

Aztec-Style Ceramic Figurines from Yautepec, Morelos

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Small ceramic figurines were common components of domestic artifact inventories at Aztec archaeological sites. These objects provide important evidence in the investigation of Aztec domestic ritual (Smith 2002), a realm poorly represented in the abundant ethnohistoric documentation of Aztec religion. Although Aztec-style ceramic figurines are abundant both in museum collections and at archaeological sites, these artifacts remain very poorly understood today. In this paper I describe a collection of nearly 2,000 fragmentary ceramic figurines excavated at the Aztec city of Yautepec in the Mexican state of Morelos.

This collection includes Aztec-style figurines imported from the Basin of Mexico, locally-made figurines in the Aztec style, and locally-made figurines in distinctive local styles (Otis Charlton 1994). All three of these categories were present in each of four time periods identified at Yautepec:

- 1) the Pochtla phase, or Middle Postclassic period (ca. AD 1100–1300), a time of city-state development in central Mexico;
- 2) the Atlán or Late Postclassic-A period (ca. AD 1300–1440), a time of the expansion of the Tepanec empire;
- 3) the Molotla phase, or Late Postclassic-B period (ca. AD 1440–1521+), which saw the expansion of the Triple Alliance empire, including the conquest of Yautepec;
- 4) the Santiago phase, an early colonial time period (ca. AD 1521–1600+).

The data presented here show clearly that Aztec figurines and figurine styles achieved a widespread distribution early in the chronology of Aztec society, long before the imperial period.

Background: Aztec Ceramic Figurines

Aztec-style figurines are poorly understood today. There are several reasons for this situation. First, few figurine collections from Aztec archaeological sites have been adequately published. Archaeologists have published descriptions of small numbers of figurines from Aztec sites (e.g., Brumfiel 1996; Guilliem Arroyo 1997; Otis Charlton 2001; Parsons 1972). Second, although there are hundreds (perhaps thousands?) of whole figurines in museum collections, very few of these have been published. The best-published collection is the Lukas Vischer collection at the Ethnographic Museum in Basel (Baer 1996), and several other works illustrate small numbers of museum figurines (e.g., Barlow and Lehmann 1990; Guggenheim Museum 2004; Pasztory 1998). There are several unpublished MA theses on museum collections of Aztec figurines (Kaplan 1958; Millian 1981).

A third reason for the low level of understanding of Aztec figurines is the nature of past scholarly approaches, many of which concentrate only on the finest examples and ignore the range of variation within the category (e.g., Guggenheim Museum 2004; Matos Moctezuma and Solís Olguín 2002; Pasztory 1998). Progress in understanding Aztec ceramic figurines – a key category of object for our understanding of Aztec domestic ritual, aesthetics, and economics – will re-

quire the publication and analysis of figurines in both museum collections and archaeological collections. This paper contributes to that task by describing a collection of figurines excavated from Postclassic domestic contexts at Yautepec.

Introduction to The Yautepec Figurines

The figurines described here were recovered from excavations of houses and domestic middens by the Albany Yautepec project in 1993. Fieldwork is described in Smith et al. (1999) and Smith (2005b). The ceramic chronology, outlined above, is described in Hare and Smith (1996). Several previous works describe particular aspects of the figurine collection (Olson 2001; Smith 2002; Smith and Montiel 2005). This paper is based on the figurine descriptions from the project reports (Smith 2005b: chapter C3).

A total of 1,906 ceramic figurine fragments were excavated at Yautepec. The initial analysis of figurines was done by Elizabeth DiPippo (1995). In 1998 and 1999, Jan Marie Olson and Smith reanalyzed the figurines, using the classification described below. Because we were not satisfied with existing classifications of Aztec figurines, we designed a new classification system based upon the concepts of groups and types. Groups are categories that describe regions of origin of the figurines, whereas types describe the kind of images depicted in the figurines. Because of the large number of figurines and the short amount of time available, our classification was done quickly and our system has some contradictions (see discussion below). We also recorded attributes on each piece, including elements of clothing and hairstyle.

Table 1 shows the frequencies of groups and types for the total collection of 1,906 figurines from Yautepec. Of these, 1,313 are from well-dated excavated contexts. The frequencies of individual groups and types in this sample are given in Table 2 (groups) and Table 3 (types).

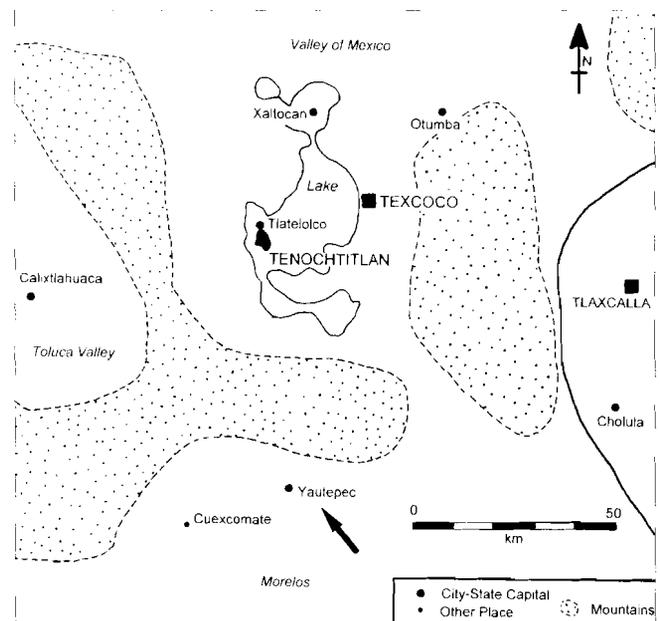


Fig. 1. Map showing the locations of Yautepec in central Mexico.

Table 1. Frequencies of groups and types in the total figurine collection

Groups:		Types:											Total		
		0 Uncertain	1 Female	2 Male	3 Human	4 Animal	5 Rattle	6 Temple model	7 Ghost	8 Infant	9 Articulated	10 Special			
0	Uncertain	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
1	Aztec orange	6	15	6	29	7	8	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	73
2	Orange slip	7	37	6	9	7	7	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	74
3	Fine buff	27	91	17	100	9	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	245
4	Cookie cutter	–	85	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	88
5	Miniatures	6	25	8	34	25	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	101
6	Local	136	245	145	277	176	172	14	31	2	29	10	–	–	1,237
7	Colonial	–	6	21	9	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	37
11	Cuexcomate orange	–	3	1	4	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	14
12	Pre-Aztec	7	2	1	22	2	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	35
Total		190	509	205	487	232	189	14	32	4	33	10	–	–	1,905

Figurine Groups

Groups were defined to identify distinct production areas of the figurines, and to identify figurines from earlier and later periods. The frequencies of groups in the total collection of figurines are shown in Table 1; Table 2 shows frequencies of groups by phase.

Group 0, Uncertain (not illustrated)

This is a rare category with a single fragment that appears to be a figurine.

Group 1, Aztec orange (Fig. 2, A–B)

This category is defined by the presence of a fine, hard orange paste. The paste is very similar, perhaps identical, to the orange paste found in the type Aztec III black-on-orange. Chemical analyses confirm that sherds of Aztec III black-on-orange from Yauhtepec were imported from the Basin of Mexico (Smith, et al. n.d.). Although no figurines have been tested yet, I assume that figurines of group 1 – with paste similar to the imported ceramics – were also imported from that area. Group 1 includes human and animal forms and rattles; these forms are common in orange figurines in the Basin of Mexico (Parsons 1972).

Group 2, Orange slip (Fig. 2, C–H)

This group is defined by a thick orange slip and an orange to buff paste similar to the paste of group 1, but with more and large nonplastic inclusions. This combination of slip and paste is not found in ceramic vessels from Morelos; it occurs only in figurines. Most of these figurines are hollow females, a form that is very common in the Basin of Mexico (Barlow and Lehmann 1990; Otis Charlton 2001). An example from the Basin of Mexico is shown in Fig. 2, I). This and other whole examples have small ceramic pellets inside that rattle when the object is shaken. I interpret this group as an import from the Basin of Mexico on the basis of the distinctive paste and slip and the resemblance of these objects to a common figurine form in the Basin. This category is Type I in the classification of Parsons (1972).

Group 3, Fine buff (Fig. 2, J–P)

This group is defined from the color and texture of its paste, which is a light buff in color and very fine (few or no nonplastic inclusions). There is a range of hardness, from very soft to medium. Nearly all examples are human form (types 1–3) or else fragments. This group can be interpreted as an import to Yauhtepec, because its paste occurs only on these figurines. They are probably imported from the Basin of Mexico, an interpretation based upon two observations: (1) the forms of these figurines (Fig. 2, J–P) are very similar to the forms of Aztec figurines in the Basin of Mexico; (2) a larger number of figurines with this same paste were excavated by George Vaillant at the site of Nonoalco in the western Basin of Mexico, suggesting a place of origin near that site. These unpublished figurines are in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City (Kaplan 1958).

Group 4, Cookie cutter (Fig. 3, A–E)

This group is defined from its distinctive form. These flat figurines resemble cookies made with a mold. The closest resemblance is to Mazapan figurines from the Early Post-classic period (Scott 1993; Stocker 1974), but the objects of group 4 are quite different and cannot be confused with the Mazapan type. Their paste consists of the local Yauhtepec orange paste. These are interpreted as locally made on the basis of their paste and the lack of such figurines in other areas.

Group 5, Miniature (Fig. 3, F–R)

Group 5 is defined as figurines smaller than 5 cm. in length. Three sub-groups were identified. *Subgroup 1* (18 examples; Fig. 3, F–I) are defined as miniature figurines with a hard, black slipped finish. The black is from a reduced firing atmosphere. These figurines have a fine gray paste. Most of these are human form, and some are animals. One interesting example (Fig. 3, H) appears to be a representation of a *tlatoani*. *Subgroup 2* (12 examples; Fig. 3, J–M) are defined as tiny figures with an unslipped buff finish. Some are clearly animal forms, whereas others could be humans with projec-



Fig. 2. Figurines, groups 1, 2, and 3 (imports from the Valley of Mexico). I: model, drawn by Maggie LaNoue; from Brumfiel (1996:148). All other figurines drawn by Ben Karis.

Table 2. Frequencies of figurine groups per phase

		Pochtla	Atlan	Molotla	Santiago	Total
0	Uncertain	–	–	0,1	–	1
1	Aztec orange	1,4	1,0	3,7	–	38
2	Orange slip	2,8	1,4	4,5	–	48
3	Fine buff	9,9	13,1	14,8	19,2	187
4	Cookie cutter	4,2	7,3	3,9	3,8	61
5	Miniatures	11,3	8,7	4,2	3,8	73
6	Local	69,0	65,7	65,2	65,4	860
7	Colonial	–	0,3	1,6	7,7	18
11	Cuexcomate orange	–	0,7	0,4	–	6
12	Pre-Aztec	1,4	1,7	1,6	–	21
	Valley of Mexico imports	14,1	15,6	23,0	19,2	
	Aztec style, locally made	69,0	65,7	65,2	65,4	
	Local styles	15,5	16,6	8,5	7,7	
	Total	71	289	927	26	1.313

Table 3. Frequencies of figurine types per phase

		Pochtla	Atlan	Molotla	Santiago	Total
0	Unknown	8,5	13,1	10,2	19,2	144
1	Female	21,1	28,4	27,2	11,5	352
2	Male	2,8	8,0	10,9	26,9	133
3	Human	32,4	27,3	23,6	15,4	325
4	Animal	8,5	9,0	12,2	15,4	149
5	Rattle	9,9	10,4	10,5	7,7	136
6	Temple model	–	–	1,4	–	13
7	Ghost	5,6	1,7	1,3	–	21
8	Infant	2,8	0,3	0,1	–	4
9	Articulated	4,2	0,7	2,3	3,8	27
10	Special	4,2	1,0	0,3	–	9
	Human	60,6	64,4	64,0	57,7	
	% female	88,2	78,1	71,4	30,0	
	Total	71	289	927	26	1.313

tions on their head, perhaps indicating a maize goddess or other female form. All examples, however, are classified as animals in the database. Figurines in this subgroup are very distinctive and different from other miniature figurines. *Subgroup 3* (43 examples; Fig. 3, N–R) is a broad category for any miniature figurine that does not fit into subgroups 1 or 2. Nearly all examples are classified as humans (including males, females, and unclassified humans), with a few animal forms. One example (Fig. 3, Q) appears to represent a captive with hand tied behind the back.

Group 6, Local paste (Figs. 4, 5)

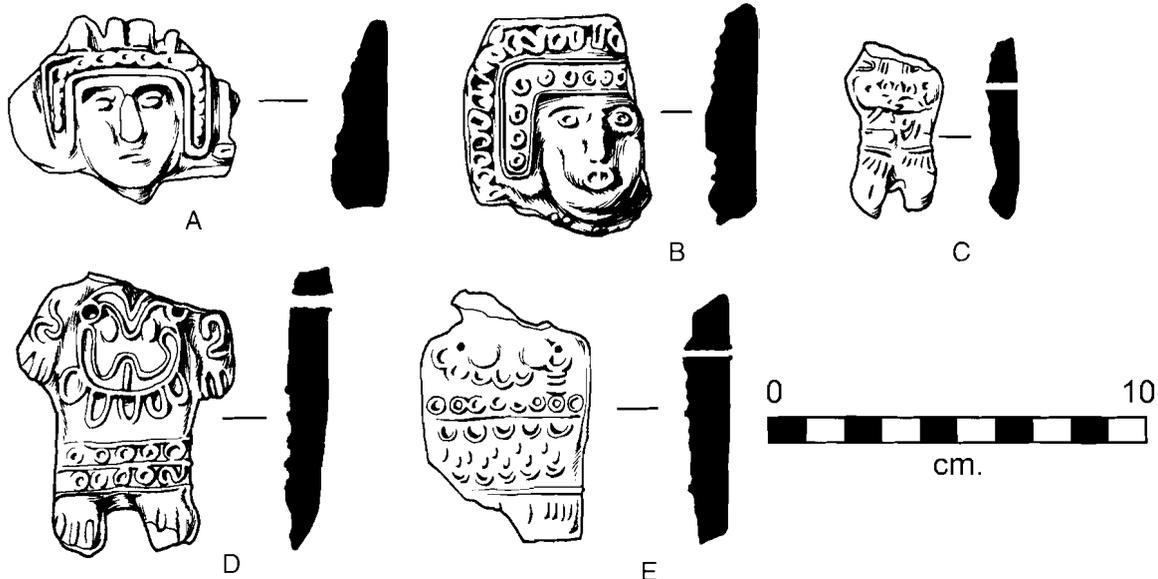
Group 6 is defined as figurines with the local Yau-tepec paste that do not fit into another group. Just as the color and texture of the local paste varies within individual ceramic types, there is variation within the category of figurines of group 6. Some examples are slipped but most appear to lack a slip. This is the predominant group in all periods (Table 2). The majority of these objects are human forms, and animals are also common. Nearly all examples of the rare types of figurine (temple

models, ghosts, infants, puppets, and special forms) are classified in group 6. Most of the figurines in group 6 – in all types – resemble figurines from the Basin of Mexico, and it is clear that both sets of figurines are part of a single stylistic tradition.

Group 7, Colonial (Fig. 6, A–E)

Colonial figurines are defined as figurines showing Spanish styles or elements, and figurines that resemble distinctive colonial figurines from the Basin of Mexico (Barlow 1946; Otis Charlton 1995; Von Winning 1988). Most examples were recognized from clothing, hats, and hairstyles. Because the category “colonial” was used as a group, the paste groups of these objects was recorded in the “observations” field of the database. Of the 18 colonial figurines listed in Table 2, one is classified as group 1, two are classified as group 2, and the rest are classified as group 6. Most of the colonial figurines were recovered in deposits dated to the Molotla phase, and a few come from Atlan phase contexts. As discussed in Smith (2005b), it is likely that the Molotla phase ceramic assem-

Grupo 4



Grupo 5

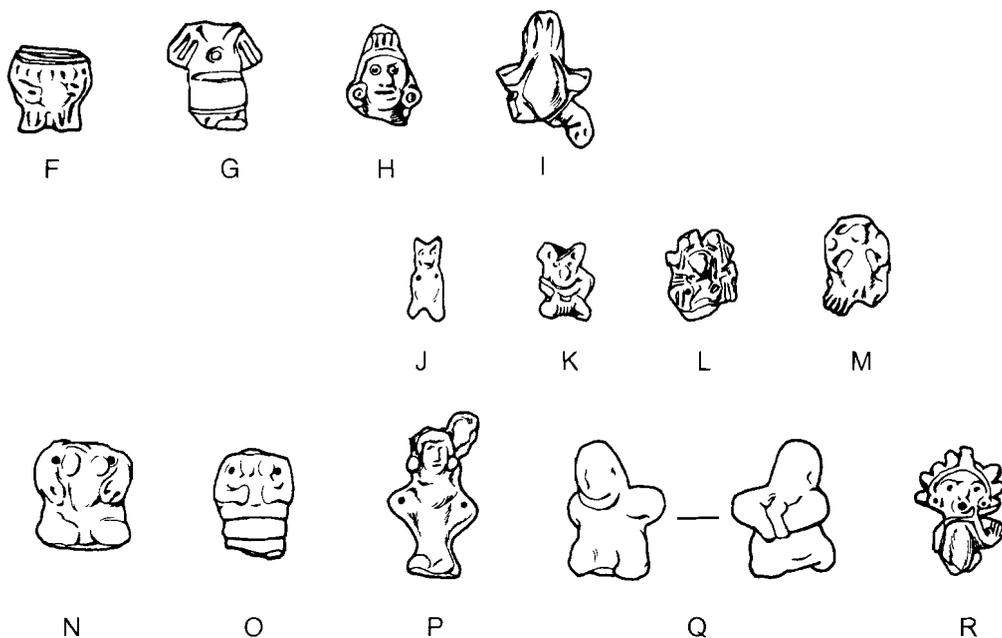


Fig. 3. Figurines, groups 4 and 5 (locally produced local styles).

blage continued in use for an unknown length of time after the Spanish conquest, and some of the colonial figurines in Molotla deposits are probably from this early colonial component of the Molotla phase. Other examples probably derive from the mixing of Molotla and Santiago deposits by plowing and other cultural disturbance practices.

Group 11, Naranja Cuexcomate (figure 6, F–G)

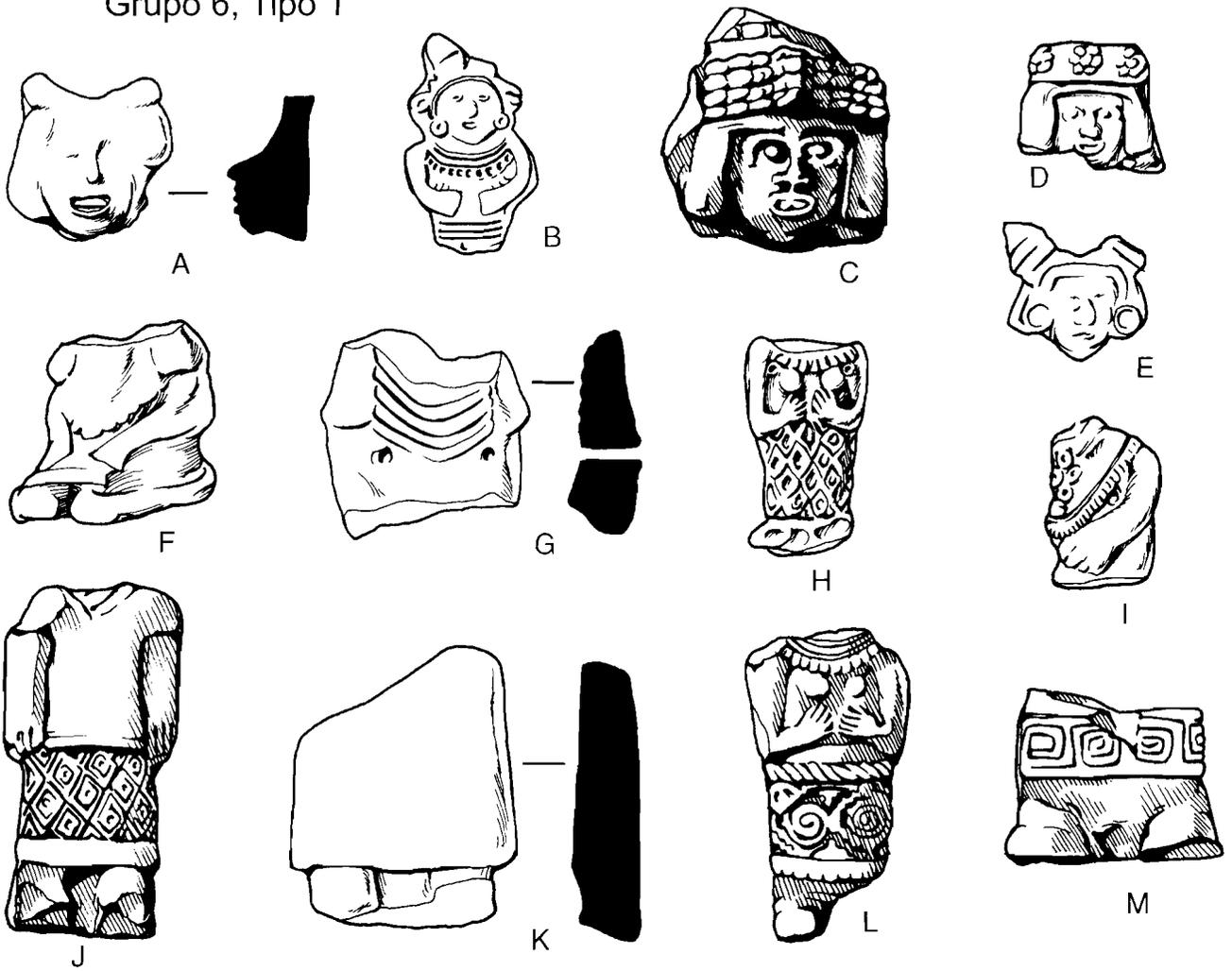
This group is defined on the basis of paste. Objects in group 11 have a bright orange, hard paste of medium texture. This group was first identified among the figurines of Cuexcomate and Capilco by Cynthia Otis Charlton (1993), where it is an important part of the figurine assemblage (Smith 2005a). This

paste is very distinctive, and it occurs only rarely in other areas. It is likely that these figurines were produced in western Morelos, perhaps at or near Cuexcomate. They do not have a slip. Approximately half of the examples are human forms and half are animals. Most examples are smaller than other Aztec figurines.

Group 12, Pre-Aztec (not illustrated)

This category was originally recorded as three groups of pre-Aztec figurines: Formative period (17 figurines), Classic (16 figurines), and Mazapan (Early Postclassic; 2 figurines). Most of these were probably ancient objects collected from abandoned sites by people during Postclassic times. Five of

Grupo 6, Tipo 1



Grupo 6, Tipo 2

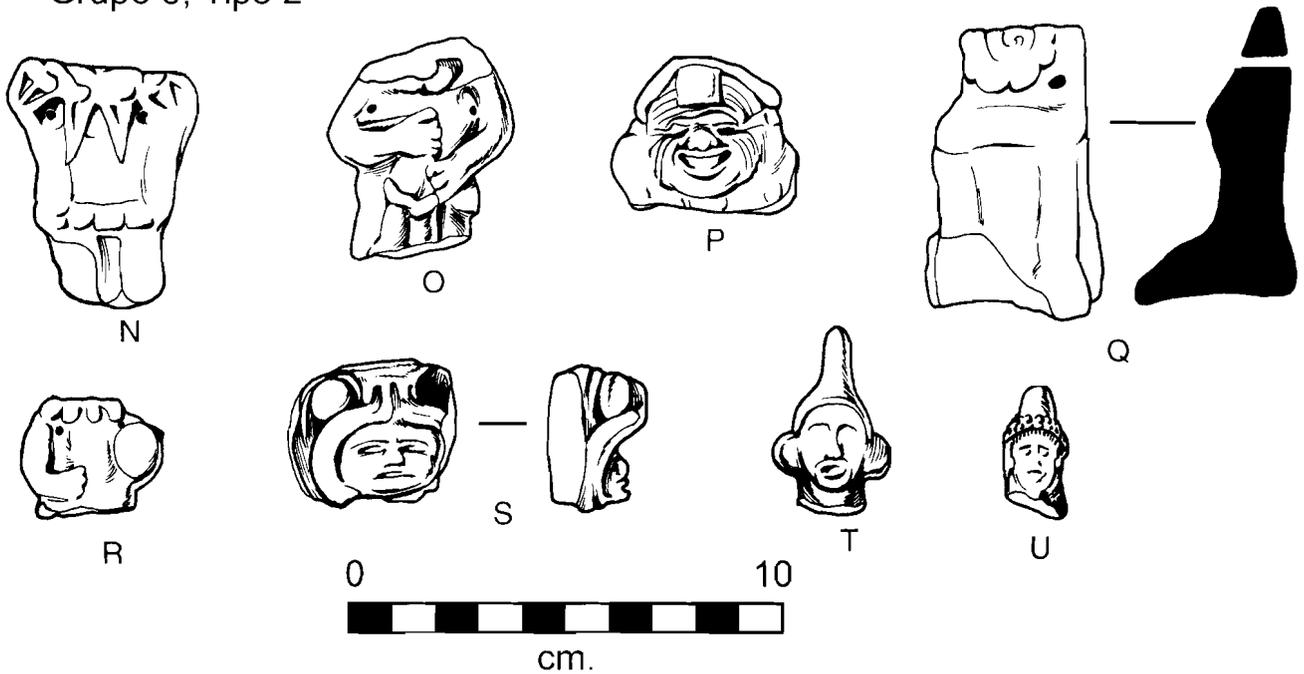


Fig. 4. Figurines, group 6 (Aztec style, locally produced), types 1 (female) and 2 (male).

Table 4. Frequencies of animal and plant taxa in total collection

Category	No.	%	Category	No.	%
Dog	45	19,7	Turtle	3	1,3
Possum	23	10,0	Deer	2	0,9
Monkey	17	7,4	Snake	2	0,9
Bird	13	5,7	Shell	2	0,9
Eagle	8	3,5	Bat	1	0,4
Feline	6	2,6	Own	1	0,4
Coyote	5	2,2	Badger	1	0,4
Duck	4	1,7	Flower	10	4,4
Lizzard	4	1,7	Unidentified	71	31,0
Frog	4	1,7	Total	229	
Rabbit	4	1,7			
Peccary	3	1,3			

Table 5. Body positions of anthropomorphic figurines

Category	Standing	Kneeling	Seated	Prone	Total	No.
Female	79 %	12 %	9 %	—	100 %	168
Male	66 %	4 %	28 %	2 %	100 %	47
Human	68 %	6 %	20 %	4 %	100 %	50

the Classic period figurines are from a mixed Classic period deposit encountered under the Postclassic occupation in units 508 and 509, and the rest were found in many different excavations. Nearly all of the Formative figurines were recovered in three excavations – units 503 (Atlan phase), 506 (Molotla), and 507 (Molotla). This may suggest that residents living in these three areas deliberately collected and saved Formative figurines, but people in other areas did not. Formative, Classic, and Mazapan figurines from sites in the Yautepec Valley are discussed elsewhere (Smith, et al. 2005).

Figurine Types

Types were defined to identify the subject matter of the figurines. We were conservative in our classification of gender. Figurines classified as male and female typically had one or more clear gendered attributes such as clothing and hairstyle (for more detail, see Smith 2005b), and many anthropomorphic figurines were classified as “human” (uncertain gender). Furthermore, we did not make judgments about whether the anthropomorphic figures were deities or not.

Type 0, Unknown (not illustrated)

This category consists of fragments and eroded pieces that cannot be assigned to another type.

Type 1, Female (Fig. 2, A, C–H, J–O; Fig. 3, A–E; Fig. 4, A–M)

Female figures were identified from their hairstyles, clothing, and other attributes. A variety of types of skirts are found on female figurines. Most have no decoration; the most common decorated pattern is the diamond pattern. Some females are wearing a quechqemilt. Most female figurines are in the standing position (79%); others are kneeling or sitting (see Table 5 below). All of the large examples of figurines of

group 4 (“galleta”) appear to have skirts and female hairstyles, and therefore all figurines of this group were classified as female.

Type 2, Male (Fig. 2, B, P; Fig. 4, N–U)

Male figures were identified from their hairstyles, clothing, and other attributes. Most males are either in a standing or seated position.

Type 3, Human (not illustrated)

This category consists of human forms that do not clearly fit into the female or male types. The classification into female and male forms was done in a conservative fashion. As a result, there are larger numbers of figurines in type 3.

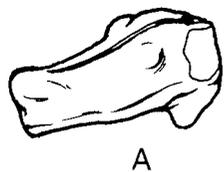
Type 4, Animal (Fig. 5, A–D)

A total of 19 different types of animals were identified (Table 4); 10 flowers are also included in this type. Dog is the most common type of animal (Fig. 5, B, C), followed by possum (Fig. 5, A). The possum category was identified based upon figurines from Tlatelolco (Guilliem Arroyo 1997). Monkeys and birds are also common. One parrot head initially classified as a figurine (Fig. 5, E) is part of a pipe, not a figurine (see González Rul 1988:77; Guggenheim Museum 2004:54).

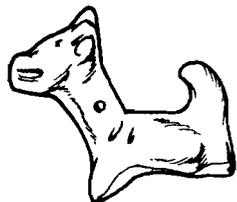
Type 5, Rattle (Fig. 5, F–L)

The category rattle is defined as small bulbous, hollow objects that most likely contained small pellets. Other hollow objects with pellets – such as long-handled censers and hollow figurines of group 2 – are not included in this type. Most examples were decorated fragments of the hollow chamber (Fig. 5, I–L). Twisted handles (Fig. 5, G) are common, and some examples have small animal heads (Fig.

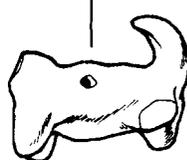
Grupo 6, Tipo 4



A



B



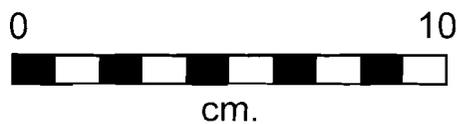
C



D



E



Grupo 6, Tipo 5



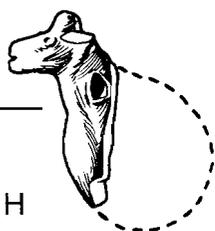
F



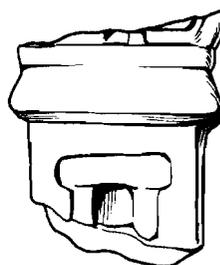
G



H



Grupo 6, Tipo 6



M



N



Grupo 6, Tipo 7



O



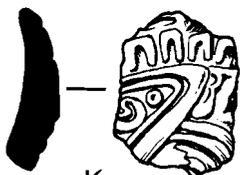
P



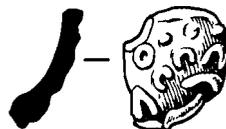
I



J



K



L



Q



R



S

Fig. 5. Figurines, group 6 (Aztec style, locally produced), types 4 (animal), 5 (rattle), 6 (temple model), and 7 (ghost).

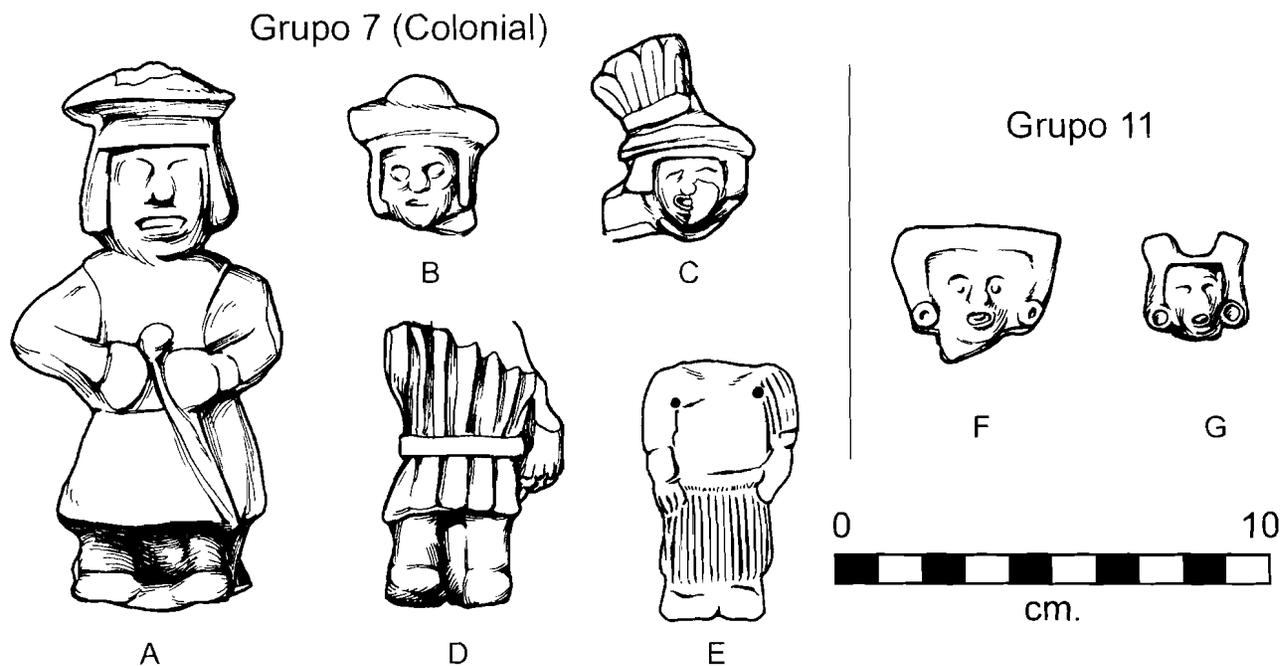


Fig. 6. Figurines group 7 (Colonial period) and group 11 (western Morelos).

5, H). This is an abundant category, found in all time periods. The remaining types are found only in small numbers.

Type 6, Temple model (Fig. 5, M–N)

This type is defined as fragments that match Aztec temple models as known from museum collections (Schávelzon 1982; Wardle 1910) and excavations (González Rul 1988:122; Séjourné 1983:fig. 135). Fourteen examples were recovered, all from Molotla phase deposits. This category is Type III–W in the typology of Parsons (1972).

Type 7, “Ghost” (Fig. 5, O–S)

This type is defined as crude, human-like figures. They occur in the local Yau-tepec paste (group 6), orange to buff in color, with unslipped surfaces. Most are small, but several heads are from larger figurines. The eyes and mouth are formed from simple depressions. One example (Fig. 5, R) has small chips of obsidian for eyes. Similar crude figurines have also been found at Xaltocan (Brumfiel and Hodge 1996:432–433) and at Cuexcomate and Capilco (Smith 2005a: chapter B3). Cynthia Otis Charlton (personal communication, March, 2005) suggests that this may be a Preclassic form.

Type 8, Infant (not illustrated)

This type is defined as tiny human figures that probably represent infants. Very few examples were found. Infants are held by some of the hollow female figurines of group 2, but these are classified with group 2.

Type 9, Articulated (not illustrated)

This type consists of fragments that appear to match Aztec figurines with movable arms and legs; examples are known from Tlatelolco (González Rul 1988:123) and other sites. Parsons (1972:88–89) calls this type “jointed figurines;” they are type II in her classification. Most examples are fragments of arms and legs.

Type 10, Special (not illustrated)

This is a category for fragments that appear to be figurines, but do not match one of the types defined above. They include cradles and other unusual objects.

Types: Discussion

Anthropomorphic forms are the dominant category of figurine types (Table 1). Female forms (type 1) are more common than male forms (type 2) in all three Prehispanic periods (Table 3), although male forms are more common after the Spanish conquest, in the Santiago phase. Most of the anthropomorphic figurines are in a standing position (Table 5). Female figures in a kneeling position make up 12% of all females for which position could be determined. A few males are also in a kneeling position, but a seated position is far more common for males.

Discussion

Figurines are found in all excavated houses at Yau-tepec, in all time periods. This widespread distribution suggests they were basic parts of the domestic artifact inventory of the houses of Yau-tepec, both elite and commoner. An identical pattern is found at the rural sites of Cuexcomate and Capilco in western Morelos (Smith 1992; Smith 2005a:chapter B3), where the figurines are very similar to the Yau-tepec sample described here.

The most likely use of ceramic figurines was in the practice of domestic rituals related to curing and fertility. The evidence for this interpretation is presented elsewhere (Smith 2002). In that paper, I also argue that past investigators have over-emphasized the prevalence of deities among the anthropomorphic figurines of Aztec central Mexico. Although some figurines clearly have a number of the attributes of Aztec deities (e.g., Fig. 2, K, M, P), most of the anthropomorphic examples from Yau-tepec lack clear iconographic insignia. Our classification was conservative in this area, leaving for

others the question of whether some of these representations were meant to portray deities or perhaps deity impersonators.

The Yauatepec figurines can be divided into three categories that shed light on processes of trade and stylistic interaction. These categories were first isolated by Cynthia Otis Charlton (1993; 1994) on the basis of her study of the figurines from Cuexcomate and Capilso First, some figurines were clearly imported from the Basin of Mexico, most likely through processes of commercial exchange (groups 1, 2, and 3). Second, some figurines were made locally in local styles not found in other areas (groups 4, 5, and 11). Third, most figurines were made locally (group 6) in styles that match Aztec figurines in the Basin of Mexico. Otis Charlton (1994:208–209) uses two categories here: “direct copies” and “locally-made stylistic imitations,” but we did not feel qualified to make this distinction in the Yauatepec collection. The abundance of group 6 figurines at Yauatepec – and at other Morelos sites like Cuexcomate and Capilco as well (Smith 2005a:chapter B3) – suggests a broad geographical distribution of the Aztec figurine style within central Mexico. Similar figurines have also been excavated at Calixtlahuaca in the Toluca Valley (Smith, et al. 2003), and perhaps other highland sites outside of the Valley of Mexico.

These three categories were present at Yauatepec starting in the Pochtla phase or Middle Postclassic period, which corresponds to the Early Aztec period in the Valley of Mexico (Smith 2003a). The presence of both Valley of Mexico imports and locally-made figurines in the Aztec style at this early period indicates that the relevant processes of trade and stylistic interaction long predated the founding of Tenochtitlan (ca. AD 1325) and the formation of the Triple Alliance Empire (AD 1428). There is no evidence to support the consideration of the locally made Aztec-style figurines from Yauatepec as “imitations” of objects from the Valley of Mexico. People living in both areas were participating in dynamic processes of exchange and interaction, and these interactive processes were probably responsible for the presence of the Aztec figurine style in both regions.

It is interesting to note that in the Molotla phase, after conquest of Morelos by the Triple Alliance Empire, the frequency of imported figurines increased while the frequency of local unique styles declined (Table 2). A similar pattern can be observed in the figurines from Cuexcomate and Capilco (Smith 2005a: cuadro B3–5), suggesting that these data may describe widespread social processes related to the effects of Aztec imperialism in Morelos (Smith 2001; Smith 2004). In any case, the three categories of figurines are abundant in all phases, including the Early Colonial Santiago phase. Colonial figurines depicting Spaniards (figure 6, A–E) were added to the basic Aztec figurine assemblage, which continued into this time.

Although this paper includes only brief descriptions of the Yauatepec figurines, the illustrations and data are sufficient to show that Aztec figurines and the Aztec figurine style were not limited to the Valley of Mexico. In this sense, the figurines epitomize the likely distributions of other types of Aztec art and material culture, whose relevant spatial universe was much wider than Tenochtitlan or its immediate hinterland in the Valley of Mexico (Smith 2003b).

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RESUMEN: Este artículo describe una colección de 1.906 fragmentos de pequeñas figurillas de barro excavadas en la zona arqueológica de Yauhtepec en el estado de Morelos, México. Se presentan tres categorías: 1) figurillas importadas del Valle de México; 2) figurillas hechas al nivel local en el estilo azteca; y 3) figurillas hechas al nivel local, en estilos distintos. La gran mayoría de las figurillas son antropomórficas, con las formas femeninas el doble que las formas masculinas. Datos cuantitativos muestran la abundancia de las categorías varias en cada uno de tres periodos postclásicos y un periodo colonial.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG: Keramikfigurinen aztekischen Stils aus Yauhtepec, Morelos: Der Beitrag beschreibt eine Kollektion von 1906 Fragmenten kleiner Keramikfiguren aus dem spät-postklassischen (Aztekische Periode) Fundort Yauhtepec im mexikanischen Bundesstaat Morelos. Drei Kategorien von Keramikfiguren können beschrieben werden: 1) Importe aus dem Tal von Mexiko, 2) lokal hergestellte Figuren im aztekischen Stil, und 3) lokal hergestellte Figuren in spezifischen lokalen Stilen. Die meisten der Figuren sind anthropomorphisch, dabei sind weibliche Formen doppelt so häufig wie männliche. Tierformen sind ebenfalls weit verbreitet. Seltene Formen sind Rasseln, Tempelmodelle, und andere Dinge. Quantitative Daten gewähren einen Einblick in die Häufigkeit der verschiedenen Kategorien während der drei postklassischen Perioden und der Kolonialzeit.