

---

# Eclecticism at Cacaxtla

GEORGE KUBLER

Among many surprises offered by the murals at Cacaxtla, one is their mixture of elements from the styles of figural art at Teotihuacán, Xochicalco, the Gulf coast, Oaxaca, and the southern Maya lowlands. They are all dated as being from periods before and after the era of the "collapse" of Mesoamerican societies, occurring during the period 750 to 900 (after Christ).

There are two groups of murals in the portico (Building II-1) and on the substructure at Building B. Diana López de Molina separates the portico murals from those of the substructure (1976: 5–6) as being of slightly later date, without however providing proofs other than the differences in subject matter between the commemorative character of the portico and the record of a battle on the substructure.

Another argument for the approximate contemporaneity of the murals is that the two buildings have identical vertical exterior wall profiles, decorated in the upper section with recessed rectangular panels between uprights, in varying depths of relief. These paneled wall treatments are at present peculiar to Cacaxtla, although a roughly similar laminated paneling is known on the terrace faces of Building B at Tula. The vertical wall profile, on the other hand, appears at Mitla (Church and Arroyo groups).

The portico building, moreover, resembles the dynastic temple structures at Palenque more than any highland designs. The other building, above the battle murals, is comparable to rectangular chambers, entered by three doors in the long façade, which are common in the Maya lowlands.

R. Abascal and others have assigned the paintings to 600–750, interpreting them as occurring during a "migration period" like that of western Europe following the fall of the Roman Empire,

which they compare to the eclipse of the power of Teotihuacán (1976: 47–49). This opinion was first expressed more hesitantly by Pedro Armillas (1946: 145), who also defined the strategic importance of the mountaintop siting of Cacaxtla and described its defensive moats as directed against attack from the south (p. 142). Armillas also compared Cacaxtla to Monte Albán in Oaxaca.

Marta Foncerrada de Molina (1978a: 92) prefers to date the murals as of the period from 700 to 900. Certainly the presence of glyphic forms in both groups, resembling those of Xochicalco, favors her placement in the period of two centuries she calls "Epiclassic," following W. Jiménez Moreno (1959, 2: 1072–1073).

The sixteenth-century historian of Tlaxcala, Diego Muñoz Camargo (1528/9 to ca. 1599; see Gibson 1950: 199–200), visited and measured Cacaxtla (1892: 22). He says that the ruination of the site by floods (*avenidas de aguas*) had occurred more than 360 years before the time he measured its earthworks at the end of the sixteenth century, or before about A.D. 1250. These earthworks and moats may belong to the Cacaxtla phase (Abascal et al. 1976: 52), from A.D. 600 to 850, when the Xochiteca-Cacaxtla complex was reoccupied and fortified.

It is not unlikely on internal evidence that the murals of both groups were painted during a brief period, without much pause between the substructure and the portico. In addition, the freshness of their condition on excavation, nearly intact except for exposure in places, suggests that their burial under new construction occurred not long after they were painted. The principal marks of ancient wear appear at the door jambs, where repairs were made. The same area of the north jamb shows pentimenti, where various parts of the original drawing were redrawn in a final form.

The ethnohistorical identification of the builders of Cacaxtla as the Olmeca-Xicalanca peoples was first made before 1600 by Muñoz Camargo, followed by Torquemada. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl placed them as coming by sea from the east to Tabasco at Potonchan in the third creation (1891, 1: 19–20), whence they eventually appeared in the Valley of Puebla, according to him, near the Atoyac River. W. Jiménez Moreno (1959, 2: 1072–1073) identified Potonchan with Chontal-Maya territory in Tabasco, and he regarded the Olmeca-Xicalanca as emigrants from Copán whose travels to the northwest were part of the “collapse” of lowland Maya civilization in the tenth century. Much earlier, Jiménez Moreno (1942: 113–145) proposed the homeland of the Olmeca-Xicalanca as the Gulf coast, from Boca del Río in Veracruz, to Xicalanca near Ciudad del Carmen in Tabasco, during its domination by Maya influence after the eighth century (p. 127). The Maya traits in the style of the murals of Cacaxtla support Ixtlilxochitl’s remarks as well as the interpretation of them by Jiménez Moreno.

Foncerrada de Molina has referred to the Cacaxtla murals as displaying “eclecticism and syncretism,” without further discussion (1977c: 13). These concepts, which both have been important in Occidental thought since classical antiquity, need to be examined more closely for their relevance to Mesoamerican art and history. First, however, it is necessary to describe the murals before discussing their relation to other eclectic and syncretic phenomena.

### The Wall Paintings Described

The murals at Cacaxtla form an integral context that came into being as a single unit of form and meaning held together by the recurrence of similar figures and glyphs. This holistic character distinguishes it from other archaeological entities, such as the contents of a tomb, which are often assembled from among discarded objects of daily use and heirlooms and are not intended to be perceived as coherently designed collections, conveying a specific message. The contents of most tombs cannot be considered as examples of eclectic taste, because of the absence from their arrangement of clearly defined choices.

*The portico.* In Building II-1, which resembles in plan (fig. 1) a Maya lowland dynastic temple, four mural panels stand nearly complete in the portico. They flank the central doorway opening to the west from an inner chamber bearing illegible re-

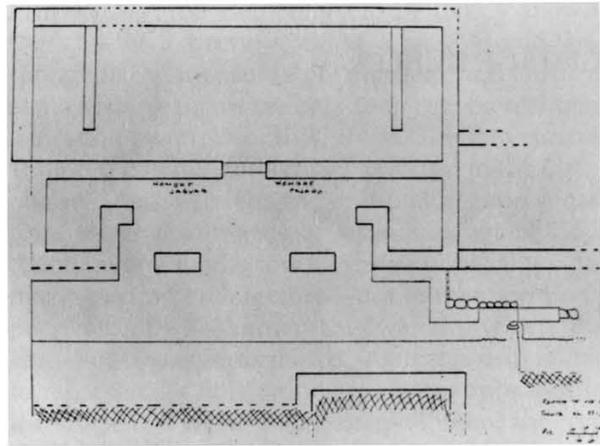


Fig. 1. Plan of Building II-1

mains of other murals. At the doorway the north and south jambs bear human figures looking westward. Each is like an acolyte to the adjoining cult figure on the wall panel beyond the jamb. The combination of each jamb and panel resembles a Maya vessel painted with principal and attendant figures (fig. 2; see color section).

The north panel (fig. 3) portrays a winged human in jaguar costume, standing on the back of a serpent-jaguar within a Teotihuacano-style frame of aquatic creatures (mollusks, turtles, serpents, crustaceans) among slanting waves. The adjoining jamb (fig. 4) bears another man in jaguar costume, from whose abdomen a flowering corn plant sprouts, bending downward, and recalling the intestines of the disemboweled warriors in the battle mural on the adjoining substructure. The same watery frame as on the panel marks the jamb base, but the apotheosized jaguar-warrior, who spills beneficial water from a vessel carried on his right arm, stands in front of the frame and outside it, with his jaguar feet on the groundline, bearing also one of the water snakes portrayed on the frame in his left hand.

The south doorjamb (fig. 5) bears another dancer, leaping upward in front of and outside the frame. Behind him his immense hairdress falls in jeweled strands, recalling at the head the emblem glyph of Tikal. He too wears black body paint, as in Classic Maya vase painting (Grieder 1964). Under his right arm a large conch like those in the watery frames contains a dwarflike human, richly jeweled, with a great mane of hair.

The south panel (fig. 6) shows another winged human wearing black body paint and a bird hel-

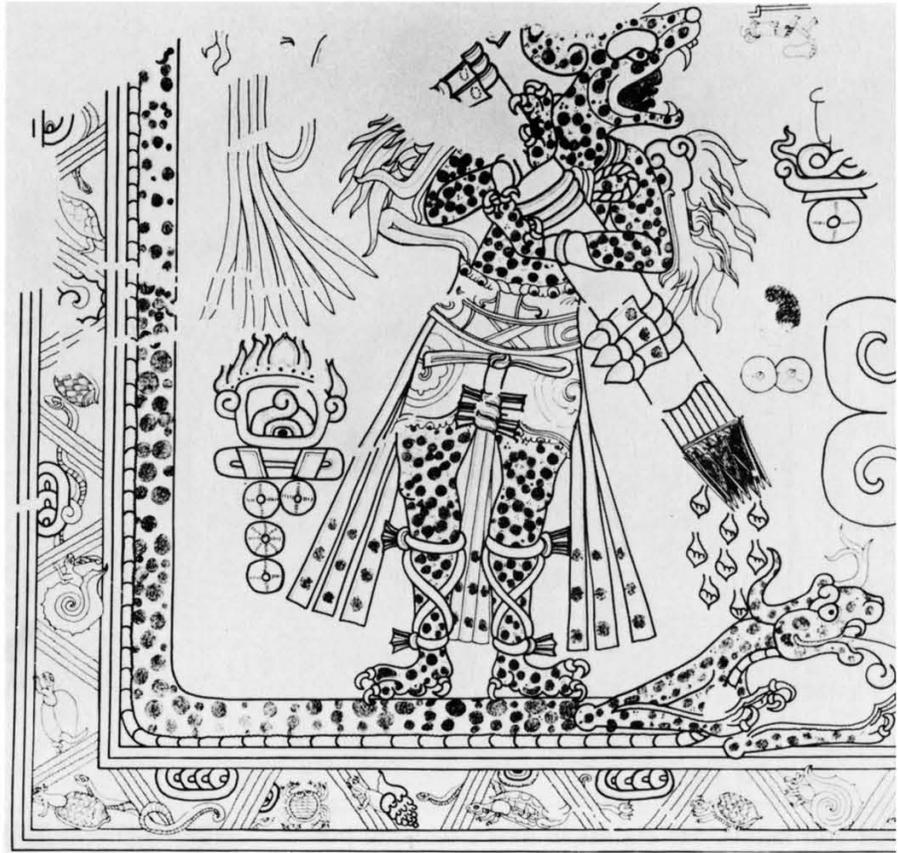


Fig. 3. North wall panel



Fig. 4. North doorjamb



Fig. 5. South doorjamb

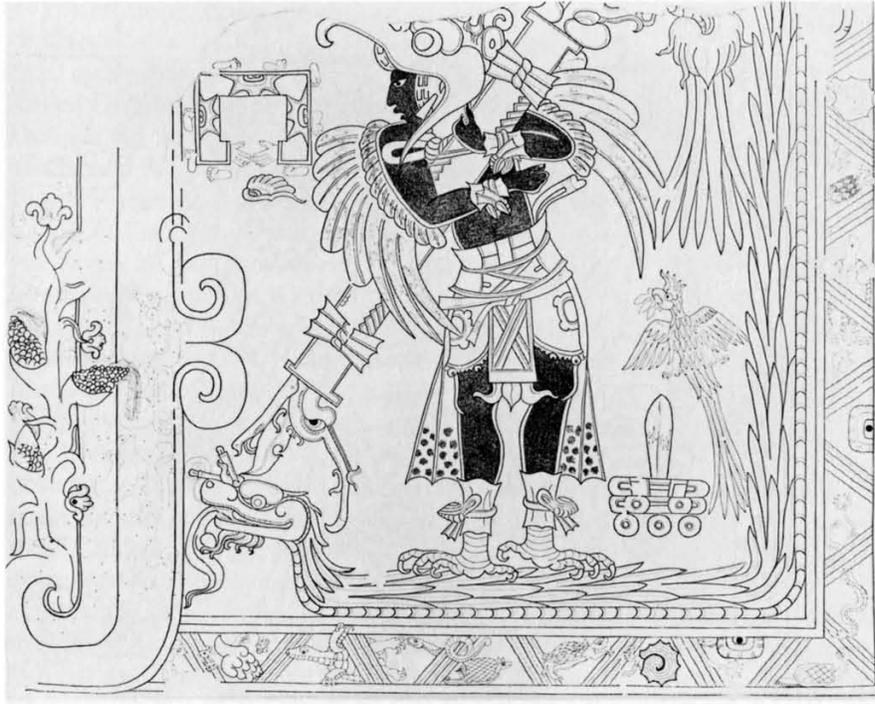


Fig. 6. South wall panel

met and talons. He stands in Maya dancing posture on a feathered serpent within a panel which was nearly square (perhaps H:W = 9:10, before ancient destruction of the upper wall). The watery frame repeats the marine fauna with variations. But the looters in 1975 destroyed the openwork stucco incrustation. This still adorns the north panel, revealing the original painted doorway frame, which depicted cascades or scrolls bearing upright corn plant forms with four ripe ears. This part of the doorway mural probably continued over the lintel in a lost mask design of Teotihuacano style that would have completed the watery frames of the north and south panels.

Other associations for these framed wall panels are at Palenque, where figures on the Palace pier reliefs stand on sky-serpent bodies. The red stucco overlay at the northwest doorway corner (and its lost pendant facing it) is carved in a manner recalling both Tajín stonework with double-outline scrolls and Pabellón modeled pottery from the southwest Maya lowlands.

The sole surviving figure of this door pair is seated like a ruler on the lintels at Tikal (Kubler 1973: fig. 1), but in the posture with foot on knee (fig. 7) seen at Tajín (Kampen 1972: 21). The Cacaxtla stucco figure sits on serpent-mask forms, wearing a serpent-helmet like that of the north



Fig. 7. Tajín, south ballcourt

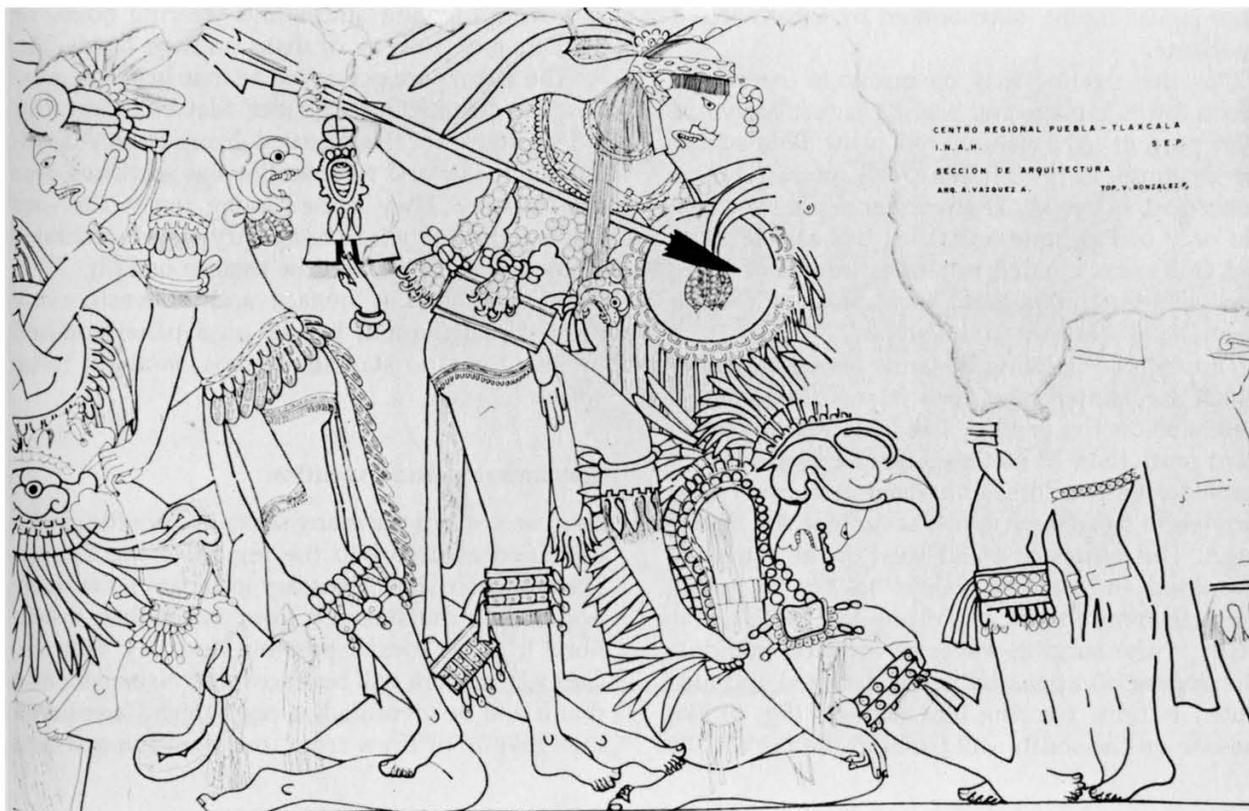


Fig. 8. Building B, talus, defeated warrior

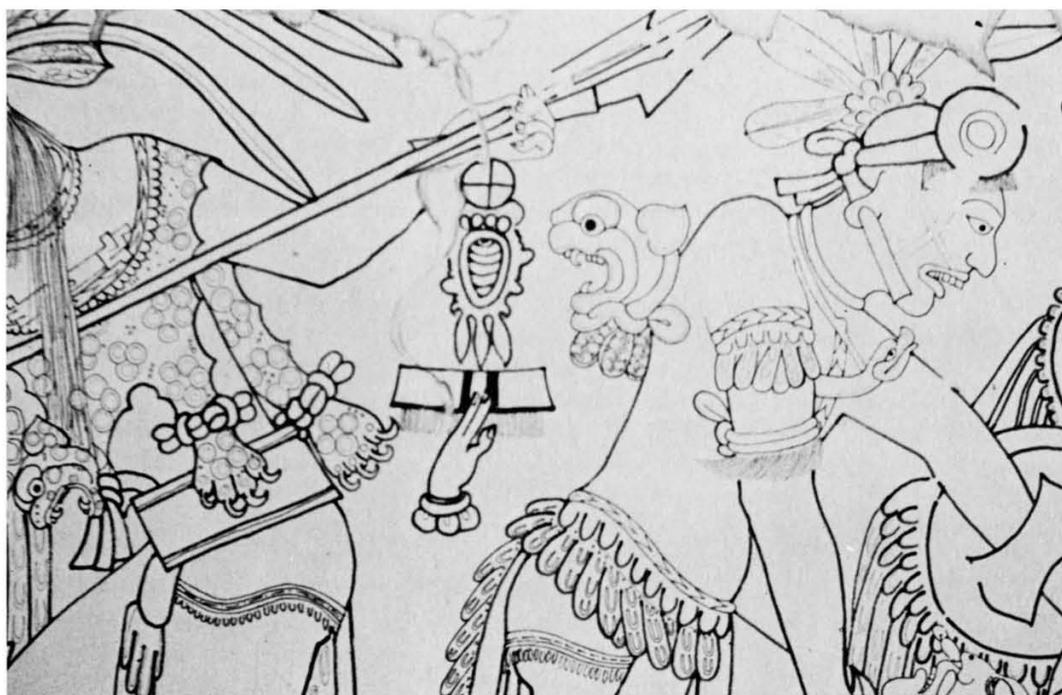


Fig. 9. Building B, talus, victorious warrior

jamb jaguar figure, surmounted by a bat-winged surcharge.

This rich overlay may be meant to insert, between the cult image and priestly jaguar-acolyte, a ruler portrait. At Palenque red paint denoted living creatures in the Middle (real) world (Greene Robertson, in press). The references are evocative not only of Palenque and Tikal but also of Tajín and Gulf coast molded wares, as well as of Teotihuacán in the framing and Xochicalco and Oaxaca (central and western) in the glyphs.

*The platform.* Building B stands on a platform of which the painted talus rises from a floor some 2 meters below the portico. The talus extends westward more than 20 meters. Life-size battle scenes painted in eight colors flank a central stairway with forty-eight figures, of which seventeen are nearly intact. The scenes east and west of the stairs are composed of combats mortal to the defeated, strangely reminiscent of Pollaiuolo's *Battle of the Nudes* in the surging waves of arrested motions. The opponents appear either as defeated and mutilated victims, wearing bird helmets (fig. 8) like the one on the south wall panel in the portico, or

as victors carrying lances and wearing bows, or feathers and flowers, or disks on their heads (fig. 9). The victors are portrayed as maniacally aggressive; the defeated have gentler, Maya-like features.

Two figures of the defeated group quietly dominate both east and west sections as sacrifices near the stairway. They alone among the victims are still standing. Their rich tapestry-weave costumes are nearly identical, but the eastern one (fig. 10) is shown wounded in the face, and the western one (fig. 11), with bound hands, on a panel outlined by Teotihuacano starfish designs, is about to be speared.

### Transmission and Execution

Because none of the many styles at Cacaxtla can be identified as native to the region of the Puebla-Tlaxcala basin, it is necessary to separate the question of their transmission from that of their execution. It is of course possible any day that the Cacaxtla mixture will be discovered elsewhere and that it will be identified as one which Cacaxtla either gave to or drew from, but then the question

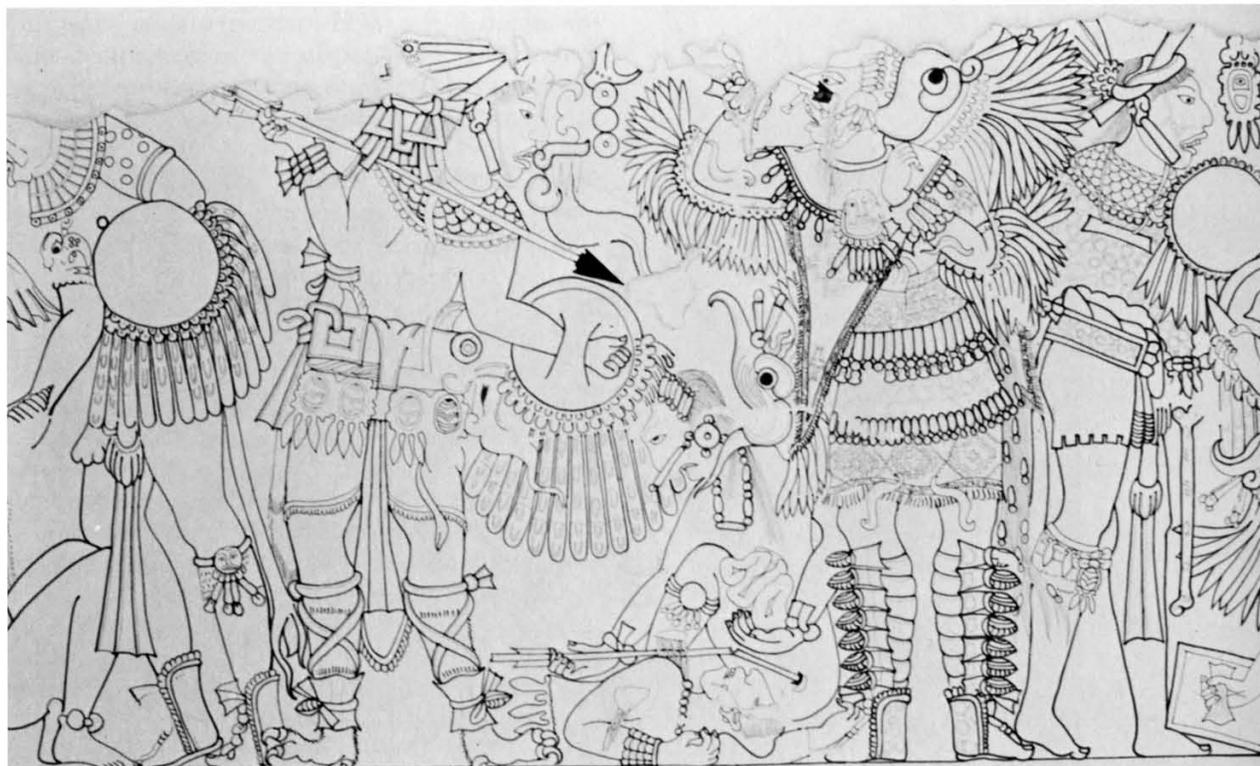


Fig. 10. Principal standing victim, east section

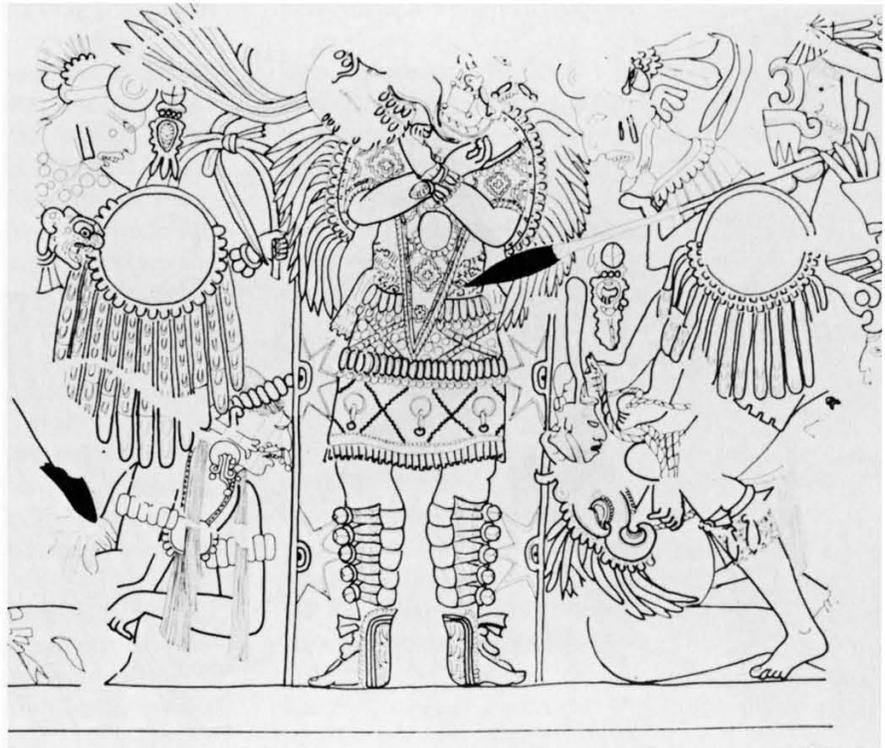


Fig. 11. Principal standing victim, west section

about the newer site's origins would still remain unsettled and in need of study.

As to Cacaxtla itself, nothing has as yet been surmised in public about the problems of transmission and execution in these murals. It is still unclear whether a local style is present or whether there are different local manners of different periods by different painters. All we know is that the wall panels resemble Maya commemorative scenes like those at Palenque, Yaxchilan, or Tikal. But the frames resemble painted murals at Teotihuacán. The doorjambs connect with Maya pottery painting of Late Classic date, as on the Altar de Sacrificios vase. The battle scene is related to similar scenes (of less gory aspect) at Bonampak and Mulchic. The red stucco overlay surrounding the doorway is like the Gulf coast scrollwork patterns of Classic Veracruz associations, and their redness recalls figures represented as alive at Palenque.

Several other observations also seem unassailable. Certain exaggerations are striking: the ceremonial bars held diagonally in the panels (figs. 3 and 6) are larger than usual in the Maya corpus (Chinikiha Stela 1 and the Yaxchilan ballcourt marker are comparable; see Greene, Rands, and Graham 1972). The floating glyphs (fig. 3) in these

panels recall those of the sarcophagus lid and tablets at Palenque, but they too are much larger than in Maya usage, and they resemble more closely the custom at Xochicalco.

Absences are also noteworthy: nowhere is there a Maya glyphic inscription, unless in the head of the north panel jaguar-serpent (fig. 3), resembling the lily-jaguar glyph (T751b, Thompson 1962: 336), or the south jamb headdress (fig. 5), resembling the Tikal Emblem Glyph (T569, Thompson 1962: 194).

In addition it is to be repeated that both sets of murals, in the portico and on the talus, share the presence of Teotihuacano motifs and Classic Maya figural designs, as on the lintels at Tikal (Kubler 1973: fig. 1). This fact establishes a tightly knit unity in the program as intended by its designers. Yet probably only a fraction of the whole program of decoration has survived or been excavated. The exposed designs nevertheless reveal at least eight distinct manners: the panel figures; the panel frames; two or three kinds of glyphic signs (Teotihuacano, Xochicalco, Oaxacan); the jamb murals; the stucco relief overlay; and the battle scenes (which may present at least four different hands).

*Transmission.* How to explain such variety is not

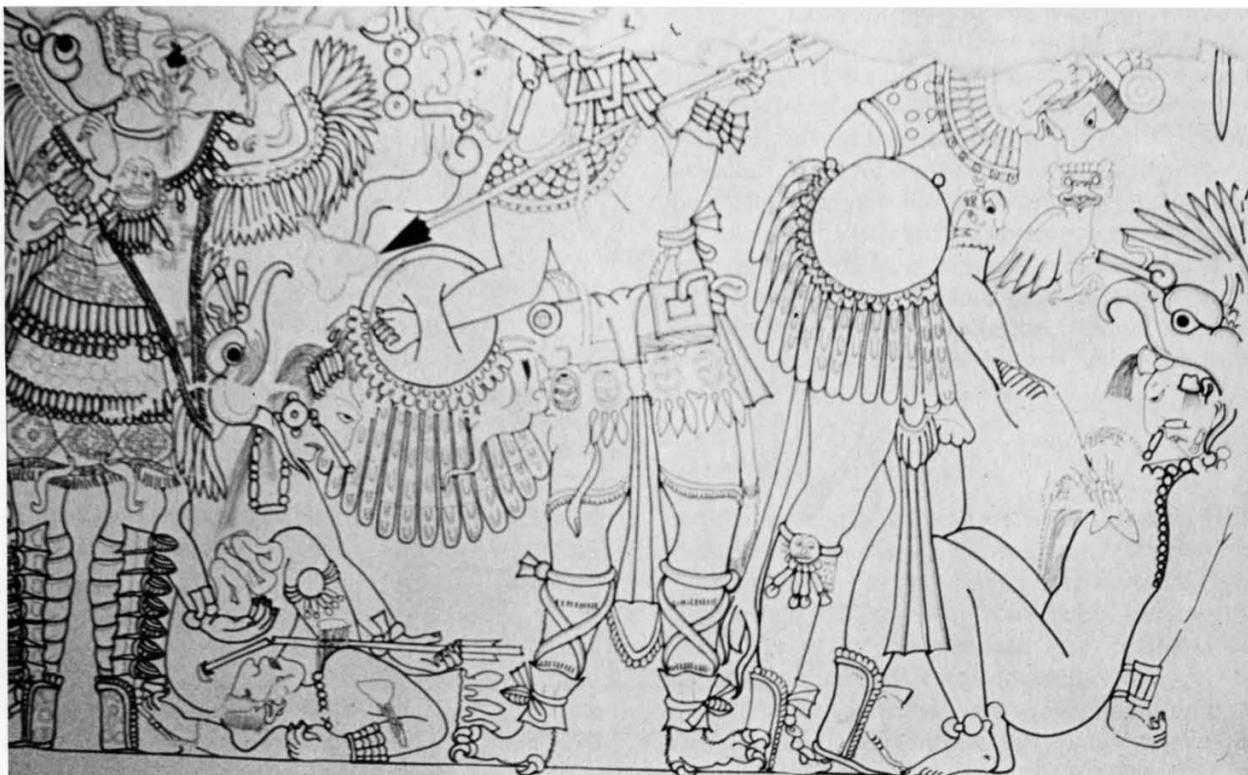


Fig. 12. Building B, talus, east section, near stair, drawing of wounds

easy: local artists using portable drawings? Migrants or captive painters? Painters accompanying trading parties or diplomatic missions? Proof for any of these guesses is lacking, but we can at least narrow the field by considering the painters in the context of the eclectic choices their works manifest (see the next section).

Nor can it easily be proven that the whole scheme of Cacaxtla was the work of only one designer, without presupposing that such a person had a collection of notes and sketches or drawings, assembled during extensive travels or from visiting artists, from which to extract the various components of the Cacaxtla designs.

Archaeologically, no portable sheet drawings or manuscripts on paper or hide are known of any date earlier than the thirteenth century. Until such older documents come to light, the evidence is limited to the use of designs incised or painted on bone, shell, pottery, wood, or small stones, as the vehicles of transmission we are discussing.

*Execution.* In the absence during excavation of photography suitable for art-historical study, it is not possible to comment in detail on the painters'

techniques. Having visited the site, however, I can set down a few observations on individual, or personal, differences in drawing and composition.

There is no visible evidence that more than one painter executed the doorway murals, in which the linear quality and variety are identical on jambs and panels.

At least four hands can be distinguished in the battle scenes, two of them on each side of the central stairway. The east end is marked by a vertical frame painted in red, blue, and tan stripes. The west end is undetermined. Both ends, east and west, are poorly preserved. The most intact portions adjoin the stairs. The least skillful work is at the extreme ends, and the finest drawings are near the stairs. To the east are the most vigorous and gory passages. To the west of the stairs are the most sensitive drawings, resembling more closely than the others the figural style of the portico murals.

At Cacaxtla the murals all were begun as drawings brushed in outlines with various pigments, mainly black or reddish brown, in many different widths of line, thicker for large forms and thinner

for small ones, but each line is of unvarying width throughout its length. The line never swells or tapers to suggest roundness or modeling in depth.

In the easternmost part of the battle scene, however, different hands are apparent. White outlining is used on a blue ground, and fine detailing is less abundant than elsewhere. Moving on westward, small white accents carry the eye from figure to figure, while the blue ground between the warriors makes a background pattern among the shapes left between the bodies of the fighting figures.

Approaching the staircase, the figures are more expertly drawn than at the end, and the surface pattern of the bodies is carried by narrow white sashes worn by the life-size victorious figures. These sashes (which resemble those worn on the portico panels) draw the eye to the body wounds of the fallen victims.

At the stairway end of the east wall (fig. 12), the bodies are drawn in black outlines with an anatomically sure hand that differs greatly from the ceremonial conventionality of the doorway murals. Two thicknesses of line are used, strongest for weapons and delineations of parts of costumes but finer for flesh outlines. Extruded bowels are stippled with red inside the strong and accurate outlines reserved also for parts of costumes. Wounds on arms and thighs are outlined in white with fine striations of blood shown as dripping in clots. White garments and sashes carry the surface pattern.

The principal figure in the east section (fig. 10) is represented in full frontal aspect, as receiving a face wound in an attack that jars his rich and heavy chest cloth out of place. This costume, including the suggestion of wings, closely resembles that of the principal figures in the portico panels. His leg armor shows fourteen shells, possibly suggesting a higher rank than the ten shells of his equal in the western section.

The west side of the stairway has fewer episodes of violent action. The drawing is less diversified as to width of line, and the distinction between costume and body line is almost absent.

Rhythmically placed accents of red flesh and costume carry the surface pattern, together with the white sashes seen at the eastern side. A more sketchy drawing of outlines in blue is used near the western end, where the body motions seem more static, although the general deterioration of the plaster at the west makes the outlining difficult to see.

## Eclectic and Syncretic Aspects

The historical origins of both concepts—eclectic and syncretic—have from the beginning pertained to different spheres of human activity. Eclecticism originally described the efforts of ancient philosophers ca. A.D. 300 to select from various schools of thought the best elements, in an effort to resolve their differences by a search for harmony. Since classical antiquity, the term has also been extended to art and literature, and the attitude itself probably underlies modern historical research, in seeking to comprehend alien behavior (Crispolti 1961: col. 538).

Syncretism has been used since Plutarch to describe events in the history of religion and politics. Plutarch applied it to the coalition among warring peoples on the island of Crete who united in strife against a common enemy. Erasmus revived it in the Renaissance to describe religious sects seeking survival through hybridization. This usage has reappeared in modern ethnohistorical studies of Latin American survivals of ancient beliefs under missionary pressures, within the Catholic cult (Pettazzoni 1933: 829).

The idea of eclecticism thus appears as historically more relevant to the study of expressive objects, whereas syncretism is more general, or auxiliary in this context, being about religious and political systems.

The archaeological occurrence of artifacts betraying a possible eclectic origin, like the Cacaxtla murals, therefore raises an interesting possibility as to method. Usually syncretistic institutional conditions are assumed to have been the setting for products of eclectic character, as at Persepolis in the Achaemenid period, when Scythian, Central Asian, Median, Mesopotamian, Greek, and Egyptian forms were combined in a palace architecture expressive of universal empire.

Yet the reverse may also be supposed: the pressure of eclectic traits in objects points to institutional or cultural conditions of syncretistic character. In other words, eclectic objects point to syncretistic conditions and vice versa.

This proposition, however, has never been tested systematically. Only Enrico Crispolti (1961) has reviewed the whole spectrum of eclectic expressions, beginning with Saharan rock engravings with both prehistoric and Egyptianizing traits. But Crispolti notes that an art "cannot be described as eclectic unless historical conditions . . . have led to an intermingling of cultural streams that are complementary and reciprocally nourish-

ing" (cols. 544–545). Crispolti also associates eclecticism with ancient phenomena resembling renaissances and revivals. He speaks of a "diachronic" eclecticism (col. 546), when "older foreign elements reflower along with more recent ones" in neo-Attic sculptures. In these, archaic or Attic or Asiatic forms reappears in Rome at the beginning of the empire with syncretistic political and religious molds during several centuries, but mainly as "indications of a conventional, noncritical and muddled attitude toward the authentic qualities of artistic styles and personalities in the ancient world" (col. 547).

The late Renaissance after 1500 witnessed another modality of eclecticism in the relationships of individual artists to a variety of masters and teachers, whose "manners" were the object of study and synthesis.

The nineteenth century in its turn contained a consciously programmed movement of eclecticism, based on the historical studies of the preceding century. Other "historical styles," whether medieval, Renaissance, or non-European, were admitted as of equal value or superior to the classical tradition.

If we now review the many various kinds of eclecticism, it is clear that two types are relevant and inclusive: (1) the synchronic variety, in which the choices are limited to an extended present, and (2) the diachronic group, where more ancient models are selected for reuse. Diachronic examples include every renaissance of classical antiquity (Panofsky 1960), as well as the revivals of medieval forms in the nineteenth century. Synchronic are the Achaemenid and Roman recognitions of other geographical kinds of expression and symbol. But the appearance of neo-Attic sculptors in the early empire is diachronic.

The general implication is that synchronic choices among available expressions are syncretic in character, bringing into focus a message of unified strength in the coordination of peoples and beliefs. But diachronic choices suggest an aesthetic purpose liberated from concern with the cultural meaning of the forms chosen for retention.

### Conclusion

A tentative explanation of the program underlying the murals might be the following. Victorious highland and defeated lowland warriors are

shown in battle, with the death in action and the sacrifice at a column of two lowland headmen (fig. 11). The other murals, at the dynastic temple, on framed panels and doorjambes, portray winged cult images of the patron deities of both the warring groups. The highland deity and acolyte on the north (fig. 3) have jaguar-serpent-bird attributes of Teotihuacano ancestry. The southern deity and acolyte wear black body paint (fig. 5) of "detached body contour" type (Grieder 1964) and other Maya attributes. Between them a seated figure was added in red stucco upon the painted doorframe. This ruler figure has both Classic Veracruz and Putun Maya characteristics, representing possibly the emergence of a third coastal power capable of resolving the differences between the victors and the vanquished, as shown in the battle mural.

Cacaxtla was probably the work of patrons, painters, and sculptors who were concerned with eclectic choices more synchronic than diachronic in nature. By hypothesis they were immersed in the aftermaths of the fall of Teotihuacán and the collapse of Classic Maya society. Their efforts would have been devoted to those representations and symbols connected with replacing large portions of the institutional systems that foundered between the eighth and tenth centuries. The services of artists from different parts of Mesoamerica, either direct or indirect, would have been needed in attempting to achieve any lasting new sense of union and common purpose. Whether this effort failed or not still remains to be seen, but it seems comparable to configurations of the kind known at the time of the breakup of the Roman Empire that were characterized as "disjunctive" by Panofsky (1960).

As noted above, diachronic eclecticism presupposes aesthetic choices from a distant past. But synchronic eclecticism is closer to the extended present, with the selection of political and economic objectives in a syncretistic ordering.

The narrow chronological range of selections at Cacaxtla makes it unlikely that an aesthetically motivated eclecticism was in play. On the contrary, the choices of portions of recent symbolic systems suggest to us that Cacaxtla was designed to express a syncretistic unification among the dominant religious and political views of that time in Mesoamerica, after the fall of Teotihuacán and before the Toltec emergence.

The following color plate was published facing Page 178.



*Kubler essay, fig. 2. South doorjamb and wall panel*

---

# Bibliography

- ABASCAL, RAFAEL, PATRICIO DÁVILA, PETER J. SCHMIDT, and DIANA DE DÁVILA  
1976 La Arqueología del sur-oeste de Tlaxcala, primera parte. *Comunicaciones 2*, supp. Puebla.
- ALVA IXTLILXOCHITL, F. DE  
1891 *Obras históricas*. Vol. 1: *Relaciones*. Mexico City.
- ANDERS, FERDINAND  
1963 *Das Pantheon der Maya*. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt.
- ARMILLAS, P.  
1946 Los Olmeca-Xicalanca y los sitios arqueológicos del sur-oeste de Tlaxcala. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos 8*: 137–145. Mexico City.
- ASCHMANN, HERMAN P.  
1962 *Castellano–totonaca, totonaco–castellano: Dialecto de la sierra norte de Puebla*. Serie de Vocabularios Indígenas Mariano Silva y Aceves 7. Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- AULIE, H. W., and E. AULIE  
1978 *Diccionario ch'ol–español, español–ch'ol*. Serie de Vocabularios y Diccionarios Indígenas Mariano Silva y Aceves 21. Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- BADNER, MINO  
1972 A Possible Focus of Andean Artistic Influence in Mesoamerica. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 9*.
- BAER, PHILIP, and MARY E. BAER  
1969 The Discovery of Bonampak: The Lacandon View. *Tlalocan 6*, no. 1. La Casa de Tlaloc, Mexico: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- BALL, JOSEPH W.  
1977 *The Archaeological Ceramics of Becán, Campeche, Mexico*. Middle American Research Institute Publication 43. New Orleans: Tulane University.
- BARRERA VÁSQUEZ, ALFREDO  
1976 *Horóscopos mayas: Area maya*. Facsimile edition by José Díaz Bolio. Merida.  
1977 Poema en cinco puntos cardinales. *El Buho 4*. Merida.
- BERENDT, C. H.  
1870 Apuntes sobre la lengua chaneabal, con un vocabulario. Reproduction in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.
- BERLIN, HEINRICH  
1944 A Tentative Identification of the Head-Variant for Eleven. *Carnegie Institution of Washington Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology 33*.  
1953 Archaeological Reconnaissance in Tabasco. *Carnegie Institution of Washington Current Reports 7*.  
1958 El Glifo “Emblema” en las inscripciones mayas. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes 47*: 111–119. Paris.  
1959 Glifos nominales in el sarcófago de Palenque. *Humanidades 2*, no. 10: 1–8. Guatemala City.  
1963 The Palenque Triad. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes 52*: 91–99. Paris.  
1965 The Inscription of the Temple of the Cross at Palenque. *American Antiquity 30*: 330–342.
- BIEDERMANN, HANS  
1973 *Handlexikon der magischen Künste*. Graz, Austria.
- BLOM, FRANS  
1937 Masterpieces of Maya Art: The Tomb at Comalcalco in the State of Tabasco, Mexico. *Art and Archaeology 24*: 223–227.
- BLOM, FRANS, and GERTRUDE DUBY  
1957 *La Selva lacondona, segunda parte*. Mexico City: Editorial CVLTRA, T.G., S.A.
- BLOM, FRANS, and OLIVER LA FARGE  
1926–27 *Tribes and Temples*. Middle American Research Institute Publication 1. 2 vols. New Orleans: Tulane University.
- BORHEGYI, STEPHAN F.  
1965 Archaeological Synthesis of the Guatemalan Highlands. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 2: *Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica*, ed. Gordon R. Willey, pp. 3–58. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- BROWN, CECIL H., and STANLEY R. WITKOWSKI  
1977 Aspects of the Phonological History of Mayan-

- Zoquean. Unpublished MS, Department of Anthropology, Northern Illinois University.
- BRÜGGEMANN, JURGEN  
1977 Algunos puntos de vista sobre la formación del estado en Mesoamérica. Report given at the 15th Mesa Redonda de la Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología. Guanajuato.
- BRUNHOUSE, ROBERT L.  
1976 *Frans Blom, Maya Explorer*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- BUTLER, MARY  
1935 A Study of Maya Mouldmade Figurines. *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 37: 636–672.
- CAMPBELL, LYLE R.  
1977 *Quichean Linguistic Prehistory*. University of California Publications in Linguistics 81. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- CAMPBELL, R. JOE  
1976 Underlying /ŋ<sup>w</sup>/ in Hueyapan Nahuatl. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 42: 46–50.
- CARLSON, RUTH, and FRANCIS EACHUS  
1977 The Kekchi Spirit World. In *Cognitive Studies of Southern Mesoamerica*, ed. Helen L. Neuenswander and Dean E. Arnold, pp. 38–65. SIL Museum of Anthropology Publication 3.
- CASO, ALFONSO  
1928 *Las Estelas zapotecas*. Monografía del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia, e Etnografía. Mexico City.  
1947 Calendario y escritura de las antiguas culturas de Monte Albán. In *Obras completas de M. O. de Mendizábal*, vol. 1. Mexico City.  
1967 *Los Calendarios prehispánicos*. Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie de Cultura Náhuatl, Monografías 6. Mexico City.
- CHADWICK, ROBERT E. L.  
1966 The “Olmeca-Xicallanca” of Teotihuacán: A Preliminary Study. *Mesoamerican Notes* 7–8. Mexico City.
- CHARNAY, DÉsirÉ  
1885 *Les Anciennes villes du Nouveau Monde: Voyages d’explorations au Mexique et dans l’Amérique Centrale*. Paris.
- CHIMALPAHIN QUAUHTEHUANITZIN, D. F.  
1958 Das Memorial Breve acerca de la fundación de la ciudad de Culhuacan. Aztec text, with German translation by W. Lehmann and G. Kutscher. *Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas* 7. Stuttgart.
- CHUECA GOITIA, FERNANDO  
1971 *Invariantes castizos de la arquitectura española*. Guadalajara, Spain: Seminarios y Ediciones S.A.
- CLARK, LORENZO, and NANCY D. DE CLARK  
1960 *Vocabulario Popoluca de Sayula*. Serie de Vocabularios Indígenas Mariano Silva y Aceves 4. Mexico City: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- CODICES  
1830 Laud. In *Antiquities of Mexico*, by Lord Kingsborough, vol. 2. London.  
1830 Selden I. In *Antiquities of Mexico*, by Lord Kingsborough, vol. 1. London.  
1901 Féjerváry-Mayer. Paris.  
1960 Bodley Codex, 2858. Facsimile edition. Mexico City: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.  
1964 Selden II (3135). Facsimile edition in color. Mexico City: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.
- COE, MICHAEL D.  
1973 *The Maya Scribe and His World*. New York: Grolier Club.  
1978 *Lords of the Underworld*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- COE, MICHAEL D., and ELIZABETH BENSON  
1966 Three Maya Relief Panels at Dumbarton Oaks. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* 2.
- COOK DE LEONARD, CARMEN  
1959 Archäologisch-geographische Probleme der Insel Jaina, Campeche, Mexiko. In *Amerikanistische Miscellen: Festband Franz Termer, Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde im Hamburg* 25.
- CORSON, CHRISTOPHER R.  
1976 *Maya Anthropomorphic Figurines from Jaina Island, Campeche*. Ramona, Calif.: Ballena Press.
- COVARRUBIAS, MIGUEL  
1957 *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America*. New York: Knopf.
- CRISPOLTI, E.  
1961 Eclecticism. In *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 4, cols. 538–550. New York.
- CROTHERS, JOHN  
1975 Nasal Consonant Systems. In *Nasálfest: Papers from a Symposium on Nasals and Nasalization*, ed. Charles A. Ferguson, Larry M. Hyman, and John J. Ohala. Stanford.
- DAHLGREN DE JORDÁN, B.  
1954 La Mixteca: Su cultura e historia prehispánica. *Colección Cultura Mex.* 11. Mexico City.
- DELGADO, AGUSTÍN  
1965 Jaina Terracottas. In *El Arte de Jaina, Artes de México* 60: 27–30.
- DIBBLE, CHARLES  
1951 Códice Xólotl. *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia*, 1st ser., no. 2.
- DRUCKER, P., R.F. HEIZER, and R. J. SQUIER  
1959 Excavations at La Venta, Tabasco, 1955. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 170.
- DURÁN, FRAY DIEGO  
1963 Atlas de la historia de las Indias de Nueva España e historia de la tierra firme. Mexico City: Librería Anticuaria.  
1967 Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas de la tierra firme. Ed. Angel M. Garibay. 2 vols. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa.
- DÜTTING, DIETER  
1974 Sorcery in Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 99: 2–62. Brunswick.  
1978 “Bats” in the Usumacinta Valley: Remarks on Inscriptions of Bonampak and Neighboring Sites

- in Chiapas, Mexico. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, forthcoming.
- EATON, JACK  
1974 *Chicanná: An Elite Center in the Río Bec Region: Preliminary Reports on Archaeological Investigations in the Río Bec Area, Campeche, Mexico*. Middle American Research Institute Publication 31. New Orleans: Tulane University.
- EBERHARD, WOLFRAM  
1957 The Political Function of Astronomy and Astronomers in Han China. In *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John K. Fairbank, pp. 33–70, 345–352. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ECO, HUMBERTO  
1978 *Tratado de semiótica general*. Mexico City: Editorial Nueva Imagen.
- EDMONSON, MUNRO S.  
1971 *The Book of Counsel: The Popol Vuh of the Quiche Maya of Guatemala*. Middle American Research Institute Publication 35. New Orleans: Tulane University.
- FERGUSON, CHARLES A., LARRY M. HYMAN, and JOHN J. OHALA, EDS.  
1975 *Nasálfest: Papers from a Symposium on Nasals and Nasalization*. Stanford.
- FERNÁNDEZ, MIGUEL A.  
1946 Los Adoratorios de la isla de Jaina. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 8: 243–260. Mexico City.
- FETTWEIS, MARTINE  
1977 *Pintura mural de Puuc*. Merida.
- FONCERRADA DE MOLINA, MARTA  
1960 Origen del arte maya y desarrollo del mascarón como forma integrada a la arquitectura. *Revistas Artes de México* 167: 5–24. Mexico City.  
1976 La Pintura mural de Cacaxtla: Planteamiento metodológico para su estudio. Paper presented at the 13th International Congress of Americanists, Paris.  
1977a Cacaxtla and its Glyphic Signs. Paper presented at the Symposium on Middle American Ethnohistory, American Archaeological Society, New Orleans.  
1977b Consideraciones sobre algunos de los signos glíficos en la pintura mural de Cacaxtla. Report given at the 15th Mesa Redonda de la Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología. Guanajuato.  
1977c Prehispanic Mural Painting, Cacaxtla, Teotihuacán and Bonampak. Lecture given at Tulane University.  
1978a The Cacaxtla Murals: An Example of Cultural Contact? *Iberoamerikanischen Archiv*. Berlin.  
1978b La Pintura mural de Cacaxtla. *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 46. Mexico City.  
1978c Reflexiones en torno a la pintura mural de Cacaxtla. *Comunicaciones* 15. Puebla.
- FOSTER, MARY L., and GEORGE M. FOSTER  
1948 *Sierra Popoluca Speech*. Institute of Social Anthropology Publication 8. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- FOX, JAMES A.  
n.d. The Etymology of Quichean *Kumatz* 'Snake.' Unpublished MS.  
1978a Proto-Mayan Accent, Morpheme Structure Conditions, and Velar Innovations. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.  
1978b Proto-Mayan Accent. Paper presented at the 1978 meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Los Angeles.
- FOX, JAMES A., and JOHN S. JUSTESON  
n.d. Hieroglyphic Evidence for the Languages of the Classic Maya. Unpublished MS.  
1977 Classic Mayan Dynastic Relations. Paper presented at the 1977 meeting of the Society for American Archaeology.
- FURST, JILL LESLIE  
1977 The Tree Birth Tradition in the Mixteca, Mexico. *Journal of Latin American Lore* 3, no. 2: 183–226.  
1978 *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus I: A Commentary*. Institute for Mesoamerican Studies Publication 2.
- GANN, THOMAS W. F.  
1900 Mounds in Northern Honduras. *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 19: 655–692.  
1925 *Mystery Cities: Exploration and Adventure in Lubaantun*. London: Camelot Press.  
1926 *Ancient Cities and Modern Tribes: Exploration and Adventure in Maya Lands*. London: Camelot Press.
- GARCÍA COOK, ANGEL  
1974 Una Secuencia cultural para Tlaxcala. *Comunicaciones* 10. Puebla.
- GARCÍA PAYÓN, JOSÉ  
1946 Los Monumentos arqueológicos de Malinalco. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos* 8. Mexico City.
- GENDROP, PAUL  
1977 *Quince ciudades mayas*. Colección de Arte 31. Mexico City.
- GENDROP, PAUL, and DORIS GENDROP  
1975 *Arquitectura mesoamericana*. Madrid: Editorial Aguilar.
- GIBSON, C.  
1950 The Identity of Diego Muñoz Camargo. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 30: 199–200.
- GIRARD, RAFAEL  
1977 *Origen y desarrollo de las civilizaciones antiguas de América*. Mexico City: Editores Mexicanos Unidos.
- GOLDSTEIN, MARILYN  
1979 Jaina-Style Figurines from Campeche, Mexico: Classification on the Basis of Clay Chemistry, Style and Iconography. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Art History, Columbia University.
- GOODMAN, J. T.  
1897 The Archaic Maya Inscriptions. Appendix to *Archaeology*, by A. P. Maudslay, vol. 6, pp. 1–141. London. Facsimile reprint, Charlotte, N.C., 1974.
- GREENBERG, JOSEPH H.  
1969 Some Methods of Dynamic Comparison in Linguistics. In *Substance and Structure of Language*, ed. Jaan Puhvel. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- GREENE, MERLE, ROBERT L. RANDS, and JOHN A. GRAHAM  
1972 *Maya Sculpture from the Southern Lowlands, the Highlands, and Pacific Piedmont*. Berkeley: Lederer, Street & Zeus.
- GREENE, MERLE, and J. E. S. THOMPSON  
1967 *Ancient Maya Relief Sculpture*. New York: Museum of Primitive Art.
- GREENE ROBERTSON, MERLE  
1974a [ed.] *First Palenque Round Table, 1973: Part 1*. Palenque Round Table Series I. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.  
1974b [ed.] *First Palenque Round Table, 1973: Part 2*. Palenque Round Table Series II. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.  
1976 [ed.] *Second Palenque Round Table, 1974*. Palenque Round Table Series III. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.
- in *The Iconographic Content of Color in the Late Classic*. press Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center.
- GREENE ROBERTSON, MERLE, MARJORIE S. ROSENBLUM SCANDIZZO, and JOHN R. SCANDIZZO  
1976 Physical Deformities in the Ruling Lineage of Palenque and the Dynastic Implications. In *Second Palenque Round Table, 1974*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 59–86. Palenque Round Table Series III. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.
- GRIEDER, TERENCE  
1964 Representation of Space and Form in Maya Painting of Pottery. *American Antiquity* 29, no. 4: 442–448.  
1970 Ecology before Columbus. *Americas* 22, no. 5: 21–28.
- GROTH-KIMBALL, IRMGARD  
1961 *Maya Terrakotten*. Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth.
- GROVE, DAVID C.  
1973 Olmec Altars and Olmec Myths. *Archaeology* 26, no. 2: 128–135.
- HALPERN, ABRAHAM M.  
1942 A Theory of Maya t̄s-sounds. *Carnegie Institution of Washington Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology* 13.
- HARBOTTLE, GARMAN  
1976 Activation Analysis in Archaeology. *Chemical Society Specialist Periodical Report* 3, no. 19.
- HARTNER, WILLY  
1960 The Mercury Horoscope of Marcantonio Michiel of Venice: A Study in the History of Renaissance Astrology and Astronomy. In *Vistas in Astronomy*, ed. A. Beer, vol. 1, pp. 84–138. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- HARTUNG, HORST  
1971 Die Zeremonialzentren der Maya. In *Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Planungsprinzipien*. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt.  
1972 Consideraciones sobre los trazos de centros ceremoniales mayas (Influencia de los conocimientos astronómicos en la acomodo de las construcciones). *Verhandlungen des XXXVIII Intern. Amerikanistenkongresses* 4 (1968): 17–26. Munich.
- 1976 El Espacio exterior en el centro ceremonial de Palenque. In *Second Palenque Round Table, 1974*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 123–135. Palenque Round Table Series III. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.
- HARTUNG, HORST, and ANTHONY AVENI  
1979 Visual Relations in the Architecture of the Palace at Palenque. In *Third Palenque Round Table, 1978: Part 1*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Donnan Call Jeffers, pp. 173–178. Palenque Round Table Series IV. Palenque/Monterey: Pre-Columbian Art Research Center/Herald Printers.
- HEALEY, GILES GREVILLE  
1950 Only Liars and Damn Fools Say They Like the Jungle. In *Morleyana*. Santa Fe: School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico.
- HEYDEN, DORIS  
1973 ¿Un Chicomoztoc en Teotihuacán? La Cueva bajo de la Pirámide del Sol. *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia Boletín* 2, no. 6: 3–18. Mexico City.  
1976 Los Ritos de paso en las cuevas. *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia Boletín* 2, no. 9: 17–26. Mexico City.
- HISTORIA TOLTECA-CHICHIMECA: ANALES DE QUAUH-TINCHAN  
1947 Ed. Heinrich Berlin with Silvia Rendón. Prologue by Paul Kirchhoff. Mexico City: Antigua Librería Rebredo.
- HYMAN, LARRY M.  
1975 Nasal States and Nasal Processes. In *Nasálfest: Papers from a Symposium on Nasals and Nasalization*, ed. Charles A. Ferguson, Larry M. Hyman, and John J. Ohala. Stanford.
- JIMÉNEZ MORENO, WIGBERTO  
1942 El Enigma de los olmecas. *Cuadernos Americanos* 5, no. 5: 113–145.  
1959 Síntesis de la historia pretolteca de Mesoamérica. In *El Esplendor del México antiguo*, ed. Carmen Cook de Leonard, vol. 2, pp. 1019–1108. Mexico City.  
1966 Mesoamerica before the Toltecs. In *Ancient Oaxaca*, ed. John Paddock. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- JORALEMON, P. DAVID  
1971 A Study of Olmec Iconography. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* 7.
- JUSTESON, JOHN S.  
1975 The Identification of the Emblem Glyph of Yaxha, El Petén. *Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility* 27: 123–129.  
1977 Universals of Language and Universals of Writing. In *Linguistic Studies Offered to Joseph Greenberg*, ed. Alphonse Juilland, Andrew M. Devine, and Laurence D. Stephens, vol. 1. Saratoga, Calif.

KAMPEN, MICHAEL EDWIN

1972 *The Sculptures of El Tajín, Veracruz, Mexico*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida.

KAUFMAN, TERRENCE S.

1962 Mayan and Mixe-Zoque. The University of Chicago Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Cultural Anthropology 55.

1964 Materiales lingüísticos para el estudio de las relaciones internas y externas de la familia de idiomas mayanos. In *Desarrollo cultural de los mayas: Seminario de cultura maya*, ed. Evon Z. Vogt and Alberto Ruz Lhuillier. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

1970 Pre-Columbian Borrowings in and out of Huastec. Paper given at the sixth annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society.

1978 The Current State of Mayan Historical Linguistics. Paper given at the Taller Maya III, Cobán, Guatemala.

KELLEY, DAVID H.

1962 Fonetismo en la escritura maya. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 2: 277–317. Mexico City.1976 *Deciphering the Maya Script*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

KIDDER, ALFRED V.

1946 Division of Historical Research. *Carnegie Institution of Washington Yearbook* 46.

KIRCHHOFF, PAUL

1940 Los Pueblos de la historia Tolteca-Chichimeca: Sus migraciones y parentesco. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 4: 77–104. Mexico City.

KNOROZOV, YURI V.

1967 *Selected Chapters from the Writing of the Maya Indians*. Russian Translation Series of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 4. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.

KUBLER, GEORGE

1967 The Iconography of the Art of Teotihuacán. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* 4.1969 *Studies in Classic Maya Iconography*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 18.1972 The Double-Portrait Lintels of Tikal. In *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte*, vol. 1, pp. 165–173. Granada.1974 Mythological Ancestries in Classic Maya Inscriptions. In *First Palenque Round Table, 1973: Part 2*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 23–43. Palenque Round Table Series II. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.

KURYŁOWICZ, JERZY

1927 *ə* indo-européen et *h* hittite. *Symbolae Grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski*, vol. 1.1975 *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America: The Mexican Maya and Andean Peoples*. 2d ed. Pelican History of Art. London: Penguin Books.

LA FARGE, OLIVER

1926 Comparative Word Lists. Appendix 3 to *Tribes and Temples*, by Frans Blom and Oliver La Farge. Middle American Research Institute Publication 1. 2 vols. New Orleans: Tulane University.

LA FARGE, OLIVER, and DOUGLAS BYERS

1931 *The Year Bearer's People*. Middle American Research Institute Publication 3. New Orleans: Tulane University.

LA GRASSERIE, RAOUL DE, ED.

1898 *Langue zoque et langue mixe*. Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine, vol. 22. Paris.

LANDA A., MARÍA ELENA

1962 Contribución al estudio de la formación cultural del valle Poblano-Tlaxcalteca. *Instituto Poblano de Antropología e Historia*. Mexico City.

LANGDON, MARGARET

1976 Metathesis in Yuman Languages. *Languages* 52: 866–883.

LIFE MAGAZINE

1949 Maya Murals. November 21.

LITVAK KING, JAIME

1970 Xochicalco en la caída del clásico, una hipótesis. *Anales de Antropología* 7: 131–144. Mexico City.1972 Las Relaciones externas de Xochicalco: Una Evaluación de su posible significado. *Anales de Antropología* 9: 49–77. Mexico City.

LIZARDI RAMOS, CÉSAR

1961 Las Estelas 4 y 5 de Balancán, Morales, Tabasco. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 1. Mexico City.

LÓPEZ DE MOLINA, DIANA

1976 Cacaxtla: Los Murales y la investigación arqueológica. Paper presented at the 42d International Congress of Americanists, Paris.

1977 Los Murales prehispánicos de Cacaxtla. *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia Boletín* 3, no. 20. Mexico City.

LÓPEZ DE MOLINA, DIANA, and DANIEL MOLINA

1977– Informes inéditos en el archivo técnico del INAH. 78

LOUNSBURY, FLOYD G.

1973 On the Derivation and Reading of the “Ben-Ich” Affix. In *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.1974 The Inscription of the Sarcophagus Lid at Palenque. In *First Palenque Round Table, 1973: Part 2*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 5–20. Palenque Round Table Series II. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.1976 A Rationale for the Initial Date of the Temple of the Cross at Palenque. In *Second Palenque Round Table, 1974*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 211–224. Palenque Round Table Series III. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.1978 Maya Numeration, Computation and Calendrical Astronomy. In *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie, vol. 15, supp. 1, pp. 759–818. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

- MCCANN, THOMAS P.  
1976 *An American Company: The Tragedy of American Fruit*. New York: Crown Publishers.
- MCQUOWN, NORMAN A.  
1942 Una Posible síntesis lingüística Macro-Mayance. In *Mayas y Olmecas, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología*, vol. 2, pp. 37–38. Mexico City.
- MAKEMSON, MAUD WORCESTER  
1951 *The Book of the Jaguar Priest: A Translation of the Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimín*. New York: Henry Schumann.
- MALER, TEOBERT  
1886– *Albumes fotográficos*. Vols. 1–3. Merida: Biblioteca 92  
1902 Yukatekische forschungen. *Globus* 82: 197–230. Brunswick.
- MARCUS, JOYCE  
1973 Territorial Organization of the Lowland Classic Maya. *Science* 180, no. 4089: 911–916.  
1976 *Emblem and State in the Classic Maya Lowlands: An Epigraphic Approach to Territorial Organization*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.
- MARQUINA, IGNACIO  
1960 *El Templo mayor de México*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.  
1964 *Arquitectura prehispánica*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- MATHEWS, PETER  
1975 Early Lintels of Yaxchilan. Unpublished MS.  
1977 Emblem Glyphs in Classic Maya Sculpture. *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Maya Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Hieroglyphic Writing*, ed. Nicholas Hellmuth, forthcoming.  
1978 The Dynastic Sequence of Bonampak, Chiapas, Mexico. Unpublished MS.
- MATHEWS, PETER, and LINDA SCHELE  
1974 Lords of Palenque—The Glyphic Evidence. In *First Palenque Round Table, 1973: Part 1*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 63–75. Palenque Round Table Series I. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.
- MEANS, PHILLIP A.  
1917 *History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatán and of the Itzas*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 7. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.
- MENDOZA, RUBÉN G.  
1977 World View and the Monolithic Temples of Malinalco, Mexico: Iconography and Analogy in Pre-Columbian Architecture. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 64: 63–78. Paris.
- MERWIN, RAYMOND E.  
1913 The Ruins of the Southern Part of the Peninsula of Yucatán; with Special Reference to Their Place in the Maya Area. Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.
- MILLER, ARTHUR C.  
1973 *The Mural Painting of Teotihuacán, Mexico*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.
- 1974 The Iconography of the Painting in the Temple of the Diving God, Tulum, Quintana Roo: The Twisted Cords. In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches*, ed. Norman Hammond, pp. 167–186. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- 1974 West and East in Maya Thought: Death and Rebirth at Palenque and Tulum. In *First Palenque Round Table, 1973: Part 2*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 45–50. Palenque Round Table Series II. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.
- 1978 A Brief Outline of the Artistic Evidence for Classic Period Cultural Contact between Maya Lowlands and Central Mexican Highlands. In *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400–700*, ed. Esther Pasztor. New York: Columbia University Press.
- MILLER, JEFFREY H.  
1974 Notes on a Stelae Pair Probably from Calakmul, Campeche, Mexico. In *First Palenque Round Table, 1973: Part 1*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 149–161. Palenque Round Table Series I. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.
- MILLON, CLARA HALL  
1962 A Chronological Study of the Mural Art of Teotihuacán. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.  
1973 Painting, Writing and Polity in Teotihuacán, Mexico. *American Antiquity* 38: 294–314.
- MILLON, RENÉ  
1967a Cronología y periodificación: Datos estratigráficos sobre periodos cerámicos y sus relaciones con la pintura mural. *Mesa Redonda 11th de la Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología* 1. Mexico City.  
1967b Urna de Monte Albán III A encontrada en Teotihuacán. *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia Boletín* 29. Mexico City.  
1973 [ed.] *Urbanization at Teotihuacán*. Vol. 1, pts. 1 and 2: *The Teotihuacán Map*, by René Millon, R. Bruce Drewitt, and George L. Cowgill. Austin: University of Texas Press.  
1976 Social Relations in Ancient Teotihuacán: Part 3. In *The Valley of Mexico: Studies in Pre-Hispanic Ecology and Society*, ed. Eric R. Wolf. A School of American Research Book. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- MOEDANO, KOER HUGO  
1946 Jaina, un cementerio maya. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 8: 219–242. Mexico City.
- MOLINA, DANIEL  
1976 Consideraciones sobre la cronología de Cacaxtla. Paper presented at the 42d International Congress of Americanists, Paris.
- MONROY, AGUSTÍN ESTRADA  
1973 *Popol Vuh*. Facsimile edition. Trans. R. P. Fray Francisco Ximénez. Guatemala City.
- MORLEY, SYLVANUS G.  
1937– *The Inscriptions of Petén*. 5 vols. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 437. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.

- MORLEY, SYLVANUS G., and GEORGE BRAINERD  
1956 *The Ancient Maya*. 3d ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- MULLER, FLORENCIA  
1960 *Atlas arqueológico de la República Mexicana*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- MUÑOZ CAMARGO, DIEGO  
1892 *Historia de Tlaxcala*. Annotated by A. Chavero. Mexico City.
- NELSON, FRED W., JR.  
1973 Archaeological Foundation. No. 33. Provo: Brigham Young University.
- NICHOLSON, H. B.  
1967 "Royal Headband" of the Tlaxcalteca. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 21. Mexico City.
- NORMAN, BENJAMIN M.  
1843 *Rambles in Yucatán*. New York.
- OAKES, MAUD  
1951 *The Two Crosses of Todos Santos: Survivals of Mayan Religious Ritual*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- OHALA, JOHN J.  
1975 Phonetic Explanations for Nasal Sound Patterns. In *Nasálfest: Papers from a Symposium on Nasals and Nasalization*, ed. Charles A. Ferguson, Larry M. Hyman, and John J. Ohala. Stanford.
- PADDOCK, JOHN  
1966 Oaxaca in Ancient Mesoamerica. In *Ancient Oaxaca*, ed. John Paddock. Stanford: Stanford University Press.  
1974 Mixtec-Puebla Culture in the Valley of Oaxaca. Paper presented at the 41st International Congress of Americanists, Mexico City.  
1978 The Middle Classic Period in Oaxaca. In *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400–700*, ed. Esther Pasztory. New York: Columbia University Press.
- PANOFSKY, E.  
1960 *Renaissance and Resuscitations*. Stockholm.
- PASZTORY, ESTHER  
1972 The Murals of Tepantitla, Teotihuacán. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.  
1973 The Xochicalco Stelae and a Middle Classic Deity Triad in Mesoamerica. *Actas del Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte* 1. Granada.  
1974 The Iconography of the Teotihuacán Tlaloc. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* 15.  
1978 [ed.] *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400–700*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- PÉRIGNY, MAURICE DE  
1908 Yucatán inconnu. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 5: 67–84. Paris.  
1909 Ruines de Río Beque. *Nature* 33, no. 1: 300–301. Paris.
- PETTAZZONI, R.  
1933 Sincretismo e conversione nella storia delle religioni. *Bulletin de Comité International des Sciences Historiques* 5: 24–31. Paris.
- PICKANDS, MARTIN  
1978 The Mythological Origins of the Maya Cross. Master's thesis, University of Connecticut.
- PIÑA CHÁN, ROMÁN  
1948 Breve estudio sobre la funeraria de Jaina, Campeche. *Cuadernos del Museo de Campeche* 7.  
1964 Algunas consideraciones sobre las pinturas de Mulchic, Yucatán. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 4: 63–78. Mexico City.  
1968 *Jaina: La Casa en el agua*. Mexico City.
- PIÑA CHÁN, ROMÁN, and CARLOS NAVARRETE  
1967 Archaeological Research in the Lower Grijalva River Region, Tabasco and Chiapas. *Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation* 22.
- PÍO PÉREZ, JUAN  
1866–67 *Diccionario de la lengua Maya*. Merida: Imprenta Literaria de Juan F. Molina Solís.
- POLLOCK, HARRY, ED.  
1970 Architectural Notes on Some Chenes Ruins. *Peabody Museum Monographs and Papers in Maya Archaeology*, pp. 1–87.
- POTTER, DAVID F.  
1977 *Maya Architecture of the Central Yucatán Peninsula, Mexico*. Middle American Research Institute Publication 44. New Orleans: Tulane University.
- PREM, HANNS J.  
1971 Calendrics and Writing in Mesoamerica. In *Observations on the Emergence of Civilization in Mesoamerica*, ed. Robert F. Heizer and John A. Graham. University of California Archaeological Research Facility Contributions 2. Berkeley.
- PROSKOURIAKOFF, TATIANA  
1946 *An Album of Maya Architecture*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.  
1950 *A Study of Classic Maya Sculpture*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 593. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.  
1960 Historical Implications of a Pattern of Dates at Piedras Negras, Guatemala. *American Antiquity* 25, no. 4: 454–475.  
1961 The Lords of the Maya Realm. *Expedition* 4, no. 1: 14–21.  
1963 Historical Data in the Inscriptions of Yaxchilan, Part I: The Reign of Shield Jaguar. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 3: 149–167. Mexico City.  
1964 Historical Data in the Inscriptions of Yaxchilan, Part II: The Reigns of Bird-Jaguar and His Successors. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 4: 177–201. Mexico City.  
1968 The Jog and the Jaguar Signs in Maya Writing. *American Antiquity* 33: 246–251.
- PROSKOURIAKOFF, TATIANA, and J. E. S. THOMPSON  
1947 Maya Calendar Round Dates Such as 9 Ahau 17 Mol. *Carnegie Institution of Washington Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology* 79.
- QUIRARTE, JACINTO  
1973 El Estilo artístico de Izapa. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

- RANDS, ROBERT L.  
1973 The Classic Maya Collapse: Usumacinta Zone and the Northwestern Periphery. In *The Classic Maya Collapse*, ed. T. P. Culvert. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- RANDS, ROBERT L., and BARBARA C. RANDS  
1965 Pottery Figurines of the Maya Lowlands. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 2: *Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica*, ed. Gordon R. Willey, pp. 535–560. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- RATTRAY, EVELYN C.  
1977 A Central Mexican Perspective on Teotihuacán-Maya Contacts. Paper presented at the International Symposium on Maya Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Hieroglyphic Writing. Guatemala City.
- RATTRAY, EVELYN C., GARMAN HARBOTTLE, and EDWARD V. SAYRE  
1977 Los Contactos entre Teotihuacán y Veracruz. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- REDFIELD, ROBERT  
1955 *The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- REDFIELD, ROBERT, and ALFONSO VILLA-ROJAS  
1934 *Chan Kom, a Maya Village*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 448. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.
- RIESE, BERTHOLD  
1971 *Grundlagen zur Entzifferung der Mayahieroglyphen: Dargestellt an den Inschriften von Copán*. Beiträge zur mittelamerikanischen Völkerkunde 11. Hamburg.
- ROBINA, RICARDO DE  
1956 Estudio preliminar de las ruinas de Hochob, municipio de Hobelchén, Campeche. Mexico City: Editorial Atenea.
- ROJAS, G. DE  
1927 Relación de Cholula. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos* 1. Mexico City.
- ROMNEY, A. K. and R. ROMNEY  
1966 *The Mixtecons of Juxtlahuaca, Mexico*. Six Cultures Series 4. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- ROYS, RALPH L.  
1965 *Ritual of the Bacabs*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.  
1967 *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- RUPPERT, KARL, and JOHN H. DENISON, JR.  
1943 *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Campeche, Quintana Roo and Petén*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 543. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.
- RUPPERT, KARL, J. E. S. THOMPSON, and TATIANA PROSKOURIAKOFF  
1955 *Bonampak, Chiapas, Mexico*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 602. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.
- RUZ LHUILLIER, ALBERTO  
1945 Campeche en la arqueología maya. *Acta Antropología* 1, nos. 2–3: 9–127. Mexico City.  
1952 Estudio de la cripta del Templo de las Inscripciones en Palenque. *Tlatoani* 1, no. 5.  
1953 Investigaciones arqueológicas en la zona Maya. *Memoria del Congreso Científico Mexicano* 12: 327–329. Mexico City.  
1956 *Uxmal: Official Guide*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.  
1958 Exploraciones arqueológicas en Palenque: 1953, 1954. *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* 10: 69–116, 117–184. Mexico City.  
1969 *La Costa de Campeche*. Mexico City.  
1973 El Templo de las Inscripciones, Palenque. *Colección Científica* 7. Mexico City.  
1976 Nueva interpretación de la inscripción jeroglífica en el sarcófago del Templo de las Inscripciones. In *Second Palenque Round Table, 1974*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 87–93. Palenque Round Table Series III. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.  
1977 Gerontocracy at Palenque? In *Social Process in Maya Prehistory*, ed. Norman Hammond, pp. 287–295. New York: Academic Press.
- SÁENZ, CÉSAR A.  
1961 Tres estelas en Xochicalco. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* 17. Mexico City.  
1966 Exploraciones en la Pirámide de la Cruz Foliada y en los Templos XVIII y XXI. *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia Boletín* 24. Mexico City.
- SAHAGÚN, BERNARDINO DE  
1956 *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa.
- SANDERS, WILLIAM T.  
1978 Ethnographic Analogy and the Teotihuacán Horizon Style. In *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400–700*, ed. Esther Pasztory. New York: Columbia University Press.
- SANDERS, WILLIAM T. and A. MARINO  
1973 *Prehistoria del Nuevo Mundo*. Nueva Colección Labor. Spain: Editorial Labor.
- SAUSSURE, FERDINAND DE  
1879 *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes*. Leipzig.
- SCHÁVELZON, DANIEL  
1977 *Arquitectura prehispánica y asentamientos en la costa del Ecuador*. Guayaquil: Museo del Banco Central de Guayaquil.
- SCHELE, LINDA  
1974 The Attribution of Monumental Architecture to Specific Rulers at Palenque. Paper presented at the 41st International Congress of Americanists, Mexico City.  
1974 Observations on the Cross Motif at Palenque. In *First Palenque Round Table, 1973: Part 1*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 41–61. Palenque Round Table Series I. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.

- 1976 Accession Iconography of Chan-Bahlum in the Group of the Cross at Palenque. In *Second Palenque Round Table, 1974*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, pp. 9–34. Palenque Round Table Series III. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.
- 1979 Genealogical Documentation on the Tri-figure Panels at Palenque. In *Third Palenque Round Table, 1978, Part 1*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Donnan Call Jeffers, pp. 41–70. Palenque Round Table Series IV. Palenque/Monterey: Pre-Columbian Art Research Center/Herald Printers.
- SCHELE, LINDA, PETER MATHEWS, and FLOYD LOUNSBURY  
1977 Parentage Expressions in the Classic Maya Inscriptions. Unpublished MS.
- SCHELLHAS, PAUL  
1904 *Representation of Deities of the Maya Manuscripts*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 4, no. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.
- SCHULTZE-JENA, LEONHARD  
1933 *Leben, Glaube und Sprache der Quiché von Guatemala*. *Indiana* 1. Jena.
- SEJOURNÉ, LAURETTE  
1966a *Arqueología de Teotihuacán, la cerámica*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.  
1966b *Arquitectura y pintura en Teotihuacán*. Mexico City: Editorial Siglo XXI.  
1966c *El Lenguaje de las formas en Teotihuacán*. Mexico City: Editorial Litoarte.  
1970 *Arqueología del Valle de México: Culhuacán*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.  
1971 *América Latina I: Antiguas culturas precolombinas*. Mexico City: Editorial Siglo XXI.
- SELER, EDUARD  
1916 *Die Quetzalcouatl-fassaden yukatekischer Bauten*. *Koligische Preussische Akademie de Wissenschaften* 2. Berlin.  
1927 *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt*. Stuttgart.
- SIDRYS, RAYMOND, and RAINER BERGER  
1979 Lowland Maya Radiocarbon Dates and the Classic Maya Collapse. *Nature* 277, no. 5694: 269–274. London.
- SMAILUS, ORTWIN  
1975 *El Maya-Chontal de Acalan*. *Centro de Estudios Mayas Cuaderno* 9. Mexico City.
- SPENCE, LEWIS  
1930 *The Arcane Secrets and Occult Lore of Mexico and Mayan Central America*. London: Rider & Co.
- SPINDEN, HERBERT J.  
1957 *Maya Art and Civilization*. Indian Hill, Colo.: Falcon's Wing Press.  
1975 *A Study of Maya Art: Its Subject Matter and Historical Development*. New York: Dover.
- STEPHENS, JOHN L.  
1938 *Viaje a Yucatán, 1841–1842*. Trans. Justo Sierra O'Reilly. 2d ed. 2 vols. Mexico City.
- STEPHENS, LAURENCE D., and JOHN J. JUSTESON  
1979 Some Generalizations Concerning Glides. *Proceedings of the 8th Annual Meeting of the Western Conference on Linguistics*.
- STIRLING, MATTHEW W.  
1957 An Archaeological Reconnaissance in South-eastern Mexico. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 164: 213–240.
- STUART, GEORGE E., and GENE STUART  
1969 *Discovering Man's Past in the Americas*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society.
- TEJEDA F., ANTONIO  
1950 *Morleyana Anecdotes*. In *Morleyana*. Santa Fe: School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico.
- THOMAS, CYRUS  
1900 *Mayan Calendar Systems*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 19: 693–819.  
1904 *Mayan Calendar Systems—II*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 22: 197–305.
- THOMPSON, EDWARD H.  
1898 *Ruins of Xkichmook, Yucatán*. *Field Columbian Museum Anthropological Series* 2, no. 3: 209–229.  
1904 *Archaeological Researches in Yucatán*. *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 3, no. 1.
- THOMPSON, J. E. S.  
1927 *The Civilization of the Mayas*. *Field Museum of Natural History Anthropology Leaflet* 25.  
1936 *The Dates of the Temple of the Cross, Palenque*. *Maya Research* 3: 287–293.  
1938 *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Reports on the Chol Mayas*. *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 40: 584–604.  
1943 *Las Llamadas fachadas de Quetzalcoatl*. Paper presented at the 1939 International Congress of Americanists, Mexico City.  
1950 *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing: An Introduction*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 589. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.  
1952 *The Introduction of the Puuc Style of Dating at Yaxchilan*. *Carnegie Institution of Washington Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology* 110.  
1960 *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.  
1962 *A Catalog of Maya Hieroglyphs*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.  
1970 *Maya History and Religion*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.  
1972 *A Commentary on the Dresden Codex*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.  
1973 *The Painted Capstone at Sacnichte, Yucatán, and Two Others at Uxmal*. *Indiana* 1: 59–61. Berlin.
- TORQUEMADA, JUAN DE  
1975 *Monarquía indiana* (1615). Edition prepared under

- the coordination of M. León Portilla. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- TOZZER, ALFRED M.  
1907 *A Comparative Study of the Mayas and Lacandones*. New York.
- 1941 [ed.] *Landa's Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 18. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.
- TOZZER, ALFRED M., and GLOVER M. ALLEN  
1910 *Animal Figures in the Maya Codices*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 4, no. 3. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.
- TRICK, AUBREY S.  
1939 *Temple XXII at Copán*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 509. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.
- TURNER, P., and S. TURNER  
1971 *Chontal to Spanish-English Dictionary; Spanish to Chontal*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- ULTAN, RUSSELL  
1971 A Typological View of Metathesis. *Working Papers in Language Universals* 7: 1–44.
- VENTRIS, MICHAEL G. F., and JOHN CHADWICK  
1953 Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 73: 84–103.
- VILLACORTA C., J. ANTONIO, and CARLOS A. VILLACORTA R.  
1930 *Códices mayas: Dresdensis, Peresianus, Tro-Cortesianus*. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional.
- VILLAGRA CALETI, AGUSTÍN  
1949 Bonampak, la ciudad de los muros pintados. *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, supplement to vol. 3. Mexico City.
- 1955 Trabajos realizados en Teotihuacán: 1952. *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* 6, no. 34. Mexico City.
- VOGT, EVON Z.  
1969 *Zinacantan: A Maya Community in the Highlands of Chiapas*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- WEBB, MALCOLM C.  
1973 The Petén Maya Decline Viewed in the Perspective of State Formation. In *The Classic Maya Collapse*, ed. T. P. Culvert. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- WEST, ROBERT C., N. P. PSUTY, and B. G. THOM  
1969 The Tabasco Lowlands of Southeastern Mexico. *Coastal Series* 27.
- WHITTAKER, ARABELLE, and VIOLA WARKENTIN  
1965 *Chol Texts on the Supernatural*. Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma Publications in Linguistics 13. Norman.
- WINNING, HASSO VON  
1947 A Symbol for Dripping Water in the Teotihuacán Culture. In *El México Antiguo* 6. Mexico City.
- 1948 The Teotihuacán Owl-and-Weapon Symbol and Its Association with "Serpent Head X" at Kaminaljuyú. *American Antiquity* 14, no. 2: 129–132.
- 1961 Teotihuacán Symbols: The Reptile's Eye Glyph. *Ethnos* 26, no. 3: 121–166.
- 1971 *Ancient Art of Veracruz*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.
- WOLF, ERIC R., ED.  
1971 *The Valley of Mexico: Studies in Pre-Hispanic Ecology and Society*. A School of American Research Book. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- WONDERLY, WILLIAM L.  
1949 Some Zoquean Phonemic and Morphophonemic Correspondences. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 15: 1–11.
- ZIMMERMANN, GUNTER  
1956 *Die Hieroglyphen der Maya-Handschriften*. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter.



# Third Palenque Round Table, 1978

PART 2

Edited by Merle Greene Robertson

University of Texas Press, Austin and London

Copyright © 1980 by the University of Texas Press  
All rights reserved  
Printed in the United States of America

International Standard Book Number 0-292-78037-0  
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 74-83484

Requests for permission to reproduce material from  
this work should be sent to Permissions, University of  
Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, Texas 78712.

The Texas Pan American Series is published with the  
assistance of a revolving publication fund established  
by the Pan American Sulphur Company.



*Jacket illustration:*

LORD CHAACAL III

Birth: 9.12.6.5.8 3 Lamat 6 Zac

Accession to the throne of Palenque: 9.14.10.4.2

9 Ik 5 Kayab

Death: pre-9.14.11.12.14 8 Ik 7 Yaxkin

Drawings courtesy of Linda Schele