

associated with females, either placed in their burials or used in household ancestor rituals conducted by women (Marcus 1998, 2009b).

By the Classic period, mold-made figurines that represent both males and females became the dominant form in Oaxaca (e.g., Feinman 2018). In contrast to Formative figurines, Classic period figurines are usually clothed; they often wear decorated cotton garments and have elaborate headdresses (e.g., Caso and Bernal 1952, 293, 295; Martínez López and Winter 1994, 6–67). Feathers are often represented in both headdresses (e.g., Caso and Bernal 1952, 179, 309) and garments (e.g., Scott 1993, 20).

Classic period figurines are mostly known from the prehispanic capital city, Monte Albán (Caso et al. 1967; see also Bernal 1965; Caso and Bernal 1952; Kuttruff 1978; Martínez López and Winter 1994; Paddock 1966). In these earlier publications, figurines were mostly discussed through a culture historical lens as chronological or cultural markers (see also Sánchez Santiago and López Zárate 2017), with figurines from Monte Albán seen as typical for the entire valley. They also were thought to be representations of the supernatural, with specific figurine varieties identified as different goddesses (e.g., Caso and Bernal 1952; see also Boos 1966). These early discussions gave little consideration to spatial variation or to the significance of different contexts in which specific figurines were found.

Although intact deposits of complete figurines arranged in scenes naturally have received the greatest attention as a vantage to past ritual activities (Marcus 2009b, 2019), we believe that the large corpus of broken figurines recovered from other contexts can also provide useful information on how and where different broad categories of figurines and whistles were used and how variations in representations and use patterned across contexts and sites. For the Valley of Oaxaca, no prior study has analyzed a large corpus of figurines in conjunction with a consideration of distributional variation from a suite of contexts. Sue Scott (1993) defined a set of warrior figurines from several excavated palaces at Lambityeco, but the warriors in her study represent only one class of figurines that were analytically culled from a much larger assemblage.

#### A4.2. Classic Period Figurines in the Valley of Oaxaca

In developing our classification, we reviewed roughly contemporaneous assemblages of figurines that had been reported or published from other sites in the Valley of Oaxaca (see Figure 1.1). We excavated only in the civic-ceremonial core of Lambityeco, but other sources have reported on figurines from excavations in domestic areas (López Zárate 2016) and from the palaces north of the civic-ceremonial core of Lambityeco that were excavated by Paddock (Scott 1993). There also is a large assemblage of Classic period figurines from Macuilxochitl (Faulseit 2013; Faulseit et al. 2016; López Zárate 2016), located approximately 5 km northwest of Lambityeco. At that site,

there is evidence of figurine production on one excavated terrace (Faulseit et al. 2016), which includes figurine representations also present at Lambityeco. For Yagul, another archaeological settlement near Lambityeco, Bernal and Gamio's (1974) report on excavations in a palatial residence illustrates many figurines. Several publications report on figurines from Miahuatlán in the southern part of the Central Valleys of Oaxaca, just south of Ejutla (Brockington 1973; Markman 1981). A small assemblage of figurines from Jalieza, in the Valle Grande, are included in a report on excavations in domestic contexts at the site (Elson et al. 2010). A small subset of figurines from the region's primary center of Monte Albán (Blanton 1978) are published in several books (Boos 1966; Caso and Bernal 1952; Caso et al. 1967; Kuttruff 1978; López Martínez and Winter 1994), but the selective reporting and the somewhat spare accompanying information on context limit direct comparisons with samples from that key site. As relevant, we drew on these other works as we coded the figurines at each of these sites in line with the schema that we employed for the assemblages we excavated. In certain cases, the figurines that are reported in the available literature include more complete figurines that permit us to match the broken mold-made heads and torsos in our collections and visualize a more complete representation.

The molded figurines that dominate the Classic period assemblage in the Valley of Oaxaca were made using technology not previously employed before the Classic period; yet figurines modeled by hand continued to be made and used at that time, and they are not rare finds. In our analysis, we tried to expand our perspective on Classic period figurines and to start to understand if and how the use of the new molded forms differed from the modeled figurines of the Formative period.

Our approach is broadly similar to that of Lesure (1999), who considers figurines both as products and as ritual implements. We classify figurines in broad categories without making assumptions about the specific personages that are represented. Because we have a large assemblage with context, we can provide insight into spatial variation in figurine use. Why do some contexts have many more figurines than others? Is there site-specific or context-specific variation in figurine assemblages? Can we define communal (public ritual) instead of domestic use for some classes of figurines? Prehispanic Mesoamericans used music to communicate with the supernatural world (Houston 2006, 143; Sánchez Santiago 2005; Taube 2004, 78), and it was an integral part of ballgame ritual (Wyllie 2010, 216; Zender 2004). Are different sets of whistles used for making music in domestic rituals as opposed to the more public rituals associated with the Mesoamerican ballgame?

#### A4.3. Categories of Classic Period Figurines in the Valley of Oaxaca

Classic period figurines in the Valley of Oaxaca are diverse in form, size, representation, and production technique,

ranging from small, modeled animals and human figures to larger mold-made ones with flat backs that include females attired in a broad array of dress and headdress styles and males outfitted in a range of warrior garb. There also are large and small anthropomorphic whistles with modeled bodies and molded heads. We became aware of not only this diversity in form but also the dizzying array of variation in the expression of individual attributes as we excavated the four different sites and the number of figurines and whistles in our collections increased to more than 7500. The 2005 figurines and fragments from Ejutla include many wasters, and a number of the figurine molds we recovered match some of the more common figurine varieties at the site (see sections 7.1 and 7.7; Feinman and Nicholas 2004a, 175–76). Although we found figurine fragments in all houses and public spaces at El Palmillo, they were much less abundant than at Ejutla, with 1169 figurine fragments spread out over the eight houses and adjacent spaces. There were slightly more figurines in the upper palatial residences than in the lower houses. Evidence for figurine production was absent. Figurines were a bit more abundant on the three terraces at the Mitla Fortress (562) than on terraces at El Palmillo. There was minimal evidence for ceramic production, including for figurines. At Lambityeco, most of the material remains were associated with ritual activities. In addition to an abundance of large ollas and serving vessels that were used in feasting events administered by the resident priests of Mound 165, we recovered 3870 figurine and whistle fragments. The figurines and whistles were recovered from the residence and all the public spaces, including several features filled with figurine and whistle fragments that appear to be event-related discard.

To understand whole figurine assemblages, and not just figurines found in intact primary contexts, we knew that we could not just describe all the individual attributes of the figurines, or what Paddock (1983, 203) described as a “nearly endless” array of variability, and that we needed ways to organize and compare larger figurine assemblages from different contexts. To make sense of the wide variety of figurine forms and attributes, we decided it would be useful to group this tremendous diversity into a smaller set of broad categories that we could more easily examine across contexts and sites. This first classificatory step provides a way to define the parameters and general frequencies of the diverse forms of Classic period figurines and to investigate how and in what distinct contexts different figurines and whistles were most abundant.

Leaving aside the great diversity in the finer details of form and representation, we see in this assemblage eight major categories of Classic period figurines and whistles—animals, anthropomorphic miniatures, three distinct sets of females, male warriors, small whistles, and large globular whistles (see Table A4.1). Basically, size, production technique, and representation are the main criteria that we used to distinguish these categories. We base our gender assignments on prior studies of prehispanic figurines in

Oaxaca and elsewhere in Mesoamerica (Halperin 2014, 54; López Zárate 2014; Scott 1993; Serra Puche and Durand V. 1998; Stark et al. 1998, 19–20; Triadan 2007, 276–77) and on extensive discussions of Mesoamerican attire, including in late prehispanic codices (Anawalt 1981a, 1981b, 1985; Berdan and Anawalt 1997; Filloy Nadal 2017, figure 3; McCafferty and McCafferty 1996).

We identify three major categories of females but only one category for male warrior figurines; artifact sizes and broad styles of headdresses and garments tend to co-occur in female figurines, whereas the attribute-level variability in male figurines tends to be cross-cutting in ways that do not accord with the definition of discrete overarching categories. For each major category, we have also defined principal variants or subcategories that have specific attributes or imagery. Here we define the key elements of each category and describe the principal variants. At this stage, we gloss over the great idiosyncratic variability in the finer details, facial features, and minor size discrepancies, focusing on consistent, repetitive patterning in the representations of headgear and garments.

In our collections, from approximately half (Ejutla) to 90% (Lambityeco) of the figurines were sufficiently well preserved or complete enough to assign to one of the eight major categories. Those artifacts too fragmentary or eroded to code to a category are not considered further in this analysis. Overall, the modeled and miniature figurines are the most variable. Not unexpectedly, the larger molded figurines are more standardized in form and representation. Although our classification was developed principally on the large number of figurines in our collections, photographs and illustrations of Classic period figurines and whistles from elsewhere in the Valley of Oaxaca (Bernal and Gamio 1974; Boos 1966; Brockington 1973; Caso and Bernal 1952; Caso et al. 1967; Faulseit 2013; Faulseit et al. 2016; Kuttruff 1978; López Zárate 2016; Markman 1981; Martínez López and Winter 1994; Paddock 1966; Sánchez Santiago 2005; Scott 1993) helped inform and confirm the patterns we see in our collections. In some of those works (e.g., Elson et al. 2010), there are variants not present in our collections. Our classification is a pilot study to see if the variable distribution of broad categories of figurines in different contexts can help us understand different behaviors in the production and use of figurines. We intend it as a roadmap that others working at Classic period sites in the Valley of Oaxaca may find helpful for organizing their figurine assemblages, fully suspecting that a broader study of the full corpus of Classic period figurines from across the valley by us and, hopefully, others will foster refinements and additions to this classification.

#### ***A4.3.1. Animal Figurines***

Most of the animal figurines are small, solid forms that have fully modeled torsos and heads on which facial features are formed through incision or the addition of

small appliques (Figure A4.1). Because they are modeled by hand, there is great variability in how different parts of the bodies are portrayed or emphasized. Dogs are most commonly represented (Figure A4.1 bottom; Martínez López and Winter 1994, 115, figure 92). For dogs, most facial details tend to be incised, although the eyes more typically are formed by adding a variety of small applique circles to the face.

Birds and other animals occur in lower numbers. Birdlike figures have incised or applied eyes on the sides of large modeled beaks (Figure A4.1 top). Some have features that appear to represent owls and bats. Other figures can be identified as frogs, opossums, jaguars, monkeys, bear cubs, and turtles (see also Faulseit 2013, 208; Martínez López and Winter 1994, 110, figure 87).

#### A4.3.2. Miniature Anthropomorphic Figurines

We include small modeled and molded figurines in this category (Figure A4.2; López Zárate 2016, 70, figure 3.9). Size is a key criterion. The small molded figurines, when complete, tend to be no more than 6–7 cm tall; there is a bit more range in the size of modeled figurines. As with the animals, there is considerable variability in the anthropomorphic modeled figures. Generally, they are simple, ranging from small bodies with crudely formed limbs to torsos with stump legs to simply a head with almost no body (Figure A4.2a–c). Facial features are typically incised, although the eyes may be applied. A few have breasts to identify them as female, but the intended sex often cannot be determined.

The small molded figurines can be divided into females and warriors. The females typically have braided headdresses and wear a *quechquémitl* (long triangular tunic, or *huipil*) (Figure A4.2d–f). The tunics may be plain or have a decorated border. Most of the figures wear some kind of jewelry around their necks. Their arms may be down at their sides or crossed over their chests. A few small molded figurines are warriors (Figure A4.2g–i). They typically wear some kind of helmet. Most of the torsos have loincloths.

#### A4.3.3. Female #1 (Braided Headdress)

Female figurines largely fall into two categories that we call female #1 and female #2, both of which may be as tall as 15–17 cm; a consistently smaller figurine with a tight set of attributes is female #3. The key characteristics of female #1 are a braided headdress, typically one braided band on the forehead, and a *quechquémitl* over a simple, long garment (Figure A4.3; Caso and Bernal 1952, 294, figure 446). These two features almost always co-occur in the more complete figurines that are not broken across the neck. Based on how the garments are displayed, there are two principal variants of female #1. Both variants have short arms at their sides below the tunic, a necklace of one or two strands of beads, and short, stump-like legs. Although there is variability in how the braids are displayed (how many strands, size of braid, and other details beyond the typically simple braid; Figure A4.3a–b), there is no one style of braided headdress that clearly goes with each broad garment variant. Compared to female #2, the imagery in the braided headdresses is much less complex.



**Figure A4.1. Small modeled animal figurines. Top: Bird figurine (whistle) from El Palmillo (left) and two bird heads from Lambityeco (right). Bottom: dog figurines from Lambityeco.**



**Figure A4.2. Miniature anthropomorphic figurines. Modeled figurines from Ejutla (a), El Palmillo (b), and Lambityeco (c). Molded females from the Mitla Fortress (d), El Palmillo (e), and Lambityeco (f). Molded warriors from Lambityeco (g), El Palmillo (h), and the Mitla Fortress (i).**

The first variant of female #1 wears a plain tunic over a long garment (Figure A4.3c–d). The notable characteristic is the lack of decoration beyond a beaded necklace. The tunic may have a defined border, but neither the border nor any other part of the tunic is decorated. The garment may have a basal band of variable width, but as with the tunic, there is no decoration. In most examples the garment does not have a belt. This variant of female #1 often has an appliqué back support.

The tunic and garment of the second variant of female #1 are decorated, but not very elaborately. The tunics may be adorned with a border panel of crude zigzag lines,

small *greca*-like motifs, or other simple design (Figure A4.3e–f). Most of the garments have a small belt with a herringbone pattern (possibly a rope) below the tip of the tunic; those that aren't belted typically have a basal border with simple decoration, either a series of horizontal parallel incised lines or short vertical lines that provide a beaded appearance. Only one example of this variant in our collections has a back support.

#### **A4.3.4. Female #2 (Intricate Headdress)**

The key characteristic of female #2 is a large, rounded headdress adorned with a complex set of intricate circular



**Figure A4.3. Female #1 with braided headdresses and simple garments. Braided headdresses from Ejutla (a) and Lambityeco (b). Female variant with plain tunics and garments from Ejutla (c) and Lambityeco (d). Female variant with simply decorated tunics and garments from Lambityeco (e and f).**

designs (Figure A4.4; Caso and Bernal 1952, 90, figure 445). There is considerable variability in the exact representations, which include multiple sets of small circles and short lines, concentric semicircular lines, or other serpentine elements. This juxtaposition of curvilinear imagery with circular orbs may encode information about the annual calendrical cycle (Feinman and Nicholas 2015; Solar et al. 2011), as prehispanic Mesoamerican mythic

beliefs envisioned a plumed serpent that carried the sun across the heavens (e.g., Taube 2015).

As with the intricate complexity of the headdresses, female #2's garments are more elaborately decorated than those of female #1. The former figure is typically also more heavily bejeweled. The design motifs in the headdresses are presented in a wide array of variations, but the basic



Figure A4.4. Female #2 heads with intricate headdresses from Lambityeco.

elements and form of this style of headdress are both consistent in form as well as component elements, and they are distinctive from the head attires worn by any other categories of figures. Because few figurines are complete when we find them, we can identify only a few variants of female #2 that tend to co-occur with specific torsos. The torsos more clearly fall into three principal variants. The first variant does not wear a quechquémitl; the figure's wide decorated belt encircles a garment that typically has a long basal fringe above stump legs (Figure A4.5 top). The figure is adorned with a large elaborate two- or three-strand necklace that covers the entire chest, and its short arms are extended out on both sides.

The second variant wears a short elaborately decorated quechquémitl above a garment with a decorated belt and basal fringe; it is also richly adorned in jewelry (Figure A4.5 center). Short arms hang down the side below the decorated border of the tunic. The third variant also wears a decorated tunic over a garment with a decorated belt, but the arms are crossed on the chest (Figure A4.5 bottom). The garment typically has fringe or other decorative elements on the base of the garment. The decorated quechquémitl may be asymmetrical, which is not characteristic of female #1. We do not have any examples of female #2 that have appliqued back supports.

#### A4.3.5. Female #3 (Small with Crossed Arms)

The third female is intermediate in size, usually between about 9 and 12 cm tall. This figurine category is more

standardized than the other two categories of females (Figure A4.6; Scott 1993, 18, figure 32). The figures are always thin and tabular; they have a simple, low, tightly braided headdress; their necks are adorned with a single strand of beads; their arms are crossed on their chests; and they wear a short quechquémitl with plain border that ends above a decorated band near the base of the garment.

#### A4.3.6. Male/Warrior Figurines

Male figurines are a diverse group with several broad variants of headgear and garments that do not appear to co-occur as consistently as they do for the females. There are few complete warrior figurines in our collections, but in the future, availability of a larger set of more complete warrior figurines may permit refinements. Most of the male figurines are costumed as warriors (Figure A4.7). Certain characteristics of warriors, such as those holding staffs and shields, are common representations and are not tied exclusively to a specific item of clothing or particular kind of headgear. Most warriors had small supports attached to back of the base of the torso. The attachments are hollow with a small hole that can be blown like a whistle (Sánchez Santiago and López Zárata 2017, figure 4.5; Paddock 1983, 203).

There are five principal variants for the torso and three main variants for headgear. The most common imagery on the torso is a textured garment that represents cotton armor (Figure A4.7a–d; López Zárata 2014; Scott 1993, figures 35–38). The garment is usually short, textured with small raised bumps, and the figure typically holds a



**Figure A4.5. Female #2 torsos with decorated garments from Lambityeco.**

round shield (variable in size and decoration) in one hand (usually left) and a long, narrow staff in the other (usually right). In contrast to the stump legs of the females, long legs extend below the garment; ballplayer imagery such as knee bands or leg armor is often visible on the legs (Halperin 2014, 63).

Another male variant wears a long cape comprising tiers of narrow feathers (Figure A4.7e–g; Scott 1993, figures 49–51). The cape may be closed or open down the middle

revealing a loincloth or other undergarment. The figure typically holds a small shield and long staff near the center of the torso. The arms are usually covered by the cape and not visible as they are in the warriors wearing cotton armor.

The distinguishing feature of a third variant of warrior is the presence of a loincloth and the absence of an upper garment (Figure A4.7h). The loincloths vary in length and elaboration but often have no decoration at all. Some



Figure A4.6. Female #3 small figurines with crossed arms from Lambityeco.

figures wear a necklace, others do not. Their arms usually hang down at their sides, but in a small subset they are bent and hold a large shield and a long staff.

A less common variant wears an untextured upper garment, with a seam or other adornment down the center, like a short jacket (Figure A4.7i–j; Scott 1993, figures 44–45). For these, a loincloth is sometimes present, but not always. All our examples hold a small shield in their left hand and a narrow staff in their right hand.

The final variant depicts what may be priests, wearing either a long robe or a large pleated skirt (Figure A4.8a–d; Scott 1993, figure 34). The robe is draped over the shoulders and covers a long garment; the arms of the individual stick out from the robe and may be clasped or just placed on the chest. The individual wearing the skirt is usually holding a circular object or orb on his abdomen above the pleated garment. One skirt-wearing male portrayed in select ceramic effigy vessels from the Late Classic period in the Valley of Oaxaca has been associated with the supernatural Xipe Totec (Scott 1993; Sellen 2003).

A small subset of warriors have a human trophy head hanging upside down on the chest, between the legs, or held in the hand by the hair (Figure A4.8e–f; López Zárate 2014, 239–40, figure 13; Moser 1973, figure 21;

Scott 1993, figures 46–48). Although they are most often associated with warriors wearing cotton armor, they are not exclusive to that variant; some examples of warriors wearing feathered capes or plain jackets also hold the trophy head in their hands or hang it around their necks.

The warrior headgear falls into three principal categories (see López Zárate 2014; Scott 1993). One variant includes a range of helmets and turban-like headdresses; the helmets may be simple or highly elaborated (Figure A4.8g–h). Another common variant wears a feathered hood (Figure A4.8i–j). The hood typically surrounds the face and has a tall tuft of feathers on the top of the hood. Less common but distinctive is a variant that wears a plain hood around the face, above which there are tiers of plain bands or disks and a tuft of feathers at the top (Figure A4.8k–l).

#### A4.3.7. *Small Whistles*

The entire torso of a small whistle is modeled so that the resonating hollow chamber is part of the figure and not an applied addition like the hollow supports of the warriors (Figure A4.9a; Sánchez Santiago and López Zárate 2017, figure 4.9). The body is narrow with a small hollow cavity near the base. The whistles stand on two small feet in the front of the torso and a small slab-like protrusion on the back below an opening that serves as the blow hole.





**Figure A4.7. Male figurines. Warriors wearing cotton armor from Lambityeco (a), El Palmillo (b), the Mitla Fortress (c), and Ejutla (d). Warriors wearing feathered capes from Lambityeco (e), the Mitla Fortress (f), and El Palmillo (g). Warriors wearing only a loincloth from Ejutla (h). Warrior wearing plain jacket from the Mitla Fortress (i) and Lambityeco (j).**



**Figure A4.8. Male figurines. Possible priests from the Mitla Fortress (a), El Palmillo (b), Lambityeco (c) and Ejutla (d). Warriors with trophy heads from Lambityeco (e) and El Palmillo (f). Warriors wearing helmets from the Mitla Fortress (g) and Lambityeco (h); feathered hoods from Lambityeco (i) and the Mitla Fortress (j); tiered hoods from El Palmillo (k) and Lambityeco (l).**



**Figure A4.9. Small whistles. Complete bodies with blow holes from Lambityeco (a). Complete small whistles with feathered headdresses from the Mitla Fortress (b) and Lambityeco (c). Feathered headdress fragments from Lambityeco (d–e). Buccal whistles from Lambityeco (f), the Mitla Fortress (g), El Palmillo (h), and Ejutla (i).**

The molded heads that are added to the modeled torsos are much more variable, although the headdresses typically consist of three lobes or sets of long, narrow, rayed feathers above a curving band or lappet with *fauces de serpiente* (jaws of snake) representations (Figures A4.9b–e). The headdresses are wide and large in comparison to the small

faces and torsos of the whistles. Two of the few complete small whistles in our collections are 14–15 cm tall.

We include in the small whistle category buccal whistles (Figure A4.9f–i; Sánchez Santiago 2014). These are rare. One long edge of these small rectangular plaque-like whistles



Figure A4.10. Large globular whistles from Lambityeco. Front and back with blow hole (a), whistle head with feathered headdress (b), headdresses with owl imagery (c), whistle heads with *fauces de serpiente* headdresses (d), and whistle headdresses with jaguar faces (e–f).

Table A4.2. Quantity and percentage of figurine/whistles in each broad category\*.

Category	Ejutla	Mitla Fortress	El Palmillo low status	El Palmillo high status	El Palmillo ballcourt	Lambityeco
modeled animal	91	34	69	39	2	125
miniature anthropomorphic	110	58	112	90	5	135
female #1 (braided headdress)	217	26	17	23	1	213
female #2 (intricate headdress)	4	6	6	7	–	405
female #3 (small crossed arms)	2	13	3	2	–	127
male/warrior	417	138	62	110	16	370
whistle (small)	50	74	12	29	1	209
whistle (large globular)	52	32	62	45	1	2018
total	943	381	343	345	26	3602
modeled animal	9.7%	8.9%	20.2%	11.3%	7.7%	3.5%
miniature anthropomorphic	11.7%	15.2%	32.7%	26.1%	19.2%	3.7%
female #1 (braided headdress)	23.0%	6.8%	5.0%	6.7%	3.8%	5.9%
female #2 (intricate headdress)	0.4%	1.6%	1.8%	2.0%	–	11.2%
female #3 (small crossed arms)	0.2%	3.4%	0.9%	0.6%	–	3.5%
male/warrior	44.2%	36.2%	18.1%	31.9%	61.5%	10.3%
whistle (small)	5.3%	19.4%	3.5%	8.4%	3.8%	5.8%
whistle (large globular)	5.5%	8.4%	18.1%	13.0%	3.8%	56.0%

\*percentages are based only on the number of figurines that could be classed to one of the eight categories.

is grooved, with a perforation on the edge that passes through the groove. There is often a second perforation near one of the ends, likely for stringing. Most of these whistles are made of ceramics, although a few in our collections were made of stone, including one from Ejutla. Although not a common artifact, these small whistles have been recovered from all four sites.

#### A4.3.8. Large Globular Whistles

These whistles have a large, globular, hollow body with a narrow neck into which a molded head has been inserted (Figure A4.10a; Martínez López and Winter 1994, figure 49; Sánchez Santiago 2005). Two fin-like vertical appliques are appended to the torso, one on each side in place of arms. The large whistles stand on two spike-like appliques at the base of the front of the body and a large slab-like tail on the back below the blow hole.

All of the headdresses have some kind of large feather representation, but several variants have additional imagery of bats/owls, snakes/jaws of snake, and jaguars. Within each of these principal variants is a wide range of portrayals of the animals. Whistles categorized as having a feathered headdress either have no animal representation beyond feathers or simply were too fragmentary to know (Figure A4.10b).

The bat or owl face is stylized in different manners but is usually placed above the figure's forehead in the center of the headdress (Figure A4.10c). There is typically a tuft of

feathers above the bird's face and feathers that fan out on either side.

*Fauces de serpiente* (jaws of snakes) representations are very common and variable, but they typically occur in a central cartouche in the headdress above the forehead of the figure (Figure A4.10d). In many of these whistles, there is some representation of a jaguar, often just the nose, above the cartouche. The cartouche is usually ensconced in or situated above sets of curving lappets that drape down the sides of the forehead, with large feathers above the lappets and surrounding the cartouche.

Jaguars are prominently displayed in another whistle headdress variant (Figure A4.10e–f). Typically, a complete jaguar face, snarling with teeth visible, sits in the center of the headdress above the forehead of the figure. There are large feathers to the sides and the top of the jaguar. The stylization of the jaguar face is variable, but one specific whistle headdress stands out for its large size and specific imagery. In this variant, the jaguar face is centered between a lappet that contains the symbol for 1 Jaguar on the left and a stylized snake face and reptilian eye on the right (Figure A4.10f). This is the largest headdress in our collections, with a width of 16 cm.

#### A4.4. Interpretation and Discussion

A central goal in broadly classifying the figurines in our collections and looking at contextual differences in their distribution is to elucidate behavioral patterns.