture with two heavy volutes in place of the forked tongue, is found in c.52 S. (fig. 218*d*). A non-bladed staff appears on c.56 E. (fig. 218*e*). It is described here because it occurs on a column whose three other figures carry axes; it could be only a purely ceremonial object. Its association with the axes is a strong indication that these, rather than being war-weapons, were ceremonial accessories or insignia of rank.

Other weapons appear that are not found with the Chac Mool figures. These are the *atlatl* and darts. In fact practically all the warriors of the ordinary type carry the *atlatl* in the right hand and a sheaf of darts in the left. This sudden appearance of the two weapons might be highly significant if they were absent from the frescos of the older structure as well as from the sculptures. However, four representations of them are identifiable on the painted frieze that covered the bench at the left of the altar. Apparently the wooden body of the *atlatl* usually was the same, but when decorated it appeared in two different aspects. The trefoil type (fig. 219*a*) occurs most frequently, and the bouquet type seems specifically the possession of warriors wearing masks or the scalloped skirt. Good examples of the latter are to be seen in c.40 W. and c.38 S. (figs. 219*b* and *c*). The

wooden body of the *atlatl*, ending in the characteristic hook, here emerges through the feathers.

The way in which the *atlatl* was held can be seen on c.49 N. and c.45 W. (figs. 219a and d), back and front respectively. The two fingers adjusted into the holes of the handle are clear in both representations. The strange outline of the *atlatl* on c.45 W. can be explained only by the requirements of the sculptor's design.

In spite of the general belief, this weapon does not seem to be imported from Mexico, or at least it was adopted by the Maya early in their development, for it appears distinctly sculptured on Stela 5 at Uaxactun (fig. 220, from a photograph) which is dated 98 A. D., according to Dr. Morley's correlation.

A very short dart, unusual in both size and shape, appears on c.47 N. (fig. 221). It is the only offensive weapon carried by a warrior who holds a cylindrical shield in the other hand.



FIG. 219—ATLATL

a, trifoiled showing back view of hand; b, c, "bouquet" type; d, distorted representation showing front view of hand



FIG. 221—UNUSUAL DART



FIG. 220 — BAS-RELIEF ON STELA 5, UAXACTUN, WITH REPRESENTATION OF ATLATL



FIG. 222—CIRCULAR SHIELD

a, outer view; b, inside view; c, same from Tigers Temple fresco

The usual defensive weapons are the cotton sleeve, the back-shield and the curved bat, which generally appear together with the *atlatl* and darts. The only figure which carries defensive weapons alone is c.45 S., which holds a bat in each hand, as often occurs in the Chac Mool reliefs. The shield, though absent from the typical warrior's outfit, is carried by a few unusual figures. Rectangular shields with feather fringes all around are carried by personages who seem to be high dignitaries. On c.56 N. (Plate 119), the fringe is painted yellow and the body of the shield has a black and white grecque *motif*, outlined in red. Except that the background is further decorated by tiny horizontal lines, c.52 N. (Plate 116) is similar. The outside and inside views of a circular shield can be seen in c.43 N. and c.47 N. (figs. 222a and b), respectively. Long feather or cloth strips hang on the outside, a feature nearly always depicted in the frescos, while c.47 N., the inside view, affords a clear illustration of the way the shield is held. Two straps, probably leather, are fastened on the inside. The warrior puts his whole hand through the first, thus bringing the strap to his wrist, while he holds the other

strap with four fingers, the back of the hand resting against the shield. Thus the hand grasps the second strap firmly and the shield is held in place by wrist and fist. This manner of holding the shield is repeated in the frescos on the west wall of the Tigers Temple (fig. 222*c*).

A fan, probably of a type similar to Chac Mool column 6 W., appears on c.4 N. (fig. 223*a*). The bottlelike shapes found in baskets of offerings re-occur on c.60 N. (fig. 223*b*) and t.12. One such shape is depicted, held by a personage on one of the painted capstones found in Old Chichen, in the Temple of the Owl. In the



FIG. 223  
a, fan; b, bottle-shaped offerings

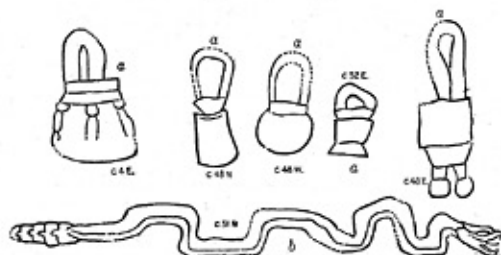


FIG. 224  
a, baskets; b, snake held in hand

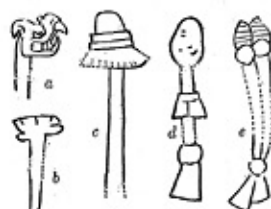


FIG. 225  
a, animal's head carved on stick; b, c, unidentified accessories held by "sorcerer"; d, staff-like object held by death-impersonator; e, unknown object or objects held by warrior

other hand he holds a basket of offerings, from which the single bottle-shaped object has evidently been taken. The sorcerers in the panels of the two new units under discussion carry diversely shaped baskets (fig. 224*a*) and snakes, either alive, judging from the realistically wriggling body on t.10 S. and c.51 N. (fig. 224*b*), or carved on the handle of a stick or staff, as in t.19 N. (Plate 61) and c.4 S. (fig. 225*a*). In the latter case the carving may possibly depict a monster head instead of a serpent's. Other accessories of a sorcerer's outfit, the use of which is unknown, appear on c.4 S. and N. (figs. 225*b* and *c*). On c.9 S. (fig. 225*d*) one such object is grasped as a staff would be, by a man personifying the death-god. The unknown object or objects shown on figure 225*e* are held in the crook of the arm by a figure who carries an ax in the hand of the same arm (t.10 W.).

Three of the personages (c.32 E., N. and c.51 N., Plates 99 and 115) wear a feathery object on their backs which seems to have only a symbolic function. As similar objects occur in Mexican codices, they may be military insignia. They are also worn by most of the warriors painted in the Temple of the Tigers, though they do not occur either in the sculptures or the frescos of the Chac Mool.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SUBJECT-MATTER OF CHAC MOOL TEMPLE  
AND OF THE TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS

The excavations in the Temple of the Warriors group uncovered no less than 337 bas-reliefs, each a masculine figure in full array. The realistic treatment and the variety of the figures give a rather exhaustive picture of the fashions in vogue during two periods. Between them they cover the time from the building of the Chac Mool Temple to its use, after partial destruction, as a platform for the Warriors Temple. Thus the position of the two groups, one upon the other, establishes their relative dates quite beyond any doubt and affords a firm chronological basis for comparative study. All of the material to be discussed has been mentioned in the description of the vestiture, but it seems advisable to include it again from the point of view of the differentiation between the two horizons.

The blue cylindrical hat with a flat top and ear-flaps is used by the warriors in both temples, and is always associated with the ear ornament which consists of a blue disk. In the Chac Mool Temple, the ear-flap is not greatly developed; either it is missing entirely or it is a small stepped outline. It does not touch the ear-plaque or it may be partly concealed by it, but it, in turn, never covers the disk (fig. 180c). This, then, was the fashion at the time, as is corroborated further by the frescos in the same temple. In the Warriors Temple, the ear-flap is more conspicuous, the stepped outline is more pronounced, and the flap definitely covers part of the ear-plaque (fig. 180d). Further minor differences occur in the decoration at the back of the cap. In the Chac Mool reliefs, this decoration always consists of one or two knots, while in the Warriors Temple the knots often disappear and are replaced by a decorative tassel or hat-pinlike ornaments. In the older form, the vertical wall of the cap is of the same height all the way around. In the later variant it develops a triangular front which at its highest makes the headgear look like the Mexican royal diadem (fig. 180b).<sup>1</sup> However, inasmuch as a form intermediate between the Chac Mool type and the triangular front cap appears on the panels, the latter can be presumed a local coincidence with the Mexican diadem, rather than a pure importation.

The hat proper, ancestor of the modern sombrero, already has a large brim and a semispherical or conical crown. It is used in both periods as the best base for a heterogeneous massing of feathers, tassels and symbolical representations. The most elaborate examples of this type of head-dress decoration are to be found in the frescos of the Chac Mool Temple, where a single hat supports two god-masks, one upon the other, and all their voluminous scrolls and feathers as well. The corresponding head-dresses of the later period show a definite tendency toward lighter and more usable forms, the most complex example being a hat in the Warriors Temple, which supports only one god-mask (fig. 182a).

The wig, which developed from the most primitive form of diadem, that is, a cloth thrown over the head, assumed an independent form—black and white materials covering the head, shoulders and back, and sometimes divided to sim-

<sup>1</sup> This chronological difference is true only for the bas-reliefs. But a review of all the Chichen sculptures will reveal caps with triangular fronts in monuments architecturally preceding the period of the Chac Mool Temple.

ulate braids of hair. This headgear, common in the Chac Mool Temple, disappears between times and occurs but exceptionally on the later figures.

The tendency of the later ceremonial hats toward more practical, if less impressive, forms is also evident in the development of the priests' and warriors' masks. For example, a warrior in the Chac Mool Temple wears a death-mask, evidently for the military purpose of frightening his enemies (fig. 226*a*). This mask completely conceals the face and is extremely realistic. It appears to be carved from some hard material. Now, death-masks also occur in the Warriors Temple, but these have lost the emphasis on horror that obtains in the older mask and have developed into a purely symbolic structure (fig. 226*b*). The skull idea is expressed by a row of teeth and a nose-cavity into which a stone-knife is fixed, but in a way that implies no special emotional reaction from the spectator. Moreover the mask is made of light material and leaves the chin and forehead free, while vision is amply provided through the holes simulating the orbits.

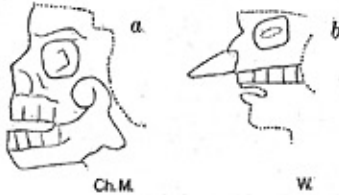


FIG. 226—DEATH-MASK

*a*, Chac Mool; *b*, Warriors



FIG. 227—GOD-MASK

*a*, Chac Mool; *b*, Warriors

These masks were worn by the warriors. The priests' masks were more complex. Four of the priests in the Chac Mool Temple are costumed as the long-nosed god (fig. 227*a*). The masks are essentially the same as the features of this god in the codices. The "elephant" proboscis with nose-plugs and the suborbital S-shaped device is common to both. The mouth opening on the masks is similar to that of the theater masks of classical antiquity. The face and ears are entirely covered by the mask, which is worn together with the wig and this, covering the back of the head, completes the illusion. Priests of the Chac Mool type reappear in the Warriors Temple, personifying the long-nosed god. But there also appear masks expressing the same idea, which have undergone changes since the days of the Chac Mool artists (fig. 227*b*). The older mask, hiding the entire face, in these cases is replaced by a smaller incomplete mask that leaves two-thirds of the face bare. The long nose, indispensable because of its symbolic meaning, is alone retained. It is fastened to the face by means of prongs which probably hooked back of the ears. Thus the god-mask seems to have developed into a more practical affair, retaining only its most important features.

However, besides the changes in structure, there are also marked stylistic changes. The hat-mask on a fresco in the Chac Mool Temple (fig. 228*b*) is very

close to a portrait of the god drawn in pure Maya style as it appears in the Dresden Codex (fig. 228*a*). The triple ear ornament, the two orbital plaques, the fangs, nose-plaque and nose-plug all occur in both representations. Stylistically, the same feeling for sinuous lines also pervades each. The face-mask actually worn by the priest who carries the hat-mask under discussion (fig. 228*c*) will reveal that though some modifications occur on the face-mask to insure vision and speech, still the two are closely related in type. The new version of the same mask, lighter in structure, appears in the Warriors Temple (fig. 228*d*). It retains the nose-scroll and adds conspicuous nose-plugs. Similar nose-scrolls appear on figures 228*e* and *f*, and eye-rings are added, *e* being from the Warriors Temple, *f* from the Northwest Colonnade. Comparison with figures 228*g*, *h* and *i*, which are taken

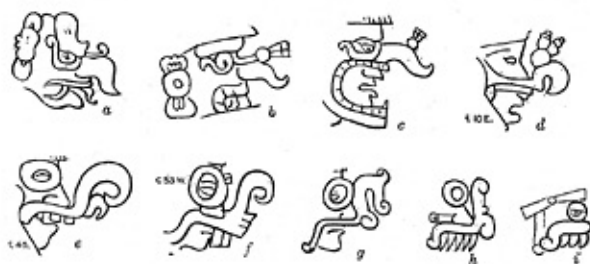


FIG. 228—TRANSITION IN STYLE AND SUBJECT-MATTER FROM THE MAYA GOD B TO THE MEXICAN TLALOC

*a*, profile of God-B from Dresden Codex; *b*, Hat-mask from Chac Mool frescos; *c*, face-mask from same; *d* and *e*, face-masks from Warriors sculptures; *f*, face-mask from Northwest Colonnade; *g*, *h*, face-masks from de Zouche Codex; *i*, Tlaloc profile from same

from the Zouche Codex (the first two are face-masks worn by Tlaloc personifiers, the third is a Tlaloc portrait), reveals the striking fact that a development can be traced from pure Maya style to pure Nahua style (*a*, *i*), by a series of imperceptible transitions. At the same time a somewhat close relation is accepted between the features of the Mexican Tlaloc and the Maya god B. It may be suggested that though *d* and *e* have similar nose-scrolls, the different source of each is shown convincingly enough by the appearance of the Tlaloc eye on *e* as different from the suborbital scroll on *a*, *b* and *c*. Nevertheless, some confusion seems to exist, or rather a fusion of Maya and Mexican traits, in the Chac Mool Temple; the masks on the bases and capitals of the jambs are in a rather pure Maya style; for example, they have the triple ear-disk and fangs as in *a*, yet the eye-cavity is decorated indiscriminately with the Maya suborbital scroll or the Tlaloc eye-ring.

As regards animal costumes, only one occurs in the Chac Mool Temple (fig. 229*a*). The face of the wearer is partly bare, though coated by thick black and blue paint. The mask consists of a dummy mouth and chin made of jaguar skin, with

a white lolling tongue. The figure wears also a jaguar-pelt cloak, with the animal's tail hanging behind. The mildly realistic tendency of the figure is contradicted by a richly ornamented straw hat. A similar jaguar face-mask is carved at the back of Stela A at Quirigua,<sup>1</sup> which links this style of animal costume with the so-called Old Empire period.

Animal representations occur more frequently in the Warriors Temple, but they are of a different character (fig. 229*b*.) The face of the wearer shows between the open jaws of the animal in the manner of the Mexican eagle and tiger warriors. The use of a pelt as a cloak is also discarded now. The animals identified in these representations are the coyote, the quetzal, the owl and the snake.

A ceremonial belt occurs in the Chac Mool Temple. It is often made of mosaic and decorated with alternate rows of beads and shells. It is very similar to belts carved on southern Maya stelæ figures. In the newer temple the ornaments on the belt have disappeared or are much reduced in size and weight.

The figures in both temples wear sandals. The older type of footgear, which appears in the Chac Mool Temple (fig. 230*a*), is tied to the leg by a diagonal band,

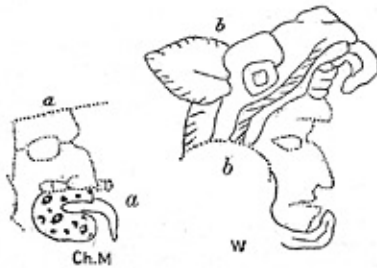


FIG. 229—ANIMAL DISGUISES  
a, Chac Mool; b, Warriors

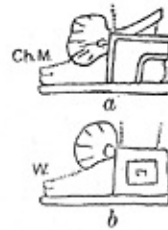


FIG. 230—SANDALS  
a, Chac Mool;  
b, Warriors

and the sole is fastened in place by means of a string between the toes. The semi-circular heel-covering has a squarish hole at the base, through which the heel can be seen. In the newer figures, the general lines remain the same, but the diagonal band tying the sandal to the leg has completely disappeared and the hole at the back of the heel-covering occurs only once, and then doubtfully, among 313 shod figures.

The use of weapons also affords interesting comparative data. In the older structure the warriors do not carry offensive weapons, at least not those in everyday use. They carry only the curved stick with which darts were batted out of their course. In the Warriors Temple and Colonnade all the figures but one (c.45 S.) have both defensive and offensive weapons, the favorite combination being the *atlatl* in the right hand and a sheaf of darts and the defensive bat in the left.

It is known that when the Chac Mool Temple was built, the *atlatl* was already in use. In fact it is represented clearly on the frescos of the same temple. Never-

<sup>1</sup> Maudslay, 1889-1902, vol. 2, plate VIII.

theless the Chac Mool sculptor depicts his warriors carrying only defensive weapons, most of them a defensive bat in each hand. This might be a rather handicapping equipment for a soldier in battle, and one may be certain that the warriors represented were accustomed to using both offensive and defensive weapons. Yet if the sculptor chose to portray them incompletely accoutred, he must have had some reason for it. Since the *atlatl* was not carved on the panels inside the older building, it might mean that offensive weapons were not carried into the temple, at least not in their non-ceremonial forms, because of some peace guaranty, perhaps, or as a sign of religious respect. The warrior entered the sanctuary carrying only the defensive bat, and leaving *atlatl* and darts outside. This custom must have been abandoned in the period between the building of the first and second temples, and warriors then might enter the temple fully armed. The supposition is strongly supported by the fact that in the Castillo, while the warriors on the door-jambes in the corridors carry *atlatl* and spears, those guarding the entrance to the sanctuary as well as those inside the altar room carry, like the Chac Mool figures, only one or two defensive bats.

The differences which have been noted between the bas-reliefs of the Chac Mool Temple and the Warriors Temple fall into two groups: one, objects comprising part of the ceremonial paraphernalia, which show a decided change from great complexity to less theatrical and more practical versions, as the symbolic hat, the god-masks and the ceremonial belts; and two, changes that do not proceed from the development of older forms, but are new forms and fashions that have been introduced, such as the difference in the manner of wearing the ear-disk and ear-flap, the animal head-dress of foreign taste, the difference in the shape of the sandal and the habit of carrying offensive weapons inside the sanctuary.

As to the more general artistic fluctuations shown by these changes, it may be said, broadly speaking, that the complex ornaments of the older temple are fairly similar in style to analogous articles in Southern Maya art and in the Dresden Codex, while the later fashions show the gradual disappearance of these styles and the appearance of new points of relationship with Mexico, though a local style is still preserved.

The emphasis heretofore laid on the differences between the styles of the Chac Mool and the Warriors Temple figures would be misleading if no mention were made at least of the much more numerous similarities, which make the two structures, culturally, very closely related.

#### HUMAN TYPES

The analysis made of the Chac Mool figures, reducing the group to a few types, would not seem very conclusive because of the relatively small number of bas-reliefs considered. The far greater number in the later units admits of a more thorough classification, and a few new types are made clear, along with others already described in the older temple.



## WARRIOR

The warrior type remains essentially the same. He wears the blue cap and blue ear-disk, the nose-pendant, the blue back-shield, the plume knee and ankle ornaments; the left arm is covered with the cotton sleeve and he carries the defensive bat. The new features of significance are that the ear-flaps have a stepped outline which covers the ear-disk and the warrior carries offensive as well as defensive weapons, that is, the darts and the *atlatl*. This type is what might be called the standard warrior, but there are many variants, all of which may be linked most commonly by the use of the familiar blue cap and defensive sleeve, and of the *atlatl*, curved bat and darts as accessories. New examples of two variants already described among the Chac Mool figures appear in the Warriors Temple, namely, the death-warrior and the god-warrior.

The realistic skull mask found in the Chac Mool Temple does not reappear, but is replaced, as has been stated, by more conventional forms of it. The wearer of this mask is not otherwise distinguished from the ordinary warrior. Two exceptions occur in the Northwest Colonnade (c.39 N. and c.40 S., Plates 105 and 106). Both have unusual head-dresses. The first of these figures also wears a shell necklace and another shell hangs from his left shoulder on to his right thigh. Both wear textile ornaments with large knots on wrist, knee and ankle. Comparison of these figures with similar warriors portrayed in fresco, such as the two death-gods on the northern talud, will reveal a definite relationship between the skull-mask and this type of wrist and ankle ornament. This similarity is carried further on c.40 S. where the feet are shod with unusual footgear, which gives the foot an outline resembling the skeleton foot of the god.

Most of the warriors distinguished by godlike features affect a long plume cloak thrown over the ordinary costume and falling to the ankles (t.8 N., 17 E., c.28 S., and 53 W.).

A figure clothed in a jaguar pelt and with a pelt mouth mask, which probably personifies the jaguar, appears in the Chac Mool Temple (6 N.). However, this figure with its oldish features and stooped position is connected with the sorcerer type and not with the warrior. Warriors in animal costume appear only at a later date, both in the Temple and the Colonnade. The chief indication of the creature which each represents is to be found in the head-dress, which is shaped and detailed like the head of the animal. In the case of the coyote warriors, there is no other indication except the head-dress. The figures wear the attire of the ordinary warrior (t.5 N., c.27 N., 55 W., 57 W.).

The serpent-warriors are more elaborately costumed. The body of the reptile seems to drop from the head-dress, curling down behind in an S-shape. However, it would be difficult to decide if this was actually the case in the costume or if the artist used the serpent head-dress as a pretext for portraying the well-known protective serpent as shown on the dais of the Colonnade. The three best-preserved serpent-warriors are c.36 S., 37 E. and 47 N. The first wears a long plume cloak in addition to his warrior's costume, the second, elaborate knee and sandal

ornaments and Atlantean racquet-flaps on his loin cloth, and the third has extremely unusual weapons—a very short dart and a circular shield.

Unlike the other animal costumes, the bird disguise extends itself over the entire body. On one doubtful case (c.5 S.), however, the bird-mask might seem to be worn by a warrior not otherwise extraordinary in his costume. On c.24 S. and 43 S. the disguise is more complete. The two figures are strikingly similar in many ways and might be derived from a single source. A single description, therefore, will serve for both. The bird-mask which they wear is unusual, as it is incomplete. The upper half of the beak apparently functions as a kind of nose-mask, the eye of the wearer being hidden by an eye-ring. The mouth and chin and part of the cheek and ear are all uncovered. Both a rod and a circle are inserted in the lobe of the ear. A plaque with a conical shape upon it is thrust forward from the breast. A short skirt, made of loose white strips, and knee ornaments of green plaques with bead pendants, complete the non-bird part of the costume. The bird features, other than the mask, are a crest of flame-shaped objects attached to the back of each arm in the manner of a simulated wing, and the outline of the foot, an ambiguous compromise between a human foot and a bird's claw. On t.8 W. and 17 N. the bird features are more emphasized. They wear the same skirt of white strips, but, in spite of the knee and ankle-ornaments (both of the Dresden Codex type) and of distinctly human leggings, the feet are absolutely non-human. They are clearly bird claws resting on the points of the nails. Still more birdlike costumes appear on two other figures (c.24 N. and 48 S.). The whole body is covered with plumes so arranged as to simulate a bird's body. At the knee, the plumes are replaced by lines on a yellow background, clearly intended to describe the tough skin on a bird's leg, which blend into a bird's claw. The somewhat diminutive wings of the preceding figures are much enlarged here, and apparently are made of feathers arranged from wrist to shoulder, gradually decreasing in height. On c.24 N., the back-flap is replaced by a naturalistic fan-tail of feathers. The most complete bird-disguise occurs on t.6 S. and c.55 S. The head-dress, which has heretofore left the human features visible, is replaced by a mask, half concealing the face—a change which increases the animal appearance.

One unique animal costume occurs (c.32 S.). The figure wears a loin-cloth with racquet-shaped flaps, "Dresden Codex" leggings, a shoulder cape and an elaborate shield as a breast-plaque. The mask has animal features, particularly a small heart-shaped ear. The arm has a wing attached to it. The figure might be an owl, but as the mask lacks a beak and the wing does not look like a bird's, the creature intended is probably, as has been already suggested, a winged mammal, most likely a bat.

The scalloped-skirt type of warrior does not appear in the Chac Mool Temple, but occurs seven times in the Warriors Temple and the Northwest Colonnade bas-reliefs. The special skirt is the only constant characteristic feature of this costume.

## PRIEST AND GOD-IMPERSONATOR

The priests in long robes do not vary greatly from the older type. They wear the nose-rod, green ear-plugs with stems, and a mosaic shoulder covering—the same long robe with a crisscross or bead design, the green belt and green sandals. The basket of offerings also seems identical. In the Chac Mool Temple, however, four priests wore the diadem, and only one a hat in addition to the diadem. Of the thirteen priests in this newer period, only one wears the simple diadem, and three the diadem plus the hat; one wears a turban, and eight the large-brimmed straw hat, this head-dress having become much more characteristic of the priest than the diadem.

The God-Impersonator, wearing complicated garments and mask, or masks in the Chac Mool Temple, appears here on t.11 N. and E. These two figures wear the same full-face masks which reveal only the mouth; also, the mosaic shoulder covering, the stiff belt heavily hung with beads and shells and the tiger pelt as a loin-cloth. The same type reappears, more fully detailed, in four figures (N. 7, 8, S. 1 and 2) on the dais of the Northwest Colonnade.<sup>1</sup> These figures wear masks on both face and hat, as well as the full regalia of the type, and, in addition, voluminous back-crests of feathers that did not appear on the columns because of the lack of space, but which seem to be a constant feature of this type, as its painted representations also testify. God-masks of lighter structure appear also, in addition to this more monumental type of mask, but their wearer lacks the particular characteristics of the sacerdotal masked figure, and is in fact a variant of the warrior type, wearing the god-mask as other warriors the animal or skull-mask.

## SORCERER

Two interesting figures have been described in the Chac Mool Temple (5 N. and 6 W.)—aged personages in a characteristically stooped position. Enough figures similar to these reappear in the Warriors Temple and Northwest Colonnade to permit a description of the constant features of the type. The weird aspect of the figure, the absence of typical military or mythological symbolism, the presence of strange accessories, suggest convincingly a sorcerer. The two most perfect examples from the viewpoint of definition are t.10 S. and c.52 E. They are very nearly replicas of the Chac Mool column, 5 N. The typical sorcerer has the features of an old man: toothless mouth, with chin projecting upward, meeting a crooked nose. He walks in a decrepit attitude. The skin, judging from the best-preserved example (c.52 E.), is painted in alternate horizontal stripes of red and white. The torso is bare, and realistic folds of flesh are sculptured on the stomach. The figure wears a broad-brimmed hat, but it differs from the priest's hat, for while the brim of the latter is flat and has a fringe hanging from it, the sorcerer's hat curves upward on both sides and the crown only is decorated. There are no ear ornaments. An oval-shaped plaque painted yellow, decorated with a braided *motif*, hangs on the breast. The loin-cloth is white, with white fringe and is decorated with black crescent shapes. The front and back flaps are of the blue and yellow kind or racquet-shaped like those on Atlantean dwarfs. The wrist and knee

<sup>1</sup> This dais is described separately on page 326.

ornaments are green mosaic, one of the most peculiar being a cord on which are strung two green beads. This ornament appears both in the Chac Mool Temple and in the Northwest Colonnade, each time as part of a sorcerer's attire.

But perhaps the most striking feature of the sorcerer, beyond his aged appearance, is the insignia he carries. In his right hand he holds a snake as if it were a staff. Usually the reptile's body is shown undulating in a most realistic manner. This, and the fact that the object does not touch the ground but is held in the air, may mean that the Maya, like other American Indians, used live snakes in their ceremonies (t.10 S., c.8 E., c.4 W. and c.52 E.). Sometimes the snake becomes a true stick or staff, carved more or less realistically (t.19 N. and c.4 S.). In his left hand the sorcerer usually grasps the handle of a pot, bag, or pouch, probably containing "medicine." There are many minor variants of this type. Two of the figures wear, instead of a loin-cloth, a turtle-shell in the Atlantean manner (t.19 N. and c.4 S.). The entire costume may vary, but serpent and pouch remain (c.48 N. and W.).

A female sorcerer appeared on t.16 E. In spite of differences, the type is unmistakable because of the aged features, the wrinkled stomach and the pouch in the left hand.

#### DIGNITARY

Some figures of warlike appearance, but more carefully delineated, are further distinguished by somewhat refined details of garments and accessories. They can therefore be called dignitaries. Thirteen such figures appear on columns t.10, c.8, c.52 and c.56. It should be noted that c.56 has a dignitary on each panel, while the other three columns have each three dignitaries and a sorcerer. Given the relative rarity of both types, this association might be supposed more than a coincidence and may point to a professional link between the two.

The traces of color remaining on six of these bas-reliefs indicate that two of the bodies were painted blue; three others have a painted eye-ring, and the bodies of two of these are painted in red and white horizontal stripes. It can be inferred from this that few of these figures went unpainted. The hair is unusually long and, on the best examples, ornamented with beads scattered through it (c.52). The typical head-dress combination of these figures consists of a textile ornament which holds the hair from the roots, close to the scalp, while the ends stand stiffly in the shape of an inverted cone. These figures wear the nose-rod, the stemmed ear-disk, the mosaic shoulder cape, and the shield breast-plaque. The belt is made of rectangular plaques. The loin-cloth is white with fringes and grecque designs, and the flaps are of the split blue and yellow type. Usually such figures wear red and yellow leggings and green sandals. The right hand holds a ceremonial ax which varies as to number of blades and is always elaborately decorated with ribbon and beads at each end. The most interesting examples, however, have a reptilian head carved at the handle. The left arm holds a rectangular shield, decorated with black and white designs and feather fringes. This figure is evidently a type of importance intermediate between the warrior and the god-masked priest. Its most constant features are the head-dress, the ax and the shield.

It must be understood that, though the classification by groups holds in general, there is no sharp delineation between type and type, or between the variants of one type. The mass of material is too great and our resulting knowledge too thorough to permit of strict generalization. The types are exact in so far as the human character of the personages can be judged. The characteristics ascribed to each type are those that appear most often associated with it, but no one of them is indispensable to it. For example t.16 E. is a sorcerer, though she lacks the snake; on the other hand c.48 N. and W., both of which carry snake and pouch, are not convincing types, because the posture and the costume are not those of a sorcerer. Thus the definitions consist more of ideological nuclei than of exact descriptions. Also a certain number of the figures do not fit the descriptions but are types intermediate or transitional between two, or even three, definitions. Thus we have the warrior variant c.44 W. wearing both the skull-mask and the scalloped skirt, and c.51 N. (Plate 115) amalgamating features which belong to warrior, sorcerer and priest. Of the warrior, he has the cap with triangular front and the ear-disk, the bead-pendant, the belt with back-shield, and the plume tuft in back; of the sorcerer, the aged features and stooped posture, and the live snake grasped like a staff; of the priest, the long robe, though of a different material than that of the ordinary priest, and a bowl of offerings in the outstretched left hand.

*Comparison between types*

	Warrior	Priest	God-Impersonator	Sorcerer	Dignitary
Head-dress . . . .	Blue cap	Hat with large brim	Hat, broad brim with mask	Hat with curled brim	Hairdressing with knot
Face . . . . .	Cheek-button		Face-mask	Wrinkles, toothless	
Ear . . . . .	Blue disk	Green disk with stem	Triple disk	Naked ear with stick-plug	Disk with stem
Nose . . . . .	Bead pendant	Stick	Stick	Stick	Stick
Shoulders and breast . . . . .	Bird-shaped plaque	Mosaic cape	Mosaic cape	Oval plaited plaque	Mosaic cape
Arms . . . . .	Defensive cotton sleeve	Mosaic bracelet	Mosaic bracelet		Mosaic bracelet
Belt . . . . .	Textile with back-shield	Mosaic	Mosaic with beads and shells	None	Mosaic
Garment . . . . .	Loin-cloth or tunic	Long robe	Tiger-pelt or loin-cloth	Loin-cloth with crescents or turtle shell	Loin-cloth
End-flaps . . . . .	White	None or twisted green	Bifid, blue and yellow	Blue and yellow, or racquet shaped	Front, white, blue and yellow back
Knee and ankle ornament . . . . .	Plume	None	Mosaic	String with two beads	Mosaic and legging
Sandal . . . . .	White	Green	Green	White	Green
Weapons . . . . .	Defensive stick; <i>atall</i> , darts	None	Ceremonial ax round shield	None	Ceremonial ax square shield
Accessories . . . . .	None	Basket of offerings	None	Snake and pouch, or fan	None

## PRISONERS

The figures in the Northwest Colonnade appear as warriors and others who might reasonably be supposed to be their prisoners. It would seem that an examination of the costumes of both groups would reveal differences in dress which would presumably correspond to the different national affiliations of conquerors and conquered.

The thirty-one prisoners in front of the main stairway are dressed as follows (from left to right):

Col. 25—Four men with long plume cloaks, three of these with circular shields as breast-plaques. N. has a diadem head-dress. W. likewise, but the diadem is decorated with snake's rattles. S. has a beautifully detailed serpent head-dress, Mexican style. E. is dressed like the ordinary warrior and has the blue cap with the blue bird in front.

Col. 26—This column is very badly carved. The figures on the four panels can, however, be identified as types similar to each other. They wear a shoulder cape and a fringed loin-cloth. Two have the broad-brimmed hat, and two the diadem.

Col. 28—Two of the figures on this column wear plume cloaks. One (S.) has a Tlaloc mask. All wear the nose-pendant.

Col. 29—Three of the figures are dressed in short loose tunics. One has the back-tuft worn by the warriors in the Tigers fresco and Mexican manuscripts. All four wear the nose-pendant.

Col. 32—One of the figures on this column is not a prisoner, but an ordinary armed warrior. Two of the other figures, prisoners, wear the plume tuft in back. The third is the bat-man who has already been described.

Col. 33—Two of the figures wear hats with long-nosed god-masks on them. Two others, one of them bearded, are similar in many respects to Atlantean figures.

Col. 36—Two of the figures seem to wear animal head-dresses, one also having the Tlaloc eye.

Col. 37—One of the figures is a serpent warrior, with the reptile curving behind him. The other three wear long plume cloaks. One (N.) has the nose-button and pendant, another (W.) the pendant and nose-rod, and the third (S.) the pendant alone. N. wears the familiar bird breast-plaque. S. has a tiger-shaped breast-plaque and wears the usual warrior's blue cap and ear-disk.

Thus, the most distinctive features of this group of prisoners is the wealth of plume cloaks—nine in all. The non-prisoner warrior found in the Colonnade wears this cloak only when he seems more important than an ordinary warrior. It may be inferred with certainty that these prisoners are all men of rank, a deduction strengthened by the care with which some are detailed and by the relatively great number of name-glyphs that appear over them. It would be difficult to find any other characteristic feature of the group, as traits that can be considered Nahua, and others usually ascribed to the Maya, appear among them indiscriminately. For example, the Nahua traits would be the four animal head-dresses,

the blue cap with the blue bird in front, the Tlaloc eye, the conventionalized bird breast-plaque, and the back-tuft or warrior insignia; while the hats with images of a long-nosed god and the Atlantean figure details might be listed as Maya traits. However, all the traits found among the prisoners are found also among the armed warriors. It would seem, then, that the entire group records, not an interracial war, but a civil war between members of the same tribe.

### NAME-GLYPHS

#### TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS

A figure which seems to be a name-glyph appears on column 17. It is the head of a rabbit over two bars (fig. 231). If it is assumed that the two bars stand for ten in the Maya bar-and-dot numeral writing, as is probable, then this glyph would resemble a Zapotecan glyph in presenting a combination of a figure of Mexican type with Maya numeration. However, it would seem that the figure is not a date at all, but is somehow connected with the human figure on the same shaft. It might mean that the warrior's name is "Ten Rabbits," but, unlike other American Indians, the Maya seldom used totemistic names; usually the glyphs have a more abstract root. The rabbit head might stand for the sound it suggests, independent of the zoological association, as the Maya language is rich in synonyms, which makes charade writing easy. Rabbit is *thul*; *tul* means the act of counting, but only when human beings or spirits are the unit.<sup>1</sup> *Lahun* is ten. Thus the glyph would read *Lahuntul*, that is, "ten men counted," which would be perfectly appropriate for a warrior who had killed or captured ten of his enemies.

On columns 1 S. and 4 S. there are representations of a star and of the sky, standing respectively for *Ek* and *Caan*. *Ek* may also mean "black," a most natural nickname. *Caan* may signify the same as *can*, snake. The two snakes on 10 N. and W. (Plate 50) do not appear to be used as glyphs, though they probably have a symbolic meaning.

#### NORTHWEST COLONNADE

No less than 57 name-glyphs appear on the columns of the Northwest Colonnade. They are carved over the human figures and are sometimes difficult to differentiate from the purely decorative designs. These glyphs include astronomical symbols, objects of daily use, men, quadrupeds, birds and parts of costumes. Some of them seem to express action, as if they were verbs; for example, a hand grinding on a *metate* appears in figure 233f, and this would probably illustrate the verb, *to grind*, instead of the substantive, *metate*. It would seem also that in these glyphs phonetic or charade writing appears, rather than direct picture writing.

The sign for sky, *Caan*, appears again on column 32 N. (fig. 232a) and the sign for star, *Ek*, on four shafts, c.59 E., 57 W. E., 48 W. (fig. 232b), and 52 N.

<sup>1</sup> Beltran, 1859, Tul: particula para contar hombres, mujeres, angeles y almas.

Figures *c* and *d* (cols. 22 E. and 29 S.) are flowers, *nic*. Figure *e* (col. 9 N.) is a flower and an ear of maize is *nal*. The latter might stand for *nahal*, meaning meritorious, "to win," "to have good luck," "to be happy."<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 231—NAME-GLYPH,  
WARRIORS



FIG. 232—NAME-GLYPHS,  
NORTHWEST COLONNADE

*a, b*, astronomical designs;  
*c, d, e*, floral designs



FIG. 234—NAME-GLYPHS, NORTHWEST  
COLONNADE, BIRDS

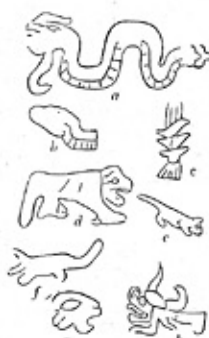


FIG. 235 — NAME-GLYPHS,  
NORTHWEST COLONNADE

Miscellaneous animal  
representations



FIG. 233—NAME-GLYPHS, NORTHWEST  
COLONNADE. OBJECTS



FIG. 236 — NAME-GLYPHS, NORTHWEST  
COLONNADE

*a, b, c, d*, human representations;  
from *e* to *m*, unknown subject-matter

Figure 233*a* (col. 9 S.) seems to be a pyramidal temple; figure *b* (19 E.) a house made of stone, *Nocac*. Figure *c* (14 S.) seems to be a bowl with spherical supports similar to the vessels depicted on the dais of the same colonnade, and chiefly for copal. Figure *d* (25 S.) might be an *aventador*, or straw fire-fan, *Ualpicit*. Figure *e* (55 W.) is a *mano del metate*, or grinding roller, *Xcatun*. Figure *f* (32 N.) is a hand grinding (*Tuhuch*) on a stone *metate*, *Ka*; the roller as seen in 55 W. is here foreshortened to a circle. Figure *g* (32 S.) is a bundle tied around the middle with a rope. Figure *h* (17 N.) seems to be a stone knife. Figure *i* (19 N.) is a bunch of darts, shortened because of lack of space. Figure *j* (37 S.) is a shield

<sup>1</sup> *Diccionario de Motul*, *nahal*, merecer o merecimiento. *nahal*, ser dichoso, tener dicha.



with a fringe; the small size of the shield and the emphasis on the fringe would suggest that the latter is the important object in the glyph and that the former is depicted only for explanatory purpose. Figure *k* (59 N.) is another shield with a human head roughly sketched in the center. The shape, a half-circle, as well as the small size in comparison with the beads which hang from it, suggest a jewel used as a breast-plate more than the defensive weapon itself. The glyph *k* would thus read *Kanthixal, alhaja de pecho*. Figure *l* (19 W.) is a head-dress with feather decoration; figure *m* (15 E.) a high, narrow banner similar to those found in the frescos. Figure *n* (41 S.) might be, dubiously, a hand holding an *atlaltl*; figure *o* (33 N.) is an unknown object, possibly a small stool, *Xec*.

Figure 234 (1 S.), two eagle heads, might read thus: two, *Ca*, and eagle, *Coot*. Figure *b* (18 S.) is a guacamaya or crested parrot, *Moo*. Figures *c* to *e* (18 E., 17 S. and 26 S.) show perched birds, *Chich*, specifically unidentifiable. Figures *f* to *j* (on 3 S., 14 W., 37 N., 5 S. and 21 S.) are flying birds. Figure *k* (2 N.) is a perched owl, *Icim*. Figure *e* (c.5 E.) is a flying owl. Figure 603a (33 S.) is a rattlesnake, *ahaucan*, depicted somewhat realistically, notwithstanding the beard and crest. Figure *b* (14 N.) and perhaps figure *c* (6 N.) show snake's rattles. Figure *d* (13 N.) seems to be a tiger, *Balaam*, or a leopard, *Goh*. Figures *e* to *g* (18 W., 21 E., 11 E.) are not identified. Figure *h* (28 S.) is dubious, as it might be, given its position on the panel, part of the head-dress and not a glyph at all. It is a monster head, very clearly drawn.

Figure 236a (15 N.) seems to be a mask, *Kohob*, representing a human head. Figure *b* (21 N.) is a head emerging from an eagle helmet. Figure *c* (13 S.) is a bearded head of semitic aspect. Figure *d* (33 W.) shows a seated woman. As her hands are bound at the wrist she might be considered not a name-glyph, but a relative captured with the prisoner depicted on the shaft.

Nine other glyphs, figures *e* to *m*, are unknown objects.

The slight knowledge acquired from this description shows three distinct types of glyphs; some represent the name of the man depicted under the glyph, as, for example, *Can*, *Coh*, *Moo*, others refer phonetically to some action of this man, as, for example, *Lahuntul* of the Warriors Temple; and others represent a direct attribute of the prisoner, as, for example, the woman prisoner on the colonnade shaft. Though a Maya numeral appears once, no calendrical or mathematical glyphs seem to be present.

Some of the decorative scrolls on both units have the appearance of more or less fantastic human features. This is the case on column 7 N., the scroll on which turns into a human profile, and on t.13 S., where the profile of a long-nosed god appears.

#### ART CONSIDERATIONS PRELIMINARY SKETCHES

Here again, as was the case in the Chac Mool Temple there are indications that sketches were used by the artists. Such a supposition is strengthened by the strong artistic similarity existing between the three sides of column t.1 (W., S., E., Plate 41) and the corresponding sides of column t.15 (Plate 57).

The west side of both 1 and 15 shows a man with the left leg amputated, holding darts with his left hand, and the defensive bat, in a vertical position. The head-dress on both figures has a scroll-like decoration among the feathers, a very rare feature which occurred once before, in the Chac Mool Temple, also associated with a one-legged warrior.

The south sides of both 1 and 15 show a man with a long tunic, decorated with tiny pleats and a horizontal band at the lower edge. The tunic falls loosely, unbelted. The extended left arm holds the darts and defensive bat vertically; in both cases the right arm is folded across the breast and holds the *atlal* diagonally; the hats are decorated with a blue circle and a projection that seems to be an eagle feather; the eye is the "Tlaloc eye," framed in a blue circle; the same curved line appears around the mouth on both figures, and the knee and ankle ornaments are similar, though unusual, being made of cloth tied in front and not of feathers.

The east sides of 1 and 15 show a warrior with very young features. The torso appears in profile, with the right arm concealed by it, so that only the wrist and hand appear, holding the *atlal* vertically; both figures wear turbans with an intertwined rattlesnake and the long quetzal feathers of the panache are, in each case, decorated with pear-shaped pendants, a detail that does not again occur in the Warriors Temple reliefs. Both figures wear tunics.

Such repetitions of unusual peculiarities, together with the identical orientations of the corresponding figures, indicate some relationship between them. As one column can not be seen from the other, because of a wall that stands between and as it would be impossible to see both corresponding sides at the same time from any other point, the idea that one was a direct copy of the other must be dismissed. It might be suggested that the figures are historical personages, whose garments and insignia were fixed by tradition, and this suggestion might be further justified by the constant association between the one-legged man and the peculiar scroll-decoration on his hat in both the older and the later temples. However, this suggestion presupposes the existence of representations of these personages, carved or painted before those of the Warriors Temple and numerous enough to establish a tradition. If these supposed representations were monumental, only by means of sketches could the artist take them to the new shaft as models; if they were of more portable material, they were the sketches themselves, and possibly an album of models accumulated by the observing professional artist with an eye to further use.

In this case, however, the drawings are too full of life to be second or third-hand copies from monuments. Though they are closely similar in small casual details as, for example, the lines on the inside of the fore-arm that occur on both 1 and 15 E., on the other hand, they present great differences as regards accessories. The movement of the two scroll ornaments on 1 and 15 W. is strikingly dissimilar; 1 S. wears conspicuously an elaborate collar-piece made of small shields, which 15 S. lacks; the necklace on 15 E. is made up of spherical beads while that on 1 E. is not; the ornamental scrolls on 1 E. and 15 R., again, are as dissimilar as

the same amount of space to be filled permits. Important and deliberate changes in the attitudes of the figures were also made. While 15 W. holds the *atlall* horizontally, the arm on the corresponding figure of 1 W. is in identical posture but the wrist is twisted at a right angle, so that the *atlall* hangs vertically.

The repetition of lines insignificant for descriptive purposes—but agreeable æsthetically—and the disregard for important features point to an artist dealing freely with his own sketches and from an artistic point of view, repeating

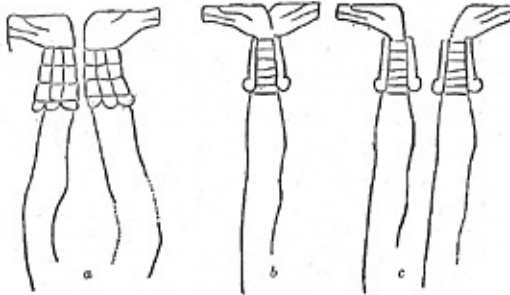


FIG. 237—PERSPECTIVE AND SUBSTITUTION

a, detail of Atlantean figure on B N.; b, detail of Atlantean figure on B E.; c, artificial presentation of precedent with both arms represented



FIG. 239—EXAMPLE OF SUBSTITUTION QUIRIGUA



FIG. 238—SUBSTITUTION

a, human features taken from b, a detail from an Atlantean figure, Northwest Colonnade

himself, but doing this as unobtrusively as possible and creating or suppressing details at will—an attitude quite different from that of a mere copyist.

Thus the identities between descriptive and purely plastic details on columns 1 and 15 would prove that sketches on portable material were used by the artist during the stage of work preceding the actual carving. Minor resemblances, as well as variants, would indicate that the sketches in this case were not replicas but most likely studies from life, drawn by the sculptor himself to be transformed later, *in situ*, adding or suppressing freely, in adjustment to the needs of monumental style.

## PERSPECTIVE AND SUBSTITUTION

Problems of perspective frequently faced the artists of these bas-reliefs and were solved most interestingly. One very successful example is the Atlantean figure on B E. (fig. 237*b*). A similar figure appears in front view, with upraised arms, on B N. (fig. 237*a*). The much narrower panel of B E. did not permit a front view, and yet it was essential to depict the Atlantean gesture clearly. The artist solved the problem in an extremely sophisticated manner. The two hands emerge from a single wrist ornament, in a supporting position. This apparently simple formula presupposes a double perspective: the arms are shown in pure profile, the left arm totally concealing the right; for the hands, however, the point of view changes and they are depicted identically with those of the figure in a full front position. As this effect might easily be unintelligible, the artist recurred to a purposely ambiguous description of the raised arm which makes it fit either of the two hands (see fig. 237*c*, a composite picture drawn to illustrate this point).

Another optical illusion similar to this appears on c.A. Here the raised right arm of the Atlantean figure is shown, and only the hand and a small part of the shoulder of the left (fig. 238*a*). The artist, by a skilful use of the outline of the panache, the rosette of the head-dress and the conical shell ornament, simulated with it the silhouette of the concealed raised left arm, and thus conveyed to the spectator a suggestion sufficient to enable him to reconstruct the other limb (fig. 238*b*). The spectator *sees* both arms with equal clearness and is scarcely aware of the stratagem.

A less elaborate optical illusion was frequently employed by the sculptor, especially in the temple. He emphasized the elegance of the figures, giving the high waist artificial slimness, by substituting for the real line of the back the curved outline of the back-shield, connecting it above and below to the line of the body.

A similar but more complex illusion occurs in Quiriga, where the glyphs made up of several human figures do not seem crowded, simply because the artist used a single limb, optically, to correspond to two different bodies<sup>1</sup> (fig. 239 after Maudslay, VII., Plate 14. The grotesque heads and the ornaments are suppressed for the purpose of clarity).

## RELATION BETWEEN CARVED AND PAINTED VERSIONS

Since the paint has disappeared from most of the bas-reliefs of the Colonnade, especially in the south area, the first versions of the subjects are visible. These first versions, compared with the definitive lines, permit a glimpse into the mind of the sculptor and throw some light on his solutions of artistic problems, though usually of minor points.

It would hardly be denied that when the artist was sketching with charcoal the lines to be carved on the panel, he changed his drawing more than once, modifying the relative positions and proportions of his subject-matter to make a clear

<sup>1</sup> The solution of artistic problems by means of "substitution" is one of the most striking achievements of Maya art. Spinden illustrates it excellently by saying in regard to a snake from Yaxchilan, "In the example the writhing movements of the serpent's tail are probably intended by the added scrolls." Spinden, 1913, p. 83.

and artistically perfect version. These successive preliminary attempts, of which we have an indirect example in the two versions of the mouth in the Atlantean sketch of the Chac Mool, naturally disappeared when the artist, having arrived at a version which suited him, began to carve. However, in some cases the artist changed his mind after the carving was begun, relying on the painter to hide his errors. Thus on c.49 N. (fig. 240*a*), there is the upper part of an *atlatl*, held diagonally; this position was changed for a horizontal line when the carving was halfway completed (fig. 240*b*) and the first line, thus discarded, was hidden by the black and white paint of the defensive sleeve. On c.48 W. (fig. 240*c*) the snake in the hand of the sorcerer was begun too near the edge of the stone. When the sculptor traced the line of the frame he cut vertically into this first outline, which was later covered with the blue paint of the frame; the second version of the snake is shown in figure 240*d*. On c.32 E. (fig. 240*e*) an entire hand holding an *atlatl* vertically was discarded because the sculptor later decided that the figure was to be an unarmed prisoner. The two hands bound at the wrist which would correspond to that final version had to be carved high enough so as not to be confused with the first hand, and the result of this expedient was that they were placed so near the chin that they dwarf the arms, thus giving the whole figure awkward proportions.

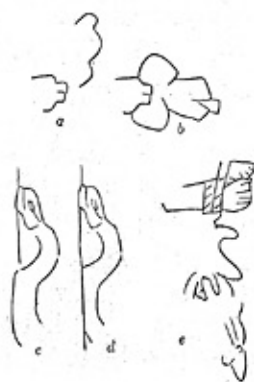


FIG. 240—CARVED VERSIONS. NORTHWEST COLONNADE

*a* and *c*, first versions;  
*b* and *d*, definitive versions;  
*e*, detail of figure showing three hands

Changes made in carved lines, however, are much less frequent than the changes made by the painter in the work of the sculptor. Many of these differences between carved and painted versions are visible even on shafts such as these, which have lost much of the color. On c.52 E. (fig. 241*a*), the face of an old sorcerer, the painter attempted to better this most careful piece of carving by minor changes in the drawing of the ear-plug and by a radical change in the position of the eye (fig. 241*b*). On c.44 N. (fig. 242*a*) the somewhat angular outline of the carving was rounded and made more flowing by the painter, and a dart was added to the sheaf grasped by the hand (fig. 242*b*). On c.48 S. (fig. 243*a*) a defensive sleeve of a type intermediate between the ordinary sleeve and a wrist ornament was modified by the painter into a sleeve of the usual type, the vertical hachures were made diagonal, and the strongly contrasted pattern helped to conceal the first outline

of the hand and arm, now swathed in the new version of the sleeve (fig. 243*b*). On c.49 N. (fig. 244*a*) a somewhat cramped carving of a hand holding an *atlatl*, a left arm with its defensive sleeve, and a knotted belt, was made less heavy by a bold suppression in the painted version of the inner bulk of the sleeve; thus the three components are more clearly differentiated and the elaborate knots of the



FIG. 241—DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN CARVED AND PAINTED LINE

*a*, carved line; *b*, painted line. From c. 52 E.



FIG. 243—SAME AS 242. FROM c. 48 S.

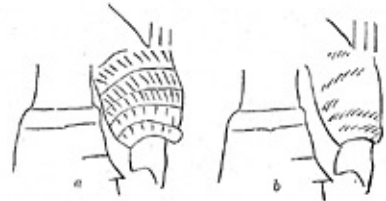


FIG. 245—SAME AS 244. FROM c. 53 N.

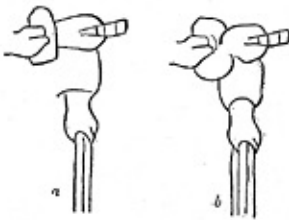


FIG. 242—SAME AS 241. FROM c. 44 N.

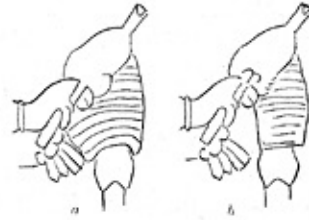


FIG. 244—SAME AS 243. FROM c. 49 N.

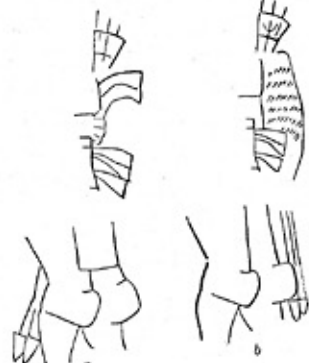


FIG. 246—SAME AS 245. FROM c. 53 E.

belt now retain their full decorative value against a plain background (fig. 244*b*). Again, the figure on c.53 N., a warrior seen from the front, had been carved in such a way that the slim waist contrasted almost to the point of caricature with the voluminous left sleeve and, furthermore, the lack of space between them did not permit a clear differentiation at first glance (fig. 245*a*); this over-emphasis of relative proportions between sleeve and waist was much subdued by the painter, who also widened the space between sleeve and waist, thus permitting a clear vision of each and achieving a more defined interplay of proportions (fig. 245*b*).

An ingenious use of perspective obtained in the carving of figure 246*a*. Here the arm holding the weapons was supposedly concealed by the body, and the fingers of the hand only were visible, grasping a sheaf of darts and the defensive bat diagonally toward the back. The blunt ends of the darts were depicted, seen beyond the left shoulder, the heads projecting from behind the knee. This unusual, if sophisticated, portrayal did not please the painter and he attempted to transform it into a more traditional attitude (fig. 246*b*). A defensive sleeve and a hand holding vertically a sheaf of darts were painted along the outline of

the torso, while the sculptor's discarded version was buried under the paint of the defensive sleeve. The carved version of the arrow points was discarded, receiving a coat of red that identified it with the background, while the blunt ends of the darts behind the shoulder were left untouched, even though portrayed in a diagonal position. Other minor changes from carved to painted versions, for instance a change in the size of the *maxlli* which would permit the outline of the leg to continue as far as the waist, point to the care with which the artist worked the definitive version on the shaft.

#### ART STYLE

##### TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS

The first impression conveyed by the bas-reliefs of the Warriors Temple columns is, on the whole, less favorable than that made by those on the columns of the buried temple. This is due in part to the lack of color which would emphasize the sculpture and also to the fact that the carved lines, though as deep as those in the Chac Mool reliefs, are scattered over a greater area, giving a proportionately flatter effect.

On six of the columns the work is particularly poor. The carving consists of barely more than a few scratches on the plain surface of the stone. This strengthens the supposition that the carving was begun after the roof was in place, since it can be explained only by the fact that very little light fell on these shafts when the temple stood complete.

The great inequalities that occur in workmanship possibly indicate that the artist had helpers. Curiously enough the work which, from its appearance, might be ascribed to assistants is all to be found in the altar room, while the very best craftsmanship occurs on the outside of the entrance pilasters and on the columns most easily visible from this entrance. It will be remembered that in the Chac Mool Temple, the contrary occurred. Thus it would seem that while the artist of the earlier period cared more for the opinion of his gods, human approbation was more prized in the later period, or perhaps, more prosaically, the light in the inner room was so bad that it made careful work difficult and useless.

The composition of the subject-matter in an elongated rectangle, the color scheme, the attitudes of the figures and even the human types depicted, seem to have remained, on the whole, the same as in the Chac Mool Temple. This fact might be very misleading to an observer, influencing him to conclude that the only changes that occurred in the time elapsing between the construction of the two temples were eliminations or modifications of minor garments and details. More essential differences were not discovered previously because the analysis referred only to subject-matter. This method of using a work of art as merely an accumulation of descriptive data fails to reveal or define its most individual feature, which is style.

Comparison of the decorations of the two temples reveals interesting changes. In the Chac Mool reliefs, direct ancestors of those under discussion, there is no hint at standard proportions for portraying the human body. And since the

artist was pre-occupied with composition, distortions or realisms occurred whenever space requirements so dictated. This naïve logic of the older craftsman was discarded by his successor, and a conventional compromise between artistic law and realistic depiction was adopted. Thus a fairly constant canon of human beauty was developed, but, on the other hand, some of the boldest effects of the older artist were lost along with his unconcern for academic conventions. Another obstacle to fresh and striking effects faced the later workman in the changed fashions of dressing. The most picturesque of the older garments, the heavy masks and monumental head-dresses, had been somewhat reduced in size and weight. As the artist could only follow the fashions, he was no longer faced with the complex but exciting problems of composition that challenged his predecessor, and monotony became inescapable. And, finally, the later artist was hampered by the monumental size of the shafts and the lack of free space around them, so that he could see only a small part of the panel when he was working on it, and was not able, except in a few cases, to retire far enough from it to see the entire panel at once.

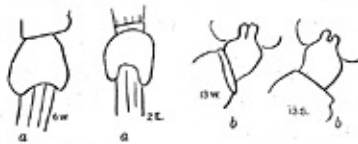


FIG. 247—STYLE. EXAMPLES OF HANDS FROM WARRIORS TEMPLE.

a, holding arrows; b, holding *atlatl*



FIG. 248—PORTRAITURE. HUMAN PROFILES FROM WARRIORS.

a, b, straight nose types; c, d, Maya nose types; e, youth; f, bearded elder; g, old woman

The proportion adopted for depicting the human body can be fixed approximately as  $6\frac{1}{2}$  "heads" (height of the head) to the body. This somewhat elongated proportion is accounted for partly by a technical reason. The narrow and very high spaces of the shafts could be more easily filled with a subject similarly proportioned; thus the figures on the narrow sides of the jambs (A E., W. and B E., W.) are the longest of all. This technical problem might, however, have been differently solved had the artist's own ideal been in conflict with this type of beauty.

The disparity that occurred between the two hands of the same figure in the Chac Mool carvings no longer appears, as here again freshness has been sacrificed to convention. Whereas the older artist often carved the hand, finger by finger, thus giving it an individual expression (see 4 W., Plate 35, and 6 N. and W., Plate 37), his successor was satisfied with a hastier rendering. The hands of the Warriors Temple figures are outlined only. A heartlike shape suffices to indicate the hand grasping the darts on figure 247a; a similarly simple convention represents the front view of the hand holding the *atlatl*, with the two fingers in the corresponding holes on figure 247b; in both cases the fingers are omitted or barely sketched.

However, in the portrayal of faces the Warriors artist equalled, if he did not surpass, his predecessor. The number of really insignificant faces is surprisingly



small, given the total number. Some of the interesting faces of the Warriors figures are shown in figures 248*a* and *b*, straight-nosed types; *c* and *d*, Maya-nosed faces; *e*, an accepted type of beauty; *f*, a strongly characterized face; *g*, the wrinkled features of the female figure. These faces differ from the Chac Mool carvings in that they are not, like them, minute and keen portraits of individuals, but rather the results of a tendency toward establishing ideal types. Thus, what the portrayal may lose in exact representation, it regains in dignity. Creations like the Atlantean figures of the shafts (A S. and B N., Plates 39 and 40), which have well-defined characteristics but are far from being portraits, are charged with deep human feeling of permanent value, like the most celebrated reliefs of Palenque. In the less exceptionally beautiful panels of the Warriors Temple the artistic mood oscillates between realistic rendering and generalization. Whereas 16 E. and 19 N. (figs. 248*f* and *g*) are comparable to Chac Mool figures, the coyote warrior 5 N. (Plate 45) seems more highly stylized, and 4 W. (fig. 248*e*) approaches our own and the Greek ideals of beauty more than any of the older sculptures.

The style of the Warriors Temple bas-reliefs could be summed up as follows: it possesses dignity and a certain tiresomeness due to excessive repetition; some of the minor problems are solved in an extremely sophisticated way; and the elegant proportions and tendency to artistic theorizing point to a stage of development at which this art grows more distant from life and actual observation, but one which, nevertheless, has not yet reached the point of decadence. Two of the contributing factors to the definition of the style may be the momentary uneasiness with which the artist met the unusual size of the shafts and also his restraint, due to a too close collaboration with the priests. The study of the art-style of the Northwest Colonnade reliefs will point also indirectly to these modifying factors. Altogether the Warriors Temple style contrasts strikingly with that of the Chac Mool reliefs, which are so richly descriptive and impetuously youthful. Most probably these differences are not isolated in the two groups, and links between the two styles might be found in buildings dating from the intermediate period.

#### NORTHWEST COLONNADE

The bas-reliefs of the Northwest Colonnade fall into groups according to great differences in workmanship. The front row, though much destroyed, still appears technically consistent; it is evidently the work of one hand. The northern group of back rows is of poorer workmanship, the carving being performed clumsily and hurriedly. The middle group, which corresponds roughly to the front of the stairway, was more carefully executed; but by far the best work was done on the south side of the colonnade, where the stone, though not more deeply carved than elsewhere, was in some cases delicately sculptured with attempts at a true rounding of the volumes and with a surface perfectly smoothed (cols. 60, 61). This work is by far the best of any yet discussed.

The progress in workmanship on the columns from north to south indicates that some scale of importance was fixed according to orientation; the probability

- 1: Work attributed to the sculptor of the upper chambers  
 2: Work of low quality  
 3: Work of medium quality  
 4: Work of best quality  
 Dotted lines show approximate limit of each group

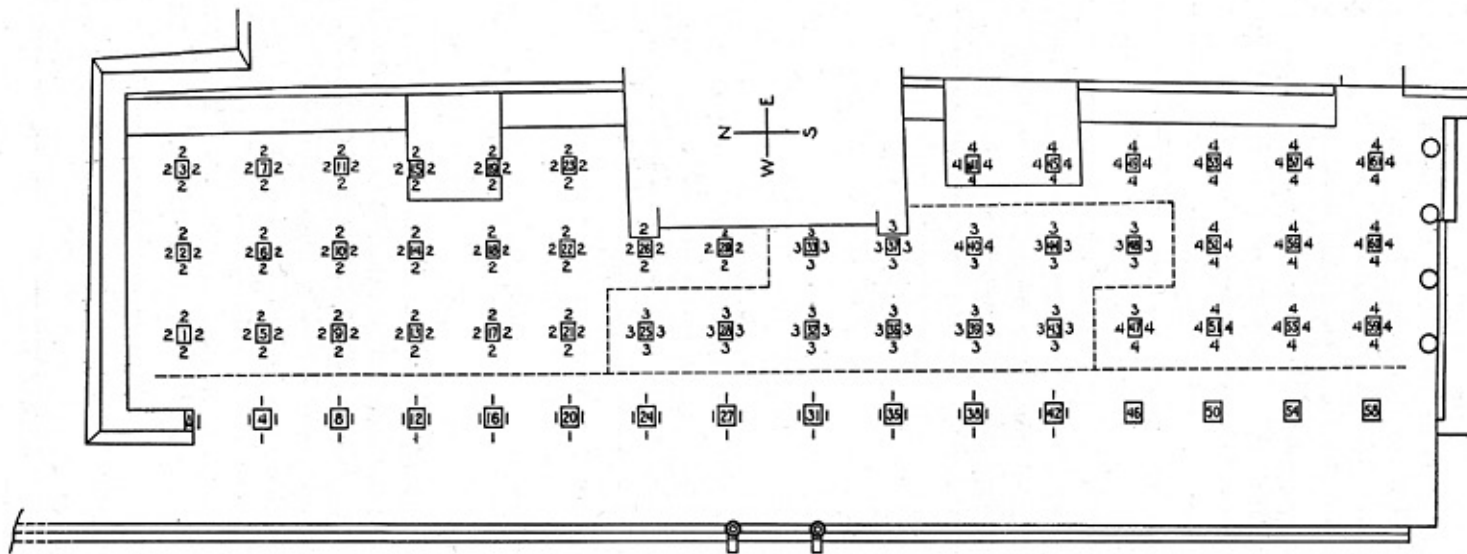


FIG. 249.—PLAN OF NORTHWEST COLONNADE, SHOWING GROUPING OF STYLISTIC AFFINITIES

is strengthened by the fact that while the work on the north altar or dais is very careless and no sculpture is attempted, the corresponding south dais is one of the most beautiful objects of art found in the ruins.

From internal evidence it appears that the work was given out among four artists, each of whom naturally possessed individual peculiarities (see plan, fig. 249). To preserve the architectural unity, the work on the entire front row was given to one man. His carving is now much more damaged than that of his colleagues, as it was more exposed. However, it still shows excellent workmanship which has much in common with the style of the bas-reliefs in the Warriors chamber. As in those carvings, the artist carefully maintained a standard proportion for the human body and also revealed rather close observation of anatomical appearances. Some of the panels on this front row are slightly taller than those in back, and the average height set for the figures throughout the colonnade thus left more space on these columns, which was frequently filled with huge decorative forms. One can hardly be mistaken in asserting that the chief part of the carving in the rooms of the Warriors Temple and on these columns was the work of the same man.

The group on the north, to the left of the stairway (including columns 26 and 29), is the poorest. It was carved hastily and the eighty warriors depicted are slightly varying repetitions of one type. Some of the columns (22, 23, 26, 29) are carved deeply but crudely, and the lines are not carefully defined; others (col. 17 W.) are so lightly engraved that the background and the figure are almost of the same depth, so that the suggestion of volume is lost. In still others (col. 1) much of the sculpture has been done in stucco, which is much easier to work than stone. The faces are monotonously treated, and the clothing, weapons and attitudes are standardized. The chief interest of this group obtains in the nameglyphs which have already been discussed.

The adjacent group (including columns 25 and 28) is of much better workmanship and is also more varied as to subject-matter. It includes six of the eight columns on which prisoners are portrayed and five more columns on the south wing. The limits of the group, however, are less clearly apparent here. The peculiar artistic style of these columns consists of a return to the older tastes of the Chac Mool Temple, or perhaps it is a survival in popular art of those traditions supplanted by newer aristocratic conventions in the Warriors chambers and on the front row of the façade. Like the older art, it is extremely skilful in composition, apt to seize and reproduce human characteristics with a somewhat caricaturesque bent, but at the same time it displays a tendency to transform the optical appearance of the model into more abstract or "plastic" elements. A study of the prisoners' hands is instructive from this point of view (fig. 250). On the simplest (25 W., 33 W., 33 S.), the hands are supposedly held in such a position that one entirely conceals the other. In the lines of the hand itself, the sculptor was evidently influenced by a flower *motif*, as the hand emerges from its rope like a corolla, with the fingers curving outwardly like petals (see especially 33 S.). When both hands are depicted (33 E., 33 N.) the position is barely suggested

with a few choice lines to differentiate the palm from the back of the hand; 37 S. is a good example of a pair of feet similarly portrayed, a few lines intended for the toes likewise distinguishing the outer view from the inner. The front view of the hands of a prisoner is shown in 25 S. Though the idea of the arms crossed and bound at the wrist is grasped easily enough, it is partly the result of imagination, as on the carving itself the handcuff does not fit both forearms. The number of fingers in all these hands varies from four to six, and the insistence on a squarish outline with extremely short fingers is characteristic of the popular peasantlike tendencies of this particular artist. He is better, also, at describing small details than at achieving balanced compositions. His name-glyphs are particularly well

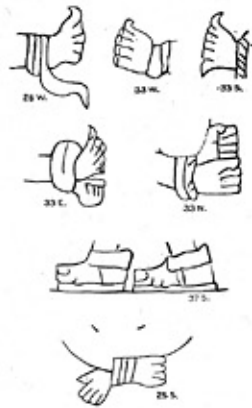


FIG. 250—STYLE. HANDS AND FEET FROM MIDDLE SECTION OF NORTHWEST COLONNADE

worked out (the hand grinding, the woman) and in some cases (33 S.) his interest in the glyphs was so great that he cut down the size of the human figure in order to give more space to them. On the other hand, his compositions are often overcrowded, decorative forms being thrown in until no space was left. On shafts where the outline of the subject itself was rectangular and thus did not admit much supplement, the composition is better; 25 S. especially, a figure seen in front-view, is his masterpiece as regards composition (Plate 93). This warrior, standing in a posture difficult to portray and dressed in his complicated attire, fills the entire rectangle with rich curves, all describing some significant detail. It is a striking contrast to the poorer work of the sculptor of the north wing bas-reliefs whose skeletal massing of the human figure on 29 N. (Plate 97) is adjusted to a very simple expedient of a vertical line that runs from head-dress to feet in front of the personage.

The fourth and best group consists of the reliefs on the extreme south wing of the colonnade. The builders, and likewise the decorators, were chiefly interested in the dais around which people would crowd to watch or perform ceremonies; the columns of the south façade, along the passageway between the square and the round colonnades, were also given special attention, as this was probably a frequented place since it led to the north colonnade and into the large court. The work done here is exceptionally beautiful. The columns include 41, 45 (both embedded in the dais), 49, and the entire south group from 51 to 59, except the

columns of the first row. On the northern limit the style blends with the carvings of the preceding type (see plan, fig. 249). Fortunately, the paint on these reliefs is much better preserved than on the carvings of inferior workmanship in the north half of the colonnade.

The sculpture proper, though it does not diverge essentially from the preceding group, is different enough when closely analyzed to be described independently as the work of another man. Besides greater care in technique, the rounding of volumes and the smoother surface finish, these carvings show also a more restrained taste. The composition is, in general, severe. The subject is usually fitted successfully into the rectangular space without the assistance of ornamental scrolls (61 E., Plate 123), although inconspicuous half-circles are used when there is space left (61 E., 60 W., Plates 123 and 122). When more voluminous decorative forms are used, instead of the usually flowing and purposely complex curves, they are more sober curves strengthened by horizontal and vertical axes (col. 61 S., Plate



FIG. 251—HANDS FROM SOUTH SECTION OF NORTHWEST COLONNADE, SHOWING INEQUALITY IN SIZE



FIG. 252—HAND AND BOWL OF OFFERINGS FROM SAME, SHOWING PURPOSEFUL DEPARTURE FROM NATURAL APPEARANCES



FIG. 253—DETAIL FROM SAME, SHOWING ECONOMY OF LINES

123). Unlike his fellow workers and against the general tendency of his time, this artist knew the value of plain undecorated spaces as a background upon which to detach the figure. He used the idea most successfully in such panels as the beautiful 61 S. (Plate 122). His choice of a predominating kind of line for each panel gives each piece individuality. Thus in 61 E. (Plate 123) verticals dominate and the scheme is followed even by the feathers of the head-dress; a similar subject is treated in curves on 60 W. (Plate 122). And on the same panel the sculptor contrasted two kinds of lines, as, for example on 60 S. (Plate 122), a broad and heavy head-dress, crowded with detail, is worn by a figure of deliberately narrowed silhouette, delineated in an extremely simple way. This artist like his less gifted companions, but more consciously, enjoys working out interesting abstract forms, without feeling any special responsibility toward descriptive accuracy. This tendency can be illustrated here again by a study of the hands depicted. The inequality in size of the two hands discovered in the Chac Mool carvings reappears here, but is used quite purposely, a fact which is strikingly illustrated by 59 S. (fig. 251). One can hardly imagine that the sculptor of this column, which is one of the best in the south wing, was unaware of his departure from anatomical appearances. Indeed he emphasizes and justifies it by developing from it a linear pattern of real beauty. Another and more radical departure from realistic ap-

pearances is attempted on 59 W. (fig. 252). Here the hand is completely transformed so that it becomes the shape and length of the invisible part of the belt. The profile of the wrist ornament is a replica, diagonally, of the profile of the basket that contains the offering, and the corresponding diagonal line at the left balances the entire composition. This artist, like his colleagues, was faced by the problem of welding multiple heterogeneous elements into one plastic unit and at the same time achieving a clear representation. To solve this problem much ingenuity was required. One of his favorite ways of effecting simplification was to use one line for two purposes. Thus on 60 W. (fig. 253), a single curved line describes both the concave inner outline of the folded arm and the convex border of the breast-shield. The best work of this artist (cols. 57, 60, 61), though not as picturesque as that of his less able companions, is extremely dignified and can bear comparison to its credit with the good examples of Southern Maya art.

#### DAIS OF THE NORTHWEST COLONNADE

The dais covers a rectangular area, measuring from north to south 5.19 meters and from east to west 4.1 meters. The average height of three of its sides is 67

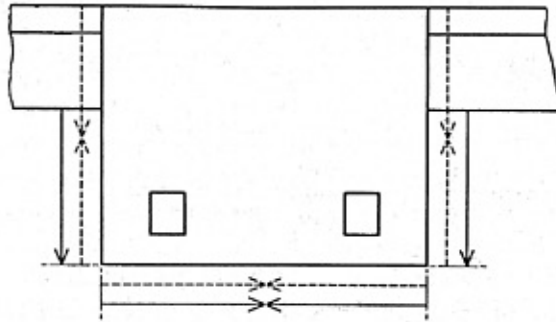


FIG. 254—PLAN OF DAIS, SHOWING ORIENTATION OF SUBJECT-MATTER.

Dotted arrows refer to snakes on frieze; plain arrows refer to processions on sloping zones.

cm. They slope upward at an angle of about  $80^\circ$ . A rectangular cornice 19 cm. wide crowns the whole and overlaps the upper edge about 8 cm. The dais meets the west face of the temple wall on its fourth side, which faces east. Part of the north and south sides seem to be embedded in the bench that runs along the same wall (see fig. 254). The cornice, the rest of the north and south sides and the front of the dais, which faces west, are covered with polychrome bas-reliefs (Plates 124 to 129). The top of the dais, upon which the performers of the ceremony stood, was stuccoed and painted dark red like the floor of the colonnade itself. Columns 41 and 45, described along with the other shafts of the colonnade, are set into this dais floor. When the dais was uncovered a crude stairway obscured much of the front part of it, from *a* to *a'* (see Plates 124 and 125). When this

stairway was removed, revealing the sculptures buried under it, traces of an older and narrower stairway running from *b* to *b'* were discovered. Thus on the single slope of the front of the dais, five areas in different states of preservation occur. The central portion, from *b* to *b'* was covered first, when the older stairway was built. Then the two small areas *ab* and *a'b'*, to the right and left of this stairway, were covered when it was demolished and a second and wider stairway was built. The other two areas, from *a* to the left corner and from *a'* to the right corner, were exposed until the temple itself fell. This was also the case with the small sides of the dais.

An interesting fact with which the study of the sculptured parts of the dais was begun is that the central block was missing. It had been fixed directly over the stone on which the bowl of offerings is sculptured and, according to the rest of the bas-reliefs, should have had carved upon it two serpent heads facing each other. Two other stones had been laid in its place, also sculptured and painted and covering the same space, but they were entirely disconnected from the rest of the design. The most important of these two stones has a human profile carved upon it in high relief, with a shell-eye still incrusting in the orbit. This head was not only disconnected from the neighboring design, but it was in much larger scale than the other figures. Curiously enough the missing central stone was found employed in place of the second stone from the left on the upper row of the same frieze. This other missing stone, which had been thus replaced, was never found. The intruding stones were removed from the center and the stone with the two serpent heads was again fixed in the corresponding cavity. Its lines match perfectly the design in the surrounding area. Plates 124 and 125 show this stone in its proper place, and the second stone from the left, with the head of the man No. 2 and the upper part of his corresponding snake, is presented in an attempted restoration based on the style of the neighboring figures. The displacement of this carved stone might be explained as follows: the second stone from the left had been probably badly damaged accidentally before the first stairway was built. The men who built this stairway knew that the central area would be covered by it, while the sides would still be visible. Therefore they did not scruple to use the central stone in place of the damaged one at the side, as it was of the same size and, at first glance, similar enough in subject-matter. But the filling of the resulting cavity by another stone of some artistic merit, and just at a time when the whole middle area was to be walled in, is still a baffling fact.

Before the stairway was built, the area *bb'* was crudely covered with a coat of red paint which still obscures much of its original coloring. Thus the polychromy on *bb'* is less perfectly preserved than that on neighboring areas, in spite of the fact that it was protected by masonry for a longer period than the rest of the bench. When the first stairway was finished, a coat of stucco was applied along the sides, turning smoothly into the corners where stairway and altar met. Then this as well as the whole face of the altar received a new coat of paint, followed later by other layers. When this first stairway was torn down, the broken stub

of this outward curve of the stucco still remained. On *b* and *b'* these traces of the older stairway show an irregular vertical line of broken plaster, made of superposed layers, the thickness of which gives some indication of the length of time that the stairway was in use. On *b* the points of the warrior's darts (No. 6) as well as the curved body of his snake were covered by the masonry. A second version of the same subjects, much smaller so as to fit the new space, was improvised with paint. Both versions are now visible.

As has already been stated, the color on *ab* and *ab'*, to the right and left of the older stairway, is much brighter than on other parts of the bench, since they were protected by the second stairway until the time of excavation. The rest of the front part of the bench is much faded, due to exposure, and likewise the north and south sides of the dais, but the west half of the south side was accidentally protected and thus, when uncovered, was in particularly brilliant condition. Except for the small part of the front (*bb'*) that was walled in by the masonry a relatively short time after it was finished, the rest of the dais received enough coats of paint to obscure the lines of the bas-relief underneath. These layers were so thin and adhered so closely together that they could not be counted. But the different layers which were partly uncovered show, that though line and color occasionally varied slightly from one version to the next, on the whole, the same color scheme and style were retained.

The subject-matter of the reliefs on the three sides of the cornice is similar. An offering in a bowl stands in the center, flanked by human beings costumed as gods, or gods in human form. They are clad as warriors and carry the usual weapons (*atlatl*, defensive bats and spears). Their bodies, from the waist down, disappear into the wide jaws of feathered serpents whose undulating forms fill the remaining space on the frieze. Their feather-tipped rattles fill the corners. On the front of the dais the bowl is exactly in the geometrical center, but at the sides this focus of interest is pushed back toward the junction between dais and bench. The dotted arrows in (figure 254) show respective positions of the serpents. Their meeting point is the middle, if measured from the western corner of the dais to the wall against which the bench is set. This displacement of the central axis would suggest, at first, that part of the dais is embedded in the bench. The idea is emphasized by the fact that the difference in level between dais and bench is equal to the height of the frieze, and that the frieze runs continuously around the bench to the foot of the wall. But an examination of the sculptured subject-matter on the slope proves that bench and altar were really planned together and do not interfere architecturally with each other.

Here again the actual state of the sculpture proves that changes have been made. The meanderings of the serpent's body are connected with each other sufficiently, but the characteristics differ from stone to stone, which fact suggests that part of the original frieze was destroyed and then mended with blocks from a neighboring frieze depicting the same subject, but differing in minor ways. Thus on the left side of the front panel, the snake's body at its tail end is divided in



only two areas, ventral and dorsal. From the third stone on, however, there is only a play of multiple lines, suggesting that the body is completely feathered. The stone where the head of the reptile ought to be is missing, but is here restored in color on plate 125 and in line on plate 124. The other serpent on this same panel is similarly inconsistent. Ventral scales occur only on three stones out of the seven that make up the snake. The difference in width of the blue frame near the right corner also points to important misplacements. The subject-matter on the north frieze is also superficially continuous, and the head of the left snake is missing on the south. Where color occurs, the dorsal part of the snake's body is green, the ventral, yellow. The snake on the right half of the south side, however, is an exception, as it is painted with a pattern of black and white. It can be assumed that the color on the left half of this same side, which is so well preserved, appears as intense as it was originally.

As has been remarked, the subject-matter on each of the three sloping panels of the dais is the same. The bowl, set on three spheres, stands in the middle of the front face. It is painted white, with a blue band around the rim. It contains a heap of material that might be copal flakes, into which three long and narrow objects with rounded tops are fixed. These were originally painted yellow. Two processions of men start from the sides toward this focus (see fig. 254). The arrows in plain line show the direction of the procession which includes 32 figures in all, 16 in front and 8 on each side.

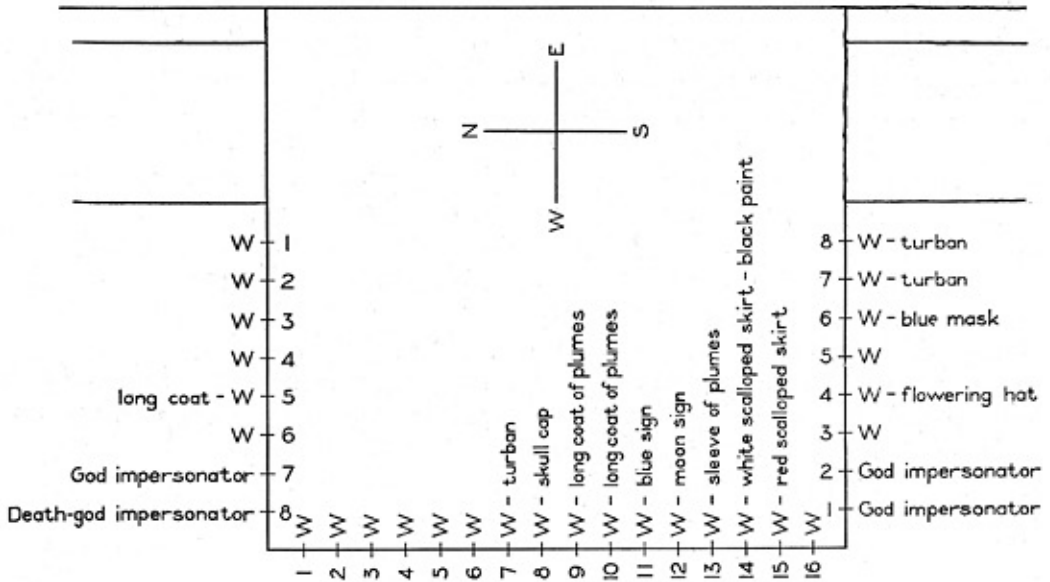
The color scheme is, in general, the same adopted for the columns. A blue band frames the picture. The background on which the figures are detached is dull red. Much of the space between the figures is filled with decorative scrolls and insignia, so that scarcely an unused space remains. For descriptive purposes, each personage is referred to by number, counting from left to right.

#### WEST SIDE<sup>1</sup>

The figures on the left, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, are all of the same type—the standard warrior as found on the columns. They wear the blue cap and the blue ear-disk. Four of the head-dresses are still intact; of these, two are circular and adorned with the traditional blue bird, while the other two have the triangular front. Plume panaches set in the head-dresses flow toward the back. A wide blue necklace hangs around the shoulders and upon the breast of each figure. They are garbed in a short tunic or wear the loin-cloth. The belt is blue or red cloth, knotted in front; the back-shield, also blue, is fastened behind; and from under the shield hangs a wide back-flap, painted white with black lines which accentuate the fanlike folds and shape. Each figure wears white plume bracelets at the wrists, knees and ankles. The sandals are also white. All these warriors carry an *atlatl* in the right hand and a sheaf of darts and a defensive bat in the left. The defensive sleeve is absent, but no conclusion can be drawn from this fact, as it would be worn on the left arm, which in all these cases is concealed by

<sup>1</sup> Plates 124 and 125.

NORTHWEST DAIS



NORTH DAIS

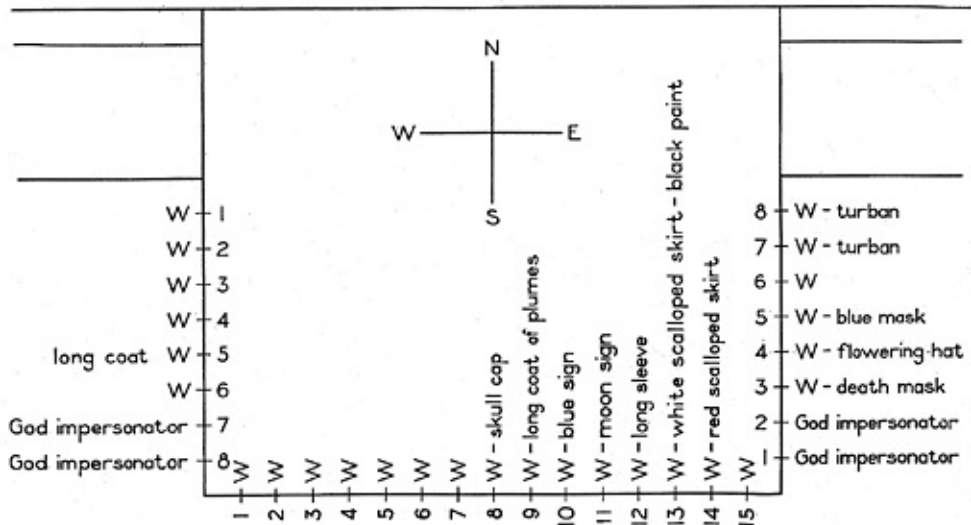


FIG. 253—PLANS SHOWING RESPECTIVE POSITIONS AND ATTRIBUTES OF WARRIORS ON BOTH DAIS

the body. The heads of the arrows of 6 N. are painted twice. This detail has already been explained in discussing the construction of the earliest stairway.

Figures 7 and 8, though warriors also, differ in some respects from the others. This difference is accentuated by the fact that the two figures are carved in that portion which was painted red before it was covered by the masonry. The traces of red therefore blur the original colors, which, as to clothing, seem to be similar to those of the other figures. However, the head-dresses are different. Figure 7 wears a turban head-dress with a very small panache dropping down behind instead of flowing upward, as is usually the case. He also has a small round shield for a breast-plaque, instead of the necklace or bird breast-plaque. Figure 8 is much weathered. The head-dress is unusual, being a skull-cap with two eagle feathers. The knee and ankle ornaments are also of unusual type, consisting of cloth knotted in front.

Behind each of the warriors appears a snake of realistic appearance, but with the addition of a head-dress, beard, excrescences like stone knives or feathers, and a tail-ornament which consists of a panache of plumes. A split speech-scroll or decoratively accentuated tongue issues from the jaws of No. 8. The colors vary greatly, a differentiation always being made between the ventral and dorsal areas.

The second procession, which covers the right half of this same panel, is made up of more varied figures. They wear unusual garments of complex significance. No. 9 is clothed in a long coat of green plumes that falls to his feet in front. His arms, on both of which he wears defensive sleeves of cotton, emerge from this garment. The head-dress is a diadem type, with a green ornament fastened in front; the elaborate panache is made up of green, yellow and red feathers. This figure carries in his right hand an *atlatl* of the "bouquet" type. The snake which curves behind him has a green back and a yellow belly.

Figure 10 wears an equally long coat, open in front. It covers his shoulders and is edged with yellow fringe. He wears a defensive sleeve on his right arm and carries an *atlatl* of intermediate type in his right hand. In his left hand, he holds a sheaf of darts. The hat is white, with a white crown made of short feathers from which two longer plumes emerge. The serpent that appears with this personage is painted yellow and white; the central scales, yellow, the dorsal, white; and the scroll-like ornaments fastened to the body are also white. This serpent wears two white nose-plugs tipped with beads, but no head-dress.

Figure 11 is depicted with the legs seen in front view and the feet in profile. He wears a shoulder covering that can be seen only on his right shoulder. It is black, with a red border and a white fringe. A yellow area on his chest may be the traces of a rectangular breast-plaque. He wears a loin-cloth with a distinct pattern woven in black. A wide and apparently double *maxtli* hangs diagonally from under the loin-cloth. The upper two-thirds are blue, the lower, yellow, which is the same color scheme as that of the ceremonial flaps described in both the old and the new columns. A cotton sleeve of peculiar design covers the left arm, and the left hand grasps a sheaf of darts. The head is covered with a bluish cap, decorated with an

ornament which may be a monster's head, and is crowned with two bead-plugs. The usual panache flows from this headgear. A nose-rod, green tipped with white, is inserted through the septum. The *atlatl* is of the bouquet type. The hair is unusually long and drops over the shoulder. The accompanying snake behind the man is replaced by a huge decorative scroll, which has no animal features. It is, nevertheless, plastically suggestive of the reptile's body as it follows the same curves, is adorned with the same flaplike appendages, and has a yellow area underneath, corresponding to the ventral scales of the snake, while the part that would correspond to the back is painted blue. The scroll ends in two volutes, where the head and the tail would be.

No. 12, like figure 11, is depicted with the legs seen from the front and the feet turned outward. This figure has warrior features: cotton sleeve, arrow, trefoil *atlatl*. He wears a shoulder covering and a shieldlike breast-plaque. His head-dress consists of a green diadem with a figure similar to that on the head-dress of 11 carved in front. Red beads are scattered over the diadem, as well as through the panache attached to it. The face is decorated with a nose-rod. The hair falls to the shoulders. The usual accompanying snake does not appear behind this

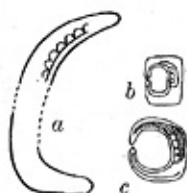


FIG. 256—MOON-SIGNS

*a*, from Northwest Colonnade Dais; *b*, painted representation; *c*, sculptured representation (the last two after Spinden)

figure. Instead, the background is filled with a shapeless scroll at the top, while at the feet there is a form that might be described as a split tongue, though apparently it issues out of thin air. The form in the middle background is much more interesting. Compared with similar representations on sculptures and in codices, it is seen to represent the moon. It is shaped like a crescent and furthermore is dotted in the characteristic manner of moon representations (fig. 256). The moon sign is white, dotted with black.

Figure 13 is a warrior, wearing on his left arm a long plume sleeve which hangs down, knee-length. His head is encased in a red cap which has a blue ornament in front which, though indistinct, might be identified as a blue bird. Two black and white feathers are fastened into the cap, and in back of these a tuft of yellow feathers from which two long and narrow green plumes issue. Another plume ornament is worn behind and below the cap. It flows backward and is colored orange and black. The serpent associated with this figure is green, the ventral part is yellow and the fins or feathers are red or green.

The face of the next figure, 14, is hidden under a coat of black paint. The legs are painted red, and the hands yellow, probably the natural color. The head-dress curves over the forehead in the shape of a bird's beak. It is decorated with yellow and white feathers crowned with the usual green panache. The ear-disk is white.

This personage carries the ordinary weapons. His waist is unusually high, and the scalloped skirt or sky-sign, painted yellow and white, billows around it. Under it a small square *maxtli* and an ample fanlike flap appear. The serpent behind this figure is painted yellow and white, with white appendages.

Figure 15, like 14, wears the sky-sign skirt, also high on the waist. The hat, though much faded in color, still reveals circular ornaments. This figure, carrying the usual weapons, also wears a breast-plaque, yellow with green fringe, and a conspicuously large cotton sleeve. But perhaps the most interesting detail is the color of the knee and ankle ornaments; on the right leg, they are yellow at the knee and green at the ankle; and on the left leg, the opposite arrangement obtains. This bold asymmetric device has already been noted on Chac Mool 2 N.

The last figure, No. 16, has almost entirely disappeared. The remaining traces indicate that it was a warrior.

#### NORTH SIDE<sup>1</sup>

The procession on the north side is turned toward the right, from the junction of dais and bench to the western corner of this side. Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4 are warriors of the usual type. A green and yellow symbolic serpent is associated with only one of these figures, 4, but no special significance seems to inhere in the fact that it was omitted in the other three cases. Probably the sculptor began his work from the right side, and the first five figures required so much space that the last three were jammed too closely together to admit of the snake *motif*. It is replaced by less voluminous speech-scrolls which issue from the mouth of each warrior. No especially remarkable features appear in their garments. Numbers 2 and 4 wear a bead as a nose pendant. The body of No. 3 is painted with red and white vertical stripes. No. 5, also a warrior, carries the usual weapons, but his body is hidden to the knee by a cloak made of three rows of yellow and red flaps. His hat is also somewhat unusual. It is a blue skull-cap from which issue feathers, alternately blue, yellow and green. He is seen almost in full-front, with the feet turned out. His snake is green and yellow and its nose is tipped with two beads. No. 6, also seen from the front, is likewise a warrior, well designed but with no outstanding peculiarities. The corresponding serpent is yellow, with a white ventral area, a blue eye-plaque and two blue head-plugs.

Figure 7 is a priest costumed as a god. He carries a blue staff which, as exemplified as carried by similar personages on columns, frescos, and on the dais itself, is the variant of a ceremonial ax with a reptilian head carved on the handle. This figure wears a broad-brimmed hat, which supports the mask of a long-nosed god, crowned with a feather head-dress. The mask wears the triple ear-plug that appears on similar figures (Chac Mool columns and frescos) as well as a single nose-plug. Its moustache, or fangs, and teeth are painted yellow. A red fringe hangs around the hat. The mask worn by the priest himself is also that of a long-nosed god. It is blue and seems to leave bare the lower part of the face. The priest wears a shoulder covering, a wrist bracelet and a blue belt. A back-crest of long plumes unfurls behind him.

<sup>1</sup> Plates 126 and 127.

Figure 8 is somewhat similar. The staff here has all the details which do not appear on No. 7, among them the blades and the serpent's head. The hat has disappeared. The nose-plugs only remain in the place where a god-mask must have been. The face seems to be covered with a skull-mask. The figure wears a shoulder covering and carries a round shield, red, black and white, with a fringe of the same colors. The back of the hat and the back of the man are both adorned with long feather fringes.

SOUTH SIDE<sup>1</sup>

Here eight personages file in procession toward the left, headed by numbers 1 and 2. They are priestly figures wearing hat-mask and face-mask, both of a long-nosed god. They carry carved ceremonial axes decorated with rosettes of beads and tufts of feathers. They wear also the typical shoulder covering, the blue and yellow *maxtli*, the tubular blue and yellow back-flaps, split at the end. Each carries a shield made up of three concentric color-areas, green, red and white. The back of the hat, the back of the man, and the edge of the shield are decorated with plume panaches and fringes. These figures are costumed somewhat similarly to the pair, 7 and 8, on the north side.

Figure 3 is a warrior, clad and armed as usual, and with a green and yellow snake behind him. Figure 4 is a warrior also, dressed as the ordinary warrior but wearing a striking head-dress, consisting of a close-fitting cap from which a tuft of hairlike material springs. From the center of this tuft the stem of a flowering plant emerges, which is divided, forward and backward, into large flowering branches which curl serpentlike behind the body of the warrior, displaying blossoms and buds. In spite of the exaggerated size of the plant ornament, which for the sake of decorative rhythm is given the same size and general outline of the neighboring serpents, it is intended as a head-dress ornament as it emerges from the tuft of hair. Comparison with the head-dresses on t.9 E. and c.51 S., decorated in the same manner, will establish its nature beyond a doubt.

Figure 5 is a warrior also. The panache on his cap is finished with red and yellow feathers instead of with the usual green plumes. Figure 6, a warrior, wears a blue face mask that seems transitional between the death-mask and the Tlaloc mask. A green and yellow serpent is coiled behind him. Figures 7 and 8 are likewise warriors. No. 8 wears a bead pendant at the nose. Both these figures wear turban hats with intertwined serpents, on which the reptilian head is used as a frontal ornament.

A plan showing the distribution of the figures will establish that they are not arranged haphazardly (fig. 255). The four priests are placed by twos, at each corner, as if they headed the two smaller processions. No priest appears on the front of the dais, all the figures being warriors. Nevertheless a given order is also maintained on this panel. The figures to the left of the bowl (1 to 8) are all warriors of the usual type, among whom the only peculiarities are the head-dresses of 7 and 8. These warriors are all bulwarked by the symbolic serpent, monotonously

<sup>1</sup> Plates 128 and 129.

repeated. At the right of the bowl all the figures except the last are highly individual, either in their garments or else in the symbol which appears behind each. Even the workmanship on this side of the altar shows more care than on the left. This kind of artistic emphasis on the right side of an otherwise symmetrical arrangement occurs in other cases, for example in the Chac Mool Temple, where the two benches at the sides of the altar are shaped alike, but the left bench is painted somewhat carelessly with the usual warrior types, while the bench on the right side is covered with figures of dignitaries in gorgeous array, carefully drawn and characterized. The same kind of asymmetry occurs also in the architecture, and an example is to be had in the inequality between the dais at the right and the dais at the left of the Warriors Temple stairway. The left altar is coarse and not decorated with sculpture, but the one on the right, which is now discussed, was carefully planned to harmonize with the colonnade and was beautifully sculptured. The columnar bas-reliefs on the left and right sides of the Northwest Colonnade are also artistically unequal, like those on this dais. Those on the left depict warriors of a somewhat monotonous type and are poorly carved, whereas on the right side the figures are more carefully executed and the subject-matter is more choice. It includes mask-wearers, dignitaries holding staffs, and sorcerers, as well as warriors.

#### COMPARISON WITH DAIS OF NORTH COLONNADE

The subject-matter on the dais of the Northwest Colonnade has been studied in itself, but more data are to be had by comparing this unit with a similar dais uncovered in the North Colonnade. Since the latter is not actually a part of the Temple of the Warriors, it will be discussed here only because of its connection with the Northwest Colonnade dais. It is illustrated on figure 257. The subject-matter is the same as on the Northwest Colonnade dais: two processions of men starting from the back of the dais and going toward the front (west and east sides), then turning the corners and continuing till they meet in the center where a tripod bowl of offerings is placed. Figure 255 is a sketch-plan of the distribution of these figures. Four priests only, among 31 figures, are depicted and are here again placed by twos at the heads of the processions of eight men each, which are pictured on the two sides of the dais. On the south side, the eight warriors to the left of the offering are of the usual type, while to the right, though warriors also, they are dressed more strikingly.

Similarities even more remarkable are revealed by a comparison of the two altars in detail. On the front of the North Colonnade dais, warrior No. 8, directly to the left of the bowl, wears a knee ornament that is made of horizontal bands of cloth knotted in front, instead of the more usual plume ornament. His head-dress consists of a skull-cap with a few feathers, apparently eagle feathers, fastened to it. Both knee ornaments and head-dress are repeated on the corresponding warrior 8 on the Northwest Colonnade dais. Figure 9, which faces 8 and stands to the right of the bowl, wears a long cloak of green plumes which drops to the ankles, a yellow shield, used as a plaque, is on his breast and a green diadem is on his head. All these unusual features are repeated on the corresponding warrior 9 on the Northwest Colonnade dais.

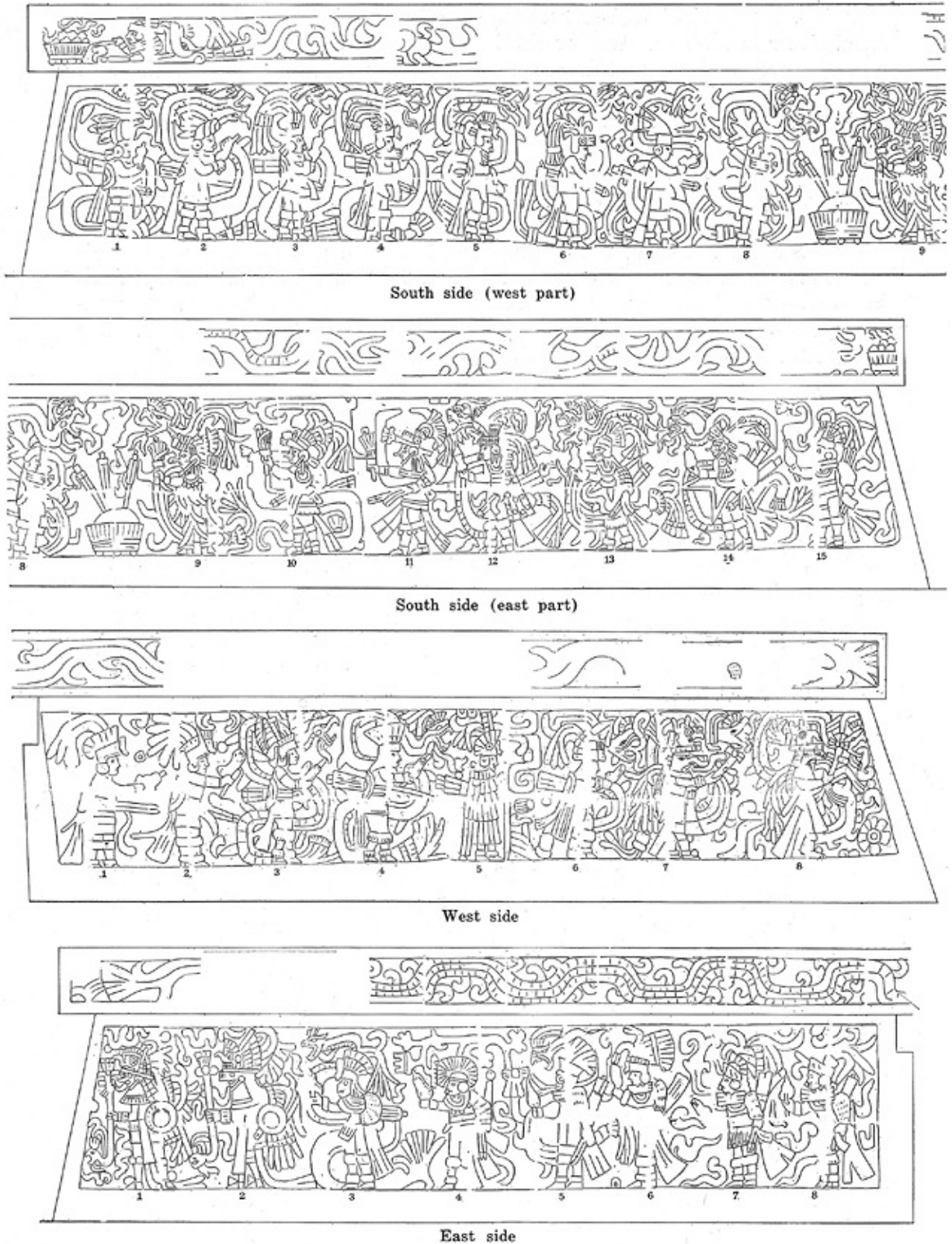


FIG. 257—DAIS FROM NORTH COLONNADE



There is, however, an important discrepancy between the two units. On the northwest dais there are eight figures to the right of the central bowl, and No. 10 is a man with a long cloak, accompanied by a white serpent. On the corresponding part of the North Colonnade there are only seven figures, and the man with the long cloak and the white serpent is missing. No. 10 on this dais is a man with very long hair in braids, wearing a green diadem with a bead ornament in front, ear-disks with long stems, a white loin-cloth decorated with black, a blue and yellow back-flap, and a nose-rod. He carries an *atlal* of the bouquet type. Behind him, instead of a snake, is depicted a blue and yellow decorative scroll, which, though featureless, has a reptilian aspect. All these peculiarities occur on No. 11 in the Northwest Colonnade. Number 11 on the North Colonnade dais wears a green diadem with a bead ornament in front and a crescent moon appears behind him; he corresponds thus to No. 12 on the other dais. Number 12, North Colonnade dais, wears a right-arm sleeve or cloak which falls to the knee, and a very peculiar red head-dress which consists of a cylindrical cap with a back-tail of plumes dropping from it, an eagle feather fastened diagonally at the top, and the blue bird in front. This description fits warrior 13 Northwest Colonnade, except that on his cap are two eagle feathers instead of one. Number 13, North Colonnade dais, wears a yellow hat with a fan of black and white feathers from which green ones emerge. His face is painted black. His hair hangs in separate clumps. High on the waist, he wears the scalloped skirt with a yellow border. Thus he corresponds to No. 14 on the other dais. Number 14 North Colonnade wears a similar scalloped skirt, red instead of white, and has a breast-shield. The serpent behind him is red. This corresponds to No. 15 Northwest Colonnade dais. Finally, No. 15 North Colonnade dais, is an ordinary warrior with no symbol behind him, quite like No. 16 of the Northwest Colonnade dais. These similarities are summed up in the following table:

Northwest Dais	North Dais	Subject-matter
1 .....	1 .....	Warrior, usual type
2 .....	2 .....	Warrior, usual type
3 .....	3 .....	Warrior, usual type
4 .....	4 .....	Warrior, usual type
5 .....	5 .....	Warrior, usual type
6 .....	6 .....	Warrior, usual type
7 .....	7 .....	Warrior, usual type
8 .....	8 .....	Skull-cap
9 .....	9 .....	Long plume-coat, breast-shield
10 .....		White serpent, long coat
11 .....	10 .....	Blue sign
12 .....	11 .....	Moon-sign
13 .....	12 .....	Long sleeve, red hat with back-tail
14 .....	13 .....	Sky-sign skirt, white and yellow; face, painted black
15 .....	14 .....	Sky-sign skirt, red and yellow
16 .....	15 .....	Usual warrior

Thus it is clear that, except for the extra figure on the Northwest Colonnade altar, the two groups of warriors on the front of each dais, and most strikingly the right, proceed to the offering in an order that seems constant and traditional.

The west side of the North Colonnade dais corresponds to the south side of the other altar; figures 1, 2, 3 and 4 are warriors with no striking peculiarities. Number 5 wears a long cloak on both altars, though on the Northwest it is made of textile and on 5 N. of plumes. Number 6 on both is a warrior; numbers 7 and 8 are priests. Both wear the hat and face masks of long-nosed deities. The attire is the same on both: blue and yellow *maztli*, the ceremonial ax and broad-brimmed hat. There is only one slight difference—the staff carried by No. 7 is finished with a carved snake's rattle instead of with a snake's head, as on 8. The following table sums up the corresponding sides:

Northwest Dais	North Dais	Subject-matter
1 .....	1 .....	Warrior, usual type
2 .....	2 .....	Warrior, usual type
3 .....	3 .....	Warrior, usual type
4 .....	4 .....	Warrior, usual type
5 .....	5 .....	Long cloak
6 .....	6 .....	Warrior, usual type
7 .....	7 .....	Priest with god-mask
8 .....	8 .....	Priest with god-mask

The east side of the North Colonnade dais corresponds to the south side of the other altar. Figures 1 and 2 on the North Colonnade dais are priests holding staffs. They wear hat and face-masks of deities, circular shields and long feather fringes in back. Figures 1 and 2 on the other altar are similar in all respects. Figure 3 N. is a warrior wearing a death-mask while 3 N.W. is also a warrior, but without the mask. Figure 4 wears a skull-cap with a tuft of hairlike material from which a flowering twig emerges, and is thus identical to 4 N.W. Figure 5 is a warrior with a peculiar panache on his hat, made of blue, red and yellow feathers. The corresponding figure, N. W. 5, is a warrior with a blue mask showing the Tlaloc eye-ring. Figure N. 6 wears a blue mask with the pointed nose of a death-mask, and figure N. W. 6 is like N. 5, a warrior with blue, red and yellow plumes on his hat. Thus the correspondence of the two pairs of personages is inverted. Numbers 7 and 8 N. wear turbans with snakes' heads projecting from them, and bead pendants at the nose, as do 7 and 8 N. W. The two sides are compared in the following table:

Northwest Dais	North Dais	Subject-matter
1 .....	1 .....	Priest with god-mask
2 .....	2 .....	Priest with god-mask
3 .....	3 .....	Warrior
4 .....	4 .....	Warrior with death-mask
5 .....	6 .....	Plant head-dress
6 .....	5 .....	Warrior, blue, red and yellow panache
7 .....	7 .....	Blue mask
8 .....	8 .....	Snake turban
		Snake turban

Thus, the two altars when compared reveal striking similarities. The identical order and arrangement of figures in the cases of columns 1 and 15 of the Northwest Colonnade (1 W., S. and E. and 15 W., S. and E.) would seem at first glance to be a similar instance of repetition suggesting that the two dais like the two columns have a common artistic origin. This theory is unsupported by evi-

dence. While columns t1 and t15 are strictly contemporaneous, the North Colonnade was constructed later than the Northwest Colonnade, in fact after this latter had been completed, and it is clear from architectural data that both altars were planned at the same time as their respective colonnades.

On the columns the figures are similar not only as to attire and insignia, but also as concerns the general distribution of the masses, the positions, and even the small, meaningless, but agreeable lines. On the altars, however, the similarities embrace only the order in which the personages are placed and their characterization. The composition of the masses, the postures, the direction of the lines are not the same, neither are the garments or symbols alike in appearance, though the same object may be meant. For example, the long plume cloak of Northwest 9 falls in parallel vertical lines, and the corresponding cloak on North 9 is depicted as a pattern of curly feathers. The body and face of Northwest 11 is unpainted, and the figure stands with the legs seen in full-front. The corresponding figure North 10 is painted as follows: the body, blue, and the face, vertically half pink and half blue. The legs are shown in profile, as if walking. The blue volute which simulates his accompanying snake is simple on this dais, but behind the corresponding figure on the other dais it bursts into three flowers. On Northwest 12, the moon crescent is set vertically, while on North 11 it is placed horizontally. On Northwest 12 the man in front of the moon-sign is seen from the front and is dressed as an ordinary warrior; North 11, the corresponding figure, is dressed very differently, except for his head-dress, which is the same; and he walks in profile. North 12 is dressed like Northwest 13, but the sleeve and hat on the first figure are more elaborate in details. The scalloped skirts of North 14 and Northwest 15 are both red with a yellow border, but the petals are rounded at an acute angle on North 14, while on Northwest 15 they have much softer contours.

Thus the similarity of the two dais is one of ideas; whereas, physically, they do not resemble each other. Such dissimilarities indicate that the two sets of reliefs are not derived from one artistic source. The quality of the work proves also both altars to be originals, as both display artistic inventiveness in subject-matter and style. It is therefore justifiable to assume that the similarities occur, not because one altar is the copy of the other, but because it is the same ceremony that is depicted on both—a ceremony in which traditional personages are grouped around the offering in prearranged order. The suggestion accounts perfectly for resemblances and discrepancies between the two groups of people, as each sculptor would have used different models who, though impersonating the same idea, nevertheless differed individually. This explanation would also account for the extra figure (Northwest 10) on one of the altars, as this could well be due to a minor variant of the ritual, and the same probability would account for the inversion of the order of 5 and 6 on east N. and south N. W. This latter detail, which could not be accounted for if it were assumed that the two altars were derived from one painted or sculptured source, becomes, in the light of the suggested explanation, a change of etiquette or possibly an involuntary error on the part of the two dignitaries involved.

It is evident, then, that a traditional order existed for this procession, and that a hierarchy was established between the participants. Most probably, those who headed the procession, and were thus nearer the offering, were the most prominent individuals, and the least prominent were the farthest from this focus of interest. The hierarchy may have been based on religious or military grounds, as it seems to partake of both. Each figure could be shown in the rôle of a deity and ranged according to mythological importance, or perhaps the insignia they wear may refer to their military ranks, as all but four are warriors. One last possibility is that the hierarchy may be social, based on family prominence.

#### ART OF THE WARRIORS CLUSTER COMPARED WITH THAT OF OTHER PERIODS OF MAYA ART

The description of each architectural unit—the Chac Mool Temple, the Warriors Temple, and the Northwest Colonnade—has been followed by a short discussion of its artistic style, with emphasis laid on the minor stylistic differences between the older temple and the newer units. However, if the group as a whole is compared to the neighboring monuments, it will be found that the two temples are more closely related to each other than to any of the other monuments at Chichen Itzá, and thus, from the viewpoint of artistic style, can be considered together as a unit.

The style of this group has often been labeled decadent, particularly by students more accustomed to Southern Maya sculpture. At first sight it is difficult to separate the work of the sculpture from the destructive marks of time, so that the reliefs seem almost incomprehensible. Closer examination will establish that these sculptures are not decadent in the sense of being deficient, either technically or stylistically. They are, beyond a doubt, late work, and as such have lost many of the characteristics of the style that might be called "classical" in Chichen Itzá (Ball Court Group). Nevertheless this later style has new features that were lacking in the earlier period. Furthermore, many details that might be dismissed as technical failures are revealed by analysis to have been the best solution of the artistic problem in hand.

For example, the fact that the columns are carved in very low relief, three-eighths of an inch at its deepest, might be considered due to technical inability. This supposition would surely be contradicted by the beautiful objects of the same period carved in full round, such as the Chac Mool for which the older temple was named. This piece makes clear that the Chichen sculptor was quite able to carve deep and highly modeled bas-reliefs if he wished. But a column thus carved would be weakened, and the prime object of these columns was architectural; they were supports. Artistic considerations would also dictate low relief. A statue is a monumental unit *per se*, but the sculptures on the columns should have remained as they do, merely decorative; that is to say, they adorn the surface without destroying or distorting it. A wish to avoid bulging masses such as would be made by faces or feet seen in full front is probably at the root of the convention of depicting all the heads and feet of the figures in profile. This technical limitation,

which might seem a drawback, really led to the striking use of a processional movement, oriented toward the altar, which was the central point of interest.

Another striking feature in these sculptures is the use made of natural perspective. Ease in perceiving and portraying foreshortening seems native to the Chichen sculptor, since it appears early in Maya art. Here, by the use of a few discreet optical illusions or conventions, a distinctive style is achieved that has more of the spontaneous appearance of objects than many other more highly developed arts such as the Egyptian.

Low bas-relief, unlike any other form of sculpture, is an extremely favorable medium for the representation of thin objects (feathers, ribbons) in flowing curves, and this possibility was seized upon by the Chichen sculptor and used perhaps even excessively. In this he was backed by the Maya tradition that considered free space to be dead space, æsthetically speaking, and which imposed the addition of speech-scrolls, glyphs and other forms to cover the background to the point of saturation. He completely avoided right angles, straight lines, or any other acutely geometrical forms. Even the rectangular frame was transformed into a sinuous line which followed all the concave and convex suggestions of the enclosed forms. The result is highly dynamic, the figures seeming to move at ease within their narrow frames.

Any attempt to give this rippling quality to sculpture in the round would mar its monumental effect. Thus, in contrast with his fellow workers, the artist who created the Chac Mool, found in the buried temple, used only volumes as strictly geometrical as the representation of the human body allows.

The bas-reliefs, as such, were not intended as a finished product, for the shallowness of the carving would make it invisible except in a very low cross-light. These sculptures were merely skeletons to be clothed entirely by the painter. Suggestions of volume, corrections in drawing and the small details were left to his care. He followed the same scheme throughout—the background a deep red, the frame a blue of a lighter value, and the figures and objects as close to their natural colors as the Maya palette permitted. The scheme was therefore by no means dryly conventional. The primary tones were often mixed into composites. A whole scale of flesh tones, from clear ocher to dark red, were made from yellow and red. The greens bridge the gaps from yellow to blue with only slight discontinuities. Blue and red are combined into a dark mauve or purple. Each tone was also used in different values; thus the reds vary from pink to deep purple, the blues from clear cerulean to blue-black, the yellow from pale lemon-yellow to an opaque raw sienna. Throughout, runs a *leit-motif* of black and white which must have been especially delightful to the Maya eye. This contrast was sometimes softened by an added gray.

The effect must have been very different from barbaric richness, even when the columns were new; first because the tones used, even so intensely, were far from being prismatically pure and are much toned down and nearer the hues of the earth, flesh, and straw than to the corresponding colors of the light spectrum.

Much of the harmony is achieved by tone upon tone, the red of a flesh against the red of a background, which made delicate similarities, and the diffused dim light of the room, for which the decorations were made, mellowed even the boldest contrasts. When with time, the color faded, much of effect which was originally intended was effaced. It would therefore be unfair to judge of the artistic standards or technical abilities of these builders by the sculptured remains only.

It would perhaps be premature to attempt to allocate the style of the Warriors Temple in the history of art at Chichen Itzá. Yet comparison with similar bas-reliefs in other temples discloses interesting facts. The art of the Warriors Temple, beautiful as it is, seems, nevertheless, somehow barbaric when compared with the style of the great period which preceded it, during which the Ball Court was built. The decorations in the Tigers Temple, from the cutting of the stones to the final polishing of the surface, are far more exquisitely careful. The proportions of the human body, though elongated nearly to affectation ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  heads to the total height), are fairly constant and are anatomically accurate. There is a dignity amounting to coldness, which is not backed by deep feeling. The work has all the characteristics of an art in which worn-out formulæ are expressed in perfections mostly technical but over-ripe. This sustained collective impersonal style points also to sacerdotal or aristocratic pressure on the artisan, and, in turn, to a rigidly organized social régime.

The work in the Warriors Temple Group, from the preparation of the surface to the carving itself, is indeed technically inferior to the work in the Temple of the Tigers. The elongated proportions of the human body, constant in the Tigers Temple decorations, occur infrequently in the Warrior's group. Even in these cases it would seem that the slimness of the personages is due more to the necessity of placing them in the narrow rectangles of the shafts, than to current taste for such proportions. The difference in attitude is seen in the fact that the figures painted in the frescos of the Tigers Temple are of the same elongated proportions as those of the frescos sculptured on its columns, while in the Warriors Temple the slim elegance of the carved figures is not repeated in the frescos where spatial considerations would impose no special canon; rather, short squatty proportions are preferred.

Much of the dignity that pervades the sculptures of the Temple of the Tigers disappears in the later group, as well as the taste for generalization that makes the people sculptured in the Ball Court more ideally human representations than individual characterizations. But new qualities appear, one of the most conspicuous of which is an emphasis on character which in some cases reaches caricature. This intensity, however, is not the result of comic intent, but of an eager desire to record, in their original strength, the features of the model.

Beauty *per se*, even only male beauty, was certainly not the chief quality required of these models, though some of the youthful figures approach it. The artist was more interested in character and regalia. He evidently enjoyed his work and was tumultuous, ingenious and shrewdly observant. Apparently he suffered no pressure from the priests, nor was he overwhelmed by uneasiness or

awe of his task. Indeed, if only style were considered, the Chac Mool Temple would be placed chronologically earlier than the Ball Court group. Architectural evidence contradicts this, but it can be said with some assurance that, when the Chac Mool Temple was built, the rigid aristocratic social order that produced the Tigers Temple was much weakened and dismembered.

When the art of Chichen Itzá is compared with that of the Southern Maya and of the Nahuas, it must be acknowledged that, at his best, the Chichen artist equals the best Mexican work, but is inferior to the best in the southern area. It is, however, important to add that he was an original artist. This is a thing that is often denied, it would seem, because of a confusion between subject-matter and style. There is no doubt that many, though not all, of the details in this work (god-masks, garments, weapons) can be traced to identical representations in the Southern Maya area or in Mexico, but it is also true that this by no means affects the originality of the Chichen style.

There is great disparity, in fact incompatibility, between the acute realism of the Warriors Temple art and the idealism of the Southern Maya style. A comparison with Mexico is even more striking. The extreme elongation of the Chichen figures is absolutely incompatible with the Mexican's love for short, squat representations. These are two very different concepts of beauty. The few sculptures found in Teotihuacan, also, when compared with Chichen carvings, are found to be utterly unlike. The Mexican sculptures show a love for abstract geometrization carried to extremes, especially in the treatment of the human figure, a tendency typified by the Goddess of Agriculture in the National Museum of Mexico. The Mexican transformed his model into a new form that retained only a few points of contact with natural appearances. In Chichen, on the contrary, a most exact love of nature predominated. Beyond a doubt, whatever foreign influences reached the Chichen artist were grafted upon an already vigorous native style.

Our knowledge of Maya art would be incomplete, indeed, if it embraced only Copan and Palenque. The roots of that art extend through the early stelæ and monuments of Uaxactun to the pre-Maya archaic clay figurines of a more familiarly realistic style. In northern Yucatan the great classic tradition was to turn again in a somewhat decreasing curve toward realism. This last period should by no means be omitted from the general picture of Maya art.

## APPENDIX

Not all of the color remaining on the columns of the Warriors Temple was considered important enough to justify reproduction. However, to complete the documentation on painting, a written description of the omitted material follows. No mention is made of the more traditional color scheme of which many examples are given: red for backgrounds, blue for the frame, back-shields, mosaic plaques, black-and-white pattern on leg-bracelets and left sleeves, etc., the description including only the more unusual features.

### TEMPLE OF THE WARRIORS

North Jamb of entrance door and Pilaster A (Plate 39):

- A. S.—Black-and-white cross pattern on the end-flaps.
- Jamb right—green on the stem of a flower.

South Jamb of entrance door and Pilaster B (Plate 40):

- Jamb left—Green on the stem of the flowers. Yellow with red lines on the petals, touched with gray at the base.
- B. E.—Traces of blue on the pendants of the breast-plaque. Yellow on the head-dress panache.
- B. N.—Blurred black-and-white design on end-flaps.
- Jamb right—The right vertical band of the frame is carried over the broader lower half of the jamb with the same width that it has on the upper half. The remaining space shows traces of red.

Column 2 (Plate 42):

- S.—The tunic is blue; the snake's mouth, red; the snake's body, yellow on the central area, with red lines; human skin, yellow.

Column 3 (Plate 43):

- N.—Tuft of plumes hanging behind right leg, green. Green on beads on decorative *motif* that appears at half-height on the right.

Column 4 (Plate 44):

- E.—Hanging band in front of the man, black and white with red edge.
- N.—Breast-plaque, traces of black and white on the rays. The bigger beads under it are green at the base, a red line separating the green area from the black-and-white pattern at their top.
- W.—Bracelet, blue; yellow on back feathers.

Column 5 (Plate 45):

- E.—Traces of blue on *atlal*.
- N.—Blue on lower edge of left sleeve and bracelet. Face, red.
- W.—Vertical black-and-white pattern on wall of sandal. Braided pattern on sole.
- S.—Cross-hatching on wall of sandal in black and white. Huge scroll at knee height, green. Plume coat with yellow.

Column 7 (Plate 47):

- E.—Horizontal band at base of tunic showing an elaborate but much destroyed black-and-white Greek key treatment. Green on stem of decorative flower at left.



## Column 8 (Plate 48):

- N.—Traces of yellow, red and green on plume coat.  
 W.—Corrections made by the painter in faint red over the beak of the head-dress.  
 S.—Cross-hatching in black and white on wall of sandal. Blue on mosaic bracelet showing under left arm sleeve.  
 E.—Green on decorative plant.

## Column 9 (Plate 49):

- W.—Scalloped skirt with red on the inner triangle and yellow on the outline.  
 E.—White on flap-skirt, loin-cloth over it blue, fringed with red. Traces of green on the breast.

## North Jamb of partition door and Pilaster C (Plate 53):

- Jamb—Remains of color identical to those on outer jamb.  
 W. S. E.—Yellow on skin and head-dresses, green on nose, ear and neck ornaments.

## Column 14 (Plate 56):

- W.—Traces of a blue bracelet, painted.  
 S.—Tunic, green.  
 E.—Blue on ornaments.

## Column 18 (Plate 60):

- S.—Painter's attempt to invert orientation of feet with black paint (sculptured walking toward the right instead of the left). Tunic, black, with yellow on the middle band (belt?).

## Column 19 (Plate 61):

- N.—Hair of the figure with red.

## Column 20 (Plate 62):

- E.—Body-paint black. Tuft on head-dress gray, yellow, blue, red (?). Head-panache: short feathers, red, yellow, long feathers, green tipped with yellow. Antennæ on head-dress, yellow with oval shapes at top, half green, half red.  
 W.—Body-paint black.

## NORTHWEST COLONNADE

## Column 1 (Plate 69):

- W.—Plumes hanging downward from head-dress are green, tipped with yellow, the horizontal band between is red.  
 S.—Plumes on the tunic are tipped with red, two parallel black lines delineating the flap of plumes in front, rosette, red, then yellow, the narrow band red, the end plumes green.  
 E.—A faint vertical black-and-white pattern on the tunic, under the belt.

## Column 3 (Plate 71):

- E.—Belt, red with outer bands, green.

## Column 4 (Plate 72):

- E.—Tunic, gray, lower edge, red. End-flaps of loin-cloth, blue. Pouch, red with green band at neck. Sandals, green with rosettes green and gray. Bracelet green.

## Column 5 (Plate 73):

N.—Plume coat, successive rows from neck down, green, red, yellow. Traces of blue, green, yellow, red on lower part of coat. Skin, yellow.

S.—Ornamental scroll in front of knees, green and blue.

## Column 12 (Plate 80):

S.—Blue tunic, cross-hatching and dots on sandal walls.

## Column 16 (Plate 84):

N.—Twisted strings falling from breast-plaque, green; leg ornaments, red with green beads; sandal, gray.

## Column 17 (Plate 85):

S.—The glyph name, a bird, painted blue.

E.—Panache, blue, narrow band of red, top, yellow.

## Column 23 (Plate 91):

S.—*Motif* in front of face, green.

## Column 24 (Plate 92):

N.—Mosaic bracelet and curved plaque over *mactli*, blue.

## Column 25 (Plate 93):

E.—Black and white diagonal traces on rope tying hands, feather coat near neck, yellow, sweeping curve frontward, green with red band. Black-and-white remains on sandal.

## Column 39 (Plate 105):

S.—Skin, yellow. Robe disks, green. Lower fringes, top, green; middle, red; lower, yellow. Sandals, green, rosette tipped with red.

## Column 55 (Plate 118):

S.—Variants of the feather wings and the skirt drawn in light red, green and yellow on the defensive stick held in the left hand. Blue on snake plaque and points of darts.