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TRANSITION THROUGH THE ABYSS: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC RAISED-HEEL IN CLASSIC MAYA SCULPTURE

by

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Abstract

In the past, Classic Maya dance has been defined by the proposed correlation between sculptures that feature a figure with a raised-heel and the T516 hieroglyph. The interpretation of the T516 hieroglyph as dance depends on its association to the raised-heel. However, there is reason to doubt the proposed correlation as there are spatial and temporal divisions between the two features as well as a lack of material evidence to suitably substantiate their relationship. More importantly the available material documenting the raised-heel motif in Classic Maya sculpture is suggestive of alternative interpretations to dance, warranting a reexamination of the raised-heel.

This article attempts to study the raised-heel motif in sculpture during the Late Classic in order to show commonalities in changes in its associations both spatially and temporally while providing evidence for a liminal interpretation. This Thesis sheds light not only on the interpretation of the raised-heel through archeological remains and context, but also on ideas which would have been central to the Late Classic Maya worldview.

DEDICATIONS

To my parents, for their support now and always.

To Kristen, my fellow scholar, who challenges me again and again to do my best.

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Introduction

The sculpture of the Classic Maya people has always been a vital source in the archaeological record, providing insight and promoting scholarly debate on all aspects of their society. The iconographic raised-heel, a feature from many Late Classic Period (AD 550 – 900) Maya sculptures, has been commonly associated with dance and is cited in the archaeological record as early as 1910 by Teobert Maler in his description of two "tip-toed" protagonists on Motul de San José Stela 2, (sometimes wrongly cited as Stela 1 [Maler 1910:134-135]).[1] The pose is significant in Classic Maya sculpture because it marks a primary shift in style from static figures to those suggestive of motion, albeit subtle; the icon occurs on monuments dating between 9.13.13.15.0 and 10.4.0.0.0, or AD 705 to 909 (Graham and Von Euw 1992; Robertson 1983).[2] Tatiana Proskouriakoff described this iconographic feature as a pose in which one heel, and rarely both, is lifted from the ground in a non-violent and restrained manner (Figure 1). Proskouriakoff then associated the raised-heel pose with an expression of motion suggestive of a formal dance, although closely connected to scenes of battle (Proskouriakoff 1950:28). Since Proskouriakoff's original association, scholars have recognized the raised-heel as a signifier of dance (Coe and Benson 1966) and have concluded that all figures in animate positions with raised-heels are dancers (Bassie-Sweet 1991:220; Grube 1992:201; Schele 1988).

Furthering the interpretation of "dance," in 1992 Nikolai Grube identified the T516 glyph (Figure 2) as a verb having the meaning "to dance." The interpretation was made through a perceived connection to the iconographic raised-heel and a series of other iconographic features pertaining specifically to Yaxchilan (Grube 1992:202). Grube

refuted an earlier interpretation of the T516 glyph as "äktä," "to move or place a generalized object" in a ruler's possession, with ahk'ot (a Maya lowland word for "dance") or ahk'otah by associating the glyph to scenes depicting raised-heel figures (Grube 1992:202-205).

After Grube's publication, the iconographic raised-heel became synonymous to Classic Maya dance appearing in many texts as an obvious interpretation. Although the T516 glyph had been identified as dance through its connection to the raised-heel, the T516 glyph and iconographic raised-heel were known to exist independently of one another. Although this fact could have rendered the association problematic, both symbols were instead interpreted as mutual signifiers for dance which could operate independently (Coe and Van Stone 2005:65-66; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:258-259). In theory, the proposed signifiers of Classic Maya dance could operate independently; however, their initial connection comes into question and warrants a reexamination of the relation between, and the interpretation of, the T516 glyph and the iconographic raised-heel as independent and exclusive entities.

In his article "Classic Maya Dance" Grube examines an unprovienanced monument (Figure 3) said to have originated from an unknown site in the Yaxchilan area (now labeled as "Site R"). The monument features both a figure with a raised-heel and a text containing the T516 glyph (Grube 1992:212-213; Looper 2009:16-17, 38-40).[3] This monument, Site R Lintel 4, is one of only two known monuments to contain both a figure with a raised-heel and a text containing the T516 glyph. Thus, although Grube (1992:204) noted a frequent association between the T516 glyph and the iconographic raised-heel, this is not the case. Site R lintel 4 is also the basis for the interpretive conclusions made

concerning the connection between the T516 glyph and the iconographic raised-heel. The only other monument to contain both features together is Lintel 5 (Figure 4) of the same site, making the appearance of the raised-heel motif in association to the T516 hieroglyph exclusive to Site R.

To date there have been fifty-six documented appearances of the T516 glyph in Late Classic Maya art (Looper 2009:235-239). Most of these appearances occur in and around Yaxchilan as well in other sites which had known ties to Yaxchilan in the Usumacinta and Petén regions (Figure 5). In comparison, the raised-heel appears at least forty-four times in Late Classic sculpture alone (Appendix A), having many more appearances on murals and ceramics, in and outside of the Usumacinta, Petén, and Puuc regions (Figure 6). Besides Site R, only Motul de San Jose, Quirigua, and Yaxchilan spatially occupy instances of both the iconographic raised-heel and the T516 hieroglyph, although neither feature appears in context with the other. The only instances of the T516 hieroglyph at Motul de San Jose comes from painted Ik style ceramics found in the vicinity of the site (Looper 2009:114). The T516 glyph does not appear on sculpture from Motul de San Jose. At Quirigua there is a large temporal division between the latest occurrence of the T516 hieroglyph and the earliest occurrence of the iconographic raised-heel. In relation to the iconographic raised-heel, the T516 hieroglyph occurs in a much more isolated area and has a shorter lifespan, with latest known occurrence at 9.19.10.0.0 or AD 820. The earliest occurrence of the T516 glyph (9.11.0.11.11 or AD 653) is at Qirigua, while later occurrences are suggestive of a westward expansion reaching as far as Piedras Negras (Looper 2009:236). This counters the expansion of the raised-heel motif which begins in Palenque and expands northeast into the Puuc Yucatan. This being the

case, the only evidence to substantiate a connection between the T516 glyph and the iconographic raised-heel comes from Site R Lintels 4 and 5.

General analogy suggests that features resembling other features, in this case the iconographic raised-heel of Classic Maya sculpture and the conception of dance imagery, may be interpreted as such. However, the context of the iconographic images of Late Classic Maya sculpture containing figures in a raised-heel pose often imply genres of performance other than dance such as battle, ballcourt games, and courtly affairs (Looper 2009:93). Considering this, the raised-heel, although indicative of subtle movement, is not necessarily indicative of the performance depicted in a sculpted scene; rather, it provides information pertaining to the individual to whom the pose is attributed. Recently, the raised-heel has been described as a problematic dance pose because of the varying genres of performance in which it appears (Looper 2009:93).

The iconographic raised-heel would seem a likely feature to be associated to the T516 glyph when solely observing the Site R lintels; however there may be other features which are more closely related to the glyph. In Looper's (2009: 91-92, 124) recent book, "To Be Like Gods," he states that for each occurrence of the T516 glyph in which a raised-heel is not present a hand motion or arm posture is. This seems to suggest that the T516 glyph has a much stronger relation to sculpted hand postures than to the iconographic raised-heel. Significantly, the main figures on the Site R lintels also have hand motions similar to those identified by Looper.

The iconographic raised-heel appears within the context of multiple performances and has an extremely loose connection to the T516 glyph which weakens the proposed connection to scenes of dance. The raised-heel motif in Classic Maya sculpture has other

implications than simply “dance,” especially when considering the overall context (archaeological location, hieroglyphic text, and iconography) of the sculpted scenes. As mentioned earlier, the raised-heel was among the first markers specifically in Late Classic sculpture to suggest motion amidst what had previously been exclusively static figures (Proskouriakoff 1950:23). It is important to consider the significance of this subtle representation of motion. Proskouriakoff (1950:28) also noted that the pose itself could be evidence of a late turbulent period as the raised-heel was commonly associated to figures in warrior regalia, possibly even promoting a stylized battle motif. Proskouriakoff may have been right in suggesting that the iconographic raised-heel may have originated during a turbulent period in Maya history; however it may not be related to battle but rather to the worldview, religion, and socio-political ideology employed by the Late Classic Maya. Evidence suggests that iconographic representations of the raised-heel motif are not directly associated to the T516 hieroglyph or dance as previously suspected; rather it is supportive of strong textual, iconographic, and archaeological ties to specific symbols indicative of liminal, or transitional, aspects of Classic Maya ideology.

Liminality

The concept of liminality was first described by Arthur van Gennep as a phase accompanying the "rights of passage" or "the rights which accompany every change of place, state, social position, and age (Turner 1969:94; Van Gennep 1909)." During a liminal period an individual loses their previous role and can be described as existing between statuses. This liminal, or transitional, phase is necessary before the individual can progress into a new role or status (Chase and Chase 2009; Turner 1969:94-95). Turner (1969) described the characteristics of the liminal subject as "ambiguous" and relating to "the cultural realm" or more simply stated the liminal attributes of the subject are relative to the culture which defines them.

It has been argued by Arlen and Diane Chase (2009) that liminality was a vital aspect of the Classic Maya worldview and was observed as a transcendent state of being most easily recognizable in the transition which takes place at death, although it could also be recognized by any major life transition. The Classic Maya recognized three planes of existence: the earth's surface, an above world, and an underworld (Chase and Chase 2009; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993). They placed a strong emphasis on the transitional elements between the three worlds as well as other transitional events, or states of being, in life and after death. For the Maya, death began the journey to the underworld. Upon death, the deceased individual would be considered to be in a liminal state, only partially separated from living, and would have to complete tasks along the way until status in the underworld was reached (Chase and Chase 2009; Chase and Chase 2010).

Evidence of a Classic Maya liminal ideology is represented physically in the archaeological record, as well metaphorically, in both the hieroglyphic and iconographic

record. For the Classic Maya, liminal periods, whether marked by death or another life transition, always incorporate something from the realm of the supernatural. Common liminal markers for the Classic Maya are doorways and portals (physical and metaphorical) between the three planes of existence and the appearance of deities, through impersonation, and supernatural entities which could pass between the planes of existence (Chase and Chase 2009; Chase and Chase 2010).

The Classic Maya depicted liminality in many different iconographic ways. Life transition for an iconographic figure would feature much more than just the liminal event, such as death, sacrifice, and rebirth, it would also focus on transitional locations, the addition or acquisition of new traits for the figure, and the involvement of real and mythological liminal creatures.

It can be difficult to see a major life event in Classic Maya iconography alone. Sometimes hieroglyphic data can help to understand what is happening or what has happened within an iconographic scene. Glyphs for birth, accession, death, and some underworld locations are identifiable and can help explain the context of an iconographic scene. Some sites with extensive hieroglyphic records make it possible to create timelines for a specific individual's lifespan, usually rulers and elites. With this information it is easy to recognize scenes with a resurrected individual as the date will fall outside of their lifespan. Some iconographic features do give clues to event taking place within the scene. The appearance of a figure over any underworld opening is generally viewed as a scene depicting the death of the featured individual (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:257-286).

For the Classic Maya, transition to the above world was represented as crossing the sky and cosmos while the underworld was represented by entering the earth or going under

water. Transition could take place from the above world or the underworld to the living world or vice versa through the medium of a doorway or portal (Chase and Chase 2009; Chase and Chase 2010).The Classic Maya portrayed liminal, or transitional, locations in a number of ways architecturally, iconographically, and symbolically. Representations of portals or entranceways to Xibalba, the Maya underworld, are very diverse in the Classic Period. Upon death in Classic Maya belief, the deceased individual would embark on a journey to Xibalba, which usually entailed passing through a cave or entering the earth (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:257-265; Looper 2009:87, 229). Architectural representations of this are seen through burial at the base of structures and through the appearance of cauac idols placed within burials (Chase and Chase 2009). Some structures were constructed to appear as "cauac" or earth monsters, creating a visual porthole to the underworld by representing the metaphorical and physical swallowing of the dead (Chase and Chase 2009). White bone snake served similar purpose as it also acted as portal or entranceway to the underworld iconographically by swallowing the dead (Chase and Chase 2009). However, Xibalba was also a watery location to the Classic Maya and this is evident through both iconographic depictions and the inclusion of watery symbols, such as turtles, stingray spines, shells, and shark teeth within burials (Chase and Chase 2009; Chase and Chase 2010). Waterbands represented gateways to and from Xibalba and are iconographically depicted on the Palenque Temple XIV Tablet, Palenque House D Pier C, and the Palenque Dumbarton Oaks Panel (Figures 7, 8, and 9) (Looper 2009:66-67, 87, 213-216).

The liminal or transitional figure in Classic Maya iconography needed to embody supernatural qualities after death in order to achieve posthumous transition. Stephen

Houston and David Stuart (1996:297) discuss posthumous imagery as being static, transformational, or disembodied and relating to deity impersonation. For the Classic Maya, deity impersonation was a transcendent merger of the supernatural and human identity and allowed for the Maya to embody the supernatural (Houston and Stuart 1998:81-83). Impersonation can be recognized in Classic Maya sculpture through the headdress and costuming of an individual (Houston and Stuart 1996:299; Houston and Stuart 1998:83-85; Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006:269-270). Houston, Stuart and Taube (2006:270) make a connection between supernatural beings and the deceased through impersonation on Xcalumkin Jamb 6 (Figure 10-A) which is a raised-heel sculpture. This connection implies that an individual impersonating a deity on Classic Maya sculpture is deceased. Through the impersonation of deities, the figure gained liminal qualities which enabled them to reappear in the present world as a visiting essence in the form of smoke or as a resurrected individual (Chase and Chase 2010; Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006:276). This was purposeful to the Classic Maya as they were obligated to venerate their ancestors (Chase and Chase 2010).

Some liminal creatures would have been merely representative of the transition between multiple plains while others had a specific purpose in Classic Maya worldview. The majority of iconographic imagery for liminal beings is represented by creatures and objects which can and are shown to occupy more than one physical plane. Aquatic creatures such as sharks, turtles, and crocodiles whose backs (or fin) broke the surface of the water were viewed as in transition between the underworld and the world of the living (Chase and Chase 2009). Similarly, creatures that could take to the sky or treetops, such as birds and snakes, were seen as having a connection to the above world. Jaguars were more

complex as they represented multiple ideas. Physically a jaguar embodied transition as they were seen most during dawn or twilight and were known to dwell in caves which represented and underworld entranceway (Chase and Chase 2009). Because of this a jaguar was seen as being guardian to the underworld both physically and metaphorically. They could also represent what the Maya called a *way*, or a spirit companion, which could act as a liminal connection to the underworld.

Jaguar *ways* were not the only liminal companions in the Classic Maya worldview. Dwarfs were said to be useful companions in the journey to the underworld (Miller 1980:143). In the Classic Maya worldview dwarfs could physically and metaphorically interact with the dead by transitioning between the world of the dead and that of the living. This was physically possible as dwarfs would reenter burials, accessing places of the dead (Chase and Chase 2010). Dwarfs are known to appear on many iconographic scenes as and with raised-heel figures.

The iconographic raised-heel represents a subtle motion – or a transition between points of balance – placing the figure in a physically transitional state. While this observation alone is not strong enough to claim a liminal rendition, all moderate to well preserved instances in Classic Maya sculpture containing a figure with a single raised-heel are also associated with at least one element from the liminal imagery mentioned above (Appendix B). There is also a strong correlation between main figures with raised-heels appearing on monuments that were erected after their recorded deaths. To identify a raised-heeled figure in Classic Maya iconography as a figure with liminal attributes, one must take into account the appearance of liminal symbols in association with the figure, the context of the scenes portrayed, the hieroglyphic text, and the original location of the

monument in terms of structures. Over time, the liminal attributes of raised-heel sculpture take on different themes and trends that can be attributed to the diversity displayed in Classic Maya culture. Therefore, it is important to observe the raised-heel theme in sculpture from its earliest appearance through its latest occurrence and to record the spread of this stylistic element in the Late Classic Period.

Early Raised-heel Imagery: 9.13.0.0.0 – 9.16.0.0.0

The earliest examples of raised-heel iconography in Classic Maya sculpture appear in Palenque during a stylistic period in the Late Classic labeled as "The Ornate Phase" (9.13.0.0.0 – 9.16.0.0.0) by Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1950:124). The earliest example of this theme is the Palenque Temple XIV Tablet (Figure 7) which dates to 9.13.13.15.0 or AD 705 (Robertson 1983). The image, a possible resurrection scene (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:280-281), portrays the deceased ruler, K'inich Kan B'ahlam II, with a raised-heel, impersonating the GIII God and standing on a waterband, which represents one gateway to the Maya underworld (Looper 2009:66-67). The liminal markers of impersonation, resurrection, and underworld gateways found here are commonly depicted in other scenes of raised-heel imagery.

Impersonation played a large role in Maya religious life (Houston and Stuart 1996:297-300), and the Classic Maya worldview was likely centered on rulers who could exist in multiple worlds (Chase and Chase 2009). In the case of the Palenque Temple XIV Tablet, the resurrected K'inich Kan B'ahlam II, appearing at a gateway to the underworld in the guise of a deity, would have appeared as a ruler who embodied the supernatural and could operate in, and transition between, multiple worlds.

Within the text of the Temple XIV Tablet there is reference to another common liminal marker of the Classic Maya. "White Bone Great? Centipede" (Looper 2009:66-67) or "White Bone Snake" was another gateway, or porthole, to the underworld that was used for exchanges between the underworld and the world of the living (Feidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:222). Similarly a funerary scene at Palenque, the sarcophagus of Pakal the Great, portrays that deceased ruler falling through the mouth of White Bone Snake,

showing both his metaphorical and physical transition into the underworld. Underworld gateways, such as White Bone Snake, Cauac Monsters, and waterbands, are often found in scenes of raised-heel imagery, especially where the raised-heeled figure is also engaged in some form of deity impersonation, such as Palenque House D Pier C (Figure 8), the Palenque Dumbarton Oaks Panel (Figure 9), and Tzum Stela 3 (Figure 11).

Similar to the Temple XIV Tablet, Palenque House D Pier C is among the earliest examples of raised-heel imagery in Classic Maya Sculpture. It also portrays a deceased ruler, possibly Pakal the Great, atop a waterband and impersonating the "First Father" (Looper 2009:213; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:274).

The last sculpture from Palenque, known as the Dumbarton Oaks Panel, depicts raised-heel imagery, dating to 9.14.11.2.7 (Schele and Miller 1986:275), and follows the same themes as the other raised-heel sculptures of Palenque. The image portrays the resurrected ruler, K'inich K'an Joy Chitam II, in a raised-heel pose impersonating Chahk, the rain god (Looper 2009:87). The figure holds an axe high with its left hand and clasps a ceramic vessel and snake with its right. Differing from the style of the other raised-heel imagery from Palenque, The Dumbarton Oaks Panel does not incorporate a visual opening to the underworld; however the text makes an interesting statement about "stepping on the foot of the mountain," possibly referring to Classic Maya burials at the base of temple structures (represented well by Cauac monsters which were both metaphorical and physical gateways to the underworld and that symbolically swallowed the dead [Chase and Chase 2009]). Assuming the association is valid, the text then becomes a reference to a transition into the underworld. Looper also comments that this monument sculpture and the Palenque Temple XIV Tablet are "conceptually sophisticated" renditions of the

journey, or transition, after death through a cave (Looper 2009: 87, 183-184). Placing these figures within caves depicts them en route from the world of the living to the underworld and acknowledges the liminal significance of the monument. During the Late Classic, Maya priests sometimes performed ritual and sacrifice very deep within caves as a means of communication with the gods. Another possible piece of liminal iconography which appears on the monument is the carving of two tiny figures which appear in the laps of the two adult figures sitting on either side of the standing K'inich K'an. These two tiny figures are not likely to be dwarfs as they do not share in the decidedly human characteristics established by Virginia E. Miller (1980:141). The figures are more likely to be supernatural beings based on the appearance of tails.

The first example of raised-heel iconography from the Petén region, and outside of Palenque, occurs on Machaquila Stela 10 (Figure 12), dating to 9.15.0.0.0 (Graham 1967). This sculpture features a figure with a raised-heel impersonating the Water Lily Serpent (Looper 2009:71). Lily pads are often associated with liminal features in Classic Maya iconography; they create a division between the world of the living and the dead on many sculptures, including the mentioned Palenque House D Pier C and the Palenque Temple XIV Tablet. Water lilies often appear on headdresses with fish nibbling at them showing the liminal characteristics of this icon. Water Lily Serpent impersonation in association with the raised-heel comes into widespread use in later years among sculptures from La Amelia and Sayil. Water Lily Serpent impersonators are also believed to have performed rituals within caves (Looper 2009:47), possibly giving the Machaquila Stela 10 image the liminal qualities for an underworld transition. A hieroglyphic text would likely confirm

this additional liminal association; however, weathering has left the glyphs in a poorly preserved state.

Also in the Peten, Itsimte-Sacluk Stela 5 (Figure 13) dates to 9.15.0.0.0, the same date as Machaquila Stela 10 (Proskouriakoff 1950:189). The Stela is badly damaged and only the bottom half remains. Because of the condition of the stela, little iconographic information can be gained, although stylized "pom-pom" sandals on the figure's feet are similar to those found on figures from the Usumacinta region.

Raised-heel sculpture in the Puuc hills of the northern Yucatan – although similar in the presentation of cultural, liminal, and iconographic themes – differs greatly from that of the Maya areas to the south. Raised-heel sculpture in the Puuc often incorporates dwarfs and includes elements of sacrifice and captive taking. The Puuc site of Xcalumkin exhibited doorway jamb sculptures in the Late Classic which feature figures with raised-heels dating between 9.14.18.0.0 - 9.15.13.0.0 (Looper 2009:173). The Xcalumkin raised-heeled figures wear elaborate headdresses, which designate deity impersonation, and warrior outfits that included a weapon and shield. Although the appearance of weaponry and regalia similar to that of a warrior would seem to agree with Proskouriakoff's proposal of a battle motif in connection to the raised-heel, these features along with the headdress are actually indicative of deity impersonation. The raised-heel figure on Xcalumkin Jamb 6 (Figure 10-A), as discussed by Houston and Stuart (1996:299-302), is identified textually and iconographically as impersonating a Teotihuacan deity. Xcalumkin Jamb 6 is discussed more by Houston, Stuart, and Taube (2006:270-271) as having a textual connection associated to impersonation and deceased individuals. This hints that the

raised-heel sculpture of the Puuc area employing similar motifs to those found at Xcalumkin are also indicative of impersonation and deceased individuals.

Xcalumkin Jamb 6 is also part of another trend seen with raised-heel imagery at many later Puuc sites. Jamb 6, in association with Jamb 7 (Figure 10-B) flanked opposite ends of an interior doorway of a southern building and faced each other (Looper 2009:174-176). The flanking of doorways with sculpted figures with raised-heels is first seen at Xcalumkin, but becomes a prominent trend among raised-heel sculptures after 9.16.0.0.0. This kind of doorway sculpture may have represented a liminal marker symbolic of a doorway entrance into the underworld (Chase and Chase 2009).

Itzimte-Bolonchen Stela 3 (Figure 14-A) is divided into three panels – a small one at the base, a large central main panel, and a small top panel. Three panel sculptures are reflective of the Classic Maya worldview consisting of three planes of existence (Chase and Chase 2009). The main panel depicts a figure with a raised-heel, holding an axe in his right hand, a shield in his left hand, and wearing a waistband of skulls and a Tlaloc headdress (Looper 2009:163-164). Once again deity impersonation can be observed through the use of the Tlaloc headdress. The liminal feature of fish nibbling water lilies can be seen in the headdress as well. This is also the earliest instance in which a dwarf appears in connection with a figure with a raised-heel. To the Classic Maya dwarves were able to interact with the dead, especially through burial chamber re-entry, serving as a conduit between a physical and metaphorical porthole to the underworld. Thus, they had the ability to exist in more than one plane at a single point in time and the ability to interact with other liminal figures (Chase and Chase 2009) as depicted on Itzimte-Bolonchen Stela 3.

Itzimte-Bolonchen Stela 7 (Figure 14-B) is stylistically similar to Stela 3 and dates to 9.16.0.0.0 as well (Euw 1977). Stela 7 consists of two panels; a large panel containing a main figure with a raised-heel rises from the ground up to a much smaller second panel. The figure with the raised-heel is wearing a headdress of feathered serpents that cascade in intertwined strands down the figure's body (Looper 2009:163-165). Feathered serpents are liminal creatures; they are mythological and could exist in multiple worlds being ground dwelling creatures that could seemingly also occupy the air. Snakes are usually associated to the celestial realm, or above world, in Classic Maya iconography. However, intertwined snakes, like those found on Itzimte-Bolonchen Stela 7, have been identified as also being representative of entranceways to the underworld (Chase and Chase 2009; Miller 1983:Plate 37). The liminal imagery of the lower, or main, panel may be related to the smaller top panel which depicts a fully dressed warrior looking away from his captive as he holds a spear to the captive's throat. Since the captive is stripped and pierced with bloodletting awls, this is likely a scene of sacrifice (Looper 2009:164). "Maya sacrifice was tied to both worldly and other worldly ends (e.g., Demarest 1984, Schele 1984) and it can be particularly tied to warfare and politics (A. Chase, N. Grube, and D. Chase 1991, Chase and Chase 2009, Webster 2000)." The appearance of a captive or a dwarf in an active scene of sacrifice commonly appears throughout the Puuc region in association with raised-heel sculpture, thus promoting the connection between death and the beginning of transition to the underworld.

Late Raised-heel Imagery: 9.16.0.0.0 – 9.19.0.0.0

During the latter part of the Late Classic Period, raised-heel sculpture became more sophisticated and borrowed heavily from earlier sculptural, architectural, iconographic, and hieroglyphic trends. The underworld location and post-mortem ruler imagery found in Palenque remained constant while the architectural features expressed at Xcalumkin became a common trend found at many Classic sites. Captive taking imagery became common in association with raised-heel sculpture. Its instances were much more elaborate than in previous more simplistic portrayals. Dwarf imagery is more widely used in relation to the raised-heel during this period as well.

Yaxchilan is home to the majority of the occurrences of the T516 dance hieroglyph; however, the site only contains one sculpture with a raised-heel figure. Yaxchilan Lintel 8 (Figure 15) depicts Bird Jaguar IV, ruler of Yaxchilan, on the battlefield taking a captive with one of his *sahals*, Kan Tok, who is also taking a captive (Schele and Freidel 1990:295; Sharer and Traxler 2006:445). This lintel, the earliest raised-heel sculpture of the latter part of the Late Classic, dates to 9.16.4.1.1 (Schele and Freidel 1990:295-297). The figures appear almost equal in size, stature, and adornments. This is rare on Classic sculpture as rulers often had themselves depicted as larger-than-life and without equal. Bird Jaguar IV on the right is adorned as Tlaloc and is wearing a skull on his back (Schele and Freidel 1990:295); Kan Tok is on the left with a raised-heel. The features of Kan Tok are much more weathered than those of Bird Jaguar IV, making it difficult to tell if he was engaged in some form of deity impersonation although likely. The text offers no clues, as Kan Tok is neither the figure of focus nor the central figure of the sculpture. Other textual records do not mention Kan Tok, making it nearly impossible to

determine if he is dead at the time of dedication, as raised-heel figures usually appear to be. As opposed to Bird Jaguar IV, Kan Tok is placing an emphasis on the head of his captive where he appears posed to strike. The Classic Maya were known to take the heads of the defeated in battle and wear the skull around their waists as Bird Jaguar IV is clearly wearing in this example (Houston and Stuart 1998:85). The act of taking the head of a captive coupled with the preservation of the skull around the waists represented much more than proficiency in battle to the Classic Maya (Houston and Stuart 1998:85). By taking the head and preserving the skull, the captor absorbed the identity of the captive (Houston and Stuart 1998:85). Based upon the transitional stance of Kan Tok and the information surround the acquisition of a captive's head, Yaxchilan Lintel 8 is likely showing a liminal transition during the life of Kan Tok in which he achieves a higher status and absorbs the identity of the captive. The sculpture promotes the idea that the raised-heel designates information about the associated figure and not the overall scene. This iconographic scene, depicting the taking of captives, resembles scenes later depicted at Kabah in the Terminal Classic.

Site R Lintels 4 and 5 (Figures 3 and 4) both depict Bird Jaguar IV of Yaxchilan (similar to Yaxchilan Lintel 8); however, Bird Jaguar IV is now the figure with the raised-heel and, although the hieroglyphs on the sculpture reference a date within his life, the panels were erected after his death in AD 768. On Lintel 4 Bird Jaguar IV wears a Sun god cartouche on his headdress which is the belly of an aquatic bird that resembles a heron (Looper 2009:39). As mentioned earlier, aquatic birds are liminal symbols because they have the ability to transition between multiple planes of existence. Bird Jaguar IV is also

depicted holding a "Celestial Snake," another liminal feature (Grube 1992:212-213; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:272-273).

Tzum Stela 3 (Figure 11), like the Palenque sculptures, shows a more direct reference to liminality in death. It has an iconographic depiction of a raised-heel figure, likely a ruler of Tzum, on top of White Bone Snake and a hieroglyphic text mentioning the "7 black-yellow place" (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:269). This reference shows a direct connection between the raised-heel figure and the journey to the underworld both through iconography and text. Other Maya sculptures have similar texts; an altar in Guatemala portraying a ruler in conjunction with the underworld and a reference of the "7 black-yellow place" (Chase and Chase 2009; Friedel et al. 1993). Although there are other sculptures containing raised-heeled figures from Tzum, those monuments are in poor condition with little to no remaining hieroglyphs. The image on Tzum Stela 5 (Figure 16), however, conveys recognizable liminal imagery. On the sculpture a central figure with a raised-heel stands on top of an object (a cache bundle?); a dwarf is positioned on each side of the figure. The dwarf facing the central figure is presenting an object or an offering. This sculpture is portraying a scene of liminal interaction between dwarves and a transitional central figure.

During the latter part of the Late Classic Period, two unique stelae with raised-heel figures are known from La Amelia. La Amelia Stelae 1 and 2 (Figure 17) are often cited as being major cornerstones in the interpretation and understanding of the Classic Maya ballgame. The hieroglyphic texts have been interpreted as designating the "throwing" of a recently sacrificed captive as the ball (Zender 2004:3-4). The Classic Maya ballgame, although only vaguely understood, is full of transitional, or liminal, elements surrounding

the taking and sacrificing of captives in a similar manner to battle scenes. Classic Maya ballgames have been proposed as representing reenactments of the Popol Vuh story of the Hero Twins defeating the lords of Xibalba (Freidel et al. 1993:340-348). In that story the twins travel to the underworld where they play the Xibalba lords, during which time one of the twins is killed and resurrected. After the twins defeat the Xibalba lords, the lords become corporeally restricted to the underworld, only able to travel to the world of humanity in the form of disease.

As a reenactment of the story, the Classic Maya ballgame appears to have contained several liminal elements in the form of impersonation, travel between worlds, death, resurrection, and playing in an underworld location. The La Amelia stelae clearly display liminal iconography in association to the ballgame. La Amelia Stela 1, which dates to 9.18.17.1.13 (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:361), depicts a ballplayer with a raised-heel adorned in headdress and mask suggestive of Water Lily Serpent impersonation (Looper 2009:96). A large fish body and tail protrudes from the water lilies on the backside of the figures headdress and is similar to fish nibbling water lilies found in other raised-heel, liminal, and ballgame sculptures (Freidel et al. 1993:361; Zender 2004:2). Stela 2, which stood opposite of Stela 1 allowed the figures to mirror each other. Both stelae flanked the sides of an entrance to a stairway in the site center (Zender 2004:4), in a similar manner to the way the Xcalumkin stelae paralleled each other at an entranceway.

The mirroring of figures is common among raised-heel sculpture. The mirroring of sculptures occurred almost exclusively in paired monuments and flanked the entranceways of architectural structures. The mirroring phenomena, although occurring earlier on Xcalumkin Jambs 6 and 7, is prominent in raised-heel imagery after 9.17.0.0.0. Whether

public or private, the sculptures themselves were iconographic markers for areas of particular ideological significance and transition to the Classic Maya. The sculptures would appear at entranceways to mark the transition, physically and metaphorically, that takes place when thresholds were crossed. The La Amelia stelae, representing a potential underworld reenactment through the ballgame and physically appearing at the entrance of a stairway, are of particular testament to this.

Quirigua Stelae A and C (Figure 18) form another mirror pair of sculptures (Looper 2009:186). The pair, dedicated in 9.17.0.0.0, forms a clear example of liminal qualities connected to raised-heel elements; their texts reference both the Classic Maya creation date of 13.0.0.0.0 (BC 3114) and Tutum Yol K'inich, a long dead ancient ruler who has possibly been identified as Quirigua's first and founding ruler (Looper 1999:264-265; Rice 2007:142-144). Ancient rulers in association with Classic Maya creation myths also appear at Palenque, where they are associated with raised-heel sculptures. These Stelea not only make reference to, but also represent a symbolic recreation of the "3 stone place" – the place of creation in Classic Maya belief (Rice 2007:142-144). Besides the textual account on the Quirigua stelae, iconographic evidence also suggests liminal qualities. The raised-heel figure of Stela A is a deity who has the anthropomorphic features of a jaguar. The jaguar was seen as a liminal creature to the Classic Maya in that it was considered a guardian of the underworld entrance and is frequently seen during a transitional time of the day – either at dawn or twilight (Chase and Chase 2009). Stela C, like many other iconographic figures with raised-heels, depicted the long dead ruler Tutum Yol K'inich. This sculptural depiction of the ancient ruler in a transitional pose shows simply that he was not bound to death. In reference to raised-heel sculpture Houston,

Stuart, and Taube (2006:252), wrote: “For the knowledgeable viewer and reader, a dancing figure, whether on a stela or in a figurine, danced always and forever.”

Yaxha Stela 31(Figure 19), which dates to 9.18.5.16.14 during the latter portion of the Late Classic, is the first raised heel sculpture to use the dwarf motif since Itzimte Stela 3 (Figure 14-A) during the previous period. However, the use of the dwarf motif at Yaxha is more closely related to the use of the motif among many Puuc sites during the Terminal Classic. On Stela 31 the raised-heel motif is expressed on the main figure who is adorned with an extremely elaborate headdress indicative of impersonation and also depicts the possible liminal symbol of a bird (clearly in the air) touching a flower on the headdress with its beak, connecting the earth to the sky. On the left portion of the sculpture sits a bound, captive, and nude dwarf who appears to be under immanent threat of attack, or sacrifice, from the raised-heel figure (Miller 1980:147). This is the first of a trend of sculptures containing the raised-heel motif from the Puuc region which depicts dwarfs under threat of attack or sacrifice. This is likely related to the idea that dwarfs were desirable companions in the underworld (Miller 1980:141-143).

Although the latter part of the Late Classic Period showed a heightened diversity in the use of the raised-heel motif on sculpture and in the architectural placement of the monuments, it is not matched by the elaboration or distinction evident in the Terminal Classic Period. Many of the same traits, such as the architectural placement of monuments by structure entrance and passageways, would continue.

The Terminal Classic: 9.19.0.0.0 -10.3.0.0.0

The latest period of Classic Maya raised-heel sculpture is marked by an overall hieroglyphic and iconographical alteration among Maya sculpture. During this time in the Late Classic, known as the Terminal Classic, the Maya collapse was taking place and many of the southern Maya sites ended monument production. Motul de San Jose was the only non-Yucatan site to produce a raised-heel sculpture during this period. Few raised-heel sculptures from this period have a finite date (i.e., legible from a well enough preserved portion of hieroglyphic text). Many sculptures are placed in the Terminal Classic through stylistic analysis or through relative dating.

The positioning of raised-heel monument sculptures by doorways continued, notably at the Puuc sites of Kabah and Sayil. On Kabah Jambs 1 and 2 (Figure 20), raised-heeled figures mirror each other almost perfectly in the taking captives; they were set on either side of a doorway. The figures are adorned with elaborate headdresses (indicative of impersonation) and are located on what appears to be a battlefield. Each figure possesses a single a captive. Similar to Yaxchilan Lintel 8 (Figure 15) from the Late Classic, the raised-heel figures appear to be in motion to strike the heads of their captives, expressing transition with the impending sacrifice and the possible elevation of status. It may be possible to conclude that battle, in and of itself, was a liminal event to the Classic Maya. On the battlefield one could have been killed, captured, and sacrificed (later) or survived. The fate of each warrior is uncertain until the battle is over at which time many would begin their journey to the underworld.

The sculpture of Sayil, however, employs more obvious liminal iconographic symbols in relation to the raised-heel. The east and west columns of Sayil Structure 4B1

(Figure 21) depict two main figures who also would have mirrored each other at each side of a doorway. Similar to Yaxha Stela 31(Figure 19), dwarfs appear on each sculpture, although only the west column's figure has a raised-heel. The west sculpture also depicts the additional liminal signifier of Water Lily Serpent impersonation and the symbol of a fish nibbling at the water lilies in the headdress. The additional liminal elements on this column correspond with earlier raised-heel sculptures in their portrayal of liminal actors.

Similar to Sayil Structure 4B1, a column from the Worcester Art Museum, labeled Worchester 1 (Figure 22) by Looper (2009:177-178) depicts a standing central figure with two dwarfs on each side with raised-heels. The central figure is adorned in a headdress and clothing representative of the mosaic war serpent and holds a shield with Tlaloc imagery (Looper 2009:178). The central figure also holds what appears to be a curved blade in his right hand over a dwarf with a bird headdress. Like Yaxha Stela 31, this sculpture has been connected to dwarf sacrifice (Looper 2009:177; Miller 1980:146).

Another column presenting the same dwarf sacrifice discussed above in connection to the raised heel is housed in the Centro INAH Campeche and is said to have originated from the Puuc site of Tunkuyi (Figure 23). The central figure in this image is a dwarf with a raised-heel who is overlooked by a figure holding what has been described as an axe or a curved blade that is stylistically similar to the blade on the Worchester column (Looper 2009:178-179; Miller 1980:147). Although many of the raised-heel sculpture from this period are stylistically similar and depict dwarfs, not all of the sculpture follows similar patterns.

Motul de San Jose Stela 2 (Figure 24) is the earliest archeologically-recovered Maya sculpture that was recognized as depicting figures with raised-heels (Maler 1910);

however, it is one of the latest sculptures produced by the Classic Maya in the Petén region and it displays great variation from the traditional motif. The best preserved portion of the monument is the bottom, which depicts the feet of the figure. What is left of the top portion of the monument is eroded, making it difficult to discern specific features. Although the sculpture appears to have a somewhat discernable hieroglyphic text, so far there has been no attempt to produce a reconstructed drawing of the depicted scene and the dating of the sculpture appears to be debated. Proskouriakoff (1993:150-151) acknowledged that the scholars had placed the stela at a late date of 10.0.0.0.0, but she was hesitant to accept this date because of the known range of the raised-heel motif at the time. The sculpture's raised-heel figures remain unidentified, although at least one is likely to have been a ruler. The figures to a certain degree resemble earlier raised-heel sculptures from Itsimte-Sacluk (Stela 5, Figure 13) in having similar "pom-pom" sandals as well as similar headdresses to that found on Yaxha Stela 31 (Figure 19). It also resembles Site R Lintel 5 (Figure 4) in that it is the only other sculpture to portray two figures that both have raised-heels.

Motul de San Jose Stela 2 breaks from the tradition of subtlety in raised-heel sculpture. Traditionally raised-heel imagery depicts a figure with a single bent knee and single heel lifted from the ground while the toes are still connected to the ground. Motul de San Jose Stela 2 depicts two figures facing each other, each with two bent knees and with both heels raised. Besides a dwarf sculpture on the Tunkuyi column, dating to the same time period, Motul de San Jose Stela 2 is unique in this representation. It is difficult to know if this sculpture corresponds to the themes of other raised-heel imagery because of its break from traditional depictions of the motif, lack of preserved iconographic evidence

to support a liminal context, and a lack of hieroglyphic evidence to textually understand the depicted scene.

As mentioned earlier, the raised-heel was one of the first depictions of leg motion within Classic Maya sculpture. The motion itself is subtle and is placed within an iconographic scene to denote information about a specific figure in the context of the overall scene. During the Terminal Classic, new styles of sculpture came to depict sharp leg motions that may have differed in meaning from the traditional raised-heel motif. Sculptures like Oxkintok Stela 9 (Figure 25) show an even greater separation from the Classic style leg and heel motions. On the lower panel of the stela a figure stands on the toes of its left foot while the right foot is raised to the height of the left knee. A figure in a higher panel on the same sculpture is shown in an awkward position and appears to be in the process of jumping backwards, while on the toes of his right foot. Expressive motions shown on sculptures such as Oxkintok Stela 9 and Motul de San Jose Stela 2 involve the entire body; in contrast the traditional raised-heel motif usually depicted the motion of one knee and one heel without effecting the posture and position of the body. It is difficult to tell if sculptures like Motul de San Jose Stela 2 and Oxkintok Stela 9 are in fact variations of the traditional raised-heel motif or if they are a new and unrelated style with a different meaning.

It is important to recognize that the appearance of new and later styles of sculpture depicting leg motion do not mark a finite end to the use of the traditional raised-heel motif within Classic Maya sculpture. The raised-heel appears in use throughout the Terminal Classic Period, but in conjunction with other styles of leg motions. The last known monument to employ the raised-heel motif is Uxmal Stela 2 (Figure 26) and has been

dated to 10.4.0.0.0 (Graham and Von Euw 1992). The two paneled sculpture depicts a figure with an elaborate headdress on the main panel in the traditional raised-heel pose below three winged supernatural beings (Looper 2009:165). The main figure holds a shield and is dressed in adornments similar to the raised-heel figure on Hecelchacan Monument T123 (Figure 27). The Uxmal figure stands above a panel with a small, bound, and naked captive. Based upon Miller's (1980:141) descriptions, the naked captive with a protruding stomach appears to be a dwarf. The appearance of a dwarf on Uxmal Stela 2 links it stylistically to the raised-heel sculptures of the period. Although the text on Stela 2 is weathered, the appearance of a raised-heeled figure, which is likely a ruler, in the presence of supernatural beings exemplifies the liminal themes and motifs present in the earliest raised-heel sculpture and further justifies the raised-heel as a symbol of liminality.

Conclusion

The T156 hieroglyph occurred between 9.11.0.11.11 and 9.19.10.0.0 (or AD 653 – 820) in a relatively circumscribed area (Figure 5), mostly in and around sites with connections to Yaxchilan in the Usumacinta and Petén regions, and never penetrated the Yucatan (Looper 2009:236-239). In contrast, the raised-heel motif first occurred between 9.13.13.15.0 and 10.4.0.0.0 (or AD 705 – 909) in the Usumacinta and Petén regions with a dense majority of occurrences in the northwest Yucatan (Figure 6). Although the features loosely overlap temporally they are greatly lacking in spatial association to one another. Their only co-occurrences come from the unprovienanced Site R lintels 4 and 5 and spatially occupy only three overlapping sites; Motul de San Jose, Quirigua, and Yaxchilan. There is a difference of almost a century between the latest occurrence of the T516 hieroglyph and the earliest occurrence of the raised-heel motif on the sculpture of Quirigua and between the ceramic occurrences of the T516 glyph and sculpted raised-heel motif at Motul de San Jose placing an emphasis on the temporal divide between the two features.

Dissolving the connection between the iconographic raised-heel and the T516 hieroglyph and providing an alternative interpretation which stresses the liminal significance of the raised-heel motif in sculpture creates a real need to reevaluate the meaning of the T516 hieroglyph and also much of the material concerning Classic Maya dance. Looper's (2009:91) identification of hand positions having connections to the T516 hieroglyph may provide a base for reinterpretation of the hieroglyph. Other iconographic items previously associated with dance and the T516 glyph which seldom appear outside of Yaxchilan, such as flapstaffs, God K staffs, bird staffs, and basket staffs, should also be reevaluated (Grube 1992:206-212).

Many scholars have already recognized liminal markers like underworld portals or entranceways, impersonation, the appearance of dwarfs, and other signifiers appearing on many raised-heel sculptures (Boot 2003; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993; Grube 1992; Houston and Stuart 1996; Houston and Stuart 1998; Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006; Looper 2004; Looper 2009; Schele 1988; Schele and Freidel 1990). However, previous acknowledgments of liminal signifiers in raised-heel sculpture have prompted the idea that dance was a communicative device for use between the Maya and their gods in opposition to the raised-heel representing liminal or transitional qualities specific to the attributed individual. The liminal qualities of the raised-heel motif in Classic Maya sculpture are most easily recognizable in scenes where the main figure has a raised-heel and is known to be deceased by the time of the dedication date of the monument. However, some scenes exist, such as that portrayed on Yaxchilan Lintel 8, where a secondary and subordinate figure is shown with a raised-heel. It is nearly impossible to know the status of such a figure (as living or deceased) at the time of the monument's dedication. However, this scene, like those found on Kabah Jambs 1 and 2, is likely portraying another form of liminality or "life transition" in which a new status or rank is achieved through the taking and potential sacrifice of a captive.

The raised-heel is shown in association with many recognized liminal symbols and settings, although a lack of preservation often makes hieroglyphs and other iconographic features illegible. Many of the sculptures used in this study have not been evaluated beyond black-and-white photographs and some have only been recorded by means of a rubbing. Although these media are great sources of information artistic reconstructive sketches would produce more data and possibly provide partially legible hieroglyphic

texts, iconographic symbols, and better stylistic dating. The Maya of the Classic Period had a worldview that included a great emphasis on liminality – the extent of which is only now being realized.

Late Classic Maya sculptures with the iconographic raised-heel offer insight into the ancient society far more than has been previously suspected. It is no coincidence that many of the scenes depicted on raised-heel sculptures present a resurrected figure of a once great or legendary ruler. It is important to recognize that the themes represented in raised-heel sculptures changed over time. In early instances of its use during the Late Classic Period, the raised-heel was found in specific association with scenes depicting underworld transition; later imagery, specifically that in the Puuc region, portrays scenes of captive taking and sacrifice in connection to the raised-heel. A liminal interpretation of the iconographic raised-heel is reflective of the worldview expressed in the last, presumably turbulent, period of Classic Maya history. Liminal figures appeared on Late Classic sculptures not only promoting the lives of previous rulers but also showing the society's needs for ancestral gods to help mediate and facilitate their lives.

APPENDIX A: TABLE OF RAISED-HEEL IMAGERY

Appendix A: Table of Raised-Heel Imagery

Site	Monument	Date / Style Range	Gregorian Date	Date Source
Hecelchacan	T115 Column (possible)	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Robertson 1995
	T123 Column	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Robertson 1995
Itsimte-Sacluk	Stela 5	9.15.0.0.0	AD 731	Proskouriakoff 1950:189
Itzimte-Bolonchen	Stela 3	9.16.0.0.0	AD 751	Euw 1977
	Stela 7	9.16.0.0.0	AD 751	Euw 1977
	Stela 11	9.19.10.0.0	AD 820	Euw 1977
Kabah	Codz Poop Structures	Terminal Classic	AD 800 - 900	Proskouriakoff 1950:190
	Jamb 1	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Robertson 1995
	Jamb 2	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Robertson 1995
Kayal	Jamb in Church (possible)	9.19.0.0.0 - 10.3.0.0.0	AD 810 - 889	Proskouriakoff 1950:190
	Jamb in Campeche Museum	9.16.0.0.0 - 9.19.0.0.0	AD 751 - 810	Proskouriakoff 1950:190
La Amelia	Stela 1	9.18.17.1.13	AD 807	Freidel et al. 1993:361
	Stela 2	9.18.13.17.3	AD 804	Freidel et al. 1993:361
Machaquila	Stela 10	9.15.0.0.0	AD 731	Graham 1967
Merida Museum	Sculpture M42	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Robertson 1995
Motul de San José	Stela 2 (possible).	10.0.0.0.0	AD 820	Schele and Grube 1994
Oxkintok	Stela 9 (possible)	10.1.10.0.0	AD 859	Pollock 1980
Palenque	Dumbarton Oaks Panel	9.14.11.2.7	AD 722	Schele and Miller 1986
	House D, Pier C	9.14.0.0.0	AD 711	Robertson 1983
	Temple XIV	9.13.13.15.0	AD 705	Robertson 1983
Pixoy	Stela 2	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Euw 1977
	Stela 3	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Euw 1977
Quirigua	Stela A	9.17.5.0.0	AD 775	Proskouriakoff 1950:194
	Stela C	9.17.5.0.0	AD 775	Proskouriakoff 1950:194
Santa Rosa Xtampak	Stela 1	9.19.0.0.0 - 10.3.0.0.0	AD 810 - 889	Proskouriakoff 1950:195
	Stela 2	9.15.0.0.0 - 9.16.0.0.0	AD 731 - 751	Proskouriakoff 1950:195
Sayil	Stela 4	9.19.0.0.0 - 10.3.0.0.0	AD 810 - 889	Proskouriakoff 1950:195
	Stela 5	9.19.0.0.0 - 10.3.0.0.0	AD 810 - 889	Proskouriakoff 1950:195
	Structure 4B1	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Looper 2009:177
"Site R"	Lintel 4	9.17.0.0.0	AD 771	Looper 2009:238
	Lintel 5	9.17.0.0.0	AD 771	Looper 2009:238
Tunkuyi	INAH Campeche Column	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Robertson 1995
Tzum	Stela 3	9.18.0.0.0	AD 790	Euw 1977
	Stela 5	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Euw 1977
	Stela 6	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Euw 1977
Uxmal	Stela 2	10.4.0.0.0	AD 909	Graham and von Euw 1992
Worchester Museum	Worchester 1	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Looper 2009:177-178
Xcalumkin	Jamb 3	9.14.18.0.0 - 9.15.13.0.0	AD 729 - 744	Looper 2009:173
	Jamb 4	9.14.18.0.0 - 9.15.13.0.0	AD 729 - 744	Looper 2009:173
	Jamb 6	9.15.2.0.0	AD 733	Graham and von Euw 1992
	Jamb 7	9.15.2.0.0	AD 733	Graham and von Euw 1992
	Jamb linked to Xcalumkin	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Looper 2009:175
Xcocha	Column 2	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Looper 2009:176-177
	Column 3	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Looper 2009:176-177
Xcorralché	Stela A	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Looper 2009:166-167
	Stela B	Late Classic	AD 600 - 900	Looper 2009:166-167
Yaxchilan	Lintel 8	9.16.4.1.1	AD 755	Schele and Freidel 1990:295
Yaxha	Stela 31	9.18.5.16.14	AD 796	Wurster 2000

APPENDIX B: REFERENCED FIGURES

Appendix B: Referenced Figures

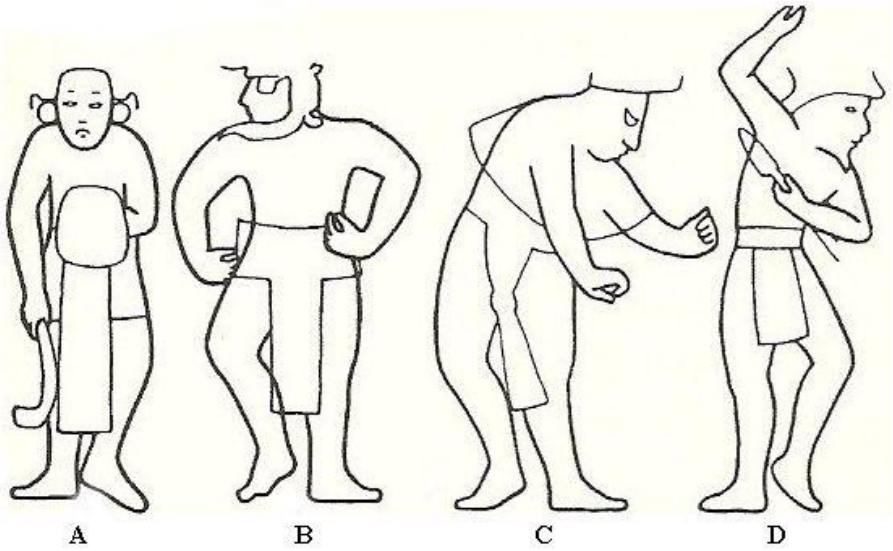

Figure 1: Sketched outlines of figures displaying the raised-heel motif from Classic Maya sculptures. A: Xcalumkin Jamb 7, B: Quirigua Stela C, C: Yaxchilan Lintel 8, and D; Kabah Codz Poop

Figure 2: Variants of the T516 hieroglyph commonly identified as the verb "to dance"

Figure 3: Sketch of Site R Lintel 4. One of two problematic sculptures to contain the T516 "dance" glyph as well as a figure employing the raised-heel motif

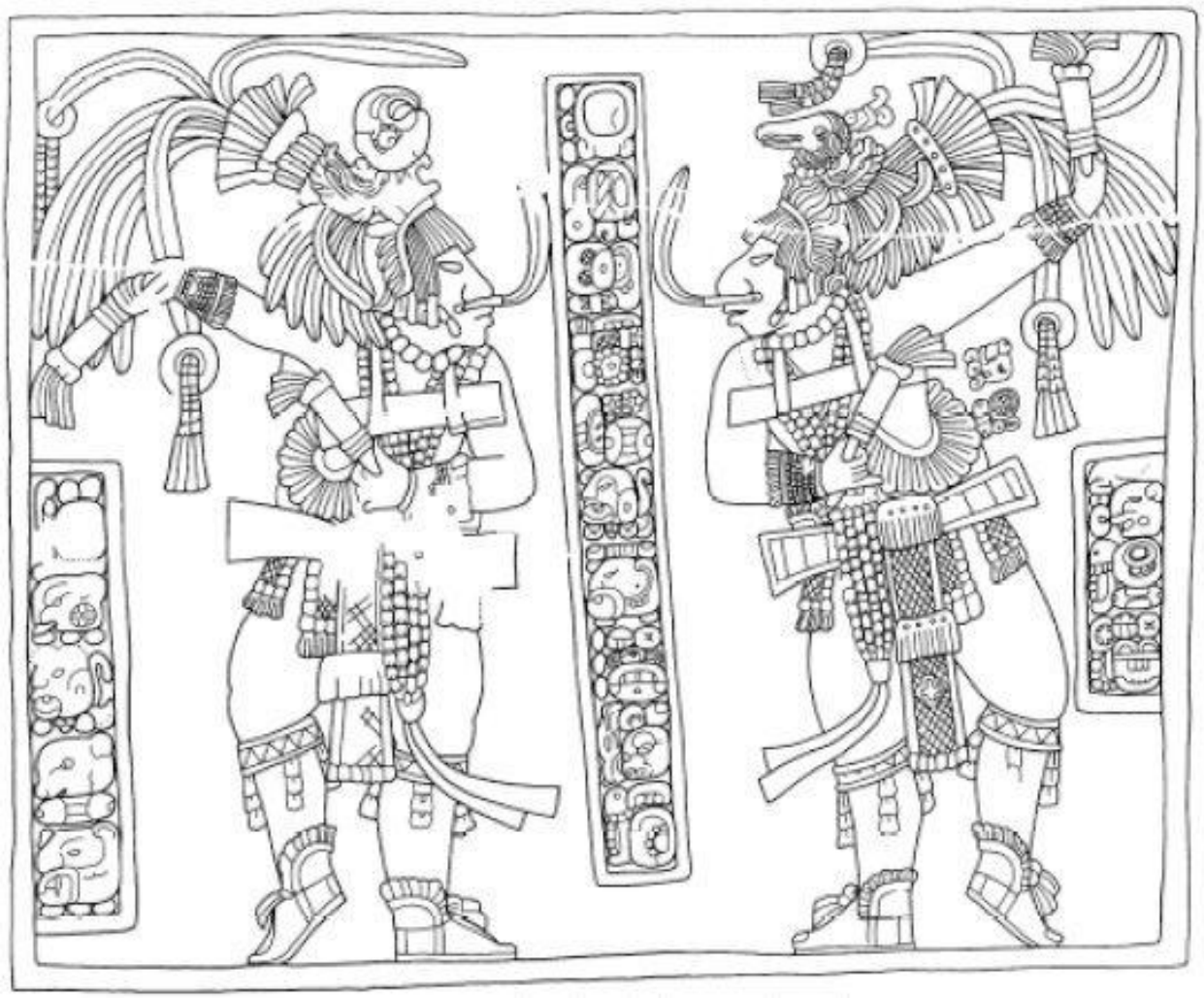

Figure 4: Sketch of Site R Lintel 5

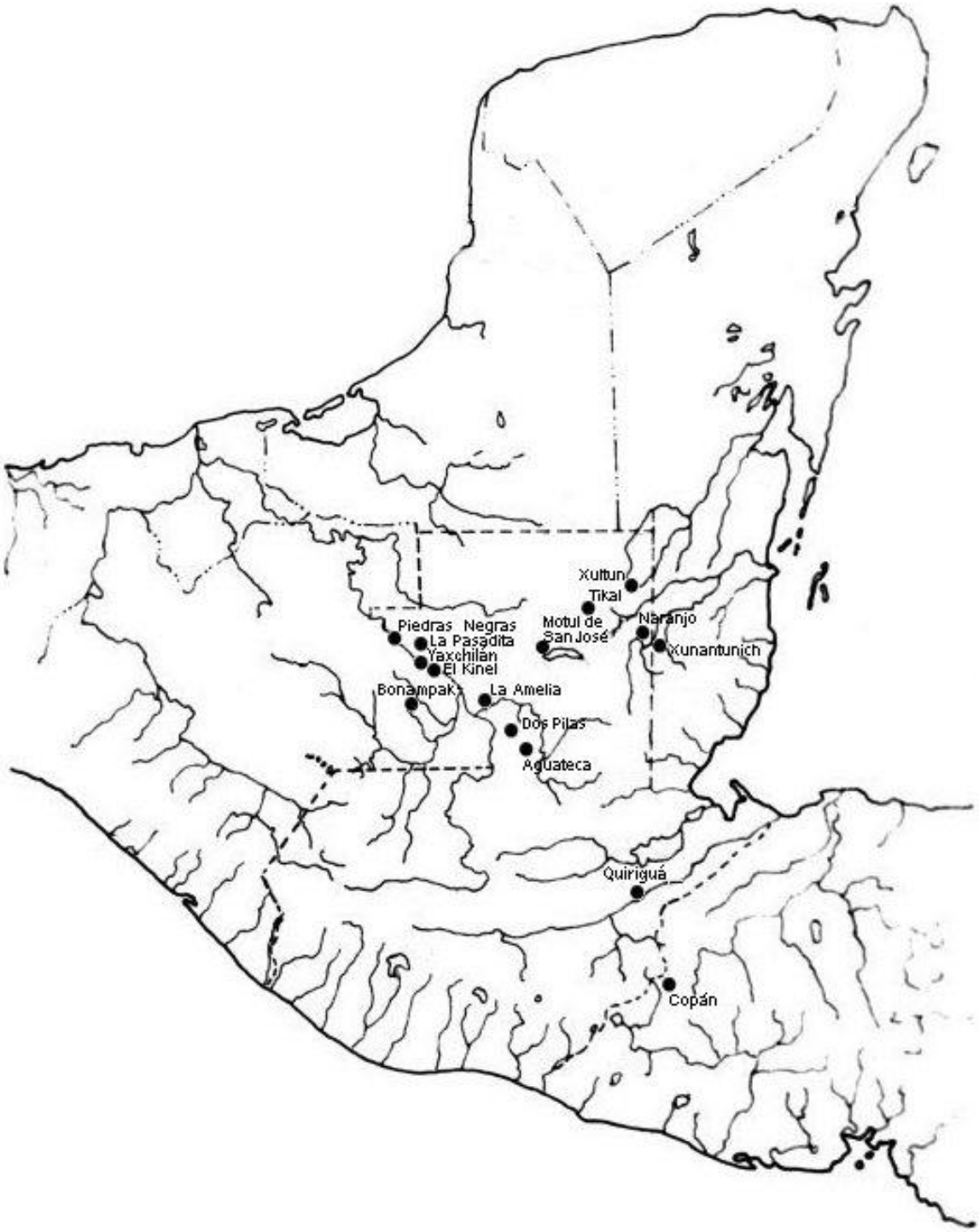

Figure 5: Classic Maya map of sites showing the distribution of the T516 hieroglyph

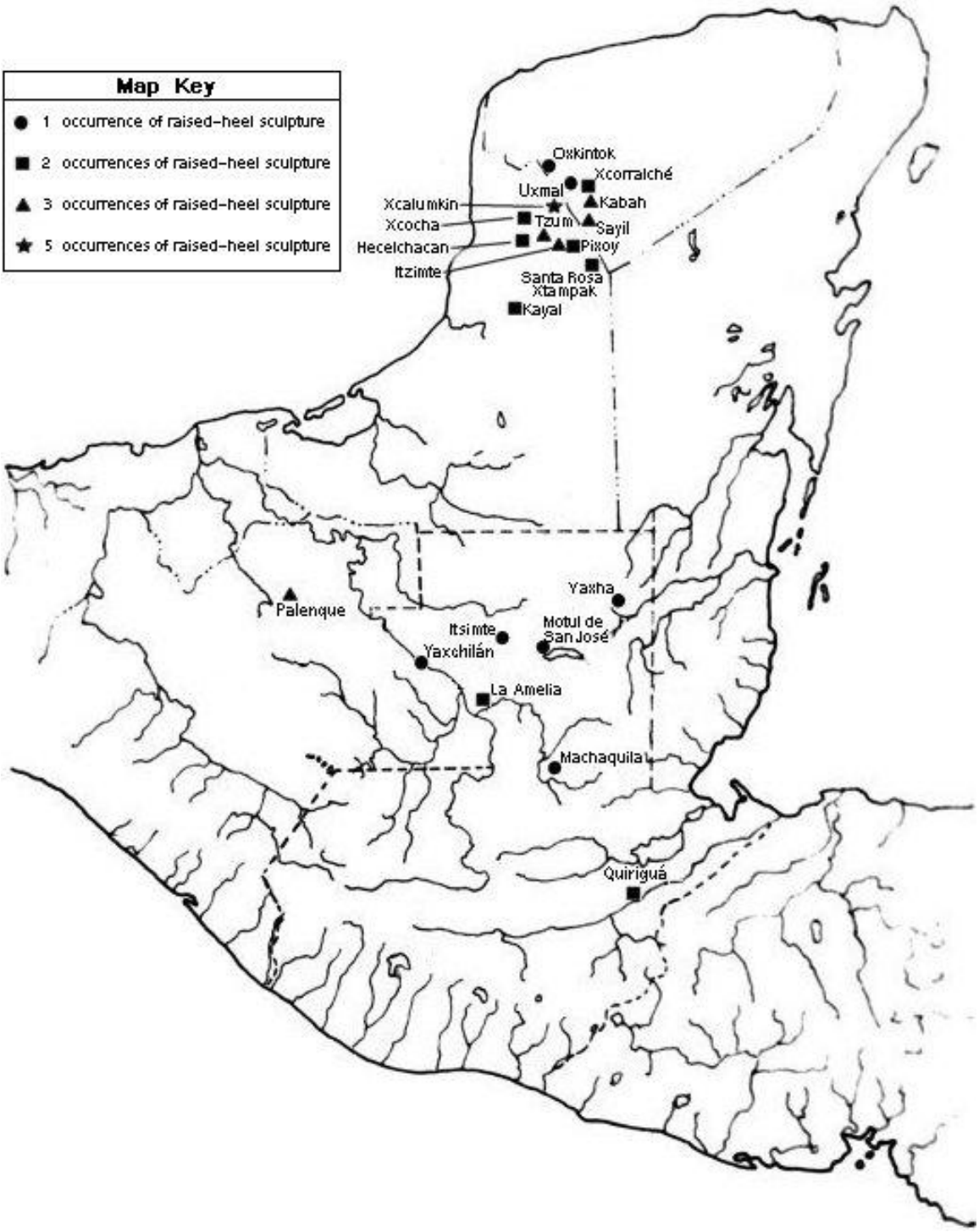

Figure 6: Classic Maya map showing the distribution and density of monument sculptures containing the iconographic raised-heel

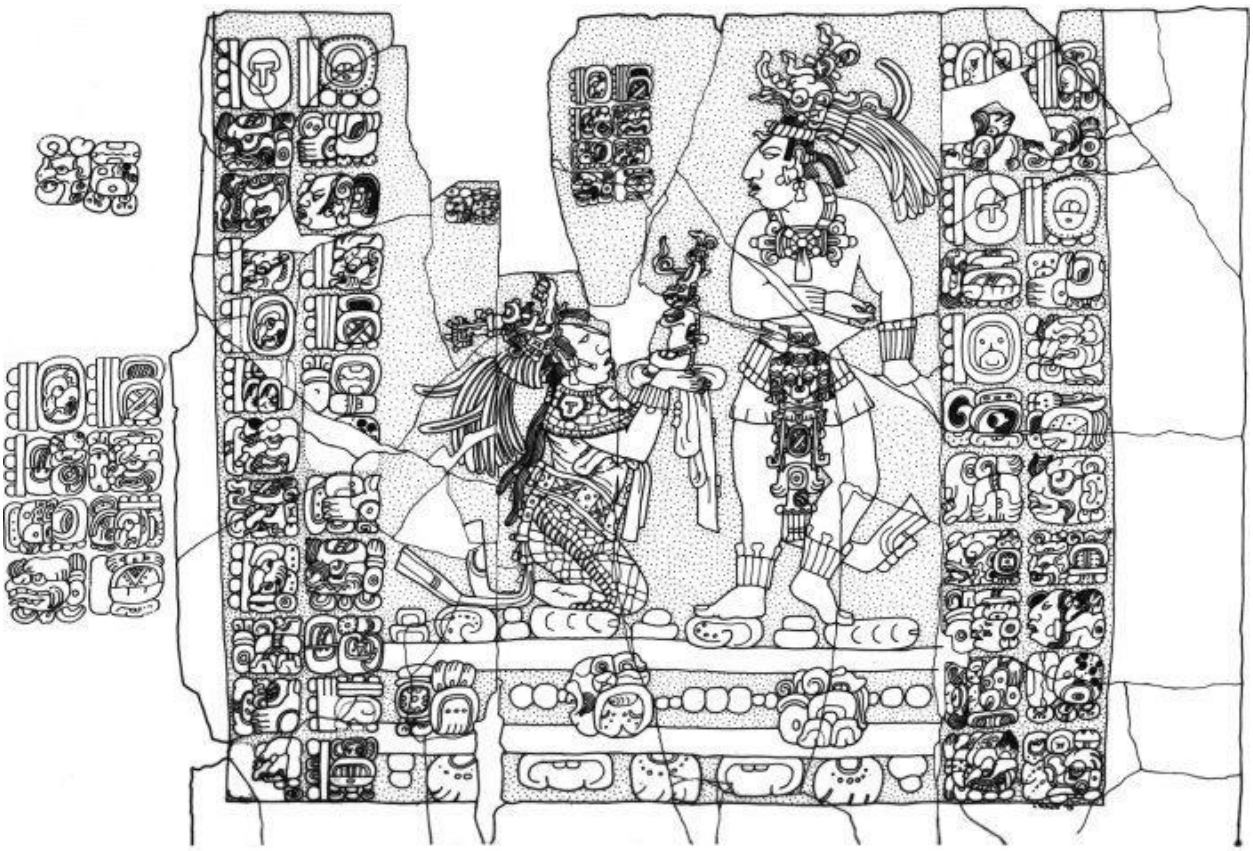

Figure 7: Sketch of Palenque Temple XIV Monument depicting the deceased Palenque ruler K'inich Kan B'ahlamII with a raised-heel

Figure 8: Sketch of Palenque House D pier C

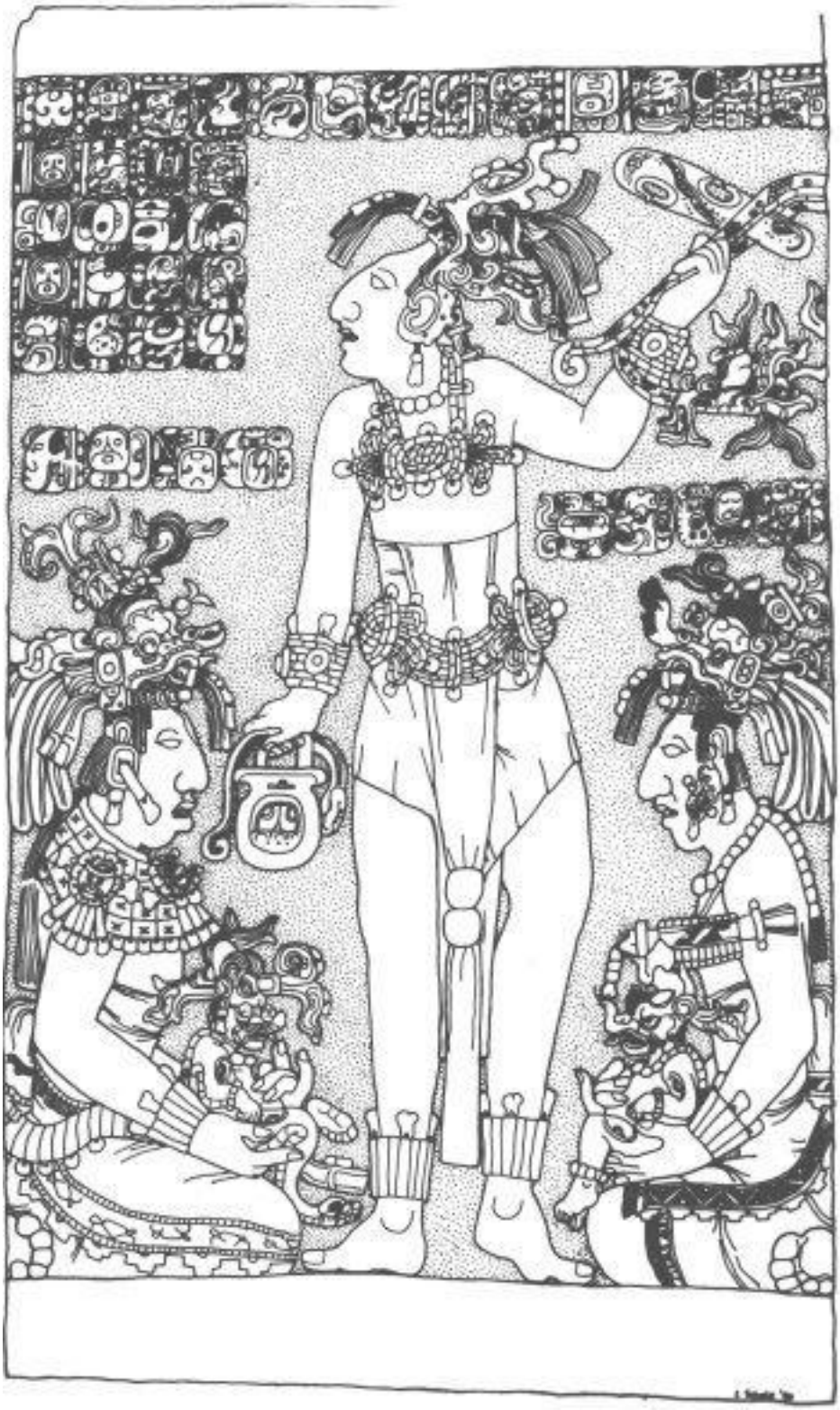

Figure 9: Sketch of Palenque Dumbarton Oaks Panel 2 depicting the deceased ruler K'inich K'an Joy Chitam II

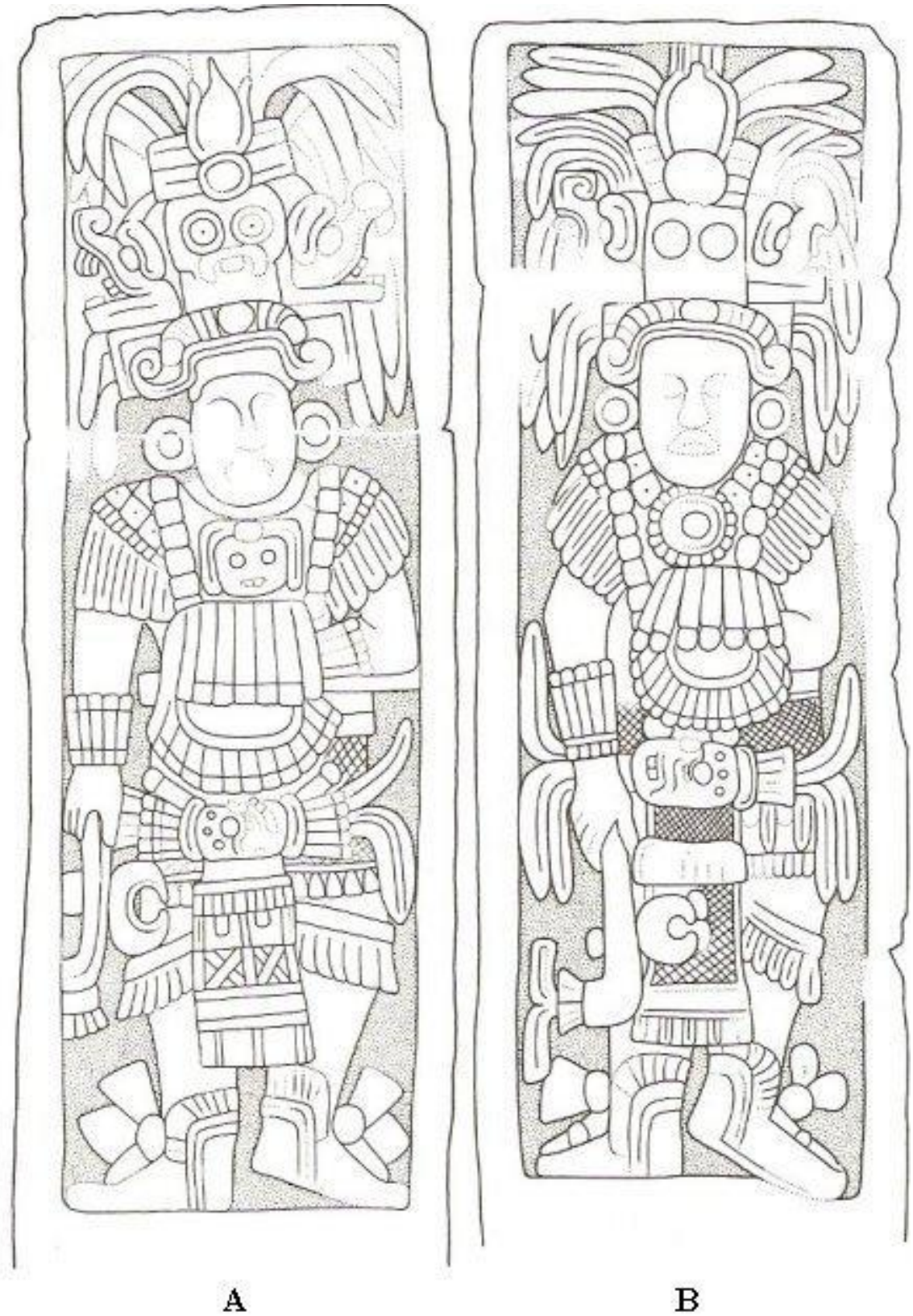

Figure 10: A: Sketch of Xcalumkin Jamb 6, B: Sketch of Xcalumkin Jamb 7

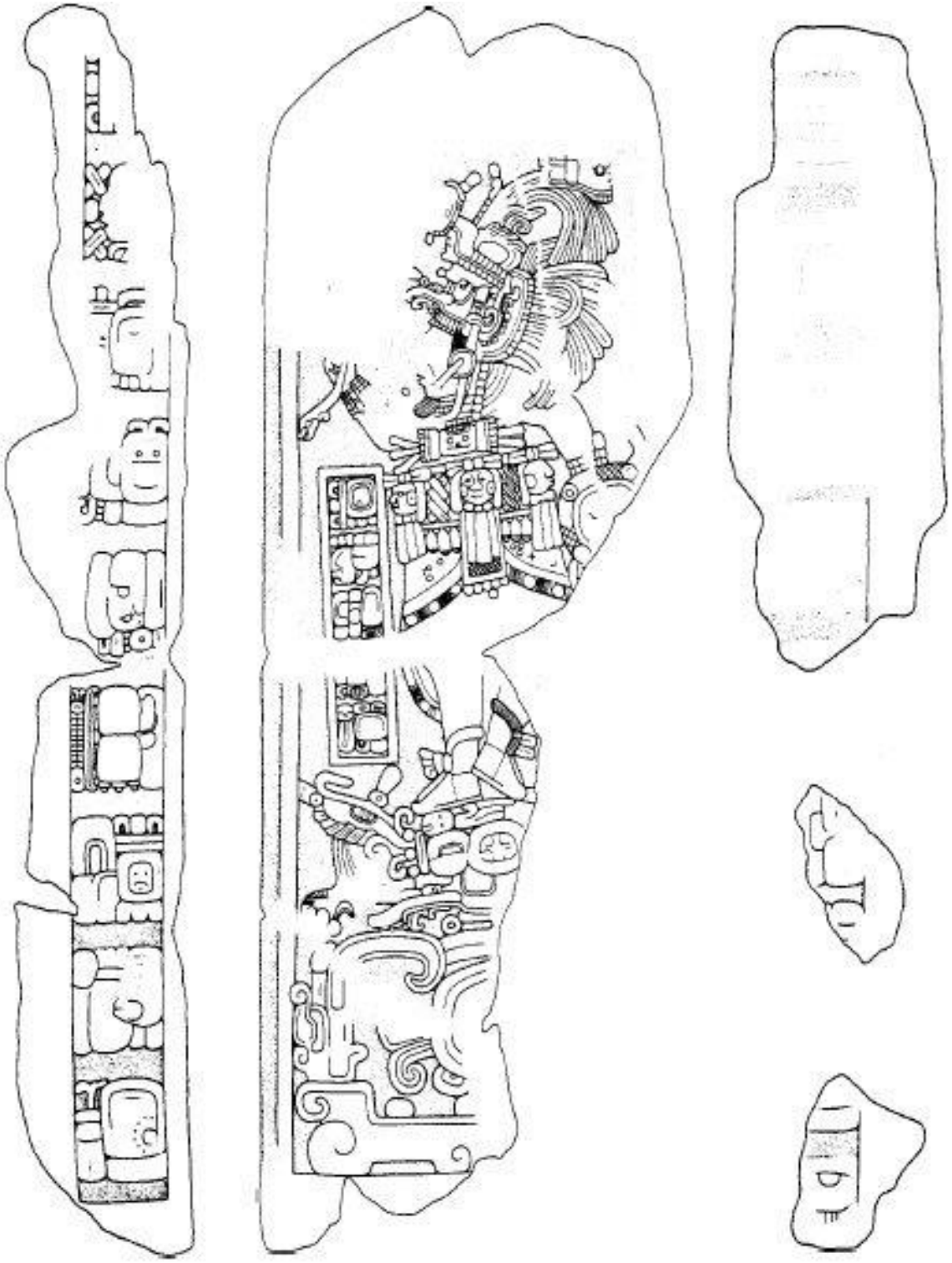

Figure 11: Sketch of Tzum Stela 3

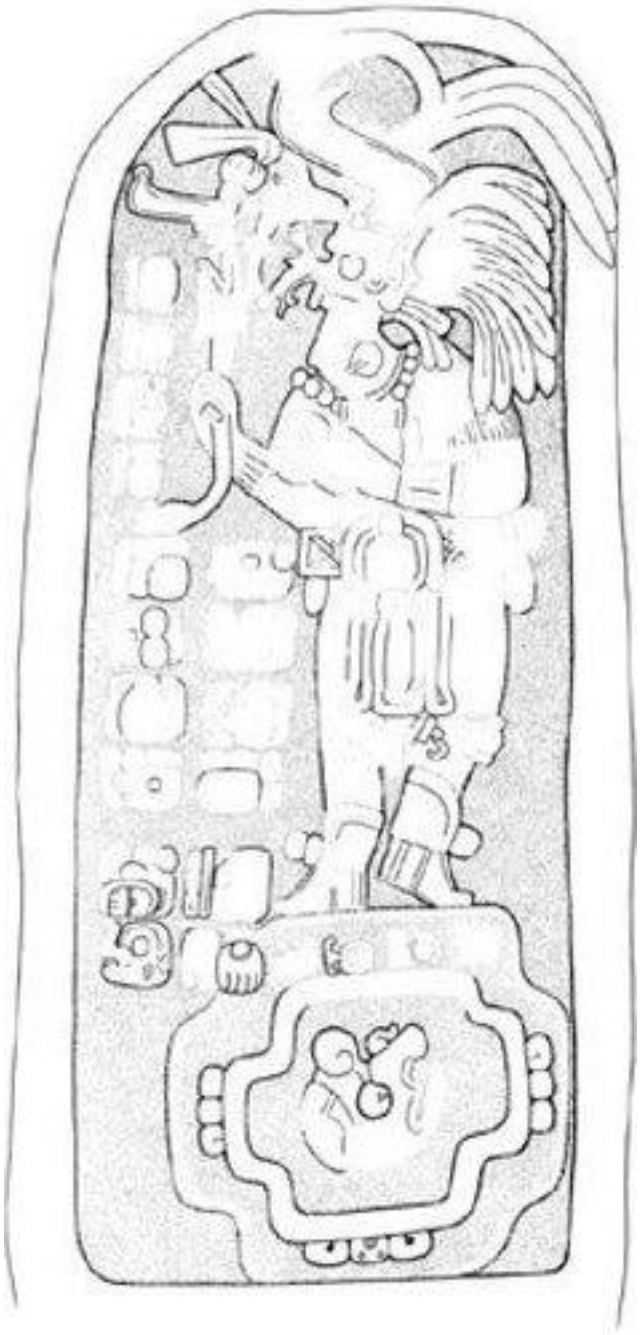

Figure 12: Sketch of Machaquila Stela 10

Figure 13: Rubbing of Itsimte-Sacluk Stela 5

Figure 14: A: Sketch of Itzimte-Bolonchen Stela 3, and B: Sketch of Itzimte-Bolonchen Stela 7

Figure 15: Sketch of Yaxchilan Lintel 8

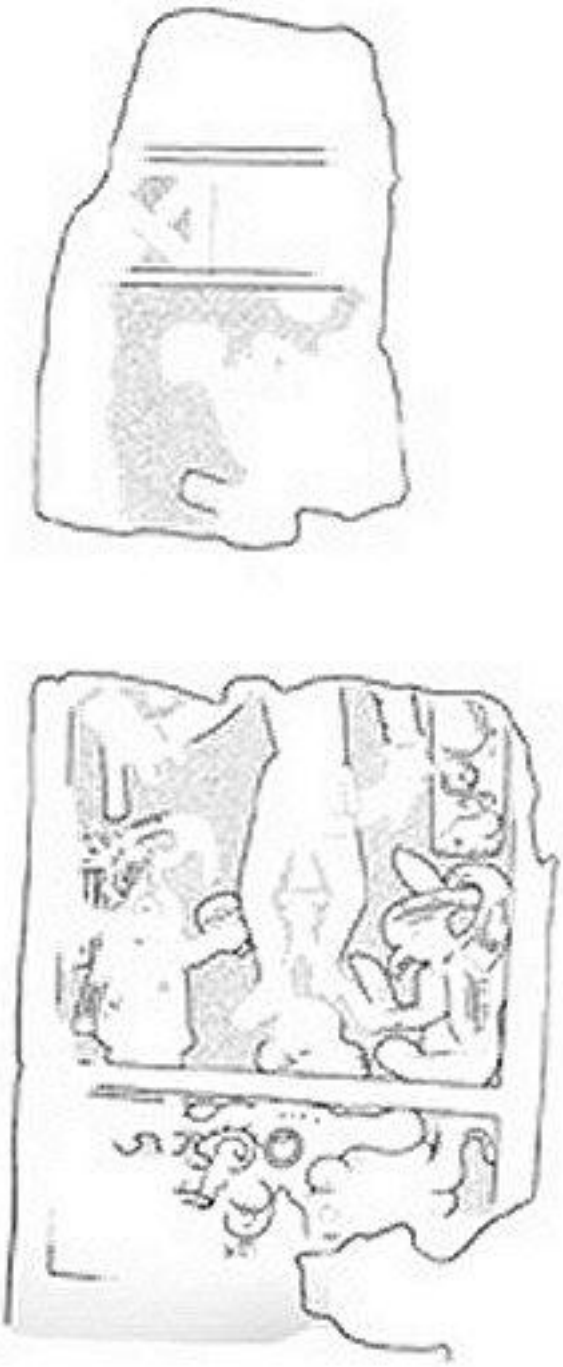

Figure 16: Sketch of Tzum Stela 5

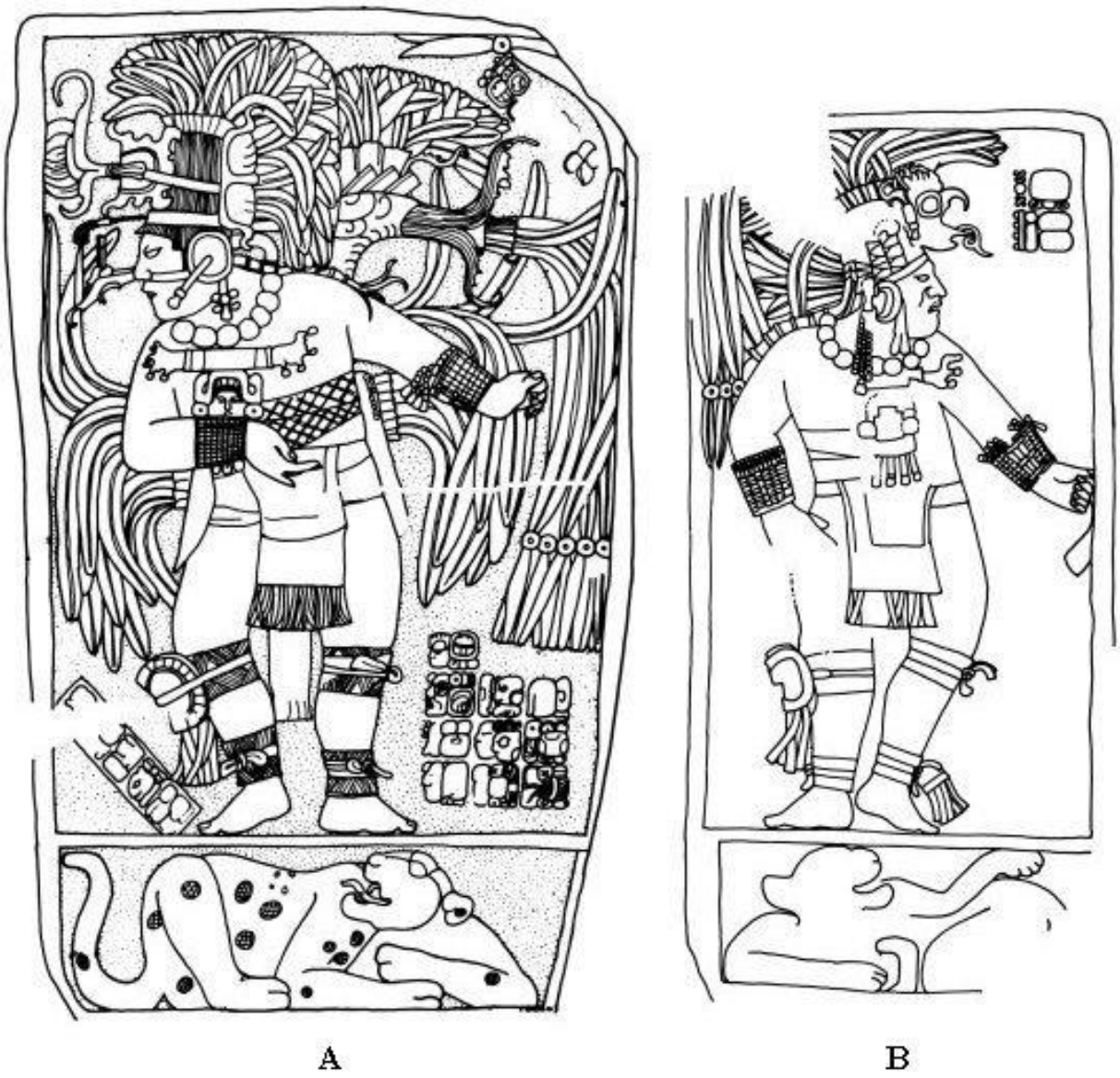

Figure 17: A: Sketch of La Amelia Stela 1, B: Sketch of La Amelia Stela 2

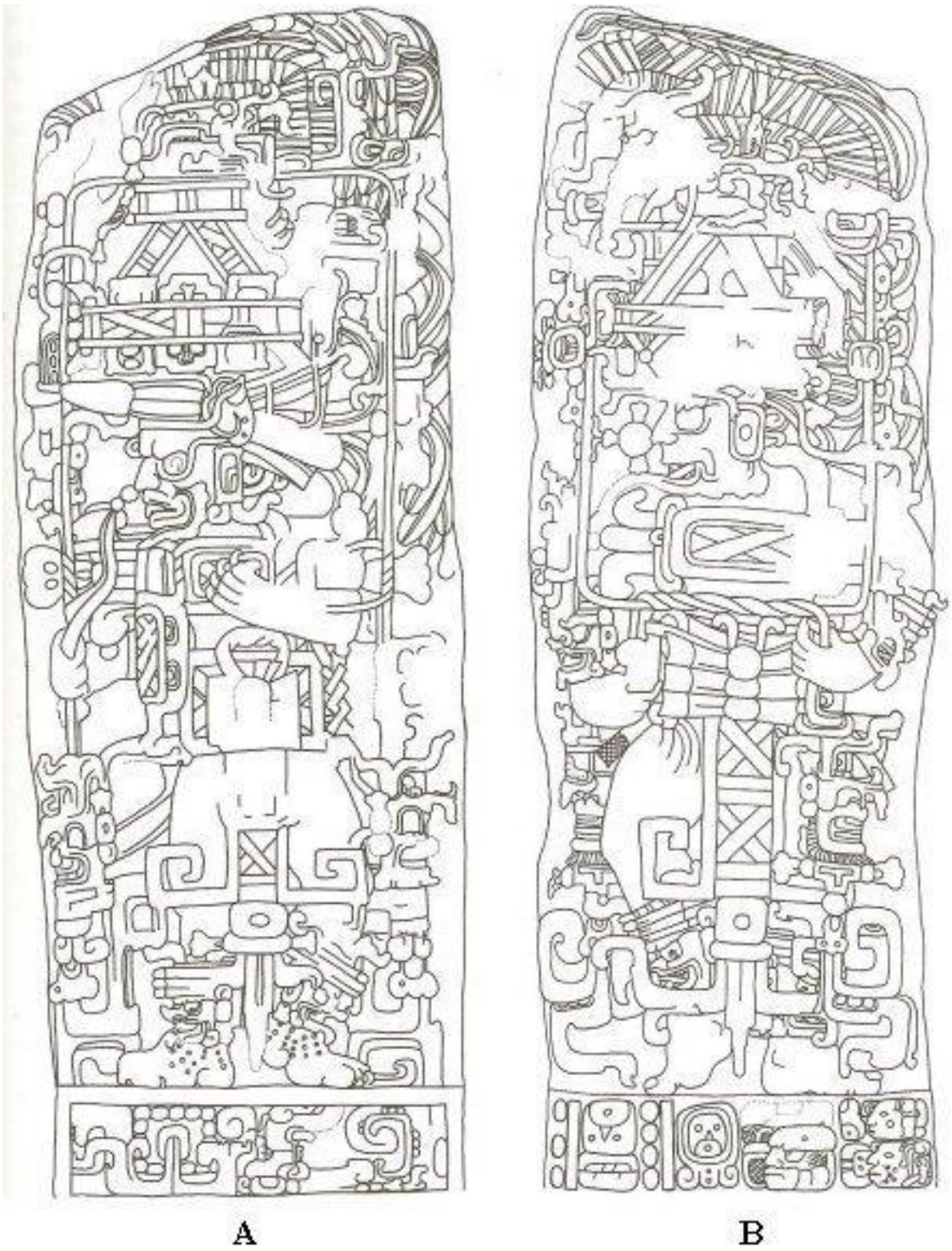

Figure 18: A: Sketch of Quirigua Stela A, B: Sketch of Quirigua Stela C

Figure 19: Sketch of Yaxha Stela 31

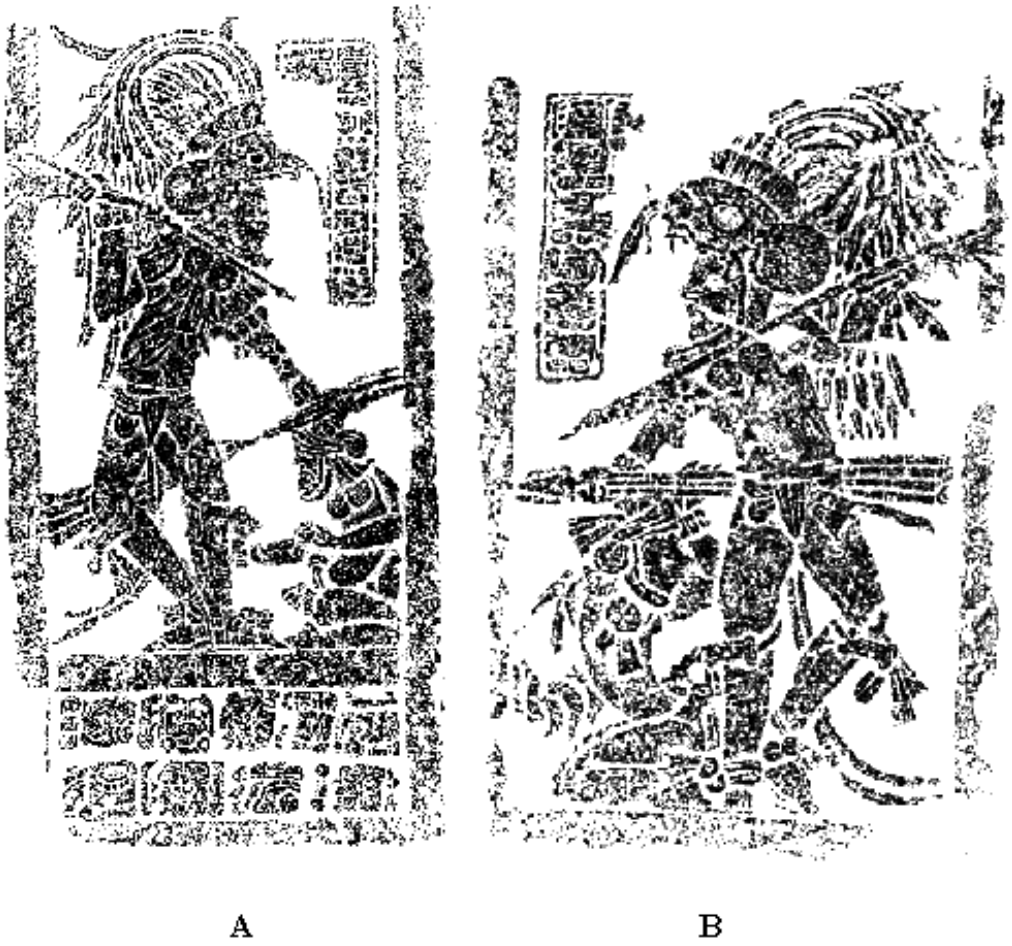

Figure 20: A: Rubbing of Kabah Jamb 1, B: Rubbing of Kabah Jamb 2

Figure 21: Sketch of Sayil Structure 4B1 west

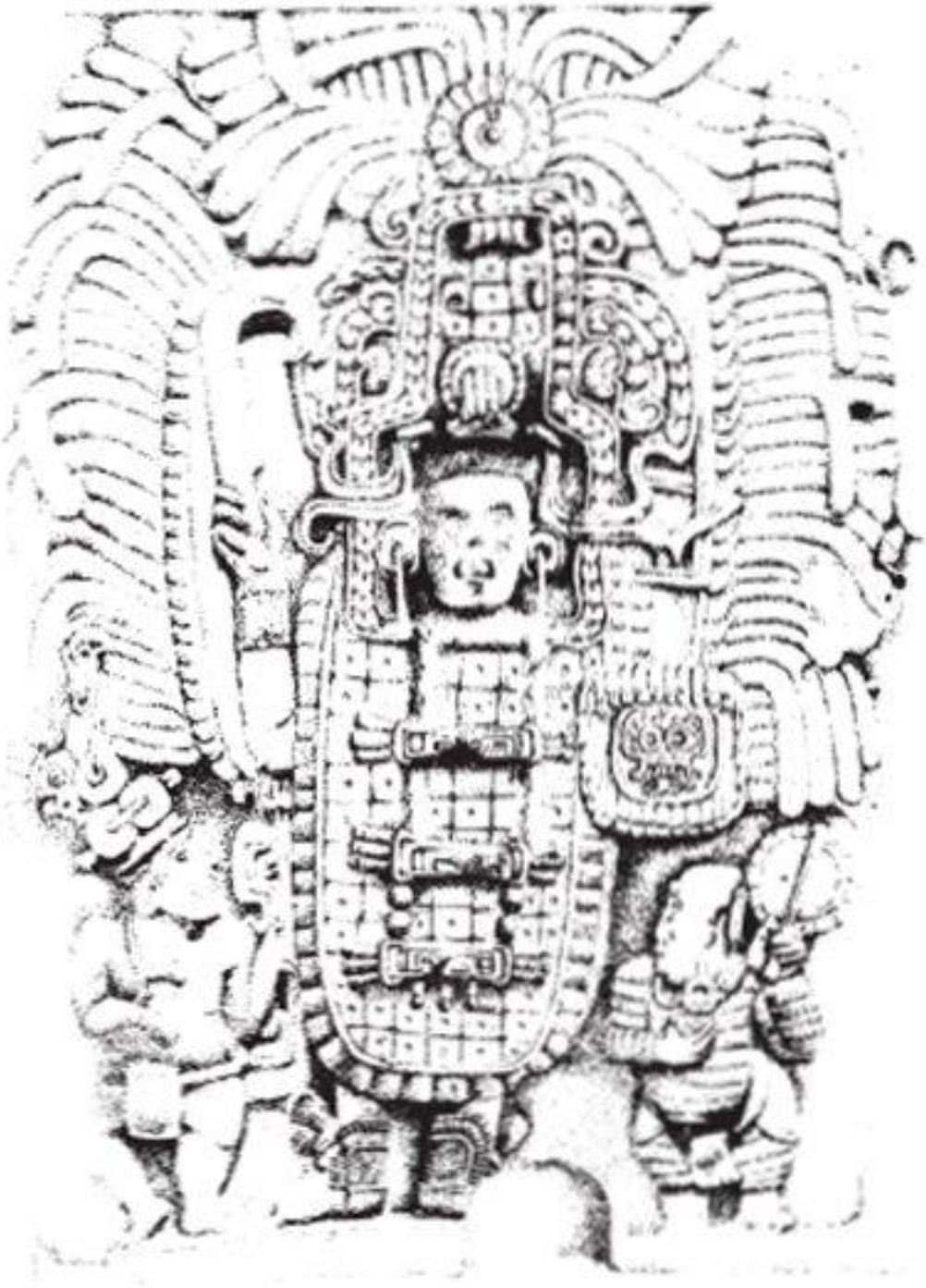

Figure 22: Rubbing of Worchester Museum Column

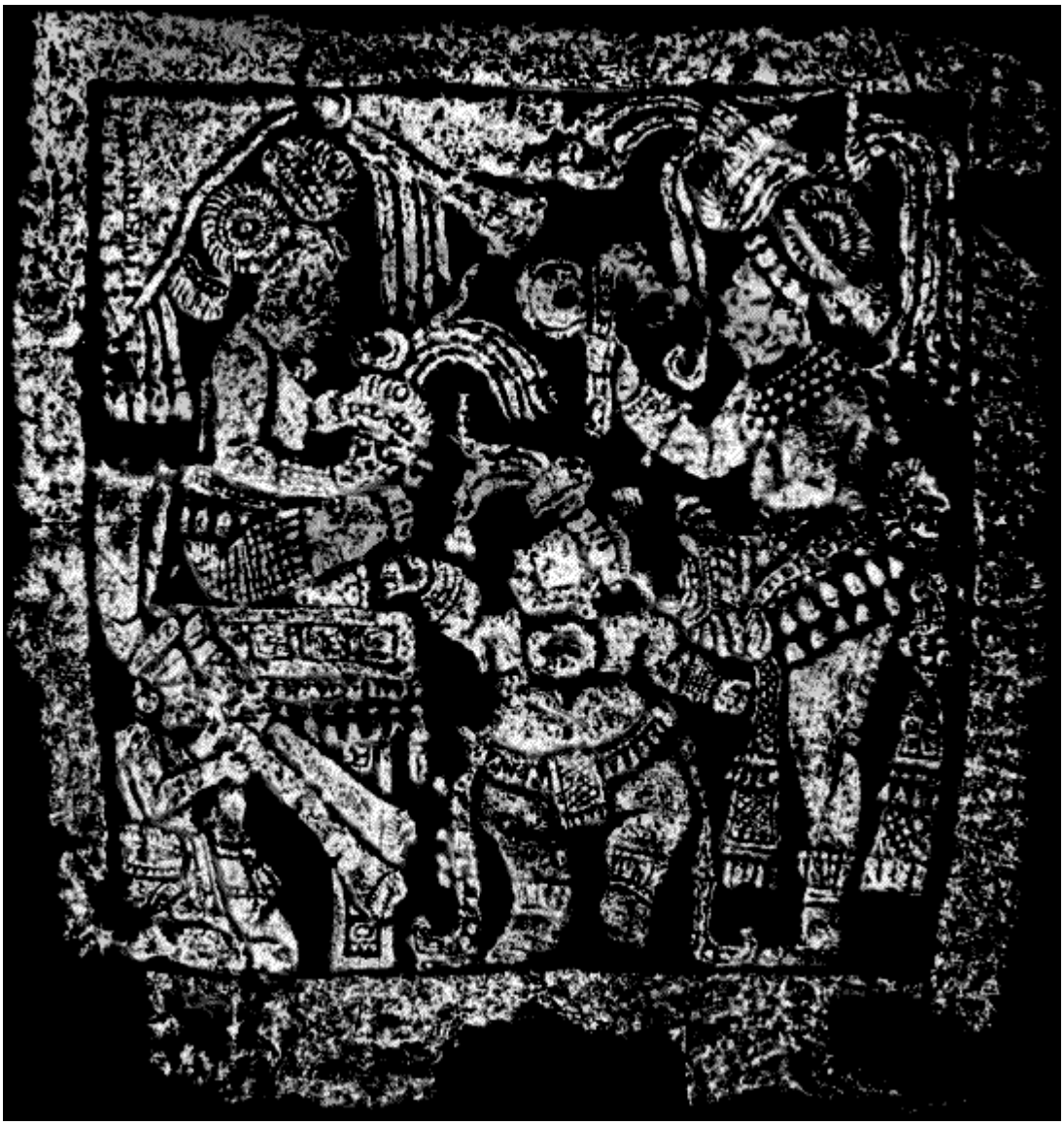

Figure 23: Rubbing of a Campeche Museum Column said to have originated in Tunkuyi

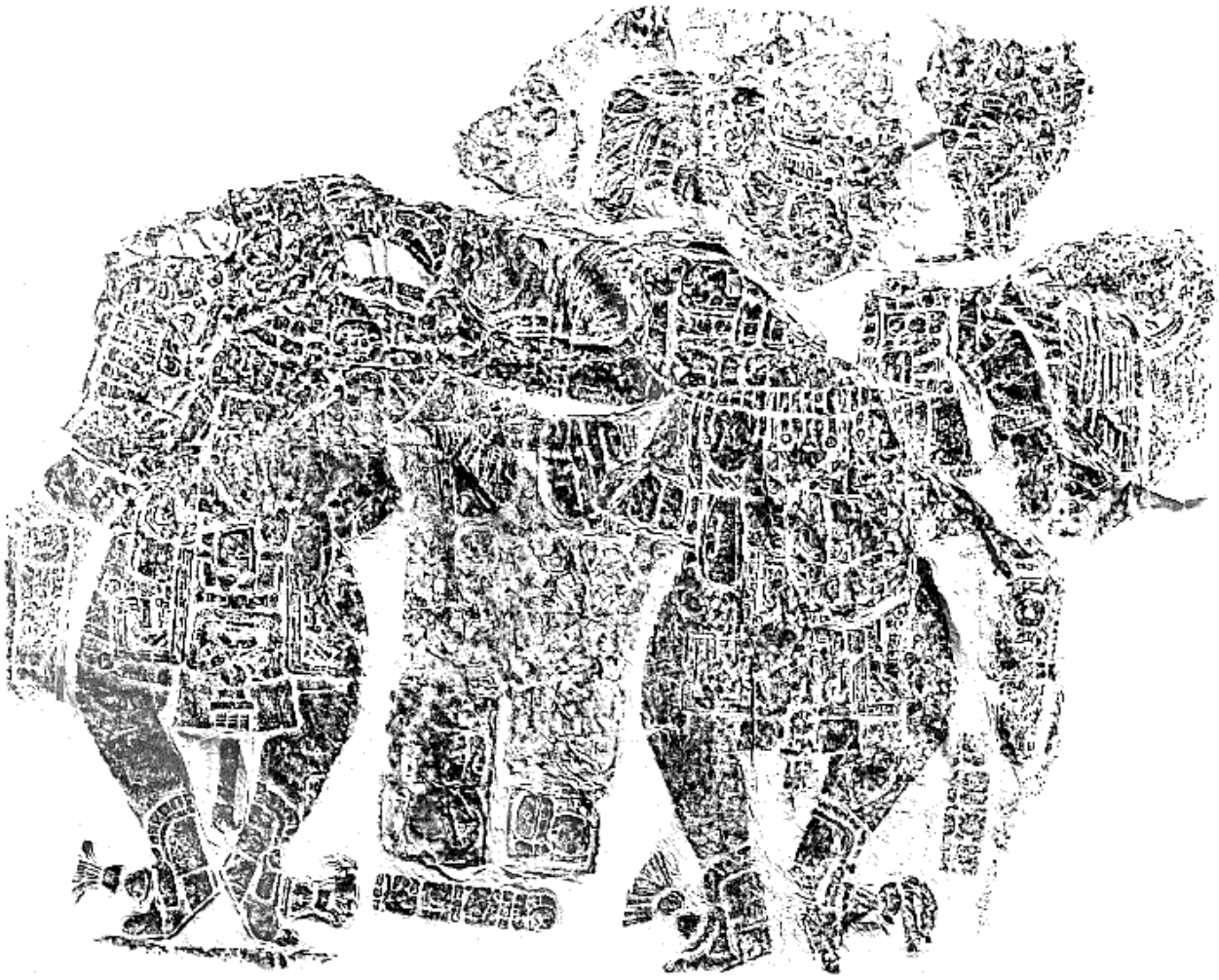

Figure 24: Rubbing of Motul de San Jose Stela 2

Figure 25: Photograph of Oxkintok Stela 9

Figure 26: Sketch of Uxmal Stela 2

Figure 27: Rubbing of Hecelchacan Monument T123

APPENDIX C: NOTES

Appendix C: Notes

1. Motul de San Jose Stela 2 was first mentioned in Teobert Maler's 1910 report *Explorations in the Department of Peten, Guatemala and Adjacent Region: Motul de San Jose, Peten-Itza: Reports of Explorations for the Museum* as an unnumbered stela. Maler described the figures on the stela as "tip-toed." The sculpture, correctly labeled Stela 2, is often not given a number and is identified by the mention of "tip-toed" or "dancing" protagonists. The most notable occurrence of a mistaken numbering of the sculpture comes from Mesoweb.com's section of Merle Greene Robertson's Rubbings Database. There the sculpture is labeled as Stela 1.
2. This paper used the generally accepted Goodman-Martínez-Thompson (GMT) calendar conversion for Maya Long Count dates to Gregorian (Sharer and Traxler 2006:114).
3. In 1990 Linda Schele was anonymously sent Xerox copies of five lintels supposedly looted from a site in the Yaxchilan area during the 1960's (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993:461). The unknown site was given the name "Site R" following in succession from "Site Q."

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