

CARVED STONE MONUMENTS FROM THE COAST OF OAXACA

by

María Natalia Jorrín

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Approved by:

Donald L. Brockington
Adviser

Joffre L. Coe
Reader

Julia G. Crane
Reader

DLB

MARÍA NATALIA JORRÍN. Carved Stone Monuments from the Coast of Oaxaca. (Under the direction of DONALD L. BROCKINGTON.)

In the spring of 1969, and again in 1970, a survey of the coast of Oaxaca, Mexico, located more than 70 stone monuments, many of them carved. Analysis of the carved monuments suggests a Veracruz-area stimulated style of carving peculiar to the coast of Oaxaca, and modified by influence from the Monte Albán and Maya areas. This style also shows characteristics associated with the Mixteca-Puebla culture in Postclassic times.

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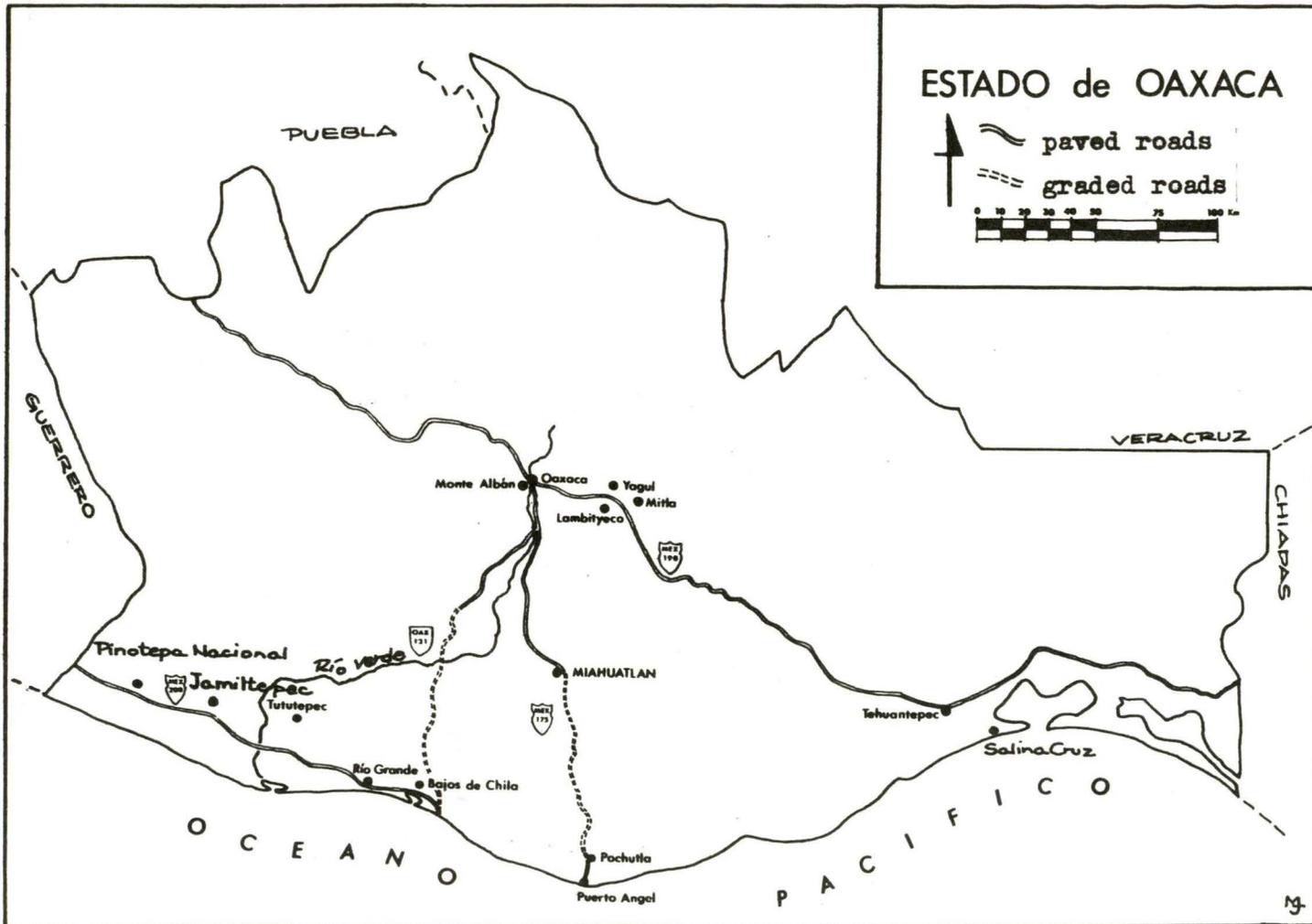
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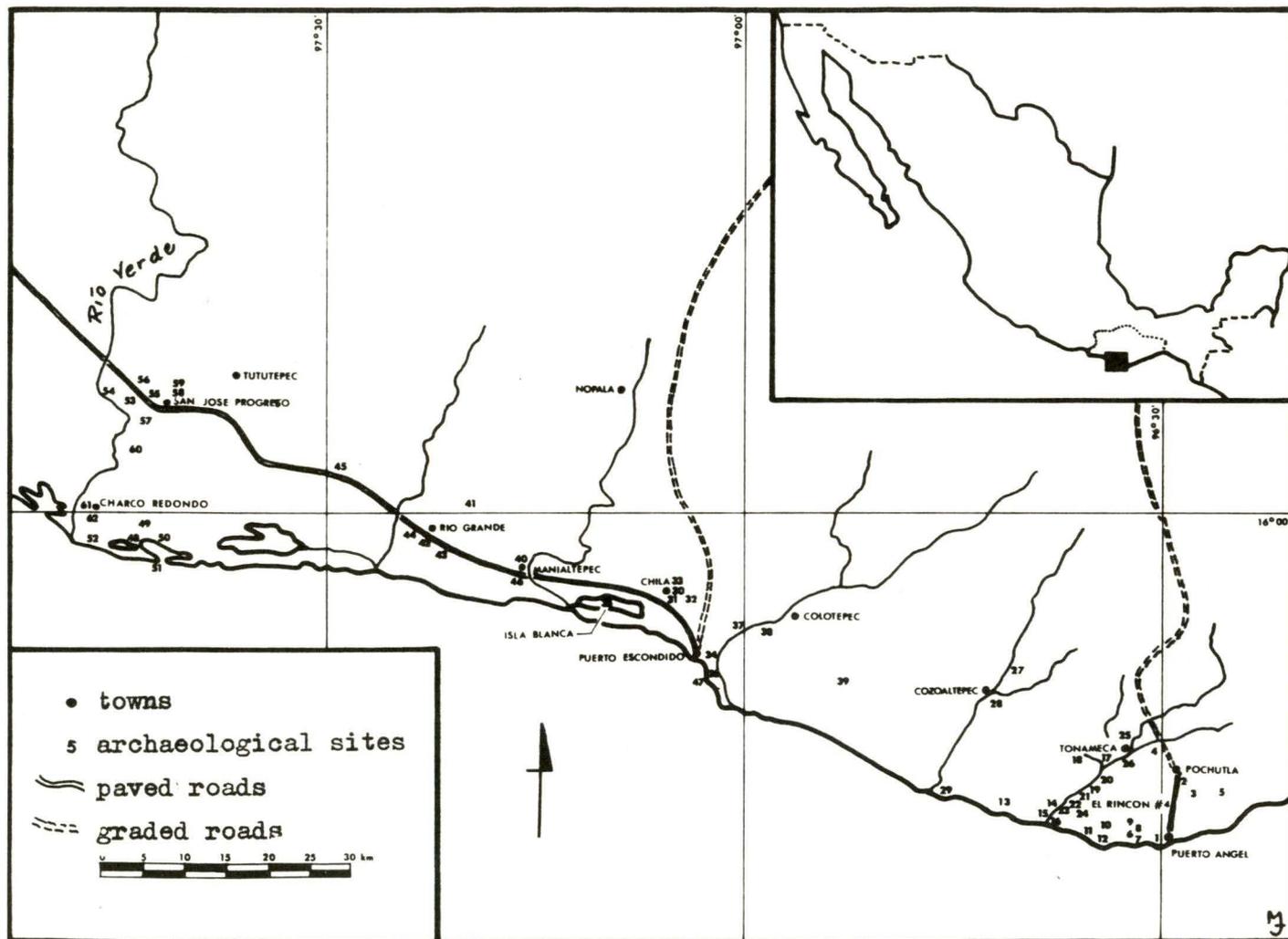
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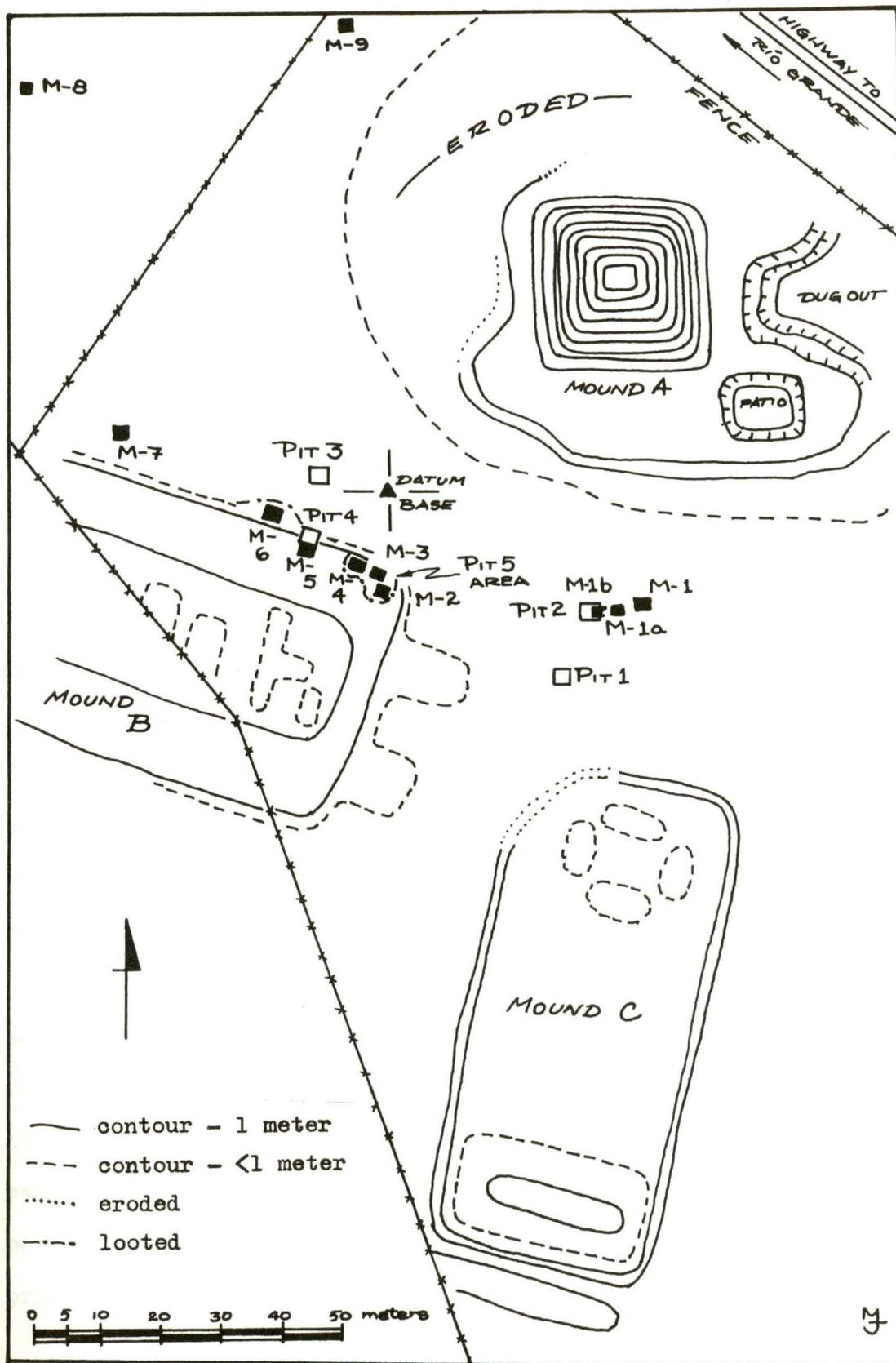
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MAP 1: OAXACA



MAP 2: CENTRAL COAST OF OAXACA



MAP 3: RÍO GRANDE - 2

CHAPTER I: THE SETTING

PART 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE PROJECT

During the spring of 1969 I participated in an archaeological survey of part of the coast of the State of Oaxaca, Mexico, under the direction of Dr. Donald L. Brockington, University of North Carolina, and supported by National Science Foundation Grant Number GS-2348. The 1969 work covered the coastal area from Pochutla and Puerto Angel in the east to the Río Verde in the west* and was part of a larger project of survey of the entire coast of Oaxaca.

Previous archaeological investigations on this coast were few; in fact, the entire Oaxacan coastal area was virtually an archaeological terra incognita. Occasional objets d'art turned up with putative coastal provenances (Piña Chán 1960); visitors have reported the existence of ruins and monuments (Bevan 1934).

In 1955 and 1956, Brockington and associates reconnoitered and did small excavations on the coast (DeCicco y Brockington 1956; Brockington 1957a, b); this was the first systematic archaeological investigation of the area. Román Piña Chán's (1960) eleven-page paper summarized and illustrated virtually all available information on the coast of Oaxaca, including data from materials in museums and private collections.

Brockington returned to the coast in 1962, and carried

*For this and subsequent general locations see Map 1.

out stratigraphic excavations at Sipolite (Site 1)** near Puerto Angel. Ceramics indicated a long occupation from late Preclassic to Postclassic times and also gave evidence of diverse outside relationships, including Monte Albán (as might be expected), coastal Guatemala, and the Western Maya (Brockington 1966, 1969a). In 1967 Lorenzo Gamio, the director of the Museo Regional de Oaxaca, briefly investigated a site near Pinotepa Nacional (Gamio 1967).

In view of the paucity of information on the Oaxacan coast, the stated objectives of the survey project in which I took part were necessarily broad: in brief, to find out what and who were there and how they related to other Mesoamerican areas.

Specific objectives included: a) preparation of a tentative artifact typology, to facilitate a general cultural reconstruction in time and space; b) location and evaluation of possible pre-ceramic remains; c) investigation of the nature and extent of Olmec influences in the area; d) investigation of the nature and extent of Maya influences; e) investigation of the problem of the appearance of Mixteca-Puebla culture; and, f) investigation of the character of Classic occupation of the coast (Brockington 1969a).

Apart from previous archaeological work in the area, other sources suggested the Oaxacan coast might produce information relating to the problems listed as (c), (d), and (e). Olmec material exists on the coast of Oaxaca, abounds in Guerrero to the northwest, and appears in Chiapas to the east (Covarrubias 1957; Ferdon 1953). The Sipolite ceramics indicated presence of Maya traits on the coast, and the Oaxaca coast had been considered to be the most likely route north for Maya traits noted at Xochicalco, in the State of Morelos

**For site locations see Map 2.

(Gamio 1924:319).

The origin or origins of traits commonly known as "Mixtec" has long been a subject of inquiry. Mixtec-speaking peoples are known to have lived, and some still live, in parts of the Oaxacan coast, mainly in the western regions (Paddock 1966). Cortés in his Third Letter to Emperor Carlos V describes Pedro de Albarado's conquest of the coastal province of Tututepec (1929), which was known to have been governed at one time by the Mixtec conqueror 8 Deer "Tiger Claw", who supposedly was sacrificed in 1063 (Paddock 1966:202).

PART 2: NATURE OF THE SURVEY:

Problems and Limitations

Sixty-two sites were located during the 1969 field season; stratigraphy pits were excavated in nine of these. Ceramics, including figurines, from these pits support the idea of some Olmec presence on the coast, but the intensity of Olmec influence is not clear; only about 2% of the collection shows typical Olmec characteristics (Brockington 1970). The ceramics also provide strong evidence for (probably) lowland Maya influence, including mold-made pottery depicting people with Maya-style faces. Mixtec traits are also heavily represented in the ceramics, including what seems to be a developmental sequence of the typical Mixtec red-on-cream bichrome (Brockington 1970).

The field survey continued in the spring of 1970 under National Science Foundation Grant Number GS-2866. Brockington located sixty-five more sites, from the Río Verde northwest to the border of Guerrero, and from Pochutla east to about 75 kilometers west of Salina Cruz. Data from these sites amplify the 1969 materials.

In addition to ceramic data, the 1969 survey located sixty-seven stone monuments, thirty-one of which were carved in the round or in bas-relief. Others may have been, but are now so weathered and eroded that it is impossible to make out what the designs, if any, may have been. Though most of the carved monuments were famous or at least known in their own neighborhoods, only the existence,

but hardly the appearance, of a few was known in the outside world - the Museo Regional de Oaxaca, for instance.

Three more carved monuments were located by the 1970 survey crew, and a number of petroglyphs.

A study of the carved monuments can contribute to the developing picture of Olmec and Maya influences on the coast, as well as to the Mixtec-trait-origin problem. I must stress, however, that at this point it is impossible to make anything in the way of a final or definitive statement of the cultural significance of the stone monuments. I primarily intend to describe them, in effect, catalogue them; make a few comparisons to other carved stelae in the Pacific coastal area and elsewhere in Mesoamerica; and present a few tentative conclusions and/or speculations as to their places in the culture-historical sequence on the coast of Oaxaca.

One of the factors limiting a definitive discussion of the stone monuments - in fact, limiting discussion of all aspects of the coastal Oaxacan area - is the absence, inconclusiveness, or confusion of existing historical and/or ethnographic documents. It would be most helpful to be able definitely to locate a particular linguistic group in a particular place at a particular time, but most available material is simply inadequate for such a purpose.

Another limiting factor is implicit in the nature of the survey project itself as it was designed to deal with a broad spectrum of questions covering a similarly broad and varied physical area. It was impossible in most cases to devote detailed attention to solving the problem of the cultural significance of the stones. Rather, the monuments themselves must be used as aides in the reconstruction of the cultural history of the Oaxacan coast.

The 1969 survey field season got started on February 23. Dr. Brockington with three field assistants, John Cleary, Michael Mitchell and myself left Oaxaca City for the coast, where for the next few months, with intervals of trips back to the city, we progressed westward to the Río Verde until the field season ended on May 31. There is no doubt that the sixty-two sites located that year, and the sixty-seven more surveyed the next year, represent only a fraction of the total that must be in the area. Lack of time, abundance of territory to be covered, and the difficult nature of the terrain and vegetation did not usually permit a thorough foot coverage of a particular region. (It was possible, in fact, to carry out this sort of thorough survey in the Río Tonameca - Río San Francisco area; a large number of sites was located, in contrast to the relative sparseness of surveyed sites elsewhere on the coast. This supports the idea that there are probably many more as yet unlocated sites in less accessible regions.)

In most cases survey was undertaken with the assistance of native informants and guides, by asking them where they knew of ancient remains, where they had found monitos (a colloquial name for figurines), where there were lots of potsherds showing, and so forth.

Considerations of time and geography also limited the number of sites that could be stratigraphically tested. It was not feasible, for instance, to excavate on sites that were not within about one-half kilometer of access by vehicle, since carrying supplies, equipment, and potsherds back and forth over greater distances would have been too difficult and time-consuming.

Only sixteen of the sixty-seven stone monuments were found at three of the excavated sites, including, fortunately, nine of the thirty-one carved stones. For these sixteen, then, the ceramic associations are fairly good. Ceramic associations of the rest of the monuments are based on surface collections.

CHAPTER II: THE MONUMENTS

PART 1: THE PLAIN STELAE

At this point, the term "stela" must be defined. Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language gives the following: "la.(Gr. & Rom. Antiq.) A slab or pillar of stone used, as a gravestone, esp. by Ancient Greeks, and sometimes sculptured or painted; also a pillar bearing an inscription. b.) By extension, an inscribed area on a wall; also, a pillarlike monument" (1958:2468). The derivation of the word is given in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary as Old Greek stēlē, meaning a post, an upright stone (1958:829). Including architectural usage, the Old Greek sense is probably the most common. It can be, and usually is, applied to stones carved on one or more sides, or left plain.

It is probable that some or all of the plain stelae, and maybe even the carved ones, were stuccoed and painted (Brockington 1957b). Although we found no evidence of this on any of the coastal stones, it is extremely unlikely that such evidence could survive, in view of the local technique of milpa agriculture. Virtually all the land on the coast has been burned over at one time, and often repeatedly. All of the stelae are on burned-over land. The effect of fire on the stone itself is highly destructive; large sheets of stone spall off, and would naturally carry with them all design. Since the stone itself is damaged by fire, one can imagine that soft lime stucco and paint would be destroyed almost immediately.

The plain stelae fall into three broad categories: a) roughly columnar, that is, about as thick as they are wide, with an irregular square cross-section; b) irregular, slab-like stones, sometimes crudely shaped into more or less triangular forms, and, c) nicely squared-off slabs.

Since their actual location with reference to physical characteristics of the sites is of most importance in discussing the plain monuments it is necessary to describe these characteristics briefly, for each site where such stones were located.

Lagartero (Site 13) is a very large site, irregularly dotted with mounds of varying sizes, including at least one large mound with two subsidiary mounds to the south, a patio between the two, and a third patio area on the east side. No plain stelae were found in the immediate area of this large mound. Stela 1 is roughly triangular; the dimensions are 2.9 m. high by .15 m. thick, the width at the (presumed) top is .3 m. and is .5 m. at the base. It was found along a ridge running east-west, roughly parallel to the coastline and about one-half kilometer inland. The ridge has several small mounds along its length. These small mounds probably represent housemounds rather than ceremonial structures; there is a large number of them, and the present-day inhabitants continue to build their houses on similar rises in order to catch all available breezes. The stone was found lying flat. Although no stratigraphic excavation was made, the ground was cleared away from around it. No surface alteration was evident. Ceramic material recovered from the cleared-out soil was generally middle to late Preclassic, as was the majority of material collected from the surface of the site as a whole. Stela 2 at Lagartero was still vertical, on an indirect

line between Stela 1 and the stone head, to be discussed later. A stratigraphic pit (Lag Pit 6) was excavated around it. Sherds from Pit 6 were in poor condition, small and worn, but definitely late Preclassic. This stela was associated with a roughly east-west alignment of large stones, dressed on one face, apparently a wall line of some structure. At the time of excavation the stela was taken to be undecorated, but on later examination of color photographs it appears to have been carved. There is a very slight indication of a human foot near the base of the stone; this may represent the results of fire-spalling. For present purposes Stela 2 is included with the plain stelae. It is of the columnar sort, the dimensions are .7 m. high by .3 wide and .4 thick.

At El Trapiche and La Venita (Sites 27 and 28) two plain stelae were found on the summits of small mounds or hills. The dimensions of the Trapiche stone were not recorded; it is of the irregular slab sort. The La Venita stone, found lying flat, is 1.35 m. high, .55 m. wide, and .23 m. thick. It is a roughly squared-off slab. In both cases the ceramics from surface collection were primarily Preclassic. It is probable that there are other stelae in the area, but the extremely heavy growth of thorn bush prevented further investigation.

Isla La Blanca is evidently a purely Mixtec site on a small island in a lagoon near Chila (Site 35). The island is bordered by thick mangrove swamp on two sides, and is accessible only by water. This may not always have been the case, as a large rubble wall on the island's skirts faces the swamp. Several huge boulders at the highest point have been slightly modified, possibly to facilitate their ascent. There is also a small triangular stela, 1.17 m.

high, .2 m. thick, .07 m. wide at the top, and .25 m. wide at the base. It was found lying flat, about 7 meters above the rubble wall.

The present hamlet of Manialtepec is located where the new highway (México 200) between Puerto Escondido and Acapulco crosses the Río Manialtepec. A site, designated Man-2 (Site 46) runs almost the full length of a ridge extending southeasterly. The entire ridgetop appears to be modified; there are several large slab-like stones scattered over the site. These stones are not included in the total of sixty-seven stone monuments, as no count was made of them, nor was it definitely determined that they are stelae. Near the tip of the ridge there is a small ballcourt and several small pyramidal or platform-like stone constructions. The interior walls of the ballcourt seem to be faced with two lines of large flat stones. Two of these, directly opposite each other at the centers of the two walls, are definitely carved; a third carved stela was found a short distance to the northwest. It was impossible to map or measure the other stones; investigations beyond the initial quick survey were prevented by a local dispute over land ownership. Surface ceramics at Man-2 were surprisingly sparse, considering the size of the site; they are generally Postclassic Mixtec.

Río Grande-2 (Site 43) is another very large site, situated about two kilometers east of the present town of Río Grande. The site is directly on the Acapulco highway; in fact, the largest mound has been devastatingly excavated by construction crews, taking fill for the highway and for the airfield runway in the town. There are at least three large mound and patio complexes at this site (Map 3). There are also at least eleven stone monuments, and probably

many more so far undiscovered. Monument 1, not measured, is a large plain slab-like stela, irregularly rectangular in outline. It is still approximately upright. It is located about 50 meters south of the largest mound. Directly to the west of Monument 1, about 2.5 m. from the base, is a squat stone altar, Monument 1a, also uncarved. A stratigraphic pit (RG-2 Pit 2) was excavated 2 m. to the west of the altar. At a depth of 1.2 m. a third very large uncarved stone was discovered. This stone, Monument 1b, is 1.35 m. wide and at least .6 m. thick. It was not possible to determine the length (or height, as the case may be). The upper surface of the stone was dressed smooth, and was absolutely horizontal to the string level. Monuments 7 and 9 are columnar stelae, both found placed vertically. They were not measured. Monument 7 is located about 9 meters north of the large flat mound with which five carved stelae are also associated. Monument 9 is approximately 45 meters northwest of the largest mound. Surface ceramics from this site were mixed, mostly Classic, and Postclassic Mixtec, with some Preclassic. The stratigraphic pit associated with Monument 1b yielded a range of sherds from Pre- to Postclassic; at the level of the stone, however, the material was primarily late Preclassic and early Classic.

Alongside the airstrip in the town of Río Grande there is a low mound (Site 42) with three stelae in a line on top. They are roughly columnar and much eroded; carving, if any, is no longer evident. Their placement by the airstrip is not their original location, although one of these was originally by the present airstrip, in another spot (Brockington, personal communication). An elaborately carved stela from this area is now in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City. Surface collection of the airstrip

showed mainly Mixtec material; much of the airstrip fill was taken from the RG-2 site.

At Barra Quebrada (Site 52) a probably plain slab stela was found upright, 1.5 m. showing above the ground level. The area is sandy with thornbush-covered dunes running parallel to the beach line. The presence or absence of mounds was not determined. Surface ceramics were mostly Classic, with some Preclassic. Most of the material, however, was coarse red or grey ware, and so not clearly diagnostic of any one period or culture.

Near the new town of San José del Progreso (SJP), on the Acapulco highway near the Río Verde, there is an extensive complex of sites. At least two of these, SJP-1 and SJP-3 (Sites 53 and 55), include alignments of plain stelae. The orientation and dimensions of the SJP-1 stones were not determined; at least nine were seen. The alignment designated SJP-3 is of eight stelae, six placed side by side facing west, the line oriented 18° west of north. Two more plain stones are located fifteen meters from the two ends of the line, facing each other at right angles to the alignment. The stelae average 1 m. high, .5 m. wide and .3 m. thick; all are irregular slabs. The central stone in the alignment shows signs of having been carved, but the design is so weathered, or fire-spalled, as to be indistinguishable. The entire SJP site complex is covered with mounds; at SJP-3 there is a low mound just to the east of the alignment, running parallel to it. Surface collections from the area produced quantities of material ranging from late Preclassic to Mixtec. Most, however, is Classic.

Other investigators in the Oaxaca and Guerrero coastal area have located similar plain stelae. DeCicco and Brockington

(1956) report plain monuments from Cerro Grande, twenty-five kilometers southwest of Jamiltepec; from Piedra Parada Jamiltepec, and from San Francisco Arriba, near Tututepec. All are associated with mounds, and are generally in patio areas. Brockington's work at Piedra Parada Jamiltepec showed a total of forty stelae, some columnar, some squared slabs and some irregular (1957b). In Guerrero, Rosenthal (1963, 1964) reports uncarved stelae associated with mounds at Marcelia, near the coast, and Tesanto and Azoyu in the highlands.

Almost all the plain monuments located in 1969, as well as most found by earlier investigations in the area, are associated in some way with mounds or mound-patio complexes. In most cases the stones are located on the flat areas surrounding mounds, although a few (La Venita, for example) were found on top of a mound or other elevation.

Plain monuments, generally associated with structures, are known mainly from La Venta, Tres Zapotes, Izapa (Stirling 1943), Tonalá (Ferdon 1953), the Maya area, and occasionally elsewhere.

Brockington discusses plain stelae fully in his work on Piedra Parada Jamiltepec (1957b:96-97); he points out that although the greatest number of plain monuments is known from the Maya area, Thompson (1940) has indicated that the stela complex is not intrinsically Mayan, as there are long pre- and post-stela occupations in the Maya country, and many occurrences of stelae outside the Maya area.

Ferdon (1953:103) also cites Thompson (1948), showing that the association of stelae - plain or carved - and square or discoidal altars comes, directly or indirectly, from the Maya low-

lands. Thompson, according to Ferdon, has plotted the distribution of stelae plus altars into southern Guatemala; they are also known earlier from Tonalá, Izapa, and Tres Zapotes (Ferdon 1953). Monuments 1 and 1a at RG-2 probably represent such a combination. At Piedra Parada Jamiltepec a pot-hunter's hole dug in front of Stela 34 revealed a discoidal stone, probably an altar, directly in front of the stela (Brockington, personal communication).

As an aside, it might be mentioned here that the flat stone altars are sometimes "shaped as monsters or toads" (Ferdon 1953: 105); the carved stone, probably an altar, found at the base of Mound 4-E at Yagul (Bernal 1966) has been variously described as a jaguar or a toad. It appears to have characteristics of both.

Without drawing specific conclusions, it seems at least that the plain stelae of the Oaxaca coast are part of a wide spread stela and stela-plus-altar complex, extending from Veracruz to isthmian Mexico and the Maya area, and up and down the Pacific coast from Tehuantepec to Guerrero in the north and to southern Guatemala.

PART 2: THE CARVED MONUMENTS

Once more, I must emphasize that I am attempting now primarily to describe, not interpret, the carved stones; I hope to be able to interpret them more adequately in later publications. Aside from the limiting factors mentioned in the introduction, interpretations can all too often be biased, unintentionally or not. Interpretations are necessarily subjective, in varying degrees, and "may seem to point very straight to one thing, but if you shift your own point of view a little...may point in an equally uncompromising manner to something entirely different (Doyle 1892:85).

At Lagartero (see above), besides the two plain stelae, there was also found a simply pecked representation of a human head or skull. It was found facing south, some 200 meters south and slightly east of the large mound, on a small rise of its own. The stone, .35 m. high and .33 m. wide, is free and shows no signs of having been broken off a larger sculpture. The contours of the stone roughly approximate those of a skull. Features - eyes and a wide mouth - are shallowly pecked (Plate I). A stratigraphic pit (Lag Pit 4) excavated around the head yielded a few badly worn sherds, of the late Preclassic. An offering "box", paved with rough pebbles, was beneath the head. In the "box" was a one-handed mano, or grinding stone, which had been very slightly pecked to resemble the larger head. The eyes and mouth are the shallowest possible depressions in the back of the mano. The whole, however,

has a pleasing appearance; it might be called a prehispanic example of minimal sculpture.

In front of the presidencia, or municipal building, in the town of Bajos de Chila, is mounted a finely carved stela, unfortunately headless (Plate II; and Fig. 1). The remaining stone is 1.37 m. high, .55 m. wide, and .23 m. thick. It represents a standing male figure, presented frontally, the right arm bent slightly, clutching a flint knife at the waist. The left arm bends sharply at the elbow; the left hand, eroded away, was at the right shoulder. The figure wears a necklace of large round beads, and armbands at left wrist and right elbow. A rectangular object or bundle is below the right elbow. A broad crescent-shaped belt or waist ornament curves up at the hips and has a lower border of flaps or feathers. Folded over and hanging from the belt is a long narrow breechcloth. On each leg, just below knee level, are ornaments of beads and tassels. The position and costuming of the feet cannot be seen, as that part of the stone is buried; a local informant told us the feet turned out, a position that could logically be inferred from the position of the lower legs. Space on the stela not occupied by the figure is filled by squared scroll-like forms. Although this stela is not in its original location, it was found nearby.

On the outskirts of the town of Chila, to the west, there is an area, mainly along a small river, of considerable ceramic scattering, mostly Postclassic on the surface (Site 30). At the base of a modified hill, with a modern jacal, or cane-and thatch shack, on the summit, there are two large stelae, both lying flat. Both were subjected to extensive but incomplete pothunting about thirteen years ago, and were therefore lying in good-sized irre-

gular pits. Stela 2 was lying face down; when turned over it was found to be plain except for a row of five large dots at its lower (?) end. It is a big stone, 2.22 m. high, .94 m. wide, and about .2 m. thick (Fig. 3b).

Stela 1 (Plate III; and Fig. 2) was found in two pieces; two small pieces are still missing. The bottom part of the stone was found in the course of squaring off the pot-hunter's pit and excavating it further. The assembled stone, 2.9 m. by 1.2 m. by .26 m., shows an upright male in a frontal presentation very similar to the presidencia stela. The right arm bends sharply at the elbow to embrace the body of a large serpent. The right hand grasps a cluster of plumes or rays emerging from the back of the serpent. The left arm, slightly bent, supports the lower part of the serpent's body. The legs are straight, the feet shown in profile pointing outward. Facial details could not be made out, as the upper part of the stone is badly worn. The figure wears an elaborate headdress, possibly representing an alligator or other monstrous animal, perhaps the Earth Monster. A necklace of round beads, and what seems to be another string of beads, are on the chest. Plain earspools might be represented by a continuation of the necklace above the shoulders. A long, narrow breechcloth hangs over a wide belt; there are again beads below the knees. Several sashes and tassels, one with the head of a heavy-beaked bird at the top, hang from the sides of the belt and lie along the tops of the sandals. The serpent's head, now partly missing and much eroded, was above the right shoulder, at the level of the headdress. The serpent body slants downwards, bending to the horizontal and again downward near

the waist level of the figure, and executes a U-turn upward at the figure's knees. The tail, pointing up, terminates in a curious scrolled finial from which emerge four plumes or rays that extend straight up to the top of the stone, turn a right angle and disappear in the vicinity of the headdress. The body of the serpent is marked by at least six large spots, and a number of hooks as well as the plumes mentioned above are along the back. It should be noted that the long plumes apparently sprouting from the tail finial might be attached to the back; four parallel curving lines between the figure's left arm and the tail finial support this view.

The treasure hunter who began excavation of the stelae may have met with some success, but he fortunately did not persevere sufficiently to discover thirty-five whole or partial vessels placed as offerings around the two stones (Fig. 3b).

It was mentioned that the basal portion of Stela 1, showing the feet, was found separate from the rest, in undisturbed soil. It was lying flat, on about three or four centimeters of fill above a perfectly clean, flat, light sandy surface that extended over the whole area of excavation at that level. If the basal portion of the stone were tipped upright, it would face east; but if the upper, major portion were similarly re-erected, it would face west (towards the river). Also, the upper portion of the stela was found lying considerably above the level of the lower part, and I assume this was the case before the pot-hunter got to it, since he evidently did not find the base (Figs. 3a and b; Fig. 4).

Further, the vessel offerings, and a fragmentary secondary human burial, were equally above the level of the basal piece of

stela. Although we found no vessel offerings below the sandy floor in the Stela 1 pit, two intrusive pits indicate the pothunter did. Sherds from below the floor were Monte Albán II styles (Brockington 1969b).

I tentatively explain this somewhat peculiar set of circumstances as follows: the unbroken stela was originally erected facing the east, on a prepared, sand-covered site. Sometime later, the stone was deliberately toppled and broken (deliberately, because of the size and hardness of the stone). The basal piece of the stone was covered by accumulation of soil, probably wash from the adjacent hill. Later still, the upper part of the stone was re-erected facing west. The basal part may have been covered completely by this time, or it may have been too difficult to bother with re-assembling the pieces.

The vessel offerings we located were placed at the second raising of Stela 1, as was the incomplete (parts of lower limbs, part of left innominate) secondary burial. The stela then stood until the looter arrived.

Evidence from the Stela 2 pit supports this reconstruction. If stela 2 in its present orientation were erected facing east, the five dots would be at the bottom - a common position for counts or calendrical notation; design areas on Mesoamerican stelae are often terminated at the bottom with horizontal motifs.

The sandy yellow floor appeared in undisturbed areas of the Stela 2 excavation, in the area of the pit nearer Stela 1, and at about the same level as in the Stela 1 pit. Most vessel offerings in the Stela 2 pit were above this level. Another incomplete

secondary human burial, represented by upper body skeletal fragments only, was found at about the level of the offerings.

The offerings, which include a Monte Albán IIIa form (Brockington 1969b), themselves further the idea of re-erection of the stela. Almost without exception they are battered, non-descript vessels; some were incomplete when buried, others show signs of long use before burial. In other words, they are second-hand, as was the stela. The two (or one in two places) incomplete secondary burials could be viewed in the same rather grisly light.

A radiocarbon date on bone apatite CO_2 , from the burial associated with Stela 1, gave an age of $1,800 \pm 130$, or 150 A.D. (GX 1712), which fits comfortably into early Classic, or Monte Albán IIIa in the Valley of Oaxaca (Brockington, personal communication).

If the above reconstruction is correct or nearly so, the stelae themselves must be earlier than early Classic. Whatever the interpretation of events, other ceramic material associated with the stelae in undisturbed soil, and pollen analysis (Kitchen 1970) supports a late Preclassic chronological placement for both stones.

Three hour's travel time on mule back from the town of Colotepec is necessary to arrive at Pueblo Viejo (Site 39), a large complex of structures to the south and east of the town. Included in the complex is a well-defined ballcourt, 35 meters long and 20 meters wide at the maximum. On the perimeters of the ballcourt, in positions suggesting original placement in the "bleachers", or sloping sides of the structure, were found two carved stones, each 1.3 m. long by .3 m. wide and deep (Plate IV; and Fig. 5). One end was left uncarved and rounded off, as for a tenon. The stones are identical and probably represent serpents. The eyes are on the sides

of the stones; a dot with double tassel on the back; the forked tongue turns the corner from the back to the muzzle end. There is a cross on the muzzle, and the belly plates of the serpent are indicated on the lower surface. The wrap-around manner of carving (Fig. 5 is an unwrapped drawing), the positions of the stones relative to the ballcourt, and the unadorned rounded ends indicate their original insertion in the sloping walls of the court, where they would be seen from all angles. Surface ceramics from Pueblo Viejo are predominantly Postclassic Mixtec.

Six of the eleven stone monuments found at Río Grande-2 are carved. Monument 8 is separated physically and stylistically from the others (Plate V). This is a large stone head, carved in the round, found about 100 meters to the west of the largest mound (Map 3). About one meter of the sculpture is showing; the whole figure, if intact and if in proportion to the head, would be at least three meters tall. The sculptural treatment is simple, using the natural contours of the stone. The head is rather pointed and slopes outward to the shoulders. There is no neck; the head is set off by a wide deep groove around three-quarters of the stone. The chin is pointed. The features are much eroded; the eyes and mouth are shallow depressions, the nose is flat, broad, and trapezoidal in outline. The back of the sculpture is apparently smooth; carving, if any, may have spalled off.

The other five carved stelae at RG-2 form a group. They are placed side by side; Monument 2 faces east, Monument 3 (now fallen) is carved on two adjacent faces and formed the angle stone, Monuments 4, 5, and 6 face north. There is about 1.5 m. space

between stelae 2, 3, and 4; 5 and 6 are more spaced out. There may be other stelae placed between numbers 4, 5, and 6; we did not excavate in the areas between these stones. We had little time and so concentrated effort on stones that had already been partially exposed by looters.

The group of stelae is at the northeast corner of the large low mound to the southwest of the largest mound. Although treasure hunting excavations had been made around all five stones, Monument 5 was left relatively undisturbed and it was possible to put a stratigraphic pit (RG-2 Pit 4) in front of the stone. This pit, like Pit 2, associated with (plain) Monument 1b, yielded Classic and Preclassic ceramics in the lower levels, and largely Preclassic at the bottom. The looters' excavations revealed a rubble wall in which the carved stelae were embedded.

Monument 2, 2.2 m. high, 1 m. wide and .28 m. thick, is very badly worn. Some details of the carving can be seen better in photographs than on the stone itself (Plate VI; and Fig. 6). The stone shows a male figure standing in profile facing left (south). The right arm, in front, bends at the elbow; the left arm is at the side, also crooked. The right foot is slightly in front of the left. The figure is wearing a tall undecipherable headdress, a large round earspool, and possibly a mask. A speech scroll emerges from the mouth. There is a wide belt with a short breechcloth and a long sash hanging behind. A smaller figure, possibly a monkey, is in front of and facing the major character, on whose abdomen appears a dot-count number and a glyph, identifying the figure as 3-E, or 3-Turquoise (Caso 1928:32, Fig. 8, II). Howard Leigh, of the Museo

Frissell de Arte Sapoteca, informed me that 3-E can also signify "rain" (personal communication).

Monument 3 (Plate VII; and Fig. 7) is columnar rather than slablike. It is 2.47 m. high by .5 m. wide by .5 m. thick. It has fallen on its east-facing, carved surface. The visible north-facing surface depicts an elongated and stylized figure, standing in profile facing left (east). It wears a headdress and is masked. The chest area of the figure is taken up by glyphs and other elements; the positions of the arms cannot be made out. The right side of the stone is not dressed smooth as is the left side, and may have broken, or been broken, in the past. The left hand and arm of the figure may have thus been destroyed. The figure wears a belt with a knotted tassel and a short breechcloth. The legs and feet are simply indicated. The glyph 3-Turquoise appears in the midsection, along with other, undeciphered, elements.

Monument 4 (Plate VIII; and Fig. 8) is another columnar stela, 2.23 m. by .55 m. by .4 m. The figure shown, also highly stylized, is standing in profile facing right (west). It wears a high, plumed headdress and a mask with three blunt teeth, possibly representing an alligator or the Earth Monster. The glyph 3-Turquoise is below the mask. Much of the carving below the glyph has spalled off. A heavy looping waist ornament is discernable, and a short kilt with a breechcloth hanging in front. The figure has square stubby feet, and is standing on a design, perhaps simply space-filling, of squared incised scrolls.

Monument 5 (Plate IX; and Fig. 9), exposed by Pit 4, resembles Monument 2. It is 1.55 m. high, and 1 m. wide. Thick-

ness was not measured. The figure is standing in profile, facing right (west). The left arm is in front and the right is behind the figure. Both arms are bent upward at the elbow, with the hands palms outward. Much of the headdress is broken away; what remains is similar to that of Monument 4 and probably represents the same creature. A spotted tail extends out and up from the back, as if waving. The right foot is clawed; the left wears a bead anklet. A speech scroll emerges from the mouth, and this figure also bears the 3-Turquoise glyph. Subsidiary elements include a skull hanging (?) from the left hand; the right hand supports a grooved rectangular object, with another rectangular object below. As on Monument 2, there is a monkey in front of and facing the main figure, paws extended in front and upwards. Below the spotted tail at the rear of the main figure is the glyph 2- (or 5-) H (Caso 1928:35, Fig. 11), and an unidentified element.

Monument 6 (Plate X; and Fig. 10) was exposed to a depth of 1.24 m. and is about one meter wide. The figure is probably standing, and is shown in profile facing left (east). The head-dress is partly broken and spalled off. It is plumed, and represents a creature with a bulbous or upcurving snout and protruding tongue. Three elements, possible speech scrolls, are near the figure's mouth. There is a large earspool, and a collar or necklace of beads. An irregularity in the surface of the stone caused the apparent egg-shape of the earspool. Above the right hand, which is extended palm outward to the front, are two incomplete elements; below the hand is a grooved lunate element and what is probably the glyph I (Caso 1928:35, Fig. 12). The left arm is bent upwards close

to the back, palm out. Above it is an element, either decorative or the glyph I again. A plain rectangle is below the left hand. These last two elements might represent a staff held by the figure. The glyph E, or Turquoise, appears as usual in the center, and the tops of three dots were barely exposed.

Cerro del Rey (Site 41) is a mountain about three hour's walk north of Río Grande. The site on the summit has several mound-patio complexes. Lying in a patio between two mounds are two carved stelae; a third was found in a smaller mound-patio group 160 meters to the northwest. Surface ceramics included Classic, Postclassic, and Mixtec wares. Stela 1 (Plate XI; and Fig. 11), the "Rey", or King, which gives the mountain its name, is 2.1 m. high and .7 m. wide, tapering slightly to the bottom, and .3 m. thick. It represents a fabulous being, half man and half jaguar. The figure is presented frontally, the human side on the left of the stela, or the right side of the being. The head is shown in a combination of full face and profile; the human is frontal, the humanized jaguar head is in profile, and both taken together can be viewed as a single full face. The plumed headdress is discontinuous and slightly different for the two sub-beings. The human eye is oval and staring, the mouth curves down in a grimace. The human wears an earspool with a cruciform design (a similar earspool, ceramic, was collected on the surface at Charco Redondo). The jaguar ear is large and feline; the eye is represented by a rounded incised scroll, giving a very fierce effect. The nose is large, hooked, and human. The jaguar mouth is wide and snarling with large teeth; there is a prominent chin. The jaw line slants up to the angle of the ramus

and bends back on itself in a rectangular scroll. The human arm is bent sharply at the elbow, and is held in front of the body with the hand hanging limp. The hand itself is oddly embryonic or paw-like. The jaguar paw emerges from a welter of spots on the right, and is also held in front of the body. Two jaguar digits are indicated; they are blunt and spotted. The human leg and foot are plain and rounded with a well-defined calf. The jaguar leg is more stumpy and is spotted. The jaguar foot has five claws and possibly a pad. Both feet toe out. A narrow breechcloth hangs from the waist, following the contour of the human leg. At the waist is a bar and five dots, and an enclosed glyph, possibly glyph S (Caso 1928:43, Fig. 20). The dots might be interpreted as a belt; the figure's label, then, could be either 5- or 10-S. Below the human elbow there is a double scrolled element, and another similar to one on Monument 5 at Río Grande-2. What might be the same element appears to the right of the glyph.

Stela 2 (Fig. 12), found near the "Rey", is badly worn. It is 1.65 m. high, .45 m. wide and .3 m. thick at the maximum. It shows a frontal figure with arms crossed on the breast. The hands are missing or worn away. The face is oval; the features are badly worn and shallow. One round earspool remains. This upper portion of the stone is fairly deeply carved with an almost sculptural treatment. The lower portion has the usual flat relief carving, and shows a bar-dot number twelve beneath a cartouche containing several elements, two of which might be glyph H (the upper on the left), and below it, the glyph S.

Stela 3 (Fig. 13) is headless; what remains is 1.1 m.

high, .4 m. wide and .18 m. thick. The figure is frontal, with arms crossed on the breast. The lower part of the stone bears a few scattered undecipherable lines.

A similar stela, from an unknown but presumably nearby location, lies in the back yard of the Hotel Hnas. Luna in Río Grande (Plate XII). Much eroded, it also shows a figure with crossed arms; the carving technique of the head is fairly sculptural.

At Nopala, a town about twenty kilometers inland and a short distance off the Oaxaca-Puerto Escondido road, the inhabitants have built a wall in front of the presidencia of fourteen carved stelae. These were found nearby, but it was not possible at the time to visit the original location; there is therefore no good ceramic association for the stones, nor any indication of their original placement relative to each other or to possible structures.

However, in the summer of 1970, Sr. Antonio Woblrich, of the Cafetal Sinaí, near Nopala, was kind enough to show me ceramics he had collected in the area. These were mostly run-of-the-mill Monte Albán III styles. Included in his collection were several long cylindrical ceramic objects, tapered at both ends, rather resembling a conventional mano, but made of coarse red pottery. None showed any sign of wear. Sr. Woolrich told me these objects are found in groups, placed vertically in the ground, but not in any particular discernible pattern or combination of numbers. He has never seen any in close association with stelae; they are just from the same region. Marie Vechte, of Oaxaca City, showed me photographs of the Nopala villagers moving the stelae into town. One photograph showed the stone I call Stela 2, Nopala, standing upright

though somewhat askew, near Stela 1, which was lying face up on the ground, broken in two.

All the Nopala stelae show frontally presented figures. Stela 1, 2 m. high and 1 m. wide (Plate XIII; and Fig. 14), depicts a scowling, oval-eyed male figure with a wide plumed and tasseled headdress. The nose is broad and flat with flaring nostrils, the mouth like a figure 8 on its side, or our symbol for "infinity". The ears are long with round earspools. The head is unusually large in proportion to the body. The figure wears a wide, twisted collar. In its right hand it grasps a large flint knife, and in the left a triple-volute object. A long cruciform hangs from a dot on the otherwise plain belt, and there is a short, wide breechcloth. Five dots on the left and four on the right border the figure, possibly as spacefillers. The feet are missing or buried.

Stela 2 (Plate XIV; and Fig. 15), is 1.75 by .6 m. It is similar in many respects to Stela 1. The headdress is incomplete; it appears to be the upper jaw, teeth and nostrils of an animal, with circular elements or spots at the sides. The figure carries an unidentified small object in its right hand. At the chest there is a trapezoidal block possibly enclosing a circular glyph; two bars are at the waist. A short breechcloth and stubby legs and feet complete the figure.

Stela 3, 1.7 by .78 m., is similar to Stelae 1 and 2 in many respects. The carving is more angular, and the necklace is beaded. The eyes are squinting or closed; the arms in front with the hands side by side, palms down, on the breast (Plate XV; and Fig. 16).

Stela 4 is 1.83 by .53 m. It is unusual, and unfortunately has suffered much erosion and spalling. The mouth is wide, the "moustache" large and somewhat irregular, with two thick hook shapes below the corners. The eyes are round and goggled. A number of plumes is at the top and sides. On the chest there is a large lunate, the horns pointing down. The arms apparently are not indicated. At the waist several dots and a larger element possibly represent a belt; beneath these five more dots could be a count, perhaps related to the lunate. The legs are short and rather fat (Plate XVI; and Fig. 17).

Stela 5 (Plate XVII; and Fig. 18) is incomplete, missing much of the plumed headdress and the lower body. What remains is 1.16 by .6 m. The figure represented has oval eyes, apparently closed. The nose and mouth are the usual Nopala form as seen on Stela 1, although the face seems much thinner, with sharp cheekbones. The figure wears large rectangular earspools and a bead necklace. The arms are crossed on the breast with the hands at the shoulders.

Stela 6 (Plate XVIII; and Fig. 19) is also incomplete, the remaining part is 1.07 by .36 m., and represents only the head and parts of the headdress of a figure evidently much like the others. The features are broad and flat, the eyes, though open, are blank. The headdress includes a band of interlocking zig-zags forming two large horizontal diamonds, and short plumes rise vertically above the band.

Stela 7, .72 by .48 m., is virtually worn away (Plate XIX). What remains of the figure appears to be like the others in

general features. The eyes are round and open; the earplugs seem to be double discs. The figure holds a long object, probably a knife similar to that shown on Stela one, in the left hand. The right forearm is at the waist. No other details can be seen.

Stela 8 (Plate XX; and Fig. 20) is 1.18 m. by .43 m. The figure has both arms and legs crossed; the arms in a strait-jacket position with the hands at the ribs, the legs and feet in a parallel posture. There is a plain narrow band at the waist. Facial details most resemble Stela 3 of this group. The eyes are almost obliterated; the cheeks are round and well defined, the mouth slightly open. The bead necklace looks like a continuation of the headdress, which, however, does not appear to be an animal mask as on Stelae 2 and 3. The hands and feet, with fingers and toes defined, are rather frog-like.

Stela 9 (Plate XXI) is 1.18 by .39 m., and is practically unrecognizable. What can be made out indicates it was identical in posture and features to Stela 8.

Stela 10 (Plate XXII; and Fig. 21) is headless; the remaining part is 1.15 by .52 m. It is mainly notable for the representation of a figure wearing a quechquémitl bearing an element resembling a form of the glyph E; an odd, formless hand is at the upper right of the stela.

Stela 11 (Plate XXIII; and Fig. 22) is another badly worn stone. Its dimensions are 1.25 by .54 m. It represents a large-headed figure. The eyes and nose were obliterated; the scar indicates the damage may have been deliberate. The mouth is the usual wide "infinity" symbol shape. There are two large circular ear-

spools, and a narrow beaded (?) necklace. Two large circular elements placed centrally just below the necklace could be more ornaments, or conceivably breasts. I consider the latter possibility very unlikely, as female nudes are rare in Mesoamerican art except for ceramic figurines. The arms are bent inward at the elbows, the hands held fingers downward at belt level. The legs appear stubby. There are three circular elements on the figure's lower right, and possibly a fourth in the center, below the feet.

Stela 12 (Plate XXIV) is 1.18 by .66 m., and, like Stela 10, is headless. The figure's right arm is sharply bent upward at the elbow; the hand might be holding an object as on Stela 1. The left hand seems to be holding, or resting on, an object at waist level. This object has faint indentations, and could be like the possible glyph E shape on Stela 10. Below this is a boldly carved bar-dot count eight, or this could be a belt.

Stela 13 (Plate XXV) is 1.18 by .33 m. It represents a figure with closed eyes, and a slack mouth; it is a completely expressionless face, like Stela 6. The headdress is two simple horizontal bands with vertical striation. Earspools are smallish discs with the usual central dimple. Three small discs are below the chin. The arms are crossed on the breast, right over left, with the hands at the shoulders. A plain horizontal band is at the waist; the lower body does not seem to have been indicated.

Stela 14 (Plate XXV; and Fig. 23) shows a similar figure, 1.2 by .5 m. In this case the headdress is more elaborate, and the earspools larger. Facial details are more like Stela 2 than Stela 13. There is a single circular ornament below the chin. Arms are

crossed, left over right. The right index finger is apparently extended, or the other three might be broken. Three vertically placed dots are below the arms. The figure might wear a quechquémitl, indicated by two diagonal lines at the bottom of the stone.

Three other carved stones were encountered during the 1969 field season. Along the road near the village of Charco Redondo (Site 61) there is placed an eroded fragment of a carved stela. The remaining carving is low and massive; the subject of the carving has not been determined. Surface ceramics from the area are primarily Classic, with some Pre- and possibly some Post-classic.

The two carved stones facing each other across the center of the ballcourt at Manialtepec-2 bear frontal presentations of human figures. The headdress of one is broken off; only the eyes, nose, and part of the mouth are showing above the ground (Plate XXVI). The other is apparently complete, although neither was excavated. The eyes and part of the nose of the figure are showing (Plate XXVII). The headdress, slightly off center to the right, is an animal head, possibly a deer, in profile facing left, above three round elements placed on a band across the forehead of the figure.

The third carved stela from Manialtepec-2 is in low relief, showing a figure with crossed arms. It lay in a dense tangle of thornbush, some eight to ten meters to the northwest of the ballcourt, and was not measured or photographed.

The 1970 survey crew located a large carved stela at La Humidad, near the Río Verde on the west bank just north of the

ferry crossing for Highway 200. The stone is nearly three meters high; the upper two meters show signs of carving (Fig. 24). The carving is shallow and linear. It depicts a frontally placed figure, with a wide mouth and oval eyes. The headdress is elaborate, with sweeping side scrolls and a mass of straight plumes emerging from the top. The frontal placement of the figure ties it in with the Oaxaca coast; the treatment of the stone strongly resembles the stelae from Piedra Labrada, Guerrero (Piña Chán 1960; fotos 12, 13, 14).

Other carvings found in 1970 include a broken and buried stela from Huichacata, also on the west bank of the Río Verde, about ten kilometers north of La Humidad. This showed sweeping plumes (?), a rectangular element, and part of a scroll form. The manner of carving is similar to that of the Nopala stelae, as far as can be made out from what is visible.

A third carved stone was located in 1970, at Río Viejo, on the west bank of the Río Verde across from the San José del Progreso site complex. Its appearance was not reported to me.

PART 3: PETROGLYPHS

Petroglyphs of one sort or another are found all over the world. Often they seem to be the result of "doodling", and so can have little or no obvious cultural significance, although some doodles might interest psychologists. Some other petroglyphs can be more easily interpreted, although not always specifically identified.

On the Cerro de Tepalcates, or Potsherd Hill, where there were remarkably few potsherds, there is a group of at least nine petroglyphs pecked on boulders (Figs. 25 and 26). These petroglyphs look very much like actual glyphs, and one is, in fact, the ubiquitous Zapotec glyph E (Fig. 25a). It is accompanied by four dots. Two others may be the Zapotec glyphs H (Fig. 25 d, e), but they are not really very similar to any of the "H" forms catalogued by Caso (1928, Fig. 11). Another (Fig. 25b) may be the Zapotec glyph K, which Caso describes as a human foot, and which so far had only been found on Stela 9 at Monte Albán (Caso 1928:38). Insofar as this Cerro de Tepalcates glyph resembles anything at all, it resembles an attempt at a foot.

The other petroglyphs at Cerro de Tepalcates do not look like any of the glyphs described and illustrated by Caso. Three of them, however (Fig. 25c, f, and g) have a distinctly Maya, or perhaps Xochicalco "feel" to them, though this is strictly my own impression, and should not be taken as fact. They are not any of

the twenty day-name glyphs is the 260-day sacred calendar round, nor any of the nineteen "month" signs of the 365-day "vague" year, nor the "long count" period glyphs (Coe 1966:55; Stuart, personal communication).

The two remaining petroglyphs (Fig. 26) are eroded and spalled; one (a) is encircled by twenty small pecked dots with an arrow-shaped group of ten dots below it, and five dots beyond the circle of twenty. The other (b) is almost totally obliterated. Seven of these figures (Fig. 25a, c, d, g; and Fig. 26b) were accompanied by numerical notation, indicating numbers "three", "four" (with the E-glyph, in contrast to the "3-E" typical of the Río Grande-2 stelae), "five", represented by five dots, "seven", and "nine". In the last two numbers, the "five" element is the more usual bar. Although most of these glyphs occur with numbers, they need not necessarily be calendrical glyphs at all. Much more comparison with many more glyphs is needed.

Other petroglyphs encountered in 1969 include a circle with four triangular rays, like a four-pointed star, pecked into a boulder in a field near San José Progreso; and an eight-pointed star (?) on a rock shown us by a woman in Río Grande, who said she found it near the airfield runway.

In 1970, the survey crew located a boulder in the riverbed near Chila, which had an elaborate pecked representation of a monster, probably an alligator (Fig. 27). This could support the identification of the Chila Stela 1 headdress as an alligator. Brockington noted the similarity of this figure to a figure on a stela from Guerrero (Grove and Paradis 1971); Grove agrees with

the resemblance (Brockington, personal communication).

On a boulder by the side of the road to Huamelula, about fifty kilometers from Salina Cruz, there is a mass of petroglyphs that, I think, fall into the "doodle" category (Fig. 28). I realize the risk in dismissing these so lightly, but they do not look enough like anything for me to attempt a comparison with anything else.

CHAPTER III: DISCUSSION

PART 1: COMPARISONS

Several other carved stones are known from the coastal area; they will be brought into the following discussion of stylistic relationships.

Sculpture in the round has been found at several places. At Piedra Parada Jamiltepec there is a well-executed feline, carved fully in the round, and a boulder pecked with shallow lines into the representation of a human skull (Brockington 1957b:76 et. seq.). Brockington has demonstrated their strongest stylistic affinities to be with the Olmec of Veracruz. Although the Lagartero head is not linear in treatment, it can be related to the Piedra Parada head as a simple and rather minimal representation of an unattached skull.

A boulder found in the cemetery at Tututepec shows shallow linear pecking, representing a monster or a skull. The manner of carving is clearly similar to the Piedra Parada Jamiltepec skull (Piña Chán 1960, foto 7).

Presently located in front of the municipio at Jamiltepec, and originally from Los Herreros, slightly east of the Río Verde (Maler 1883), is a large, almost cylindrical statue of a human. It is also clearly Olmecoid in character (DeCicco y Brockington 1956: 14; and Fig. 14); Coe considers it to be an example of "colonial" Olmec style (1966a:742). It is possible that Monument 8 at Río

Grande-2 resembled this statue originally. Several of the visible features are similar, especially the treatment of the nose.

Facial characteristics of the Jamiltepec and Río Grande-2 full-round figures, in particular the bulging cheeks, squinty eyes, and the flat nose are very nearly duplicated on a series of massive carved boulders from Monte Alto, on the coast of Guatemala (Parsons and Jenson 1965, Figs. 3, 15, 10). These colossal sculptures also have the fine-line detail carving that appears on the Jamiltepec figure. It has been suggested that the Monte Alto sculpture represents a cult to the Maya Fat God, who was "without known function, but ubiquitous...in Classic times" (Coe 1966b:63).

Another Olmecoid sculpture, also with the flattish trapezoidal nose, was found at Charco de Ometepec, Guerrero (Piña Chán 1960, foto 15). This characteristic treatment of the nose is perhaps best seen at Cerro de las Mesas, Veracruz. Stela 1 at that site is a well-shaped tapered cylinder, the nose is simply a large raised triangle with tiny eyebrows indicated above; this is the only surface carving on the stone. Here is another example of minimal sculpture (Stirling 1943, Pl. 20a).

A stela carved in bas-relief is mounted on a pedestal at San Pedro Jicayán, Oaxaca, a town about fifteen kilometers north of Pinotepa Nacional. It represents a figure standing in part profile, the head and legs facing left and the torso presented frontally (Smith 1970). The posture and treatment of the stone is similar to Veracruz Olmec style as seen in Veracruz (Stirling 1943, Pl. 20c) and also at Tonalá, Chiapas, where there are several stelae very like the Jicayán stone (Ferdon 1953, Pl. 20b). The Chila

stelae, although presented in full front view, show several elements that can be found on Veracruz style stelae. The sandals and sandal tassels on Chila Stela 1 are almost identical to those of Stela 9, Cerro de las Mesas; the rays or plumes above the serpent's tail and the tail finial itself resemble a ray-emitting element on the side of the same Veracruz stela (Stirling 1943:37, Fig.11a).

The unified conception of design of the Chila stones, pulled together visually by strong diagonal elements; and the actual treatment of the stone, the technique of carving, and handling of bas-relief conventions is close to Veracruz stelae.

Stelae from Tonalá, on the coast of Chiapas, show general and some specific resemblances to coastal Oaxacan stelae. Most are presented in profile, as is the Jicayán figure; the carving is similarly delicate. Tonalá Stela 9 holds a knife, as does the Chila-presidencia figure (Ferdon 1953, Pl. 20e).

The Nopala series of stones is a remarkably unified group, although the subjects may vary. Stelae 3, 5, 8, 9, possibly 11, and 13 and 14, apparently depict dead people, with eyes closed and arms folded or crossed on the breast. Stelae 1, 2, and 7 are wide-eyed and holding objects in their hands, and Stela 6 is at least open-eyed, although blank. All, including the aberrant Stela 4, are frontal; all present a unified design concept marked by diagonal elements (except Stela 4); all are true bas-reliefs, using overlap to indicate the third dimension (possibly except Stela 4 again); in these characteristics they resemble the Chila stelae. A few individual elements are similar to Chila also; the flint knives held by the figures on Nopala Stelae 1 and 7 are like that

on the Chila presidencia stela, and the large bead necklaces on both Chila and Nopala stelae.

It should be noted here that the triple volute held by the Nopala Stela 1 figure is identical to an element on a clay object from Chila, Puebla (Paddock 1966, Pl. 4) Howard Leigh identifies the triple volute as a "tomoye", a Japanese term for an extremely common element; he further says this symbol represents "excrement" in Teotihuacán glyphs (personal communication).

Nopala Stela 4, so different from the others there, shows typical "Tlaloc" traits: the goggle-eyes, and swooping moustache. It is nearly identical to "Tlaloc" stela from Horcones, Chiapas (Navarrete, personal communication).

Mrs. Elizabeth Easby, who has worked with prehispanic lapidary material, points out the similarity of the Nopala stelae (except Stela 4) to early Classic Maya jade carving, which was extensively copied by Oaxacan Mixtecs (personal communication). I examined a number of jades in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and the resemblance is indeed strong. The jades characteristically have slit or shut eyes, bead necklaces, squarish flat faces with broad noses and wide mouths. They are frontal, often with the hands held in front, sometimes with crossed arms (MAI-MF 1/2570; 6279).

A number of statues with crossed arms have been discussed by Parsons (1969), they will be brought up again in a subsequent section of this paper.

Stela 23 at Kaminaljuyú, Guatemala, is cited by Parsons as having a "Teotihuacán style face" (1969, Pl. 55c); it is also

a very Nopala-style face, with closed eyes, broad nose, oval, slightly open mouth, and a large-bead necklace.

It is interesting, though probably irrelevant, that the facial features of Nopala Stela 14, while completely characteristic of the group as a whole (always omitting Stela 4) are handled in such a way as to give an impression of an overall "Zapotec" physical type.

In the churchyard at Tututepec there is a cylindrical statue strongly reminiscent of the atlantean figures at Tula. The Toltec similarities have often been noted, but the general style and some specific elements seem to be local. The face is similar to the Nopala stones, even to the "infinity" symbol mouth. The posture, with the hands in front, also resembles Nopala. Although the cylinder is carved all around, the sculptural treatment is bas-relief; that is, the design is more on the stone than carved into it (Piña Chán 1960:70-72; and fotos 5 and 6).

Also from Tututepec, and now in the National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City, there is a statue of a figure with crossed arms and bars and dots at the waist. The head is carved almost in the round, and the lower body is in bas-relief on a rounded surface (Plate XXVIII). A third sculpture at Tututepec is a serpent head tenon resembling in general lineaments, but not much else, the serpent tenons at Pueblo Viejo Colotepec (Piña Chán 1960, foto 9). Although the Tututepec sculptures have been moved about, there is a nearby site, called Cerro de los Pájaros, from which they may have come. Ceramics from this site are Mixtec (DeCicco y Brockington 1956:64).

At Cola de Palma, in the district of Pinotepa Nacional, there was found a worn and headless figure with crossed arms; the carving is fairly deep (Gamio 1967, foto 22). There is also a large (about one meter high) in-the-round sculpture of a heavy-bodied but tiny-headed figure, squatting on its haunches. Gamio says it shows characteristics of a large simian (1967, foto 22). At Izapa, a bas-relief figure on Stela 6 has the same posture; Stirling identified it as a "sitting, pot-bellied jaguar" (1943: 65; and Pl. 50b). Another full round sculpture, this time from Piedra Labrada, Guerrero, is identical in posture to the Cola de Palma statue; the surface is more ornamented, and it is headless. Piña Chán calls it a decapitated jaguar (1960, foto 10).

Also at Cola de Palma, a large (unspecified) number of flat sculptures, varying in size but mostly from .4 to .6 m. high, was found. These are identical except in size to the familiar small penates associated with the Mixtec (Gamio 1967:25-28, and foto 23).

The carved portions visible on the Manialtepec-2 stelae are very like the Nopala stones. Ceramics from this site, as noted above, are Mixtec. It would be interesting if there is a bar below the three dots associated with the deer "headdress", in view of 8-Deer "Tiger Claw's" known presence on the coast.

Río Grande-2 Stelae 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 also display a strong unity. Besides repetition of elements, the glyph 3-E, for example, the design plan and manner of carving are uniform and distinct. The composition is essentially vertical and fragmented; individual elements can easily be isolated from the whole. This

sort of composition is seen in Monte Albán sculpture of Period III; Stelae 2 and 10 for example (Paddock 1966, Figs. 143 and 148).

Rather than show the third dimension by direct overlap and modeling, overlapping elements are visually isolated by marked grooves, and modelled features are shown by deeply incised lines.

The glyph 3-E, meaning 3-Turquoise, is, according to Caso, the name of The God of Monte Albán, shown wearing a jaguar costume on the Lápida de Bazán (Caso and Bernal 1952:54).

It was mentioned above that the manner of carving on the La Humidad stela approached that of the Piedra Labrada, Guerrero, stelae. These, in turn, bear resemblance to Monte Albán stelae, especially Stelae 3 and 6. Pottery from Piedra Labrada includes Monte Albán IIIa styles (Piña Chán 1960:73).

Presently in the National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City, but originally from the Río Grande area, there is a three meter tall stela depicting a figure with crossed arms, either in the clutches of a jaguar or wearing a jaguar skin on his head and shoulders (Plate XXIX). Between the feet, which are not indicated, is the glyph 3 Jaguar, and above that an unidentified, possibly late Xochicalco, glyph and the number seven (Paddock 1966:193n). Together with the "Rey" from Cerro del Rey, this stone shows traits common to both the Río Grande-2 and the Nopala stelae. Although the presentations are frontal, the sculptural technique is much more that of isolation, or "islanding" of elements rather than bas-relief. The postures and unified compositions recall Nopala as well as Monte Albán, although the treatment of the glyphs on both figures reminds one of Xochicalco (Saenz 1962, 1967).

PART 2: RELATIONSHIPS

Up to this point I have just been citing similarities of the monuments and stelae from the Oaxacan coasts to each other (e.g. the characteristic frontality of all but the Río Grande-2 stelae and the Jicayán figure), and to monuments and stelae in other regions of Mesoamerica. It was not feasible to cite all resemblances in other Mesoamerican regions; I therefore only mentioned those I thought to be the most outstanding, and to be sufficient to indicate possible relationship with the various areas.

It is also necessary to show inter-relationships among the coastal stelae themselves; it cannot be supposed that coastal Oaxacan stone carvers were receiving influence from, for instance, Chiapan styles, without having some cognizance of carved stones in their own back yards.

Since the ceramic associations of most of the Oaxacan coast stelae are poor, or nonexistent in the case of the Nopala stelae, I attempted to work out a developmental sequence based on attributes of the stones themselves. There did not appear to be one single long sequence of style development, beginning at "Stela A" and ending neatly at "Stela Z" and including all style units, or stelae, along the way. Rather, I ^{SAW} was the coastal stelae as deriving from at least two sources, each shown by a distinct style; these two styles mutually affecting each other, culminating in the appearance of a stone carving style with elements of both antece-

dents in about equal measure.

In brief, the two carved Chila stelae, and the five from Río Grande-2, seemed to be the most widely divergent, stylistically, of the coastal stelae. Also, these two groups have good ceramic association, and in the case of the Chila stones, a radiocarbon age supporting a Preclassic date for the stelae. I took these to represent the basic intrusive styles which eventually merged, producing the style shown on the "Rey" of Cerro del Rey and the Río Grande stela in the National Museum of Anthropology.

First, it was necessary to show the possibility and probability of "outside" influence on the coastal stelae. Visual similarity, no matter how apparent, is not sufficient. Although no large migrations of peoples are suggested in this case, Rouse's requirements for demonstration of migration seem applicable. One must:

- 1) identify the migrating [trait] as an intrusive unit in the region it has penetrated.
- 2) trace this unit back to its homeland.
- 3) determine that all occurrences of the unit are contemporaneous.
- 4) establish the existence of favorable conditions [for trait movement].
- 5) demonstrate that some other hypothesis, such as independent invention or diffusion of traits, does not better fit the facts of the situation (1958:64).

1) As far as we know, there is no evidence of an incipient tradition of flat stone bas-relief carving on the coast of Oaxaca. Furthermore, both the Chila stelae and the Río Grande-2 stelae are elaborate and sophisticated examples of their respective styles, and would not look out of place if transplanted to their respective postulated homelands, as would the later stelae in the

postulated sequence.

2) "...in ancient times [the Chiapas coast] was a route of passage for influences from the La Venta and Monte Albán cultures, and later from Lower Cerro de las Mesas II, Teotihuacan III, and Monte Albán IIIa..." (Jimenez 1966:73). "...the suggestive stylistic succession of La Venta - Izapa - Highland Maya - Lowland Maya represents a historical sequence..." (Paddock 1966:112). With influence known to be travelling from Veracruz and Tabasco across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to Izapa, and down into the Maya area, it is possible to imagine the same influences moving up the Pacific coast. This is in fact shown at Tonalá, Chiapas: "Tonalá stone sculpturing represents...a locally developed style undoubtedly influenced by that free and rather vigorous school of art that ranged from Southern Veracruz and Tabasco down the Pacific coast of Chiapas to Southern Guatemala" (Ferdon 1953:104). That this style reached Guerrero is shown by the squatting headless jaguar from Piedra Labrada that so closely resembles Stela 6 at Izapa, and by an "Olmec" stela from San Miguel Amuco, reported by Grove and Paradis (1971). Between the coasts of Guerrero and Chiapas is the coast of Oaxaca.

That there was contact between the Valley of Oaxaca and the coast in prehispanic times is amply shown by the ceramics. Besides the Monte Albán IIIa style vessel mentioned earlier, in association with Chila, there is an abundance of graphite-on-red ware, also found at Monte Albán, where it is rare and considered intrusive (Caso, Bernal y Acosta 1967:329). This pottery is also rare at the Río Grande-2 site; pottery there is more typically in

the Monte Albán tradition (Brockington 1969b). Though there are no known intermediate sites between the Valley and coast along the chain of mountain passes giving on the Río Grande area, this does not mean much as the area has never been surveyed. A site at the southern end of the Valley, in the town of Miahuatlán, has characteristics of Monte Albán Periods II and especially III. It could easily be a point on a travel route to the coast; it has been described as a prehispanic slave trade center (Brockington 1970b), which suggests fairly long distance travel.

3) The contemporaneity of the stelae at Chila, Tonalá, Izapa, and the Veracruz-Tabasco area is fairly close. The Chila stelae are most likely late Preclassic or early Classic, antedating the radiocarbon date of 150 A.D. Ferdon indicates the Tonalá stelae are probably early Classic (1953). The times assigned to the various cultural periods in Mesoamerica vary from place to place and with new finds or interpretations. Parsons pushes "Early Classic" for "Middle America" back to 100 A.D. (1969:155), and it may well be much earlier.

Most of the carved stelae at Izapa were probably erected during the late Preclassic; radiocarbon dates from Mound 30a, associated with Stelae 8 and 9 among others, range from 745 ± 100 B.C. to 150 ± 110 B.C. (Ekholm 1969).

The approximate contemporaneity of the Izapa and the Veracruz-Tabasco sculpture is generally accepted, with the latter considered the source of the former (Paddock 1966; Coe 1962).

The contemporaneity of the Río Grande-2 stelae and Monte Albán III is perhaps best indicated by the similarities of

much of the pottery of the western Oaxacan coastal area and Classic Monte Albán styles. Pottery from the stratigraphic pits at Río Grande-2 included styles from middle Preclassic through Postclassic of Monte Albán. Also, mentioned above, the glyph 3-E appears both on the Period IIIa Lápida de Bazán and all five of the Río Grande stelae; this is of course not proof of contemporaneity, but taken with the pottery supports the idea.

4) Examination of a relief map of Mexico will show the easiest route from the Veracruz area to the Oaxacan coast to be down the Gulf coast, across the Isthmus, and back up the Pacific coast. There is today a road, of sorts, between Oaxaca City and Tuxtepec on the Gulf side of the Oaxaca-Puebla mountain system; the route is extremely difficult, even for heavy-duty vehicles; most of the passes are artificially made and liable to collapse.

Travel between the Valley of Oaxaca and the central coast is today accomplished through a series of passes between valleys, in the case of the Oaxaca - Puerto Escondido route, and over one main pass on the route via Miahuatlán to Puerto Angel. These routes are tedious but not too difficult, and probably approximate those in use in prehispanic times.

5) Diffusion of traits is precisely what I am attempting to demonstrate here, since I do not think large-scale migrations of peoples are involved. Although we have no prehispanic skeletal material from the Oaxacan coast to compare with other areas, the "Zapotec" looking face of the Nopala Stela 14 might help argue for the presence of the same people in the same place for a long time.

I also think that independent invention can be discounted

in this case. The spontaneous, though not contemporary, appearance in one area of two such dissimilar styles, both strongly resembling known styles elsewhere, does not seem very likely.

Having established to my own satisfaction the probability of outside derivation of the two postulated basic style stocks, I tried to reconstruct a sequence developing out of them. I had the assistance of a packaged program for computer assisted attribute analysis, developed by Dr. F.T. Cloak of the University of North Carolina, for reconstruction of historical sequences of culture changes. His program is based on the assumption

"that once a new type or attribute is adopted, it is not lost again during the time covered by our collections, or, once a type present at the beginning of our sequence is lost, it will not reappear. If our sequence is not too long, this assumption will hold for most of the types in question. Such exceptions as there are should not throw our sequence off". (Cloak 1967:11).

The program is designed for a 13 x 40 matrix. I chose twelve attributes, trying to select characteristics of sculptural technique rather than specific elements, although four such elements were included since I thought they were of major importance. The attributes were:

- 2) "Infinity" symbol mouth
- 3) Arms crossed on the breast
- 4) Bar-dot count
- 5) Zapotec or Zapotec-looking glyphs
- 6) Deep, more sculptural carving; high relief
- 7) Overlap of elements to indicate depth; true bas-relief
- 8) "Island relief" carving; not true bas-relief
- 9) Frontality of figure
- 10) Visually isolable elements; elements not structural to the composition
- 11) Unified design composition, strongly tied together
- 12) Strong diagonal elements
- 13) Vertical stacking of elements

A thirteenth attribute (#1: scrolled space-fillers) was discarded as it appeared in only one instance. Some of these attributes would seem to be mutually exclusive, for instance, bas-relief and "island relief" techniques, but both techniques can occur on a single stela, so both were included.

I then selected twenty-five of the stelae located in 1969, and coded them for presence or absence of these attributes. Sculpture in the round, and fragmentary stelae were not included. In order to fill out the matrix, I added nine other stelae, all from the Oaxaca-Guerrero coastal area (Piña Chán 1960, Rosenthal 1962, Gamio 1967), coding them the same way.

I punched one IBM card for each of the thirty-four coded stelae, and added the cards, arranged more or less in the order in which the stones were found, to the card deck of Cloak's prepared program. The initial printout showed a helter-skelter distribution of the coded attributes among the groups of stelae from the four main areas (Chila, Nopala, Río Grande-2, and Cerro del Rey).

Cloak's program requires that the investigator make the decisions for each operation to bring the trait distribution into the correct sequence, "correct" based on the assumption quoted above - that once a trait appears it stays, and once one is lost, it is lost. Most matrix-ordering programs are set up so that the computer does the ordering, with each row-column being tried in all possible positions until the criteria of placement are satisfied (Ascher and Ascher 1963), or even re-processing "best" matrices, trying all row-columns in all successive positions on the basis of each previous "best" matrix (Kuzara, Mead and Dixon 1966:1445).

Cloak's program has a disadvantage in the investigator takes much more time to arrive at a decision than the computer would take running through many possible permutations, but the program itself is much less complex than one in which the computer does the ordering for "best" matrix. Another disadvantage might be the investigator allowing his own notions of the desired final matrix to affect his ordering operations; I found, however, after three or four column-swapping operations, that I had no conscious idea which column represented which attribute, and went on re-arranging rows and columns with very little idea of what I would be coming out with.

I made twenty-five row or column changes, asking for printouts six times to see what the matrix was getting to look like and to plan the next series of swaps. The printouts enabled me to plan my moves without tying up the computer for long periods. The final printout (Fig. 29) shows two distinct groups of stelae, that is, Groups A and B, and a third, C1 and C2, with characteristics of both.

If one reads the printout from top and bottom at once, it shows two distinct styles that blend in group C1; this is essentially my initial idea of the developmental sequence of styles, although I had not considered possible subsequent loss of attributes, as indicated by group C2.

In fact, the tidy printout represents a severely oversimplified scheme of events. It does not consider the obvious strong Maya area ties of the Nopala stelae, shown not only by the small jade plaques but by several cross-armed figures from Bilbao and El Baul (Parsons 1969:120). However, I still think the basis

of the scheme is correct - that the Chila stelae are Veracruz-via-Izapa inspired, and the style of the Río Grande-2 stelae is of Monte Albán origin.

Certain Chila characteristics do appear, to an extent, on the Nopala stelae; the blade-like object held by the Stela 1 figure, as well as general composition and technique.

Assuming, however, a general Classic date for the Nopala stelae (on the basis of the early Classic jades) it is much more likely to suppose continued contact and influence back and forth between the Oaxacan coast and other Mesoamerican regions, and the evidence supports this.

That stelae on the Oaxacan coast show influences from several other regions seems pretty clear. How these influences arrived is another question. Three-ton stone slabs cannot be carried around like pottery. And though the traits, not the stones themselves, were dispersed over wide areas, sculptural qualities are difficult to transmit in a non-sculptural medium. The sculptors themselves may have carried the various styles, hiring out, so to speak, or teaching local stoneworkers new tricks.

An interesting suggestion is that there were "tiny portable stelae for migrant traders or artists"; two fragments of "portable sculpture" were found at Kaminaljuyú (Miles 1965:257). The Maya jades, so like Nopala stelae, could be considered portable sculpture; or stela models; the sculptural quality of many of the jades is heavy and massive, more suited to large coarse stone than fine jade.

Such small "stela models" may have also existed in Monte

Albán Period III. A .22 m. high green stone slab carving, described by the Easbys (1962) has been identified as Period III; one side depicts the Bat God, the other shows a human figure with Zapotec glyph 2-J on the Chest. The style is massive, and generally like Period III stelae.

PART 3: POSSIBILITY OF ORIGIN OF SOME MIXTEC TRAITS
ON THE COAST

So far I have discussed the connections of the coastal stelae with other regions, and sketched a sequence of development, modified by further outside influence, of a coastal style of carving.

At the beginning of this paper, I listed some of the purposes of the Oaxaca coast survey; those included investigation of Olmec and Maya influence on the coast. The foregoing has borne primarily on those two points.

A third major point was the problem of the appearance of the Mixteca-Puebla culture. The suggested sequence of development on the coast does not terminate with the style fusion shown by the Cerro del Rey and Río Grande-National Museum of Anthropology stelae. Rather, this elaborate style probably represents an isolated instance, probably limited to this one locality. The dominant characteristics of frontality and crossed arms continued, with increasing generalization and stylization.

The crossed-arm trait appears to have come from the Maya area, or at least is fairly common in Cotzumahualpan sculpture (Thompson 1948). Parsons feels these figures may represent "dead persons or mummy bundles" (1969:119); this agrees with my interpretation of the Nopala stelae.

The increased stylization of the crossed-arm figures culminates in the group of oversized penates found at Cola de Palma. The carving is minimal and purely mechanical; straight saw-cut lines indicate sketchy features; the arms and splayed out fingers are the dominant traits. The presence of these figures in such numbers - at least twenty-three are visible in Gamio's picture (1967, foto '23) and the mechanical nature of the carving might signify a need for mass production of such figures, perhaps for a death or mortuary cult.

Whatever their ritual significance, if any, the Cola de Palma figures are identical in many respects to the familiar Mixtec penates, many of which are "small images of a dead man bundled up for burial...these were buried with the dead" (Paddock 1966:204).

The time of the appearance of Mixtec traits is continually being revised backwards in the Oaxaca Valley, and now elsewhere. Brockington's work at Miahuatlán also indicates an early, perhaps 5th Century A.D., date for the initial appearance of the Mixtec tradition at Miahuatlán (Brockington 1970b). On the Oaxacan coast, pottery appears that represents "the beginnings of the red-on-cream bichrome considered by many to be typical of the Mixtec ceramic tradition"; it is associated with Z and X Fine Orange sherds. The bichrome develops into a fine-line decorated style, that is accompanied by the beautiful polychrome of the late Postclassic; this ceramic tradition dominates the entire coast of Oaxaca from its earliest appearance (Brockington 1970a:7).

The sequences of development of the crossed-arm statues leading to penates, and of the red-on-cream ceramic tradition,

strongly suggests a coastal origin, or at least a long coastal history, for some "typical" highland Mixtec traits.

PART 4: SUMMARY

In summary, the coast of Oaxaca, at least from late Preclassic times on, was the home of a long series of cultures. There was wide contact with other areas; early influence seems to have been from Veracruz, the Oaxacan coast receiving many of the same traits that were transmitted to the Maya region. Later contacts were primarily with the Pacific coastal region of Guatemala, Monte Albán, and probably also with Xochicalco and Teotihuacán in the north. The Maya characteristics at Xochicalco probably were transmitted via the Pacific coast. Teotihuacán traits, such as the blocky head and large earspools of some Nopala stelae, could have come directly from the north, or possibly from the south via Maya sites with "Mexican" traits, such as Kaminaljuyú (Hellmuth 1970). Certain traits considered typically highland Mixtec have long developmental sequences in the coastal areas. The coast of Oaxaca was emphatically not a stagnant backwater of more prominent Mesoamerican cultures.

PART 5: RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions given above are very general. While some of the questions discussed in the specific objectives of the project have been partially answered, our findings raise many more questions which can only be answered by further investigation, and especially more excavation. A number of sites which, for one reason or another, could not be stratigraphically tested in 1969 and 1970 should be re-visited, for instance, Manialtepec-2. More survey should be done in the areas between the Oaxacan coast and other regions, especially between the coast and the Valley of Oaxaca and the Mixteca Alta.

Although the coast is no longer quite such a terra incognita, there are many more gaps yet to be filled.

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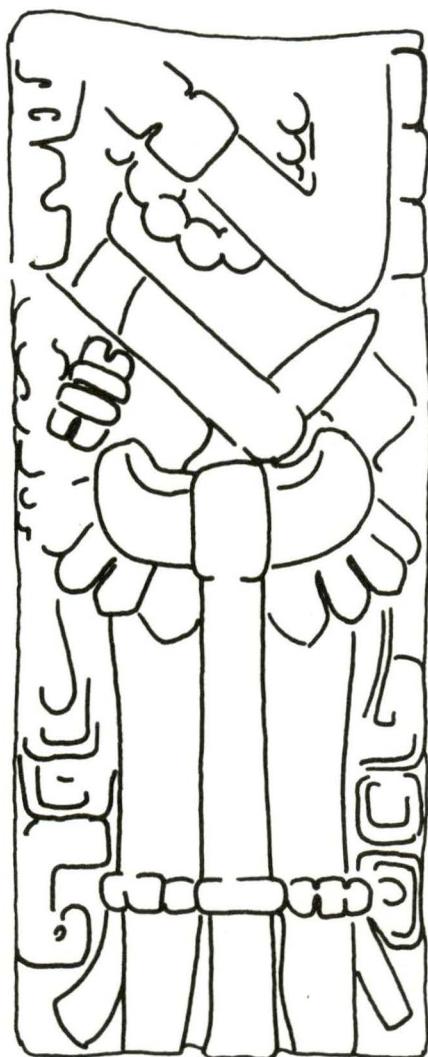
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PLATES AND FIGURES



PLATE I

FIGURE 1

0 10 20 30 40 50 CM

CHILA - PRESIDENCIA



PLATE II

FIGURE 2

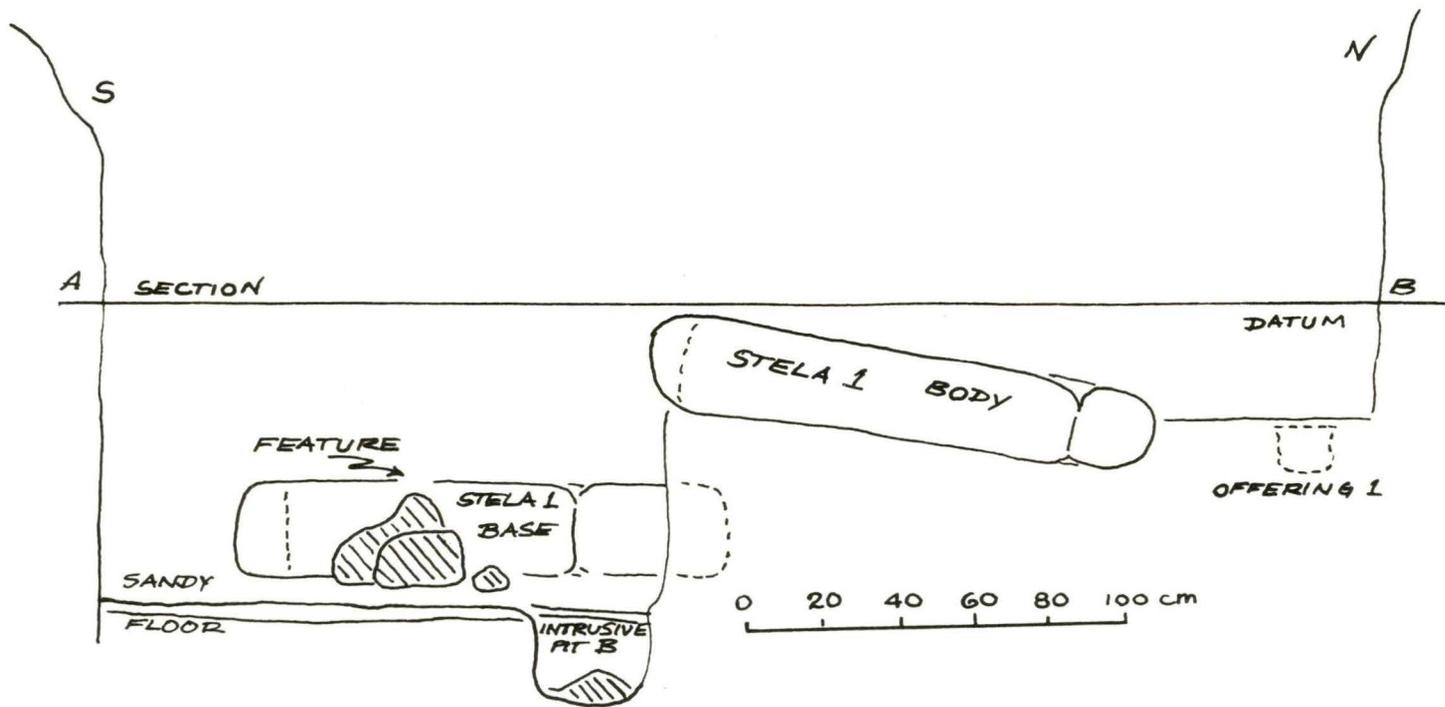


CHILA-1
STELA 1

0 10 20 30 40 50 CM



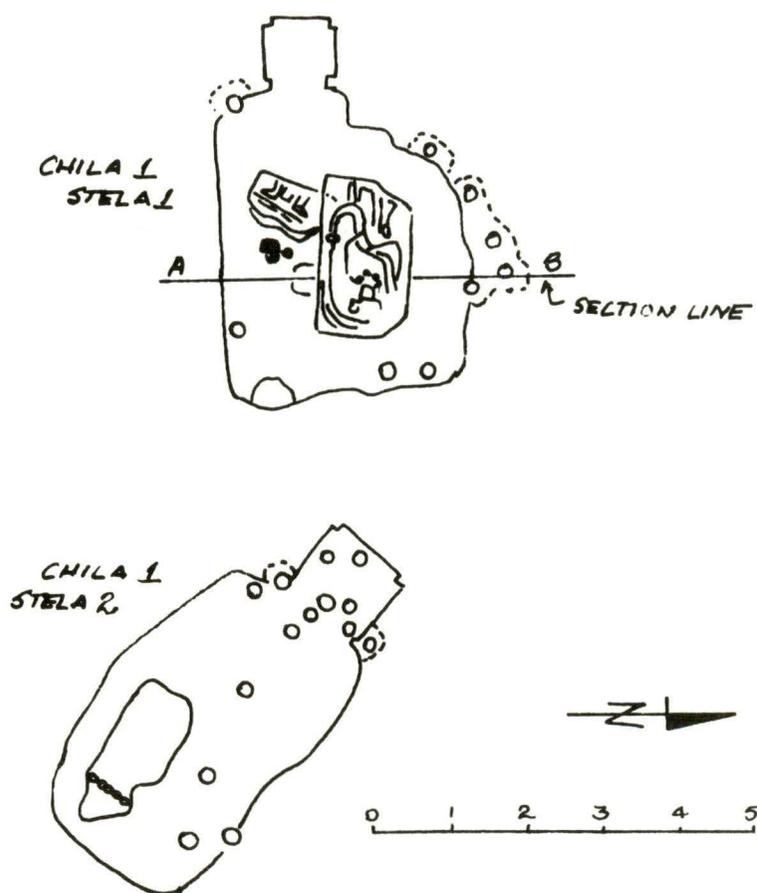
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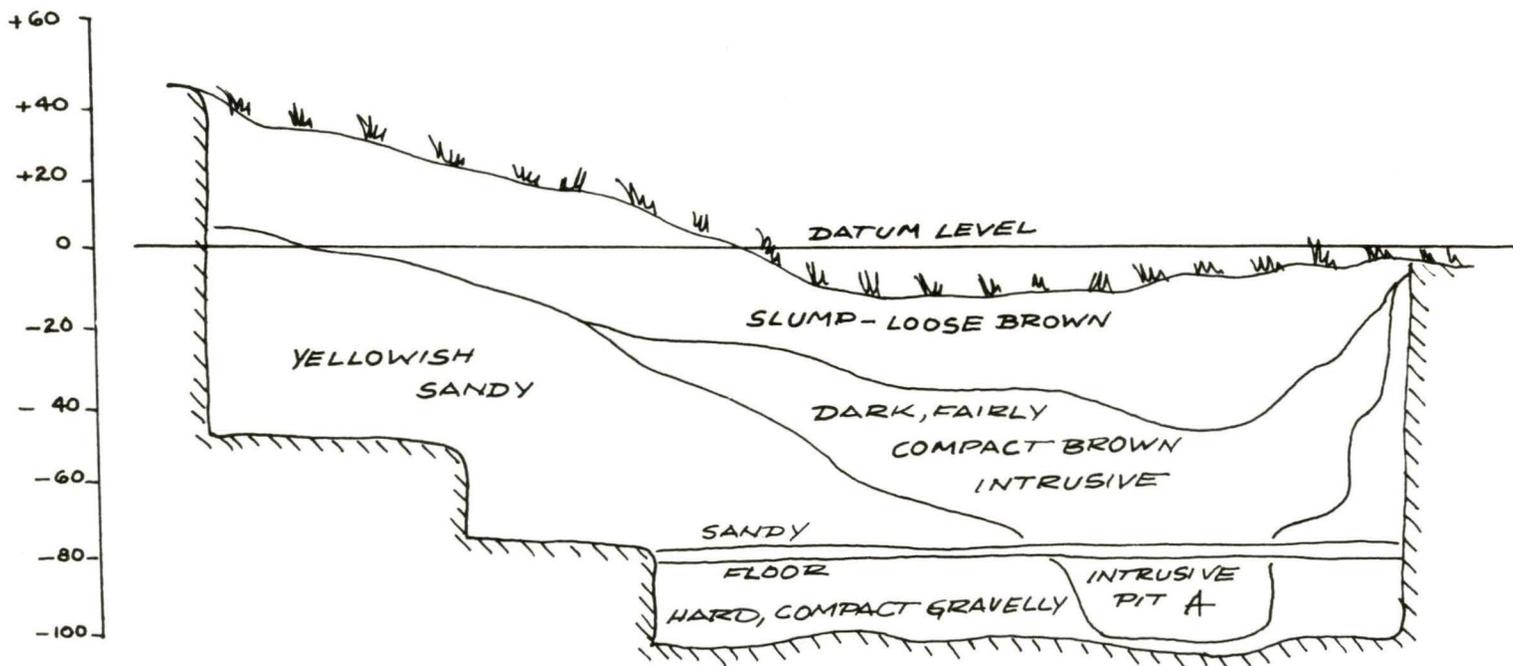
CHILA-1 STELA 1 SECTION A-B

FIGURE 3a

FIGURE 36



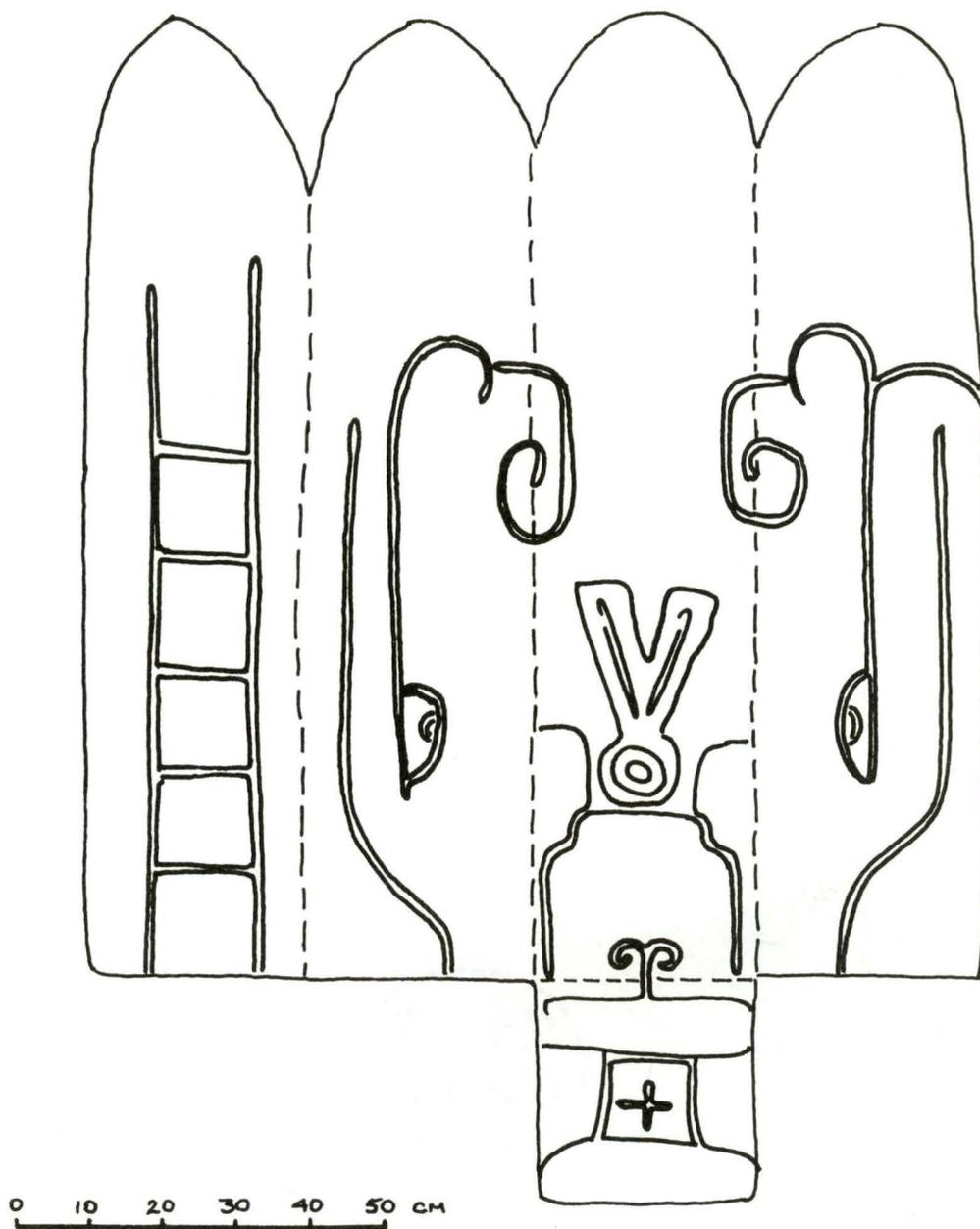
CHILA 1 STELAE 1 & 2 PLAN WITH OFFERING LOCATIONS



CHILA-1 STELA-1 EAST PROFILE

FIGURE 4

FIGURE 5



PUEBLO VIEJO COLOTEPEC
TENON



PLATE IV



PLATE V

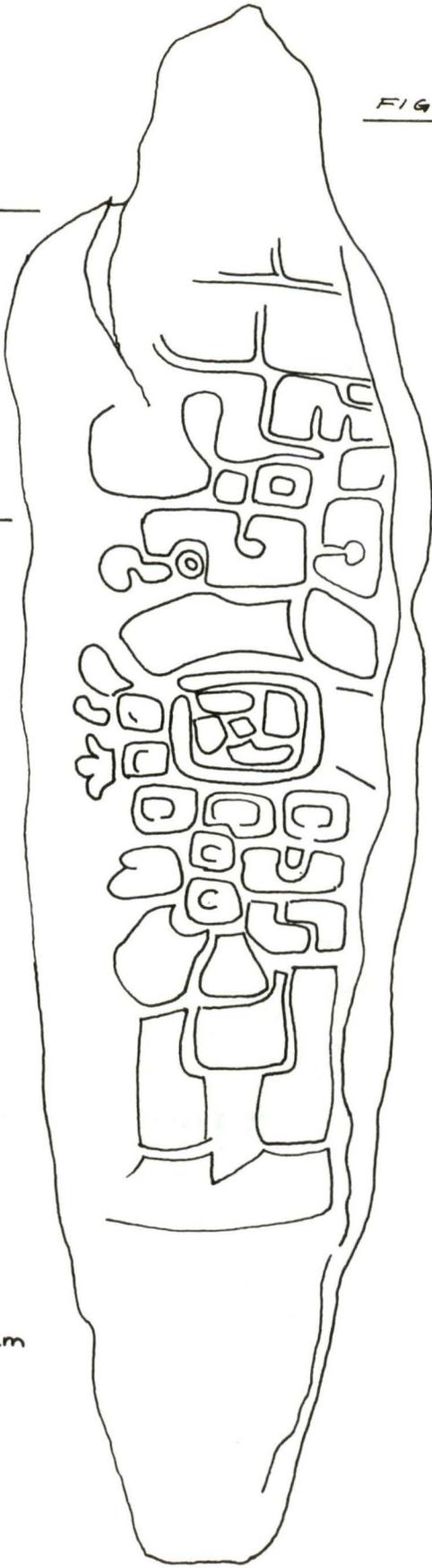
FIGURE 6

PLATE VI



PLATE VI

FIGURE 7



RIO GRANDE - 2
MONUMENT 3
NORTH FACE

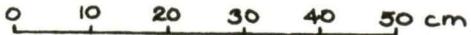
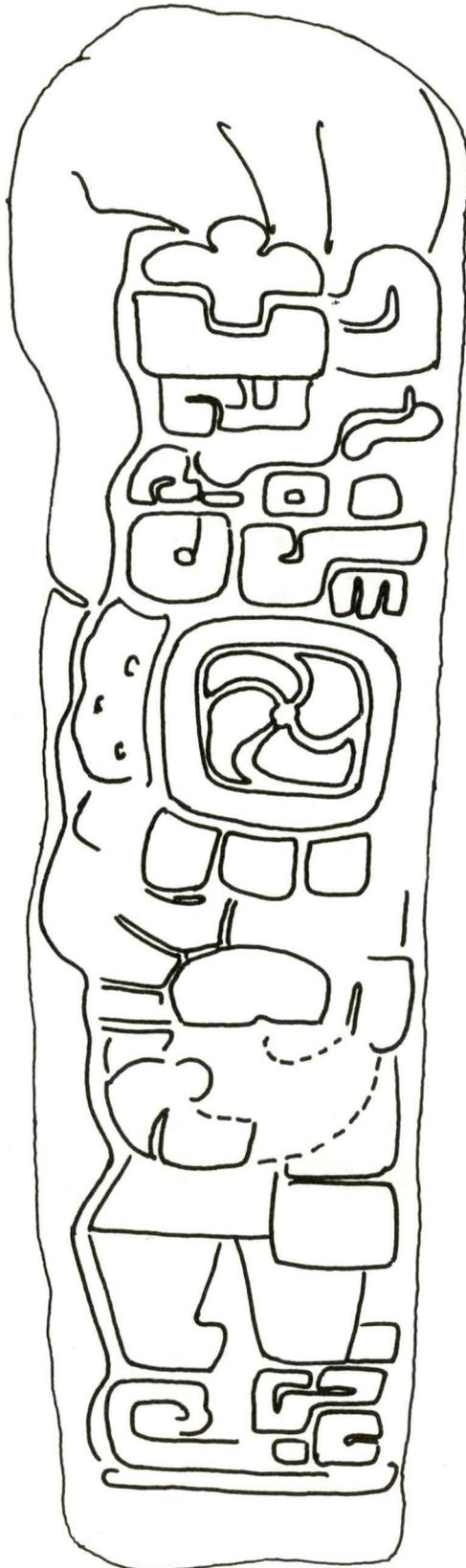




PLATE VII

FIGURE 8

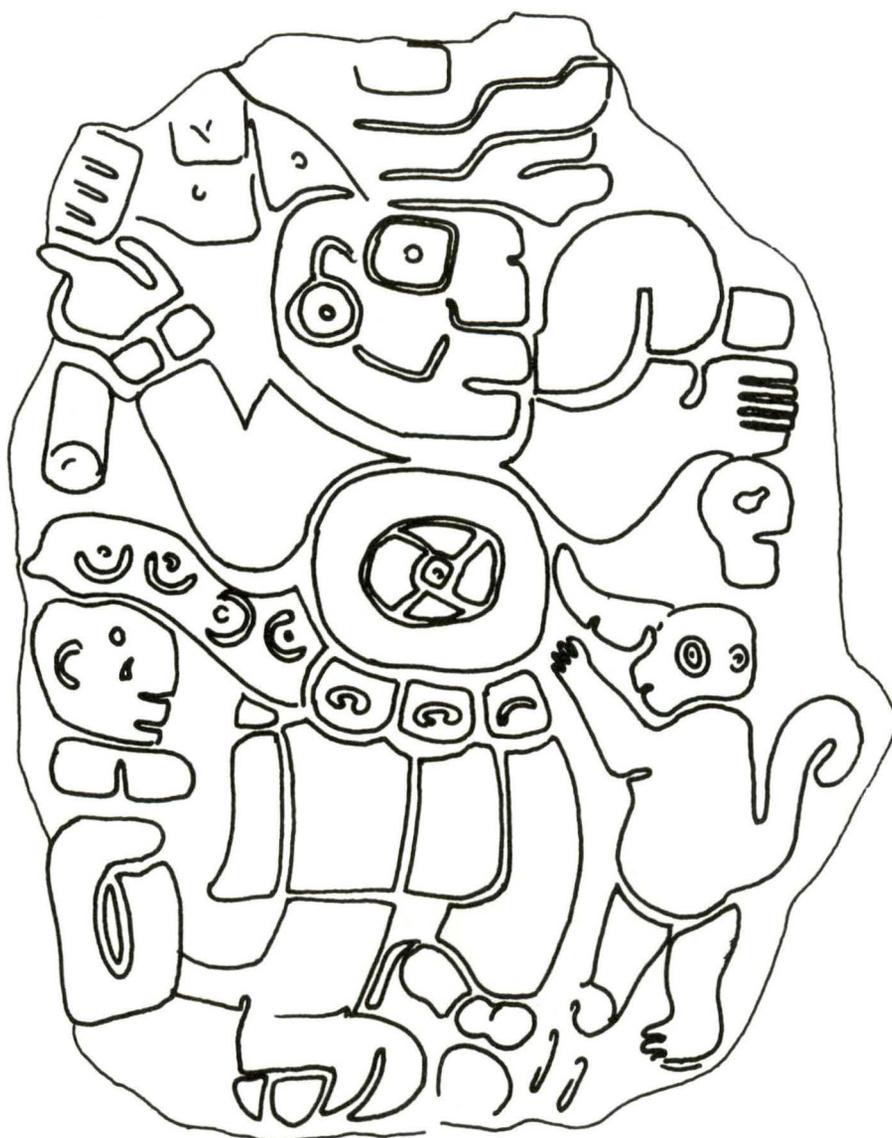


RÍO GRANDE-2
MONUMENT 4

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm



PLATE VIII

FIGURE 9

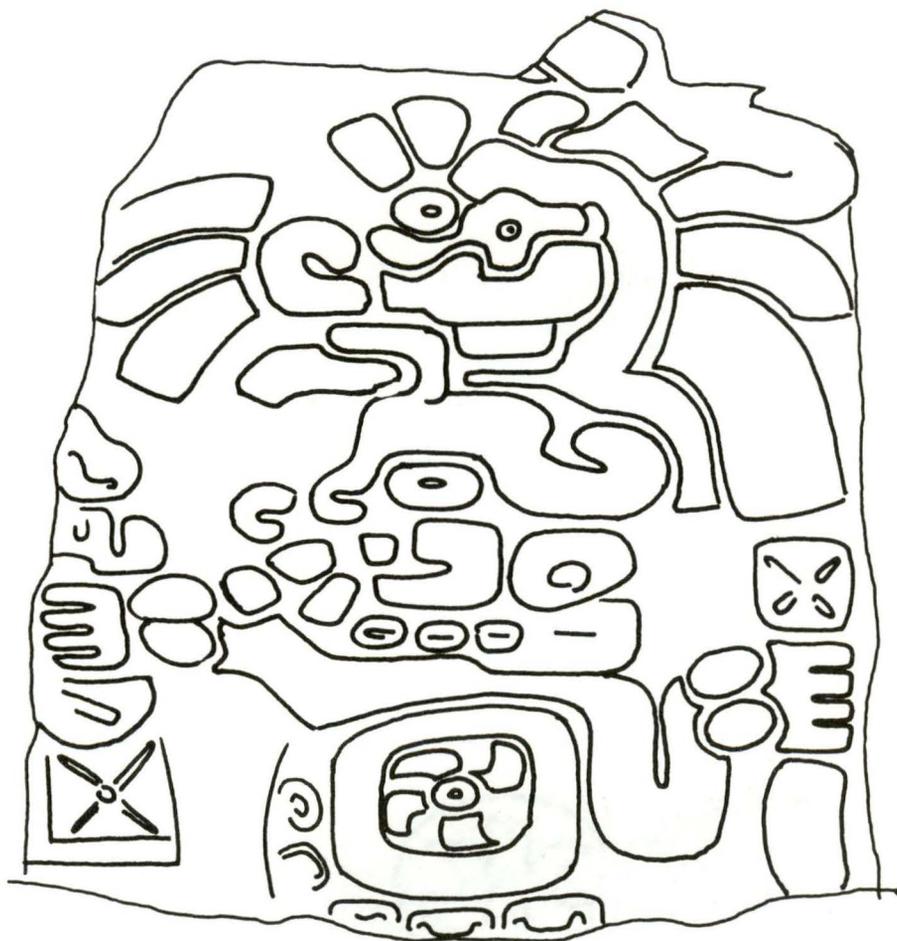
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RÍO GRANDE-2
MONUMENT 5



PLATE IX

FIGURE 10



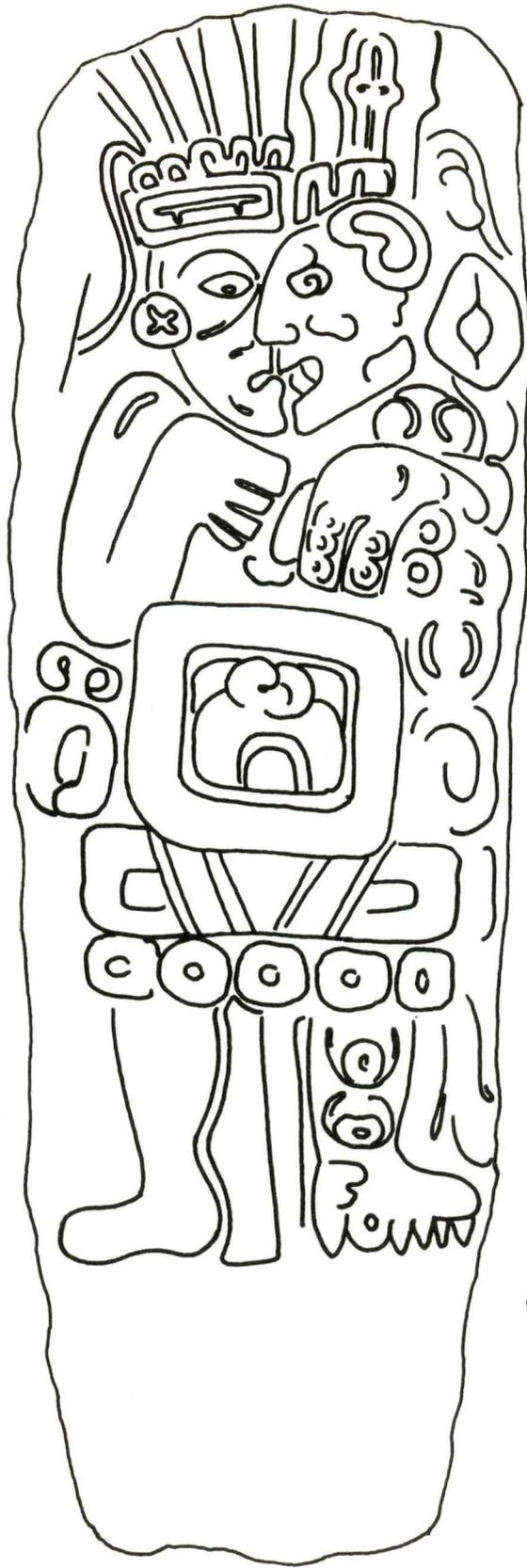
0 10 20 30 40 50 CM

RÍO GRANDE-2
MONUMENT 6



PLATE X

FIGURE 11



CERRO DEL REY
STELA 1





PLATE XI

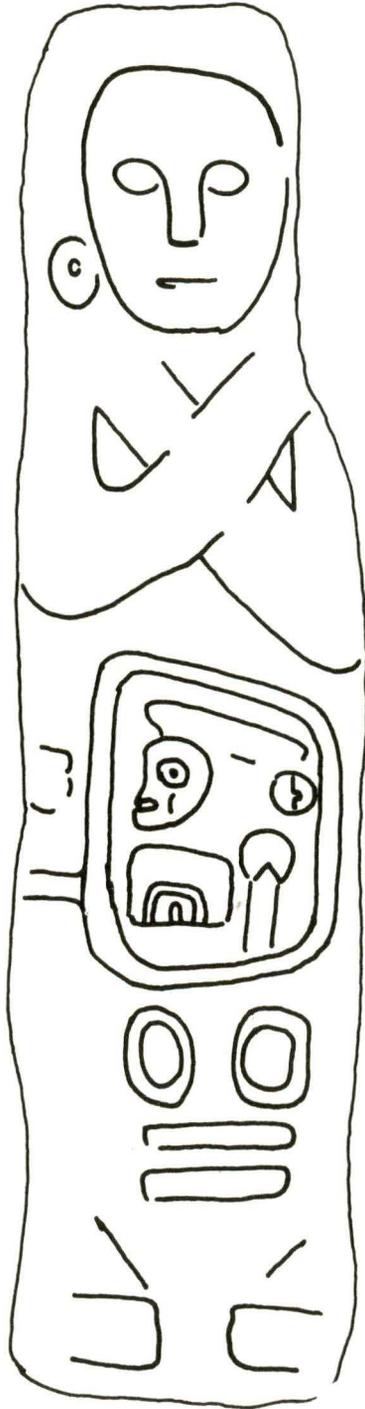
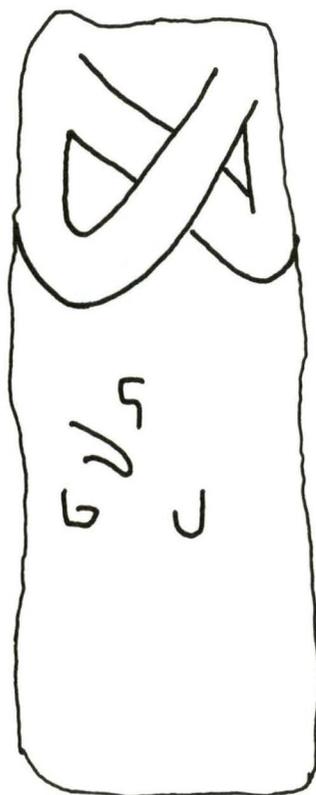


FIGURE 12

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm

CERRO DEL REY STELA 2

FIGURE 13

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm

CERRO DEL REY STELA 3



PLATE XII

FIGURE 14



0 10 20 30 40 50 CM

NOPALA STELA 1



PLATE XIII

FIGURE 15

NOPALA STELA 2

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm



PLATE XIV

FIGURE 10



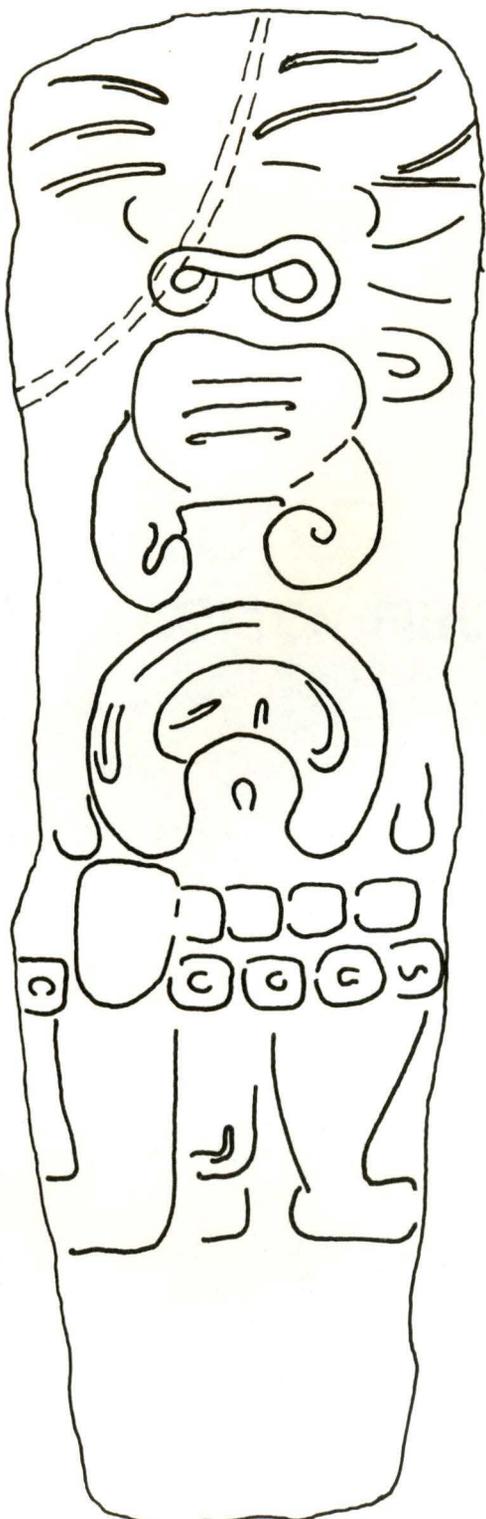
NOPALA STELA 3

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm



PLATE XV

FIGURE 17



NOPALA STELA 4





PLATE XVI

FIGURE 18

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm

NOPALA STELA 5



PLATE XVII



PLATE XIX

FIGURE 20

NOPALA STELA 8

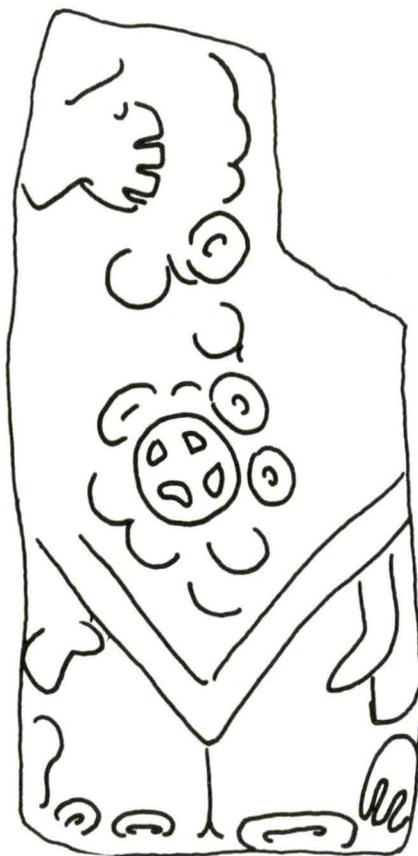
0 10 20 30 40 50 cm



PLATE XX



PLATE XXI

FIGURE 21

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm

NOPALA STELA 10



PLATE XXII

FIGURE 22

NOPALA STELA 11

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm



PLATE XXIII



PLATE XXIV

FIGURE 23

NOPALA STELA 14

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm



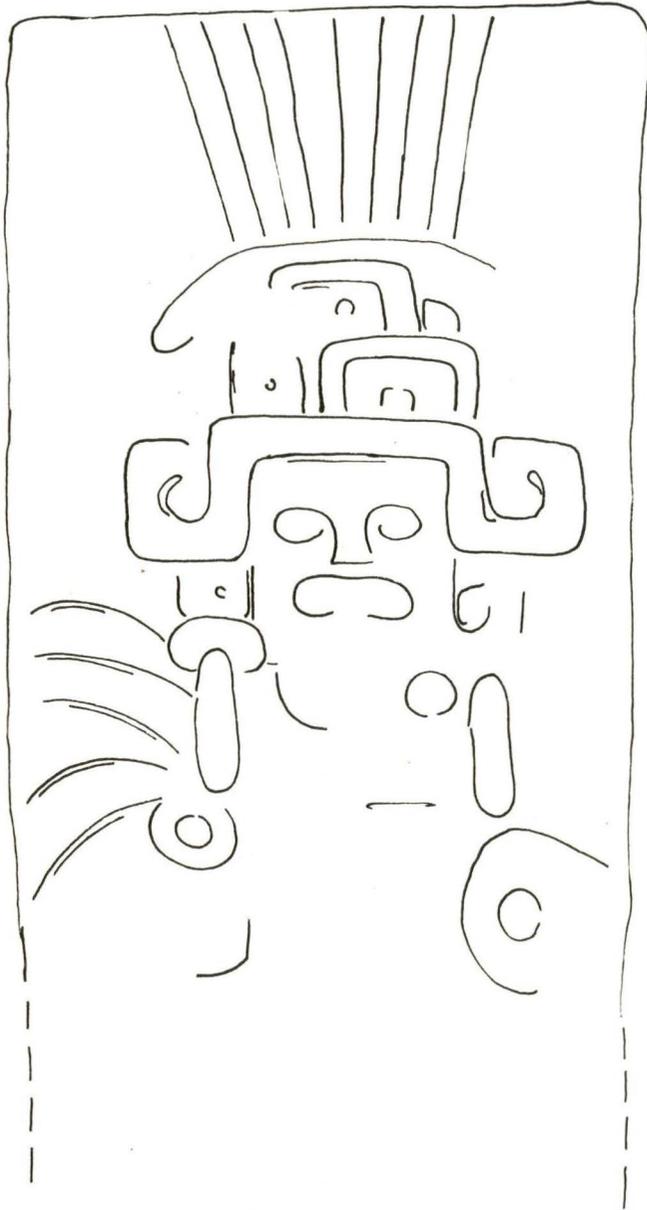
PLATE XXV



PLATE XXVI



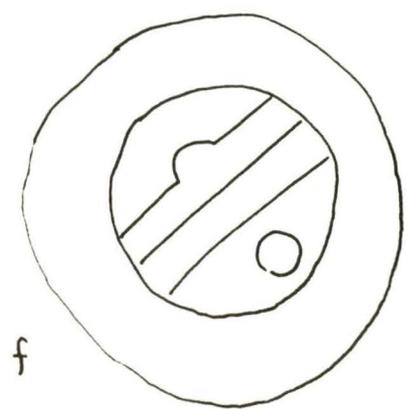
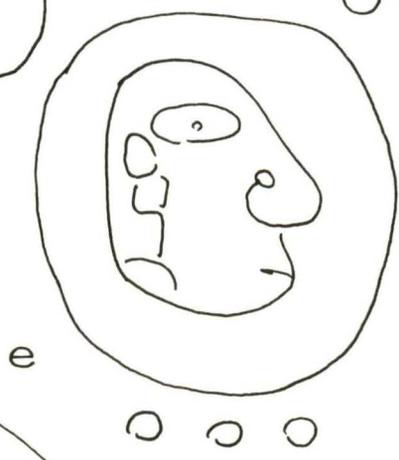
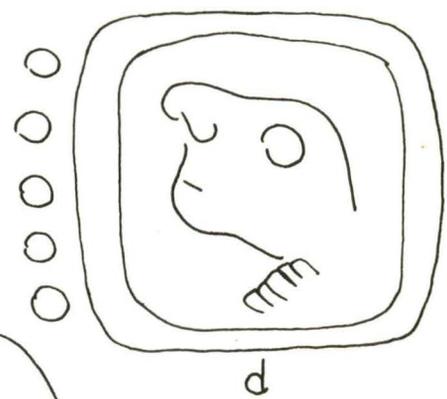
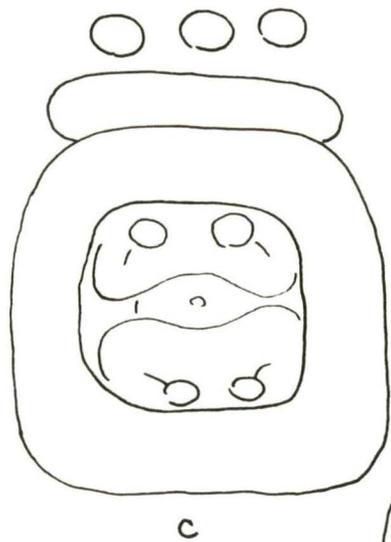
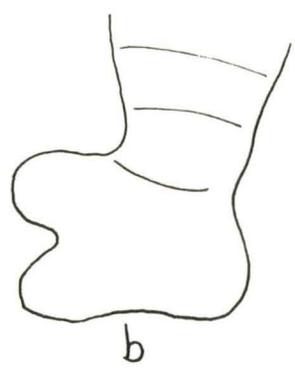
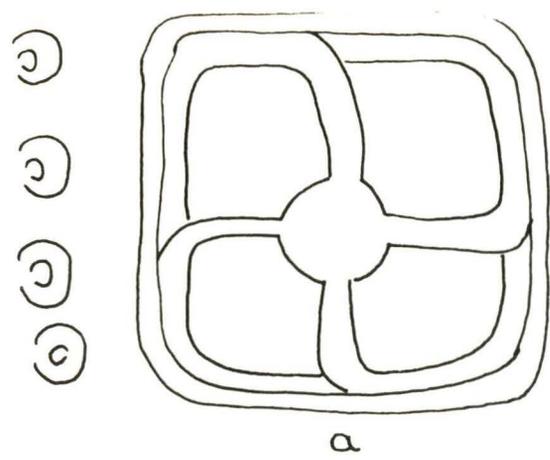
PLATE XXVII

FIGURE 24

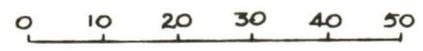
LA HUMIDAD M. #1

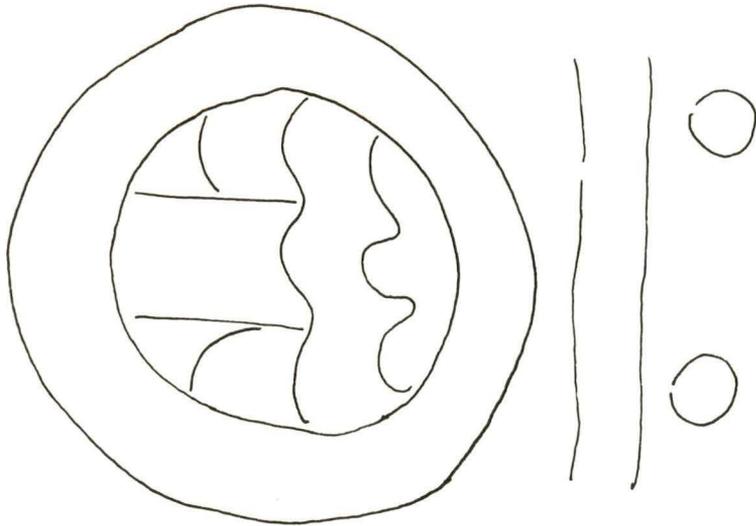
0 10 20 30 40 50 cm apx.

FIGURE 25



PETROGLYPHS
CERRO DE TEPALCATES



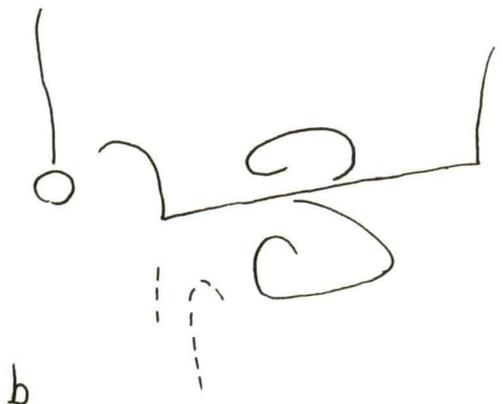


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FIGURE 26



a



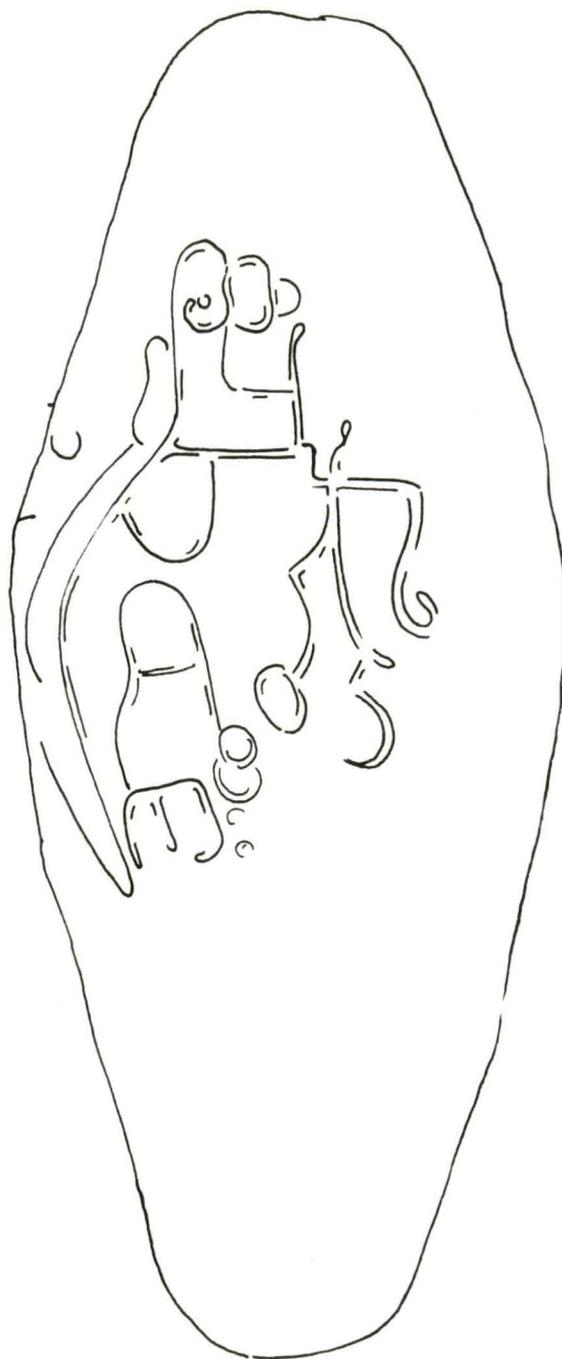
b



PETROGLYPHS
CERRO DE TEPALCATES



FIGURE 27

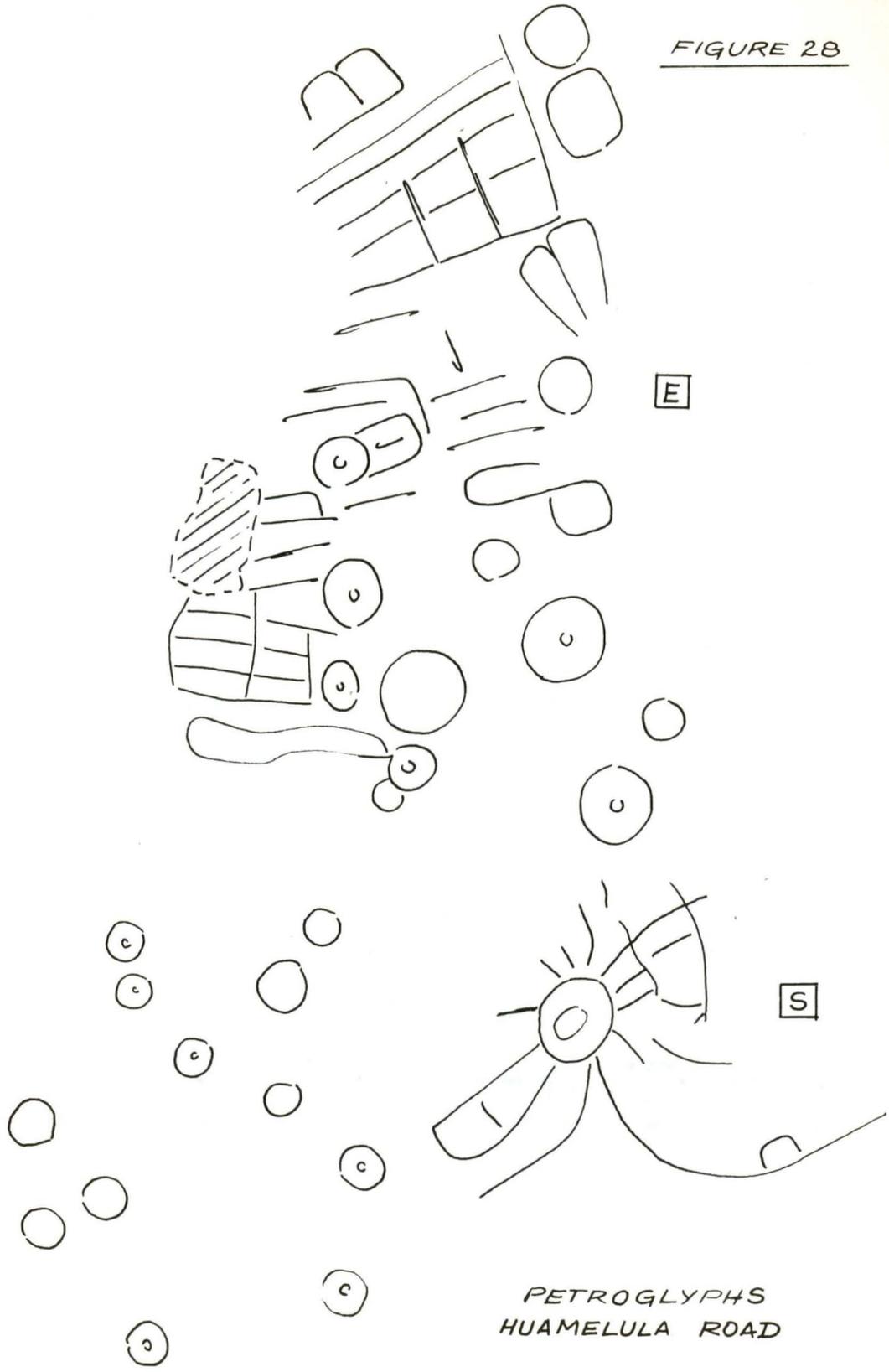


0 10 20 30 40 50 cm

PETROGLYPH CHILA-2

N

FIGURE 28



PETROGLYPHS
HUAMELULA ROAD

NO SCALE



PLATE XXVIII



PLATE XXIX

FIGURE 29

PAGE 1 MULTI COPY CARD LISTING PROGRAM

30	X XX	JICAYAN	}	GROUP A
01	XXXX	CHILA PRES		
02	XXXX	CH 1 S 1		
26	XXXXX	TUT 1		
12	XXXXX	NOP 1		
13	XX XXXXX	NOP 2		
14	XXXXX	NOP 3		
23	XXXXX	NOP 12		
17	XXXXX	NOP 6		
18	XXXXX	NOP 7		
21	XXXXX	NOP 10		
19	XXXXXXX	NOP 8		
20	XXXXXXX	NOP 9		
22	XXXXXXX	NOP 11		
24	XXXXXXX	NOP 13		
25	XXXXXXX	NOP 14		
16	XXXXXXX	NOP 5		
<hr/>				
29	XXXXX	COL PAL PEN	}	GROUP C 2
28	XXXXXXX	COL PAL 1		
03	XXXXXXX	RG HOTEL		
27	X XXXXXX	TUT 2		
<hr/>				
11	XXXXXXXXXX	C REY 3	}	GROUP C 1
10	XXXXXXXXXXXX	C REY 2		
09	XXXX XXXX	C REY 1		
34	XXXX XXXXXX	RG/MNA		
<hr/>				
31	XXXX X	P LABRADA 1	}	GROUP B
32	XXXXX X	P LABRADA 2		
07	XXXXX	RG 2 M 5		
08	XXXXX	RG 2 M 6		
04	XXXXX	RG 2 M 2		
05	XXXXX	RG 2 M 3		
06	XXXXX	RG 2 M 4		
33	XX XX	P LABRADA 3		
15	XX XX X X	NOP 4		
35				
36				
37				
38				
39				
40				

NUMBER OF PRINTED CARDS= 40