The Olmec Rock Carvings at Pijijiapan, Chiapas, Mexico and Other Olmec Pieces from Chiapas and Guatemala

by

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THE OLMEC ROCK CARVINGS AT PIJIJIAPAN,
CHIAPAS, MEXICO

During the last twelve years the New World Archaeological Foundation has sponsored explorations on the Pacific coast of Chiapas (Fig. 1) for the purpose of establishing a cultural chronology for the region and describing the life and history of the ancient inhabitants of this extensive zone where foreign influences played a major role. This area is the natural corridor through which many migrating peoples and traders passed: it is a link between Mesoamerica and Central America.

The NWAF has especially promoted the investigation of the origin and development of the cultures of the so-called Formative period. This time period includes the Olmec culture and its art forms, with the archaeological problems of its appearance and diffusion. For that reason the discovery of the rock carvings at Pijijiapan has great importance. These sculptures are a new example of "greater" artistic expression of the Olmec culture of the Gulf Coast which spread toward southern Mesoamerica, an area in which monumental manifestations of that culture are rare.

These rock carvings came to our attention during a reconnaissance of early 1968 when we were taken to the site by Sr. Ariel Esquinca, who had not told anyone of his discovery previously in order to prevent the destruction of the stones and the probable looting of the archaeological zone.

The rock carvings are situated approximately 1 km. west of the Río Pijijiapan, which passes along the edge of the town of the same name (Fig. 1). One reaches the site by following the road to the rancheria El Llanito, now the colonia Guadalupe, on whose lands it is located. The terrain is somewhat broken, as it lies on the boundary between the first foothills of the Sierra Madre and the coastal plain. Except for one small mound, surface remains of habitation are not visible.

The rock carvings are distributed on three large granite boulders, each sculptured on its smoothest face. On all of them the relief was achieved by lowering the surface around the silhouette between 1 and 3 cm. The secondary features were made by means of incisions.

STONE 1

Stone 1 (Figs. 2 and 3) is in the form of a large stela which protrudes 2.95 m. above the ground and has a maximum width of 2.23 m. The worked surface faces 35 degrees west of North. On it are carved three figures. The central one of the three figures seems to be the most important. In his left hand he holds a kind of ceremonial ax or gauntlet (manopla), known in the archaeological literature as a "knuckle-duster," although it seems to have had a different character (Coe 1965: 763-65, Fig. 50, Cervantes 1969). On his head he wears a tall cap which terminates in an effigy head, as can be seen in the line reconstruction (Fig. 3). He wears a pectoral and a short skirt which covers his hip.

At the left, in front of the central personage, is an individual shown in a pose which suggests that he is conversing with the central figure. The left-hand figure is distinguished by a knot over his left leg from which hangs an upward-curving sash; his cap has two decorations on the back.

The third personage, behind the central figure and to the viewer's right, wears a pectoral and a cape with two upward projections.

Common to the costumes of the two flanking personages is a long skirt or cape. I am more inclined to consider it a cape in view of the fact that in both figures the breechcloth is visible and because the legs are clearly indi-
Figure 1. Map of Chiapas showing Pijijiapan and other Olmec sites of the south of Mexico and Guatemala

NWAF investigations at Tzutzuculi have uncovered a late Olmec occupation including several stone monuments (McDonald, in preparation).
cated. In any case, it is interesting that the lower edges of the capes cross their legs, and that within the area of these garments there are some defects in the carving; the front line of the right leg of the third personage is discontinuous with the line of his foot, and the rear line of his left leg is incomplete. It is also curious that only these two secondary personalities have the soles of the feet indicated.

In the background the remains of very eroded scrolls can be distinguished as well as staffs of some sort. On the upper part of the stela are three horizontal incised lines and a diagonal element.

It is important to point out that the most destroyed parts of the stela are the figures' faces, especially that of the central personage. My impression is that they were intentionally damaged.

**STONE 2**

Stone 2 (Fig. 4) is the largest of the three, as the carved surface is 6.10 m. long and 2 m. high. It faces 35 degrees east of South.

*Carving A.* This design, at the far left of the stone, is an incomplete head, of which the double, notched crown and a type of downward curving nose can be seen. It measures 85 cm. in height and 73 cm. in width.

*Carving B.* To the right of Carving A is a scene showing three individuals (and possibly the arm of a fourth) and a tree (Fig. 5). The central figure wears a mask which has been banded and a tall headdress; he sports a possible pectoral, a belt, and a breechcloth and he carries an object between his right arm and his body. One of the accompanying figures wears an armband and both wear decorated headdresses. All the figures seem to approach the tree, of which we are shown the trunk and roots. The whole group measures 1.27 m. in height and 1.65 m. in width.

*Carving C.* The next carving to the right (Figs. 6, 10, a) possibly shows a face beneath a jaguar-helmet or perhaps a stylized jaguar with its mouth disproportionately open; I am more inclined to favor the former interpretation because of the marks of intentional destruction in the area where most of the face would have been. The front of the helmet and the upper part bear representations of germinating seeds. The eye, the ear ornament, and a canine tooth of the jaguar of the helmet are still recognizable. This composition of a helmeted face measures 1.12 m. in height and 0.45 m. in width.

*Carving D.* The series of designs on Stone 2 continues with a left-facing personage wearing a tall headdress which ends in volutes (Fig. 6). There are no indications of the lower part of the body, which apparently was not delineated. The figure is 0.85 m. high and 0.35 m. wide.

*Carving E.* The last design (Fig. 7) was only outlined with incision, not carved. It shows a man seated at the left, with his legs crossed and his right hand raised to the side. At the right, at the end of the stone, are some small unidentifiable carvings which suggest the beginning of a larger motif. The whole scene measures 1.09 m. in height and 0.80 m. in width.

**STONE 3**

The third stone (Fig. 8) is 5.90 m. long and 1.90 m. high; the design covers 3 m. of the length and almost all of the height. Its orientation is the same as that of Stone 2.

Although this stone is more damaged by erosion and by an immense *matapalo* tree (strangler fig) that extended its roots over part of the carving, the portrayal of an iguana is readily recognizable. Certain features of the animal were adapted to the natural form of the rock, such as the curve of the mandible, which follows the edge of a depression.

**THE CERAMICS**

With the aim of finding some cultural remains that would help us to date the rock carvings, we excavated four pits, one at the foot of each of Stones 1 and 2 (Pits 1 and 2) and the others (Pits 3 and 4) at the edge of a small mound 50 m. to the east of Stone 1.

Although almost all of the ceramics excavated were eroded and it was difficult to
Figure 2. Pijijapan Stone I, known locally as Los Soldados
group them into types, in the pits near the mound (Pits 3 and 4) we were able to distinguish two periods of occupation. To the depth of 35 cm. the ceramics encountered were of fine gray paste, with hollow elongated or zoomorphic supports; another type was brick red, with very erased remains of polychrome decoration. Both belong to the Late Postclassic period of the region (A.D. 1250-1524) which is characterized by having received influences from the cultures of Oaxaca. I discarded any idea of a relationship between the origin of the rock carvings and the people who inhabited the site in such late times.

The other occupation which was represented was of the Early Formative period. Ceramics of this period were best represented, however, in Pits 1 and 2, where no more recent occupation was found. The pits were dug to 30 cm. and 45 cm. respectively. From them we obtained a sample of sherds, which, although the sherds are eroded, includes teconates somewhat similar to those of the type Guamuchal Brushed (Fig. 9, a, b) and examples of the type Pampas Black-and-white in the form of plates with outflaring sides and reinforced rims (Fig. 9, c, d). These types were defined by Coe and Flannery (1967: 28-30,
Figure 4. Pygopotes Stone 2

The carved designs have been outlined on the stone with chalk.
OLMEC ROCK CARVINGS AT PIJJIIAPAN

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This is a line drawing of the decipherable design which includes a fragment found fallen in front of the stone.

small art objects are easily transp01table along trade routes, and Olmec jade figurines have been found from as far away as Costa Rica (Balser 1959). However, the monumental works, when supported by other evidences, better indicate Olmec influence or settlement. Such is true for the Pijijiapan rock carvings, whose handling implies the search for appropriate stones, their preparation, and the necessary time free from subsistence activities for working them. Such are only possible when there is a nearby habitation site; the putting into practice of certain concepts at that site prompts a determined type of art.

The dispersal of Olmec rock carving would appear to have been outward from the Gulf coastal area of Veracruz and Tabasco—the Olmec heartland—where we have examples from San Lorenzo, La Venta, and El Viejón (Medellín Zenil 1960, Lám. 9; Bernal 1969, Pl. 70). An Olmec boulder carving has been reported from Catemaco (personal communication from Juan Sánchez and Francisco Bevedido of the Jalapa museum). In central Mexico are the reliefs of Chalcatzingo (Piña Chan 1955, Lám. 19). In Chiapas itself are the magnificent relief located near the Río Jatate, at the site of Xoc (Ekholm-Miller 1973) and Petroglyph I of Tonala (Ferdon 1953: 91–92, Fig. 23, b). There is some discussion about the style of the latter, but for Coe (1965: 766) it represents the most Olmec example at the site. In Guatemala there is the relief at San Isidro Piedra Parada (Thompson 1943, Fig. 111, a; Covarrubias 1961, Fig. 25), and in El Salvador are those of Las Victorias (Boggs 1950), the most southern of this type.

It is important to point out some of the objects carried by the principal personages in the Pijijiapan rock carving scenes. The “knuckle-duster” (Figs. 2, 3), which has already been mentioned, has its most nearby comparison on the stela of Padre Piedra, in the Central Depression of Chiapas (Navarrete 1960, Fig. 11). The importance of this element, which has been studied by Cervantes (1969), lies in its significance as a chronological marker; it identifies works belonging to the most classic Olmec style, if other stylistic ele-
ments are considered as well. A comparison can be made with the object held by the central figure in Stone 2, Carving B (Figs. 4, 5); it is similar to the object held by the man-bird of Xoc (Ekholm-Miller 1973).

The rock carving most susceptible to comparison is that which I identified as a helmet in the form of a jaguar head (Figs. 4, 6; 10, a). It shows a great similarity to the design incised on a celt (Fig. 10, b), to some of the figures at Chalcatzingo (Fig. 10, c), and to the rock carving of Xoc (Fig. 10, d). In all these examples the decoration in the form of a germinating seed worn on the front of the headdress is characteristic. In the Pijijiapan relief that element has been destroyed; on the other hand, the upper part of the headdress has the same feeling as a headdress design (Fig. 10, b) that Coe (1962: 579–80, Fig. 2) has identified as a maize plant.

Figure 6. Pijijiapan Stone 2, Carvings C and D
The carved design has been emphasized on the stone with chalk.
The possible representation of a tree on Stone 2 (Carving B, Figs. 4, 5) can be seen as an antecedent of the tree representations that occur in the art of Izapa at a later time. The form of the lower part shows a certain similarity to the root monsters of the trees of Stelae 2, 5, 10, and 27 (Norman 1973, Pls. 3, 9, 19, and 45) of that important center southeast of Pijijiapan on the coast of Chiapas.

In the same manner we can see another Izapa antecedent in the upper incisions of Pijijiapan Stone 1 (Figs. 2, 3). They are very similar to the jaguar mask panels which crown some of the stelae of Izapa (Fig. 11).

The iguana of Pijijiapan Stone 3 (Fig. 8) perhaps can be placed within the concept of the serpent of Chalcatzingo (Cook de Leonard 1967, Fig. 4).

It is difficult to arrive at a date for stone monuments by relating them to accompanying excavated material unless that material includes offerings or obviously associated elements. Coe (1967) succeeded in dating the monuments at San Lorenzo Tenochtitlan, Veracruz, by finding them within cultural contexts; he has established the appearance of the impressive Olmec monuments between 1200 and 900 B.C., during the San Lorenzo phase. These dates and the ceramic typology of the phase are important to the problem of Pijijiapan because some relationships existed at that time between San Lorenzo and the
The carved design has been emphasized on the stone with chalk.
Cuadros-Jocotal phases on the coast of Guatemala (ca. 1000–800 B.C.), with which the Pijijiapan excavated material appears to correspond. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the stela of Padre Piedra, Chiapas, was found surrounded by deposits which contained ceramics of the Cotorra (ca. 1400 B.C.) and Dili (ca. 1000–800 B.C.) phases (Navarrete 1960: 10–12). Those phases, principally the latter, include Olmec characteristics.

In the area of the rock carvings of Las Victorias in El Salvador there is also an abundance of similar ceramic materials (Sharer and Gifford 1970: 445). Finally, some of the ceramic types from Chalcatzingo, especially the so-called Blanco Pulido, are of the same vessel form tradition as similar ones in the phases mentioned above; a new revision of the stratigraphy of the Valley of Mexico could change the chronological position of these markedly Olmec types whose placement is not clear and help us to understand the general history of the Olmec culture.

A certain heaviness of some of the Pijijiapan figures, the jaguar mask panel at the top of Stone 1, the tree form, and the abandonment suffered by the rock carvings, lead me to believe that they were executed at the end of the Early Formative, within the years that were encompassed by the San Lorenzo phase.
veins (Fig. 14). The back is plain, with the entire edge raised in the form of a frame. It has two perforations along the edge, one through each ear, that could have served for attaching it to a belt or for hanging it as a pectoral.

The standing jadeite figure and the stone pectoral described above belong to Lic. José Casahonda Castillo of Tuxtla Gutiérrez. Formerly they were in the possession of Artemio Espinosa González and Elearín Morales of Ocozocoautla, both of whom were very silent on the subject of where the pieces were found. We must be content with the information that they both come from the same site, somewhere near Ocozocoautla.

**Fragment of a Green Jadeite Sceptre**

Also from “near” Ocozocoautla is a fragment of a figure carved in green jadeite (Fig. 15). The face and the cut over the forehead in the form of a V are completely characteristic.

![Standing Jadeite Figure from Ocozocoautla](image)

**Figure 13. Standing Jadeite Figure from Ocozocoautla**

Height: 13 cm.
of the Olmec style. What is distinctive about the piece is the prolongation above the head, a cone-like element divided into three horizontal sections.

A complete similar piece (Fig. 16) is found in the regional museum in Villahermosa, Tabasco. According to Clello and others (1967: 38–39) it is carved from a black stone and comes from the ejido Ojoshal near Sánchez Magallanes in the municipality of Cárdenas, Tabasco. The same conical finial on this piece is also divided into three parts by two pairs of horizontal lines. Below the face the mid-section is crossed by three raised decorations. The lower end is a serpent head, which leads me to identify the conical end as rattlesnake rattles.

Two other fragments show similarity in details — principally the serpent head and the decorations on the mid-section — to the above-
mentioned pieces. The first (Fig. 17, a), from Paso del Toro, Veracruz, is in the collection of Hernán Navarrete of Veracruz; it is worked in black serpentine. The second (Fig. 17, b), of green jadeite, is of unknown provenience. It is conserved in the storerooms of the National Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology of Guatemala in the section dedicated to the Dieseldorff Collection.

All these pieces acquire significance when one looks at the serpentine figure in the Echaniz Collection of Mexico City (Fig. 18). The personage represented, with all the characteristics of the most pure Olmec style, supports in his left arm an object (sceptre?) which in many formal aspects is similar to the four pieces just described; it is elongated, has a human head with a conical finial, and it exhibits one of the familiar horizontal decorations around its mid-section. The sceptre stands out from the chest of the figure; its features, both the face and the decorations, are formed by means of incisions.

Until now, of the five related pieces discussed above, only the piece in the Villa-
Figure 17. Two Fragments of Olmec Sceptres
a: Fragment from Paso del Toro, Veracruz (length: 8 cm.); b: fragment of unknown provenience now in Guatemala National Museum (length: 6 cm.).

The possibilities are good that the area of Ocozocoautla can provide more ample data on the Olmec problem, as I have pointed out in a short note about the archaeological salvage for the Netzahualcoyotl Dam at Mal Paso (Navarrete 1966: 36-40). We located an ancient road that connected, by land and river, the region of Ocozocoautla and the Gulf Coast. The road parallels approximately the modern road that unites Ocozocoautla with the ferry to the dam on the Mal Paso lake; the ancient road led to the ford on the Grijalva River at San Isidro or Quechula, intermediate points on the route toward the coast. A strong Olmec influence was apparent at the site of San Isidro (Lowe 1969 and in preparation).

OLMEC PIECES FROM THE SOUTHEASTERN PACIFIC COAST

An Olmec Sculpture from Ojo de Agua, Mazatan, Chiapas

Except for the rock carvings of Pijijiapan the most impressive Olmec sculpture found on the Chiapas coast is that which was dis-

covered on the ranch called Ojo de Agua located 2 km. south of the agrarian colonia Alvaro Obregón, just south of the Río Coatan in the municipality of Mazatan (Figs. 19-22). It is 66 cm. high, 28 cm. wide, and 24 cm. thick;
it was broken in some places by the plow which uncovered it near some mounds. The first notice of its discovery was obtained by Eduardo Martínez E., INAH Delegate in Chiapas, who then visited the site, which is the property of Sr. Gabriel Marina Argüevo. Today the sculpture is in the regional museum in Tapachula.

The region in which the Ojo de Agua ranch is located (Fig. 1) is rich in remains of the Olmec culture; this region extends from Salinas La Blanca (Coe and Flannery 1967), in the neighbor republic of Guatemala, to Pijijiapan, with a series of intermediate sites where an intense Early Preclassic occupation has been identified: Izapa (Ekholm 1969); Altamira (Green and Lowe 1967); and Aquiles Serdán (Navarrete, in preparation).

The sculpture seems to belong to the group of “compound” representations which are typical of Olmec art. These pieces show multiple and superimposed designs, principally anthropomorphic designs. It is noteworthy that in the Ojo de Agua piece the

Figure 19. Olmec Sculpture from Ojo de Agua, Mazatan, Chiapas
Now in regional museum, Tapachula. Height: 66 cm.
principal figure, which serves as the axis for the other elements, is not realistically proportioned in the areas where it is visible (Fig. 20); this seems to have been purposeful in order to integrate the motifs which were to be shown with greatest emphasis.

The face has been too badly destroyed to make out its features (Fig. 19). Below the chin hang two hands which support a type of plaque or a large rectangular pectoral bearing interesting elements. The feet are adorned with schematic anklets. On the sides of the figure hang decorations indicated by striations.

Almost the entire front of the pectoral (Fig. 22) is covered by an Olmec jaguar face; it has...
the typical forehead with a V-shaped notch, the “flame” eyebrows, the furrowed brow, and the flattened nose. The right side of the upper lip has been destroyed. The mouth is disproportionately open to provide a space for a second personage flanked by two hand, paw, or wing symbols. The smaller figure also has a notched forehead; he wears a pectoral with an X design and a belt with a decoration in front. He is seated cross-legged on what appears to be a stylized lower jaw that in turn rests on a type of throne; in my opinion the “throne” could be a stylization of the teeth and tongue placed outside of the jaw.

The restored arm on the right side of the sculpture (Fig. 20, a) is adorned with a brace-let. One can see also the horizontal ear ornament and another ornament which falls vertically over and below the ear ornament. The same elements can be seen on the left side (Fig. 20, c) although it is much more eroded. The most important aspect of the side views is the backward-sweeping profile of the deformed head.

The rear of the sculpture (Fig. 20, b) bears series of incised squares, almost like markings for the inscription of glyphs. There are also a few lines on the sides near the base (Fig. 20, a, c).

The back of the head is cut by a triangular notch and is surmounted by a headdress(?), which also shows the same notching (Fig. 21), and a hole in the top; unfortunately this part is very battered and it is difficult to deduce its original form.

It is evident, after observing the sides and the back of the sculpture, that the sculptural interest was concentrated on the front; as a result the figure was not liberated completely from the block of stone, unless of course the back is simply unfinished.

Some sculptures which are similar in concept and form — multiple faces, notched swept-back head, and a human figure within the mouth of a jaguar — must be mentioned. They are the famous jadeite plaque of the five faces (Coe 1965, Fig. 20) and Monument 44 of La Venta, Tabasco, and the idol from San Martín, Veracruz (Clewlow 1968: 37-41).

If the small figure seated within the mouth of the face on the large pectoral can be interpreted as a representation of a child, it is of value to try to relate the sculpture to other pieces where infants appear with deformed, notched heads. Such comparative pieces include the sculpture from Las Limas, Veracruz (Medellín Zenil 1965: 5-16); Altar 4 of La Venta (Drucker 1952, Fig. 52), on which the personage holding the child emerges from the jaws of a jaguar; and a jadeite figurine of unknown provenience (Coe 1965, Fig. 7).

It should be pointed out that the sculpture from Ojo de Agua is one of the most southern large Olmec monuments known. It was found quite distant from the region of the Gulf in which the monuments of similar symbolism were discovered. A future petrological analysis...
can tell us if the sculpture was made locally
or if it was carried to Chiapas from the Gulf
Coast.

**Olmec Sculpture from Buenavista, Chiapas**

Another larger Olmec sculpture has re-
cently been found on the ranch called Buena-
visa that is near Ojo de Agua. The sculpture
(Fig. 23) is now in a private collection in
Tapachula. It is about 90 cm. tall and repre-
sents a squatting figure wearing a helmet with
one cheek strap, arm bands, and a necklace
with pectoral.

**Stone Head from San Jerónimo, Guatemala**

I know of only one other example of Olmec
monumental art from farther south: the head
from San Jerónimo, Baja Verapaz, Guatemala
(Fig. 24), but we lack information about
that piece. It is interesting for the maize
glyph which is shown on its forehead and the
elongated chin in the form of a beard.

**Incised Jadeite Celt from El Sitio, Guatemala**

An important piece now in the collection
of Dr. Arroyo Segura of Tapachula was found
during milpa clearing on lands bordering El

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![Figure 23. Olmec Sculpture from Buenavista Ranch near Ojo de Agua](image)
The sculpture was found during plowing and was in two pieces; the head was cemented in place by the present owner. Height: ca. 90 cm.
Sitio in Guatemala. This archaeological zone is near the Río Suchiate (Fig. 1) and in some respects is similar to Izapa, on the Mexican side of the international boundary (Shook 1965: 180–94).

The piece is a dark green jadeite celt (Fig. 25). It is highly polished and broken at one end. On one side it bears a face and the lower limbs of an individual. The majority of the features was made by means of incised lines; the eyes and the mouth, which are hollowed, were made around drilled holes in accordance with the known technique of Olmec lapdaries (Covarrubias 1957, Fig. 20). The nostrils are also indicated by means of drilled holes. In all of the carved areas are traces of red paint.

It is of value to point out the simplicity of the representation of the legs and breechcloth. This same type of simplification or reduction of these elements to their basic form is found on the Humboldt ax (Coe 1965, Fig. 18) and on another celt of unknown provenience illustrated by Covarrubias (1957, Fig. 33, b). The latter celt also has a schematized hand below a face with elements similar to those of the El Sitio piece.

The face on the El Sitio celt also shows similarities with the one on the celt drawn by Covarrubias (1957, Fig. 33, b) mentioned above, especially in the concept that it expresses. The four elements which decorate the sides of the face are like the two on the Covarrubias celt. But the greatest similarity is found in the compound headdress made up of a band which supports a maize plant reduced to the leaves and an ear of corn; this element is shown more realistically on our El Sitio celt. This type of maize representation was studied by Coe (1962) in a provocative article about the similarity of these designs to one that appears on a Peruvian vessel. I have also noted representations of maize on the headdress of Stone 2, Carving C, at Pijijiapan (Figs. 4, 6).

On the other side of the celt are ten incised glyphs. Red paint is visible still in these incisions also.

Among the glyphs we can identify some natural forms such as the two feet or hands of the second glyph (counting from the top); these are similar to the stylized feet on the front of the celt. Glyph 9 also shows a foot, and Glyph 10 shows a face. Glyph 7 could be a precursor of the stylized fangs and bifurcated tongue of the serpent. Glyph 4 seems to correspond to the numeral 5. Any discussion of these last mentioned is in the realm of supposition, however.

These glyphs have much in common with those of the black basalt Stela 10 of Kaminaljuyu (Girard 1962, Fig. 242), those on an unpublished potsherd from Chiapa de Corzo (Lowe, in preparation), and principally, with those on the Tuxtla statuette (Pina Chan and Covarrubias 1964, Lam. 2). A more ample discussion of hieroglyphs of the Preclassic period has been made by Kelley (1966: 144–45); in his Figure 2, b, c, I find a certain similarity to glyphs of the El Sitio celt.

Finally, I wish to advise caution in assuming the contemporaneity of the figure carved on the front of the El Sitio celt and the glyphs
Figure 25. Incised Jadeite Celt from near El Sitio
Department of San Marcos, Guatemala
At the right are the glyphs that are incised on the back of the celt.
Height: 21 cm.

on the back. The Tuxtla statuette presents a similar relationship between an Olmec figure and a series of glyphs, and on the Kaminaljuyu altar figures and glyphs of a more evolved style appear beside the reliefs. A constant problem in archaeology, that of the ancient custom of reworking monuments, makes any discussion of this subject quite complicated.
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