



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.