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### III. SCULPTURES AND ROCK CARVINGS AT CHALCATZINGO, MORELOS<sup>1</sup>

Carmen Cook de Leonard

Editor's note: This paper is a translation, with few emendations, of an article entitled "Milenarias Expresiones de los Mitos del México Antiguo en Cinco Bellos Relieves Esculpidos," which appeared in Novedades (Suppl.) No. 882, 3a, Epoca, Feb. 13, 1966.

We invited Sra. Carmen Cook de Leonard to provide her translation and illustrations because we believe that the record of the cliff reliefs at Chalcatzingo are important, and her drawings and photographs of these the most accurate record yet made.

We are not sufficiently expert in the subject of native Mexican mythology and iconography of codex documents to judge her interpretation of the Chalcatzingo reliefs, and leave this matter to others. Because so much of Olmec culture in its material aspects is Mesoamerican despite its antiquity, we see nothing impossible in interpreting some meanings, actions, and deities in the Chalcatzingo relief sculptures through data of a later time.

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Chalcatzingo is a sleepy little town in the eastern part of the state of Morelos, some forty miles beyond the spa resort of Cuautla. One crosses the small Amatzinac River, skirting two archaeological mounds, in order to climb up the hill to the site of the sculptures. Two of these rock cliff relief panels have been known since 1934, when they were published by Eulalia Guzmán. Originally one of the panels was covered by a large rock, probably due to a landslide. In 1953 this rock was dynamited by archaeologists Román Piña Chan and Valentín López, and it was then possible to see the complete group. It is not possible to photograph the group as a whole as there is no space to step back far enough from it, so that drawings are the only means of reproducing it. The panel pictures a ceremony, and is shown here in Figure 1. Another carving (fig. 2), in addition to a few smaller ones, represents the Sun God in the Underworld producing thunder

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 67 for end notes.

and rain. Both of these sculptures are identified as belonging to the Olmec culture.

In 1963 there was a discovery of further rock carvings, and a mold of one, and part of another (the upper group in fig. 3), was made for the new National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City. Due to the haste with which some of the Museum exhibits were installed, this sculpture was placed upside down, making it difficult to recognize if the original is not known. It is true that the sculpture mentioned above (fig. 1) seems to have been removed from its original location by an earthquake, but no others appear to have suffered damage of this sort. Therefore Figure 1 should be published and exhibited just as it stands today.

The carvers of these sculptures made use of certain rocks which presented large and somewhat smooth surfaces. In some cases, it even seems as if certain accidents of the rock had been taken advantage of to express some symbolic element. The carvings discovered up until now are all in the northern part of the great rocky cliff, within the center of a deep ravine (pl. 1), although each image has its own orientation. Because of their position, the sun rarely touches them. Due to the permanent humid shade, the ornamented stones and a great part of the whole mountain have been covered with mosses and lichens in beautiful orange and yellowish-green colors. This adds an ancient mystery to the majesty of the landscape, although the mosses are probably aiding in the destruction of the rock, adding cracks and crevices to the lines of the carved elements. This often makes it difficult to distinguish the original lines. The drawings presented here, therefore, are the result of long deliberation and study. Some first impressions had to be corrected. The trained eye of artist Osvaldo Barra Cunningham was of great help, and I am very grateful for his patience and untiring efforts to correct the original drawings when necessary.

The newly discovered sculptures (figs. 3, 4, 5) form a group in themselves, although they are not too far from the other two large ones. Their dimensions are given with their illustration, and their monumentality indicates that we have three more large works of art to add to the already impressive inventory from Mexico's past.

The "danzantes" of Figure 3 are somewhat smaller than a normal human figure, which permitted the artist who carved them more than twenty centuries ago to leave sufficient space between them to achieve an agreeable composition and free movements of the figures. Never was the Indian artist pressed for space, never did he have to distort one figure in favor of another. There is no doubt that this new sculpture, now presented in photographs and drawings, is a masterpiece of a quality rarely accomplished in later cultures—until possibly the Aztec art, in which the lines again

achieved the freshness and liberty of movement, as well as the technique, of these carvings. But not even there do we find the dynamic lines of this Chalcatzingo sculpture.

We will now describe Figure 3. The same group is repeated in two different positions. Both represent a jaguar apparently attacking a human figure, which flees, his alarm expressed by his raised arms. The jaguars have a ferocious expression, with open fangs and claws extended towards the figures. The upper group is of better design and dominates the scene, not only because of its elevated position, but because it possesses more dynamic movement. The jaguar, especially, has more motion in its extremities. The left forepaw has an exaggerated curve which emphasizes the dramatic situation and justifies the strong expression of the backward-inclined head, which is somewhat more bent than that of the lower right jaguar. The latter seems more rigid—though more realistic—more slender, and the chest is less protruding.

The coats both jaguars wear, as well as their headdresses, indicate that we are not dealing here with two real jaguars attacking two men. On the contrary, the cross over the eyes of both animals identifies them with the solar god. Although it might be argued that it is not necessarily so in the Olmec culture, we are certain of this for the Mayas and other peoples. Even in present times the Huaves of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, for example, hang this same slanted cross over their altars and call it God the Father.<sup>2</sup> We cannot imagine that the Olmecs were an exception, especially since other elements belonging to the same complex coincide, and we consider that precisely in the Valley of Morelos, where these rock carvings are to be found, their influence was carried into Toltec times<sup>3</sup> and, indirectly, probably even later. They would, then, be the originators of this symbol and of several others mentioned in this paper.

For this reason, and for a better understanding, it is useful to analyze the later forms which the jaguar acquired in other cultures, the possible antecedent of which we see before us. Probably in all Middle American cultures the idea existed that the sun, when setting for the world of the living, would illumine the underworld, the land of the dead, and that the sun also was a dead soul wandering towards the East, in order to be reborn the next day. The House of the Sun, the tonatiuhichan, was located in the East, in one of four underworld caves. Our carving looks towards the East, although on the northern side of the cliff. This dead sun was called Yohualtecuhtli, Lord of the Night. He was related to Tezcatlipoca, the Smoking Mirror, who in turn was a jaguar and had affinities with the Land of the Dead and with the North. As god of the tenth hour of the day, he points to the setting sun, when darkness overcomes light.

There also exists a Jaguar solar god, Ocelotonatiuh, identified with Tezcatlipoca because of the fact that he shares the tenth hour of the day with him. He is the inventor and representative of flowery speech, of song and dance. The scene before us in Figure 3 is represented as a dance. Tezcatlipoca is also Supreme Lord over everything, precisely because he is capable of making Light flee. This sovereignty possibly is indicated by the mask hanging from the headdress of the jaguar on the left in Chalcatzingo, which from Maya glyphs we know as Ahau, the Lord. It is the last calendric sign, with which everything ends, and enthronement begins in another world, in all of the Middle American calendars.<sup>4</sup>

This god is also identified with Tepeyollotli, the Heart of the Mountain, likewise a jaguar, who lives in caves and swallows the daylight Sun, by which act he is converted into the nocturnal Sun. His wizard powers allow him afterwards to be reborn as the young God of Dawn. Chronologically later he is represented with a leg torn off, for which is substituted a smoking mirror. This is explained in the legend in which Cipactli, the Earth Monster, tears a leg off the God of the West. This scene is represented in the Vatican B Codex (fig. 7), where he is identified with the new moon, because he has a limb missing when being born. The New Moon is born in the West, in the evening, for which reason his birth occurs under the auspices of the Lord of the Tenth Hour.<sup>5</sup>

We believe, however, that the deity being born in Chalcatzingo is not the New Moon, but rather the Solar God himself (fig. 4). He is born from a great serpent, later on identified with the Great Blue Fire Serpent, the Xiuhcoatl, which resides in the Northern region, the direction this carving faces. In the beginning we thought that this rock, too, had been moved, but it seems more probable that the tail of the serpent was carried underneath the rock and along the natural curve of the stone to indicate a cave, and the interior of the earth. The photograph (pl. 5) shows this illusion, where the serpent seems to be surging from the earth, while the drawing (fig. 4) follows the contours of the carving without taking into account the curve or other accidents of the stone. It is notable that the serpent of Chalcatzingo has a fin where fish usually have a cartilaginous membrane that covers the gills. This same fin is found on the serpent of the Vatican Codex B (fig. 7). Here, then, we already find the idea of a mythical serpent connected with water, possibly the uterine water, within which the human being resides before being born; another element which is carried over from the Olmec to the codices still in use at the time of the Conquest. Flames can be seen at the base of the head and along the back. From the eye of the monster a ray is directed towards the surging human figure, to the region of his heart. This ray we see as the masculine element within the symbol of the feminine uterus—the monster's belly—giving birth. This interpretation is based upon a common universal symbol which equates the eye

to the genital organs, according to psychoanalytical theories, but based indirectly upon laws and legends which punish violent or illegal sexual intercourse with blindness.<sup>6</sup>

The human figure which protrudes from this serpent is analogous to those shown in Figure 3, and a resemblance, not only of the face and the deformation of the head—seen more clearly in the upper figure—but also a resemblance of the position of the arms. It is as though the deity had traversed the lower regions dancing, and had been born dancing also. The deformed heads of both these beings at first sight resemble an eagle head. It is possible that this resemblance is intentional because the young Tezcatlipoca, the Sun at birth, is symbolized by a rising eagle, the quauhtlehuanitl.

Briefly, then, Figure 4 is the continuity of Figure 3. In Figure 3 the Sun of Night puts Light to flight. The two groups of Figure 3, presented diagonally downwards, indicate the direction in which the figures are moving; that is, towards the lower world. Night reigns. Light is being reborn in Figure 4, after traversing the inferior regions in the form of a jaguar god, now transformed into an eagle god, symbol of the light of day.

It is necessary, however, to consider in this new light the two groups of Figure 3. The lower figure no doubt represents a distance or a new position in relation to the first group, in time and space, and, being the same in essence, has suffered a transformation. I have mentioned the first impression of seeing the upper human being as having an eagle head. The final drawing of the copyist has destroyed this illusion, probably intentionally, since we had discussed it. I have, therefore, included a photograph (pl. 2) taken before chalking in, for a better view of this head. In my original impression, the deformed head forms the beak and the head is turned to the right. In that case, the flame-like object on the head would be on the forehead of the bird-head. I believe this object actually depicts a flame, and could have two meanings: (1) it is twilight, and time to light the fires in the houses; and (2) it is the fire that the Jaguar (Underworld Sun) is trying to take away from the human figure. His reason for chasing it is in order to carry the flame over for the next day, and also to illumine the Underworld. Probably both meanings are acceptable, and the flame is seen again on the back of the monster in Figure 4.

This eagle-headed human figure is found chronologically later as the god One Eagle, a dancer with the same fire-red hair curls on his forehead. He dances before Xochiquetzal in the nineteenth "week" of the tonalamatl (e.g., see p. 62, Codex Borgia). Here two fire drills have been added to the dancer's headdress, confirming the meaning of flame. Three elements have been carried over: the dancing, the eagle element, and the flame hair.

The upper human figure has a shell on a cord around his neck, and due to its later connection with Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the God of Dawn, who carries a shell on his headband, it is a promise of rebirth at dawn. The band around his leg is the place where the dancers hang their rattles.

The second human figure, placed lower and adorned with the hornless head of a deer in a turban, could be the later Xochiquetzal, who carries a deer head on her head and bears the name Mazateotl (Codex Borgia, 59). She is the same one seen opposite the Eagle dancer mentioned above, and presides over the third night hour and the Northern region, representing the new moon. Here, again, we find several survivals which permit us to identify these figures: (1) we still find both deities of Chalcatzingo united (now as Xochiquetzal, with the deer head and the Eagle dancer); (2) the deer head has been preserved; (3) the later hour checks with the interpretation of the lower position in the sculpture; and (4) their relationship to the Northern region.

But the deer is the sun, and being on the head of the Moon Goddess can only mean a new moon, when both sun and moon are united in the West and retire into the Underworld together. Here I think it is possible to say that the ears on the back of the head of the jaguar belonging to this goddess are those of a rabbit, because the rabbit is a moon symbol.<sup>5</sup> We would have, then, an interchange of attributes between the two luminaries, which, to me, is a novel way of expressing copulation symbolically. On page 59 of the Codex Borgia, mentioned above, Mazateotl with the deer head seems to copulate with the Eagle dancer, but, though he does not seem to have a moon attribute, the product, in the form of a child, is seen under them, and three circles twice, which Seler interprets as the third hour of the third day (of the new moon). In Chalcatzingo, the end-product of this copulation would be the birth of the sun child in Figure 4.

Figure 5 seems to be intimately related to these two figures, not only because they are all close to each other—on the same large rock—but because of their orientation. Figure 5 is encountered before Figure 3, due to the formation of the terrain, and so seems to be guarding the entrance to what would be the sacred part. This reminds us of another watcher of a sacred house. It is the legend reported from Chiapas, which now, if I am right, may be considered of Olmec origin. Bishop Nuñez de la Vega<sup>7</sup> wrote in 1702 with reference to the regent of the third "week" (1.Deer), who is the very same Tezcatlipoca (and probably also the lower human figure of fig. 3), whose sex is interchangeable, or who partakes of both sexes. In Chiapas this deity is called Uotan, "the third pagan of the calendar, the Lord of the Hollow Treetrunk, which is called teponaguaste (hollow drum). In Uuetan (Soconusco) there is a dark house in which this Uotan produced tapirs with his breath, to watch it (the house)." There is great possibil-



ity for the identification of this animal in Chalcatzingo as a tapir, as it in no way has the same snout as the jaguars of Figure 3. A drawing of a Brazilian tapir is shown in Figure 6 for purposes of comparison, as well as a photograph of the sculpture (pl. 6).<sup>8</sup>

Although this legend from Chiapas does not mention any serpents, other myths and codices speak of this house as the House of the Red and Black Serpents, in the form of pillars, related to the mythical Tlillan-Tlapallan of Quetzalcoatl. It would seem that both elements should be united—tapir and house of serpents—because they probably belong to the same myth complex, as witnessed by the Chalcatzingo carving. These two animals, the tapir and the upright black and red serpents, seem to be repeated in the painting of the Cave of Juxtlahuaca, recently described in Life by Carlo Gay.<sup>9</sup> The animal he does not identify is similar to the tapir of Chalcatzingo, and is there depicted in a menacing jumping attitude. Close by is the representation of an enormous upright serpent in black and red. These figures are reached before one enters the area of the rest of the paintings. Although this sculpture of Chalcatzingo was once painted, only an over-all red paint can be recognized, and the Juxtlahuaca paintings can thus help us in confirming our hypothesis.

In this series of sculptures in Chalcatzingo, we lack one in which the jaguar is made to flee with dawn. We have taken one from the Vatican Codex B (fig. 8) which represents this event, where the jaguar assumes a very different attitude from the arrogant one in the Chalcatzingo carving. Here, in Chalcatzingo, they are the Lords of All, by their ferocious power as Jaguar men. As a matter of fact, the domination of the North gives authority over life and death because here is the control of the entrance and exit to the inferior worlds, where life is created.

When we observe from afar the site of Chalcatzingo—today called Cerro de la Cantera—it is easy to see the great ravine which separates it in two parts (pl. 1). Possibly its old name, then, was Cleft or Split Hill (Tepexic in Aztec, and similar in other languages), which symbolically represents this entrance to the Lower Regions. Its importance is seen in the headdresses of many Olmec figures and figurines, and axes, sometimes indicated only by a slight cleavage. Figure 9 shows some of these split heads and headdresses represented in different manners, and it is notable that it also appears in the much later representation of Tezcatlipoca of the Vatican Codex (fig. 7). It might also be related to the split tongue of the serpent which we recognize in the headdress of the upper jaguar of Figure 3, and in the serpent of Figure 4, along which the Solar God glides in order to be born. The tapir of Figure 5 also has his tongue hanging out, with the end split in the same manner.

The old gods of Creation had their abode in the Split Hill; it was the place of the ancestors and where the first sacrifices were made. These old gods may be seen in the center of the Split Hill of the North—of a very similar shape as the Tepexic of Chalcatzingo—in MS 20 of the Aubin-Goupil Collection (fig. 10).

Considering all of the above, it seems most probable that the Split Hill of Chalcatzingo was identified with that mythical place, and it might have been the reason why this paradisaical location was chosen by these old Olmec tiger-men. It may have seemed sacred to them, as the place from which all life proceeded and to which everything returned—the beginning and the end—and which they had learned to control.

Figures 1 and 2 have been previously published, but are included here because completely new drawings have been made, using the same method as for the other drawings presented here. The lines were traced with chalk and then transparent paper was overlaid on which the lines were drawn in accordance with the chalk lines underneath. The previous drawings by Eulalia Guzmán,<sup>10</sup> Román Piña Chan,<sup>11</sup> and Miguel Covarrubias<sup>12</sup> seem to have been free-hand drawings, and many differences will be noted, some small and perhaps insignificant. Gay also made drawings, not only of the earlier known reliefs but also of the three recently discovered sculptures.<sup>13</sup>

When we made our drawings, unluckily molds had already been made of most of the carvings. These tend to destroy the fine lines, as the method applied uses a synthetic material which sticks to the stone and tears particles out, some of them several inches long. Unfortunately, also, the men sent to do this job were simple technicians with no sense of esthetics and no knowledge about the conservation of valuable archaeological treasures such as these. In several instances, they thought it useful for better reproduction to "correct" the original with a chisel.

Taking into consideration the interpretations of Figures 3, 4, and 5, it might now be said that Figure 1 represents, in a ceremony, the death of the Sun in the late afternoon. It is notable that the last rays of the actual setting sun brighten up this sculpture, and although it has moved from its original position, the movement probably was only downward, and the direction it originally faced is unchanged. All four figures in this sculpture have the same cross on their headdress that the jaguars of Figure 3 have over their eye. We will number the figures 1 to 4, from right to left.

The man on the extreme right (No. 1) has the cross on the mask that hangs from the back of his head. He sits on the ground with legs outstretched, hands bound, with his phallus in erection, held between his arms. He is the

only one that has his face uncovered, and he wears an expression of pain. He has small eyes and nose, but a large mouth, and wears a beard. Some of the details on previous drawings corrected by the tracing method applied by me are: Identification of the resting pillar as a coiled rattlesnake, the rattles being in front of the mask and the head immediately under them. This part of the sculpture seems to have been damaged by another stone, and strong erosion does not permit the complete reconstruction of the snake. The man is more slender and the expression of the face is a little different. The eye of the mask is one of the elements that have been tampered with by the mold-makers. It probably should not be slanted, but should have an elongated oval, as on the other masks and as represented on the previous drawings of Piña Chan and Covarrubias. The ray or horn protruding from the head of this figure may come from his forehead, and the other part may be a headband, or, alternatively, the horn may be part of the mask. This ray is reminiscent of the ray protruding from the eye of the monster in Figure 4.

Facing No. 1 are two men (Nos. 2 and 3) holding digging sticks in a vertical position, provoking the man on the ground to the erection, which he probably helped by masturbation between his arms, this being one of the practical reasons for the binding of his hands. While the man on the ground is naked, the standing men wear breechclouts, belts with buckles, small capes, and elaborate headdresses. The headdress of No. 2 is reminiscent of the rabbit ears on the headdress of the lower jaguar in Figure 3, and would therefore imply a moon symbol. To say that the double crescents on the same headdress are new moons might be going too far, but it happens that two double new moons, or four moons, corresponds to the time of the planting of the corn and the first harvesting in this part of the state of Morelos. The headdress of No. 3 has the split hill motif similar to that of the upper jaguar of Figure 3. They therefore seem to represent the Moon and the Sun, feminine and masculine elements to be united.<sup>14</sup> If this interpretation is correct, it might be said that this is a translation of the heavenly happenings of Figures 3 and 4 into human terms, in order to magically control those ordained by nature.

The fourth man is facing in the opposite direction from the others, and is looking northward. Here, again, we have corrected previous drawings—the objects held in his hands. In his right hand he holds a maize plant, and in his left, an atlatl (dart thrower) which ends in a serpent head. This priest holds in his hands, then, the end result of the ceremony's meaning—maize and meat (from hunting with the dart thrower).

In synthesis, therefore, the man on the ground is invested with both feminine passivity (the bound hands) and masculine activity (the erect phallus), a sort of hermaphrodite similar to the monster of Figure 4, who also has the magic ray to create life. It is most probable that No. 1 will be sacrificed,

and that this ceremony will take place before the planting of the corn. Similar voluntary sacrifices for the benefit of the community were observed as late as the sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

It is quite rare to find the necessities of life—such as food—as the gift implored. Figures 3 and 4 of Chalcatzingo, as well as several sculptures on altars at La Venta, depict the priest presenting the baby Sun God for the same situation. Another example, recently discovered in the state of Veracruz, is that of the priest also presenting the Sun God child, likewise with the slanted cross on his breast.<sup>16</sup>

The last large carving (fig. 2) represents the Sun God within a cave, or symbolically within the earth, holding a two-headed serpent bar, so well known from the Maya region where it is elaborated with sky symbols. Several elements indicate that this sculpture is of a later date than the rest, but the basic ideas have not changed. The House of the Sun of the Underworld is indicated by the crossed bands within an oval over the cave. Here the sun rays confirm that this symbol did have the meaning we have given it. From the interior of the earth the deity sends forth thunder and rain. The thunder is indicated by the scrolls which, in the hieroglyphic language of Middle America, generally mean sound. The rainmakers on the skirts of the volcanoes Iztaccihuatl and Popocatepetl, even in the present day, believe that lightning, thunder, and rain are produced in the caves where they celebrate ceremonies.<sup>17</sup> Rain is represented by three groups of clouds in the upper part of the carving from which lines drop down, and scattered below these clouds are thirteen large "drops" of water, represented with a "chalchihuite," the green stone denoting preciousness. Five large chalchihuites are also seen falling from the sky, to further enhance the holiness of rain water. The glyph of the split hill is shown three times on the outside of the cave, to indicate the caves through which man communicates with the forces of the interior of the earth. From the corners of this large cave sprout maize plants, and, mingled with the rain drops, are two more.

A few more smaller carvings are found in the narrow portion of the ravine of the Split Hill of Chalcatzingo. These are shown in Figures 12 and 13, and Plate 7.

It would be difficult to underestimate the value, both archaeological and artistic, of this old site in the heart of the state of Morelos. Unfortunately, the authorities have not seen fit to guard the area against destructive hands, both official and unofficial, and aside from the molds taken for the museums of Mexico City and Cuernavaca, private individuals have been taking casts for their own use or collections, so that soon it may not be possible to recognize any of the features. It is our hope that this situation will be corrected soon, especially after the recent extensive disturbance of the La Venta site in Tabasco.

## Notes

1. This report was previously published in "México en la Cultura," a dominical section of the Mexico City newspaper Novedades, on February 13, 1966. There only Figures 3 and 4 were published from tracings, while Figures 1 and 5 were drawn free-hand and Figure 2 was taken from Piña Chan's drawing. This was due to the fact that the reductions of the tracings could not be delivered on time. Here, tracings of Figures 1, 2, and 5 are published for the first time. The text has also been revised, and new ideas and interpretations have been added. An abbreviated version of the article was published in English in Mexico, This Month, Vol. XI, No. 9 (March 1966), under the title "Discovery at Chalcatzingo."

2. Cook, Carmen and Don Leonard, Costumbres Mortuorias de los Indios Huaves. El México Antiguo, Vol. VII, Mexico, 1949. The altars of the Huave Indians are divided in three parts. The lower part represents the underworld where the dead are, and the offerings under the table are dedicated to them. The altar proper is on the table, for the Christian saints and people. Over the table is a cover, called "What covers God." From it hang two or three decorated slanted crosses, which are God the Father. It is the same cross that is the basis for the sign Ollin of the Aztec calendar, and 4. Ollin is the birthday of the Sun. It is also the kin sign of the Mayas, where it has the meaning of "day" or "sun."

3. Cook de Leonard, Carmen, "La Escultura." In Esplendor del México Antiguo, Mexico, 1959. The Olmec elements mentioned are found on the Xochicalco pyramid which is dated in the Late Classic, around the year 700 A.D. Of special interest is a dwarfed Olmec figure near one of the corners of the back of the pyramid.

See also Cook de Leonard, Carmen, Calli-Akbal y la Decima Trecena en el Hacha de Yucuquimi. El México Antiguo, Vol. IX, Mexico, 1959. Here several Olmec elements which survive in Aztec time codices are compared.

4. We are thinking of some of the Jaina figurines, sitting on thrones, and the general idea of the holiness of the person as soon as dead, of whom no evil may be spoken. It is also notable that only Mictlantecuhtli, the name of the Sun when in the Underworld, may wear the xiuhuitzolli, or royal crown, as does the God of Dawn, into which he converts himself.

5. Seler, Eduard, Codex Borgia, Berlin, 1904. The identification of the gods are based upon Seler's interpretation of the Borgia Codex, and are therefore considered sufficiently well known that it is not necessary to mark each citation.

6. Fenichel, Otto. "The Scopophilic Instinct and Identification." In The Collected Papers of Otto Fenichel, 1st. ser., New York, 1953. This gives a summary of the psychoanalytical theories in relation to the eye, the idea being the unfortunate fact that each organ of the body has to serve several purposes, and that the eye sees first, before a sexual approach is made.

Leach, Maria (ed.). The Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1949. Under "blinding," the following cases are cited for blinding because of sex crimes: the laws of England at an early period prescribed blinding as a punishment for rape; among the Iroquois, the adulterer was so treated. In Biblical times the vicious Sodomites were blinded. Oedipus put out his own eyes in horror at having committed both murder and incest.

7. Nũnez de la Vega, Fr. Francisco, "Constituciones diocesanas, Rome, 1702." In Eduard Seler, Codex Borgia, Berlin, 1904.

8. Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th ed.), Chicago, 1946. According to this source, the tapir is a large woodland mammal of the order Perissodactyla, with five front and three hind toes, massively built, and with the nose and upper lip produced to form a short flexible trunk. It is shy, solitary, nocturnal, and inoffensive, and exclusively vegetarian. The American species are all nearly uniform dark brown when adult; the young, like those of Tapirus indicus, are spotted and striped with white.

The elements in the Chalcatzingo tapir, to identify it as such, are the specially large head, the form of the ears, and the vegetables in front of him which could be his food. The short legs are also an indication, but unfortunately the toes are not clear, and cannot serve. The elements against this identification are the long tail and probably the snout should be longer.

9. Gay, Carlo T. E., Los Murales de Juxtlahuaca. Life en español, Vol. 29, No. 10 (May 22, 1967).

Gay, Carlo T. E., Oldest Paintings of the New World. Natural History, Vol. LXXVI, No. 4 (April, 1967).

According to the Spanish version, the first thing Gay saw when entering the cave was the red and black serpent. In the Natural History version, the Hall of the Serpent seems to be the last painting to be reached, unless the entrance was at one time through the subterranean lake, or some other way. David Grove informs us that this painting and the others are at different levels. I did not see the Natural History magazine until after

this paper was written. The tapir—which here looks more like a tapir than the one of Chalcatzingo—seems to be clearly identifiable as such. Here the belly of the tapir is red while the upper part is spotted, so that it would be a young one of the species. It is also remarkable that the serpent has a slanted cross in his headdress, which is the black part, while the body is red.

10. Guzmán, Eulalia, "Los relieves de las rocas del Cerro de la Cantera, Jonacatepec, Mor." *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, tomo I, 5a, Epoca, México, 1934. This author was the first to write up the monuments of Chalcatzingo, reporting only on Figures 1 and 2 of the large carvings. Although her drawings are not quite accurate, and rather stiff, it was an incredible feat to draw the two figures on the left of our Figure 1 because they were drawn when it was necessary to crawl into a crevice to see them. These figures were copied by Covarrubias (see note 12) and by Valentín Lopez Gonzalez ("Breve Historia Antigua del Estado de Morelos," Dep. de Turismo y Gobierno del Estado, Cuernavaca, Morelos, 1953).

11. Piña Chan, Román, Chalcatzingo, Morelos, México. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Informe No. 4, Mexico, 1955. During his explorations in Chalcatzingo in 1953, Piña seems to have made a new drawing of the ceremony (our fig. 1) which was later copied by Covarrubias. It is a free-hand drawing, and as such is good, but not sufficiently accurate for interpretation. Some of the differences have been pointed out.

12. Covarrubias, Miguel, *El Arte "Olmeca" o de La Venta*. Cuadernos Americanos Año V, No. 4 (Julio-Agosto), México, 1946.

Covarrubias, Miguel, *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America*. New York, 1957.

In the 1946 edition Covarrubias represents person No. 3 of our Figure 1, copied from Eulalia Guzmán (*op. cit.*), and in 1957 he publishes the complete group, copied from Piña Chan's drawing (*op. cit.*).

13. Gay, Carlo T. E., *Rock Carvings at Chalcatzingo*. *Natural History*, Vol. LXXV (August-September), 1966, New York. Although Gay made his drawings before we did, he published after us. His drawings have some omissions and errors; for example, on the serpent he did not see the man protruding from its fangs, and, without further explanation, he turns Figure 3 over to one side.

14. Ceremonies still exist today in Mexico in which no women participate, and the feminine role is played by a man. Even though it may be a

tradition, it means that there are always some men willing, and maybe eager, to play this part. Transvestitism is known from American Indians, and also in Mexico although not well documented in the literature. A fertility rite in which the sexual act is performed by two men under a cover, one dressed as a woman, has been presented in Tetelcingo, Morelos. The best known example is the man playing the part of the Malinche in the Volador.

Sometimes a tendency of the mother to treat the boy as a girl, dress him thus, and encourage a feminine behavior, will bring about this later inclination, either on special occasions or as a constant behavior. The mother may really only unconsciously want a girl instead of the boy, but outwardly the boy who will assume such a role, in order to participate in some religious ceremony or rite, will bring her and him prestige. Originally the society of men may have created these opportunities by the exclusion of women from certain ceremonies. According to Otto Fenichel ("The Psychology of Transvestitism," in *The Collected Papers of Otto Fenichel*, New York, 1953), identification with women, as a substitute for, or side by side with, love for her, is so plain in the manifest clinical picture that it is regarded as the essence of transvestitism. But the woman with whom the transvestist identifies himself is conceived of by him as phallic, which is the essential feature of the situation.

In Chalcatzingo the ears of the rabbit would assume a phallic symbolism within a feminine element, and would indicate an unconscious castration anxiety, to be avoided by a showing that the feminine symbol—the Moon, represented by the rabbit—is at the same time masculine.

15. Cook de Leonard, Carmen, "Psicodinamía de un Sacrificio en el Siglo XVI." *Revista Mexicana de Psicología*, Vol. II, No. 9, Guadalajara, Jal., 1966. This is an analysis of a ceremony described in 1589 by Juan Suarez de Peralta, probably witnessed as a young boy, in which a group of men celebrate a reunion in a remote house with music and dance. The room is decorated with strongly perfumed flowers and the personal idols of the men. The elders take turns as executioners, and the victim is chosen from a group of candidates who offer themselves to carry messages for the men present to the other world. After a long ceremony, speeches, and presents to the man to be sacrificed, the victim stands up and lifts his left arm, the better to receive the one blow allowed to take his heart out. As he drops down, his heart is placed on the live coals of a brazier, and the men rub the smoke thereof into their faces, arms, and legs. His body is placed in a cave, together with the gifts. After this the cave is walled up, "because he will return by another path."

16. Medellin Zenil, A., *La Escultura de las Limas*. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Boletín No. 21 (September), pp. 5-8, 1965.



17. The rain makers of the caves of the volcanoes Iztaccihuatl and Popocatepetl make a difference between a "lightning flash" (centella) and "a striking lightning" (rayo). Centella is air with water, which comes out of the caves when it thunders. When it strikes a person, it marks the body with stripes, while the lightning splits the body. The Centella has an altar dedicated to it, and is personified. This is described in Carmen Cook de Leonard, "Roberto Weitlaner y los Graniceros," in Summa Anthropologica en homenaje a Roberto J. Weitlaner, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico, 1966.

Certain sicknesses are brought about by the rayo, such as the gout, when they say "you have rayo," and the pains are compared to hail. To be able to "receive thunder and lightning" without dying is to have a calling from heaven, and to be endowed with the gift of controlling the weather and curing other people. Bad weather and tempests are produced when bad people throw eggs (which have been used for curing and therefore contain the sickness of the person) into the cave, and the rain makers have to go and look into the caves to keep them clean.

When the centella kills, it makes a small hole in the head; if the rain makers can call the person back to life, he is considered born again and to have a calling from Heaven.

#### Explanation of Illustrations

Drawings by Osvaldo Barra Cunningham

- Figure 1. Fertility Ceremony with four priests participating; the one on the right will probably be sacrificed in order to gain entrance to the land of the Dead, the Underworld, as a representative of the Sun of Darkness. Dimensions: 1.62 m high, 3.2 m. wide.
- Figure 2. In the Underworld, in the House of the Sun of Darkness, the deity holds a two-headed serpent bar, symbol of the birth of twins and of fertility. He possibly wore a mask. He produces thunder and rain. Dimensions: 2.71 m high, 3.1 m wide.
- Figure 3. The Sun of Darkness, as a divine jaguar, captures the flame of light from the Eagle Dancer. The repetition of the group, diagonally placed, indicates the direction towards the Underworld taken by the dancing figures, as the sun sets. Dimensions: 2.57 m high, 2.03 m wide.

- Figure 4. Light is reborn, conceived by the Blue Fire Serpent. The one being born is the same Light deity, the Eagle Dancer, that was devoured in Figure 3. Dimensions: 1.29 m high, 3.86 m long.
- Figure 5. The tapir in the Serpent House guarding the entrance to the House of Darkness. The tapir was produced by the breath of the Jaguar God. Dimensions: 2.80 m high, 2.38 m wide.
- Figure 6. Brazilian tapir. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 21, 806, 1946.
- Figure 7. Tezcatlipoca as a lunar god is born in the West at the Tenth Hour of the day. The cipactli, a mythical animal, tears off one of his legs, symbolizing the incomplete new moon. Codex Vaticanus B. (After Seler, 1902/3.)
- Figure 8. The Jaguar is conquered by the god of Dawn, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli. Codex Vaticanus B.
- Figure 9. Different types of openings in heads or headdresses symbolizing the Split Hill. Above: nephrite breast plate (National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico); below, left to right: jadeite axe from the Mixteca, Oaxaca (National Museum); green stone (U.S. National Museum, Washington); jadeite axe (American Museum of Natural History). (After Miguel Covarrubias.)
- Figure 10. The Split Hill in the House of the North. MS 20 of the Aubin-Goupil Collection. (After Seler.)
- Figure 11. Sedentary figure, whereabouts unknown. (After Eulalia Guzmán, 1934.)
- Figure 12. A pumpkin sprout near Figure 2. Dimensions: 1.27 m long, 51 cm wide.
- Figure 13. Rock paintings within the ravine, in red. It cannot be determined whether these belong to the Olmec culture.

## Photos by Carmen Cook de Leonard

- Plate 1. The Split Hill of Chalcatzingo as seen from the distance.
- Plate 2. Photograph of Figure 3 before chalking. It will be noted that the head of the upper human figure resembles the head of an eagle looking toward the right.
- Plate 3. Painter Barra chalking in the jaguar in the upper group of figures in Figure 3.
- Plate 4. Lower part of Figure 3 chalked in.
- Plate 5. Detail of the great serpent, of which the head is seen; the young Sun God is being reborn with arms uplifted.
- Plate 6. Photograph of Figure 5. The tapir in the Serpent House.
- Plate 7. Small carving near Figure 2, described by Eulalia Guzmán as a rabbit, but considered by the people to be a fish. The eyes are reminiscent of the ceremonial bar held by Figure 2; and the tears, of the raindrops in the same figure.
- Plate 8. Marker which stood in the streets of Chalcatzingo in 1945, but which has since disappeared. About 70 cm high.

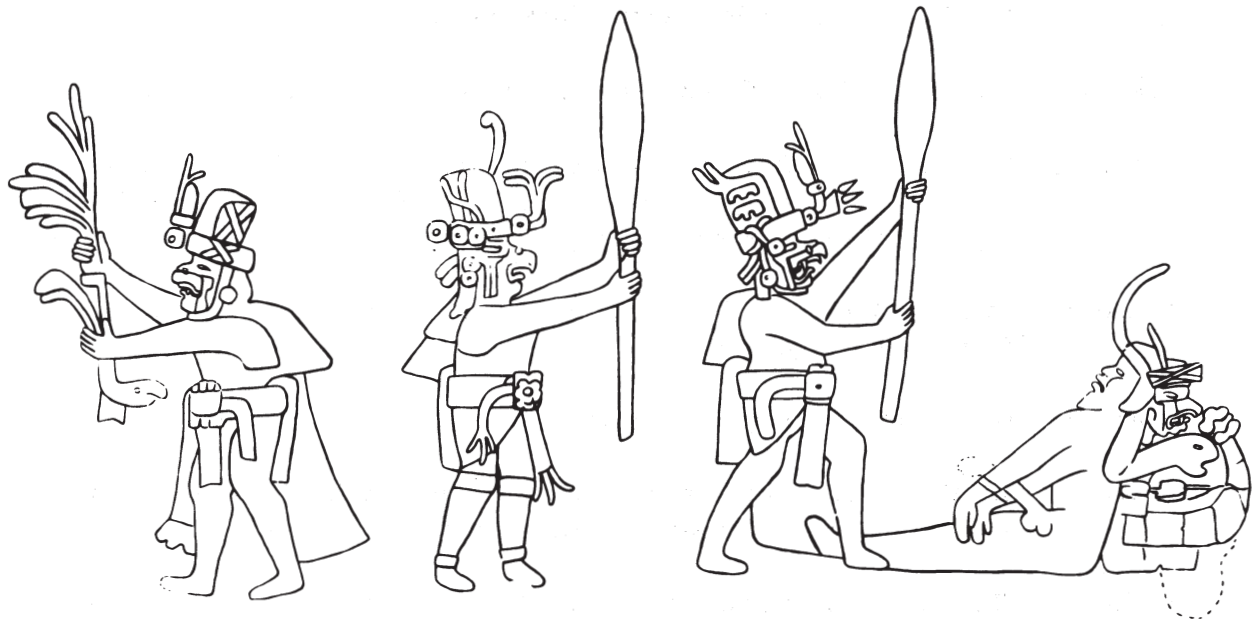


Figure 1

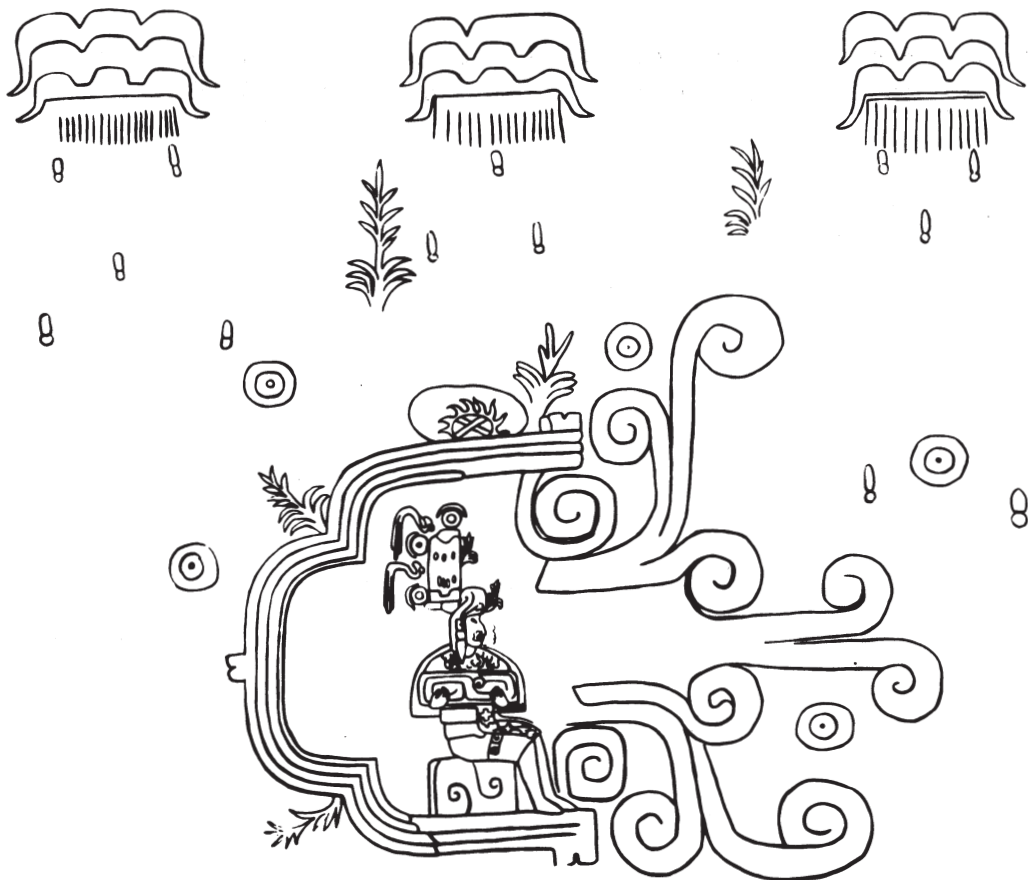


Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4

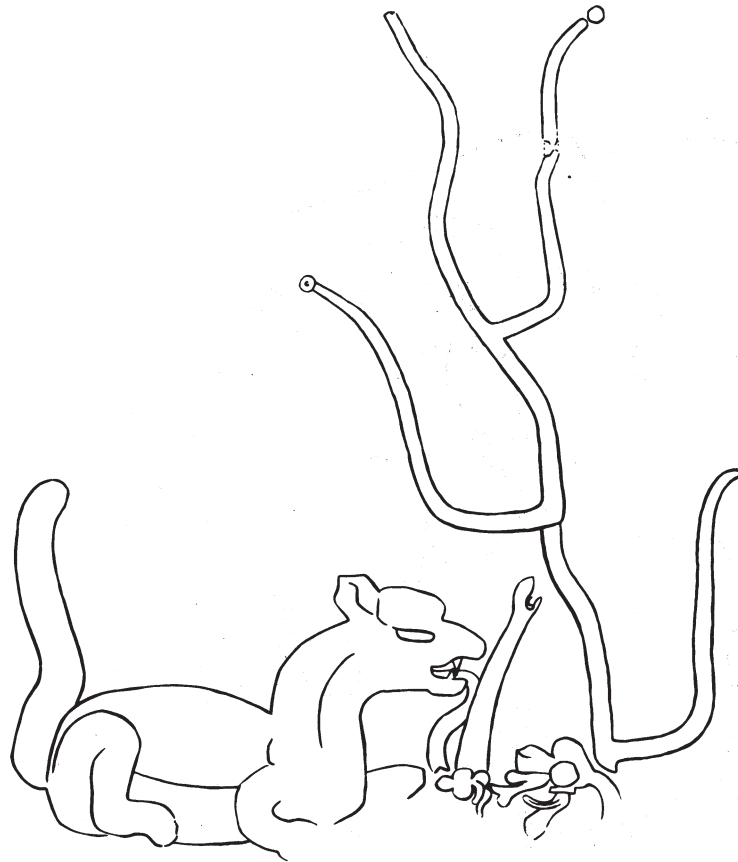


Figure 5

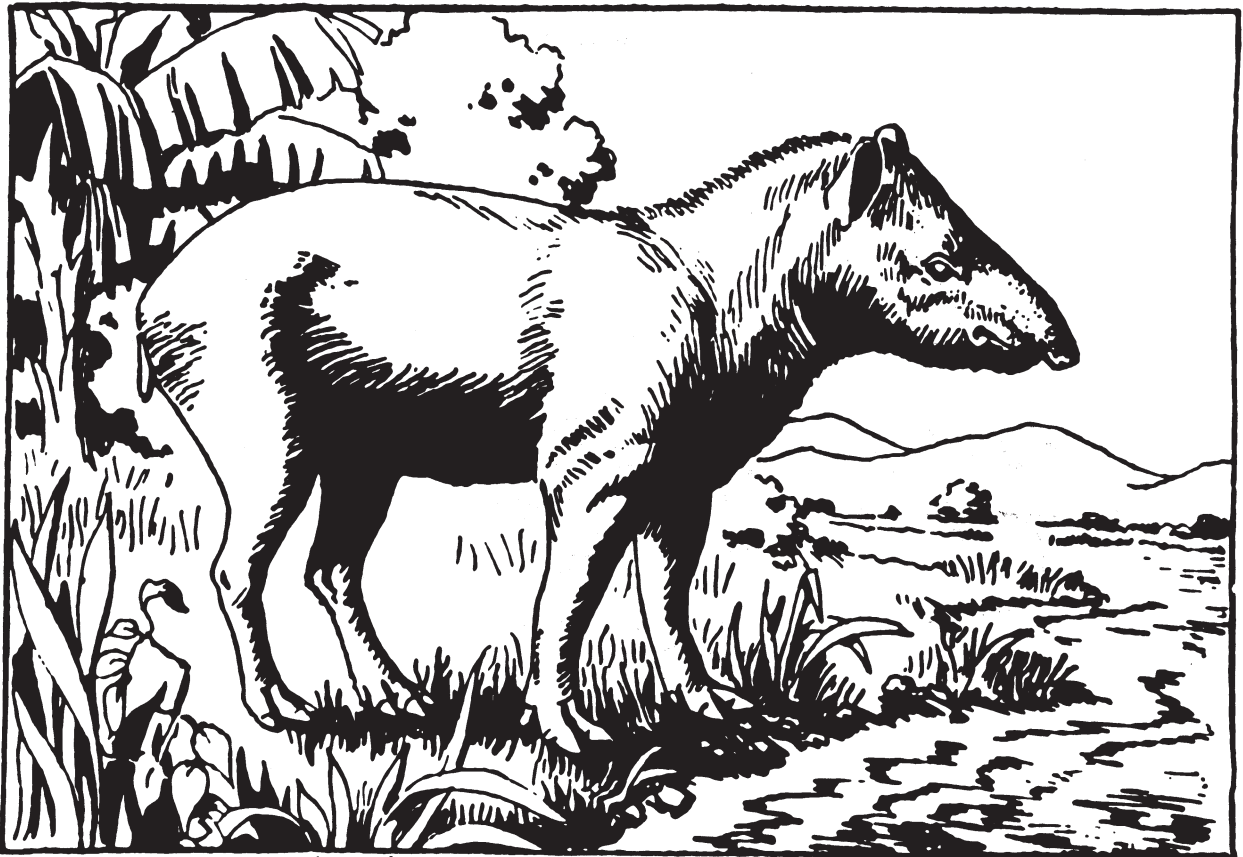


Figure 6

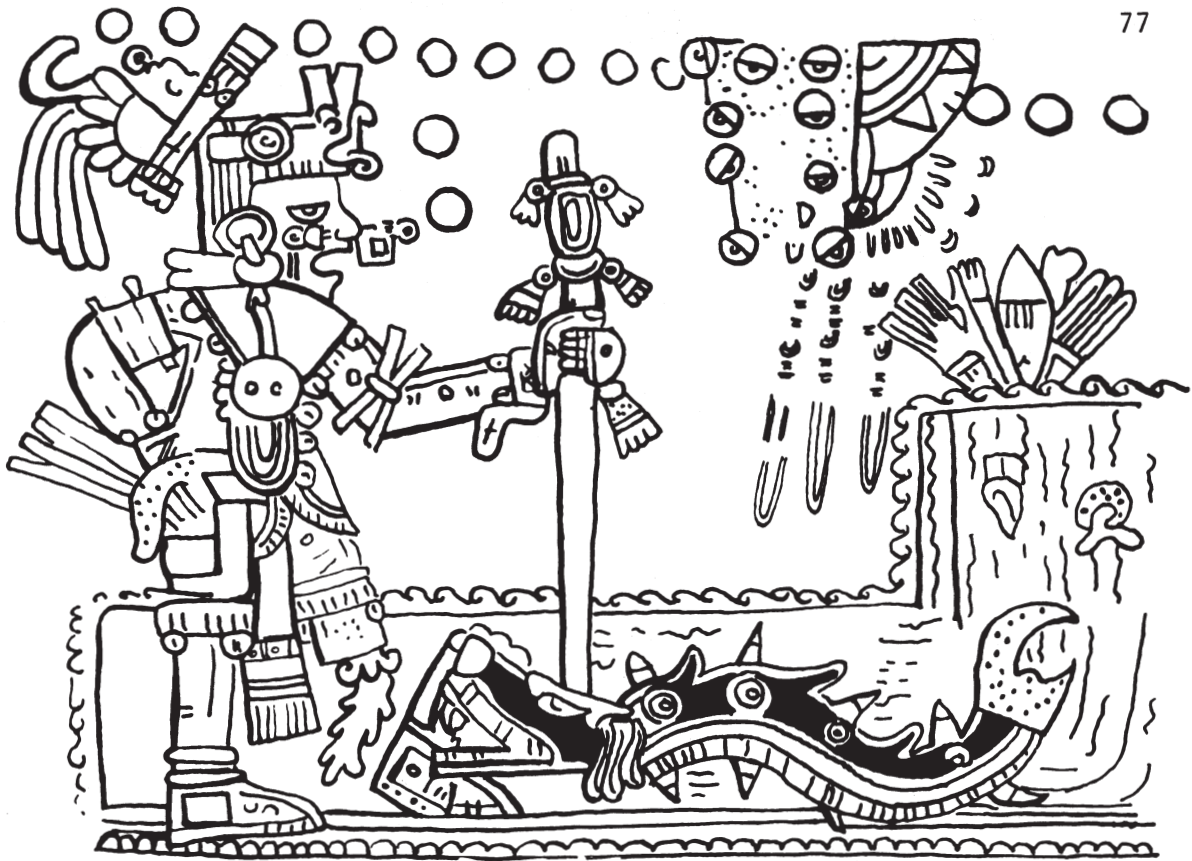


Figure 7



Figure 8

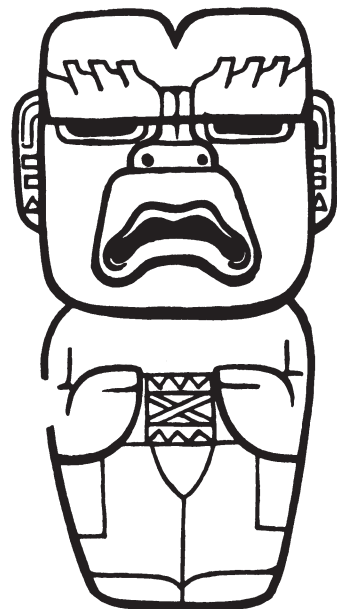
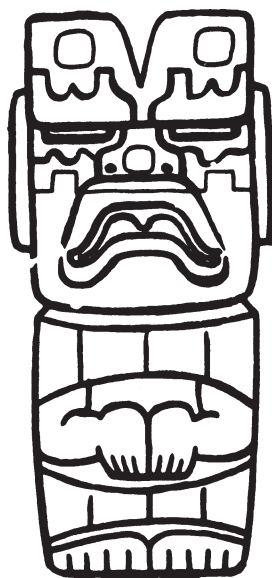
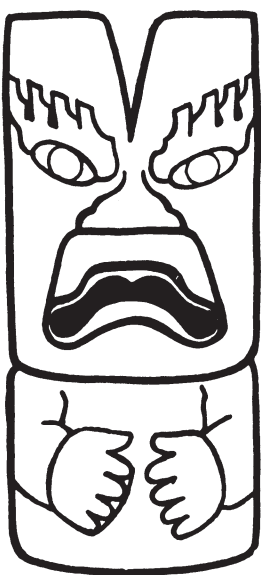


Figure 9



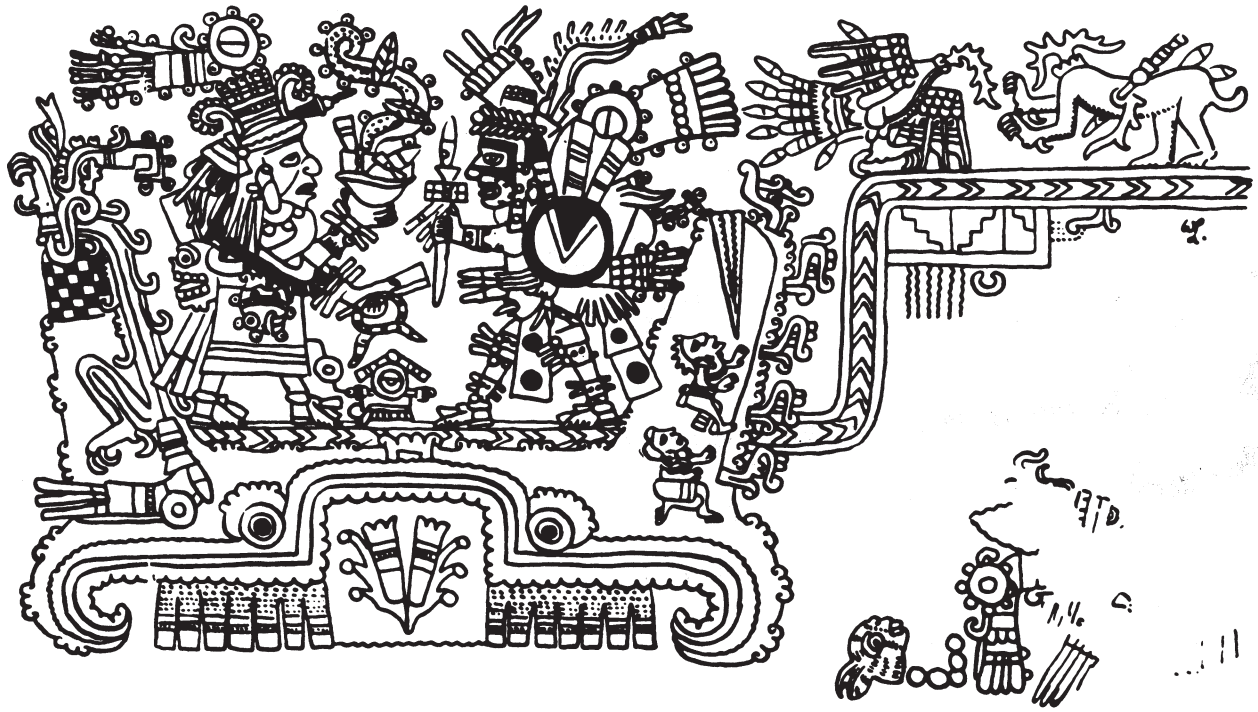


Figure 10

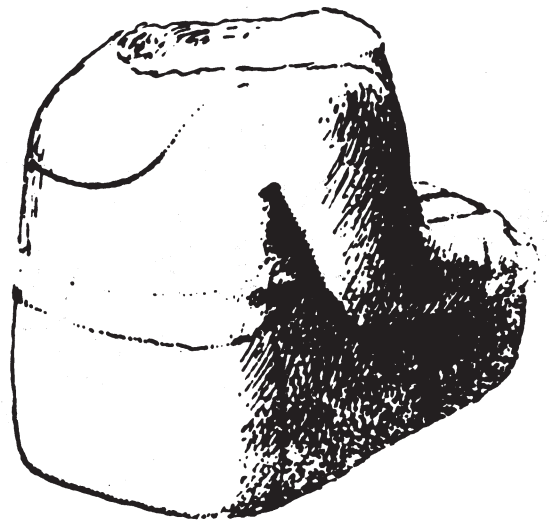
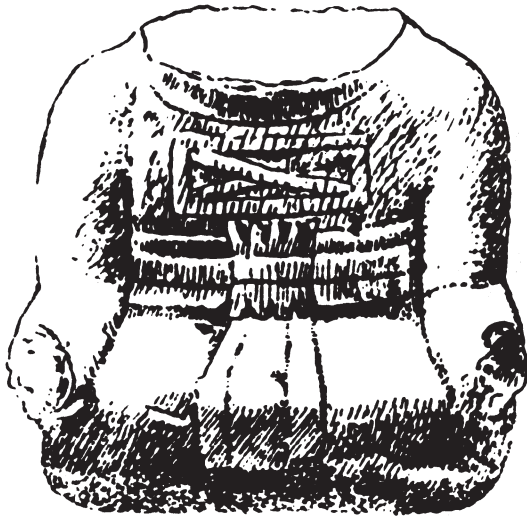


Figure 11

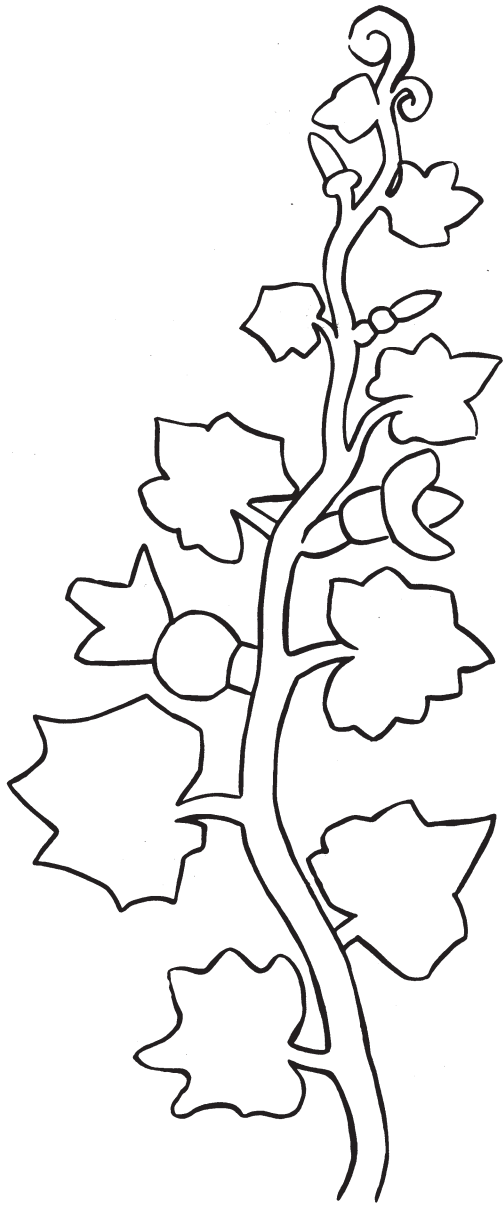


Figure 12



Figure 13

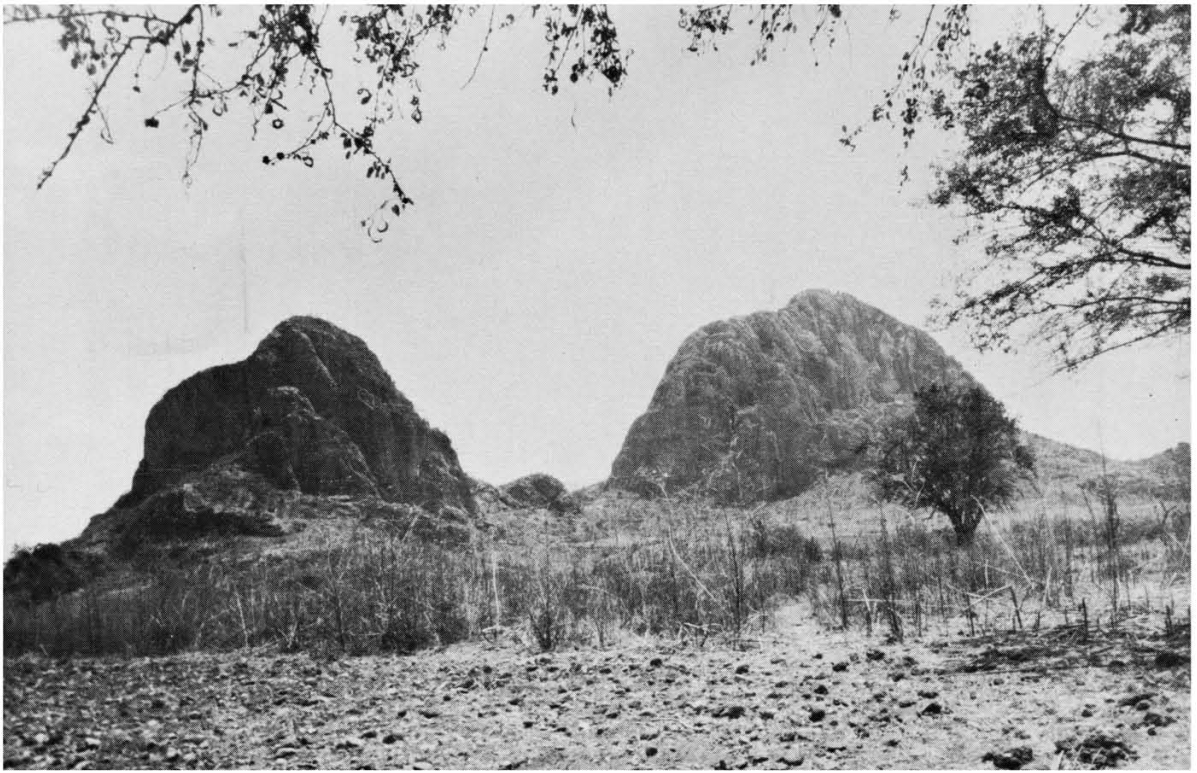


Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3

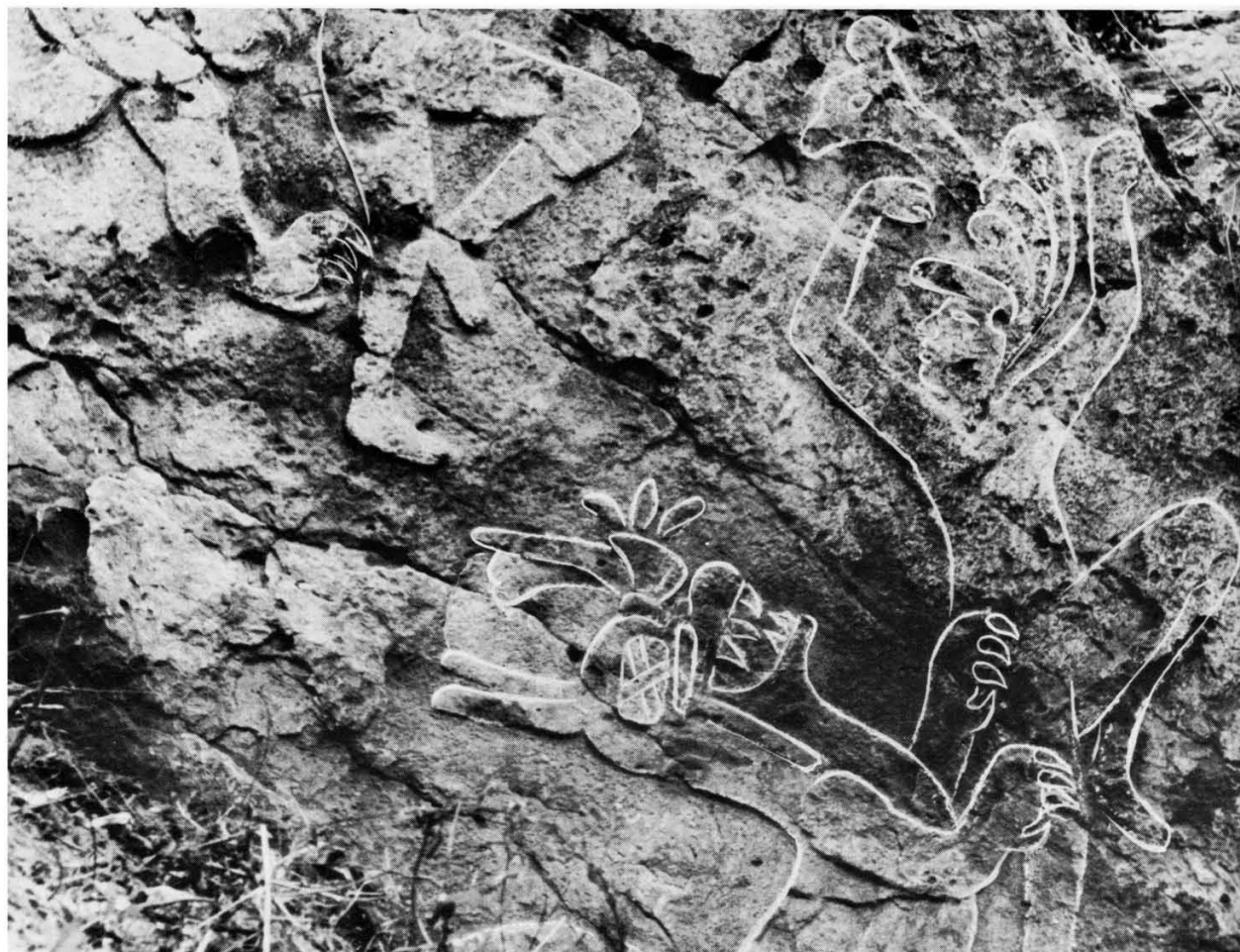


Plate 4

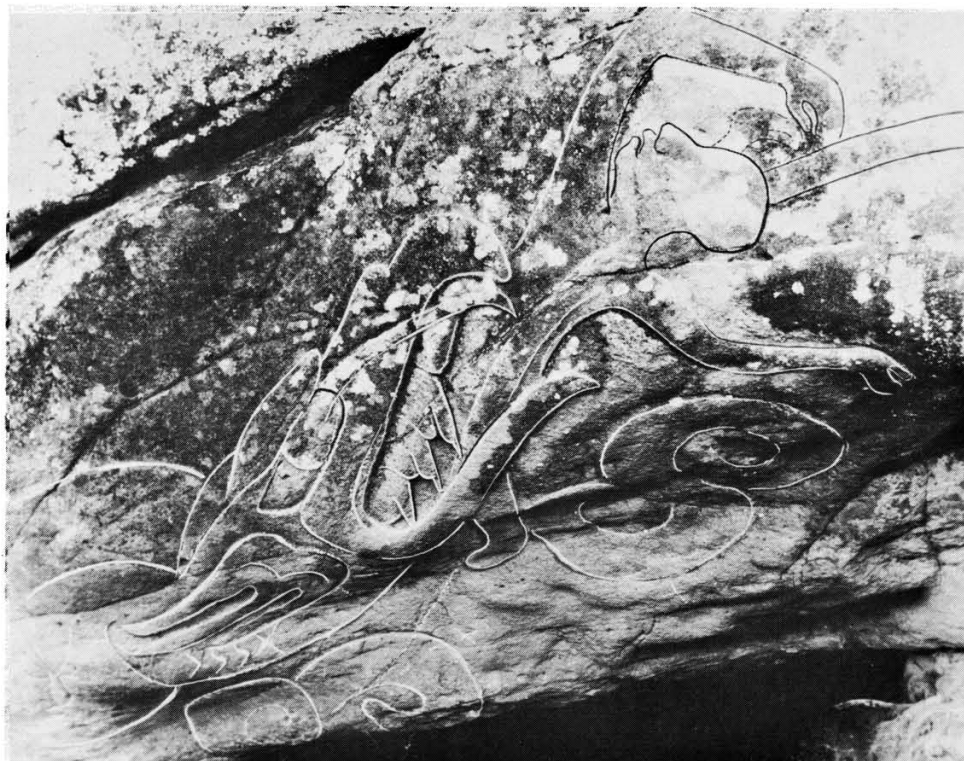


Plate 5



Plate 6



Plate 7

Plate 8

