The Danzantes of Monte Albán

PART I: Text

John F. Scott

DUMBARTON OAKS STUDIES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY | 19

STUDIES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY NUMBER NINETEEN

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with an appendix by

W. P. HEWITT

Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University Washington, D.C. 1978

Library of Congress catalog number 79-63725

ISBN 978-0-88402-079-0

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS STUDY of the Danzantes was made possible by the assistance of a number of institutions and individuals, a fraction of whom I wish to thank here.

My original doctoral dissertation (n.d.b), included in this study in an abbreviated and revised form, was done for the Department of Art History and Archaeology of Columbia University. My advisor there, Prof. Douglas Fraser, provided me with encouragement and a sense of direction. Dr. Gordon Ekholm, now Curator Emeritus of the American Museum of Natural History, generously shared his infinite experience in Mesoamerican archaeology. In Mexico City I benefited greatly from conversations with Dr. Ignacio Bernal, then Director of the Museo Nacional de Antropología, who also granted me permission to use the Monte Albán archives then stored in the basement. They were then under the supervision of Arq. Jorge Acosta at the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, who provided me with extensive interviews and invaluable unpublished manuscripts on Monte Albán and Monte Negro.

My more recent work in Mesoamerica has benefited from discussions with Prof. Kent V. Flannery of the University of Michigan and with Dr. Marcus Winter of the Centro Regional de Oaxaca (I.N.A.H.), who have both shared unpublished results of their excavations in the Valley of Oaxaca, and, in the case of Winter, at Huamelulpan in the Mixteca Alta. The Director of the Centro Regional de Oaxaca, Antropólogo Manuel Esparza, facilitated my studies at the site of Monte Albán, while the Director of the Museo Regional de Oaxaca, Sra. Wanda Tomasi de Magrelli, allowed me access to the fine collections now finally housed in an adequate building. Her predecessor as director, Arql. Lorenzo Gamio, had granted me similar courtesies during earlier research. A *guardián* of Monte Albán, don Guadalupe Juárez, one of Dr. Alfonso Caso's original workers, helped me locate several carvings I had not previously seen.

My field work and living expenses, including those of my family, were funded from 1966 to 1968 by generous grants from the Foreign Area Fellowship Program. Subsequently, I was given a stipend by the Cornell Research Grants Committee for the summer of 1973 to convert my chapter on the Danzantes into an introduction to the catalogue of the monuments, which was not contained in the original dissertation. Finally, Cornell's Latin American Program provided travel funds to visit Mexico.

The draftsmen responsible for the renderings of the Danzantes in this catalogue (Part II) have surmounted a task made difficult by the eroded condition of many of the stones and the imprecise techniques used originally to carve them. Sr. Agustín Villagra, who drew the majority of the Danzantes in the 1930's when he worked for Dr. Caso's excavation, permitted me to visit him in his studio in Coyoacán, where he provided original sketches and photographs of some of the Danzantes. The catalogue employs some of his preliminary pencil sketches on yellow paper, which he did as studies for unrealized ink drawings on white paper. Miss Andy Seuffert, who rendered many Danzantes which Villagra did not see or draw, has had to complete her drawings during whatever time remained after her many other projects. Dumbarton Oaks graciously funded her efforts. Its Director of Pre-Columbian Studies, Elizabeth Benson, has helped not only in this but also in the editing of the manuscript. Finally, I wish to thank my wife, Lynn Thomson Scott, for her support during research trips and her assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

John F. Scott
Ithaca, New York
1975

To the memory of Jorge Acosta

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Frontispiece: Wall of the Danzantes, Mound L, Monte Albán (after Batres 1902: Pl. V).

The Danzantes of Monte Albán

Post-Olmec Art

MOST PEOPLE are surprised to learn that Monte Albán has about three-hundred-and-twenty relief carvings which predate the Classic apogee of the site. All specialists in Mesoamerica, as well as many casual tourists, are well aware of the *Danzantes*, as they are usually called, even by English speakers, and have a clear mental image of the standard type: a large stone with irregular outline bearing a roughly carved, contorted figure with thick facial features and prominent teeth. This type, however, represents a distinct minority of the carvings known thus far, especially in its characteristics of large size, vertical posture, and teeth. Moreover, some of the rarer types have considerable importance in revealing aspects of early Oaxacan culture and its relationship with the rest of Mesoamerica.

Monte Albán also provides evidence of the dissolution of models established by the Olmec—the first high culture of the area—and the integration of new patterns which do not depend on direct copying of Olmec forms, but are based only on a few surviving elements and dimly remembered symbols of their prestige. This pattern can be seen clearly in the monumental sculpture of many areas of Mesoamerica. The Danzantes' importance lies not only in their being the largest group of associated carvings from a single site—indeed, the largest single group of monuments which can be attributed to the Late Preclassic—but also in their crucial role in defining this stylistic development. They are associated with ceramics whose position in the Mesoamerican sequence can be well fixed.

The Danzantes have fewer Olmec traits than do the ceramic effigies from Monte Albán, probably because the inhabitants did not have any monumental relief carvings in true Olmec style on which to base their works. Olmec features in the Danzantes are reduced to a thick upper lip, two large teeth in profile, and skull-fitting helmets. Unlike the subtle low relief from La Venta, with ground line rendered and background cut away, with anatomical accuracy and precise detail in clothing, the typical early Danzante is clumsily delineated, rendered with crudely pecked and sunken outline, has a very rough approximation of anatomy, and floats on the surface of the upright stone. These features are characteristic of what I have called Post-Olmec art.

"Post-Olmec" is a term I have used (Easby and Scott 1970: 91), along with Squier (Drucker, Heizer, and Squier 1959: 218), to describe those styles of the Late Preclassic—after the demise of La Venta as an important ceremonial center—which seem to carry on only certain aspects of the Olmec style. None of these styles maintain all of the features of the Middle Preclassic style of the Veracruz–Tabasco nuclear area; in fact, most keep very little of the nuclear Olmec technical perfection, wide range of media, and variety in representations.

The term "Post-Olmec art" may be compared to the already established art-historical term "Post-Impressionism," under which are lumped works of very different artists, such as Seurat, Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Cézanne. In both the Post-Impressionist and the Post-Olmec eras one can note a general change in direction immediately following a strong, unified style. Both periods also encompass considerable variety in

the specific forms chosen by the artists to embody these changes. And both mark a time of transition: Post-Impressionism bridged the gap between Impressionism and Fauvism, Post-Olmec the gap between Olmec and Izapan styles. In contrast to the widespread unity of horizon styles like the Olmec and the Izapan, Post-Olmec art lacks obvious visual similarity among the various regional schools. The problem with the term "Post-Olmec style" is that, during the Late Preclassic period, numerous styles arose in regional workshops which preserved some elements from the long-established Olmec style but misunderstood or abandoned other accepted motifs.

Certain similar features do appear, however, in several of the regional styles of the Post-Olmec era. Most obviously, a crudeness or simplification of carving technique replaces the laboriously perfect workmanship of the Olmec style. This tendency is most evident in stone carving: the rock itself retains more of its original shape than in Olmec carvings, and tool marks are not so disguised by polishing as they are in Olmec lapidary works. Lines, which in Olmec art had been crisp and tense, become limp and flaccid. Sculpture in the round is replaced as the dominant art form by relief carving, which is easier to execute. Effigy ceramics, which were not very common during Olmec times except in Central Mexico, become a widespread medium throughout Mesoamerica for embodying important deities. The anatomical coherence which gave vitality even to fabulous creatures in Olmec art often gets dissipated in the energyless forms of the Post-Olmec era. Digits, even entire limbs, are eliminated in some parts of the representation while fully delineated elsewhere in the same work. Some portions of the composition are confused, either from misinterpretation or plain sloppiness. Although compositions are generally quite simple, seldom representing more than one figure, occasionally a compulsion to fill all available space results in areas with interlocking but nonfunctional forms. (Stronger, more pervasive tendencies to fill the composition become prevalent during the Izapan era, but are embodied in more meaningful decorations.)

Fig. 1 Altar 7, La Venta, Tabasco (after Drucker 1952: Pl. 65a).

Several of the Post-Olmec tendencies had their beginnings in the Olmec style of the heartland. The great relief compositions of La Venta Stelae 2 and 3, assigned to the later phases of construction there, mark the flowering of relief as a technique on its own, not subordinate to sculpture in the round. The large number of cruder sculptures (e.g., de la Fuente 1973: 262–7), while perhaps only the work of inferior carvers, may also mark a later stylistic tendency in Olmec art, according to the theories of several recent investigators (Miles 1965: 250, fn. 7; de la Fuente 1973: 8–10; Clewlow 1974; Pelliza n.d.: 108–11). La Venta Altar 7 (Fig. 1), a large irregular boulder with miscellaneous heads and figures scattered all over its surface, clearly lacks the compositional coherence of earlier Olmec relief. Its later date can be inferred by parallels between unpublished leg forms on the rear of this monument and knobby-kneed legs with claw feet on Izapan stelae (Pelliza n.d.: 212), although the latter are more sharply stylized and therefore later. Tenons with heads, such as La Venta Monument 56, may well be forms intended for Post-Olmec architectural decoration. A jade piece assigned to post-Complex A at La

Venta, which by our definition is Post-Olmec, reveals a geometric simplification of outline and a shallowness of incised detail which are symptomatic of Post-Olmec works (Drucker, Heizer, and Squier 1959: 231–3). And a serpentine pendant from the area east of the Ceremonial Court at La Venta has roughly incised on it a bearded face with a uniformly thick-lipped mouth, noted by the excavators as characteristic of the Danzantes (*ibid.*: 235–6).

Provincial art produced in regional centers of Mesoamerica under Olmec hegemony already had certain special characteristics which differentiated it from art produced in the Olmec nuclear area. In iconography, plant forms were represented literally, smaller figures appeared dominated by larger ones, and more complex ceremonies were represented. In technique, the artists preferred more tractable media, such as painting, relief carving, and ceramics, rather than three-dimensional carving in basalt and greenstone which was the hallmark of the nuclear production. After the demise of the last of the nuclear Olmec ceremonial centers, La Venta, around 500 B.C. (Heizer 1971: 52), each of the regional styles became even more distinctive, for they no longer had the continuing presence of Olmec patrons, and probably even Olmec artists, to guide and correct the local artists.[1]

The Dating of Monte Albán I

THE PLACEMENT of Monte Albán I in the Late Preclassic, when it would postdate the Olmec flowering at La Venta and thus become one of the most prominent artistic manifestations of the Post-Olmec era, has not been universally accepted. The excavators of Monte Albán and some of the radiocarbon evidence supported a placement coeval with the nuclear Olmec culture. Alfonso Caso logically arrived at this conclusion upon observing the pronounced Olmec features in the ceramics of Monte Albán I tombs (1938: 94; 1939: 183) and the presence of a sizeable, free-standing stone head (1939: 174) conceptually related to the colossal Olmec heads. However, the fact that Olmec traits in Monte Albán continue to appear until the dawn of the Classic era finally led Caso (1964: 24; p. 16 in 1965 reprint) to consider such features in both Periods I and II as survivals, which he termed "Olmecoid," rather than provincial copies of a contemporary culture.

From Robert Wauchope (1950: 221, 241) through MacNeish, Peterson, and Flannery (1970: 268), independent investigators have disagreed with this early placement of Monte Albán I. Weiant (1943: 82, 97, 125–6, 130) correlated Monte Albán I with his Tres Zapotes finds, and Drucker with Lower Tres Zapotes, based on ceramic resemblances; Drucker (1952: 226) also correctly pointed out the differences between Olmec low-relief figures and the Danzantes. A more recent radiocarbon date from the Monte Albán I level at Yagul gave an option to those who found the first date obtained for that period (650 B.C. ±170, measured from wood taken from a Monte Negro roof beam) far too early. A charcoal sample taken from the Young Maize God *brasero* (usually called the Young Fire God *brasero*) found in Tomb 33, Yagul, gave a date of 390 B.C. ±275 (Chadwick 1966: 247).

This later placement has been confirmed by the excavations in the Valley of Oaxaca by Kent Flannery and his associates since 1966. They date the transition between the previous phase and early Monte Albán I at about 500 B.C., although they have presented no data for placing the end of Monte Albán I at 100 B.C.

[1] A preliminary discussion of the regional styles of Post-Olmec art appears in Scott 1976. A revised version based on my recent research into the Preclassic in Central Veracruz (National Endowment for the Humanities grant F-74-188) is in preparation.

(Flannery and Marcus 1976a: 216).[2] Flannery (1968: 97) has aligned the early phase of Monte Albán I as follows:

> Ceramic cross-ties are with the Conchas II sub-Phase on the Guatemalan coast, Chiapa de Corzo III and IV, post-Complex A La Venta, early Tres Zapotes, and the middle part of the Santa María Phase in the Tehuacán Valley.

Some of these external connections have also provided a way of checking both the relative and the absolute dating of Monte Albán I since the time that Caso and Bernal formed their theories about its chronological placement. The two recent excavations which best correlate dated material with Monte Albán I are those in the Tehuacán Valley of Puebla and Oaxaca and in the Grijalva River Valley of Chiapas.

The presence of Monte Albán I culture in Tehuacán during the Preclassic was firmly identified by Noguera (1945: 72), but he obtained no absolute dates with which to place it in the Preclassic. The Tehuacán Archaeological–Botanical Project confirmed this presence when typical Monte Albán grayware appeared in the Santa María phase of Coxcatlán Cave (MacNeish 1962: 10, 12). The Santa María phase was later divided into two subphases, both of which MacNeish related to contemporary phases in Oaxaca in his published ceramic report (MacNeish, Peterson, and Flannery 1970: 271). In an earlier summary he wrote:

> The connections with Oaxaca and the Tehuacán Valley have been there long before Monte Albán I times. The preceding phase, called Guadalupe, is very close to early Santa María. The resemblance between Monte Albán I and late Santa María is more than just an influence. Quachilco Grey, predominant pottery type of late Santa María, is the same type as, or a variety of, Bernal's types G.12 through G.18. Also, Bernal's types K.5 or K.6 are probably trade sherds of Quachilco Brown into Oaxaca. Also, all the major examples of figurine types of Monte Albán I occur in late Santa María. Thus . . . there is no massive or sudden change due to Monte Albán I influences, but rather Tehuacán and the Oaxaca Valley are part of the same cultural development, and during late Santa María times, Tehuacán is sort of a country cousin of Oaxaca Centre. (MacNeish, personal communication, 1968)

The excavators have now dated Late Santa María 500–150 B.C., mainly by trade-sherd distribution. They may have relied too heavily on older radiocarbon dates from Monte Albán I and II, however, in adjusting the results of their own radiocarbon dates. Only two dates were obtained for Late Santa María levels in the Tehuacán Valley: 45 B.C. ±100, which they consider (wrongly, I think) too late even for a one Sigma deviation, and 445 B.C. ±101, which may also be interpreted as dating late Early Santa María—at least it has some traits of that earlier period (Johnson and MacNeish 1972: 45–6). Johnson indicates that he finds Late Santa María partly contemporary with Monte Albán II; wares identical or similar to the Quachilco Gray mentioned above by MacNeish continue to be the dominant types in Monte Albán II as well as I. "Also, a white-slipped ware of Monte Alban I and II is very similar to Coatepec White, a common type in late Santa Maria components" (*ibid.*: 46). Thus I would favor accepting the 45 B.C. date for Late Santa María on face value without trying to make it adjust to the too-early dates for Monte Albán I and II.

Chiapa de Corzo provides the most carefully calibrated scale for the Late Preclassic and Protoclassic sequence in Mesoamerica. For this reason, I have adopted both its dates and its terminology. Its radiocarbon dates were obtained from samples of charcoal, the most reliable material for testing. Since these samples were collected after the radiocarbon method was introduced, all the necessary precautions were taken against contamination, which might be the cause of the too-early dates obtained from the much older samples presented to Libby for dating Preclassic Monte Albán.

[2] Excavations in the Valley of Oaxaca, at Fábrica San José, by R. D. Drennen have yielded radiocarbon dates of 450 and 380 B.C. for Monte Albán I. Marcus Winter informed me in 1974 that his more recent excavations at the site of Monte Albán itself provided radiocarbon dates of 580 and 520 B.C. These dates may belong to the recently established Rosario phase, which falls between Guadalupe and Monte Albán I. Rosario is very similar to late Guadalupe and early Monte Albán I except for the presence of negative white-on-gray and zoned toning, produced by differential pattern burnishing (Flannery, personal communication). This Rosario phase is now dated about 650–500 B.C. (Winter 1976: 228).

Even though Chiapas does not have a ceramic complex similar to that from the Valley of Oaxaca, the two areas do share a number of significant traits. They definitely engaged in trade with each other, as is proved by several pieces of Oaxacan ceramics found in Chiapas tombs. The association of these trade wares provides one of the surest means of dating those Monte Albán I pieces according to the Chiapa phase in which they were found.

The Chiapa III, or Escalera, phase, which lasts only about one century (550–450 B.C.), has the first resemblances to the ceramics of early Monte Albán I; this is documented in my dissertation (Scott n.d.b: 51). However, this phase makes a closer correlation both chronologically and stylistically with the end of the Guadalupe phase in Oaxaca, more recently segregated and renamed the Rosario phase, which prefigures many ceramic traits of early Monte Albán I (Flannery 1968: 94). The end of Rosario has been independently dated at 500 B.C.

The greatest number of parallels with distinctive forms of Monte Albán I occur in Chiapa IV, named the Francesa phase. Besides the general stylistic parallels itemized in my dissertation (Scott n.d.b: 52–4), two vessels found in Francesa burials may actually be of Oaxacan manufacture. First, an incised-bottom bowl with grooved interior rim was recovered in Chiapa de Corzo Burial 65 (Agrinier 1964: 18, Fig. 22). Its pattern shows the freely curving form incised with a multiple-scribe instrument typical of Monte Negro bowls of Monte Albán I phase. Second, a grayware, spout-handled jar with bridge extending from the molding of the neck, found in Chiapa Burial 104 (*ibid.*: 21, Fig. 30), most emphatically is Oaxacan. This type most closely resembles the jar from the Patio of Tomb 160 in Monte Albán (Caso, Bernal, and Acosta 1967: Fig. 125a), except for the absence of centripetal grooves around the base of the neck. The presence of this detail on the jar from the Monte Albán offering, which I have dated to the end of Monte Albán subphase I-C (Scott n.d.b: 29), may be the only reason that the Chiapa piece should not be similarly dated. With the exception of this bridged spout-handled jar, all of the distinctive ceramic forms which serve to connect Chiapa IV and Oaxaca have been associated with the early part of Monte Albán I-C. The most numerous parallels connect the contents of Chiapa IV burials with those of Monte Albán Burial VI–12 and Tomb 43, both dated early in I-C (*ibid.*: 26–8). The New World Archaeological Foundation excavators of Chiapa de Corzo date the Francesa phase 450–250 B.C., so that the first half of Monte Albán I-C must at least partially overlap these dates.

Many specific objects connect Chiapa V (Guanacaste) with the latter part of Monte Albán I-C, although the massive number of generic parallels connecting Chiapa IV with Oaxaca have diminished. Among the few correspondences which provide general evidence of contemporaneity are whistle figurines, small effigy bowls, and bichrome red-on-white

Fig. 2 Grayware bridged spout-handled jar, Burial XI-6, Monte Albán. Height 15.5 cm. Museo Regional de Oaxaca, Oaxaca. Photo by the author.

ware with curvilinear designs, labial flanges, and a raised "washer" around the juncture between the neck and the shoulder of a bottle (*ibid.*: 55). By far the most important connection is seen in bridged spout-handled jars with faces modeled on their necks and limbs incised on their bodies. Three discovered in Tomb 7 at Chiapa de Corzo are believed by the excavators to be of Oaxacan manufacture (Lowe and Agrinier 1960: 49). Two have faces which indicate provincial work, while the third has a face showing all the characteristics of the "Danzante" type. This latter compares directly with the jar from Monte Albán Burial XI–6 (Fig. 2), except for the redoubled rim on this latter. Tomb 7 was originally assigned to the beginnings of the Horcones phase (Chiapa VI), as were Caches 1–24 and 5–6, both of which contained similar spout-handled grayware effigy jars (*ibid.*: 47, 61; Lowe 1962b: 24). However, a subsequent report revised the placement of Chiapa Tomb 7 to the Guanacaste phase (Agrinier 1964: 33), although it did not mention the two caches, which should probably also be reassigned to Chiapa V. Other grayware spout-handled effigy jars have been found in Chiapas (Malpaso Dam and Mirador), but their association has not yet been published. The revised dating of Chiapa V places it 250–100 B.C. (Lowe 1962a: 195).

Therefore, the connections between Monte Albán I and the well-dated sequences in Tehuacán and Chiapa de Corzo clearly suggest a relative dating for Monte Albán I of 500–150 B.C. The beginning date is reinforced by the recent excavations in the Valley of Oaxaca.

Olmec Survivals and Olmec Revival

IF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE from Monte Albán I places it squarely in the Late Preclassic, to what extent does its art participate in the Post-Olmec tendencies found in other sites of Mesoamerica during that period?

One must answer this question in terms of both the ceramic effigies and the Danzante sculptures. The former have a number of dramatically Olmec traits, used occasionally on certain objects, which make them seem very close to the nuclear style indeed. One need only mention the jaguar mouth with its rectangular outline, the flame eyebrows, the pair of raised squares between the eyes, the flanged ears with incised double-line break, and the snub nose as outstandingly Olmecoid features. However, the general absence in the nuclear Olmec ceramics of effigy vessels must be noted as a major difference; except for figurines, some hollow but with no serviceable opening, clay was not used for three-dimensional representations. Vessels were decorated, when at all, with incised esoteric symbols.

On the other hand, the carved reliefs of Monte Albán share several Post-Olmec traits which we find in other parts of Mesoamerica. Sloppy workmanship is evident: the choice of relief carving avoids the more laborious carving in the round, and the use of sunken outlines to delineate the figure avoids cutting the background to a uniform depth. The figures appear limp and energyless—quite the opposite of dancers—and float on an undefined field which has neither ground line nor background. Although no tenons are found in Monte Albán I, the architectural placement of the Danzante slabs fills a similar function of ornamenting the architecture with images of conquest and/or sacrifice.

Only a pair of poorly documented heads provides examples of sculpture in the round, but their features are carved on the surface, as in Post-Olmec examples

from Veracruz and Guatemala. Reminiscent of the Olmec colossal heads, a free-standing stone head, twice natural size, was excavated in the Vértice Geodésico at Monte Albán, but is now missing (Fig. 3). Another is reported from Zimatlán (Caso 1965a: 855), but not illustrated. The squat proportions of the former resemble those of the Cerro el Vigía head, or, to a lesser extent, the Tres Zapotes heads and La Venta Heads 2 and 4. The face, however, bears no resemblance to any Olmec head. Its mouth has the typical uniformly thick lip-line characteristic of the Danzantes, but no open mouth or exposed teeth. Instead, its mouth line is perfectly horizontal, capped by a wide wedge-shaped nose. Beneath its arched brows, the bulging eyes, in a curved wedge shape, sit in well-defined sockets. The head is bald and uncovered. Its poorly defined ears project at the bottom toward the corners of the mouth. A head, now in the Oaxaca section of the photo archive of the Museo Nacional (Fig. 4), may belong to this type, as may several heads in the storehouse at Monte Albán and in the Museo Regional de Oaxaca.

In most of its details, the large head from Monte Albán resembles those colossal heads found at Monte Alto on the Pacific Slope of Guatemala (Fig. 5). Their main points of difference lie in specific engraved details absent on the Monte Albán head, especially the lid line indicating a closed eye, ear ridges, and projecting round earspools. Dating to the Late Preclassic because of their association with an Izapan monster carving (Parsons and Jenson 1965: 144), the Monte Alto heads obviously were inspired by the concept of the colossal Olmec heads, although they did not use specific Olmec details. The Monte Albán free-standing head, clearly in the same tradition, if not actually inspired by the Monte Alto forms, was "probably carved during Period II," according to Caso (1965a: 855), although it could more probably be assigned to Monte Albán I. It provides one of the most convincing examples of the survival of Olmec subject matter, although not Olmec style, into the Late Preclassic.

In the beginning of the art of Monte Albán, we do not find the strong survivals of certain Olmec forms such as are found in Mezcala, Costa Rica, Monte Alto, and the Tuxtlas. The only material which the Olmec apparently had desired for trade in Oaxaca was magnetite for mirrors. Even though these mirrors were evidently manufactured locally during the San José phase (see Flannery 1968: 85), this work did not continue into the subsequent Guadalupe phase. Most typical of the Olmec culture in Guadalupe were the various pottery forms, notably the flat-based bowl with outslanting sides, the *tecomate*, and the large hollow, white-slipped figurine. This white-to-buff slipped pottery is diagnostic of the Middle Preclassic, as is the sandy brown or brick-red ware with a coarse red wash and the typical double-line-break rim decoration. These forms are found over a wide area of Mesoamerica, and imply a relatively homogeneous, Olmec-inspired-and-directed culture, whose traces have also been found in Complex A at La Venta, Early Santa María phase in Tehuacán, Chiapa de Corzo II, and Conchas I on the Guatemala coast (*ibid.*: 89–91).

Yet even before the end of the Guadalupe phase, the Valley of Oaxaca seems to have severed its ties with Olmec Mesoamerica, perhaps at the time of the demise of the nuclear Olmec centers after 500 B.C. The ceramic forms which would subsequently become characteristic of Monte Albán I are prefigured in late Guadalupe (*ibid.*: 94). Only the figurines suggest continued stylistic ties with other parts of Mesoamerica, especially Central Mexico. This link becomes especially strong in Early Monte Albán I, when numerous ceramic resemblances connect late Tlatilco with Early Monte Albán (Scott n.d.b: 80–3). The parallels are not at all Olmec in character; neither the ceramic shapes nor the effigy forms reflect Olmec tastes, which must have been long dead in Central Mexico and Oaxaca by then. With the waning, after 500 B.C., of the Veracruz connections with both areas, they apparently began independent trade with each other, resulting in similarities of effigy forms. The crest of Central Mexican influence hit in Early Monte Albán I and tapered off by the middle of the Late subphase. The combination of incised lines and modeled features, considered a possible Olmec trait in Monte Al-

Fig. 3 (left) Stone head, Vértice Geodésico, Monte Albán. Size unknown. Now missing. Drawing by Agustín Villagra.

Fig. 4 (right) Stone head, Oaxaca. Size unknown. Archivo Fotografía, #2054. Photo courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Antropología, México.

Fig. 5 (left) Colossal stone head, Monte Alto, Guatemala. Height 140 cm. Now in the plaza of La Democracia. Photo by the author.

bán I, is probably not a revival. It occurs throughout the art styles of Monte Albán I, including the earliest ceramics. In the immediately preceding Guadalupe phase, the double-line-break motif connects this technique directly with true Olmec usage.

In my dissertation, I examined the contents of burials and tombs assignable to Monte Albán I in order to determine the chronological sequence (Scott n.d.b: 20–31). Here I can only reproduce the results of this analysis, with obviously tentative dates derived from an equal division of the time assigned to the two halves of the period on the basis of their associations with Chiapa de Corzo phases:

Early Monte Albán I
  500–350 B.C. Tomb 33
Late Monte Albán I
  350–300 B.C. Burial VI–12 and Tomb 29
  300–250 B.C. Tombs 43 and 152
  250–200 B.C. Tombs 111 and 94, Burials IV–43 and V–72
  200–150 B.C. Tomb 107, Burial XI–6, and Offering 1 from the patios of Building B and Tomb 160.

I must reiterate that the arbitrary division of the available time into even fifty-year intervals in no way implies a dating accuracy to within a half-century; the time groups are merely averages based on previous estimates (see Scott n.d.b: 58).

With the exception of the small, unfired, fat-cheeked baby from Early Monte Albán I Tomb 33, which seems to be a unique survival of Olmec forms, ceramic objects with strong Olmec characteristics reappear only during the Late subphase of Monte Albán I in what must have been a conscious revival. John Paddock (1966a: 123–4) has noted that:

> Fully "feline" or Olmec mouths do occur on some ceramic objects from Monte Albán I, almost all of them representations of the Rain God or the Young Fire God. But the similarity ends there; in addition, neither of these two types of objects is ever found in the metropolitan Olmec zone. (author's translation)

To this list we must immediately add the flame eyebrows and the pair of raised squares between them, which also appear on representations of the Rain God. These images of the Rain God provide the most convincing proof of the slowly accelerating revival of the Olmec style in Monte Albán, and must be examined closely.

The ceramic effigies of the Rain God—usually called Cocijo jars after the name of the Zapotec Rain God—show a consistent evolution from amorphic early examples to complex Olmecoid later ones.

The six earliest datable Cocijo jars from Monte Albán, all offerings in Burial VI–12 (Caso, Bernal, and Acosta 1967: Figs. 86a–b), have only very generalized features of the jaguar god. These early pieces exhibit non-Olmec concepts, such as a buccal mask. Nuclear Olmec figures with feline features never appear to be men wearing masks; rather, they actually are that creature, rendered with all the verisimilitude the artist could achieve. Another probably early Cocijo jar has a long tongue in addition to the buccal mask (Fig. 6). Only one Olmec representation, La Venta Monument 6 (the stone "sarcophagus"), seems to have a long tongue, but even this remains doubtful because of the poor state of preservation of the lower part of the face.

The great advance seen in the Cocijo jar from Tomb 43 (Fig. 7) may be explained by a hypothetical discovery of a true Olmec celt, or perhaps an heirloom piece which was just then brought to the attention of the potters. The Tomb 43 innovations include the raised squared muzzle and snub nose, paired plaques between the eyes, and a horizontal band across the forehead, all of which are found on an Olmec axe without provenance in the Cleveland Museum. Finally, flame eyebrows appear for the first time on the Cocijo jar from Tomb 107 (Caso, Bernal, and Acosta 1967: Fig. 86c), providing the last element revived in the Olmecoid style of Monte Albán I. Among Olmec models known from Oaxaca, a rectangular version of these eyebrows is found on a jade pendant in the Heye Foundation, while curvilinear eyebrows occur on a stone plaque-axe, probably from Oaxaca, in the Smithsonian.

Fig. 6 (left, above) Grayware Cocijo jar, Burial V-19c, Monte Albán. Height 15.5 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, México. Photo by the author.

Fig. 7 (left, below) Grayware Cocijo jar, Tomb 43, Monte Albán (after Caso and Bernal 1952: Fig. 21). Height 17.0 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, México.

Fig. 8 (below) White-slipped pottery *brasero* of the Young Maize God, Oaxaca. Height 21.8 cm. Leigh Collection, Mitla. Photo by the author.

The other most commonly cited Olmecoid form in Monte Albán I is the pottery cylinder with a platform toward the top and a face modeled on the outside (Fig. 8). It is usually called a *brasero*, Spanish for brazier, suggesting that the raised platform was for the burning or smoking of coals or incense. But, since the platform bottom is rarely blackened, it may only have held other offerings. In another study (Scott 1977: 21), I have identified the face represented as that of the Young Maize God, not, as it is usually called, the Young Fire God.

These Young Maize God *braseros* share several attributes with the Cocijo jars, most notably the Olmecoid nose and mouth. Typically, the mouth has a raised rectangular plaque forming the upper lip of the mouth. The typical trapezoidal outline of the mouth area is characteristically Olmec. Raised in a snarl, the lip usually reveals an even row of teeth, only rarely including fangs. As in the later Cocijo jars, a headband runs horizontally across the forehead, dropping vertically at the temples. A medallion representing an ear of maize often graces the center of this band, although it is never a Glyph C, as in the Cocijo jars. These *braseros* commonly have rectangular ears, made of flanges with curved corners, and rounded earplugs, both of which seem derived from Olmec art. The square proportions of their faces relate to the Olmec taste for full, fleshy cheeks. The headdress, with horizontal band meeting a vertical flap over the temple, reflects standard Olmec costume, as does the wide chin strap. Although the common marquise-shaped eye is not Olmecoid, the rarer rectangular or parallelogram-shaped eye is.

Unfortunately, the scarcity of effigy *braseros* in burial contexts at Monte Albán inhibits a seriation of types based on archaeological evidence. Only two tombs, 94 and 111, produced Young Maize God *braseros*, and both tombs have been assigned to the same time slot, 250–200 B.C. Unlike the Cocijo jars, the Young Maize God *braseros* seem to have developed full-blown, with little evolution, their differences more a result of separate artistic workshops than of a slow incorporation of Olmec motifs. The Olmec features they use are already present in the Cocijo jar of Tomb 43, which we have dated to the preceding half-century.

In both the Young Maize God *braseros* and the Cocijo jars, the most Olmecoid traits appear on pieces datable to the latest part of Monte Albán I. Such features include the rectangular eye with central pupil, the flame eyebrow, the pair of raised squares between the eyes, and the entire muzzle zone from the snub nose to the flattened, downturned lower corners of the lower lip. This increasing resemblance to Olmec canons can only be explained by a conscious effort on the part of the Zapotec artists to search out Olmec objects from which to copy details. The most likely models would be small pieces of Olmec lapidary work, considerable numbers of which were found in Oaxaca (itemized in Scott n.d.b: 72–8). The discovery of only three or four would have provided the Zapotec potters with sufficient models to explain the entire sequence of the Olmec revival in Period I art.

Why did the artists of Monte Albán I revive the Olmec style? For purely formal reasons, the Olmec style certainly was of such high quality that it could serve as a model for the rest of Mesoamerican art, as it may have for both Maya and Aztec sculpture. For religious purposes, the Olmec style provided a representational iconography for deities, notably by means of the feline mouth (see Joralemon 1971). Since Late Preclassic cultures based much of their pantheon on Olmec prototypes, they also apparently copied Olmec visual representations. Finally, political reasons may have played the biggest role in the conscious revival of Olmec forms. If, as Caso and others believe, the Olmec had the first empire in Mesoamerica, their art style may have come to express imperial connotations, as did the Roman style in the Middle Ages, or the portraits of Alexander to the Roman emperors. During Late Monte Albán I, when Zapotec cultural control was fully established, as evidenced by Monte Negro, Monte Albán's rulers may have consciously striven to emulate the glory of the Olmec domain by reviving its art forms.

Characteristics of the Danzantes

AS VIRTUALLY the only monumental art of Monte Albán I, the so-called Danzantes reveal very few Olmec traits in contrast to the small ceramic effigies. Nevertheless, these carvings were once considered to be part of the monumental art of the Olmec (Caso 1942). Let us examine those features which have been construed as Olmec.

MOUTHS AND NOSES

The most commonly mentioned "Olmec" traits of the Danzantes are their wide broad noses and squared mouths (Bernal n.d.: 12). Regarding the latter, an optical illusion accentuated in the drawings often creates the impression that many Danzantes have a feline upper lip, like the Cocijo jars, turned up to form a continuous line under the nose. The sharp edge going from the nose to the open mouth is really a crease line, not the side of the plaque that appears on many Cocijo faces. Nevertheless, most Danzantes do have extremely thick lips which protrude to meet the tip of the nose. These lips, with the thick fleshy nose, give the Danzantes a negroid cast which recalls certain Olmec figures. The colossal heads come to mind, although they probably could not have been seen by the Oaxacan carvers. Nor could they have seen the relief figures on the altars, which provide our main examples of the profile rendering of humanoid, in contrast to feline, figures. The figures on La Venta Altar 5 have pairs of thick lips meeting the cheek creases. The Danzantes, on the other hand, never present a profile in which each lip remains distinct; rather, the mouth opening stops far short of the cheek crease, allowing the upper and lower lips to meet, and forming an unbroken outline around the corner of the mouth. The most distinctive Danzante mouth has lips of uniform thickness all around, forming a sideways U, although this is by no means a constant characteristic. Some Danzantes have tapered lips, others have no indication of a lower lip-line but only a heavy top line, and some have no lip-lines at all. Only rare portable Olmec objects render human faces in profile: the Simojovel celt is the best example. In both Altar 5 and the Simojovel celt, the nose projects beyond the lip-line, the chin is thick and projecting, and the small almond-shaped eyes are excised. In each of these features, the Olmec style differs from that of the Danzantes.

TEETH

The prominent rendering of teeth is another characteristic of the Danzantes—although again not ubiquitous—which relates to some Olmec renderings. In relief, teeth rarely appear on Olmec monuments, although the seated figure on a San Lorenzo Altar (Monument 14) provides a notable exception. Several masks, which could actually have influenced Oaxacan carvers, show very human faces with thick lips and four upper teeth. The four front teeth of these Olmec masks would only appear as two when seen in profile, resulting in the same number of teeth that the Danzantes characteristically have.

HELMETS

Skull-fitting helmets, which the great majority of the Danzantes wear, are not at all like those on the colossal Olmec heads. The latter are caps, the lower edge of which has a series of horizontal bands running directly on top of the eyebrows and across the temples. Underneath, a second strap runs vertically to cover the back of the scalp, with a short vertical flap hanging down over the temples in front of the ears. The Danzante caps, while they cover the same general area, are made of one continuous piece. They follow the hair line, often arching around a central widow's peak in front. Although a few have a flap in front of the ears, the majority show a vertical line passing in front of the ear but not separated from the ear proper. This form, distinctive of the majority of the Danzantes, has no parallel in other art traditions.

TAPERED HEAD

Although most Danzantes have perfectly rounded heads, one (D-55) has an extension on the back of its head which reminded Caso of the profiles of Olmec heads, leading him to conclude that both the Danzantes and the metropolitan Olmec practiced an unusual type of head deformation (1946: 128). Although many Olmec jade figures show a horizontal ridge projecting in back of their heads, very few relief renderings of Olmec heads show this trait. A baby on Altar 5, La Venta, has a cleft horizontal extension on the back of its skull, while a plaque in the Museo Nacional de Antropología doubles this feature. However, the head extension on the Danzante is much more pronounced than any of these, has no cleft, and is pinched together where the extension meets the normal outline of the skull. Thus, a far simpler interpretation of this feature would suggest that it is a hairdo, emphasized by several texture lines at the pinched section. A forelock hanging in front of the face echoes the gathered hair in back. This rear protuberance is conspicuously absent in all other Danzantes. It probably depicts a distinctive local coiffure practiced in a conquered village. The Danzantes apparently represent a multitude of different people, each with its regional ornamentation.

Fig. 9 Carved stone slab of a priest set into the wall of the pyramid, Dainzú, Oaxaca. Photo by the author.

CLOTHING

Most of the Danzantes wear absolutely no clothing on their bodies; this contrasts sharply with metropolitan Olmec figures, who always wear at least a loincloth. One exceptional figure, J-41, has a long cape with concentric layers encircling its neck, definitely reminiscent of such Olmec monuments as Laguna de los Cerros Monument 19 or La Venta Monument 19. This last monument also shows several rows or layers encircling the neck out to the shoulders, as does J-41. However, since no other element of J-41 has any Olmec parallels, the long cape must be considered a long-term survival, since it also appears on the seated priest from Dainzú (Fig. 9).

POSTURE

Certain postures of the Danzantes have been compared with those on Olmec reliefs and jades. Certainly the extreme flexibility of many Danzantes—with outstretched arms, bent legs, and occasional contrapposto—finds its closest parallel in Olmec relief, notably among the small figures on La Venta Stelae 2 and 3 or the babies of Altar 5. On closer examination, these Olmec figures perform certain well-defined acts which do not appear on the Danzante sculpture. Even the jade forms which once were considered dancers (such as the one from Tepatlaxco, Puebla, in the Robert Woods Bliss Collection at Dumbarton Oaks, a similar one from San Jerónimo, Guerrero, in the American Museum of Natural History, or another from as far away as Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán) are pendants which should recline on one side, with the frontal head propped up by one arm.

The flying figures on the La Venta reliefs have a run-

a b

Fig. 10 Stone stela, Alvarado, Veracruz. Height 371 cm., width 36.0 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, México. *a.* Photo by the author. *b.* Photo by Elizabeth P. Benson.

ning-kneeling (*Knielauf*) posture which corresponds better to the position of some of the largest Danzantes, such as D-48, than to the Step Danzantes, to which Kubler compared them (1962: 88). Besides the distinctive position of the legs, the arms often assume a defensive attitude, and the face a snarl with the mouth curling up at the corners. In a previous study (Scott n.d.a: 15, 21), I identified this pose as signifying aggressive defense. Furst (1965: 45) pointed out that a defensive stance, facing left, was often found in West Mexican figurines, which similarly brandish weapons as if "on guard" against evil. Many figures with some of these characteristics also have a long beard, recalling some of the most imposing Olmec figures. The beard continues into the Post-Olmec period with increasing popularity. The Tepatlaxco, Veracruz, Stela shows an obviously false one, like that on La Venta Stela 3, while the beard on the fuchsite figurine from Tamahú, Guatemala, holding a jaguar cub (Easby and Scott 1970: No. 68), is obviously real. The boulder carving from Abaj Takalik provides the perfect transition piece between Olmec and Izapan styles, with a running-kneeling figure wearing a beard and a serpent face-mask (similar to those on La Venta Stela 3 and Chalcatzingo Relief 2), yet holding a short club typical of Izapan reliefs.

TECHNIQUE

Technique also provides a clue which associates the Danzantes with the Post-Olmec style. All Olmec relief at La Venta has a uniformly sunken background surrounding the clear outlines of very low modeled forms. The Danzantes, with very few exceptions, have their background at the same level as the figures and pecked, indistinct outlines sunk into the surface of the stone. This same technique can be observed on the Alvarado Stela from south-central Veracruz (Fig. 10), which can be assigned to the Post-Olmec period (Scott n.d.a: 41). In carvings of the Izapan style, however, the background was carefully cut away, as it was in the Olmec period. Only in the transition period, when we may postulate a certain confusion and resultant lack of fine craftsmanship, do the carvers not take the trouble to excise the background area. Similarly, the forms and outlines of the Danzantes are not sharply cut, with a few late exceptions, but rather have more or less thick bands which have been pecked out to suggest the outlines in a vague manner.

Theories of the Meaning of the Danzantes

DANCERS

Leopoldo Batres (1902: 28) was the first to use the term "dancers" in print, although he stated that he was merely repeating the name by which they were called in the area. The impression that they were dancers derives primarily from the movement implied in their postures, especially the hand positions, which are as stylized as those of a Balinese dancer. The first row of Danzantes on the Wall all face to our right, while the third row all face left. Both horizontal rows of "Swimmers" all head to our right. The resulting effect of four lines of men participating in this choreographed movement "fué quizás lo que más impresionó a quienes los clasifican como danzantes" (Dávalos 1951: 140). Like so many other terms, *danzantes* has stuck in spite of later denials that they represent dancers.

Several factors cause me to reject the idea that these figures are dancers. First, dancers and acrobats, frequently represented in Preclassic art, usually have special paraphernalia, such as rattles or bells, strapped to their wrists or ankles. Even among the simple female figurines of the Valley of Mexico, who wear no such

apparatus, a miniskirt, often fringed, adds to the performance. Never are these figures nude, as are the Danzantes. Even the male acrobats of Tlatilco wear a loincloth. Second, very few of the Danzantes have feet which make contact with the ground. Their soles droop limply, even when the posture of the figures is basically upright. Although early art often does not indicate a ground line, the line is implied by level feet. Most Danzantes could not possibly have a ground line drawn so that one or both feet would rest on it. Third, the Danzantes completely lack the sense of balance so beautifully captured by dancing figurines like those of Central Mexico. Admittedly, the requirements of three-dimensional sculpture may have forced the artist to balance his composition; nevertheless, I do not believe that the Danzantes are such consistently bad art that their sculptors could all have failed to express the equilibrium required in dancing, if they had intended to represent that activity.

SWIMMERS

The first serious analysis of the meaning of the Danzantes was undertaken by Agustín Villagra, in a report to the International Congress of Americanists in Mexico City in 1939. He concluded (1939: 155, 158) that the Danzantes on the Wall are commemorative, since many have hieroglyphs indicating their names. The figures of the stair risers, however, he seriously considered as swimmers. Supporting this interpretation are the vessels found in Tomb 111 which have figures whose modeled heads turn to one side, as if gasping for air, while their engraved arms bend in a crawl or sidestroke (Fig. 11). Wavy lines, indicating water, are incised around the figures. The change from engraving to high relief stresses those parts which emerge from the water, a very effective conceit for a water bottle. Based on the striking similarities of the faces on these bottles to those on the Danzantes, Caso (1946: 118) cited this as proof of their contemporaneity. Since Tomb 111 has been dated above to *ca.* 250–200 B.C., this archaeological information might date Danzantes in similar style. Villagra, alluding to Father Burgoa's account of 1674 that the Valley of Oaxaca once had a lake, concludes that swimming must have been "un espectáculo frecuente" (1939: 155), as if early art were content to represent common sights.

UNIDIRECTIONAL DECORATION

Villagra finally decided against the interpretation of the horizontal Danzantes as swimmers. Instead, he observed with interest that the carved figures on the steps faced toward the centerline, which crosses the middle of the longest stone, D-30. On this stone, two supine figures are placed head to head. On the stairway cheekpiece, perpendicular to the steps, the Danzantes continue to look up to our right, toward the same centerline. Finally, the bottom row of standing Danzantes and both rows of Swimmers on the Danzante Wall look in the same direction. Certain exceptions must be made, most notably the third row of the Danzante Wall, all of whose standing Danzantes look to our left. In addition, the nearest Danzante on the stairway cheekpiece, D-19, heads downward, with its legs splayed up toward the sky. Although the head cannot be distinguished, as the base of the stone is broken, it clearly could not face to our right. Thus, this stone cannot be reconciled to Villagra's system. Neither can the three carved steps farthest to the left on the great stair, nearest this cheekpiece: D-23, a head engraved in sharp lines, has a very different style and iconography from the majority of the step carvings; D-24, a very worn carving whose face is no longer visible, nevertheless definitely has its hands stretched toward the left and its feet extended to the right; we thus must assume it faced away from the centerline, as does D-25, whose face and limbs are clear enough to leave no doubt in which direction the figure heads. Reconciling the positions of these stones with the proposed system of Villagra, we can assume that the left end of the stair needed repairs at some point after its construction, and that the people who fixed it turned the stones around, setting the unworn bottoms up to serve as treads. D-23 would have been introduced at this time. Finally, D-40, whose head faced away from the centerline, is stylistically unlike

a

b

c

Fig. 11 Ceramics from Tomb 111, Monte Albán. *a,b.* Piece 9. *c.* Piece 20. Museo Nacional de Antropología, México. Photos by the author.

the rest of the carvings, and thus must also have been introduced into the steps at a later time, following the loss of its lower half. Thus, Villagra's observation concerning the orientation of the Danzantes toward a centerline appears correct for the monolithic stair, but only imperfectly so for the cheekpiece and the Danzante Wall. D-19 and the entire third row of Standing Danzantes (D-10 through D-12) cannot be reconciled to this simple system of orientation.

Even if one accepted this observation about the orientation, Villagra's conclusion comes as a surprise from one trained as an artist. Finding an analogy to the center step, D-30, in Classic period tomb decoration, he points to the lintel painting from Tomb 120 (Villagra 1939: Fig. 17, 155) and the carved lintel from the "tomb" or sacristy discovered by Batres (1902: Láms. VII, VIII), both of which have a pair of supine figures facing each other. In the exterior jamb of Tomb 120, he found a standing personage with a hieroglyph, which reminded him of the Standing Danzantes. Basing his argument on the analogy between this tomb and the Danzante complex, he concludes that Monte Albán art, from its beginning to its end, used two types of representation: one explanatory, with accompanying hieroglyphs, and the other decorative, without hieroglyphs (Villagra 1939: 158). This two-fold division is a valuable one to make. However, to interpret the Swimmers, and all other Danzantes without glyphs, as merely decorative assigns too unimportant a role to art, and neglects the dramatic value of the smaller, groveling figures. In an early civilization, art has a definite meaning to convey, even when writing is simultaneously used.

CONQUERED TOWNS

In his definitive study of the glyphs of Preclassic Monte Albán, Caso (1946: 119) ignored the meaning of the Danzantes, saying noncommittally:

> . . . human figures were represented in such varied and dynamic postures that they are popularly known by the name of "The Dancers," for people believed that they represented individuals who were performing a dance. (author's translation)

Instead, his interest fell on the glyph slabs of Mound J, whose message he deciphered in general terms:

> *Significance of these inscriptions.* The three elements which we have described up to now: the inverted head, the hill glyph, and the hieroglyphic place name, have, to our understanding, the same meaning on all the slabs. As we believe it, they represent towns conquered by Monte Albán during Period II. The inverted head with the [closed] eye of death is probably that of the king of the conquered site, perhaps dressed in the distinctive costume of the god of the place, such as we saw in the defeated chiefs on the *cuauhxicalli* of Tizoc. The hill means generally "town" or place. The glyph on the upper part, which in Period III appears within the hill, thus indicating their close connection, we believe means the name of the conquered place. Thus, if our interpretation is correct, the inverted head, the hill, and the glyph above signify one of the conquests of Monte Albán. The inscription which accompanies these glyphs, and in which there is a chronological part, with year, month, and day, probably tells the time of the conquest and gives other details which we cannot yet decipher. (*ibid.*: 137–8, author's translation)

Although he fails to relate the iconography of this relief sculpture of Period II to that of Period I, Caso does hesitantly connect some Danzantes to the glyph slabs by means of the glyphs themselves:

> . . . it is very possible that, as the clay figurines of Period I continue into II in the same style, even to the point of being indiscernible, the Danzante style which we are about to examine, the one which appears the most developed, is a continuation of the Danzante type of sculpture during Period II. In any case, on Mound J, Danzante number 41 . . . already has certain characteristics, like the hill glyph, the cape, and other glyphs which decorate its body and clothing, which perhaps correspond to the Period II type of sculpture more than to that of Period I. (*ibid.*: 129, author's translation)

Caso ventures to interpret only one element found on many Danzantes:

> The use of tattooing or painting on the body seems to have been very stylish with the Danzantes. We are not considering here the representations of glyphs which sometimes are placed within the body of a Danzante, for we are not sure if they were painted or tattooed. On the other hand, as a general rule, the Danzantes have a tattoo around their sex, which appears exclusively on those on whom a sunken circle appears between the legs. . . . On one Dan-

zante of the finer type [S-10], . . . that which on others seems to be against the body, like a tattoo or painting, here appears outside the body, as if one were dealing with an object which covered the sex, but this Danzante is represented in profile. (*ibid.*: 126–7, author's translation)

He thus states the paradox of the scrolls around the groin, but never chooses between his two interpretations of it.

ECSTATIC EMASCULATION

Eusebio Dávalos Hurtado, the late Director of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, made a thoughtful attempt to reconcile all the iconographic elements found on the Danzantes in a consistent theory. He accepts Caso's hypothesis that the groin scrolls are sexual tattooing, but emphasizes that this accompanies a conscious absence of genitals (Dávalos 1951: 138). Exploring the various uses of castration and emasculation in history, Dávalos finds examples both for singers and dancers as well as religious fanatics. Noting deformations among the Danzantes, he attributes these to the effects of castration at different ages. Those castrated before puberty have an enlargement of their extremities due to skeletal overgrowth; this characterizes the latest "Incised" type. Those castrated when mature become overly fat and age quickly; to this group he attributes all the bearded Danzantes (*ibid.*: 140–1). Why were these men castrated and emasculated? Dávalos believes these acts served as an initiation into the priesthood of Monte Albán and as sacrifices, either as an offering to the deities of fertility or as insurance for a successful harvest. For this second reason, some are represented in priestly regalia. Using an analogy to a religious sect in eighteenth-century Russia, Dávalos hypothesizes that the man who was to submit to this emasculation danced himself into an emotional frenzy, thus accounting for the dancelike postures (*ibid.*: 140). As their reward, those who made this sacrifice received the decorative scarification surrounding the genital area, and were immortalized by their representation in relief sculpture (*ibid.*: 141). The exact relation of the sacrifice to the priesthood is not clear in this theory. Perhaps priesthood was a prerequisite, since only men devoid of libido could show sufficient devotion to the calling; perhaps it was an offering to the gods which only those already initiated into the priestly caste could fulfill with sufficient purity.

Such an overly specific theory, while commendable for coming to grips with the various attributes of the Danzantes, makes an easy target for criticism. First, no tribe in Middle America has any record, either through ethnographic or archaeological data, of practicing castration either to insure crop fertility or as a requisite of the priesthood. On the contrary, ritual bleeding via barbed cords, used on the genitals as well as on the tongue, ears, or fingers, was a common method of purification and atonement throughout the cultural region. Second, although we cannot expect the artistic verisimilitude of Bernini's *Santa Teresa*, ecstasy is not convincingly portrayed in the Danzantes. Those with the most elaborate groin scrolls are inert, limp, and motionless. The most mobile Danzantes usually do not have groin scrolls. Third, Dávalos was much too literal in interpreting art, allowing for no conventions such as that of using scrolls for liquid. Finally, instead of the nobility we would expect from those being honored as priests, we encounter degradation and ugliness in these representations.

SHAMANISTIC TRANCE

Indirectly supporting a modified version of Dávalos's theory with ethnographic data from everywhere in the Americas, Peter Furst recently examined ecstatic trances and asexuality among shamans, with the purpose of solving the meaning of Olmec were-jaguar representations. In passing, however, he relates the Danzantes to this problem:

We should perhaps re-examine the asexual phenomenon in Olmec art in the light of these strong sexual taboos which seem to be almost universally associated with shamanistic initiation, ecstatic transport, and other shamanic ritual, as well as with priesthood in general, rather than interpreting it as the portrayal of a pathological condition or priestly emasculation (Dávalos Hurtado 1951). There is frequently a strong sexual element in shamanism which expresses itself in different ways in different geographical and cultural con-

texts: change of sex, sexual relations between shamans and tutelary spirits or celestial instead of human wives, transmutation of sexual energy, etc.; all imply abstention from a "normal" sexual life for the shaman (Eliade 1964: 71–4, 79–81, 257–8). Dávalos Hurtado (1951: 133–41) may have come close to the truth in interpreting the Olmecoid "danzantes" of Monte Albán as priests engaged in an ecstatic ritual dance, but I suggest that the flower-like designs or scrolls which replace their sexual organs, as well as the absence of sexual organs on were-jaguar figurines, be considered as metaphorical rather than literal, symbolizing ritual celibacy rather than recording sexual atrophy or castration. (Furst 1968: 166)

Supporting this last suggestion is the fact that the word for "flower" and the word for "genitals" are practically the same in Zapotec, so that the elaborate scroll in place of the Danzantes' genitals may be a glyphic euphemism.

In Mitla a flower is called *gui*, often with a suffix that identifies the species. The same word with a possessive prefix *x* or *sh* means sexual organ. (Of course many flowers, because of their shapes, are borrowed to symbolize genitals, besides which they actually are the reproductive parts of plants.) (Paddock 1966a: 118, author's translation)

Furst's theory, especially with Paddock's linguistic evidence, provides a possible solution to my first objection to Dávalos's theory. Furst has found impressive evidence of the requirement of sexual abstinence among modern shamans in both the Western Mexican Huichol and the Highland Maya Mam, which covers the range of Mesoamerican tribes. Admittedly, these are all recent observations, and so the custom may be considered an acculturation taken from Catholic celibacy; however, Furst (1968: 164–5) then supplies examples from the northwestern South American Indian tribes which have remained relatively untouched by Western culture.

Concerning my second objection of the lack of convincing expression of ecstasy in the Danzantes, Furst indirectly suggested a rejoinder when speaking of the Olmec:

Where the face has a pronounced grimace one wonders whether the artist meant to represent the fierce snarl of the jaguar, as is often suggested, or a feeling of intense inner torment or ecstasy. This may also be true of figurines where the grimace is accompanied by a strangely contorted body posture, as in the miniature "dancing were-jaguars," reminiscent of the Olmecoid *danzantes* at Monte Albán. . . . (*ibid.*: 149)

Nevertheless, a great number of hypotheses which cannot be supported by archaeological data are required to maintain this theory of ecstatic dancing. If they are shamans or priests, why are they usually nude and limp? A more direct explanation, requiring fewer leaps of faith, is preferable.

SLAIN CORPSES

In my master's thesis (Scott n.d.a: 24), I reached a different conclusion, which still seems a far more direct explanation:

The Danzantes have contorted and highly asymmetrical postures; their arms sprawl in front of their torsos or over their heads. Most significant are the leg positions, which usually avoid any suggestion of resting on a ground line; quite possibly the Danzantes should be seen as if lying on the ground. The position of the limbs, the frequent indication of closed eyes on the grimacing faces, and the horizontal placement of slabs with elongated figures, all indicate that they represent slain victims lying on their sides or backs.

The meaning of these postures may be further clarified by comparison with the recently discovered Relief IV at Chalcatzingo. The two nude human figures being attacked by the pair of divine felines (their godhead revealed by the *kan*-crosses over their eyes) sprawl in much the same posture as the Swimming Danzantes, especially those in the second row of the Danzante Wall. Like D-13, their heads turn up to face heavenward, while their prone bodies writhe under the attack, pulling up one leg like D-15. Both arms are stretched over their heads, identical in spirit to the Swimming Danzantes, although only D-18 has both arms thus extended. The flat style of carving with deeply cut outlines also recalls the second row of the Danzante Wall, especially D-15. Although the pear-shaped tapered heads of the Chalcatzingo relief are Olmec, unlike any Danzante head, similarities in postures between the Chalcatzingo figures and the Dan-

zantes are sufficient to suggest some relationship and a continuity of iconography. Considering the established connection between late Tlatilco and Early Monte Albán I, at which time I believe some of the Chalcatzingo reliefs may have been executed, even a direct inspiration is possible.

Michael Coe (1962: 95–6) was the first to put into print this interpretation, which requires a minimum of hypotheses:

> The distorted pose of the limbs, the open mouth and closed eyes indicate that these are corpses, undoubtedly chiefs or kings slain by the earliest rulers of Monte Albán. In many individuals the genitals are clearly delineated, usually the stigma laid on captives in Mesoamerica where nudity was considered scandalous. Furthermore, there are cases of sexual mutilation depicted on some *Danzantes*, blood streaming in flowery patterns from the severed part. To corroborate such violence, one *Danzante* is nothing more than a severed head.

Certain statements concerning frequency and number are not accurate in Coe's statement, although these errors can be blamed on the absence of a published corpus of Danzantes, which this work attempts to correct.

Nudity. There are not many individuals whose genitals are represented; I know of only five: M-1, M-19, D-33, D-37, and D-54. All are stylistically unrelated to each other, and thus can be considered aberrations of other types. D-54 may even be unfinished, possibly a sign of official disapproval. It appears uncircumcised, M-19 and D-33 definitely look circumcised, and M-1 and D-37 appear to have erections. Even between these last two, differences in posture and style prevent their grouping into one type. M-1 is frontal, with his stumpy legs pulled up, as if squatting; D-37 is prone, with his arms and legs extended as if swimming or crawling. In D-37, the downward extension of the penis suggests the fertilization of the ground, while the phallus of M-1 extends vertically up his lower abdomen.

Nudity in art is extremely rare in Mesoamerica, except on its fringes: Western Mexico, the Huasteca, and lower Central America. Most usually, Mesoamerican representations of nudity occur when captives are being tortured or killed. The judgment scene on the Bonampak mural in Room 2 has a few nude figures among the prisoners of war; even here, however, most are merely stripped down to their loincloths. The Mixteca-Puebla codices also show nudity upon occasion, again as a sign of degradation. Large Xipe figures from Central Veracruz clearly depict the male genitals; a pair of large stone figures said to be from Aparicio (one now in Jalapa and the other in Veracruz) even represent an erect phallus. Some rare early examples cannot be explained as degraded individuals: Cerro de las Mesas Monument 5 (Stirling 1943: 40, Fig. 14b), stylistically related to Late Preclassic boulder sculpture of the Pacific Slope of Guatemala, and the large serpentine figure from Teotihuacan (Covarrubias 1957: Fig. 56).

Extremely few representations of ithyphallic nude men can be found in Preclassic Mesoamerican art. Chalcatzingo Relief II shows three elaborately garbed men with buccal masks dancing in front of a nude reclining figure with tied hands, who wears only a horned headdress. The combination of sexual excitement and the obvious requirement to restrain his actions have led me (Scott n.d.a: 53) and others to believe he may be in an ecstatic trance. Furst (1965: 42–3) even identifies his headdress as a shaman's horn, symbolizing power. Izapa Stela 10, although worn and hard to read, may represent a similar scene (Fig. 12). In front of a large nude figure, reclining against a tree trunk, two smaller figures gesticulate. A pole-like diagonal joins the shoulder of one small figure to the groin of the large one; this organically shaped member may be either the arm of the small figure or the phallus of the large one. The figures on both reliefs recline against anthropomorphized forms: the Izapa stela shows a tree converted into an earth monster, and the Chalcatzingo one shows what appears to be a crouching, masked dwarf or idol.

> Current interpretation of the relief derives from the phallic connotation, implying a fertility theme. It has also been suggested that the seated figure may represent a prisoner marked for sacrifice. Considering the exceptional character

Fig. 12 Stela 10, Izapa, Chiapas. Height 130 cm. Photo courtesy of the National Geographic Society, Washington.

of the theme, and that phallic symbolism is generally absent from Olmec iconography, the relief may have a more profound significance. . . . perhaps the scene can be interpreted as a ritualistic initiation. (Gay 1966: 58)

However, since none of the phallic Danzantes has that distinctive posture or reclines against a deified support, they appear unrelated to the iconography of Izapa or Chalcatzingo.

Severed heads. Coe underestimated the number of Danzante reliefs showing severed heads. Three exist with scrolls of blood pouring from the neck: J-112, D-78, and D-123. Other fragments of stones retaining portions of heads may once have been of this type, but their incomplete state prevents definite attribution. N-14 shows merely a skull. Coe also interpreted the flowing groin scrolls as blood rather than tattooing. This seems amply justified by the long history of scrolls representing liquid in Mesoamerican art, beginning in the Middle Preclassic. La Venta Monument 26 has scallops and one clear representation of a short, blunt scroll; however, nothing definitely associates this stela with water. Chalcatzingo Relief I shows large scrolls billowing from the mouth of the cave, in which sits a ritually dressed personage. From the context, we cannot say whether these scrolls represent water, related to the raindrops above, or wind, blowing from the cave mouth, although the former seems preferable.

Izapa provides numerous examples of scrolls used for water. Stela 1 has undulating lines in which fish actually swim. On the back of the main figure is strapped a large jar-shaped container, perhaps of woven straw. Scrolls surround it, and from its bottom cascades a series of undulating lines, again doubtlessly representing water. Stela 22 has a similar undulating base of water, surmounted this time by a series of small scrolls with vertical extensions, as if to indicate whitecaps on waves, a common trait in later Teotihuacan murals. Of greatest relevance is Stela 21, which has both scrolls with pendant drops along the top border, evidently representing rain, and the first unequivocal representation of a severed head, and, by implication, of headhunting, in Mesoamerica. From the severed head, as well as from the open neck on the body, spurt streams of blood, represented both by clusters of flaring lines and by a short scroll. The lines are not wavy like the scrolls on the Danzantes, which combine the undulating representation for water with the linear and scroll representation for blood. If the Danzantes are slightly earlier than Izapa, as I believe, then perhaps the artists of Monte Albán I had not yet distinguished between their conventions for water and for blood.

The most interesting severed head at Monte Albán,

J-112, has, in place of the neck, an inverted fleur-de-lis with two small scrolls at its juncture with the neck. A related although more crisply stylized motif appears held in the right hand of J-41, the Danzante which also has glyphs of Period II. A possibly related motif occurs on the Izapan-style Miraflores altar, by which time it is clearly a glyph. Under a bar-and-dot numeral and a cartouche containing an animal head, the Miraflores altar has a three-pronged motif with pendant drips, executed in an undulating line but without any scrolls on top. If the assumption is correct that the glyphs on the Miraflores altar, J-41, and J-112 are all related, that glyph may be a symbol of conquest. The three-pronged motif has a long subsequent history, via Teotihuacan into Toltec iconography, consistently symbolizing blood (Caso 1962: 65). In addition, J-112 emits a speech scroll from its mouth, a unique feature in the Danzantes.

Speech scrolls appear on only one other Late Preclassic monument, Kaminaljuyú Stela 9 (Fig. 13). In addition to the speech scrolls issuing from the mouth of the figure, the carving depicts male genitals, as do some of the Danzantes. Also, the man's contrapposto posture and upturned face connect him to the Step Danzantes like D-27, as does the narrow, dressed-stone monolith on which he is carved. The sharply defined elongated eye of the Las Charcas man relates to the Step Swimmers also. The bifurcated pair of scrolls on top of the high headdress of the Las Charcas figure specifically recalls those on the helmet of D-21. Although the Las Charcas date (before 300 B.C.) is definitely earlier than the one which I shall propose below for the Step Swimmers, it may have provided a prototype for the Mayoid forms which swept into Oaxaca in the Protoclassic.

Thus, the Coe theory that the groin scrolls represent blood should supersede the previous concept that the Danzantes were tattooed. However the question of whether to accept the Dávalos theory that these are men in an ecstatic trance, as may be the case at Chalcatzingo, or the Coe theory that they are slain and mutilated captives cannot be easily resolved, although the presence of severed heads suggests the latter.

Fig. 13 Stela 9, Kaminaljuyú, Guatemala (after Easby and Scott 1970: Fig. 9). Height 145 cm.

TALLY OF CONQUERED PEOPLES

Perhaps the strongest evidence in favor of the slain captive theory comes from the well-accepted interpretation by Caso of the Period II glyph slabs as representations of conquered towns (1946: 138). The considerable continuity between Periods I and II, as evinced by the ceramic continuity in the village sites, the iconographic continuity of the effigy representations, and the appearance of Period II glyphs on a few Danzantes, all suggest a continuity of meaning of the rows of slabs on the Danzante Wall and those on Mound J.

The concept of keeping a tally of victims was widespread in Mesoamerica during Postclassic times, including not only processions of conquered foreign warriors but also the menacing skullrack. The figures of captives in Classic times, though less frequent, are more individualized, as in the paintings of Bonampak, which include one sprawling posture suggesting the Danzantes, and the west face of Palace House A at Palenque, where slabs flanking a main stair contain grossly proportioned and contorted prisoners. In this example from Palenque, the location of the slabs at the base of a platform wall, their composition in rows, and their thick, grotesque features, including one with oversize genitals, all recall the Danzantes of Mound L. The artists of Palenque clearly made a conscious attempt to portray prisoners as deformed and ugly, even though the same artists could obviously render figures of great beauty and elegance. The angry, tied captive from Toniná, Chiapas (Monument T-27), crowded against the narrow frame of the thin slabs, his near leg pulled up like the Swimming Danzantes, struggles as they do against the constraints of the block.

A Preclassic rendering of a captive occurs in the Alvarado Stela from Veracruz (Fig. 10). Here, an imposing standing figure with aquiline features and a beard, wearing a headdress reminiscent of the Chalcatzingo dancer-priests, stands before a bound, seated figure whose features are blunt and fat in Olmec style, perhaps indicating the dominance of a non-Olmec group over their former masters. Another Preclassic captive on a pedestal stone from Highland Guatemala in the Castillo Collection (Easby and Scott 1970: 93, Fig. 10) is kneeling, with his hands bound behind his back and a large projection on his forehead, perhaps a shaman's horn. Chalcatzingo Relief II has been mentioned as containing a scene with a bound nude man, also with a horn strapped onto his forehead.

The note of domination and violence, characteristic of all these works, appears to be an innovation during the Late Preclassic, after the breakup of the Olmec hegemony over Mesoamerica, which then split into a number of competing regional areas warring with one another. The trophy heads of Monte Albán, Tres Zapotes, and Izapa are symbolic of the new emphasis on the subjugation of peoples. Considering this general *Zeitgeist*, the meaning of the Danzantes more likely commemorates captives and conquest than ecstatic trances.

Uses of the Danzantes

PRECLASSIC: MOUND L

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE uncovered during the Monte Albán project of 1931–49 provides some clues concerning the dating and original positions of the stones. Strangely, very little exploration was actually undertaken in the area of the Wall of the Danzantes. The large hole, visible in photographs above the top right Danzante, D-18, was opened up by Batres (Caso, personal communication), but the results of that exploration are not recorded in any existing written material. No hole or tunnel, in fact, was dug by the Caso expedition to discover what lay directly behind the Wall of the Danzantes, although the

Fig. 14 South portion of the main façade, Mound L, Monte Albán. Photo by the author.

ceramic remains could provide an important clue to the date of that construction. Therefore, all evidence concerning the Wall of the Danzantes must be gained indirectly, through the excavations done on the main body of Mound L, the Danzante pyramid.

Original stucco platform. The most important of these, a tunnel dug into the wall of the Classic period structure at the centerline of the Swimmer steps (Fig. 14, at right), revealed a flight of stucco-covered steps beginning two meters inside the Classic wall (Acosta n.d.a: 2). A pit, dug into the stucco floor at the top of the old staircase and sunk until hitting bedrock 7.05 meters below (Fig. 15), revealed only two or three sherds, indicating that "it is the first structure raised in this location" since the fill was still unmixed with refuse of earlier occupants (Acosta n.d.b: 12, author's translation). Eleven steps led to a flat stuccoed platform, upon which was piled thick earth fill containing sherds which Bernal (personal communication) identifies as Monte Albán I-c. In a spur tunnel heading south (toward the Wall of the Danzantes), two burials containing grayware were located in the fill a meter or more above the level of the stucco floor. No evidence of a floor or even a stratigraphic change was noticed by the excavators between Preclassic and Classic fill, even though burials assigned to Period I were found as high as 1.70 meters above the stucco floor.

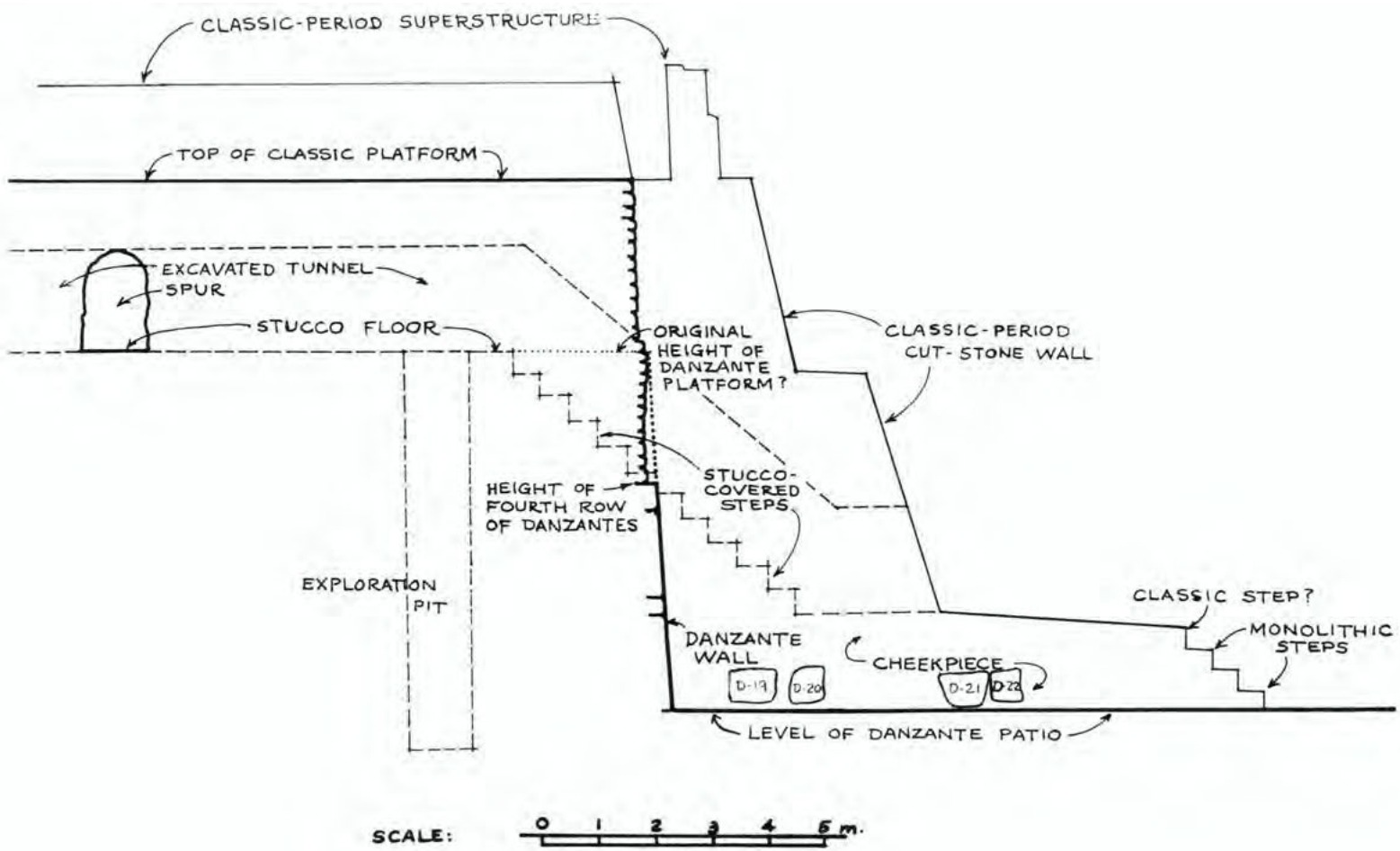

Fig. 15 South elevation and section, Mound L, Monte Albán. Drawing by the author.

The final platform is only 2.90 meters above the stucco floor, and the cruciform Tomb 60, also of Period III-A, was sunk into the fill to within 60 centimeters of the stucco floor. Perhaps an enlargement of the original stucco platform and steps took place later in the Formative, raising it to approximately the height of the present platform.

Offerings above stucco floor. Although its excavators claim that all the Formative construction occurred during Period I, no careful study was ever undertaken of the sherds found in the fill above the stucco floor. The tunnels into Mound L were dug during the second and fourth seasons, when the seriation of the ceramics was in its infancy, and long before Bernal became associated with the excavation or could develop his three-stage ceramic seriation of Period I. The only two ceramic offerings found above the stucco floor have been tentatively dated to Period I, although both could also belong to Period II. Supporting this latter possibility, a small round-bottomed bowl (Fig. 16), which was the only offering in Burial IV-15 (ignore the typographical error—VI-15—in Caso, Bernal, and Acosta 1967: Fig. 134), has a stepped pattern which, if assigned to Period I, would be unique:

> . . . [it] is the only example which has a rounded base and stepped-fret decoration. (*ibid.*: 180, author's translation)

Although it is not a true greca, which first appears in Period II (Bernal n.d.: 39), its spirit as decoration belongs to the latter period, where it would no longer appear unique. Two bowls from the Period II Burial IV-30 (Caso, Bernal, and Acosta 1967: Fig. 224b,c) have decoration and silhouette very similar to the Burial IV-15 bowl. Note that none of the Period I bowls (*ibid.*: Fig. 133) has as incurving a rim as those of Burials IV-15 and IV-30. The only support for the placement of the Mound L bowl into Period I derives from its ware type, G.18, which Bernal assigns exclusively to Period I (*ibid.*: 214).

The only other ceramic offering above the stucco floor in Mound L contained a pair of large vases or "flowerpots" (Fig. 17), whose crude manufacture defies easy classification.

> . . . [they] appeared in the tunnel to the south of the Mound of the Danzantes, above the floor of the temple platform of Period I and at the same level as Burial IV-15 [92 cm. above the floor], which belongs to this period. Given these conditions, it is probable, but not certain, that they belong to Period I. They have a flat base and thick flaring sides. (*ibid.*: 208, author's translation)

Again, these flowerpot forms are not typical of Period I, and can only be compared to the small coarse vessel from Burial V-19c (*ibid.*: Fig. 166). However, crudely made flowerpot shapes are quite common in Period II (*ibid.*: Figs. 221b, 221d, 222e, 223). Although these are not made of the same K.3a ware as are the Mound L pots, K.3a ware does continue to be used in Period II.

Strong evidence thus exists to date these two offerings found in the fill of Mound L to Period II. The only evidence to the contrary is the G.18 ware of the Burial IV-15 bowl, which did not continue to be used in the later period. This could be reconciled if we assume that the bowl was made in the very early part of Period II, before all the characteristics of the Protoclassic phase had been adopted. Also, ceramics of Period I style continued in most Valley sites throughout Period II, since the elite taste of the acropolis did not affect the ordinary villagers (Bernal 1949: 212). Humble people surely made the burials and offerings interred in the fill above the early stucco floor of Mound L, as the poverty of the offering and the crudeness of the ceramics attest. The stepped motif of the bowl imperfectly reflects the elite of Period II, who introduced the true greca. The grossly made flowerpot shapes are inferior products, not worthy of the aristocratic products of either Period I or II.

Contemporaneity of Danzante Wall and stucco platform. The southward extension of the tunnel on top of the old stucco floor continued until it reached the southern wall of Mound L, which at that point extends slightly in back of the Danzante Wall (Fig. 18). Unless the Danzante Wall was later cut out of the core, an unlikely occurrence in Mesoamerican architecture, it must have been the facing for a part of the original building. It was definitely not a new wing tacked onto the south end of Mound L.

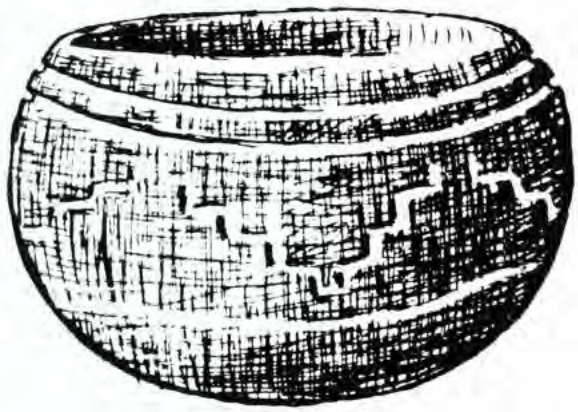

Fig. 16 Round-bottomed bowl, Burial IV-15, Mound L, Monte Albán (after Caso, Bernal, and Acosta 1967: Fig. 134).

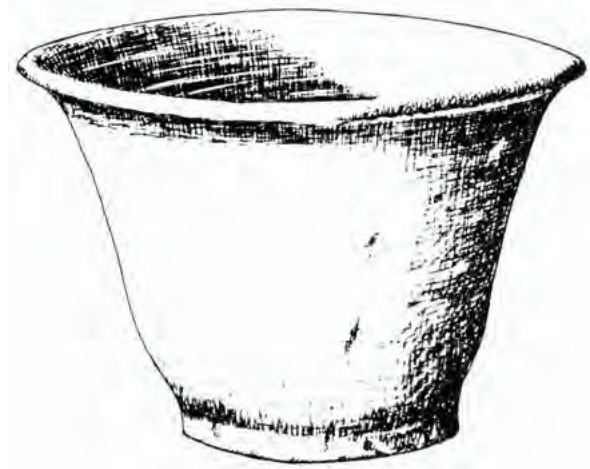

Fig. 17 Large vase, Mound L, Monte Albán (after Caso, Bernal, and Acosta 1967: Fig. 179).

As nearly as can be determined, the height of the Danzante Wall is slightly less than the height of the stairs at the same distance in back of the Swimmer steps (Fig. 15). At 10.41 meters in back of the front row of monolithic steps, the same distance back that the Danzante Wall is located, the stucco stairway is about 4.25 meters above the base of the steps; the top row of Danzantes is slightly lower (3.91 meters). This, therefore, suggests that the Danzante Wall must have been executed when the old temple platform was still in its original state, before its stucco top was enlarged. The monolithic steps, the wall perpendicular to them, which defines their southern end, and the Danzante Wall are all at the same original level, apparently that of the plaza in that era, 1.82 meters lower than the base step of the old stucco stairway inside the main mound. They thus form part of the same building program.

Monolithic steps extension. However, some evidence suggests that they were not all built at the same time, and that some alteration of the original Danzante Wall was undertaken to provide room for the stairway extension. Directly to the right of the last Danzante on the bottom row, D-9, a line of undecorated cut stones follows the right contour of this Danzante (Fig. 19). They increase in width from bottom to top, their edges forming a relatively continuous outline not only along the left, butting into the edge of D-9, but also along the right. This type of filler occurs between many other Danzantes on the Wall to match their irregularly curved edges. Now, however, this boundary only contains a fill of small, irregular stones. From these observations, we can assume that another large slab, probably carved with a Danzante, continued the lower row of figures. Conceivably, a "Swimming" Danzante from the row above might have also been removed, for smaller irregular stones now fill the space underneath D-12, on the row above. Why were they removed and the holes anciently filled with small roughly cut stones? I propose that this was done to make way for the wall forming the side of the new staircase, since a Danzante was too important to be covered up partially with an abutting wall.

To probe the original extent of the Preclassic temple encased in Mound L, Juan Fernández de la Vega dug another tunnel into Mound L along the right-hand end of the Swimmer steps during the second season (Fig. 18). Entering perpendicularly to the face of the steps and under the Classic period stair, he fi-

nally hit a wall perpendicular to the tunnel, 10.45 meters back from the first Swimmer step. This distance is virtually identical to the 10.41 meters which the Danzante Wall is in back of the first Swimmer step. The two wings must have been symmetrical. However, the wall encountered on the right-hand side was made of undecorated small stones (Acosta n.d.b: 4). Following this inner right-hand wall for 8.85 meters, Fernández eventually encountered a stair balustrade; this is no longer visible. Although the construction period of this wall and its stairway with balustrade has not been stated, it may date from Period II, since, during Monte Albán I, "stairways stand out from the body of the building and are entirely without balustrades" (Acosta 1965: 816). In Period II, Acosta continues (*ibid.*: 818), "Among the new architectural characteristics are the stairways bordered with balustrades which follow the same slope as the steps." However, the presence of a vertical balustrade into which steps are set in the Guadalupe-phase temple at Huitzo (Flannery 1968: Fig. 10) casts doubt on the dating of the northern steps of Mound L on the basis of the presence of a balustrade alone.

Original façade. The incompleteness of the excavation data also prevents us from knowing the width of the central stair. A very small tunnel following the line of the bottom step toward the south indicated to my observation that the step either ended or changed its size less than one meter south (left) of the tunnel up the stucco steps. If this is so, and the flight of stairs did not extend across the whole eastern façade of the temple, then we still cannot know what type of architectural treatment took the place of stairs on the left of that façade.

When the southern wing of Mound L became the focus of sculptural decoration, the Danzante Wall apparently was continued beyond the end of Mound L and across the front of the small unexcavated Mound L′ until it abutted the side of Mound M (see Frontispiece, Part II). This reconstruction, proposed by Villagra in 1939, is supported by several pieces of evidence. First, as mentioned before, this area between Mounds L and M, now known as the Patio of the Danzantes (Fig. 20), was full of loose and broken Danzante carvings. Villagra drew and numbered sixty-nine such loose stones from that area, I have numbered twenty-two others, and there are at least thirty additional scarcely identifiable fragments lying to the east of the Patio. All of these stones, whose numbers will be prefixed with the letter D in Part II, must have been used in this immediate area. Second, almost all the whole stones correspond in size to one of the two types used in the Danzante Wall: a tall, large "Standing" type with a vertical figure, and a smaller, narrow "Swimming" type with a horizontal figure. (These types are discussed below in greater detail.) Finally, Stelae 12 and 13, discovered in their original positions near the side of Mound M, not only were the same height as the bottom row of the Danzante Wall but also were located on the continuation of the base line formed by that wall. Thus, it seems conclusive that a continuous wall did exist between Mounds L and M, and must have been formed at least in part by the Danzantes found loose in the immediate area.

Because of the close connection of this wall with Mound L′ directly in back (west) of it, we must regret that this small mound has never been excavated. At least its core very possibly was connected with the Danzantes, and could therefore help greatly in explaining their purpose.

PROTOCLASSIC: MOUND J

Mound J, usually called the Observatory, has nearly as many carved slabs around or on it as are found in or on Mound L. These stones will be prefixed with the letter J. Over half of these are in the sharply incised style which Caso identified as belonging to Monte Albán II, contemporary with the Observatory itself. We will refer to these as the "Incised glyph slabs," the major component of the Incised style. These will not be included in the catalogue (Part II). The entire back part of the structure (Fig. 21), shaped like an arrowhead in plan, contains forty-three of these Incised glyph slabs and no other style of relief carving. The front section, comprising a three-stage platform

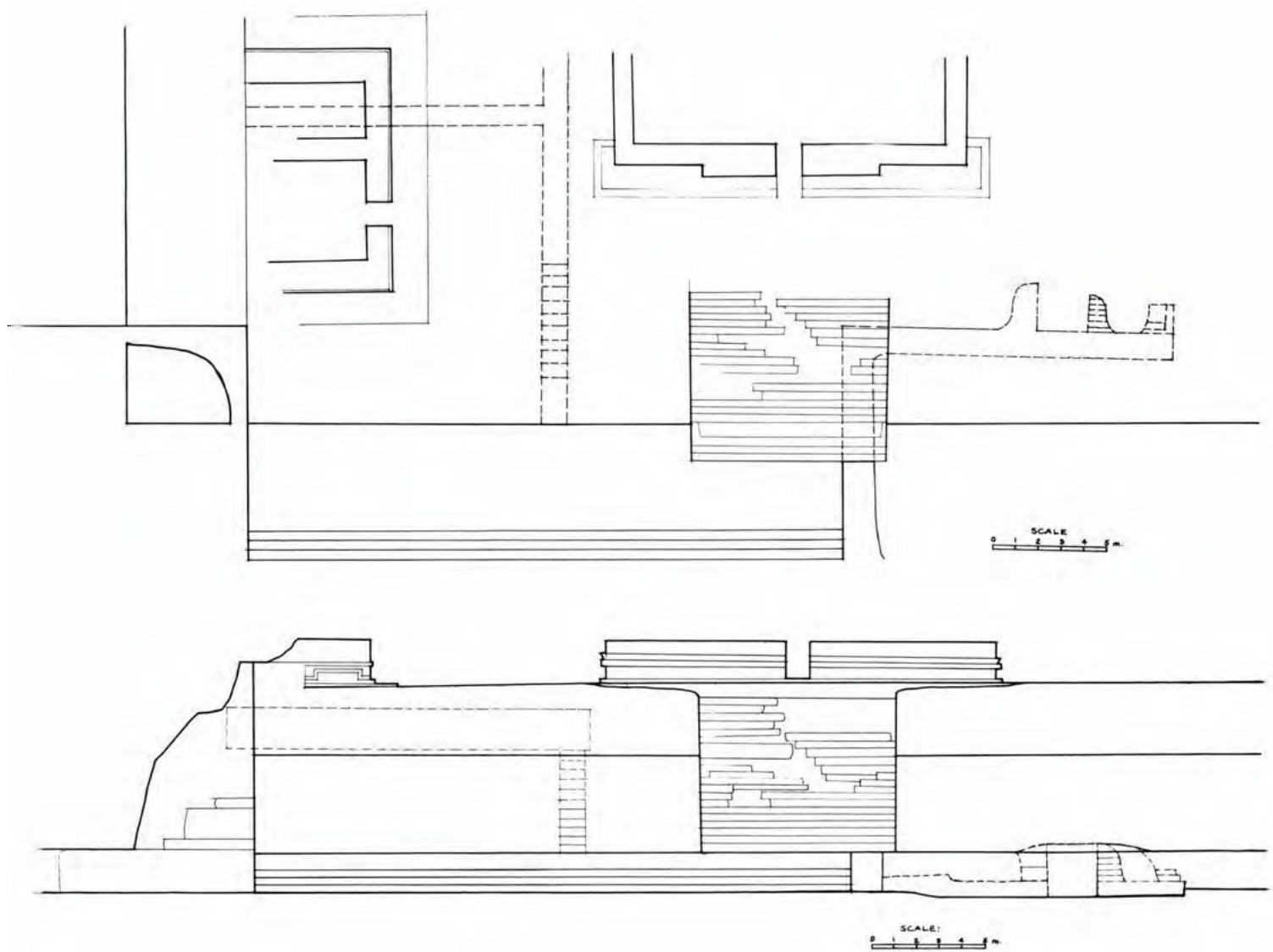

Fig. 18 Plan and east elevation, Mound L, Monte Albán. Drawings by the author (after those by Juan Fernández de la Vega in the Monte Albán archives in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, México).

topped by the remaining walls of a temple superstructure, the access to which is provided by a large stair with wide, flanking balustrades (Fig. 22), is decorated on all these parts with relief carvings in both the Incised glyph and the older Danzante style. Only a few of these stones were found in place, however, and most of these are along the base and on the temple superstructure. The rest were replaced in a mosaic composed by the archaeologists and their masons from the rubble found remaining from the collapsed walls; one can recognize these modern constructions by the small stones pressed into the cement joints.

In spite of their placement on some of the oldest positions of the building, notably in early foundations covered up by later expansions and now accessible only by tunnels (Figs. 21, 23), none of the Danzantes there were designed for those positions. We know this for the following reasons. In many cases, they are reset on their sides or upside-down. Other carvings are merely used as building stones, with their carved faces hidden. Several different styles coexist along one wall, including examples of Incised glyph slabs. Yet only Incised glyph slabs were used to decorate the back section of the Observatory, suggesting an iconographic rather than a chronological difference between the two sections of the building. An examination of the plan makes clear that the rear half could not have been added later: the two smooth rear walls of the front platform do not align with each other, and so could not have formed one wall against which the rear "arrowhead" section could later be built.

CLASSIC

The Danzantes continued to be reused in the construction of pyramidal platforms during the next period, Monte Albán III. Although occasionally the Danzantes became mere construction stones, valued only for their large size and somewhat regular shape, their carved faces ignored and hidden by adjacent stones, more often they were obviously valued for their representations and set into critical points of the new foundations. Such points include cornerstones, centers of walls, bases of buildings, and steps on centerlines of patios. Because of their continued reuse, they must have been considered carriers of powerful supernatural force—*mana*, to use the meaningful Polynesian word. As in many primitive societies, the placement of an object full of power in the base or at the corner of an important building insured spiritual favor. The subsequent disappearance of the reliefs under stucco surfacing, which probably covered most buildings, did not diminish their effect, since the gods and the builders knew they were there. The Danzantes served as a symbol of the antiquity and continuity of Monte Albán as a sanctuary.

The plaza in front of Mound M (see Frontispiece, Part II) shows best the different types of placement of the Danzantes. The importance of the centerlines bisecting the small *adoratorio*, which is placed in the center of the plaza between the large mound and the small one, is proved by the placement of Danzantes on both the transverse axis (where there is one carved stone on each side serving as part of the step next to the outside wall) and the longitudinal axis (where there is a row of Danzantes forming part of the step before the small mound and a complex enclosure formed partly by large Danzantes at the base of the steps leading up the main pyramid). Both corners of the main pyramid have Danzantes set prominently into them. Several other stones now lying loose within the courtyard may once have been set upon the *adoratorio*. All Danzantes recovered from this plaza and its bounding structures are prefixed by the letter M.

System IV, of which Mound K forms the largest pyramid, also shows the very prominent placement of Danzantes at the corners of the building, the stairs, or the centerlines. In spite of considerable interior construction within Mound K, datable to Monte Albán I (Moedano n.d.), no Danzantes were found incorporated into the architecture of that period. All Danzantes from System IV will be prefixed by the letter K.

The North Platform has a number of Danzantes built into the eastern façade and the western side, along the base of the large wall surrounding the entire

Fig. 19 (above) Old construction inside the southeast corner of Mound L, showing the Danzante Wall and abutting cheek-piece, Monte Albán. Photo by the author.

Fig. 20 (left) Patio of the Danzantes, seen from Mound L, Monte Albán. Photo by the author.

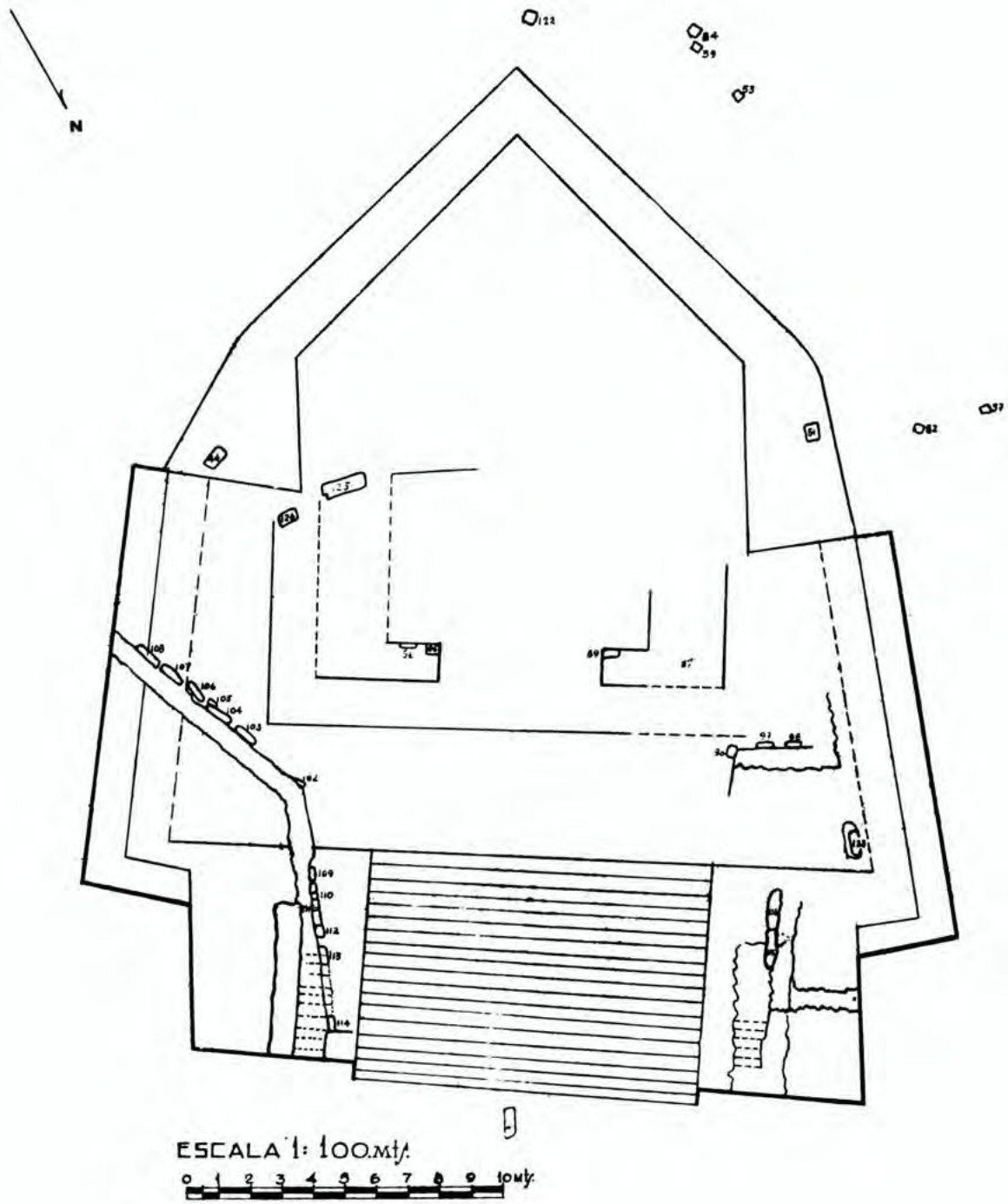

Fig. 21 Plan of Mound J, Monte Albán. Drawing by Luis Orellana Tapia in the Monte Albán archives in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, México.

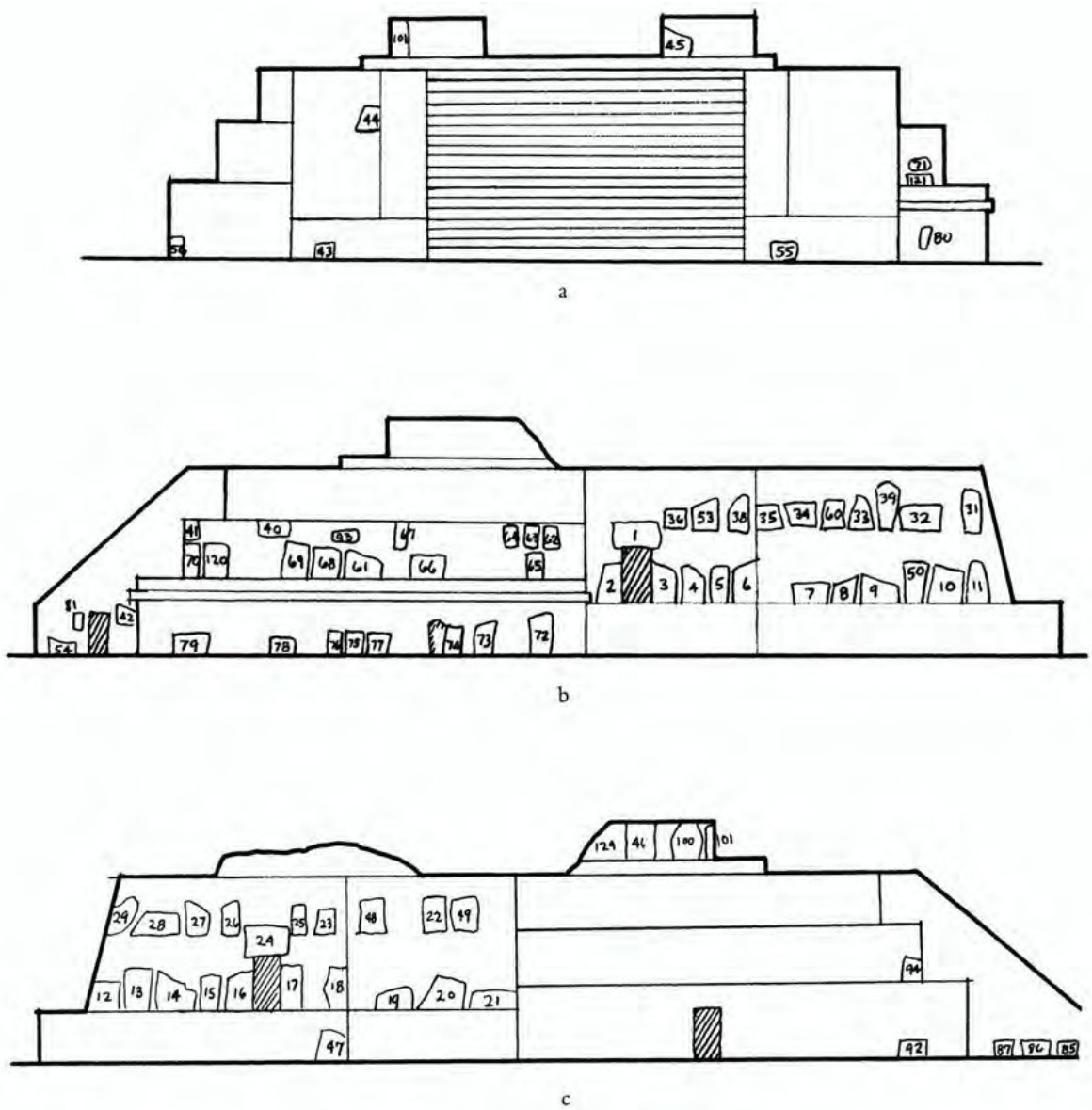

Fig. 22 Three elevations of Mound J, Monte Albán. *a*. Northeast. *b*. Northwest. *c*. Southeast. Drawings by the author.

Fig. 23 View of Mound J from the northwest, Monte Albán. Photo by the author.

complex. Several have been lost during the passage of time since the Platform was first excavated during the first season of work in 1931–2. Carvings on this lower part will be prefixed by the letter N. However, many constructions on the North Platform also have carvings datable to the Preclassic. Most important is the group around the Vértice Geodésico, which is the highest pyramid at the site. Since this group also includes Mound E, all Danzantes from this complex will be prefixed by the letter E. From the open patio to the south of Mound A (abbreviated PSA) came material of Monte Albán I which permitted Bernal to make his three-part seriation of the ceramics. However, except for a plaster *tablero* decorated with abstract serpent motifs (Acosta 1965: Fig. 4), no sculptural decoration accompanied this construction.

The South Platform also has a number of Danzantes scattered along its base, although the most important positions are occupied by Classic-period carvings, which were published by Caso (1928) as stelae, to which he gave numbers. The Danzantes from this platform will be prefixed by the letter S. Far to the back of the South Platform is another mound group known as Siete Venado. The carvings from this group will be prefixed by 7V.

In the middle of the central plaza is a group of mounds—G, H, and I—containing a few Danzantes. Both located examples are on Mound I; the other is known only from a Villagra drawing. For this reason, sculptures from any of the central mounds will be prefixed with the letter I.

On the east side of the central plaza are carvings connected with the large Ball Court (Juego de Pelota), which will be prefixed with the letters JP; carvings from the Palace, just to the south of Mound P, will carry the prefix P; and reliefs from Mound Q, which adjoins the flat area known as the Comedor ("Dining Room"), will have the letter Q as their prefix, although the literature often refers to them as coming from the Comedor.

The Sequence of Construction

BASED ON the architectural evidence of Mound L, the following sequence seems most probable for the Danzantes still in position. First, the Wall of the Danzantes was constructed, adjoining the pyramid with the stucco stairs, since its height is less than that of the stucco stairs at that point. Then, the stairway cheekpieces were constructed to abut the Danzante Wall (Fig. 19), since one of the Danzantes was obviously removed to avoid being partially covered by the cheekpiece wall. Finally, the steps themselves were laid, and, as we have seen, repaired at least once.

The Wall of the Danzantes shows considerable variation in relief carving, especially among its different rows, which suggests a difference in time. Even within the bottom row definite differences exist, although they are not so pronounced. The original wall, which extended at least 21.5 meters between Mound L and Mound M, certainly required considerable time to complete, perhaps explaining the variation in style. The stones which are in place extend out 9.6 meters from the main body of Mound L; when we include the two hieroglyphic Stelae 12 and 13 at the opposite end of the hypothetical Danzante Wall, then 53 percent of the first row of the Danzantes remains extant. For this reason, we should expect the variation in the carvings on this row to be more pronounced than in the shorter, less complete rows above.

FIRST ROW

Taken as a group, all of the first row of Danzantes (D-1 to D-9) share several traits. Their outlines are formed by crushing the surrounding background with a blunt instrument, leaving a wide, sunken band but no sharp line of demarcation between the body and its background. Away from the figure, the background is sloped up until it reaches the original plane of the slab. All nine Danzantes on this lower row have an arm which crosses in front of the body, while three also have a near leg which overlaps their far leg. To render a crossed limb higher within the outline of each figure, the sculptors used a technique similar to the abrasive pounding around the outline, except that the resultant channel does not go so deep, and it slopes up to the original plane in less distance. As a result, the channel is narrower and more precise than the depressions around the figure. Other details, such as the rendering of fingers, ears, or hair strands, are done by the narrowest grooves possible in this technique, which still avoids sharp lines. The technique appears as if almost all carving were done only with a mallet and a blunt punch, without the sharp chisel used by contemporary sculptors in Veracruz and southern Chiapas–Guatemala.

Only the face is truly modeled, rather than merely outlined like the rest of the body. Oblong eye sockets bulge from slightly sunken orbits. A sharp, horizontal line on the lower portion of the eye socket indicates closed lids on most eyes. The upper brow curves to form the bridge of the nose, which ends in a fleshy knob flanked by the nostril wing. The rounded cheek directly under the eye forms the boundary of the nose by a depression which continues along the side of the mouth as a cheek crease. The thick upper lip of the mouth begins directly under the nose and runs around the side of the mouth in a continuous band to form an equally wide lower lip. Two enormous rounded teeth protrude from the open mouth to form one of the most distinctive features of the lower row of Danzantes. The only exceptions are D-3, whose face is so worn that it cannot be read with any confidence, and D-9, which has a series of smaller, sharply defined teeth.

Again excepting D-9, the ears of the first row figures all have a distinctive stylization which continues on and off throughout the production of the Danzantes. From the large circular earspool, the outline of the ear curls up in a continuous sweep, getting wider at the top where it swings around and closes in on itself, suggesting the helix of the upper ear. Toward the temple, the ear is limited by a straight border

which continues from the helmet. Unfortunately, this distinctive form reappears in many styles of Danzantes, prohibiting its use as a time indicator.

Considerable variety characterizes the attire of this bottom row of Danzantes, indicating that clothing probably is not a reliable indicator of date or style. While all wear helmets and earspools, one has a necklace of large stones (D-8) and two have elaborate shoes with large pom-poms (D-3, D-4). Several of the headdresses have tufts in front (D-1, D-4, D-5, D-6) or back (a featherlike fall on D-4, a long braid on D-6). Two have hairlike lines on their helmets (D-2, D-5). Three have slight decoration around the groin. D-1 and D-3 have indistinct wavy scrolls on their thighs but not on or above the groin. D-5 has a completely unique motif of three straight elements about the groin, two organically contracting and swelling but the third a geometric step pattern.

The wide variation in rendering feet and hands prevents any form from being characteristic of the lower row of the Danzante Wall. While the hands of D-5, D-6, and D-8 are squared on the ends, with all fingers of equal length, others have hands with rounded ends (D-2, D-4, D-7). Some even have mitten hands, with no fingers indicated except the thumb (D-1, D-3). The proof that hand treatment has no stylistic significance comes from D-1 and D-2, where the two hands of each figure are rendered in different ways. Feet similarly show considerable variety. The majority of those on the bottom row show deeply indented spaces between heel, ball, and big toe. Two of the Danzantes have shoes. Two others, D-1 and D-9, have quite flat feet. On D-5 the near foot has the conventional articulation, but the far foot lacks a ball and has a large toenail, usually considered a characteristic of the latest Danzante style. Thus, the treatment of the feet appears to have little chronological significance. The considerable range of forms within this row suggests that it may have been the longest in building, or that some substitutions may have been made after it was finished.

Over half of the nine Danzantes on the bottom row have short columns of glyphs in front of their faces, with the exception of D-6, whose glyphs are behind the head. Of course Stelae 12 and 13 at the other end of the row prove the existence of glyphs during Monte Albán I. In his analysis of these glyphs, Caso (1946) tentatively identified several calendrical forms, but most glyphs remain unique examples.

SECOND ROW

The row of Danzantes directly above this first row (D-13 to D-16) are all horizontal "Swimmers" except for D-16, which depicts exclusively glyphic symbols. All the stones are deeply carved, with emphasized outlines caused by considerable removal of the background around the figure, most pronounced in the direction in which the figure faces. Like the Danzantes of the first row, all three figures of this Swimming group have their near arm cutting across the body. In addition, the legs of D-15 assume a complex pose in which the far leg is pulled up, bent at the knee, and doubled behind the near leg, permitting the foot to reappear on the other side of the near leg. In their bodies, little modeling occurs within the outlines except the lowering of the torso plane to make the near limb stand out. An oxidized, calcareous surface on both D-13 and D-14 exaggerates the planar effect of their relief, since the surface of the original stone is a lighter color than the cutaway part. How intentional an effect this was cannot be determined, since all the stones on the second row do not have this feature; however, D-6 on the bottom row does. Nevertheless, when a stone with such a surface was chosen, the sculptor definitely took advantage of its color contrast. Whereas in D-6 the oxidized orange surface emphasizes the modeled areas in gray, the calcareous surface of D-14 points up the severe planar carving. Most of the Danzantes with calcareous surfaces are Swimmers, so that the selection of such stones may indicate a stylistic preference for such effects.

Some Swimmers of the second row lack the sense of corporeal mass which the Standing group of the bottom row possesses. D-13 has stiff legs and a poorly articulated upper torso and neck, although D-15 has a fully realized body. Nonetheless, all three have arms

which end in rounded stumps instead of hands, and ear areas which cover the entire back half of their heads, which are proportionally all face and very little scalp. Their faces lack the detail seen in the bottom row, especially defined cheeks. Only D-15 has teeth rendered; the other two have thick lips which remain closed. Their eyes are not so rounded nor so protruding as those on the first row. Two are crescent-shaped with no indication of lids, while the other (D-14) has elongated, almond-shaped eyes with an incised lid line. The heads themselves are very small in relation to the bodies, and appear bestial in their protruding snout and low forehead.

THIRD ROW

D-10, D-11, and D-12, which compose the third row of the Danzante Wall, are standing figures like those on the first row, but all face to the viewer's left, as Villagra pointed out. While the positions of those in the first row vary greatly, most of those figures are seen slightly to one side and have their legs somewhat pulled up. The third row figures, however, are frontal and vertical, with their legs somewhat flexed apart. Two have their arms hanging at their sides, not overlapping the body at all, but the third (D-11) has both hands crossing his torso, with very mannered hand positions. The others' hands are irregular in outline, with fingers rendered as parallel lines; their feet are equally amorphous, although all show at least the sole under the foot.

Like the row of Swimmers, these Danzantes usually do not have teeth. D-11, again the exception, has two teeth, although the Villagra drawing wrongly shows four (two above and two below). Their eyes are all almond-shaped, but with no rendering of lids. Their ears, although shaped like the ears of the first row of Danzantes, are placed farther away from the face, in back of the temple flap of their helmets.

A very crucial motif in the development of the Danzante style is the groin scroll, which appears in its most advanced form in this third row. All the figures have a small sunken circle covering the pubic area, as if marking the scar where the genitals once were. Around this circle, on two of the three Danzantes, scrolls extend directly up the abdomen and out along the upper thighs. On D-12, a pair of subsidiary scrolls fills out the pattern at the center, around the circle, while the vertical extension is blunt and short. On D-10, however, this vertical part extends up to the level of the navel and there divides, curling in both directions.

Finally, this third row has much shallower modeling than the two lower rows. The forms are defined almost exclusively by blunt excisions, which hardly lower the surrounding background at all. Again the faces are more modeled than the rest of the body, especially on D-11, but far less so than the faces of the bottom row.

On the basis of the above differences and the deeper modeling of the face, we must consider the possibility that D-11 is an earlier carving, like D-5, which was reused later in the wall above. If this is so, then the regularity of direction would not have been maintained, or, more likely, there once was a row of Danzantes on the north side of Mound L.

FOURTH ROW

Although only two carved stones (D-17 and D-18) remain on the top row of Swimming Danzantes, they differ considerably from the other row of Swimmers. Like the second row, they lack the proportional correctness of the two rows of Standing Danzantes, although the figures on this top row have even less structure than those on the second row. The pale calcareous surface of both stones in the fourth row extends deeper than that on the two white-surfaced stones in the second row, giving the figures on the top a ghostly appearance which heightens their lack of naturalism. The technique used to carve the calcareous surface of the upper stones adds to the abstraction of their forms. The sculptors used excised lines, much as in the third row, but cut them at a steeper angle. Therefore, since they do not have their background cut away, the two Swimmers have practically no relief modeling which would humanize them.

The smaller Swimmer (D-18) is the more detailed anatomically, yet even it has hands without fingers, an abstract circle for an eye, and incomplete legs which cannot be solely the result of erosion (although the stone is worn). The more abstract figure (D-17) looks like a fetus because of its oversized oval eye with no lid, its gaping toothless mouth, and its thin curving body. The most prominent feature on its torso is an enormous lyre-shaped groin scroll which can only be explained as a poorly understood simplification of the elaborate groin scrolls seen on the third row of Standing Danzantes.

Two stones presently on the top row have carvings on their sides, indicating reuse of earlier Danzantes. The calcareous glyph on the side of D-18, which I call D-18A, seems very close to D-16 on the second row, or even to the loose stone D-104. A large blank stone on the fourth row to the left of D-17 has a carving on the side which I have numbered D-117. The style of the carving is moderately deep, and the proportions of the figure are very similar to those of D-14, one of the second-row Swimmers, with which it is clearly contemporary. Thus, the reuse of both of these stones, which are related to the second row, in the fourth row substantiates a time lag between the two rows.

ROW "STYLES"

Because of the differences perceivable among the different rows of Danzantes, we can conclude that some time elapsed between the carving of all the stones. Unfortunately, the two rows of Standing Danzantes have more in common stylistically with each other than does the second row, of Swimmers, with either of the Standing types above or below it. In turn, the two rows of Swimmers have more in common with each other than they do with either of the rows of Standing figures. Swimmers and Standing Danzantes must therefore be treated as separate modes, whose interrelationships will be examined only after each mode has been discussed. At this point, only the progression of the carving technique from deeply modeled to shallowly excised provides a continuous evolution from bottom to top. However, each row has common features which justify the use of the term "style" to be applied, with the number and row capitalized, to other Danzantes which share their nucleus of diagnostic traits.

The Stylistic Evolution of the Danzantes

FROM A CAREFUL EXAMINATION of all the known Danzantes, I believe considerably more stylistic change can be perceived than just the two styles identified by Caso. Within his "First Type" fall all but ten of the Danzante stones. He defined it thus:

> The classic and apparently oldest type is identified by not having the toes rendered, with the rare exception of the big toe. Fingers hardly ever appear, although the thumb is always distinct from the other fingers. . . .
>
> The figures are more flexible than those of the Second Type which we will describe, and the postures are quite varied: standing, seated with one leg extended, reclining on their backs with one or both legs drawn up, on their bellies, and with their hands extended as if they were swimming; seated with their legs open, squatting, in walking or running or jumping position, kneeling with one leg on the ground, seated on the ground in tailor posture but with one leg drawn up. Hands are rendered as if they were hanging, and the feet sometimes look twisted. In one case (Danzante 55), we see a cranial deformation on the back of the head, similar to the deformation which appears in La Venta and Tlatilco. . . . Representations of old men are very frequent.
>
> The line used to trace the outline of the body is wide and sunken, giving the body a certain relief, and on the face relief is the usual way to render cheeks, eyes, nose, and open mouth showing two teeth. Lips are thick and their corners are turned down. (Caso 1946: 128, author's translation)

Several of the features which Caso groups together are important criteria for distinguishing one style from another in this large group. Most important among the traits which are completely missing in some styles are: two teeth, articulated fingers, and certain postures (such as kneeling or sitting with legs folded underneath). In addition, the degree of modeling of the face and the height of the relief have great significance in determining style.

A complete stylistic analysis will not be undertaken here. The large quantity of carved stones and their varied states of preservation make this impossible, especially since carving technique, posture, and facial details seem to be crucial. If these features are worn, obscured, or missing, the stylistic relationship of the carving must remain in doubt. In a number of instances, I could not find the actual stones to examine the technique or stone coloration. In addition, the carvings divide themselves into distinct types, notably the Standing and the Swimming Danzantes, which have an internal development whose relationship to each other is not clear, although they must be partially coeval. With so many variables, most of which are not crucial in themselves but only in association with each other, a computer program would be required to sort out all the possibilities. Instead, this introduction will concentrate on the analysis of groups with iconographic significance and their variations due to stylistic change. The catalogue (Part II) will attempt to place each stone in its stylistic position.

STANDING DANZANTES

Both rows of Standing Danzantes are sufficiently alike, in spite of clear stylistic differences, to allow us to consider the vertical figure as a type which maintained certain characteristics of form and iconography. While the First Row clearly has the largest slabs, D-4 and D-5 are both almost as small as any of the stones in the Third Row. The size of the stones in the Third Row ranges from 132 to 142 centimeters high and from 60 to 74 centimeters wide. In the First Row, sizes show a much greater range: from 134 to 190 centimeters high and from 62 to 104 centimeters wide. Because of the overlapping of sizes in the two rows, we may consider any stones over 60 centimeters wide and 132 centimeters high as clearly belonging to the Standing type. But some other carvings have positions and proportions clearly fitting into the Standing type, even though they are as small as 107 centimeters high; thus, greater latitude in dimensions must be allowed than those found on the Danzante Wall.

Gross group. The bottom row of the Danzante Wall certainly has the largest Standing Danzantes—notably D-1, D-2, D-3, and D-6, which are all over 150 centimeters high and 100 centimeters wide. Several other Standing Danzantes found loose between Mounds L and M or reused in later buildings have the large size and wide proportions of the First-Row group, and thus may be contemporary with them. D-69, D-118, and M-2 are virtually only silhouettes, with neither visible clothing nor limbs crossing their torsos; these features they share with the Third Row. But in general effect (technique, position of legs, proportions), they most nearly recall D-1. Other Danzantes which are also only silhouettes (D-58 and M-3) look left and are slenderer, also like those of the Third Row. D-50, which also looks left and has similar proportions, is more clearly in the style of the First Row, with head treatment like D-1 and body position like D-9, whose proportions it also resembles. Thus, this large group appears to be transitional between the styles of the First and Third Rows, but closer to that of the First Row because of figure size and depth of carving.

Mound M Master. In spite of the small size and narrow shape of stones M-7 and M-8, indicating that they were Swimmers, the position and facial details of their figures are almost identical to those of D-5. Unique to the Mound M pair is a curved line connecting the profile of the protruding abdomen to the groin, rendering a partial side view. Such exceptional visual inventiveness must have come from the hand of the same artist, who will be called the Master of Mound M. The main side of N-28 may also be by him.

Raised Relief group. One group of Standing Danzantes has the highest relief of any of the Monte Albán Danzantes, augmented by a background which has been completely cut away, in contrast to the usual upsloping around the figure which brings the surface of the background back to the level of that of the figure. The figures are not very deeply modeled, with the exception of the faces. Four of the stones in this style (I-3, J-72, J-88, and J-115) could be considered most like the First-Row Danzantes, such as D-2, except that their hands do not cross their bodies but only rest on one thigh. In this they resemble some stones of the Gross group. Their two large teeth, thick noses, and prominent earspools on standardized ears recall the facial features typical of the First Row. Both the First Row and the Raised Relief group face to our right. Clearly in the same Raised Relief style are J-116, J-117, and N-8. Each of these has a sunken circle at the spot where its genitals should be, a feature found on the Third Row. In addition, N-8 and I-3 have groin scrolls which curl onto the thighs like those of D-12, but they lack the vertical scroll. D-1 and D-3, First-Row Danzantes, have only small curls on their thighs. Both details of the groin scroll suggest that this Raised Relief style is transitional between the First- and Third-Row Danzantes. A skull (N-14) and two heads, both from the eastern tunnel in Mound J, are executed in a similar raised relief: a decapitated head (J-112) has features which resemble D-11; J-111 has doglike features recalling those of the Second-Row Swimmers. Their pronounced depth of carving and absence of glyphs connect them with the Second Row also. Many stones in this style are now located along the early foundations discovered by tunneling into Mound J, even though this was not their original setting; this suggests that they may have formed a coherent group somewhere else which was pilfered *en masse* by the builders of the early stage of the Observatory.

Knielauf *group*. Large figures in a running-kneeling position, or a variant thereof, compose a special group, definitely related in style and proportion to the Standing Danzantes. All represent men, often called "old" because of their beards (or enormous chins which could be interpreted as beards). Their mouths are curled at the corners in a grimace and their hands are raised, one in front of the face, the other lower, both made into partial fists by curling the fingers. Several have holes in their enlarged earlobes, as if their earplugs had been torn out, a means of depriving nobles of status in ancient Mesoamerica. All may be hunchbacked.

The *Knielauf* posture has a long history in Mesoamerica, beginning with the Olmec flying figures on La Venta Stelae 2 and 3. Although the figures are small and surround larger figures, they show aggressiveness by snarling and holding clubs. The *Knielauf* posture continues into the immediate Post-Olmec period, as seen in Abaj Takalik Monument 1 (Covarrubias 1957: Fig. 25, left) and a Tres Zapotes stone box (*ibid.*: Fig. 31, lower right). In these later examples, among which the Danzantes may be included, the posture is raised from a subordinate role to a dominant one, and may be interpreted as that of a guardian of a sacred area.

Two of these running-kneeling Danzantes are related stylistically to the bottom row of the Danzante Wall. D-73 recalls D-8, especially in its smooth carving technique and its method of representing crouching legs. Two of the three carved sides of D-64 have heavy, deep-cut outlines like D-9. These sides were probably carved first, with the narrower surface of Side A carved later. D-64's present location on the far side of the Patio of the Danzantes may well be its original position, since it could have flanked the entrance into the sacred enclosure, defending it against evil. D-73 also has another carved side, as do many of the *Knielauf* group. On its narrow side, a Danzante with a bearded, snarling face in a crouched defensive position is carved in a style recalling the Second Row, with eyes and stump hand like D-15. Apparently this side (numbered D-73A) was carved shortly after the front face, creating a two-sided guardian stone.

D-72 and J-61, roughly dressed stones carved with deep grooves but little modeling, represent the same

bearded, snarling group, and are enough alike to have been carved by the same hand. Their flat carving and irregular stone surface make them appear later. Yet the facial features have the eyelid slit and thick nose of D-2, suggesting a derivation from the First-Row style. Another Danzante is carved on the back of D-72, but it is in an entirely different style, probably contemporary with the Step Swimmers. The two sides are upside-down in relation to each other, so that they were not intended to be seen as a unit, as were D-64 and D-73.

D-48, the finest of the *Knielauf* group, is also the only one to have all the traits of the posture: the ones previously discussed did not have the running-kneeling position of the legs. The beautifully curved hands of D-48, with fingers curling around a thumb, recall the hands of D-5, D-6, and D-8. Behind D-48's raised near leg, a partially hidden scroll cluster more nearly approximates the elaborate groin scroll of D-12 than the thick, short, thigh scrolls on D-1. The ear details of D-48 most closely resemble those of D-11, with a rectangular earplug instead of the usual circular earspool. However, D-48 does not have the helmet flap covering the temple, a feature exclusively characteristic of the Third Row. Yet, like that row, D-48 and the majority of related stones also face left. In addition, D-48 has the rather shallow carving and excised outlines of the Third Row. Thus, this definitive example of the *Knielauf* type can definitely be dated later than the First Row, and may be nearly contemporary with the Third.

Several other figures in this *Knielauf* position have a shallow-grooved technique similar to that of D-48. D-68 has details closely resembling the third side of D-64, which therefore can be dated later than the other two sides. N-15 appears to be a simplified version of D-48 because of its similar groin scroll, but its mitten hands, unarticulated feet, and lack of eyelid are dissimilar to those body parts on D-48. Since N-15's thin lines are cut into a reddish calcareous surface but do not have the deep modeling that D-6 has, it must postdate the Third Row and be approximately contemporary with the Fourth. D-49 appears related to the technique of carving on D-48, even though its conception is unique. The composition of the stone, showing an old bearded man with hands in a boxing position, is not the usual vertical running-kneeling pose but a crawling posture, like those of the much smaller Swimmers.

The drawing of the incomplete J-123, a stone which can no longer be found, shows only legs in a running-kneeling position. If this figure were complete, it would have been the largest stone of this large-sized group. Finally, we encounter the enormous D-54, whose figure of a running-kneeling old man has such a uniquely flat, smooth surface, broken only by thick incised lines, that its technique cannot be related to any other Danzante. I suggested above that it may have been deliberately left unfinished, possibly due to an unacceptable depiction of the genitals.

Frontal Flexed group. One major group of very well preserved Danzantes seems to be stylistically close to the Third Row of the Danzante Wall, although the higher relief suggests a slightly earlier date. These all have frontal torsos, with hands held relatively loose at their sides and legs flexed to varying degrees. Loose hands and relatively straight legs are characteristic of the Third-Row style, with the exception of the hands of D-11, which may be earlier. But the widely spread legs, with one foot often raised up as in a dance step, occur only on the First Row (in D-1, D-7, and D-9). The handsomely carved face of D-57, the outstanding sculpture in this group, is more characteristic of the First Row, although it does appear in shallower relief in D-11. The heavy teeth and incised eyelid are characteristic of the First Row, as is the column of large glyphs in front of the face. But a long helmet flap in front of the ear of D-57 and its elegant although not overstylized groin scroll push it closer to the Third-Row style.

Most closely related to D-57, although probably not by the same artist, is E-1, which introduces another characteristic of this group: a long row of glyphs on the torso. The distinctive groin scrolls of E-1, which spread along the thighs like an inverted stretched lyre,

occur also on D-56 and D-66. All four face to our right, and so may be the earliest of this group. The taut, muscular neck of E-1, as well as its heavy facial features, connect it clearly to D-11 and reinforce the attribution to the Third Row. Torso glyphs suggest the inclusion of D-55, D-59, and M-4 in this group also; since they face left, they are probably contemporary with the Third Row. The clearest relationship connects D-59 to D-12, although the vapid face of the latter excludes a common hand. Both have identical posture and headdress, as if one were copied from the other. Although M-4 has a more sharply excised technique than D-12, it could well be by the same sculptor.

Relationships between members of this group are confused by differences in surface, perhaps the result of differential wear. D-60 and D-66 are both considerably eroded, with pockmarked surfaces, while D-55 and D-56 are as smooth and sharp as the day they were carved. This smooth surface plus the curved hand position may relate D-55 to M-19, whose hairdress in turn is related to that of D-59 and, by extension, D-12. However, the thin incised details of the hair and fingers of M-19, and its sideways walking position, suggest its derivation from D-4 and D-5. M-15 and D-125 may be by the same sculptor as M-19. An unfinished slab (D-52) has the same smooth surface and delicately modeled facial features as M-19, but is carved on an orange-oxidized stone like that of D-6, overemphasizing the visual similarities of these two Danzantes. N-13, which has the same orange-surfaced stone cut deeply enough to reveal the gray beneath, also has an elaborate groin scroll pattern relating it to E-1.

Some of this Frontal Flexed group have no teeth indicated, but have a thick area between the open lips as if representing a tongue. In this detail, D-59 and D-60 relate to D-12. These three also have a tapered vertical scroll above the groin, leading up from the circle over the genital zone. In these two features, N-31 belongs to this group too. Its upraised, inward-turning hand position, rendered like a mitten, corresponds to the inward-turning fingers on D-11. This position, which I have named *retroussé* (Scott n.d.a: 51), is a characteristic of the Izapan-style monuments of the Pacific Slope of Guatemala. As such, it is highly significant that it appears in the Third-Row style at Monte Albán, and may help date the first traces of Izapan influence in Oaxaca.

Elaborate Groin Scroll group. The groin scroll on D-10, although worn away on its lower half, nevertheless has a very distinctive shape which serves to define another group within the Standing Danzantes. All face to the viewer's left, suggesting that some may actually have formed part of the Third Row of the Danzante Wall, now reduced to only three slabs. In its fully realized form, the elaborate groin scroll pattern centers on a hollowed circle placed at the juncture of the two legs; an undulating scroll extends half-way down each thigh, ending in a small spiral like a fern frond. Another element rises vertically from the circle, dividing before it reaches half its length, which extends over the navel area; curling apart, each tip again ends in a spiral like a fern frond. The entire form surrounding the circle resembles an inverted lyre with its arms spread apart. A simpler version of this motif has already been seen in the Frontal Flexed group—notably on D-56, D-66, and E-1. The fully elaborated form, which is so complex as to constitute a self-contained group, occurs on D-47, D-63, J-89, J-100, and S-1. Incomplete yet distinctively elaborate renditions of this groin scroll appear on D-10, D-74, I-1, J-46, J-124, and N-30. Unlike the stones on the Danzante Wall, which are relatively thin, some of the elaborate Groin Scroll group slabs are very thick: D-74 measures 90 centimeters and J-89, 71 centimeters.

At least some stones in this group are undoubtedly contemporary with the Third-Row Danzantes. Not only do they relate to D-10 by means of the groin scroll, but some (D-47, J-100, N-30, S-1) also have the long hands with squared ends seen on D-11. N-30 also has the rectangular earplug of D-11. Several have helmets with a flap extending over the temple in front of the ear (D-74, probably J-100, and J-46, which also has a distinctive pendant, feathered earplug relating it

to N-21). A glyph column on the torso of J-89 connects it to M-4. A *retroussé* fist with no fingers on D-74 and S-1 corresponds to a similar *retroussé* fist with thumb on N-31. Yet the carving technique of this Elaborate Groin Scroll group is shallower, less modeled, and more sharply incised than any of the Frontal Flexed group, which we have dated slightly earlier than the Third Row. The Elaborate Groin Scroll group, on the other hand, cannot begin before the Third Row of the Danzante Wall, and may well continue later.

Two Danzantes of Mound J (J-41 and J-46) have glyphs similar to those incised on later slabs of the same building. At first glance, the style of the glyph slabs, different from that of either J-41 or J-46, discourages the idea that they all could have been executed at the same time. The glyph slabs all have sharp incisions into the even, flattened surface, with no attempt to model certain features. The interior of the figure on J-41 also has quite sharp incising of details, but the figure itself is raised above its background. As we shall discuss in detail later, its iconography differs from that of any other Danzante, and so cannot provide much assistance in solving the problem of relative dating. J-46 is more useful because of its clear stylistic and iconographic affinities to many other Danzantes. The top part of the glyphic inscription has the three-lobed terminals of Period II. An identical form occurs on J-106, as part of an inscription below the pendant head. Caso (1946: Fig. 18, 122) also classifies the bottom glyph as a variation of what he interprets as a pectoral or Glyph S, but which I prefer to see as a thundercloud dropping rain. However, I cannot see any relationship between the common thundercloud glyph of Period I and this bottom glyph on J-46. The latter looks more like a walled enclosure, or possibly the house motif found on J-63 and S-6, both of which may also belong to Period II.

J-46, which must be one of the earliest of this group because of the considerable amount of background pecked away from the figure, the headdress which relates so closely to that of D-12, and the generally heavy proportions of its anatomically correct body, has a glyph whose form is identical to those on the Incised Mound J slabs (see below). Although writing forms are more resistant to stylistic change than are artistic representations, this glyph does not occur on any writing clearly belonging to Period I. We can only assume that the writing system was introduced at the beginning of Period II by outsiders, even though the carving style of the Danzantes did not change very much. Indeed, the sculptors may have consciously revived the deeply carved style of the First Row.

The distinctive groin scroll apparently survived for quite a long time, or was revived occasionally after its apogee. It appears on very sharply incised blocks (such as I-1 and Q-4), and even extends three-dimensionally, free-standing, from the profile body on S-10, which belongs to the terminal, Incised style (see below). Like the effigy ceramics, some Danzantes bridge the transition from Period I to Period II. The Elaborate Groin Scroll group appears to fall on the dividing line between these two periods of Monte Albán.

Priest group. Its stylized groin scroll relates the otherwise unique D-63 to the Third-Row style. Its iconography, however, connects it to the ceramic effigies discussed above in an earlier section. The projecting horizontal buccal mask and pendant bifurcated tongue identify this figure as either Cocijo or the God with a Serpent Mouth Mask. Details around the eyes, which distinguish these deities from each other, cannot be read easily. While Villagra's drawing shows a pointed nose with a small nostril and a small slit eye, I see a large pug nose with enormous flaring nostrils on top of thick lips, which is characteristic of Cocijo. A band seems to mask the eye region while, above that, an overhanging band could be either the eyebrow mask or the horizontal band seen on many of the late Cocijo jars. A short, curved, trilobed plume projecting from the headdress recalls similar trilobed motifs applied to the headdresses of the Young Maize God *braseros* or to one jar of the God with a Serpent Buccal Mask (Caso and Bernal 1952: Fig. 246). A much larger plume arches from the back of the head to the

front of the face. In Period II, the typical representation of a buccal mask of a serpent features raised lips which cover the base of any nose represented, although one jar of that god from Tomb 77 shows that this feature is not ubiquitous (*ibid.*: Fig. 252). In the absence of a more naturalistic rendering of human eyes, which distinguishes the God with a Serpent Mouth Mask from Cocijo, we must consider this unique carving a representation of the rain god.

Several other Danzantes with elaborate headdresses identifying them as priests or shamans can be connected to the Third-Row style. A felinelike mask with enormous bows or flanges at the sides is set on the head of Danzante D-115, which has widely spread legs and a hollowed circle at the groin that is reminiscent of D-10. Its squared hands, whose outlines are like those of D-11, gesture in an elaborate manner reminiscent of those of the guardians in the running-kneeling position. A large plume curving back over the head recalls the plume on D-63. If the identification of the mask as a feline were more sure, the figure could easily be associated with Dainzú; its flanged headdress certainly relates D-115 to the Dainzú priests and to the masked figure on N-22.

Another bizarre headdress, reminiscent of the unidentifiable rubbery shapes on Izapa stelae, crowns the figure on D-61, whose posture is very similar to that of the figure on D-115. Its hand, with fingers tightly curled around the thumb but ending in a straight line, relates it to D-63. A possible variation on the groin scroll, centering around an incomplete circle, may connect this also to the Third-Row style.

Although assigned by Caso (1946: 131) to Period II because of the hill glyph on its cloak, J-41 has an entirely different technique of carving from the Incised style of Mound J. The details and glyphs are incised, but the outline of the figure on J-41 is raised considerably above the background, so that it appears to be a cutout pasted on a flat surface. Its lack of modeling distinguishes it stylistically from the Raised Relief group. The tasseled plume on its headdress is identical to that on D-63, which we have assigned to the Third-Row style. The face mask which the personage wears cannot be identified with certainty by reference to any known representation of Oaxacan deities of Periods I or II, although the God of Glyph L, which Caso and Bernal (1952: 94–100) first find in Period II, has many elements which, if seen from the side, would correspond to J-41. In common with the features of this deity in Classic urns (see Boos 1966: 178), the mask on J-41 does have bracketlike attachments surrounding the mouth, a small flowery feature on the nose, and supraorbital plaques. The mask on D-41's helmet has a trilobed-plume shape over the mouth. In many ways, these are closer to what may have been the original form of the mask than are those on the Classic urns.

> It is very possible then that the nasal-buccal mask of the God of Glyph L is simply an abstraction of the bat face, and that the three-part element over the nose is only a recollection of the projection on the nose of this animal. (Caso and Bernal 1952: 100, author's translation)

The mask on J-41 can thus be read as formed by a nasal appendage, a large mouth, and a fleshy over-the-eye protuberance of a bat.

The bat god and its various manifestations also have a headdress with Glyph C, which is the tiger mouth. The headdress on J-41 has the reverse of Glyph C, extending up in the center instead of down. However, the trilobed ornament which occurs on the side of the mouth forming the Glyph C does appear on the one visible corner of the mouth on the J-41 headdress. Finally, the symbol which hangs beneath the mouth and is held in the hand of J-41, which we have connected with blood, appears as a pendant on the God 1-Tiger from Suchilquitongo (*ibid.*: Fig. 98). Caso and Bernal also identify it with blood, basing their identification on the very similar form which surrounds the hearts plucked at by eagles on Tula bas-reliefs.

A final point of connection of J-41 is with the priests of the Dainzú reliefs, two of which wear buccal masks and one of which (Easby and Scott 1970: 96, Fig. 13) clearly offers a jaguar head in his ceremoniously raised hands. Although the Dainzú priests are seated, unlike the standing figure in J-41, the technique of their

Fig. 24 Stone relief of ballplayer, Dainzú, Oaxaca. Photo by the author.

carving has J-41's grooved lines defining the flat details of the figures, with the outline more deeply cut and the background entirely cut away. Many of the Dainzú ballplayers wear knickerlike knee-length pants (Fig. 24), as does the J-41 figure. "Knickers" are also shown on El Baúl Stela 1. J-41 and the masked helmeted head (N-33), which has the same grilled protector as the Dainzú ballplayers, may be the only two reliefs at Monte Albán executed by sculptors from the workshop in the Tlacolula branch of the Valley. Except for them, Dainzú and Monte Albán remained quite independent of each other, not sharing either iconography or glyphic conventions (Bernal 1967: 20).

Another slab at Monte Albán (J-45) is also carved in raised relief with sunken background, but it is obviously later than those of the Raised Relief group because of its angular style and the presence of a glyph definitely of Period II. Reusing a step already carved on its narrow edge with a Swimmer in the Second-Row style (J-45A), a later artist set the stone vertically and carved a sideways-striding figure facing a hill glyph identical in shape to many on the Incised glyph slabs of Mound J. The figure itself is very flat and is raised sharply from its background, which has been cut away around the lower part of the figure. The technique of the upper part of the slab most closely resembles that of the Third-Row style. The posture and face are unique, however. Its sideways pose at-

tained great popularity in Mesoamerican art during the Protoclassic period, especially in those areas strongly affected by Izapan art (Scott n.d.a: 45). The figure is closest both in position and in stiffness to El Baúl Stela 1, dated A.D. 31 by the Long Count. This figure from the Pacific Slope of Guatemala carries a staff in his far hand, and faces the column of glyphs to the left of the stone, directing attention to those glyphs. A similar posture occurs on Tres Zapotes Stela D, assumed by a man flanking the central figure.

Many details on J-45 set it apart from the other Danzantes. The eyes are small, with a raised oval line around the entire pupil. The enormous wheel-shaped appendage on the headdress has no exact parallel, but the concept of a round element binding together a long plume extending back from the head is matched in J-58, an Incised glyph slab. The short skirt on J-45 is matched on Izapan-style reliefs (e.g., Abaj Takalik Stela 1 and Izapa Stela 5). Because of these differences, one must suspect that J-45, like J-41, was executed by an artist imported to Monte Albán.

Other reliefs which may represent priests will be discussed under Tumbling Danzantes.

SWIMMING DANZANTES

A second important type of Danzante occurs on the Second and Fourth Rows of the Danzante Wall. This type is commonly called Swimmers, even though they more likely represent sprawling cadavers or captives cringing in fear of death. We should look beyond Villagra's simple explanation of them as decorative, although for compositional coherence they probably all did face nicely to the viewer's right. Villagra correctly notes (1939: 158) that, unlike the Standing Danzantes, the Swimmers almost never have hieroglyphs. They probably do not represent specific captured chiefs or conquered towns but rather more generalized defeated masses.

They functioned as a buffer on the Danzante Wall between the rows of Standing Danzantes, whose larger size and glyphs attracted more attention as memorials to specific conquests. The intervening rows of Swimmers accentuated the concept of humiliation and defeat, heightening the importance of the Standing figures and surrounding their propped-up bodies with unidentified carnage. Although in situ evidence of the use of Swimmers as steps is not known before their appearance on the apron steps of Mound L at a later date, many of these earlier Swimmers are carved on very deep stones, suggesting that such a use may have begun earlier. This use would be most effective, since they could be trod upon symbolically.[3]

The size and proportions of the Swimmers are entirely different from those of the Standing Danzantes. Those on the Second Row of the Danzante Wall (D-13 to D-15) are the narrowest, measuring between 30 and 36 centimeters high and between 52 and 118 centimeters long. Their thickness on the Danzante Wall can no longer be measured; however, by analogy to the cross-sections of similar stones in the great wall of Mound K, whose construction is analogous to the Danzante Wall, we can assume that, for purposes of bonding, the narrower intervening stones were considerably deeper than the tall slabs, which run vertically. The top row of Swimmers is wider, although the individual stones are not so long. D-18, the smallest, measures 38 centimeters wide by 77 long by 46 thick, while D-17, the largest, is 45 centimeters high and 106 long. The reused D-117 measures 41 by 63 centimeters on its carved side, and is 104 centimeters long (originally deep). Hardly any of the Swimming Danzantes found outside of the Danzante Wall are as narrow as the Swimmers of the Second Row, thus hindering the attribution of additional stones to the style of that row. All the Swimming Danzantes have therefore been integrated into one type for this study.

[3] The recent discovery of a Danzante-like carved stone slab (Monument 3) at San José Mogote, laid like a threshold in a corridor between two large public buildings, emphasizes the symbolism of treading on the sprawling body of a slain and mutilated enemy (Marcus 1976b: 44). Although this function was not employed at Monte Albán until the much later apron steps were laid, where the carving was on the risers and not on the treads of the steps, this much earlier example (600–500 B.C.) emphasizes the symbolism inherent not only in the Swimmer group but also in the so-called Standing group, into which the San José Mogote monument fits.

Because certain stones which obviously belong to this type are larger than any of the five examples on the Danzante Wall, the limits of their allowable height have been extended from 45 to 53 centimeters. Since these other stones were not originally used as steps, they have no functional maximum height.

The great majority of Swimming Danzantes found loose in the Patio of the Danzantes or reused in later buildings are in prone position with their faces turned, looking forward to the viewer's right. Yet on the Second Row of the Danzante Wall, presumably showing the original position of the earliest group of Swimmers, the faces of all three figures are turned either down to the ground or up towards the sky. The two Swimmers on the Fourth Row both face forward and look to the viewer's right, as does D-117 in a modified way. While this fact might imply that all forward-facing Swimmers should be dated later than the downward-facing ones, stylistic evidence indicates otherwise.

Dog-paddle group. The handsomely carved N-1, which faces forward in a position resembling a dog-paddle, appears contemporary with the First Row. Wearing an unadorned leather helmet and a large circular earspool in a standardized ear, the figure has a receding forehead, heavy nose, thick protruding lips, and two prominently modeled teeth like those of D-6 and D-8. Also, as with those Danzantes, the body has been rendered in a complex pose with anatomical plausibility. The one exception, the head, which could not possibly connect naturalistically with the much higher shoulders, can be credited to artistic license: if the head were correctly placed higher, it would not contribute to the massive effect of this form. The fingers are curled around the thumb, as in the hand style of D-6 and D-8. The facial similarity to N-8, of the Raised Relief group, perhaps places N-1 slightly later than the First Row.

The repetition of this dog-paddle posture on several other stones at Monte Albán provides the best example we have of stylistic change within the same iconographic type. K-6 very possibly is contemporary with N-1, although its sharper details suggest different artists. The higher position of K-6's head, although more anatomically correct than that of N-1, shows the validity of the artistic judgment of the N-1 sculptor in lowering the head for visual effect.

The position of N-18 is obviously copied from that of N-1, but the sculptor of N-18 did not understand the anatomy of his model: one arm is entirely absent, while the far leg is perfunctorily carved as an unanatomical space filler, twisting its foot in an impossible position. The helmet and nose bridge are joined in a continuous arc, a degenerate cliché seen also on other unanatomical Danzantes (e.g., D-62 and J-93). The uniformly thick curve of the lips and the thick mouth opening also show a degeneration from the more anatomical mouth areas of the First Row. Its grooved outlines relate it stylistically to the Fourth Row.

Slight changes in this dog-paddle position create a subgroup intimately related to N-1. The leg position of N-23 is identical to that of N-18, even to the type of unanatomical contortion in the far foot. But the different arm position of N-23, with its near arm raised up to its chest and its far arm underneath the torso and chin, creates a new type; this is seen also in D-75, K-7, and, probably later, the highly compressed posture of K-5. The deeply cut outlines of N-23, D-75, and K-7 unequivocably relate them to the Second-Row style.

Pressed-face group. The pressing of their faces against the right-hand edge of the stone relates N-18 and N-23 to another group of Swimming Danzantes. D-76 has hand and head positions identical to those of N-23, and a continuous helmet-nose bridge arc like that of N-18. Its deep outlines with relatively flat interior details relate it technically to the Second-Row style. Although in a *Knielauf* position, it appears unrelated to the giant bearded hunchbacks of the Standing type. The true pressed face, which involves a lateral compression of the head, probably derives from the artistic desire to magnify the facial features yet compress the body into a short block. It occurs too infrequently to indicate brachycephaly, such as that caused by head-

binding among the Maya and probably the Olmec, and always appears in stones carved in a similar style. Other stones with this feature (K-1, K-5, K-9, J-128, and M-16) have legs tightly drawn up to their torsos, visually compressing the entire body, not just the head. Another group of Pressed-face Swimmers (J-55, J-80, and N-6) share technique and style with stones related to the squatting Danzantes of the stairway cheekpiece, thus postdating the Fourth Row.

Badly worn J-63 may once have had a pressed face, and its legs are close to the horizontal version of the running-kneeling position seen in D-76. J-95 forms a transition between these two, with the true *Knielauf* leg position and the hands and arms identical to those on J-63. Both J-63 and J-95 have very flat surfaces, with no modeling around the sharply excised lines. The surface of J-63, in addition, is colored with iron oxides and calcite, suggesting a date contemporary with the Fourth Row. Three very significant details are combined on J-63. One is the characteristic upper portion of the stylized groin scroll like that on D-10. The heavy nose and lips, with two large teeth, duplicate the features on other members of this group. Its near hand is in the *retroussé* position seen on S-1 and D-74 of that group. The figure faces a glyph column, rare among the Swimming Danzantes. The only other exception (J-74) has a "thundercloud" glyph similar to that on the glyph stone D-16 in the Second Row of the Danzante Wall. The lower glyph on J-63, however, appears to be a building or temple, which resembles similar buildings on Incised glyph slabs such as J-4 (Caso 1946: Fig. 41). A temple may also be represented in the lower glyph of J-46, whose top glyph has already been identified as belonging to Monte Albán II. Their close relationship suggests that both fall at the very beginning of Period II. Since J-63 has been dated slightly earlier than the Fourth Row, and J-46 has already been dated above slightly later than the Third Row, the transition between Monte Albán I and II apparently falls between the execution of the Third and Fourth Rows of the Danzante Wall.

Marquise-pectoral group. Another group of forward-facing Swimming Danzantes have legs flexed apart like some Standing Danzantes and the far arm extended in the direction the figure faces. On their upper chests, most have a marquise shape formed by two arcs joined at a point at either end, with raised edges surrounding a central depression. Although the usual location of these shapes on the chest suggests a pendant, no known pendants have such a shape, be they excavated or represented in the art. Given the interpretation of the Danzantes as captives, this prominent hole might also be interpreted as a sacrificial wound, left after removing the heart of a conquered victim. Although sacrificial incisions are often rendered in Classic and Postclassic art, they are always in profile on relief carvings. The alleged incision on these Danzantes never leaves the outline of the body, even though it often overlaps the far arm. It is always shown as if from the front, no matter how the figure itself is positioned.

One group (D-88, D-116, D-121, J-73, J-87, J-110, N-3, N-19, and N-28) can be considered to date between the Second and Third Rows in style. Their carving techniques feature clearly cut outlines but little modeling of interior details. The Second Row of Swimmers has deeper outlines, while the Third Row has shallower ones. D-88, J-110, and N-19 have the richest detail, with fingers curled around the thumbs, recalling the hand on D-15. The faces of D-88 and N-19 have protruding mouths and receding foreheads like that of D-14. D-88 perhaps wears a buccal mask. Other stones with the marquise shape (e.g., J-73 and N-3) have less detail, resembling D-13. Related stylistically to this group, although missing the marquise "pendant," are D-65, J-87, K-4, and N-26.

Another group (notably J-54 and N-6) also has this marquise-shaped hole in the chest, but is later in style, tied in to the latest of the Pressed-face group by J-55, which has both a marquise shape and a pressed face. All three have their far arms rendered in sharply incised outlines with no modeling. Both sides of N-28 have marquise pendants, although N-28A is the only side contemporary with the Pressed-face group.

Those figures with a marquise shape fall into two

distinct stylistic groups. Since the number is small, totaling fourteen figures, this is admittedly a minor motif in the corpus of Danzantes. Nevertheless, the motif apparently was very important for a brief period, and was revived briefly later on. The deep carving of the marquise and its appearance on figures whose dress shows great variety suggest that it was more than just a pendant form—perhaps a means of showing the fate of the captives. The form may have been devised by a particular artist and his atelier, subsequently abandoned, and then revived by a later artist. It may reflect the limited use of this type of prisoner sacrifice.

Hopping group. The Swimmers most directly related to those in the Second Row provide another example of the continuation of a particular posture throughout different styles. On the Second Row of the Danzante Wall itself, D-15 contains the most anatomically comprehensive version of the posture: a prone figure with its near arm raised across its chest and its far arm lifted in front of its face. Its highly distinctive leg posture, with the far knee lifted up and the calf extended in back of the near leg as if hopping, is repeated in M-5 and M-10. M-5, the finest relief of the group, has the open toothless mouth and thin head which relate it to those Pressed-face Swimmers already dated as coeval with the Second Row. It lacks the far arm raised in front of the face, but compensates for this lack by extending the near arm farther forward. Forms are clearly cut from the background and modeled within the outlines. M-10, whose figure has the same position as that of D-15, is undoubtedly later because of its lower relief. The figure on M-9, by the same hand as M-10, has a posture identical to that of D-14 (next to D-15 on the Second Row). Apparently the artist who carved M-9 and M-10 used the two figures on the Second Row of the Danzante Wall as models. Probably by the same hand as D-14, and in practically the same posture, is D-84, which appears to wear an animal-snout mask. D-44, were it better preserved, might also be placed in the oeuvre of this sculptor.

"Standing" Swimmers. Several Danzantes which ordinarily would be read as standing may have been intended to be seen prone, a position made believable by their analogy with D-13, their narrow proportions, and their small dimensions, which fit within the limits of the Swimmer type. J-74, the closest stylistically to D-13, has a column of glyphs which indicate that the figure should face down, the opposite of D-13's supine pose. Probably contemporary with the Third Row because of its pompadour headdress, M-12 seems too narrow to be standing and too deep to have been set upright into a wall. N-20 and D-107, similar in posture to M-12, face the same paradox. D-65 and S-7 appear to be contemporary with the Second Row, as does J-75, based on its resemblance to D-14. A continuous arc from forehead through nose dates both M-6 and D-62 somewhat later. None of the above has much artistic merit or iconographic interest.

Another group of undistinguished Swimmers appears to be related to D-17, on the Fourth Row of the Danzante Wall. M-11 shares its calcareous surface with quite sharp lines cut through to darker stone, defining the figure in abstract planes. It also shares the rubbery, nonnaturalistic limbs and sketchy, almost cadaverous face of D-17. K-4 has rubbery anatomy with a raised face. Q-2 has a raised face, a sharply cut calcareous surface, and a rubbery body, but is better proportioned. D-15 bears a general resemblance to Q-2, but its posture and proportions seem closer to the Hopping group. Because of the near identity in technique, it may be by the same sculptor who carved M-9 and M-10. This sculptor, who definitely worked after the completion of the Second Row, but whose forms are clearer than the rubbery anatomy seen on the Fourth Row, must be approximately contemporary with the Third.

TUMBLING DANZANTES

When the low stairway was added in front of Mound L, the cheekpiece wall abutted the Danzante Wall perpendicularly, necessitating the removal of a Danzante to the right of D-9. For this reason, we can as-

sume that the four Danzantes which were set into the base of the cheekpiece wall are later than any of the carvings on the Danzante Wall. Stylistically, these four stones (D-19 to D-22) are clearly related to each other. All have shallow lines pecked into relatively smoothly cut surfaces. The stones have squarish proportions, with neither direction dominant. While the lines forming the figures seem narrow compared to those on the Danzante Wall, they are nevertheless wider than those on the Step Swimmers (see below). The surface of D-22 is calcareous, like the stones of the Fourth Row of the Danzante Wall, suggesting a relationship in the visual effect of a ghostly white figure separated by darker lines from a white background. Even on the others, which do not have calcareous surfaces, the lack of modeling of the body and features, and the absence of any change of plane between figures and background relate these cheekpiece stones to the Fourth-Row style. In fact, the faces of D-18 and D-22 are very similar, proving that not much time could have elapsed between the carving of these.

The extremely active positions of these cheekpiece Danzantes distinguish them from the Standing or Swimming types. D-19 is upside-down, with limbs flying in all directions; D-21 and D-22 appear to have been sent sprawling by a blow, and hold their hands up to their faces. This type will be called Tumbling Danzantes because of their lack of equilibrium, but they should not be construed as acrobats. The posture of D-20 is related to the previously discussed running-kneeling pose. Although the features of its face are now obliterated, it probably was not snarling and certainly does not have a beard. Technically it recalls the latest in the *Knielauf* sequence—notably N-16, which also has a calcareous surface like that of D-20. D-68, another of the *Knielauf* group, has the shallow pecked lines of D-20 and D-21. But D-20, being much smaller than those of the *Knielauf* group, cannot be considered a true running-kneeling guardian.

Like those of the Fourth Row, the hands of this Tumbling type have no fingers indicated, with the exception of one hand on D-22. All the others are mitten types, with or without thumbs. Even though hands are not a certain indication of date, the simplified forms definitely seem to be more prevalent in later than in earlier reliefs. Details on the two extant faces differ from each other. Whereas D-22 has rounded eyes with no lids and a closed mouth with a thick upper lip like the Fourth-Row faces, D-21 has a slit eye and a flat mask over its mouth. Both D-19 and D-20 have slight undulating scrolls on their thighs, recalling similar patterns on the First-Row Danzantes. The height of the four cheekpiece Danzantes ranges from 54 to 75 centimeters, while their widths vary from 59 to 102 centimeters. Although most Tumbling figures fall within this range, N-3, N-4, N-6, and S-2 are smaller, but have the same squarish proportions and sprawling pose characteristic of this type, and thus may be included.

The glyphs to the right of D-22 cannot be related to those on any other stone. A glyph is also to the left of D-19. Several other Tumbling Danzantes have glyphs, including N-4, N-12, N-22, I-1, J-85, S-4, S-6, and perhaps S-5. Several of the Tumbling type have square-shaped glyphs which differ considerably in style from the more curvilinear glyphs of the earlier Danzante styles. One glyph on D-22 can be read as an *atlatl*, rendered differently from those on the First Row; the second glyph is possibly a narrow tied bow like that on Stelae 12 and 15, a curvilinear rendering of which appears on S-4. Of more interest is the house glyph on S-6, which is practically identical to that mentioned above on J-63, which we attributed to early Period II. An unclear glyph on J-52 is probably the same house form, as is the entire carving on D-104. The glyph on the knee of the slumped figure on N-22 can be compared to a Transición-period glyph which represents a vessel of water with plants sprouting from it (Caso and Bernal 1952: 155). The simpler form on N-22 confirms its earlier date. A related glyph, perhaps only a vessel, occurs on I-1. Although the glyph on N-4 has been grouped by Caso (1946: Fig. 18) with Glyph S, which I have identified as a thundercloud, its hollow central core really makes it appear more like the fragmentary glyph on N-11.

The next glyph on N-11, a froglike form, must be the same as the lower glyph on D-63.

This latter glyph is definitely related to three newly discovered glyphs from Dainzú and relief No. 7 from Macuilxóchitl (Bernal and Seuffert 1973), which appear to be sprouting seeds. Séjourné (1953) has identified a similar glyph at Teotihuacan as cotton. Two other glyphs from Dainzú, round-cornered squares with four-pointed pinwheels inside, are identical to Type E day glyphs from Monte Albán II (Caso 1965b: Fig. 9), connecting the Dainzú reliefs to that period. And a Dainzú-style slab in the Health Center of nearby Tlacochahuaya, relief No. 2 (Bernal and Seuffert 1973), has a house glyph like those on J-52, J-63, and S-6; next to this is the head of a long-nosed god at the base of a tree trunk, identical in all but the eye to the scroll-eyed god of pure Izapan iconography.

Dainzú sculpture relates to the Tumbling Danzantes in other ways besides the glyphs. Obviously the concept of carving reliefs on large thin slabs set into the base of a temple platform was derived from Monte Albán. Also, the postures of the ballplayers, by far the most numerous type of subject matter at Dainzú, have the same squatting, sprawling, and inverted postures. The Tumbling Danzantes, however, do not hold balls in their hands, so that they probably do not represent ballplayers. The elaborate helmets worn by many Tumbling Danzantes, which cover the entire head—unlike the skin-tight helmets of the earlier Danzantes which covered just the skull—also relate them to Dainzú (see Fig. 24), although the details on the helmets are assuredly very different. Finally, several Tumbling Danzantes (D-20, J-54, J-68, J-80, N-22, and perhaps D-19) have headdresses with squared stiff flanges projecting in back, like those of the seated jaguar priests at Dainzú (Fig. 9).

A marked connection with the Dainzú priest stelae appears on N-24, which represents a seated priest dressed in a fanged buccal mask and a long-nosed bird headdress. He extends in his hand a small seated manikin, apparently an offering in the manner of the jaguar head held up by a Dainzú priest. Only the Maya manikin scepters, believed to be the representation of their supreme divinity, Itzamná (Thompson 1970: 232), present a convincing parallel with this lively little figure, seated cross-legged with one arm up to his chest and the other perhaps holding a bowl.

Dainzú has been dated by ceramics to the end of Monte Albán I and the beginning of Period II (Bernal 1968: 250). The pyramid, however, has several building stages, the last of which is faced with the carved slabs. Therefore, unless they had been moved from an earlier stage of the pyramid, they must date to the beginning of Monte Albán II, which accords well with their connections of glyphs and postures to the Tumbling type of Danzante.[4]

Although only 25 kilometers separate Dainzú from Monte Albán, their separate styles of carving are surprisingly different, even after acknowledging the several parallels with the Tumbling type which have just been indicated. The continuity of the Period I style at Monte Albán into the second period must be explained by the conservatism of the native sculptors' atelier there, which preserved the old techniques even after strong influence from the Maya region upon the elite (Caso, Bernal, and Acosta 1967: 264). The Dainzú site was possibly founded by and certainly enlarged by the new elite, who taught their own style to a newly formed atelier of carvers. This style clearly was

[4] Several features relate Dainzú sculpture to that of Izapa as well. Its rubbery shapes, lack of anatomical concern for underlying muscle and bone, and the profusion of scroll forms provide general stylistic similarities. More specifically, the forms of the seated figures of the Dainzú priests relate to those on several Izapa stelae by their purely profile view and the lines of their backs and crossed thighs (Scott n.d.a: 40–1). The chevron texturing of pendant elements representing feathers on Dainzú reliefs (Bernal 1967: Láms. 2-A, 13) closely parallels that on the Tepatlaxco Stela (Fig. 25), an Izapan monument. We have already mentioned the long-nosed god at the base of a tree trunk—one almost identical to the scroll-eyed god heads on Izapa Stelae 2, 5, 10, and 23—carved on relief No. 2 at Tlacochahuaya, to where it may have been moved from Dainzú. A long-lipped Izapan god is rendered also in Tlacochahuaya No. 9 (Bernal and Seuffert 1973). A skull of this same long-nosed god formed the subject for a slab at Dainzú, which conceptually recalls the human skull carved on N–14 at Monte Albán.

dependent on models from Chiapas or southern Guatemala, where the Izapan style apparently originated. Surprisingly enough, N-33 is the only stone fully in the Dainzú style found at Monte Albán. It is the head of a typical Dainzú ballplayer with barred protective mask, its overhead helmet having a scroll motif almost identical to that on a Dainzú relief (Bernal 1967: Lám. 14). Its well-carved raised relief with sharp details differs markedly from the pecked lines sunk into the surface of the Monte Albán slabs of the Tumbling type, dating from the same time.

The typical helmets found on the Tumbling Danzantes relate most closely to those on the pendant heads on the Incised glyph slabs from Mound J, although the scalloped bases which fit around the Danzantes' necks recall the more elaborate forms of Dainzú helmets, which presumably were made of wood or leather. But many helmets on the Incised glyph slabs, notably J-11 and J-38 (Caso 1946: Figs. 53, 54), are constructed like those on the Tumbling Danzantes D-21 and I-1. One bar (if wood) or strap (if leather) clearly goes under the chin, curves ninety degrees, runs vertically in front of the ear, and makes a sharp right-angle turn to run horizontally across the forehead. Interlocking with it at the angle above the temple is a second strap, which comes down from the top of the head, makes a sharp right-angle turn where it interlocks with the other strap, and continues horizontally toward the back of the head. In the Tumbling Danzantes, the strap on top of the head goes under the high headdress, whereas in the glyph slabs it always goes over. None of the Incised glyph slab heads have buccal masks or scalloped necks, which are Dainzú traits found also on the Tumbling Danzante helmets. Their carving styles differ in that the outlines of D-21 and I-1 are more deeply and widely cut than the sharply incised outline of the glyph slab, although the interior details of both are alike. Therefore, D-21 and I-1 and their related stones must be somewhat earlier than the Incised style.

The main figure on the Tepatlaxco Stela (Fig. 25) from Veracruz wears a headdress which has a very similar arrangement of straps around the face. The peaked headdress of the subordinate figure has an obelisk shape much like that on E-2, J-94, and N-22. The heavy features of both faces on the Tepatlaxco Stela, with their fleshy noses and lips and the two prominent teeth in the dominant figure's mouth, all resemble the earlier Danzante physical type, which was revived in early Monte Albán II, as seen on some of the Elaborate Groin Scroll group with Period II glyphs. The narrow rows of short feathers made into a circular headdress on the Tepatlaxco Stela may well explain the composition of a similar square headdress on J-54, whose squatting position definitely associates it with D-21. J-80, previously mentioned in the Swimming group, wears a similar headdress flange and must be in the same style.

Other elaborate headdresses which occur in this Tumbling type include squared forms with emphatic vertical temple pieces and overhanging top parts (such as on J-77, N-4, and N-24) and heavy wraparound headdresses with hanging pendants or plumes (such as on N-27 and S-4). S-4's headdress clearly resembles the double peaked one on D-21, which has been compared to Kaminaljuyú Stela 9 (Fig. 13). J-119 wears what appears to be a deer's head, and holds his hands in the typical defensive position (one up, one down) in front of him. Let us note here that the Cocijo figure (D-63) has an elaborate pendant headdress and sits on the ground plane in much the same position as N-22, which definitely belongs to the Tumbling type. Although its deeper outline and elaborate groin scroll place it earlier than the cheekpiece Danzantes, it may be contemporary with some of the Tumbling type. Clusters of plumes, added to the old-style head-fitting Danzante headdress, form the headdresses of both S-6 and Unidentified-3. The latter has a zigzag design on his chin and wears a loincloth, which is very rare among the Danzantes; he squats on the ground with both buttocks seen in outline, a distinctive characteristic of the Tumbling type.

Crouching group. Because of their relief that is slightly higher than that of the cheekpiece Danzantes, this Tumbling group may be earlier, even contemporary

Fig. 25 Detail of the stone stela, Tepatlaxco, Veracruz. Photo by the author.

with the Third Row, although their postures recall Izapan figures. This group includes D-45, D-126, D-127, D-129, J-52, K-3, N-4, N-12, N-17, and S-5. However, N-12 is known only in the Villagra drawings, so that its attribution here cannot be checked with its technique of carving.

Pressed-face Master. Other stones whose postures relate them to the Tumbling group have the pressed faces and tightly packed compositions reminiscent of the Pressed-face Swimmers (J-55 and N-6). Like those two, J-54 has a marquise-shaped "pendant" on his upper chest, directly under a large bowknot. The stiff flanged headdress of J-54 relates it directly to J-80, which has a unique top-border motif, consisting of two diagonal lines converging on a horizontal bar above the figure's head, identical to top-border motifs on Izapan stelae. Despite the distinction here made between Tumblers and Swimmers, J-54, J-55, and J-80 are clearly by the same hand, and N-2, N-6, N-11, and 7V-2 may also be. This Pressed-face Master shows a fascination for clusters of small geometric shapes: the flanged headdresses on J-54 and J-80, and what may be a speech scroll on J-55. J-55 also has distinctive tattooing on his face, with a semicircular line below the eye and wavy lines falling vertically down the

cheek, a motif paralleled on Incised glyph slabs J-21 and J-103 (Caso 1946: Figs. 52, 55). The geometric hatched zone along the back of the head of J-55 relates it to similar zones on the hair of J-92 and N-2.

Shod group. A third group of Tumbling Danzantes is executed with even sharper lines than those of the stones on the Mound L cheekpiece, and more nearly approximates the style of the Step Swimmers. These stones include J-68, J-77, J-78, J-92 (having a most unusual seated posture with hands wrapped around the knees), and J-86 (which would be considered a Swimmer were it not executed in a style so similar to the above; it may, in fact, have been cut in half to achieve its present long proportion). Half of this group appear to be wearing shoes (J-68, J-78, and J-86). Most are cut into calcareous rock, which exaggerates the flatness and linearity of the design. Their lack of uniformity in the rendition of the eyes prevents their being considered the work of one artist.

STEP SWIMMERS

The Swimming Danzantes (D-23 to D-42) form the final group which can be related to the end of the construction sequence; they will be called the Step group. Although, as mentioned before, evidence suggests that a few of the stones have been moved or added (notably D-23 and D-40, both in the Incised style), the vast majority (79%) maintain their original placement and function. Unlike the Swimmers on the Danzante Wall, they were definitely used as steps; thus, their height and depth have functional limits. Their height range is from 25 to 37 centimeters, although the usual variation is from 28 to 34 centimeters. Their depth is a minimum of 47 centimeters, the size of the tread, but the maximum can be much greater; many are triangular in plan, with their apex extending back over one meter. Their length, not controlled by functional considerations, varies from 67 to 216 centimeters. Thus, the proportions encourage attenuated figures, quite the reverse of all the other Danzantes. With short blocks, however, the figures revert to tighter compositions and heavier proportions typical of the Swimmers on the Danzante Wall.

Certain common traits occur in all the Step Swimmers. Headdresses are commonly elaborate, with frequent use of feathers, as in many of the Tumbling Danzantes. Unkempt, flowing hair falls back onto the shoulders. Large bows are tied under necks and on belts. Long noseplugs frequently cover the entire upper lip. A distinctive artistic innovation can be seen best on the legs of D-27, D-28, and N-7: the near leg is fully delineated and bent at the knee, but the far leg, more acutely flexed, is masked above the knee by the near leg. The far leg appears above and in back of the near leg, but the tip of its foot often disappears behind the heel of the near leg. Although crossed legs appear as early as D-15, this style expresses a fluidity and a spatial sophistication of far greater naturalism.

Other than this one innovation in posture, no new poses appear in the Step group which had not already been used in the earlier Swimmers on the Danzante Wall. The most common position in the Step figures —prone with the head facing forward—occurs on D-28, D-36, D-38, D-41, D-42, D-43, I-2, J-56, J-101, N-7, 7V-1, Tomb 128, Unidentified-1, and probably Q-1. Most have the near arm bent at the elbow and the hand resting on the base of the slab; the far arm is outstretched and held up in front of the face. Comparison with the earlier Swimming Danzantes reveals that, while only J-73 comes close to matching all of these characteristics on a single stone, many others have limbs in a similar position, but these are less attenuated. D-15 has its arms in a similar position, but its head is facing down, like the heads of D-31, D-37, and N-9 of the Step group. Even the legs of D-15 are in a position recalling the most characteristic pose of the Step style, except that its far thigh and knee are clearly visible. Perhaps the carvers of the steps took D-15 as a model but simplified it in order to fit their figures into a narrower area. We have noted how the Pressed-face Swimmers began to express the constriction of the block—an especially appropriate idea if the Danzantes are prisoners. J-56, a Step-style Swimmer, has the Step type of noseplug and long flowing hair, and shares elements of the Pressed-face group, with

busy glyphic carving jammed in front of the face, as on J-55.

Two pairs of Step Swimmers provide excellent examples of both artistic innovation and poorly understood copying of that innovation. D-32 represents a figure with typical kicking legs (but no overlapping feet), lacking visible arms and craning its head so far back that it faces the sky. Its squared, oversized chin could represent a buccal mask. The wide-brimmed, plumed hat is distinctive of this Step style. D-33, on the other hand, nearly touching the former stone, is so similar in all its details that it must be a direct copy. But its ill-defined, rubbery lines, quite different from the firm, sure lines of D-32, make visual chaos of the oversized chin and the barely recognizable hat. The carver of D-33 added a belt ornament and prominent genitals, as well as a near arm, which most of the other Step Swimmers also have.

A comparison and contrast between D-27 and D-29 indicate a similar rubbery degeneration of the latter from the firm clarity of the former. D-27 introduces a contrapposto position in which the body is seen frontally but the head swivels 180 degrees to look skyward. Possibly this was inspired by D-13, whose legs are seen frontally but whose upper torso and head face upwards. D-29 seems to be in the same position as D-27, but its forms are rendered in tendril-like lines that fail to define ankles and wrists, which are clearly rendered on D-27.

The Step style has certain similarities with Izapa, which can provide independent cross-dating for the Monte Albán carvings. Two incomplete carvings in the Step style (D-39 and Q-3) show waists wrapped with a double band, tied in front with a large knot. A very similar waistband can be seen on the beheaded victim on Izapa Stela 21; and triple bands, such as those on D-39, are represented on Izapa Stela 18. The long-headed figure on P-4, with its high-arched cranium executed in a crested curve, relates to heads on Izapa monuments such as Stela 3. Less specific, although no less meaningful, is the fluidity of line observable in many Izapan-style works and also in the Step Danzantes, especially those which have a long noseplug (D-37, D-42, N-9, and, without the noseplug, D-38).[5]

The closest similarity to the posture of the Step Swimmers appears on Izapa Stela 10 (Fig. 12), which shows a huge figure lying propped against a tree. If this figure were stretched out into a prone position, he would be in a position almost identical to the most common Step-Swimmer pose, notably that of the far leg bending so as to cross in back of the near calf and reappear on the other side. Also, the severed head on Izapa Stela 21 in many ways resembles the type commonly found on the Incised glyph slabs and the Step Swimmers. An empty, elliptical eye and an open, toothless mouth are typical. The blunt, rounded nose and the indication of lips, however, compare most closely to those features of D-38. Finally, the vanished "lintel" stone N-32 has an incised relief on one side (A) which strongly recalls the "diving" figures on many Izapa stelae and the warring figures on the Tres Zapotes stone box, also in Izapan style.

The dating of the Izapan carvings helps to date this Step style of Danzante, based on these similarities. Although the three radiocarbon dates obtained from the Preclassic level at Izapa itself all yielded the result of 150 B.C., with the standard deviation varying from 90 to 110 years (Lowe n.d.), the Long-Count dates on monuments in Izapan style all cluster around the time of Christ, ±40 years. Since the Izapan period at Tikal falls in the early Cauac phase, which begins about 125 B.C., we can conclude that the Izapan art style flourished during the first century B.C., with its inclusive dates about 150 B.C. to A.D. 50.

[5] Two tombs of the first century B.C. discovered at Tikal have painted figures which show a similar fluidity. In Burial 166, two figures in a sideways-seated position have thighs which form perfect ellipses. Such elliptical forms are seen most clearly on N-9, not only in the belt but also in the rounded forms of the face. The arms represented in the paintings from both Burial 166 and Structure 5D-sub.10-1st (W. Coe 1965: 16, 18–19) are formed by smoothly curving lines, giving a feeling of inflated rubber. Although the arms of the Step Danzantes do not equal this pneumatic effect, their heads and bodies do. The elliptical curve of the skulls on D-38 and D-42, or of the bodies on D-42 and Q-3, expresses the same spirit.

Fig. 26 Incised stone slabs with glyphs, Mound J, Monte Albán. Photo by the author.

INCISED STYLE

In his 1946 article on Preclassic writing in Monte Albán, Alfonso Caso distinguished a "Second Type" of Danzante by means of their sharper, better-cut line, their naturalistic proportions, the presence of thumbs and big toenails, and their finer faces, tattooed with geometric motifs, without the grotesque lips and large teeth of the "First Type."

> In the second type of Danzantes, which we consider later or evolved, the lines are deeper and better cut along the edges, but the outer edge of the cut was not lowered, resulting in an absence of relief. The figures are slenderer, and the limbs longer, perhaps to excess. On the feet, the curve which appeared on the sole in the first style is doubled and now carefully delineated to show the softness of the big toe and the sole; and also, on the hand, the thumb is rendered with two curves. The nails of the thumb and the big toe are huge, and are always represented. Also represented on one figure is the bump created by the ankle knob of the tibia. But the principal difference lies in the face, of which we unfortunately only have two examples in the five fragments [our D-40, J-70, S-8, S-10, and S-11; to which list we can add J-129, K-12, N-29, Q-4, Q-8, and S-14] which have been found in this style.
>
> Lips have no projection indicated and are finer. The mouth is open, but does not show any teeth; the facial painting or tattooing consists of a transverse line which goes from ear to nose, dividing the face into two parts, the lower of which is decorated with discs, tattooing, or facial painting like that on the little clay heads from Guerrero to which we have referred. . . . A similar tattoo appears on the hand of Stela 15. Hair is represented forming waves above the forehead. In the only case preserving a rendering of an ear, an earplug is lacking, but there is a large open hole in the earlobe for the insertion of one. Finally, on two occasions and only in this second type of Danzante, what we have called sexual tattooing appears out of place, and on one occasion outside the body, as if it were an object which represented a stylization of the male sex, and not a tattoo as we have considered it. (Caso 1946: 128–9, author's translation)

Both the facial type and the technique of carving relate the stones in this style to the glyph slabs of the

Observatory (Fig. 26). Similarities in the face include a sharp nose, an open mouth with no teeth showing, and an eye formed by joined arcs. Tattooing also provides specific support for Caso's contention that this type is later. Comparisons with the pendant heads on the glyph slabs of Mound J (*ibid.*: Figs. 51-4) reveal that several of the latter have tattooing similar to that on S-10, which goes from the top of the nose to beneath the earlobe. Such tattooing occurs on the heads represented on glyph slabs J-3, J-5, and J-10 (*ibid.*: Figs. 51, 42), although they lack the dots beneath the diagonal bar. These dots, in spite of Caso's attempt to relate them to Guerrero figurines and to a glyph on Stela 15, occur also on the shoulders of both D-74 and J-100. Thus, they are too general a form of body decoration to be significant. Tattooing similar to that on D-40 has no exact glyph-slab parallel, although lines through the eyes (a trait beginning in Period II, considered symbolic of Xipe) occur frequently, and J-17 (*ibid.*: Fig. 52) has in addition a horizontal line from the nose which abuts the vertical eye line, making two right angles, as in D-40. To these similarities must be added the resemblance in general facial type, comprising a sharply defined oval eye, a long nose, and an open mouth with no teeth showing.

Technically, the deep-cut, unvarying line, with no indication of modeling, on a smoothed, flattened stone surface is identical in both the "Second Type" Danzantes and the glyph slabs. On the South Platform, one half-buried stone (S-11) combines the characteristics of both types, and thereby proves them contemporaries. It shows not only the legs of a figure with elongated proportions and nails indicated on its big toes, but also a column of glyphs, with bar-and-dot numerals, similar to the glyphs carved on J-14 (*ibid.*: Fig. 44). I conclude that the two were executed coevally, each serving a different purpose. The glyph slabs took the place of the text in a book, while the Danzantes were like the illustrations; one stated the fact of conquest, the other dramatized it. Their single style is here termed the "Incised style," to avoid the confusion which would result from Caso's term "Second Type," since the other Danzantes which preceded it belong to several identifiable styles, and not to just one "First Type."

A close relationship between the styles of the Step Danzantes and the Incised glyph slabs was first noted in print by George Kubler (1962: 88):

> A marked general difference of style between the slabs lining the pyramid [Mound L] and those of the stairway is . . . easily discerned. . . . The stairway slabs . . . point to a connexion with the commemorative slabs in the facing of Mound J. . . .

The most obvious relationships between the Incised slabs and the Step Swimmers are the thin proportions of their bodies and the details of their faces. Both have the elliptical eye, the long nose, and the thin-lipped open, toothless mouth. Long, wavy hair, found on the Step Swimmers J-56 and J-101, is also seen on glyph slab J-49 (Caso 1946: Fig. 54). Specific parallels in headdresses do not occur, but the frequent representation of feathers distinguishes both styles from earlier Danzantes. Finally, the carving technique in each group is similar, although not identical. Like the Incised glyph slabs, the Step Swimmers are rendered in thin lines with no modeling. However, the line is pecked into the flat surface, not incised, so that it has no sharp edge and does not penetrate so deeply. Because of the similarity in details and the shallow carving, the Step Swimmers apparently were executed not long before the Incised-style Danzantes and glyph slabs.

The major differences between the two styles are as follows. The Incised Danzantes have soft, curving undersides of their feet, possibly a revival of the early Danzante style, whereas the Step Swimmers' feet seldom have such careful anatomical detail. Neither do they show separate toes and the big toenail, as do the Incised Danzantes (whose big toe- and thumbnails are not always shown, contrary to Caso's claim). While the two heads known in the Incised style have long earlobes with no earspools, the Step Swimmers all have large round earspools. And the two Incised Danzante faces also have geometric lines on their faces representing tattooing, a feature completely absent in the Step group.

Ceramic Relationships with the Danzantes

BURIAL VI-12

RELATIONSHIPS between the Danzantes and ceramic representations of human beings are surprisingly few, and those which exist defy immediate classification with a particular style of Danzante. The earliest object which resembles the Danzante facial type is Piece 22 from Burial VI-12 (Fig. 27), assigned to the beginning of Late Monte Albán I. Several details of the face of this figurine interest us. Its helmetlike headdress fits tightly around the entire head, very much like the fitted helmets, perhaps of leather, which so many of the Danzantes wear. It has flaps which go in front of the ear, forming a separate band, and a fringed tassel which hangs over the center of the forehead. Such details correspond closely to features of D-6. The top of the figurine's headdress, now broken, was once a cylindrical extension of the head, obviously unlike that of any Danzante. Also unlike those of the Danzantes, the eyes of the figurine are open, with their pupils indicated. The nose is Danzante-like, with creases extending from the nostril wings around the corners of the mouth. The mouth has rounded thick lips and a bulge protruding slightly from the opening, recalling the thick "tongue" motif seen on many of the later Danzantes, the earliest of which belong to the Third-Row style, such as D-60. But this solid figurine also relates to earlier solid figurines, and so may be a precursor of the Danzante types rather than their contemporary.

TOMB 111

Several ceramic representations found in Tomb 111, which we have dated about 250–200 B.C., bear marked resemblances to the Danzantes. First, the two spout-handled bottles, numbered Pieces 9 and 20 (Fig. 11), with swimmers partly engraved and partly modeled on the body, have long been recognized as being closely connected with the Danzantes (Villagra 1939: 155; Caso 1939: 183; Caso 1946: 118). Identified by Caso as women, these relief figures consist of nothing more than heads in the half-round and extended arms in low relief. Some appear to wear leather helmets, while others have locks of flowing hair. Piece 20 has two engraved, parallel lines following the hairline which definitely seems to be a helmet similar to those on D-1, D-6, and D-8. A small flange in the position of the ear on Piece 20 is very like the Burial VI-12 figurine (Fig. 27). One head on Piece 9 from Tomb 111 has several parallel lines following a more undulating course than those on Piece 20. This rendition of hair most closely approximates that on the Step Swimmers, although D-2, on the First Row, wears a helmet with hairlike parallel arcs on it.

The eyes on both Pieces 9 and 20 are open, with clearly incised lines marking the upper and lower lids, forming almond-shaped eyes. The fleshy eyelids bulge outward to indicate the extent of the eye socket, which is twice as large as the exposed eyeball. Finally, a thick ridge across the forehead marks the brow. In Piece 9, the brow continues across the whole forehead, while in Piece 20 it curves down into the bridge of the nose, as in D-6 and D-8. Sharply incised lines marking an open eye do not occur until very late in the Danzante sequence, but an incised line marking the juncture of closed eyelids appears on most Danzantes of the First Row. The difference in representation may be explained by the difference in meaning: the Standing Danzantes on the First Row probably represent corpses with closed eyes, while the swimmers on the Tomb 111 bottles represent live people whose activity humorously symbolizes the liquid contained within.

The mouths of these Tomb 111 bottle figures are very close to the standard Danzante mouth. The figure on one side of Piece 20 has two large, modeled teeth, while the opposite figure has an unarticulated "tongue" filling the mouth cavity. The two figures on Piece 9 both have an unclear number of teeth engraved on the area between the lips. All the Danzantes on the First Row, with the possible exception of D-3, have two teeth prominently indicated. Only on the

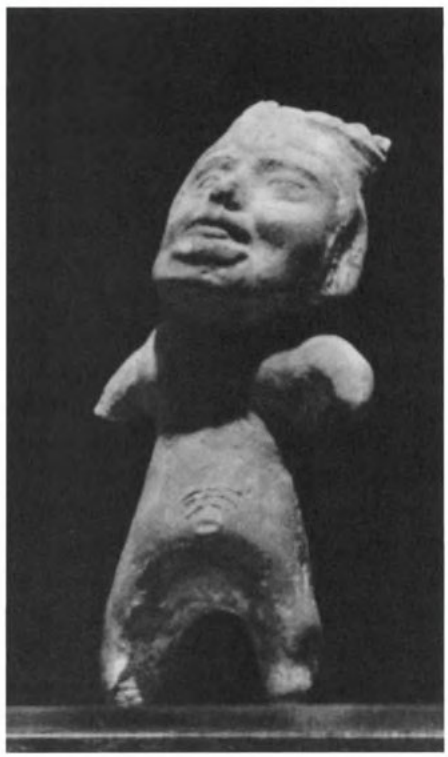

Fig. 27 Ceramic figurine, Piece 22, Burial VI-12, Monte Albán. Height 15.0 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, México. Photo by the author.

Fig. 28 Piece 1 from the offering in the Patio of Tomb 160, Monte Albán. Height 9.0 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, México. Photo by the author.

Fig. 29 Piece 4 from the offering in the Patio of Tomb 160, Monte Albán. Height 17.0 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, México. Photo by the author.

Third Row, and on slightly earlier figures like D-59, D-60, and N-31, are teeth entirely absent, replaced by a thick tonguelike area between the lips.

The position of the arms, plus the presence of undulating lines on the surface of the vessel body, clearly indicate that these persons are swimming. The arms are uniformly raised, with little concern for anatomical accuracy, to suggest a version of the crawl. On Piece 20, the rear arm forms a double curve, like a scallop, while the front arm is made up of a single curved band. At the ends of each arm, curved lines indicate fingers, although no thumb is distinguished. Neither side of the bowl shows a body, only arms, although the arm of the rear figure is slightly lengthened and raised to suggest the shoulder or back of a body. The bizarre bend of the wrist on both figures recalls the unanatomical far arm on D-2, which bends in four places. Such casual renderings of anatomy become more frequent in the later Danzantes, and especially among the Swimmers, such as D-13. The hands on Piece 9 are merely S-curves, with no fingers indicated at all. Although fingerless hands do occur in the Second Row, the arms assume a less organic curve on the Fourth Row; some earlier Pressed-face Swimmers, like M-16, also have these unanatomical arms.

The effigy vessel of an old man, Piece 23 from Tomb 111 (Caso and Bernal 1952: Fig. 469), is formed from a spout-handled bottle, but its head is modeled in the round and added in front of the neck of the jar. Most relevant to the Danzantes are its closed eyes, indicated by lids which are formed by an engraved line on top of the raised oval eyeballs. This is most characteristic of the First Row, although the same technique recurs throughout the early history of the Danzantes. This later placement is also suggested by its closed mouth with thin lips, a combination which first occurs in the Second Row.

PATIO OF TOMB 160 OFFERING

The offering from the Patio of Tomb 160 yielded two vessels of interest for their analogies to the Danzantes. Piece 1 (Fig. 28) has two swimmers modeled in relief on the body of a tripod bowl. Piece 4 (Fig. 29) has the head of a bearded man projecting in the round from the body of the bowl. I have previously dated this offering to the end of Period I, about 200–150 B.C.

The simple beard of Piece 4, quite possibly a duck bill (*ibid.*: 318), is divided by a line down the center. Its mouth has two tiny teeth in the center, deep holes at the corners, and subtly modeled cheek creases framing the mouth. Its nose is delicate and long, meeting the brow line at an angle. The eyes are angular, with the lid outlines incised. Finally, its high headdress is decorated with elaborate incisions. Although incised details appear in all of the Danzante styles, their frequent use indicates a later period, perhaps as late as the Third-Row Elaborate Groin Scroll group. However, the presence of a beard, such as is found on the snarling guardians, is a feature which began earlier and lasted longer. The sharp facial features with two small teeth appear on the Second-Row Swimmer D-15 and also on D-9, perhaps the latest of the First Row. Several Dog-paddle Swimmers (D-75, D-76, and K-6), immediately derivative from N-1, have less prominent teeth as well as sharply rendered details.

Both faces on Piece 1 from this same offering have eyes similar to those on Piece 4, as well as the same two small teeth protruding from the front of its mouth. However, the head of Piece 1, much closer in spirit to that of the Tomb 111 swimmers, has flowing strands of hair, some falling loose from the head. The other head on Piece 1 appears to wear a helmet, but this may also represent carefully groomed hair. The nose is short and wide, unlike that of the bearded face on Piece 4, and the lips are thick, but not so thick as those on the Tomb 111 vessels. Its arm, detached from the body, is a simple low-relief band bent sharply at the elbow; no hand or fingers are indicated. Such a form appears on the Second-Row Swimmers. Angular arms with no clearly rendered hand appear on many of the Second-Row stones, but only as subordinate limbs; the other arm always has a hand with fingers (see, for example, D-13, D-15, and M-6). In addition, D-15 resembles the figure on Piece 1 in its thick jaw, sharp teeth, and engraved eye. As on the Tomb 111 swimmer bottles, these figures have flowing hair, a rendi-

tion which has little correspondence in the Danzantes until the Step Swimmers, with the exception of the cascading strands falling from the back of the head of M-19. Since this Danzante also belongs to the transition between the First and Third Rows of Standing Danzantes, it corroborates the previous association of the offering from the Patio of Tomb 160 to the Second-Row Swimmers. However, the Elaborate Groin Scroll group also has many of the features of these bowls, which therefore might be considered contemporary with the Third Row (whose figures have elaborate groin scrolls).

TOMB 107

The other two human representations which correspond to the end of Monte Albán I reinforce the above conclusions. Piece 4 from Tomb 107 (Fig. 30), the head of a figurine, is obviously related to the type of head seen on Piece 4 of the offering from the Patio of Tomb 160. The conception of a high headdress engraved with geometric lines is identical. In this figure from Tomb 107, however, the rectangularity of the forms recalls the glyphs on the torso of M-4, of the Third-Row style.

BURIAL XI-6

The face on the jar (Fig. 2) from Burial XI-6, which is typical of the Oaxacan type which spread widely into Chiapas and Veracruz, shows a combination of the facial types seen in the two human faces from the offering in the Patio of Tomb 160. While it has the fineness of modeling of the bearded head, the proportions of its face resemble the heavy-jawed type of the

Fig. 30 Ceramic head, Piece 4, Tomb 107, Monte Albán. Height 6 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, México. Photo by the author.

swimmer. Its thick-lipped mouth is open, revealing two clearly defined teeth. After its early occurrence on the First Row, the toothy mouth underwent a revival contemporary with the Third Row, to which this Burial XI-6 figure is clearly related. Tomb 111 must thus be connected to the First Row, while the Burial VI-12 figurine (Fig. 27) serves as a precursor of the type. The Third-Row style is also characterized by crisp hands and correct anatomical features, executed with fine modeling in a more linear technique than that of the First Row. As with Burial XI-6, we have already dated the Third-Row style to the very end of Monte Albán I.

The Dating of the Danzantes

THE TIME RANGE of the Danzantes can now be dated fairly securely by their relationship to the Monte Albán I ceramic effigies and by the later stylistic connections of the Step Swimmers to the Izapan style. The date of their beginning is more difficult to specify than their end. Does the single example of an early figurine with Danzante-like details from Burial VI-12 reflect a coeval style of relief sculpture being executed

for the First Row of the Danzante Wall? If so, how can we explain the even closer parallels between the same First Row and the swimmers on the two handle-spout jars from Tomb 111? Possibly they reflect the Third-Row revival of the toothy-mouthed, helmeted types. But the shallower carving of this Third Row corresponds better with the elaborate incisions found in terminal Period I ceramic effigies such as those from the Patio of Tomb 160 and Burial XI-6. Also, glyphic evidence on the Danzantes themselves indicates that Period II began shortly after the Third Row was executed. Like Burial XI-6, this Third Row can thus be dated about 200–150 B.C.

The two jars with Danzante-style swimmers from Tomb 111 show a considerable variation in facial type, especially in the rendering of the teeth. On one jar alone, there are mouths with two large teeth and with no teeth at all. This great diversity of modes may slightly postdate the First Row and reflect the variety of the Second-Row Swimmers, whose postures the jars also reflect. The rather casual anatomy of the bodies of both the ceramic and stone relief figures reinforces this assumption. The Raised Relief group has the combination of casual body anatomy and heads with heavy features and prominent teeth which could be related to the Tomb 111 group. Accordingly, the Second Row can be tentatively dated 250–200 B.C. to be coeval with Tomb 111.

The First Row could then be placed in the immediately preceding period, but not as early as Burial VI-12, which we have assigned to the late fourth century B.C. In spite of the relationship of the figurine from that burial to the First-Row Danzante face and helmet, enough differences do exist to foreclose identity. It has no teeth in its widely opened mouth, and the cursory rendering of its flipper limbs cannot compare to the massive limbs of the First-Row Danzantes. Of course, a tiny, solid clay figurine modeled in the round should not be directly compared to a monumental relief carved on stone. Unfortunately, the one human effigy (Caso and Bernal 1952: Fig. 472) from Tomb 43, intermediate in date between Burial VI-12 and Tomb 111, does not compare at all to the Danzantes. Its poorly articulated moon face has none of the heavy features (thick lips, large teeth, cheek creases) of the early Danzantes. Its eyes, with incised depressions suggesting pupils, may provide a prototype for the closed lids incised on the First-Row Danzantes. Nevertheless, a compromise date of 300–250 B.C. can be assigned to the earliest Danzantes of the First Row. They might even begin earlier, contemporary with Burial VI-12, or, more likely, later, coeval with Tomb 111.[6]

Returning to the Danzantes postdating the close of Period I, we can definitely associate the Tumbling group of the stair cheekpiece with the Dainzú ballplayers, which in turn can be dated to early Monte Albán II. The Fourth-Row style of the Danzante Wall, although it has no direct association with outside styles, is probably quite closely related to the Tumbling type, since both share a preference for calcareous stones as

[6] Monument 3, a slab with a low relief carving of a figure with Danzante-like facial features and a grotesque position, has recently been reported from San José Mogote in the Etla branch of the Valley of Oaxaca. "It was discovered in situ serving as the threshold stone for a corridor between two large public buildings of the Rosario phase (600–500 B.C.) . . ." (Marcus 1976b: 44). Its large size (92×145 cm.), moderately high relief, and apparently sunken background (Flannery and Marcus 1976b: Fig. 9) correspond to the same traits in the earliest proposed style of the Danzantes. Although the profile face shows the heavy nose and open mouth with two teeth characteristic of the early First-Row Danzantes, it lacks their heavy lip outlines, earspools, complex hair- or headdresses, and rounded eye sockets. The teeth are much smaller in proportion to the head than are those of the First-Row Danzantes, and the position of the body fits none of the categories proposed for the Monte Albán Danzantes. Particularly surprising are the legs: they are in a running pose. The especially complex scrolls enclosing circles are not on the groin, as in the Groin Scroll group at Monte Albán, but on the torso, as if representing eviscerated intestines. The glyphs overlapping the side vaguely recall Olmec pendant dots (Joralemon 1971: 15, Motif 128), but are far more complex. The inscription of a day sign, given by two glyphs between the feet (Marcus 1976b: 45), is unmatched by any of the signs on the Monte Albán Danzantes, which have no calendrical function. The most common glyph found alongside the heads of various Danzantes, which Caso called an *atlatl*, "may designate a battle in which these men were captured or slain. A possibly comparable sign for warfare, the shield and banner . . . , was a feature of the Aztec writing system" (Marcus 1976a: 127).

well as for other features discussed above. To continue the useful fifty-year groupings which I devised for the Period I tombs, the Fourth Row can be dated 150–100 B.C. and the Tumbling group 100–50 B.C.

One cannot but note, however, that the total time span proposed for the decoration of the Danzante Wall (300–100 B.C.) seems excessively long. Even its minimum range (250–150 B.C.) suggests an extremely slow decorating program. This might be possible if a new stone were carved and placed only when a specific event was to be commemorated, such as the conquest of a new town or the pledge of fealty upon the accession of a new ruler, but the evolution visible in style between the First and Third Rows, and between the Second- and Fourth-Row Swimmers, does not convince us that such a long span of development occurred. Perhaps the fifty-year intervals assigned to the ceramic groups were excessive, at least in the latter part of Period I, and should be compressed somewhat.

Finally, the Step Swimmers can be dated because of their clear associations with the Izapan style. In spite of the three radiocarbon dates of 150 B.C. at the type-site of Izapa itself, the fully developed style appears later in neighboring areas: the Horcones phase at Chiapa (100–1 B.C.); the Miraflores phase at Kaminaljuyú (100 B.C. – A.D. 50); the Long-Count stelae from El Baúl, Chiapa, and Tres Zapotes (35 B.C. – A.D. 36); and the Cauac phase at Tikal (*ca.* 125 B.C. – A.D. 125), especially the painted tomb of the late first century B.C. If we date the Step Swimmers 50–1 B.C., continuing the system of fifty-year intervals, this would place them at the peak of the Izapan horizon style. Naturally, the Incised style of the glyph slabs and the few Danzantes would date after A.D. 1.

Both Dixon (1958: 61) and Agrinier (1960: 22) noted some resemblances between the style of the carved human femurs from Chiapa de Corzo Tomb 1 and the style of Monte Albán I. Since there is no question that these bones are of pure Izapan style, the parallels they have with Monte Albán are highly relevant. The strongest connection with the Danzantes appears on Bone 3, in the "swimming" position of the skeletal-faced figure; its upper torso compares directly with D-88 and J-110, both belonging to the early Marquise-pectoral group, dating between the Second and Third Rows. The bearded figure on Bone 1, whose face mask recalls the Olmecoid features of the late Cocijo jars, holds his arms in a position similar to that of the bearded guardian type of Danzante (such as D-48), which is stylistically closer to the Third Row than to the First. The figure on the bone has the palms of his hands up, whereas D-48 has his down; nevertheless, the form of the fingers curling around the thumb is common to both sets of hands. Bone 1 also provides further proof of Dainzú's Izapan connection: the long-nosed god on Bone 1 has a facial structure almost identical to that of the skull at Dainzú. Regrettably, no meaning is known for these two scenes from Chiapa, although the fact that they were carved on fresh human bones implies an association with human sacrifice, as has also been proposed here for the Danzantes. Since the bones are dated to the Horcones phase, in the first century B.C., they are undoubtedly later than the Danzantes to whose posture they relate, which we have dated just before the Third Row, around 200 B.C. Perhaps these motifs were introduced into Chiapas from Oaxaca, like the many bridge-spout effigy bottles found in Guanacaste-phase burials.

We have postulated that the native sculpture ateliers of Monte Albán I, which created the Danzante style, continued teaching their apprentices the traditional techniques and iconography even after the Period II innovations had come in from the southeast. These native artisans were put to service propagandizing the subjugation of other towns by the new elite, a function they had performed previously for the preceding native dynasty. Caso and Bernal (1952: 33) have already noted the continuity in style between Monte Albán I and II in ceramics:

> It is possible that some of the vessels which we have considered to be of Period I really belong to Period II, since in this, as in other traits, elements of the first culture continued into the second with no apparent variation. (author's translation)

This was especially true of the figurines, where the

native culture continued producing these folk idols with no interference from the new lords (Bernal n.d.: 117–18). And Bernal (1949: 212) found that, in the majority of Valley villages, no evidence of Period II ceramics appears, even though they were continuously occupied. Although more recent excavations have found traces of Monte Albán II in all the Valley sites they surveyed (Flannery and Winter, personal communication), the ceramics must either be scarce or not the most distinctive forms, else Bernal would have identified them during his earlier survey.

If the rulers of Period II wished to maintain the spiritual authority of the supreme sanctuary, they might well have approved the continuation of its previous style of relief sculpture if they needed it to serve a similar function. The representation of defeated enemies would seem a more probable subject for the Monte Albán II conquerors to wish to continue than would the artistic enshrinement of a cult of native priests or shamans in ecstatic trances. The artists of Period II did introduce new types: the Tumbling Danzante, which appears to be bowled over, as if by military force, and the Step figure, who grovels submissively as he is trod upon. At Dainzú, an entirely new form was created as a result of the introduction of the new ritual of the ballgame, which had no previous iconography in Oaxaca.[7]

The innovation of an entirely different technique of propagandizing conquests—the Incised glyph slabs of Mound J—reduced the depiction of the conquered lord to a mere head hanging upside-down, showing its distinctive headdress and scarification. The expressiveness of the Danzantes was replaced by the intellectualized glyphic writing which stated facts but did not dramatize them. The small number of Danzantes made in this Incised style could not have formed in themselves a transition between the Danzante iconography and the glyph slabs. Instead, they perhaps were an aborted attempt to adapt the older iconography to the new demands for greater specificity. They must all date from the very beginning of the Incised style, in the early first century A.D., whereas the Incised style of glyph slab possibly continued almost to the end of Period II, about A.D. 250. Some of the Incised Danzantes (e.g., S-11) actually combined the new glyphs with the traditional Standing figure. Others (such as D-40, N-29, and S-10) may first have served as steps, continuing the function of the immediately preceding Swimming Danzantes on the steps in front of Mound L.

Compared to the strong influence of the Izapan style, the Olmec style had very little effect on the Danzantes. While the effigy vessels represented deities such as Cocijo and the Young Maize God through revived Olmec iconography, the Danzantes represented human beings, with only a few rare exceptions. Only the heavy lips and short flat noses seen on the Danzantes reflect the contemporary revival of the jaguar-man motif. Continuation of the Late Monte Albán I revival into Period II can be seen in the large standing clay figures from Tomb 113, with their Olmecoid mouths (Caso and Bernal 1952: Figs. 498–500), as well as in the Elaborate Groin Scroll group of Standing Danzantes, such as J-46. However, the Olmecoid revivals begun in Period I became less and less important in Period II, when sharper features and newer iconography obliterated them. Iconographic survivals from the Olmec, such as the running-kneeling guardian, also died out during Period II, and were replaced by entirely new forms. Relief sculpture of early Monte Albán II shows the clear, though indirect, influence of the Izapan style, which supplanted the remains of the Olmec revival by the beginning of the Tumbling-style cheekpiece Danzantes, *ca.* 100 B.C.

[7] A ballcourt clearly datable to Monte Albán II has recently been found at San José Mogote (Flannery and Marcus 1976a: 219–20).

APPENDIX

At my request, Dr. William Paxton Hewitt examined a sampling of the Danzantes and provided me with the following petrographic information. The two letters he wrote me on May 30 and August 3, 1975, have been edited slightly and incorporated into one report.

Dr. Hewitt seemed particularly qualified to provide expert opinion on the stones chosen for carving the Danzantes. After obtaining the degree of Engineer of Mines from Columbia University, he continued on there to receive a Ph.D. in geology. He worked over twenty-one years in northern Mexico with the American Smelting and Refining Company and then taught geology at the University of Utah while being Director of the Utah Geological and Mineral Survey. He retired in 1974 and now lives in Oaxaca City. I am very grateful for the time he has taken out of his busy schedule to provide this report.

A Preliminary Report of the Petrography and Pigmentation of the Monte Albán Danzantes

W. P. HEWITT

FOR THIS DISCUSSION, we shall define a Monte Albán Danzante as any carving—fanciful or realistic, small or large—of animal, humanoid, or human likeness, but not including glyphs or stelae. I have looked at 64 of them, all on the north and west sides of the Main Plaza and distributed as follows:

North Platform: south façade	5 (plus 1 possible Danzante or glyph)
Mound K: east façade	7
Mound L: east façade, main stair, and steps of platform extending east from mound	7
Mound L: base of south cheekpiece of stair	2
Mound L: Danzante Wall	13
Danzante Patio: west wall and north end	20 (plus 2 stelae)
Danzante Patio: south wall and north end	10
	64

For their geologic aspects I have categorized the blocks on which these Danzantes have been carved according to their lithology, the structural origin of their carved surfaces (i.e., whether a fault plane or modified by faulting activity, a joint plane, or a bedding plane or closely related stratigraphic parting), and the nature of the pigmentation within or upon these surfaces.

All of the Danzantes examined were sedimentary clastic rocks deposited under aqueous conditions, i.e., sandstones, conglomerates, or gravelly limestone. Where the grain size was sufficiently large to identify with a hand lens, all were found to be composed of angular grains of quartz, with variable quantities of feldspar and some chert, and a vast amount of angular lithic fragments, principally limestone but with a large proportion of metamorphic material that is chiefly quartzite but which also includes gneiss and occasionally quartz schist. Not infrequently the metamorphic materials, though always angular, were found to be somewhat rounded and more water-worn than were the limestone fragments. Only in one case did the stone appear to be composed of fairly cleanly sorted sandy material. Whether these rocks should be classi-

fied as dirty sandstones and conglomerates or as graywacke I shall leave to others.

The sediments which lithified and became the beds from which these blocks were obtained were deposited under conditions of rapid sedimentation by currents of strong but varying intensity carrying detrital material from an eroding nearby highland composed of limestone adjacent to a more distant metamorphic terrain. Sudden changes in storm conditions produced rapid changes in the carrying power of the currents with resultant lateral and vertical variations in grain size of the deposited beds. This happened even to the limestones; sudden heavy storms dumped gravels into more quiet areas that were accumulating calcareous muds. As the storms subsided, quieter currents deposited finer-grained sediments before ensuing storms could bring in additional gravelly material. Frequently the quiet waters deposited only thin selvages of silt or clay that now form partings separating the more massive beds of coarser material. These partings, known as bedding planes, are zones of weakness along which the lithified sediments, now sandstones and conglomerates, are more easily split apart. The ancient artisans utilized these planes of weakness—just as they are used today—not only to break out blocks but to carve on as well.

After lithification, the sediments were subjected to all sorts of stress, both tensional and compressional. Where the applied stress exceeded the rock's inherent strength, the beds failed. Where they failed under tension, cracks appeared at right angles to the bedding. The walls of the cracks moved apart, and the cracks thus formed are known as joints. Their surfaces, referred to as joint planes, not only aid in breaking out blocks but are readily used as carving surfaces.

Where beds failed under compression, the direction of failure depended on the applied stress and could be in any direction to the original bedding: parallel to it, within it, or at any angle to it. However, in such cases the walls of the failure plane moved one against the other and the resulting surfaces are fault planes. Sometimes the opposite walls separated slightly, but, where they remained tightly closed and the pressure was intense, the walls became polished and were frequently marked by striations known as slickensides. Fault planes can be excellent carving surfaces also and were so utilized.

As soon as the beds became consolidated, but after exposure to the atmosphere, carbon dioxide in the air formed with rain water, as it does today, to produce a weak carbonic acid which slowly but relentlessly attacked the mineral grains within the beds. As these grains broke down, their soluble materials were carried away by circulating waters. Where there was a sufficient volume of water, the dissolved material was carried directly out of the system; but, where of insufficient volume, the waters, traveling along permeable paths—porous strata, bedding planes, joints, fault planes, etc.—hesitated, and during periods of stagnation they deposited their contained load as seams and veinlets or, where they impregnated the adjacent wall rocks, as stains. The white opaque coatings and the multiple variations of yellows, tans, oranges, browns, reds, and maroons that are so prominent on the carved blocks and that frequently were utilized with great artistic effect were formed in this manner.

The white opaque seams are calcite, a crystalline carbonate of lime; the yellows through maroons are iron oxides of one type or another. Throughout time either the source areas changed or the solution channels clogged and the waters became diverted, with the result that in the same location a layer of calcite might be deposited at one time, a layer of iron oxides at another. In this way, complexly interlayered veinlets of alternating browns and whites were deposited, sandwichlike, and these, too, were used most effectively by the Monte Albán artisans.

A few carved surfaces carry a whitish gray, rough-textured coating. This is caliche, another carbonate of lime. Resembling modern mortar, it develops close to the ground surface during periods of drought. Most of it postdates the carving of the blocks, but on one or two of them it predates it. One block carries minor patches of a thin seam of hyalite opal that was deposited from waters rich in silica. Black stains, prominent on a few Danzantes, can be attributed to a lichen.

They are not features inherent to the rock, and where I have observed them they postdate the carving. In contrast to the rather sparse black staining, the gray color beneath many of the carved lines is the background color and is inherent to the rock itself. The ancient artists produced most effective contrasts with these two colors.

Lying on its side on the southwest platform raised above the ballcourt surface, I found a block of fine-grained bluish limestone. In it were several nodules of dense black chert, and part of the block showed closely spaced stratification lines which, I presume, contained fine sandy material. (I did not have my hand lens with me and would like to re-examine the piece in greater detail and with more care.) On the adjacent, slightly higher platform immediately to the north was a similar limestone slab, somewhat lighter in tone; it was standing vertically and was carved. This slab, instead of containing chert nodules, contained a seam of dense black chert, a centimeter or so thick, which ran along its entire length and lay within it like a filling in a sandwich, but which lacked the finely stacked stratification planes noted in the block lying on its side. Limestone is formed from the lithification of calcium carbonate muds deposited in quiet water; the chert is probably a lithified siliceous gel that, during certain periods, accumulated along the water/mud interface at the bottom of the lake or gulf that received the sediments. Although these rocks are quite different from those previously reported on, I believe they belong to the same general sequence as those described earlier, and their source may lie in beds a few centimeters, or even a meter or so, thick, interbedded in the shale/sandstone/conglomerate sequence.

With this background, I summarize my observations as follows.

Lithology	*North Platform*	*Mound K*	*Mound L*	*Mound L Stair Cheekpiece*	*Danzante Wall*	*Danzante Patio West Wall*	*Danzante Patio South Wall*	*Total*
sandstone*	5 (1C)	7 (4C)	7	2 (1C)	11 (2C)	11 (1C)	6 (1C)	49 (10C)
conglomerate	0	0	0	0	2	5	3	10
limestone	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	5
TOTALS	5	7	7	2	13	20	10	64

* The numbers in parentheses in the sandstone line indicate the number of coarse-grained sandstone Danzantes.

Of the 64 Danzantes examined, 49, or 76%, were of sandstone; 10, or 16%, were of conglomerate; and 5, or 8%, were of sandy or gravelly limestone.

Origin of Carved Surface	*North Platform*	*Mound K*	*Mound L*	*Mound L Stair Cheekpiece*	*Danzante Wall*	*Danzante Patio West Wall*	*Danzante Patio South Wall*	*Total*
fault	5	1	3	0	3	1	0	13
joint	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	6
bedding	0	2	1	1	4	17	8	33
obscure	0	2	2	1	6	1	0	12
TOTALS	5	7	7	2	13	20	10	64

Of the 64 Danzantes examined, 13, or 20%, had fault-polished or fault-related surfaces; 6, or 9%, had surfaces on joint planes; and 33, or 52%, had surfaces on bedding planes or closely associated selvages.

Pigmentation	North Platform	Mound K	Mound L	Mound L Stair Cheekpiece	Danzante Wall	Danzante Patio West Wall	Danzante Patio South Wall	Total
native stone	1	1	0	1	5	4	1	13
iron oxide	2	6	2	0	1	15	5	31
stain	1	3	1	0	0	4	2	11
seam	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	4
stain and seam	1	3	1	0	1	8	2	16
calcite	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3
iron oxide and calcite	1	0	5	1	4	1	3	15
TOTALS	5	7	7	2	11*	20	10	62

* Several in this group were too far away to be able to identify their pigments.

Of the 62 Danzantes examined, 13, or 21%, showed only the color of the native stone; 31, or 50%, were either stained with iron oxides or coated (or once coated) with an iron oxide film or seam; 3, or 5%, were coated with a calcite film or seam; and 15, or 24%, were coated with a complex film or seam composed of both iron oxides and calcite.

It is interesting to note that: of the 21 Danzantes examined in the North Platform, Mound K, Mound L, and the stair cheekpiece, all are of sandstone, the majority being of fine- to medium-grained types; and, of the 43 examined in the Danzante Wall and Patio, 10 are of coarse-grained conglomerate rocks. Concerning the origin of the carved surfaces, 9 of the 13 fault-polished or fault-related surfaces (in some examples the carved surface is not polished, possibly because of a soft matrix, but the coarse harder grains are cleanly sliced nonetheless) occur on Danzantes from the North Platform, Mound K, Mound L, and the Danzante Wall, whereas 29 of the 33 bedding-related surfaces occur on those from the Danzante Patio. All of the Danzantes I have seen in the North Platform, Mound K, and Mound L are carved on small- to medium-size blocks, whereas many in the Danzante Patio are large, life-size figures. I hesitate to read importance into the above observations, certainly not until I know a great deal more about the Danzantes and have examined all of them, but they do form a basis for further discussion.

Concerning pigmentation, with 74% of the surfaces stained or coated in some manner with iron oxides, it is easy to assume that the Pre-Columbian artists were deliberately seeking such blocks. Here, again, I would like to learn the source area from which the blocks were obtained, as well as the nature of the country rock in general, before judging whether this high percent of iron oxide stained and coated surfaces is merely a happy coincidence. Whether a coincidence or not, the artists made marvelous use of their material. I am convinced that the source of the blocks is in the immediate vicinity.

The huge blocks of greenstone (the Classic stelae), built into the northeast base of the South Platform, are of a different origin from those previously described. These are volcanic rocks—ash-fall tuffs ejected during an eruption and later solidified. They are a part of the Oaxaca greenstone sequence, but they differ in detail from other exposures I have observed. I would not expect to find their source beds in the immediate vicinity of Monte Albán, but the possibility for such a location, slight as I consider it, exists and cannot be ignored.

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