A Late Classic Ceramic Standing Male Figure from Remojadas, Veracruz, Mexico

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This essay explores the iconography of a Late Classic (A.D. 550-900) standing male unglazed terracotta sculpture (Figure 1) from Remojadas, Veracruz, Mexico.[1] The figure, in the collection of the Appleton Museum of Art in Ocala, Florida, has been described as a "priest or a warrior or a depiction of the person with whom it was interred."[2] More likely it represents a priest of the cult of the god Xipe Totec with his warrior attributes.[3]

Any iconographic study of Pre-Columbian art is complicated by the lack of written historical, literary, and philosophical sources contemporary with the period. What is available are a handful of Pre- and Post-Conquest pictorial codices and the writings of the Spanish chroniclers. Because we know most about the Aztecs, who were observable at contact, we will use their society as a point of reference from which to interpret material about lesser-known cultures. Although it is a standard approach, this method of utilizing Post-Conquest European texts to interpret art created prior to contact may be somewhat debatable because of the pitfalls of disjunction, "a mode of renovation (that) happens whenever members of a successor civilization refashion their inheritance by gearing predecessors' forms to new meanings and by clothing in new forms those old meanings which remain acceptable."[4] Nevertheless, many Aztec ideas and practices were derived from much older concepts, some associated with the first sedentary cultures in Mesoamerica.[5] Thus, despite important regional differences with respect to mythology and rituals, for example, the underlying world view and the basic cultural patterns were similar throughout much of the area.[6]

Deciphering the iconography of figures from Central Veracruz presents three additional problems. First, relatively little archaeological work has been undertaken in the region, and there are scant records of contact with the original communities there. Second, ceramics like the Appleton figure were found in burials, where they were placed, unprotected, into shallow graves of heavy soil.[7] Thus, breakage was possible during interment and probable during excavation. Because so many of these sculptures have been "recovered" by looters rather than by means of controlled, documented archaeological procedures, original elements may be missing, new ones may have been added, and massive reconstruction may result.[8] Third, there is the problem of forgeries; hundreds of clay sculptures from the period and region are modern counterfeits, many of which have been in prestigious collections for years; thus, scholars have been compiling a corpus of work based, in part, on fraudulent material.[9]

The art of Pre-Columbian Mexico reflects, above all, the religious beliefs of its peoples. Every aspect of religion was developed, including shamanism, a pantheon of deities, ritualism, mythology, and a formal priesthood.[10] At contact, fertility, well-being, and even the existence of the universe depended on nourishing the gods with hearts and blood procured by the constant waging of war to obtain sacrificial victims.[11] War had become a form of worship.[12] Because warfare and religion were intimately related, so, too, were the realms of priest and warrior. Some young priests were trained in warfare, and many engaged in battle to take sacrificial prisoners;[13] thus, they were warrior-priests.

That many Pre-Columbian objects send mixed messages, perceptually and conceptually, is understandable considering that deities were related to each other in various ways, could appear in multiple aspects, and could change from young to old, male to female, and malevolent to benevolent.[14] In addition, although each had specific insignia and costume, these elements were not exclusive but were shared with other deities.[15]

This concept of duality is common to all Pre-Conquest Mesoamerican cultures from the earliest to the latest. The constant cyclical rhythms of nature—of living and dying—were most obvious—celestially—as day and night, and—seasonally—as crops grew, ripened, were harvested, and died; "dead" seeds were then planted, and a new cycle began.[16] The principle reflects not a duality of struggling opposites but rather complementary, interdependent forces in a state of dynamic tension.[17] Life and death were accepted as two states that formed the whole of the natural order; one without the other was incomplete, and, therefore, one was not preferable to the other. That burial iconography involves gods who represented both death and fertility and sometimes was almost identical with that of agricultural fertility cults is consistent with this world view.

The Appleton sculpture was produced in the Remojadas area of south-central Veracruz. Generally hot and humid, Veracruz is a narrow, fertile plain that lies along Mexico's Gulf Coast (Figure 2) and rises to the dry, high plateau of Central Mexico. The coastal plain was a major trade and migration route, and commerce between Veracruz and Teotihuacan, in the Valley of Mexico, was established by 300 A.D.; contact was maintained throughout the Classic.[18]

Teotihuacan was the center of power and prestige in Mesoamerica between 350 and 500 A.D. and, although that city stimulated changes in art throughout the region,[19] the period is characterized by the development of local cultures, each with a distinct artistic style.[20] We know little of the role played by Veracruz in the Classic period, but it did undergo a period of population expansion during which large ceremonial centers, indicating increasingly sophisticated religious rituals, were erected.[21] Under the influence of Teotihuacan, the lively, casual style of earlier Central Veracruz art became more formal and

rigid, exhibiting rectilinear shapes, bilateral symmetry, and repetition of decorative details.[22]

The Appleton sculpture is 29¾ inches high, 14 inches wide, and 6 inches deep. The barefoot figure wears a short skirt to below the knee; two raised diagonal panels are attached to the skirt front. The ties of a bow knot at the proper left of the waist fall over remnants of appliquéd scallops which wrap around the side and extend across the rear of the figure. "Trousers" extend under the skirt to shortly above the ankles; "sleeves" extend to midway between elbow and wrist. Behind its head is a horizontal cylindrical bar from each side of which hang three feather representations. The flared headdress, attached by a chin strap, has two concave circular disks at the front and a bowknot at the top, center. A small figure sits atop the flat surface of the headdress;[23] behind it is a broad, flat band adorned on each side by four representations of feathers. Tubular earrings extend midway down the back. A flat, narrow neckpiece, missing its ornament, is scored with slashes. In the proper right hand is a baton-like object that extends from above the shoulder to the ground and tapers downward. The proper left hand holds a flat rectangular object by a thong. The eyes are represented by horizontal slits. A thin black line extends from the outer corner of each eye across the temples. The mouth, surrounded by a patch of black that extends across the lower part of the nose, is open, as if in a howl, exposing a second, inner, mouth.[24]

A savior figure and an agricultural deity of regeneration and fertility, Xipe Totec, according to myth, provided food to mankind by skinning himself alive and tearing out his eyes; because of his sacrifice, the gods granted to humans the gift of maize, which also sheds its skin (husk) as new life sprouts.[25] Xipe is the personfication of the process of renewal and transformation—for the new to emerge, the old must be sacrificed—and thus is the demonstrator of the ultimate duality.

The Appleton figure exhibits a primary attribute of Xipe: what appears to be clothing—trousers and a long-sleeved shirt—is actually the flayed skin of another person (Figure 3).[26] In addition, the mouth-within-a-mouth indicates that a full-face mask covers the head of the wearer. In the Xipe ritual, a sacrificial victim, usually a captured warrior, was slain by a priest, who removed and then "entered" the victim's body and facial skin, thus becoming one with the god.[27]

In the Aztec pantheon, the flayed skin is also associated with Tlazolteotl, an earth-fertility goddess.[28] Tlazolteotl is depicted wearing a black mouth patch, a feature she shares with the Appleton figure.

Although primarily an agricultural-fertility divinity, Xipe had a military association as an aspect of Tezcatlipoca, the Aztec patron deity of warriors,[29] and was himself especially venerated by warriors.[30] Those who captured victims for the Xipe festival were honored with gifts, and many viewed, and some participated in, a gladiatorial sacrifice; thus, the militaristic association of the ritual is enhanced.[31]

The distinctive black patch (see Figure 4) around the mouth and lower part of the nose of this figure is made of *chapopote,* a shiny tarlike substance composed of several elements.[32] It has been suggested that such masks on both male and female figures of the Late Pre-Classic represent flayed skin.[33] If, however, that is the case, it seems likely that the *chapopote* mask portrayal would have been superceded when full-flayed-skin depictions of Xipe and Tlazolteotl became prominent. To impose a representation of a skin mask on what is already a full head mask (as on the Appleton figure) is redundant. As I will show, the mouth mask, particularly on male figures, may have had other implications.

The magical connotations or the consistency of *chapopote* may have been more important than its color, although black does have iconographic significance. For the Aztecs and the Maya, the color was associated with death, the underworld,[34] warriors, and the west—where the sun symbolically dies.[35] An Aztec idol of Tezcatlipoca was sculpted of obsidian, the same shiny black stone of which knives, blades, and spear points were made.[36]

Black was also strongly associated with priests. Aztec priests smeared the sick with a multi-component black pitch, significantly called Food of God (*Teotlacualli*), the same substance with which they covered an image of Tezcatlipoca and themselves when they retreated into the woods to perform ritual sacrifices.[37] In addition, priests painted their faces (with a mixture of other substances) in a pattern of two black stripes, one outlining the eyes and extending to the ears, and one across the mouth;[38] both patterns appear on the Appleton figure. Thus, the black mouth patch on male figures may be a priestly attribute with little or no relation to flayed skin.

In the *Tonatamatl Aubin,* Xipe is depicted as a sacrificial knife, wearing a garment that resembles a short skirt.[39] On males, skirts usually appear on deities or deity impersonators; therefore, the garment was used only in ritual contexts,[40] supporting the identification of the Appleton figure as a priest. This interpretation is further reinforced by a Classic Veracruz bowl depicting a ritual in which men are ceremonially attired in kilts, elaborate headdresses, and mouth masks.[41]

The appliquéd scallops at the left of the skirt of the Appleton figure probably originally extended across the entire front of it as well. Such scallops have been thought to represent the flayed skin associated with Xipe.[42] In the codices, however, two types of feathered garments exhibit a pattern very similar to that on the skirt: the *ehautl,* a short tunic, and the *tlahuiztli,* a full body suit (Figure 5).[43] Therefore, the scallop pattern probably represents feathers, and may indicate Xipe in his warrior affiliation. The gladiatorial component of the Aztec Xipe festival involved warriors dressed in *tlahuiztlis,* sometimes covered with feathers.[44] Figure 6 shows Xipe in this type of garment.

In the proper left hand the Appleton figure holds an unadorned rectangular object that may be a bag or a shield. According to Durán, a stone ritual image of Xipe carried in his left hand a shield decorated with feathers.[45] A priest, however, might carry an incense bag, but given that the scallops place Xipe in a warrior context, the object is probably a shield.

In the right hand may be an *atlatl,* a staff, or a rattle-stick. An *atlatl* would be consistent with Xipe in his warrior mode, and Tezcatlipoca, as a warrior, carries this weapon.[46] According to Burland, however, Xipe always carried a staff.[47] Durán is more specific, stating that Xipe carried in his right hand a staff with rattles at the end.[48] Such sticks, probably made of wood or cane, were about 4 to 6 feet long,[49] which would be consistent with the height of this figure. The priest as shaman "in the festival

of Xipe enters into the skin of the flayed victim, dons the feathered headdress, and by means of music and dance, employing drum and rattle-stick, becomes one with the god...."[50]

Feathers adorn the headdress of the Appleton figure. Highly prized by the Indians of Mesoamerica since the earliest times, they signified status or rank.[51] Neumann writes of the priest of Xipe donning a feathered headdress,[52] and Oaxacan depictions of Xipe wear quetzal feathers.[53]

The headdress is topped with a prominent central bowknot.[54] The stone image of the Aztec Xipe wore a headdress tied in an elaborate bow on his forehead,[55] and bows are attributes of Oaxacan Xipes.[56]

A stick-figure-like character sits atop the headgear — feet flat, knees flexed, elbows resting on knees, and hands clasping opposite shoulders. Its pose is a burial position and can be related to a figure of the death god Mictlantecuhtli (Figure 7).[57] Its posture resembles as well that of Xochipilli, god of dance and flowers, an aspect of Xipe, who wears a flayed skin covered with blossoms.[58]

The concave disks on the front of the headdress may represent mirrors, relating to Xipe's ability to see into the future,[59] or to this deity as an aspect of Tezcatlipoca, the all-powerful god whose name means "smoking mirror"[60] and who possessed occult powers.[61] La Venta, a Middle Pre-Classic site, provides an early precedent for highly reflective concave mirrors,[62] which priests used for divination.[63] Symbolic of enlightenment and implying unique powers of vision,[64] mirrors are consistent with the priestly role of the shaman as a bridge to the supernatural.

The neckpiece, scored with slash marks, resembles an animal pelt. It may be the *ehuacozcatl,* a skin collar, mentioned by Nicholson, although he does not specify whether the skin is animal or human.[65] Horns and neckpieces similarly marked appear on Oaxacan Xipe figures and represent the skin of the victim.[66]

The earrings (Figure 8) may be tubular plumes. Long, flowing feathers were symbolic of water and would be consistent with Xipe in his fertility role.[67] Here, however, they more likely represent cloth strips, similar to those pulled through the earlobes of Maya penitents involved in sacrificial rites.[69]

The Appleton figure thus embodies the Mexican concept of duality and is related to warfare, sacrifice, and the cycles of life and death. Almost certainly it may be identified as depicting a priest who wears the garb of the agricultural-fertility deity Xipe Totec. The mouth-within-a-mouth and the flayed skin is the costume of Xipe; the mouth mask and the lines extending from the eyes to the ears, the skirt (worn by males only in a ritual context), the rattle-stick used to invoke the gods, and the mirrors as divination devices, all identify this figure as a priest. Finally, the scallop appliqué places the figure in a military context, most likely that of the priest's role as a warrior involved in the capture of sacrificial victims.

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1 Chronological designations are as follows: Early Pre-Classic, 2000-1000 B.C.; Middle Pre-Classic, 1000-500 B.C.; Late Pre-Classic, 500-100 B.C.; Proto-Classic, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250; Early Classic, 250-550 A.D.; and Late Classic, 550-900 A.D.

2 Roy C. Craven, Jr., "Pre-Columbian America," *The Appleton Collection* (Ocala, Florida: Appleton Museum of Art, 1987) 95.

3 The suggestion that the figure is a burial portrait will not be addressed.

4 George Kubler, "Period, Style, and Meaning in Ancient American Art," *New Literary History* 1 (1970): 143.

5 Alfonso Caso, *The Aztecs: People of the Sun* (Norman: U of Oklahoma Press, 1958) 10.

6 Armand J. Labbé, *Religion, Art, and Iconography: Man and Cosmos in Prehispanic Mesoamerica* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Bowers Museum Foundation, 1982) 6.

7 Andre Emmerich, *Art Before Columbus* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963) 114.

8 Harold W. McBride, "Figurine Types of Central and Southern Veracruz," *Ancient Art of Veracruz,* ed. Olga Hammer (Los Angeles: Ethnic Arts Council of Los Angeles, 1971) 26. The Appleton figure has been restored and reconstructed. The most obvious areas of restoration are the skirt front, the headdress, and the elements in the hands. There are drip marks across the chest, which could be remnants of the original stucco wash sometimes applied to such figures (Philip Drucker, "Ceramic Stratigraphy at Cerro de las Mesas, Veracruz, Mexico," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 141 [1943]: 57); more likely, they are evidence of a wash of finely ground clay fragments in solution that restorers often use to hide repairs, which then become visible only by means of X-rays (Emmerich 114).

9 Mimi Crossley and E. Logan Wagner, "Is It a Fake?" *Connoisseur,* June 1987: 98, 101.

10 H. B. Nicholson, "Religion in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico," *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* ed. Robert Wauchope (Austin: U of Texas Press, 1971) 10, pt.1 :395.

11 Nicholson, *Handbook* 424.

12 Caso 13.

13 Pedro Carrasco, "Social Organization of Ancient Mexico," *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* ed. Robert Wauchope (Austin: U of Texas Press, 1971) 10, pt.1 :356.

14 Elizabeth P. Benson, *The Maya World* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1967) 111.

15 Nicholson, *Handbook* 408-409.

16 C. A. Burland, *The Gods of Mexico* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1967) 116.

17 Labbé 35.

18 Esther Pasztory, "Historical Synthesis of the Middle Classic Period," *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400-700,* ed. Esther Pasztory (New York: Columbia U Press, 1978) 10.

19 Esther Pasztory, "Artistic Traditions of the Middle Classic Period," *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400-700,* ed. Esther Pasztory (New York: Columbia U Press, 1978) 114.

20 Pasztory, "Historical Synthesis" 12. Because so little work has been done in the Remojadas region, type style designations are far from

certain and are still being elaborated. According to McBride's correlations, however, the Appleton figure should be classified as "Veracruz Late Classic Monumental Clay Sculpture" (McBride 27). Such works exhibit correct body proportions, realistic eye and mouth modeling, and naturalistic arm and leg positions; headdresses, more common than in sculptures of earlier periods, feature vertical flanges and a thin clay ribbon which outlines the elements; details of dress are well-elaborated, and long earrings of tubes and twisted rope appear (McBride 27).

21 Katheryn M. Linduff, *Ancient Art of Middle America: Selections from the Jay C. Leff Collection* (Huntington, West Virginia: Huntington Galleries, 1974) 39.

22 Pasztory, "Artistic Traditions" 114.

23 The figure is not visible in the photographs.

24 The eye lines and mouth mask are not visible in the photograph; see Figure 4 for a similar mask and eye lines. See Figures 3 and 6 for other depictions of the mouth-within-a-mouth.

25 Burland 137.

26 That this is flayed skin is further attested to by the presence of nipples directly on the chest rather than merely the suggestion of nipples as they would appear under a shirt. Figure 3 clearly depicts the manner in which the victim's flayed facial and body skin were tied onto the wearer.

27 Caso 75.

28 Tlazolteotl is thought to have orginated in the Huastec region of northern Veracruz (Caso 54). Seler regards Tlazolteotl as a female counterpart of Xipe (quoted in Cecelia F. Klein, *The Face of the Earth: Frontality in Two Dimensional Mesoamerican Art.* [New York: Garland, 1976] 66).

29 Caso 27.

30 Esther Pasztory, "Three Aztec Masks of the God Xipe," *Falsifications and Misconstructions in Pre-Columbian Art,* ed. Elizabeth H. Boone (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982) 85.

31 Pasztory, *Falsifications* 81.

32 Sage Culpepper Belt, "Veracruz Ceramic Techniques," *Ancient Art of Veracruz,* ed. Olga Hammer (Los Angeles: Ethnic Arts Council of Los Angeles, 1971) 39. *Chapopote* is found only on figures from the Gulf Coast (Miguel Covarrubias, *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America.* [New York: Knopf, 1957] 191). It was in use by the Early Pre-Classic as illustrated by a figurine head marked with the black resin that dates from 1550 B.C. (S. Jeffrey K. Wilkerson, "Man's Eighty Centuries in Veracruz," *National Geographic* August 1980: 217).

33 S. Jeffrey K. Wilkerson, "In Search of the Mountain of Foam: Human Sacrifice in Eastern Mesoamerica," *Ritual Human Sacrifice in Mesoamerica,* ed. Elizabeth H. Boone (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984) 107.

34 Linda Schele and Mary Ellen Miller, *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* (Fort Worth, Texas: Kimball Art Museum, 1986) 42.

35 Sylvanus G. Morley and George W. Brainerd, *The Ancient Maya,* 4th ed. (Stanford: Stanford U Press, 1983) 450.

36 Diego Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar,* trans. and ed. Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden (Norman: U of Oklahoma Press, 1971) 98.

37 Durán 110, 117. This ointment was composed of a mixture of venomous creatures, and *ololiuhqui,* a substance with hallucinogenic properties (Durán 115-116). *Chapopote* may have had the same appearance and consistency. That the Aztec substance was called "Food of God" indicates a natural association with the mouth and, by extension, with the mouth mask.

38 W. du Soleil, *Ancient Mexican Costume* (Mexico: Ediciones Mexicanes, 1950) 36.

39 Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *Indian Clothing Before Cortés: Mesoamerican Costumes from the Codices* (Norman: U of Oklahoma Press, 1981) 68.

40 Anawalt, 209, 211. When what is presumably a supernatural character is ritually performing a priestly function, that character is probably a human appearing as a deity impersonator (Betty Ann Brown, "Seen But Not Heard: Women in Aztec Ritual — The Sahagún Texts," *Text and Image in Pre-Columbian Art,* ed. Janet Catherine Bero [Oxford, England: B.A.R., 1983] 120).

41 John Lunsford, "Preclassic and Protoclassic Sources for a Classic Veracruz Bowl," *Precolumbian Art in Southern Collections* (Huntsville, Alabama: Huntsville Museum of Art, 1979) 5. The masks on the bowl figures appear to be physical entities rather than painted representations.

42 Hasso von Winning, *Pre-Columbian Art of Mexico and Central America* (New York: Abrams, 1968) 169.

43 Anawalt 76, Example 6e.

44 Nicholson, *Handbook* 424. John F. Scott suggests that similar depictions of this "pilly texture" on stone figures may represent connective tissue of a flayed skin turned inside out ("Potbellies and Fat Gods," *Journal of New World Archaeology* June 1988: 35). Bernardino de Sahagún, however, relates that the skins were worn for twenty days after which time they were removed, and the wearers were washed in such a way that "the fat from the skins they had worn would come off" (*A History of Ancient Mexico,* trans. Fanny R. Bandelier [Nashville: Fisk U Press, 1932] 79); this implies that flayed skins were worn epidermis-side out and reinforces the interpretation of the scallop pattern as representing feathers.

45 Durán 74.

46 Caso 31.

47 Burland 137.

48 Durán 174.

49 José Luis Franco, "Musical Instruments from Central Veracruz in Ancient Times," *Ancient Art of Veracruz,* ed. Olga Hammer (Los Angeles: Ethnic Arts Council of Los Angeles, 1971) 18. The stick held by the Appleton figure has been reconstructed and may originally have been topped with representations of rattles.

50 Frank J. Neumann, "The Rattle-Stick of Xipe Totec: A Shamanistic Element in Pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican Religion," *Actas del XLI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1976) 249. This stick, the *chicahuaztli,* was a male symbol for rain and played a role in water and mountain deity cults (not inconsistent with Xipe as a fertility god) (Neumann 247). The concepts of male symbols, potency, and Xipe himself as a phallic symbol will not be discussed here, although these connotations are certainly present.

51 Jacques Soustelle, *Daily Life of the Aztecs on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest* (Stanford: Stanford U Press, 1970) 139.

52 Neumann 249.

53 Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal, *Urnas de Oaxaca* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología, 1952) 253.

54 That bows and ties can be highly specific indicators is illustrated by Schele and Miller (196), who refer to ties on a container as "bloodletting knots."

55 Durán 174.

56 Frank H. Boos, *The Ceramic Sculptures of Ancient Oaxaca* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1966) 151.

57 Drucker Pl. 14c.

58 Durán 173, fn 2.

59 Burland 137.

60 Caso 27.

61 Theodore Stern, *The Rubber-Ball Games of the Americas* (Seattle: U of Washington Press, 1949) 66.

62 Muriel Porter Weaver, *The Aztecs, Maya and Their Predecessors* (New York: Seminar Press, 1972) 54-55.

63 Nicholson, *Handbook* 412.

64 Klein 209, 217.

65 H. B. Nicholson, "The Late Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican (Aztec) Iconographic System," *The Iconography of Middle American Sculpture* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973) 88.

66 Boos 161.

67 Carmen Cook de Leonard, "Minor Arts of the Classic Period in Central Mexico," *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* ed. Robert Wauchope (Austin: U of Texas Press, 1971) 10, pt. 1: 218.

68 Schele and Miller 192.

Figure 1. Standing Male. A.D. 500-900. Veracruz (Remojadas), ceramic, 29¾ in. h. Appleton Museum of Art, Ocala, Florida. Photo: Roy C. Craven, Jr.

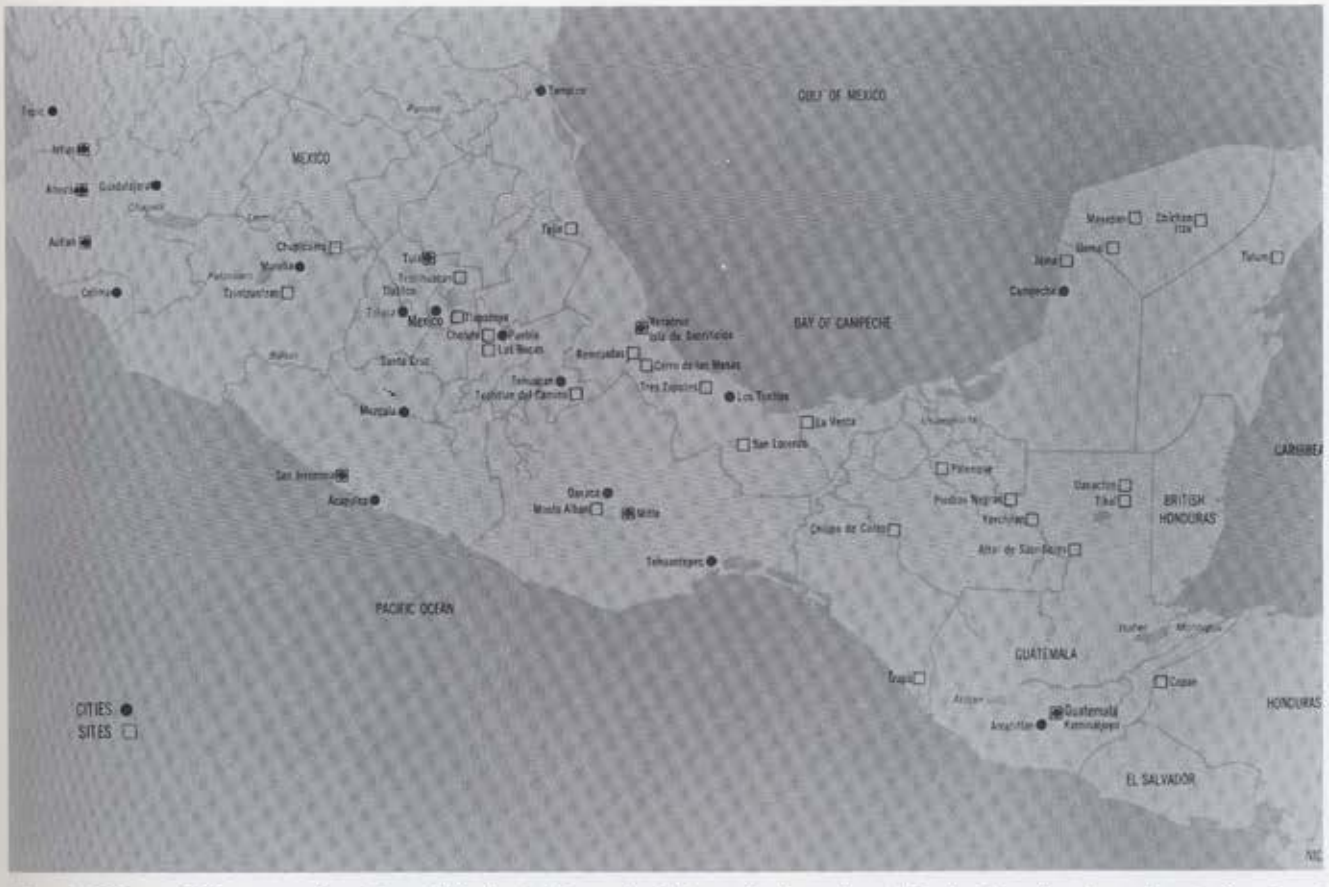

Figure 2. Map of Mesoamerica. From Elizabeth Kennedy Easby, *Ancient Art of Latin America from the Collection of Jay C. Leff* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1967), 112.

Figure 3. Seated Xipe. A.D. 1200-1500. Aztec (Texcoco, Valley of Mexico), stone, 15¾ in. h. Museum für Volkerkunde, Basel, Switzerland. From Samuel K. Lothrop, *Treasures of Ancient America* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1964), 61.

Figure 4. Standing Male. A.D. 500-700. Veracruz, ceramic, 30 in h. Private Collection. From Olga Hammer, ed., *Ancient Art of Veracruz* (Los Angeles: Ethnic Arts Council of Los Angeles, 1971), fig. 37.

Figure 5. Right: Warrior Wearing a *Tlahuiztli.* From Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *Indian Clothing before Cortés: Mesoamerican Costumes from the Codices* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), fig. 27 (from *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*), ©1981 by the University of Oklahoma Press.

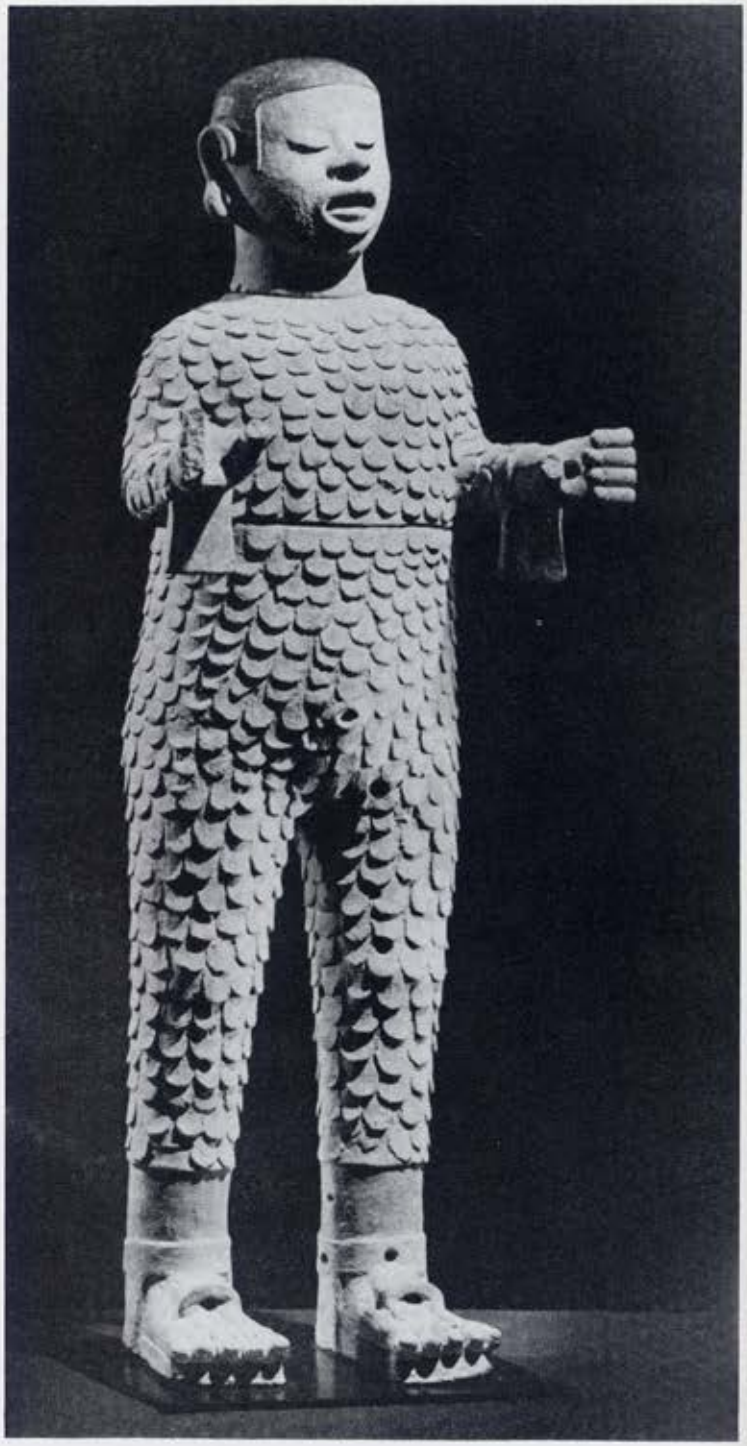

Figure 6. Standing Xipe Wearing a *Tlahuiztli.* A.D. 900-1200. Veracruz, ceramic, 45⅞ in. h. From Elizabeth Kennedy Easby, *Ancient Art of Latin America from the Collection of Jay C. Leff* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1967), fig. 405.

Figure 7. Michtlantecuhtli. A.D. 500-700. Veracruz (Los Cerros, Tierra Blanca), ceramic, 14½ in. h. Museo de Antropología, Jalapa, Veracruz, Mexico.

Figure 8. Side View of Appleton Figure. A.D. 500-900. Veracruz (Remojadas), ceramic, 29¾ in. h. Appleton Museum of Art, Ocala, Florida. Photo: Sandra Talarico.