

Uxmal, Kabah, Sayil, and Labná <http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/>

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Architecture, Restoration, and Imaging
of the Maya Cities of
UXMAL, KABAH, SAYIL, AND LABNÁ
The Puuc Region, Yucatán, México

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Annotated Bibliography
Early Explorers and Scholars

This is not a general bibliography on early explorers and scholars of Mexico. This section includes publications by and about 19th century Euro-American explorers and 19th and early 20th century archaeologists of the Puuc region. Because most early explorers and scholars recorded aspects of the sites in drawings, prints, and photographs, many of the publications listed in this section appear also in the section on Graphic Documentation.

A

Antochiw, Michel

Historia cartográfica de la península de Yucatan. Ed. Comunicación y Ediciones Tlacuilo, S.A. de C.V. Centro Investigación y de Estudios Avanzados del I.P.N., 1994.

Comprehensive study of maps of the Yucatan from 16th to late 20th centuries. Oversize volume, extensively illustrated, including 6 high quality foldout color maps. The important 1557 Mani map is illustrated and described on pages 35-36, showing that Uxmal was known at the time and was the only location identified with a symbol of an ancient ruin instead of a Christian church.

ARTstor

Available on the web through ARTstor subscription at:
<http://www.artstor.org/index.shtml>
(accessed 2007 Dec. 8)

This is one of the two most extensive, publically available collections of early

photographs of Uxmal, Kabah, Sayil, and Labná, either in print or on the web. The other equally large collection, also on the web, is hosted by the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnography, Harvard University (which see). The photographs on the ARTstor website are from the Carnegie Institution of Washington Maya Excavations, and are also housed at the Peabody.

Some of the same photographs appear on both web sites. The photographs include distant views, views of individual buildings, including lesser known structures, interiors, many details of collapsing sections and individual pieces of fallen architectural sculpture, reliefs, etc. Both sets of photographs show some structures as discovered, some uncovered, and some at various early stages of restoration.

The main differences are that the ARTstor images can be opened larger and at higher resolution, allowing viewers to examine the images in greater detail, a significant advantage for photographs of these elaborate and much restored Maya sites. Also, as of December 2007, the catalogue information posted with the ARTstor images is much more extensive than that on the Peabody site. However, ARTstor images are only available at subscribing institutions in the United States, whereas the Peabody images can be viewed by anyone with Internet connection anywhere in the world.

The Carnegie Institution of America photographs were taken between 1913 and 1957 during the Maya expeditions sponsored by the CIW.

On the ARTstor web site, there are 462 images of Uxmal, 330 of Kabah, 235 of Sayil, and 193 of Labná. The images can be opened full screen-size and larger. Most are magnificent, grey-scale photographs, highly professional and superbly lit for maximum detail and legibility.

B

Barrera Rubio, Alfredo

“La obra fotográfica de Teobert Maler en la Península de Yucatán”. *Indiana, Gedenkschrift Walter Lehmann*. Vol. 1, No. 6 (1980), 107-124.

This meticulous, scholarly article provides detailed information about the photographs and other materials of Teobert Maler housed in collections in Mérida, capital of the State of the Yuactán, and elsewhere. These include 189 photographic prints representing 56 Pre-Columbian sites. Barrera Rubio first describes Maler material in other collections, in Hamburg, Berlin, Paris, Casasola in the State of Hidalgo, and Tulane University. He then analyses 3 albums of Maler photographs, housed in the Biblioteca Central del Estado de Yucatán, deteriorated photographs now housed in the Palacio Cantón, and in private collections. There is then a description of Maler manuscript maps, plans, and drawings in the Yucatán. Detailed information is provided regarding condition, provenance, etc. Altogether there are 5 photographs of Uxmal, 3 of Kabah, 4 of Sayil, and 2 of Labná.

Barrera Rubio, Alfredo

“Un religioso, el primer arqueólogo de Yucatán”. *Diario Yucatán, el periodico de la vida peninsular*. 2000.

On the web at:

<http://www.yucatan.com.mx/especiales/arqueologia/004.asp>

(accessed 2007 April 18)

Report of a presentation by Barrera Rubio as part of a conference of the Centro INAH Yucatán. Barrera's presentation was titled “Fray Estanislao Carrillo, primer arqueólogo yucateco”. He described Fray Estanislao as a Franciscan priest, born in 1798 in Teabo, Yucatán, who served as the guide for Stephens and Catherwood during their exploration of the Yucatan in 1839 and 1840. Fray Estanislao published various articles in the *Registro Yucateco*.

Baudex, Claude-François

Jean-Frédéric Waldeck, peintre: le premier explorateur des ruines mayas. Paris: Editions Hazan, 1993.

Waldeck's images of Uxmal are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Waldeck.htm>

A 200-page survey of Waldeck's career, with many personal episodes from his life. Baudex calls attention to the theoretical basis of Waldeck's Maya adventures. About his 1835 arrival at Uxmal, he writes (in translation) “that which interests him above all is to determine the degree of analogy that the art of Uxmal is going to present to that of Palenque and Tonina” (p. 148).

Baudex accurately notes that (in translation), “The merit of the book resides in the lithographs”, but his statement that “The text on the other hand is deceiving and does not distinguish itself from the notes and journals that Waldeck had not intended for publication” (p. 158) minimizes the importance of some of those observations.

Baudex's justifiable admiration for Waldeck sometimes distorts his account. For example, in his caption to the Waldeck's famous reconstruction drawing of a classical-type standing male nude on the façade of Temple 5 of the Pyramid of the Magician, Baudex writes (in translation): “The colossal statues are considered by most Mayanists as the invention of the artist” adding that “fragments of the colossal statues have been since recovered in the zone of Uxmal” (caption to fig. 26, p.150). Although not explicitly stated, Baudex's wording clearly implies that these fragments vindicated Waldeck's reconstruction. In fact, no fragments found anywhere at Uxmal lend any support to Waldeck's imaginary drawing. No sculpture of any standing figure in Maya art stands naturalistically, touching the back wall at only buttocks and shoulders, as in Waldeck's profile drawing.

Includes 34 color plates and 31 grey-scale figures, all of good quality. There is an important 2-page bibliography, with separate listings for publications by Waldeck and the locations for his manuscripts and drawings. Chapter 3 on the Yucatan includes only 2 pages on Uxmal and 1 illustration from Waldeck's landmark volume (pp. 148-

149 and fig. 26). Arches at Kabah, Uxmal, and Labna, are included in a drawing comparing 8 Maya arches (fig. 29).

Benavides Castillo, Antonio

“La Arqueología en la Península de Yucatán”. *La antropología en México: Panorama histórico, 15. La antropología en el sur de México*. Volume Coordinator, Mercedes Mejía Sánchez, with collaboration of Martín Villalobos Salgado: 257-266. Coordinator General Carlos García Mora. Colección Biblioteca del INAH. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1988.

Benavides Castillo, Antonio

“La Arqueología en la Península de Yucatán”. *La antropología en México: Panorama histórico, 15. La antropología en el sur de México*. Volume Coordinator, Mercedes Mejía Sánchez, with collaboration of Martín Villalobos Salgado: 257-266. Coordinator General Carlos García Mora. Colección Biblioteca del INAH. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1988.

A brief history of archaeology in the Yucatán, organized chronologically. After mention of 19th century explorers, work conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in conjunction with the Mexican government, beginning in the 1920s, is described. The major role of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH), created in 1939, included work at Uxmal, Kabah, Sayil and Labná during the 1940s and 1950s. The work of the Middle American Research Institute of Tulane University, beginning in 1955, included investigations in the Puuc. At the end of 1973, regional INAH centers were created, decentralizing the work of the national organization. For the Yucatán, the Centro Regional del Sueste was created, with headquarters in Mérida. Research for the major *Atlas arqueológico del estado de Yucatán* began in 1974 and various research and restoration projects were carried out at Uxmal, Kabah, Sayil and Labná. Includes a select bibliography.

Benavidas Castillo, Antonio

“Teobert Maler”. *La antropología en México: Panorama histórico. 10. Los protagonistas (Díaz-Murillo)*, 469-476. Ed. Lina Odena Güemes and Carlos García Mora. Mexico City, D.F.: Colección Biblioteca del INAH; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1987.

A 5-page review of the life and work of Teobert Maler (1842-1917). There is a useful 4-page bibliography.

Bernal, Ignacio

Historia de la arqueología en México. México: Porrúa, 1979 (also published as *A History of Mexican Archaeology: The Vanished Civilizations of Meso-America*. London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980.

A remarkably comprehensive, erudite book, providing essential context for understanding the history of restoration of all pre-Columbian sites. In addition to a theoretical chapter on the nature of archaeology and one on “Museums and the

Protection of Antiquities,” the text is organized chronologically in seven chapters from 1520 to 1950, tracing “the nature of the interest shown by each period in archaeology or allied subjects.” There are occasional quotes and other references to Uxmal and descriptions of early explorers and photographers and later scholars who worked there. The review of various archaeological institutions and publications is useful. The author is not well served by the 114 illustrations, not referred to in the text, which are scattered randomly throughout the book.

Bernal, Ignacio

A History of Mexican Archaeology: The Vanished Civilizations of Meso-America. London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980 (first published as *Historia de la arqueología en México*. México: Porrúa, 1979). Listed and annotated above under the 1979 Spanish title.

Bernal, Ignac

“Maya Antiquaries”. *Social Process in Maya Prehistory: Studies in Honour of Sir Eric Thompson*, ed. Norman Hammond: 19-43. London: Academic Press, 1977.

This essay was written just before the author’s longer and more broadly encompassing book, *A History of Mexican Archaeology: The Vanished Civilizations of Middle America* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980). Like it, this essay is uniquely informed. The essay **surveys the entire history of western antiquarians, writers who were interested in varying ways and degrees in Maya ruins**. Writing from the perspective of his own people, Bernal’s descriptions of some of the western writers are fair but less flattering than in other publications.

Bernal divides Maya research into 2 broad stages. “The first begins in the sixteenth century and goes on to the middle of the eighteenth century” (p.20). He writes: “although for more than 200 years not one single excavation seeking knowledge took place, a series of often very intelligent descriptions of places, monuments and objects were set down. There was the idea of using these material remains as documents to investigate the origins and the history of the Maya. We also notice great admiration for architecture and sculpture” (p. 25). Bernal notes that “there was no move towards preservation or desire to collect objects. The first signs of any such activity only appear in the second half of the eighteenth century” (p. 24). Bernal writes that “the second great period of interest in ruins began toward the middle of the eighteenth century and extended as far as the eighth decade of the nineteenth century’ (p. 25). He describes this much more complex period comprehensively and in considerable detail. I know of nothing else comparable to this essay and especially to the author’s book mentioned above.

Bonaccorsi-Hild, Doris

Teobert Maler: Soldat, Abenteurer, Gelehrter auf den Spuren der Maya. Wien: Ibero Verlag, 2001.

An excellent 245-page biography on Maler, the best overall introduction to his life. Written clearly for a general readership, the book includes details from archives and

from conversations with a few of those still living who remember him. There are a few references to Uxmal, Kabah, Sayil and Labná.

Bourbon, Fabio

Le città perdute dei Maya: La vita, l'arte e le scoperte di Frederick Catherwood. Valeria Manfredi De Fabianis and Fabio Bourbon, eds; Paola Piacco, graphics. Vercelli, Italy: Edizioni White Star, 1999.

A glossy, large format, 200 page volume, every page including at least one illustration, all but a few in vivid color. The first 30 pages or so survey Catherwood's life previous to his first visit to Mexico. Most of the rest is devoted to Catherwood's published prints of Central America and the Yucatán.

All of Catherwood's color lithographs from his major 1844 publication, *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, are reproduced. They are somewhat cropped and with color and sharpness intensified. Nevertheless, they are immensely valuable, **the only post-1844 reproductions in print that I know from these rare multicolored prints**. Because they are reproduced large, a great deal of detail can be seen. In addition to the cover and map from the 1844 volume, the 8 prints of Uxmal, 2 of Kabah, and 1 of Labná are reproduced.

There are also reproductions of the **prints from Stephens and Catherwood's 1841 and 1843 publications**. Here, the originals are black line etchings, but these have been **artificially colored for this 1999 book**. Where the prints are landscape views without color detail in the architecture, the added color in these 1999 reproductions is not seriously misleading. However, where the original prints are close-ups of sculpted mask and carvings, the added color is hypothetical and sometimes peculiar in the extreme (esp. pp. 169-171). Many of these later reproductions are larger than the original prints and cropped where they overrun the edges of the pages. From these 1841 and 1843 black etchings, there are 14 of Uxmal, 8 of Kabah, 2 of Sayil, and 4 of Labná.

Much smaller, but more accurate, reproductions of the 1844 color lithographs are available on the web at:

<http://www.smith.edu/library/libs/rarebook/exhibitions/catherwood/index.htm>

(accessed 2008 Jan. 13)

Larger and more accurate reproductions of the brown-toned edition of these same 1844 lithographs are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Catherwood.htm>

Large, accurate images of the 1841 and 1843 black-line etchings are also reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-41Stephens.htm>

and

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Stephens.htm>

Brasseur de Bourbourg, Charles-Étienne

“Essai Historique sur le Yucatan et Description des Ruines de Ti-Hoo (Mérida) et d’Izamal, etc.” *Archives de la Commission Scientifique du Mexique*. Vol. 1: 18-64. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1865.

The drawings of Uxmal that illustrate this publication are reproduced on this web site:
<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Bourbourg.htm>

An account of the history of the Yucatan based on documents and other sources. There are a few pages, with simplified plan, of Itzamal. Figure 2 illustrates the types of habitations of the common people of the Yucatan, similar to those from long ago. The author writes that these were “well constructed and convenient for the country”, constructed 1 or 2 steps above the street, with only one door (p. 43). Based partly on fig. 3, a detail of one of the reliefs of typical Yucatec huts on the façade of the South Building of the Nunnery, Brasseur de Bourbourg writes about the Nunnery that (in translation) “This palace is in reality only an artistic combination of ordinary houses” (p. 44).

Brasseur de Bourbourg, Charles-Étienne

“Rapport sur les ruines de Mayapan et d’Uxmal au Yucatan (Mexique)”. *Archives de la Commission Scientifique du Mexique*. Vol. 1: 234-288. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1865.

The drawings and double-page map of the ruins of Uxmal that illustrate this article are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Bourbourg.htm>

This is one of the important mid-19th century publications for the study of Uxmal, including the only detailed 19th century account of the Uxmal aguadas and the largest, most detailed map of the ruins and surrounding area. Following a 15-page description of Mayapan, and an account of his trip to the hacienda at Uxmal, the author presents a 35-page report on his study of Uxmal. **Most unique is his double-page map of the ruins of Uxmal, including topography**, extending to the north temples and beyond to the hacienda of Uxmal. Most importantly, this map **includes specific shapes for 6 aguadas north and west of the main ruins, each numbered and named**. 3 bridges just north of the Nunnery are also indicated on the map and 1, titled “Natural and artificial bridge at Uxmal”, is illustrated (fig. 6). The drawing in this section are initialed “HB” and attributed by the author to a “M. Bourgeois”.

Brasseur de Bourbourg comments that, because he lacks the means to make architectural drawings like Catherwood or to take photograph like Charnay, he will apply himself to determining the original layout of Uxmal, which they had not. **His most original contribution is his description of the hydraulic system at Uxmal**. He writes that the aguadas are vast artificial basins cemented with rock and lime, the work of men, though resembling ordinary pools of the natural world. Small streams spread out from these aguadas, circulating around in deep ravines.

He then provides a remarkably detailed description of how the basins in the bottom of the aguadas were created (fig. 5 is an approximate copy of the illustration of these basins in Stephens and Catherwood). Brasseur de Bourbourg's description is based on an account from "one of the principal inhabitants of the village of Noyaxché", who had discovered one of the aguadas and wanted to clear it to provide water for the local people. He reasoned that the unhealthy environment around the aguadas was the result of the decomposition of vegetable matter that had accumulated over several centuries, because the aguadas had been abandoned by the inhabitants and neglected by the landowners, who had not had them cleared. Brasseur de Bourbourg reports in detail the clearing of several aguadas, and the number, size, shape and composition of the artificial cisterns formed in the bottom of the aguadas. His informant also reported that (in translation): "All the length of the sides of the aguadas one discovered on the far side more than 400 *casimbas*, a sort of hole pierced in the rock, into which water filtered and which were, in the same way as the cisterns, destined to give something to drink in case the aguadas were dry" (pp. 259-260).

These aguadas have been thoroughly studied for the first time by José Huchim Herrera in his thesis, *Introducción al Estudio del Sistema de Aguadas de Uxmal, Yucatán*. Tesis Profesional que para optar al título de Licenciado en Ciencias Antropológicas en la Especialidad de Arqueología. Facultad de Ciencias Antropológicas, Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán. Merida, 1991 (listed and annotated on this web site).

Brasseur de Bourbourg also describes the bridges indicated north of the Nunnery on his map, one illustrated in fig. 6. He writes that the calcium rocks now spanning the ravines has existed before the rivers were formed, as part of the hydraulic system, and that the inhabitants dug out the openings under the natural rock, thus turning them into bridges, about 6 meters long and 3 meters wide.

The author then describes the area of the Pyramid of the Magician illustrated in fig. 7, about which he writes that when the area was cleared of rocks, the column (in translation), "covered as they were in a soft layer of plaster, seemed that they had been cast just the day before, **proof that the rooms that are hidden behind rest intact and have not been profaned by any hand since they had been walled in in this way**" (pp. 274-275).

In his book, *The House of the Governor* (listed and annotated on this web site), Jeff Kowalski provides a description of Brasseur de Bourbourg's observations regarding the Governor's Palace. "He postulated that the stone rings inside of the doorways of the House of the Governor were used to support wooden poles, from which hung fabric or mat-weave curtains. He also believed that the holes in the walls beneath the eaves served as ventilator, suggesting that the building was a habitation. . . . Brasseur was the first investigator to mention the fact that the large platform of the House of the Governor partly covers the remains of small vaulted apartments on the west side (Structures 1 and 2). He also mentions the presence of a stairway ascending to the House of the Turtles from the courtyard of these buildings (Kowalski, 1987: 20-21).

Briggs, Peter, ed.

The Maya Image in the Western World: A Catalogue to an Exhibition at the University of New Mexico. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

Although titled as a catalogue, this publication does not include a catalogue of the works exhibited in the exhibition held at the University of New Mexico Art Museum and Maxwell Museum of Anthropology. It does illustrate some of the works in the exhibition and provides a rich context for their understanding.

The following three articles are separately listed and annotated in this bibliography:

Harrison, Peter, "Carlos Vierra: His Role and Influence on the Maya"

Paxton, Merideth, "Frederick Catherwood and the Maya"

Sabloff, Jeremy A., and Kelli Carmean, "Archaeologists' Images of the Ancient Maya"

Brine, Lindesay

Travel Amongst American Indians, Their Ancient Earthworks and Temples; including a journey in Guatemala, Mexico and Yucatan, and a visit to the Ruins of Patinamit, Utatlan, Palenque and Uxmal. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1894 (republished by Oracle Pub., Ltd., Royston, Hertfordshire, 1996).

The 10 images of Uxmal and map of the author's travels in this volume are reproduced on this web site.
<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Brine.htm>

As indicated by the title, this book deals with an area even broader than Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica. In fact, the first 8 1/2 of the 20 chapters are devoted to the United States. As usual, the text chronicles the author's travels and the lives and customs of the Indians, in addition to the landscape and ruins.

There is one chapter on Uxmal, nothing on other Puuc cities. For the most part, the Uxmal chapter consists of typical, straightforward description. However, several specific observations about construction and state of preservation are worth noting. Among these, Brine writes that "the well preserved state of portions of the buildings is, at the present time, nearly four centuries after the arrival of the Spaniards, especially noticeable. I observed that **the wooden lintel over the door of my room in the Casa del Gobernador was in perfect condition.** The edges or corners were still sharp and unworn. It was also evident that, although the great weight of the masonry above must have exerted a heavy pressure upon the centre of the lintel, there were **no signs of the slightest deflection.** . . . Many of the stone carvings on the exterior were also apparently uninjured by their exposure to the weather" (p. 347).

The author also wonders about the tools used in carving, though it is surprising to see that he discounts the usefulness of obsidian for carving freshly quarried limestone. "There is, throughout, a wealth of sculpture which is astonishing when it is remembered that the sculptors, as far as we know, had no proper implements to work with. Stone chisels and obsidian scrapers appear to be inadequate for the purpose. . .

. The walls of the Nunnery and the Casa del Gobernador are covered with designs deeply cut and perfectly joined. Thus it is proved that the sculptors had not only much capacity as workmen, but they **must have been able to chisel hard limestone with ease and facility of execution**" (pp. 351-352). In this chapter there are 9 gray-scale illustrations of photographs and one small sketch.

Brown, Susan F., and John J. Koran

"Learning from Ruins: a Visitor Study of Uxmal". *Curator*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (1998): 121-131.

Brunhouse, Robert L.

In Search of the Ancient Maya: the First Archaeologists. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973 (a paperback edition, with different pagination, was published by Ballantine Books, New York, in 1974).

This is **one of a pair of books by Brunhouse describing the life stories of 15 Maya explorers and archaeologists** who worked from the late 18th to early 20th centuries, their adventures in the Americas and their approaches in Maya studies. **This volume, dealing with the early years**, describes the lives of Antonio del Rio and Guillermo Dupaix, Juan Galindo, Jean Frédéric Waldeck, John Lloyd Stephens, Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, Augustus Le Plongeon, and Edward H. Thompson. The introduction is a thoughtful reminder that there was no professional training available in archaeology at the time and that all of these individuals were amateurs, however remarkable. Brunhouse also provides a description of the physical and intellectual conditions under which they worked. There are only occasional references to the Puuc region, but there are two pages describe Thompson's commission to prepare molds of Puuc buildings for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, requiring 14 months and producing 10,000 square feet of molds (pp.177-178). There is an important bibliography listing separately works by and about each of the 8 individuals, with brief, valuable critical comments.

The same author's book, *Pursuit of the Ancient Maya: Some Archaeologists of Yesterday*, published two years later by the same press, describes the lives and careers of 7 later explorer-archaeologists: Teobert Maler, Alfred P. Maudslay, Sylvanus G. Morley, Frederick A. Michell-Hedges, Herbert J. Spinden, William E. Gates, and Fras Blom.

Brunhouse, Robert L.

Pursuit of the Ancient Maya: Some Archaeologists of Yesterday. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975

This is **one of a pair of books by Brunhouse describing the life stories of 15 Maya explorers and archaeologists** who worked from the late 18th to early 20th centuries, their adventures in the Americas and their approaches in Maya studies. **This volume, dealing with the later years**, describes the lives of Teobert Maler, Alfred P. Maudslay, Sylvanus G. Morley, Frederick A. Michell-Hedges, Herbert J. Spinden, William E. Gates, and Fras Blom.

Relatively little attention is given to the Puuc region. An account is given of the important discoveries made at Uxmal by Blom and his party in 1930 when carrying out research and making casts for the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago (p.196). Brunhouse notes that Morley “considered the Governor’s Palace at Uxmal the finest building in prehispanic America, a view shared by many other people” (p.60). In the chapter on Spinden, more attention is given to theoretical concepts than in chapters on the other archaeologists, describing Spinden’s extensive system of correlation. Brunhouse writes that “he produced a brilliant analysis of the evolution of styles in *A Study of Maya Art* which remains a landmark on the subject” (p.95). In the chapter on Morley, Brunhouse **describes the advanced conservation practices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (C.I.W.)**; its “refusal to ask for artifacts which might be found in the course of excavation”, insisting instead that the C.I.W. “must restrict its work to excavation and scholarly reports of the result.” “The other policy of the C.I.W. required faithful restoration of the ancient structures . . . the C.I.W. followed the rigid policy of utilizing only stones which had fallen from a structure and adding no others. If modern materials like steel supports were used to preserve a building, they were hidden from view” (p.67). There is an important bibliography; selective and critical, listing separately works by and about each of the 7 figures.

The same author’s book, *In Search of the Ancient Maya: the First Archaeologists*, published two years before by the same press, describes the lives and careers of 8 different explorer-archaeologists: Antonio del Rio and Guillermo Dupaix, Juan Galindo, Jean Frédéric Waldeck, John Lloyd Stephens, Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, Augustus Le Plongeon, and Edward H. Thompson.

C

Carmichael, Elizabeth

The British and the Maya. London: British Museum, 1973.

Although a small paperback accompanying an exhibition at the British Museum, this is a unique publication describing, with gray-scale photographs, the contributions of the British to Maya studies. This includes the following early enthusiasts and explorers and later scholars:

Edward King, Viscount Kingsborough (1795-1837)
 Juan Galindo (1802-1839)
 John Herbert Caddy (1801-1883)
 Frederick Catherwood (1799-1854)
 Alfred Percival Maudslay (1850-1931)
 Adela Catherine Breton (1849-1923)
 Thomas William Francis Gann (1867-1938)
 Thomas Athol Joyce (1879-1942)
 John Eric Sidney Thompson (b. 1898)
 Adrian Digby (b. 1909)
 Ian Graham (b. 1923)

Norman Hammond (b. 1944)

For the Puuc region, the significant figures are Catherwood, Breton, Thompson, Digby, and Graham.

Carrasco Vargas, Ramón

“Formación sociopolítica en el Puuc: El Sacbé Uxmal-Nohpat-Kabah”. *Perspectivas antropológicas en el mundo Maya*, ed. M. Josefa Inlesias Ponce de Leona and Francesco Ligorred Perramón: 199-212. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de Geografía e Historia (Publicaciones de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas, 2), 1993.

Carrasco Vargas, Ramón

“Formación sociopolítica en el Puuc: El Sacbé Uxmal-Nohpat-Kabah”.

A paper presented at the 3rd Mesa Redonda de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas, Guiona, 1991. Published in *Memorias de la III Mesa Redonda de la SEEM*. Girona, 1992.

Castleberry, May, ed.

The New World's Old World: Photographic Views of Ancient America. Published on the occasion of an exhibition held at the AXA Gallery, New York, May 8 - July 19, 2003. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

An excellent chronological survey of photographic images of pre-Hispanic architecture and man-made landscape features in North, Central, and South America. Examples include photographs dating from shortly after the invention of photography to the present day. In her “Introduction”, Castleberry devotes 2 ½ pages to 19th century explorer-photographers of Pre-Columbian sites, though without specific mention of the Puuc region. The book reproduces Maler’s unique 1891-1893 albumen silver prints, exceptionally wide-angle photograph of the entire façade of the Governors’ Palace, Uxmal (fig. 10) and a romantic 1993 photograph of the Labná arch by Sandro Oramas (fig. 76).

The following article is separately listed and annotated in this web bibliography:

Howe, Kathleen Stewart, “Primordial Stones: Reading Ancient Mesoamerica”

Catherwood, Frederick

Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. London: F. Catherwood, 1844.

The prints of Uxmal, Kabah, and Labná and map in this album are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Catherwood.htm>

Catherwood had accompanied John Stephens on his expeditions of 1839-42 and was responsible for the illustrations in Stephens’ *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (2 vols. New York: Harper, 1841) and in Stephens’ and Catherwood’s *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan, illustrated by 120 engravings* (New York:

Harper & Brothers, 1843). The rigor and precision of their documentation in these 4 volumes has been a model for all future Maya scholars.

The prints in this 1844 volume were **based on the same on-site drawings made by Catherwood but were large and fully developed as works of art**. Therefore, as has often been pointed out, in contrast to the earlier engravings, these lithographs were romanticized, some noticeably more than others. As archaeological evidence, however, it is more important to note that they were **partly reconstructed**, with small areas filled in and straightened. At the same time, they include information not available in the previous engravings: images of local people, of Stephens in the process of surveying the buildings, and small portions of buildings not visible in the earlier engravings. Because only 300 deluxe copies were published, this publication circulated much less widely than the 4 previous Stephens and Catherwood publications, which were extremely popular and immediately went through many editions, continuing even today.

The **24 magnificent chromolithographs** (a few copies include hand-colored prints instead) in this album include 7 of Uxmal, 2 of Kabah, 1 of Labná and a map showing the route and “the Ruined Cities and Monuments Visited by Messrs. Stephens & Catherwood in the Years 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842.” There is a 10 page introductory text.

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

Album fotográfico Mexicano. Mexico City: J. Michaud e hijo Editores, 2d, calle de S. Francisco no. 10, 1860.

An edition was published in Paris in 1861.

The **first publication of photographs taken by Charnay in Mexico, including the first photographs ever taken of Maya ruins**. Only a few copies were published but the volume was well received. Keith David writes that “This album, very rare today, contains 25 original prints up to 34x44 cm. in size which are designated ‘Fotografía de Charnay, Mexico.’ Each photograph was accompanied by a page of explanatory text by the Mexican historian Manuel Orozco y Berra (1816-1881)” (Davis 1981, p. 201).

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

Les anciennes villes du nouveau monde: Voyages d'explorations du Mexique et dans l'Amérique Centrale par Désiré Charnay 1857-1882. Paris: Hachette, 1885.

See Charnay, *The Ancient Cities of the New World*, below for the slightly compressed English translation.

The engravings of Uxmal and Kabah (there are none of Sayil or Labná) and 2 maps of Charnay's travels (1 is double-page in color) are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-85Charnay.htm>

This publication included **engravings instead of original photographs and was therefore much more widely available** than Charnay's lavish 1862 volume of photographs, *Cités et ruines américaines*. The engravings are powerful and very

closely based on Charnay's photographs, but not all details of the buildings are exact. The **excellent, two-page color map of Central America includes topography** and shows his routes in color. Uxmal, Kabah, and Labna are named and located but not yet Sayil. Wisely, in his preface, Charnay states that his subject is so vast that he cannot do it justice and that, although resemblances to the architecture of other cultures must strike everyone, any influences can only be conjectural.

This is a 500 page popular account of Charnay's travels, explorations, and documentation campaigns in Central America, with descriptions of the people, their costumes, customs, and behavior. Prints of the people, local environment, and archaeological sites are based primarily on Charnay's own remarkable photographs. Rejecting the various 19th century theories of the Egyptian and other ancient origins of the Maya, Charnay states that (in translation): ". . . we see that they belong, whatever the distance and time that separates them or the details that differentiate them, to one single and same civilization. We see that this civilization is relatively modern and that it is Toltec" (p.viii).

The first half of Chapter 19, titled "Kabah et Uxmal", is a diary of Charnay's travels and the local people, with some attention to Mayapan, followed by about 7 pages of straight-forward description of the Kabah ruins. Chapter 20 titled "Uxmal" also includes description of Charnay's travel in the area, but **contains his most important account of the ruins of Uxmal**. He presciently opines that the Palace of the Governor (in translation) "is certainly the most grand, the most magnificent of the ancient monuments of the Americas" (p. 335). **Most important is his conclusion about the method of construction at Uxmal and related sites**. He writes (in translation): "It is therefore likely that the architect first raised perpendicular to a height of two or three meters the interior wall, which constitute the rooms of the edifice. Then he bridged one to another in a manner to form false keystones of the double rooms of the palace. He then filled the space between the keystones, reinforcing the outside walls with a block of masonry that supports itself on the two keystones. Then he pecked the exterior of the building with sculpted rocks fit with tendons that composed the décor" (p. 336).

Regarding states of preservation **Charnay writes of the Palace at Kabah: "All the rooms had painted walls that were painted with figures and inscriptions, as we can judge from the small fragments that still remain. . . .** There as well, the exterior decoration was of great concern to the artist, and this painting, these strikingly bright colors, distributed artfully on the large facades, in the middle of the web of monstrous figures, should great add to the savage magnificence of these edifices" (p.324). Regarding Uxmal, he writes: "At Uxmal, all the lintels are of wood, of which a large proportion is in a perfect state of preservation: clear proof of their recent period" (p. 336). Of the Governor's Palace at Uxmal, Charnay writes: "This palace is new, despite more than three centuries of abandon; and it would be completely intact if not for the vandalism of former property owners who had stones taken from the base for the construction of their hacienda" (p.335).

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

The Ancient Cities of the New World: Being Travels and Explorations in Mexico and Central America from 1857-1882. Trans. from the French by J. Gonino and Helen S. Conant. London: Chapman and Hall, 1887.

The engravings of Uxmal Kabah (there are none of Sayil or Labná) and 2 maps of Charnay's travels (1 double-page in color) are reproduced on this web site.
<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-85Charnay.htm>

This is a translation of *Les anciennes villes du nouveau monde: Voyages d'explorations du Mexique et dans l'Amérique Central, par Désire Charnay, 1857-1882* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1885). Published also in New York by Harper Brothers, 1888, with the title slightly reworded to read ". . . being Voyages and Explorations . . ." There is a 15-page introduction by Allen Thorndike Rice, providing a review of European explorers of Central America, writers, and theorists, with only brief mentions of Charnay.

A reprint, unchanged, using the New York title, was published in 1973 by AMS Press, Inc., New York, for the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. This includes an introduction by Ian Graham, with brief summary of Charnay's career and contributions to the understanding of Mesoamerican prehistory.

Readers should be warned that **many sentences and paragraphs in this generally reliable English translation have been eliminated or compressed**, deleting useful comments.

For a description of this volume, see annotation above for the French original, *Les anciennes villes du nouveau monde*.

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

Cités et ruines américaines: Mitla, Palenqué, Izamal, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal, recueillies et photographiés par Désiré Charnay, avec un texte par M Viollet-le-Duc. Paris: Gide Éditeur, A Morel et Ce, 1862-1863 (first Spanish edition, Ciudades y ruinas americanas, 1866; a French edition was published by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, in 1982; a more recent Spanish edition was published in 1994 by Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, México, D.F.).

All of Charnay's photographs of Uxmal in the **lavish vol. 1** of this publication and the illustration to Viollet-le-Duc's article in **vol. 2** are reproduced on this web site.

There are no photographs of Kabah, Sayil, or Labná in this publication.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Charnay.htm>

This 2-volume publication was made up of **1 large, lavish volume of 49 plates (47 original photographic prints and 2 photo-lithographs)**, published 1862 (a few of Charnay's photographs published in 1862 had been published 2 years earlier) and **1 much smaller volume of text**, published 1863.

Charnay's photographs were the first ever made of Maya ruins, overcoming not only the difficulties of a challenging, foreign environment, but also the demanding logistics of mid-19th century photography. He used a large camera, large glass plates which had to be prepared just before each exposure and developed on site, printed later on albumen-silver paper. Moreover, he worked systematically, documenting not only details but also the grandeur of the cities he recorded. The photographs in *Cités et ruines américaines* were taken during two seasons of fieldwork in 1859 and 1860.

The much smaller text volume contained an account by Charnay of his travels: "Le Mexique: 1858-1861: Souvenirs et Impressions de Voyage", In his preface, Charnay points out the immensity of his subject, the inadequacy of previous publications, and the necessary shortcomings of his own. On the contentious subject of foreign origins of Maya architecture, he notes similarities to the art and architecture of other cultures, but states that any conclusions are now hypothetical. Nevertheless, he introduces Viollet-le-Duc as (in translation) "a synthetic talent that can reconstruct the past on the ruins if the present" (p. vi). The text volume includes also a revealing essay by Viollet-le-Duc (pp. 3-80), based on photographs, drawings, and notes provided by Charnay. Viollet-le-Duc's essay, "Antiquités Américaines", is separately listed and annotated in this web bibliography.

Charnay's 19 chapters include one on the Yucatan and one on Uxmal, including 19 short pages on the ruins of Uxmal (pp. 362-380). This includes details of his set-up for photography at Uxmal, roles of his Maya assistants, and practical difficulties in dealing with sleeping, along with brief, straightforward descriptions of the ruins.

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

Ciudades y ruinas americanas. Translated from the French, *Cités et ruines américaines*, by Rocio Alonzo. Prologue Lorenzo Ochoa, 1993. México, F.D.: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994.

In his prologue, Ochoa calls attention to the lack of recognition that Charnay's publications received in many 20th century academic studies of the ancient Maya, because Charnay's writing was not sufficiently scientific. However, Ochoa points out that Charnay's accounts are valuable descriptions of the life of the Maya people and their environments during the 19th century. In his chapter on Uxmal, in addition to his description of the ruins, Charnay provides details of the various types of assistance his local employees provided: 40 of them clearing the site for photography, 2 others running errands for water, others protecting Charnay's photographic work station from falling debris, etc.

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

Ciudades y ruinas americanas: Mitla, Palenque, Izamal, Chichén Itzá, Uxmal. Reunidas y fotografiadas por Désiré Charnay. Álbum de Fotografías. Nota introductoria de Víctor Jiménez. México, D.F.: Banco de México, 1994.

This edition is useful for the introduction by Víctor Jiménez, which describes the location of Charnay's original photographs, mentioning albums in Mexican, French,

and United States collections. He states that some of the original negatives are in the collection of the Museum of Man, Paris.

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

“Expedition au Yucatan”. *Bulletin de la Société d’Anthropologie de Paris*, Vol. 10 (1887): 65-78.

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

“Les explorations de Teobert Maler”. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Vol. 1 (1904): 289-308.

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

“Les explorations de Teobert Maler”. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Vol. 1 (1905): 1-22

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

Le Mexique et ses monuments anciens, par Désiré Charnay. Paris: Émile Bondonneau, 1864.

Includes 20 photographs from *Cités et ruines*, in a smaller format. Some copies include only 8 photographs, all of Uxmal, with 5 pages of text.

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré

“Voyage du Yucatan et au pays des Lacandons.” *Tour du Monde*. Vol. 47-48. Paris, 1884 (Spanish translation published in *America Pintoresco*, 1884).

“A series of articles in 23 chapters. Uxmal is described in chap. XIV, pp. 59-64, with 5 ill.” (Saville 1921, p. 110).

Charnay, Claude Joseph Désiré, and Viollet-le-Duc

Ciudades de Luz. Introduction by Guillermo Tovar de Teresa. México: Grupo Financiero del Sureste, 1993.

This is a finely produced volume, with **Charnay’s photographs superbly reproduced** on high quality, 12 ¼ x 12 ¼ inch pages. Among the 30 plates reproduced, 14 are of Uxmal, including the two-page panorama of the Governor’s Palace. Charnay’s preface and Viollet-le-Duc’s essay, from Charnay’s 1863 *Cités et Ruines Américaines*, are reproduced in the original French with side-by-side Spanish translation. The introduction by Tovar de Teresa briefly summarizes the 18th and 19th European rediscovery of the ancient Americas. The author praises the epoch of French romanticism, represented by Charnay and Viollet-le-Duc, with no mention of the resulting misinterpretations in Viollet-le-Duc’s essay.

Cline, Howard F.

“The Apocryphal Early Career of J. F. Waldeck Pioneer Americanist”. *Acta Americana*, Vol. 5., No. 4 (1947): 278-300.

A thorough review of the various unreliable sources of information about Waldeck's life from birth "to 1822, when the first clearly identifiable trace of him emerges" (p. 300). Cline writes that "The year 1822 tends to mark a turning point in the biography of Waldeck. Thenceforth he was indisputably an Americanist" (p. 297). In his only mention of Uxmal, Cline writes that the influence of Waldeck's theories "visibly affected the results of his field work. An instance is Waldeck's drawing of non-existent figures on the Maya ruins of Uxmal, in which they appear clothed in Phoenician costumes" (p. 280). There is no mention of Waldeck's 1838 volume, *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d'Yucatan (Amérique Centrale), pendant les années 1834 et 1836*. However, Cline does comment in general that "as a source of error, he filled in and 'reconstructed' gaps in the data solely from his fertile imagination and with skilful talent" (p. 280).

Cogolludo, Diego López

Historia de Yucatan. Sacala a luz Francisco de Ayeta. Madrid: Juan Garcia Infanzon, 1688 (2nd and 3rd editions were published in the 19th century under other titles. An edition was published in 1954 by the Comision de Historia; Campeche, Mexico. The most recent is *Los tres siglos de la dominación Española en Yucatan o sea Historia de esta Provincia*, Graz, Austria, 1971).

This 17th century account includes brief descriptions of Uxmal, in which López de Cogolludo writes that "there was made of the same stone and remained in it [the wall] a ring as thin and handsome as can be made of gold worked in the most beautiful manner: absolute proof that they were made by perfect artists". He provides also a description of the chapels and frighteningly steep steps of the Pyramid of the Magician.

Cyphers, Guillén, Ann, and Anna Di Castro

"Frederick Catherwood y John L. Stephens". *La antropología en México: Panorama histórico. 9. Los protagonistas (Acosta-Dávila)*, 449-462. Ed. Lina Odena Güemes and Carlos García Mora. Mexico City, D.F.: Colección Biblioteca del INAH; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1987.

Extensive survey of the remarkably lives and work of Frederick Catherwood (1799-) and John Stephens (1805-1852), whose 1841 and 1843 publications set a standard for archaeological recording of Maya sites that continues to inspire scholars today. The author includes illustrations of two of Catherwood's prints from *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, 1843; one of "The Church" at Chichén Itza, the other of the "Arch at Labná". There is a very brief bibliography.

D

Dautermann, Carl C.

"The Strange Story of the Stephens Stones". *Natural History: The Magazine of the American Museum of Natural History*. Vol. 44, No. 5 (Dec. 1939): 288-294.

A popularized account of the adventures of John Stephens. In spite of the article's title and illustrations of 4 of the Stephens stones in the Museum, these are barely mentioned in the extensive text and no reference is given to the superbly informative article by Spinden 19 years earlier in this same magazine.

Davis, Keith F.

Désiré Charnay: Expeditionary Photographer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.

This is an **outstanding study of Charnay's role and importance in the history of photography**. Davis writes: "Charnay was unquestionably the first important photographer in the Yucatan, and his work in 1858-59 represented **the earliest systematic use of photography as a tool in Mexican archaeology**. . . . Charnay overcame awesome difficulties to produce a body of photographs that, in turn, set the scientific standard for all later researchers" (p.104). Because Charnay's most groundbreaking and influential photographs were taken on his first, 1857-1860 expedition, his 1858 photographs of Uxmal and Kabah are of special importance. Of the slightly more than 100 Charnay photographs reproduced in Davis's book, about half are of local people, 15 are of Uxmal and 2 of Kabah. In addition to the standard bibliography, the author includes a list of publications by Charnay, helpfully presented in chronological order. There is also a condensation of the catalogue of the Charnay negatives in the collection of the Musée de L'Homme, Paris.

Debroise, Olivier

Mexican Suite: A History of Photography in Mexico. Translated and revised in collaboration with the author by Stella de Sá Rego. Austin: university of Texas Press, 2001 (translated from the Spanish, *Fuga Maxicana: Un recorrido por la fotografía en México*, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994).

This handsome volume provides **an excellent survey of photography in Mexico**, from the 1840s, when the earliest daguerreotypes were made in Mexico, to the present day. The 11 chapters are organized thematically, following a general chronological order.

Only 20 of the 261 pages are devoted to a chapter on photographers of Maya ruins, 19th and 20th centuries, stressing the relationship of romanticism and scientific reporting. There is only slight mention of the Puuc region, most notably in a statement of Teobert Maler, especially appropriate for this web site:

"In the year 1888, a group of Americans – **a so-called commission from Harvard College** in Boston – arrived First they attacked the large pyramid that served as the base for the great temple, undermining it in the belief that the buttresses and structural elements placed by the ancient peoples in earlier times to reinforce the foundation of their temple were mere rubble. . . . the result is that today the superb temple of Labná, weakened at its base, may collapse at any moment. Not content with this feat, the 'artists' then directed themselves toward the great avenue of the temple, **digging up an area the size of the plaza in Mérida, always in search of**

antiquities . . . Having left that part of Labná in such a state that it looked as if the catastrophe that blew up the island of Krakatao . . . had been repeated there in front of the temple, they left“

Desmond, Lawrence G.

“Augustus Le Plongeon (1826-1908): Early Mayanist, Archaeologist, and Photographer”. *Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures*, ed. David Carrasco. Vol. 1: 117-118. 3 vols. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Desmond, Lawrence G.

“Augustus Le Plongeon: A fall from archaeological grace. Alice B. Kehoe and Mary Beth Emmerichs, eds. *Assembling the Past: Studies in the Professionalization of Archaeology*. University of New Mexico Press, 1999: 81-90.

On the web at:

<http://maya.csuhayward.edu/archaeoplanet/LgdPage/LepKehoe.htm>

(accessed 2008 Jan. 13)

Desmond, Lawrence G.

“Augustus Le Plongeon and Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Early Photographic Documentation at Uxmal, Yucatan, Mexico,” in *Mesoamerica: The Journal of Middle America*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico, 1989. Pp. 27-31.

On the web at:

<http://maya.csuhayward.edu/archaeoplanet/LgdPage/LepUxmal.htm>

(accessed 2008 Jan. 13)

Desmond, Lawrence G.

The Nineteenth Century Photographs of Alice Dixon Le Plongeon and Augustus Le Plongeon: A Catalogue of Collections from: American Museum of Natural History, Donald Dixon Album, Getty Research Institute, Peabody Museum at Harvard university, Philosophical Research Society. CD-ROMs available from the author at the address below. Published by the author, 2005.

A catalogue of the photographic work and mural tracings by Alice Dixon Le Plongeon and Augustus Le Plongeon, housed in the five collections named in the title. The catalogue lists 1,034 negatives, prints, tracings, and lantern slides (Desmond estimates that a total of more than 2,200 are known in public and private collections). In the catalogue, these are organized within the five separate collections, then by the institution’s or collector’s ID number. For each item, subject, description, medium, stereo or not, type, size, are given, along with cross-references to any of the five collections that house the same or similar items. The catalogue does not include images, but the author writes: “Should a researcher need to work with the duplicated Dixon/Le Plongeon images, the Center for Maya Research at 1459 Dillingham Road, Barnardsville, North Carolina, 28709 should be contacted. A complete collection of duplicated photographs, fully catalogued, is archived at the center.” (p.iv)

Preceding the catalogue, Desmond provides an historical overview of the Le Plongeon material and its acquisition by various individuals and institutions. He then

presents a description of the Le Plongeon's photographic background, work, and technique. He notes that, although others had made drawing, prints, and photographic images of Maya architecture, the Le Plongeon were the first to make a thorough, systematic record. The Le Plongeon spend several months photographing at Uxmal in 1873, 1876 and 1881; in addition to their major photographic campaigns at Chichen Itza and work elsewhere. The digital format has the advantage of allowing search by keyword.

Desmond, Lawrence G.

"Le Plongeon, Augustus". *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures: The Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*. Vol. 1: 117-118. Ed. David Carrasco. 3 vols. Oxford University Press, 2001.

Desmond, Lawrence G., and Paul G. Bryan

"Recording architecture at the archaeological site of Uxmal, Mexico: A historical and contemporary view". *The Photogrammetric Record*, Vol. 18, No. 102 (June 2003): 105-130.

On the web at:

<http://maya.csuhayward.edu/archaeoplanet/LgdPage/UxDocHist.html>

(accessed 2007 March 1)

This is the most extensive, up-to-date, and informative of Desmond's various reports on the stereo-photogrammetry projects of the Pyramid of the Magician, Uxmal. In addition to the much longer text, there are 26 illustrations, including 11 related to Augustus Le Plongeon and 8 of the project at Uxmal.

Following a brief survey of the illustrators and photographers of the Pyramid of the Magician through the 1860s, with helpful information about the equipment and photographic techniques, Desmond present an extensive chronological account of the lives and photographic accomplishments of Augustus Le Plongeon and Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, and their legacy. There are then brief references to several 20th century photographers and archaeologists who documented Uxmal. He then presents the most detailed chronological account of his various articles description the stereo-photogrammetry project of the Pyramid of the Magician. This includes reasons for the project, description of the process and techniques used, and results achieved. This is an essential, first-hand account, by the scholar most continuously involved in the overall project. He relates the recent stereo-photogrammetry project to the stereo photography of the Le Plongeon.

Desmond, Lawrence Gustave, and Phyllis Mauch Messenger, foreword by Jame Livah King

A Dream of Maya: Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon in Nineteenth-Century Yucatán. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

Also on the web, but without the illustrations, at:

<http://maya.csuhayward.edu/archaeoplanet/LgdPage/Dream/Start.htm>

(accessed 2006 Dec. 15)

Based partly on Desmond's 1983 doctoral dissertation for the University of Colorado, Boulder, this is **the only thorough study of the careers and research of Augustus Le Plongeon and his wife Alice**, who in particular receives here her first scholarly recognition. There are separate, lengthy bibliography listing for Alice (23 items) and Augustus (26 items), including newspaper articles and some letters. Chapter 9, "Life in the Governor's Palace," describes their main stay to Uxmal, June and July 1881. The authors describe how, in the process of attempting to find evidence for their already discredited theories regarding Maya history, the Le Plongeon produced **the best inventory to date for the buildings and sculpture at Uxmal, extensive glass-plate photography and molds** of relief and high-relief sculpture to record small iconographic details not visible in their photographs. The molds included eighty-three molds of the Governor's Palace frieze and forty-three molds of the sculptured reliefs on the Pyramid of the Magician.

The Le Plongeon's photographs are especially noteworthy. The authors note that, using stereo photographs, which help to capture the 3-dimensionality of the sculpture, Augustus recorded the entire front (eastern) frieze of the Governor's Palace in sixteen sections, taken from top of a long ladder, supported by saplings, in order to capture the frieze straight on. He also took distant and close-up photographs of the Pyramid of the Magician and, from its top, an almost 180 degree panorama including the Governor's Palace and Nunnery Quadrangle. Eighteen small grey-scale illustrations of their photographs at Uxmal are included. In a caption to the photograph of the Nunnery East Building on page 78, the authors mistakenly write that "in this straight-on treatment of the East Building of the Nunnery Quadrangle, Augustus controlled his line of sight to keep the Adivino Pyramid from looking in the background"; whereas this photograph is an early example of image manipulation, replacing the Advino Pyramid with sky.

Alice especially **spoke out against the ongoing removal of the limestone blocks and finely finished stone facing of Uxmal buildings**, sometimes with crowbars, by the landowners and administrators for construction of their farmhouses and haciendas.

"Drawing from the Past: Maya Antiquity through the Eyes of Frederick Catherwood"

A web site, based on an exhibition created as a project in the seminar, "Making Sense of the Pre-Columbian", taught by Professor Dana Leibsohn. The exhibition was created by Martin Antonetti, Curator, and students in the seminar.

Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith College Libraries; Mortimer Rare Books Room, 2005.

On the web at:

<http://www.smith.edu/library/libs/rarebook/exhibitions/catherwood/index.htm>

(accessed 2007 Dec. 11)

As far as I know, these are **the only accurate, color images on the web of the lithographs by Frederick Catherwood**, published in his lavish, multi-colored 1844 volume, *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*. There are brief descriptions accompanying each image, an annotated bibliography, and a list of Internet sources with links. These web images are of high quality, but their

small size (575 ppi long side) makes it difficult to see details. There are 26 lithographs in all, 8 of Uxmal, 2 of Kabah, and 1 of Labná.

Much larger images of these same lithograph, though with color and line intensified, are reproduced in the 1999 book by Fabio Bourbon, *Le città perdute dei Maya: La vita, l'arte e le scoperte di Frederick Catherwood*.

Images of Uxmal, Kabah, and Labná, from the less rare, brown-toned lithograph edition are reproduced on this web site, at 1500 ppi long side size.
<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Catherwood.htm>

E

"Early Photography in Yucatan"

Image, Journal of Photography of the George Eastman House, Vol. II, No. 5 (May 1953): 28-29.

A description of the use of the camera lucida and daguerreotype photography by Frederick Catherwood and John Stephens in 1839 and 1841, in the Yucatan, Mexico. The key descriptions, by Stephens, of their use of these two modes of imaging are quoted. Rarely observed, the author writes that "it is not difficult to distinguish which of the engravings were made with the added aid of daguerreotypes and those copied from the less detailed drawings" (p. 28). However the most distinguishing characteristic of the images aided by daguerreotypes is not their detail but their tonal quality. There is also a description of Charnay's use of collodion, wet plate photography on his trip to the Yucatan in 1857.

Evans, R. Tripp

Romancing the Maya: Mexican Antiquities in the American Imagination 1820-1915. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004.

This book examines the nineteenth century Euroamerican rediscovered of ancient Maya ruins, examining the complex, sometimes contradictory, responses of the early explorers. The author focuses on the writings, drawing, prints, photographs, and patterns of behavior of Stephens, Catherwood, Joseph Smith, Charnay, and Le Plongeon, putting them in the context of other writers and the public. While acknowledging the scientific, archaeological achievements of the explorers, Tripp emphasizes the national aspirations that pervaded their work, especially their assumption that the United States could rightfully claim ancient Maya civilization, and its remains, as part of its own cultural heritage. In support of this thesis, the author describes, more perceptively than previous authors, the points of view visible in these explorers' drawings, prints and photographs, comparing them to artistic types on which they drew for meaning. In his final chapter, Tripp contrast the presentation of

Maya exhibits at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition with the presentation at the 1915 San Diego Panama-California Exposition: **evolving from a romantic emblem of 'America's' lost architectural past, this antiquity was now perceived as a distinctly regional and foreign tradition – one that belonged to the domain of professional, institutionally supported archaeologists**" (p.5).

F

Finney, Ben R.

"L'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg and Désiré Charnay." Unpublished paper. Cambridge, MA: Harvard university, 1960.

G

Graham, Ian

Alfred Maudslay and the Maya: A Biography. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

As Graham points out, **Maudslay never managed to get to Uxmal** (p. 165), and Chichen Itza was the only Yucatan site he studied and published, Graham's biography would not normally be included in this web bibliography. However, **Maudslay's exemplary scholarship provides such essential context for understanding all Maya studies**, and this is such an informative, carefully crafted account of his life and work that it must be included in any account of early explorers and scholars.

Likewise, **Maudslay's recording methods** provide essential context for understanding those of Uxmal and the Puuc region. He took superb photographs himself, using glass plate negatives, made careful maps of sites he studied, commission plaster casts from an Italian specialist, Lorenzo Giuntini, and commissioned an artist, Annie Hunter, to make drawings, color coded with watercolor, of the casts, to make the hieroglyphs and imagery more legible.

Graham, Ian

"Exposing the Maya". *Archaeology*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1990).

Graham, Ian

"Maler, Teobert". *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures: The Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*. Vol. 1: 153. Ed. David Carrasco. 3 vols. Oxford University Press, 2001.

A brief history of the life and career of Teobert Maler. Graham notes that at age 20 Maler worked as a draftsman for an architect in Vienna. **Maler spent many years in Mexico, especially in the Yucatan, where he lived for 10 years (1885-1895)**, photographing and taking measured drawings of Maya ruins. This material, titled

Península Yucatán by Maler, lay dormant for decades but was finally edited and published 80 years after his death, in 1997.

Graham, Ian

“Stephens, John Lloyd”. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures: The Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*. Vol. 1: 167-168. Ed. David Carrasco. 3 vols. Oxford University Press, 2001.

A brief history of the life and career of John L. Stephens. Graham notes that, previous to his first visit to Mexico, Stephens had traveled to Greece, Turkey, Poland, and Russia, then to Egypt and Petra. In 1837, his book *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia, Petraea, and the Holy Land*, was a financial success. He then planned a trip to Central America and hired Frederick Catherwood as his artist. On this first trip they visited Uxmal only briefly, but their book, dealing mainly with other areas, was an immense success. **On their second trip**, Graham notes, they spent most of their time in the Yucatan, with **Catherwood spending 6 weeks at Uxmal and then discovering the ruins of Kabah**. Their 1843 book, *Incident of travel in Yucatan*, was again a major success. Together, these two publications have led Stephens to be called “the father of Maya studies” (p. 167).

Graham, John, and Steven R. Fitch.

“The Recording of Maya Sculpture”. *Studies in the Archaeology of Mexico and Guatemala*, ed. John A. Graham. Paper no. 4: 41-51. *Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility*. No. 16 (Oct. 1972).

The authors provide **a rare and valuable review of types of imaging used in the documentation of Maya sculpture**. They first describe a few of the early attempts to record Maya sculpture. They write that Stephens and Catherwood succeeded in accumulating a record of extraordinary excellence”, but add that “Catherwood’s drawings are by no means adequate for modern studies, and today they are to be valued mostly for their antiquarian charm and as works of art in their own right”. They fail to mention the importance of Catherwood’s drawings as records of the state of Maya ruins in 1839 and 1841; Graham and Fitch especially praise A. P. Maudslay as “[laying] the foundations for modern studies of Maya art and epigraphy”. Maudslay’s “drawings were prepared on the basis of photographs, casts, and field notes, and then were often checked against the originals in the field”. The authors write that “regrettably the superlative standards of Maudslay were not emulated in subsequent recording of Maya sculpture . . . Fortunately, however, recent years witness a renewed effort at careful and painstaking photography and drawing of Maya monuments, as in the work of the University Museum’s Tikal project and the Maya text recording project of Ian Graham under auspices of Peabody Museum, Harvard” (quotations on pp. 41 and 42).

Graham and Fitch note that John H. Denison was the first to apply the technique of rubbings in Maya field studies, but that “only in recent years a significant and large scale effort to record Maya sculpture with an advanced rubbing process has been initiated by Merle Greene Robertson. The authors are exceptional in observing that “clearly depending in no small degree upon the artistic sensitivity of Mrs. Robertson,

an invaluable and amazingly successful evocation of the original qualities of the sculpture” has emerged (p. 43).

In another rarely noted observation, in this case about line drawings, Graham and Fitch write that “literal line drawings, even when attaining a high and commendable level of accuracy and thus being invaluable for iconographic and similar inquiries, are seldom useful or even useable for purposes of critical or esthetic studies. **The problem of sensitive and effective translation from the three dimensions of relief or sculpture to the two dimensions of drawing are almost insurmountable in simple, direct line drawing**” (p. 43).

The last 2-1/2 pages describe the nature and importance of **photogrammetry** as a “method of easily recording Maya sculpture in such a manner that casts can always be made when needed and which has negligible requirements of space for storage” (p. 44). Unfortunately, they repeat the common, but false, claim that in photography “from this stereoscopic pair of photographs all the three dimensional information of the subject can be obtained” (p. 44). In a 1-1/2 page appendix, the authors describe how a contour map or a contoured plaster replica can be generated from the stereo pair of photographs.

Gropp, Arthur E.

“Bibliografía de John Lloyd Stephens”. *Los Mayas Antiguos: Monografías de Arqueología, Etnografía y Lingüística Mayas, publicadas con motivo del Centenario de la Exploración de Yucatán por John L. Stephens y Frederick Catherwood en los años 1841-42.* 17-32. México [D.F.]: El Colegio de México, 1941.

Guzmán Betencourt, Ignacio

“Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg”. *La antropología en México: Panorama histórico. 9. Los protagonistas (Acosta-Dávila).* 361-365. Ed. Lina Odena Güemes and Carlos García Mora. Mexico City, D.F.: Colección Biblioteca del INAH; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1987.

A brief **review of the life and work of Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814-1874).** De Bourbourg first traveled to Mexico in 1848 and in 1851 published his research in *Cartas para servir de introducción a la historia primitiva de las naciones civilizadas de la América septentrional.* **His major contribution was the discovery of Mesoamerican texts and codices, especially the *Popol Vuh*, which he translated and published in 1861. He also discovered, in the Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia, Madrid, the *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán* by Friar Diego de Landa, which he copied completely, and made public in 1864.** Guzmán Betencourt notes that, because de Bourbourg combined the real and the imaginary and because he worked too fast, his work was often unscientific and defective.

H

Herrmann, Andreas

Auf den Spuren der Maya: Eine Fotodokumentation von Teobert Maler (1842-1917). Foreword Rainer Springhorn, publisher, 1989. Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, 1992.

In his forward, Rainer Springhorn, Director of the Museum, describes **the important, previously little-known, collection of Maler material in the Lippischen Landsmuseum, Detmold**, Germany. He provides a detailed account of the origin of the collection, resulting from the association of Maler with Otto Rosenkranz, the German consul in Merida, where he met Maler. They became hunting companions and friends, and Rosenkranz began collecting Maler's photographs and other material, most acquired after Maler's return to Germany. In 1926 Rosenkranz founded the ethnographic collection at Detmold, including the material collected from Maler. 321 of these photographs have inscriptions in Maler's distinctive hand. **Springhorn selected 169 of these for publication in this volume.** The text, by Andreas Herrmann, describes **Maler's significance as discoverer, photographer, and draughtsman, including his important 3 volume manuscript which Maler titled Península Yucatán.** There are extensive quotes from Maler's letters. **The photographs reproduced are of exceptionally high quality; 9 of Uxmal, 4 of Kabah, 2 of Sayil, and 3 of Labná.**

Holmes, William Henry

Archaeological Studies among the Ancient Cities of Mexico, Publication 8, Anthropological Series, Vol.1 of 2, No.1. Part I, *Monuments of Yucatan*. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, 1895.

Holmes' images of Uxmal and closely related comparative images are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Holmes.htm>

Based partly on visits in 1884 and in 1894-95, this booklet publishes Holmes' description of the "Ruins of Eastern Yucatan" and "Ruins of Middle Northern Yucatan" including Uxmal. The Introduction consists of **a pioneering and still valuable description of Maya construction and physical remains** including: function of buildings; architect and his plan; instruments of precision; orientation and assemblage; building materials; transportation; stone cutting and sculpture; masonry, stucco work and painting; substructures; stairways; superstructures; wall surfaces; ceilings, roofs, etc.; doorways and other wall openings; columns and pillars; the arch; ornament; and hieroglyphs. As part of this description, **Holmes provides his own diagrams** of terraces and pyramids; ground plans of Maya temples; examples of Maya buildings; cord holders and dumb sheaves; transverse section of an ordinary Yucatec building; interior doorways; exterior doorways; minor wall openings; and examples of Maya arches. These have been regularly reproduced in 20th century publications on the Maya.

His relatively brief descriptions of the major buildings at Uxmal include his own diagrams of cross-sections of Temples IV and V of the Pyramid of the Magician and of the Governor's Palace, and a "sketch-map" of Uxmal. **Most valuable**, Holmes provides a 67.3 cm. (26 1/2 inch) foldout drawing of a panorama of the major structures of Uxmal as if seen from slightly above and behind the North Building of the Nunnery Quadrangle. Based on his own sketches on site, this drawing still provides **an exceptionally useful panorama of the Uxmal landscape and 1895 condition of the major buildings**. There are three photographs taken by his expedition of the central frieze of the Governor's Palace, the Dovecote, and plaster cast of an inscribed column.

Howe, Kathleen Stewart

"Primordial Stones: Reading Ancient Mesoamerica". *The New World's Old World: Photographic Views of Ancient America*, ed. May Castleberry: 32-61. Published on the occasion of an exhibition held at the AXA Gallery, New York, May 8 - July 19, 2003. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

The author stresses the variable approaches of different photographs. She devotes 6 ½ pages to the 19th century explorer-photographers, with an especially instructive reading of Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon. There are several references to Uxmal. Howe **contextualizes the photographs through discussion of the market and various social and political movements**. She notes that America's ancient stones "serve as a focus for conflicts over race, origins, national identity, spiritual meaning, and indigenous rights" (p. 56). Maler's unique 1891-1893, extremely wide angle albumen silver print of the entire façade of the Governor's Palace, Uxmal, is reproduced in her chapter (fig. 10).

K

Kubler, George

Esthetic Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

Although Kabah and Sayil are not mentioned and Uxmal and Labná appear on only one page, this book provides essential context for understanding early explorations, drawings, photographs, prints, and publications of these four sites. **The main body of the text consists of brief accounts of some seventy persons**, from Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) to Wendell Clark Bennett (1905-1953), organized chronologically. These include Brasseur, Charnay, Holmes, Stephens, Spinden, Prokouriakoff, Seler, and Morley, whose work and ideas are essential to understanding these four Puuc cities as they have deteriorated and been restored and as we experience them today. As specified in the title, **Kubler's primary concern is to trace changing attitudes in the ways in which ancient American objects have been viewed esthetically**. Since the esthetic character of Maya art and architecture is more difficult to describe than such things as construction or the reading of hieroglyphics, and since it is has not generally been considered an essential component of

their travels and of the Indians, with whom they came in contact, showing the Le Plongeon to have been impressively aware of and attentive to local customs. For purposes of this web site, the journal is especially important for information about the ruins visited, their surveying and photography of them.

There are 36 pages of text on Uxmal (pp. 218-255), page 222 dated "Uxmal 1876 May", page 255 dated "Uxmal 1876 August".

Le Plongeon, Alice Dixon

Yucatan. Its Ancient Palaces and Modern Cities. Life and Customs of the Aborigines by Alice D. Le Plongeon. New York.

"Entered according to an act of Congress the 18th of June in the year 1884, by Alice D. le Plongeon, in the office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington, D.C."

A typed manuscript in English, by Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, was acquired in 2004 by the Getty Research Institute (2004.17.18; Box 6, F.19). The typed manuscript was acquired by the GRI from Leigh J. McCloskey. There are 535 pages; pages 370-458 are on Uxmal.

This typed manuscript, based on Alice Dixon Le Plongeon's handwritten journal, was never published. A scholarly edition of the journal, with major commentary, is being prepared by Lawrence Desmond, forthcoming from the University of New Mexico Press.

A selection of photographs by Augustus and Alice Dixon LePlongeon, taken 1873-1881, in the collection of the Getty Research Institute, are reproduced on this web site. <http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-LePlongeon.htm>

Le Plongeon, Augustus

"The Ancient Palaces of Uxmal, Mexico". *Scientific American* (Jan. 21, 1882): 5042.

Le Plongeon, Augustus

"Archaeological Communication on Yucatan". *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, No. 72: 65-75.

Le Plongeon, Augustus

"Dry Plates in Yucatan". *Photographic Times and American Photographer*. Vol. 12, No. 37 (1882): 143.

Le Plongeon, Augustus

"An Interesting Discovery: A Temple with Masonic Symbols in the Ruined City of Uxmal," *Harper's Weekly* (Dec. 17, 1881): 851-852.

Le Plongeon, Augustus

Manual de Fotografia. New York: Scovill Manufacturing Co., 1873.

This is an impressive 226-page booklet, testifying to Le Plongeon's expert understanding of the photographic medium. There are no fewer than 28 small chapters, in which he describes various types of photography including daguerreotypes, but especially detailing methods for producing wet collodion glass-plate negatives and paper prints, with an extensive section of formulas.

Le Plongeon, Augustus

Vestiges of the Maya. New York: J. Polhemus, 1881.

The Le Plongeon were appalled by the dismantling of structures at Uxmal by people in charge for the construction of their haciendas and by other desecrations. Here, Alice Le Plongeon writes: "The walls of the rooms are now covered with the names of visitors in letters of every size and color. Some silly people, called civilized, have thought theirs so important that they have painted them on several walls within the same building" (quoted by Desmond, *A Dream of Maya*, p. 77).

Leon-Portilla, Miguel

"Prologo" to Frédéric De Waldeck, *Viaje pintoresco y arqueología a la provincia de Yucatan*: 10-31. México: Servicios Condumex, S.A. de C.V., Centro de Estudios de Historia de México Condumex, Paseo del Río Núm. 186, 1997.

Except for Leon-Portilla's 1997 prologue, this volume is a full-size reprinting, with Spanish translation, of the 1838 French publication: Frédéric De Waldeck, *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la Province d'Yucatan (Amérique Centrale), pendant les années 1834 et 1836*. Paris: Bellizard Dufour et Co, 1838.

The original 1838 French edition is separately listed and annotated in this web bibliography, under Waldeck, *Voyage pittoresque . . .*, 1838.

This prologue is an exceptionally thorough review of foreigners who visited Mexico after the country opened itself to foreigners following the war of independence, 1810-1821. Leon-Portilla first calls attention to the pre-independence visit by Alexander von Humboldt in 1803, and the importance of his publications. The first visitors following independence were mostly representatives of mining companies, though most of them became interested in various aspects of Mexico and Mexican culture. A few authored books on Mexico, some including prints, and a few acquired artifacts and codices which they took back to England, Italy, France, and Germany, where they now reside in national museums. Leon-Portilla also provides a detailed review of the early explorers who came to Mexico with strong interests in the Maya ruins.

In the sections on Waldeck, the author relies heavily on the thorough research of Howard F. Cline (see listing in this web bibliography). After describing Waldeck's time and research at Palenque, Leon-Portilla describes Waldeck's brief stay at Uxmal in May 1835. He comments that Waldeck's fantasy caused him to interpret Chaac masks as elephant heads. The author quotes from Waldeck's prologue, stating that the *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la Province d'Yucatan* was to be part 3 of his planned publication but, in order to get the material into print promptly, is being published first (vol. 1 was to be on the history of ancient Mexico, vol. 2 on Palenque).

Leon-Lortilla quotes Waldeck's biographer, Claude-François Baudez, stating that the value of Waldeck's publication resided in the lithographs depicting Uxmal, for which images had not previously been published, and which stimulated the interest of Stephens and Catherwood. However, Baudez states that the text is largely based on Waldeck's diary, made up largely of anecdotes about local customs, with no rethinking.

Lorelei Zapata Peraza, Renée

"Augusto Le Plongeon". *La antropología en México: Panorama histórico. 10. Los protagonistas (Díaz-Murillo)*, 367-382. Ed. Lina Odena Güemes and Carlos García Mora. Mexico City, D.F.: Colección Biblioteca del INAH; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1987.

An extensive review of the life and work of Augusto Le Plongeon (1826-1908), with some attention to the joint work of Alice Le Plongeon, his wife. Benavidas Castillo credits previous authors on Le Plongeon, especially the basic publication of Robert Brunhouse. There is a useful 4-page bibliography.

Lorelei Zapata Peraza, Renée

"Désiré Charnay". *La antropología en México: Panorama histórico. 9. Los protagonistas (Acosta-Dávila)*, 567-587. Lina Odena Güemes and Carlos García Mora, eds. Mexico City, D.F.: Colección Biblioteca del INAH; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1987.

An extensive review of the life and work of Désiré Charnay (1828-1915). The author notes that, following his 1857-1861 research and photography in Mexico, Charnay spent all of 1862 in Paris preparing the photograph and text for his landmark publication, *Cités et ruines américaines: Mitla, Palenque, Izamal, Chichen Itza, Uxmal*, published 1862-1863. This book included an essay by Viollet-le-Duc. Lorelei Zapata Peraza provides substantial information about Charnay's travels and ideas, but very little directly on his photographs. There is an extensive bibliography.

M

Maler, Teobert

Península Yucatán: Aus dem Nachlass Herausgegeben, ed. Hanns J. Prem, with contributions by Ian Graham. Monumenta Americana Herausgegeben vom Ibero-Amerikanischen Institut Preussischer Kulturbesitz Schriftleitung: Peter Masson, Vol. V. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997

A monumental, landmark study of Maya sites in the Yucatán by the great German-Austrian scholar, Teobert Maler (1842-1917). This is a superbly produced, four hundred page volume, published in its original German. The **previously unpublished**

material includes Maler's manuscript papers, with diagrams and sketches, housed in the Ibero-Amerikanischen Institut, Berlin, and Maler's previously unpublished photographs, housed in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg (significant collections of his photographs are also at the Ibero-Amerikanischen Institut, Berlin; Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). Maler had given his important collection of negatives to the INAH [the 1980 *Atlas Arqueológico del Estado de Yucatán*, vol.1, p.238, lists "Album fotográfico (3 volumenos) en la Biblioteca Carrillo y Ancona. Merida"].

Maler's notes and photographs for Kabah, Labná, and Sayil are based on a visit between December 1886 and February 1887. His notes and photographs for Uxmal derive from a visit in March 1893. For each site, Maler includes a brief diary of his travels, descriptions of individual buildings with detailed ground plans of major structures, and sketches of architectural and sculptural details. The Uxmal text describes only 4 buildings with 3 ground plans and none of his Uxmal photographs are included. Maler's extensive studies of Uxmal have been published elsewhere and many of his Uxmal photographs were reproduced in Eduard Seler's 1917 publication. For Kabah there are 23 photographs, descriptions of 24 structures with 8 ground plans. For Labná, there are 29 photographs, descriptions of 5 structures with 6 ground plans. For Sayil there are 18 photographs, descriptions of 5 structures with 2 ground plans. The photographs include views and details not photographed by other nineteenth century photographers, expertly taken and here clearly reproduced.

In addition to Maler's materials, the editor, Hanns Prem, has provided a brief critical commentary for each site, including various categories of information, importantly **the current state of buildings where this diverges from Maler's descriptions.** Overall, **Maler's information was verified by the editor and changes noted** through research in the Yucatán. This publication also includes a long introduction by the editor recounting the history of Maler's Yucatan expeditions, photographs and writings, and the diverse, uncoordinated nature of the materials. Prem recounts Maler's largely unrealized plans for publication, including a large Archaeological Atlas. Only small portions of Maler's writings, sketches, and photographs were known even to the academic community previous to this 1997 publication of this volume.

In his introduction, Prem discussed Maler's concept of his photographs as art and his desire to have his photographs published without text. This volume also includes a detailed explication of Maler's photographic studies in various countries he visited and the fortuitous development of industrially produced dry gelatin plates, vastly improving the possibility of photography in the tropics. In an especially valuable section, Ian Graham describes **Maler's photographic equipment and technique** and, most revealingly, his use of people in his photographs for scale and a sense of depth and lateral extension. Graham describes Maler's awareness of raking light for sculptural relief, difficulty of obtaining detail in both shadow and sun, and his method of collaging in the studio two or more photos of separated sections of a sculpture into a single overall image.

Mayer, Karl Herbert

“Teobert Maler: an Early Explorer of Classic Maya Architecture”. *Cuadernos de arquitectura mesoamericana*. México, UNAM, No.5: 82-92.

N

Nicholson, H. B.

“Seler, Eduard”. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures: The Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*. Vol. 1: 134-137. Ed. David Carrasco. 3 vols. Oxford University Press, 2001.

A survey of Seler’s scholarly life. Beginning with the declaration that Seler’s “overall contribution to the archaeology, ethnohistory, ethnography, and linguistics of [Mesoamerican studies] was monumental” (p. 135), the author describes Seler’s study of an unusual range of academic disciplines, perhaps most notably botany, which provided the basis for the character of his exceptional range of scholarly publications. Nicholson writes that “Seler’s single most influential contribution to Mesoamerican studies” was his “extensive commentaries on the *Tonalamatl Aubin*, the codices *Fejérváry-Mayer*, *Vaticanus B*, and *Borgia*, along with the facsimiles and English translation of the first three” (pp. 135-136). He notes that Seler “focused on central and southern Mexico”. Although Nicholson writes that “Seler was also much concerned with the Maya region” (p. 136), he does not mention Seler’s major 1917 publication, “Die Ruinen von Uxmal”.

Norman, B. M.

Rambles in Yucatan including A Visit to the Remarkable Ruins of Chi-Chen, Kabah, Zayi, Uxmal &c. New York: J. & H. G. Langley, 1843.

Various images from this volume are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Norman.htm>

Understandably, this amateurish effort is almost never mentioned in later publications. The frontispiece, is given the caption “Moon Light Uxmal Ruins”, but only with considerable effort can one see that it is intended to suggest a view of the major structures looking north from behind the Pyramid of the Old Woman. There are 4 prints of Uxmal, 1 of Sayil, and 1 of a local Indian house, none of which could serve as evidence. All prints are identified as drawn by the author. There is a schematic “Plan of the Ruins of Uxmal” and a map of the Yucatan “Shewing the geographical position of the Ruins”, which is more accurate than any of the author’s drawings.

Nevertheless, because this publication is so little referenced in publications on Puuc sites, a few of his observations are worth noting. At Kabah, on the “west side” of the “main road”; “in the building farthest from the road, (which is in the best preservation of any on the west side,) we observed two square pillars, which had been taken from

the door-way, and placed against the ceiling of the room, by some travelers, no doubt, who intended to present them to the world. They are about six feet high and two wide; the front facings of which are deeply cut, representing a cacique, or other dignitary, in full dress, (apparently a rich Indian costume,) with a profusion of feathers in his head-dress. He is represented with his arms uplifted, holding a whip; a boy before him in a kneeling position, with his hands extended in supplication; underneath are hieroglyphics” (pp. 148-149). These are surely the relief panels carried off by Stephens in 1841-42, indicating that Norman’s visit to Uxmal must have taken place by then.

These doorjambs had been drawn by Catherwood in 1841-42, illustrated in Stephens and Catherwood, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, 1843 (Vol. 1, facing p. 412); and are now in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

The print in Catherwood’s 1844 publication, *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, based on his on-site drawings, shows one or both of the panels being carried down the hill by local laborers, supervised by Stephens, who holds a gun.

About the interior rooms of the Governor’s House, Uxmal, Norman writes: “the interior of these rooms is sometimes covered with a beautiful hard finish, and at other times presents a surface of uniform square blocks of smooth stone. The floors are of stone, covered with a hard composition, which, together with the stone, is now much broken . . . there were no fresco, or other painting or decorations of any kind in the interior of the building to be discerned” (p. 158).

About the “edifice” at the “summit” of the Pyramid of the Magician, Norman writes: “The western façade is ornamented with human figures similar to *caryatides*, finely sculptured in stone with great art. Their heads are covered with a casque, and ear ornaments similar to those work by the Egyptians. They have girdles around their bodies’ (p.164). These are the figures recorded by Waldeck, and Norman’s description of these figures may have been based on Waldeck’s prints instead of on his onsite observation.

O

Ochoa, Lorenzo

“Prólogo: Pasajes amargos”. Désiré Charnay, *Ciudades y ruinas americanas*. Trans. Rocío Alonzo. México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994; 11-27.

In this introduction to a Spanish translation of Charnay’s *Cités et ruines américaines*, Ochoa provides an excellent, heart-felt review of Charnay’s life and work, in relation to that of other early Maya scholars. He includes also a account of 20th century translation and publication which describe, or not, Charnay.

P

Paxton, Meredith

“Frederick Catherwood and the Maya: Reorientation of Nineteenth Century Perceptions”. *The Maya Image in the Western World: A Catalogue to an Exhibition at the University of New Mexico*. Ed. Peter Briggs: 11-20. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

An introduction to the life and work of Frederick Catherwood, placing his drawings, prints, and daguerreotypes in the context of antiquarianism and early 19th century explorers. Paxton compares different approaches to recording and artistic styles. He notes that Catherwood’s 1844 lithographs differ somewhat from his earlier engravings, which are remarkable for their accuracy and detail. Close comparison of a lithograph of Uxmal with later photographs allows the author to demonstrate how Catherwood’s famous lithographs involve slight manipulations for clarity and how they attempt to convey something of the “geographic context and the means of sustenance” the local people (p.19).

Pérez de Lara, Jorge

“Breve historia del redescubrimiento de Uxmal y de los trabajos arqueológicos llevados a cabo en el sitio”. *Mesoweb Artículos*.

Ponce, Alonzo, and Antonio Ciudad Real

Tratado curioso y docto de las gandezas de la Nueva Espana: Relacion breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al padre fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España, siendo comisario general de aquellas partes. Madrid, 1872.

A definitive, 2-volume, scholarly edition, by Josefina García Quintana and Víctor M. Castillo Farreras, with remarkably extensive preliminary material, notes, and maps, was published in 1993, by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Of the maps charting their travels, map 16 includes Uxmal.

An excellent English translation of the section describing Uxmal is included in Herbert J. Spinden, *A Study of Maya Art*, Peabody Museum, 1913, pp. 5-8. Spinden’s volume is separately listed and annotated in this web bibliography.

In his 2-page prologue to the 1947 edition, Andres Henestrosa points out that an arbitrary title has been used and that this 1588 report, although attributed to Friar Alonzo Ponce, was largely written by Antonio de Ciudad Real, who served as secretary and guide for Ponce and Friar Alonso de San Juan. Ciudad-Real spoke Yucatec fluently and was familiar with the Yucatan. Henestrosa also writes that this account is a perfect description of Mexico at the time, of the people they met, their villages, food, etc., written simply without pretension.

The 5-year expedition of Alonso Ponce, Antonio de Ciudad Real, and Fray Alonso de San Juan, took place 1584-1588. Ciudad Real’s account of their travels was almost certainly written in Europe in the next few years, upon his return from the Yucatan.

The section on Uxmal is not the earliest mention of the ancient Maya city but is the earliest description of it. The text consists of 6 substantial paragraphs describing the Pyramid of the Magician, Nunnery Quadrangle, and Governor's Palace. Much is straightforward, accurate description. But there are a few exceptional observations. About the South Building of the Nunnery. Ciudad-Real writes (from the excellent translation in Spinden):

“At the door of each of the rooms of this building on the inside, there are four rings of stone, two on one side and two on the other,--two of them being high up and two lower down and all coming out of the same wall. The Indians say that from these rings those who lived in these buildings hung curtains and portieres”

Especially important evidence for our much needed hypothetical restoration of plaster and paint is the author's observations about the entrance arch to the courtyard: “this entrance had been plastered and that on the plaster paintings had been made in blue, red and yellow color, since even now some of them remain and can be seen. Nearly all the rest of the stones had been plastered but not painted”.

The most detailed observation is the author's description of the interior vaults of the South Building of the Nunnery, which he states are similar to all others in this province: “both sides [of the vault] draw together little by little and the space between becomes more narrow, till on the top one wall is separated from the other by about two feet and there they place a layer, which extends inwards four or five inches on each side, and over this they place flags or thin flat stones in a level position, and with these the arch is closed and remains fixed and strong”.

R

Rickard, Constantine George

The Ruins of Mexico, Vol.I (no later volumes were published). London: H. E. Shrimpton, 1910.

This large format volume is rarely referenced, presumably because its text is brief and standard, occasionally even amateurish. However, there are about 250 valuable grey-scale photographs, 8.8 x 13.2 cm (3 1/2 x 5 3/16 inch.), many showing unusual views or details, and all taken before major restorations of the mid-20th century. These include 39 of Uxmal, 5 of Labná, and 1 of Sayil, showing major structures in slightly overgrown condition and a few of graffiti and of small freestanding sculptures. Although the title is accurate, nearly all the photos are of Maya structures.

Rodríguez, José Antonio

“Los inicios de la fotografía en Yucatán 1841-1847”. *Fotozoom*, Vol. 16, No. 181 (October 1990), 20-47.

S

Saville, Marshall H.

“Bibliographic Notes on Uxmal, Yucatan”. *Indian Notes and Monographs*. Ed. F. W. Hodges. Vol. 9, No. 2. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1921.

Although a very small soft cover book of 77 pages text plus 7 illustrations, this is a basic scholarly resource. Saville presents **a chronological list of every document known to him that mentions Uxmal**. These include documents as early as 1556, the earliest known only from Stephen’s descriptions and quotes, and others published later in the 19th century. Saville include an 8 pages English translation (published by Spinden, 1913) of by far the most extensive early description of the buildings of Uxmal, in a report by Fray Antonio de Ciudad Real in 1588. Beginning with publications in the early 19th century, Saville’s descriptions are much briefer, except for Stephens’ landmark 1843 *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*. A few of the references are to publications too slight to be included in this web bibliography. Saville provides informed evaluations of the importance, or not, of many of the publications, notably including descriptions of the types and importance of illustrations. *Bibliographic Notes* includes illustrations of and comments on a previously unpublished 1841 painting by Catherwood, 4 rare photographs of the Nunnery, and the 3 painted stucco heads recently discovered in the Governor’s Palace.

He provides **an invaluable, detailed description of these 3 stucco heads, including their color**, by then in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

In addition to his bibliography, Saville writes that “In excavation, no work has been done except the desultory digging of the Le Plongeon, and the exploration of a mound back of the hacienda by the writer. **The site requires careful exploration and much restoration work is necessary to strengthen weak walls, especially to replace the wooden lintels which have fallen in practically all of the buildings, the loss of which will ultimately prove fatal to the security of the walls**” (pp. 57-58).

Seler, Eduard Georg

“Die Ruinen von Uxmal”. *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Nr. 3. Berlin, 1917.

All of Seler’s images of Uxmal in this publication are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Seler.htm>

A truly remarkable publication for its time, based on three visits during 1902-1911. Includes 154 pages of text with some 130 diagrams and line drawings and about 60 photographs and closely related material, constituting by far the most in-depth study of Uxmal until Pollock’s volume on the Puuc in 1980. Seler takes up the major buildings at Uxmal one by one, describing them in detail along with his own meticulous ground plans, sections, and especially numerous details of masks, figures, and mosaic designs (there are ten or so drawings from other publications, credited). Among these are the first detailed diagrams of the design patterns for the frieze of the House of the

Governor. About four of the photographs are his own with some thirty by Caecilie Seler, his wife. There are also two by Le Plongeon and **an important, previously unpublished group of twenty-two photographs by Maler**, fully credited. The most elaborate drawings as published (based on Seler's material and drawings and photographs by others) are signed by Wilhelm von den Steinem, and most of the other drawings are consistent with his hand.

Seler's other publications make massive contributions to our understanding of ancient Mexican culture, most notably in the interpretation of imagery. However, this text **is almost entirely descriptive, impressively so**. Presumably as a result of this, in several extensive accounts of Seler's career and publications, this monumental work is not mentioned. If he considered this type of study worthy of his time and effort we should acknowledge it, especially as it has proved to be impressively accurate and records information no longer visible. All 133 illustrations in this publication are reproduced on this web site.

Seler, Eduard

"Die Ruinen von Uxmal". *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. Vol. XLVII (1915): 429-432. Berlin.

Seler, Eduard Georg

"Ueber einige ältere Systeme in den Ruinen von Uxmal". *Proceedings of the 18th International Congress of Americanists*: 220-235. London, 1912.

Sepúlveda y Herrera, María Teresa

"Eduard Georg Seler". *La antropología en México: panorama histórico: 11. Los protagonistas (Nájera-Yurchenco)*. Coordinado del volumen, Linda Odena Güemes. Coordinador general Carlos Garcia Mora. Colección Bibliotheca del INAH. México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1987-88.

A detailed, chronological **survey of Seler's life and career**. The author stresses the importance of Seler's early study of mathematics, natural science, and linguistics, as a basis for his later work on the ancient Americas, and specifies 6 areas of Seler's major achievements: (1) studies of writing and the Maya calendar; (2) paleography, translations of commentary and texts in native languages; (3) interpretation of documents, pictographs and codices, religious; and (4) ethnohistorical studies of cultural synthesis. Astonishingly, there is **no mention of Seler's major 1917 volume, *Die Ruinen von Uxmal***. No doubt the author did not consider it theoretical enough.

Spinden, Herbert J.

"The Stephens Sculptures from Yucatan". *Natural History: The Journal of the American Museum*. Vol. 20, No. 4 (Sept.-Oct. 1920): 378-389.

Photographs of the 2 Kabah doorjambs described in this article are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/kabah/Kabah-RedHands.htm>

This is the most informed and detailed account of the 6 major sculptures removed from Uxmal and Kabah by Stephens and Catherwood in 1841, the so-called “Stephens stones”. Spinden first gives a brief account of Stephens’ remarkably productive professional life with a history of the Stephens stones. He notes that they had recently [1919] become a part of the collection at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, having been for 80 years in the private family collection of John Church Cruger, to whom they had been given by Stephens.

There are a number of detailed observations about these sculptures, unpublished elsewhere, in this eminently informed article by the curator in charge of the collection at the Museum. These include the only detailed description of the 2 carved doorjambs from Kabah, easily the most important pieces among the Stephens stones. Reproduced side-by-side with a photograph of one of the jambs (not both as stated in the text, p. 385) and the print from Catherwood’s summary drawing of it is a more informative drawing by John Held Jr., carefully studied from the original jamb. Spinden notes that “Each [jamb] consists of two separate stones, as indicated in the engravings. In each the upper stone is one foot five inches high, and the lower one four feet six inches, and both are two feet three inches wide” (p. 385). He notes also that the top portion of one of the jambs had been lost and has been restored. He describes the figures on each jamb as a warrior standing over a kneeling warrior or vanquished chief and notes that the standing figures are uncharacteristically slender in Maya sculpture. Spinden provides an unusually careful description of each figure, noting that the standing figures have nose plugs, which accounts for the seemingly long noses in the less studied Catherwood drawings.

Describing the mask from the façade of the East Building of the Nunnery, Uxmal, Spinden notes that it is “made up of several stones carefully mortised together by the pin and dowel method” (p. 380), and that “the built-up head with headdress . . . may contain parts from the other two heads [that had fallen from the façade], especially since some of the joints do not fit properly” (p. 383). He writes also that “It is possible that the crevices in this composite ornament were filled in with plaster, and that the whole was painted in bright colors” [almost certainly true]. Curatorial information of this type is extremely rare in publication on Maya art.

There are 3 photographs of the 3 Uxmal facades from which some of the sculptures came. There are 7 photographs of the 6 Stephens sculptures, including an especially informative one of the mask from the East Building of the Nunnery.

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Stenger, Erich

"Aus der Frühgeschichte der Photographie: Désiré Charnay". *Camera* (Lucerne) Vol. 8 (May-June 1930): 329-331, 397-399.

Stephens, John L.; illustrations by Frederick Catherwood

Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841 (many later editions: first German edition 1854; Dover paperback, English, 2 vols., 1969)

Catherwood's illustrations of Uxmal and map of their "journey in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan" are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-41Stephens.htm>

Stephens and Catherwood were the first to conduct fairly comprehensive explorations of ancient Central American ruins and the first to provide detailed, remarkably accurate reports. At the end of their expedition in 1841, they visited Uxmal for the first time and immediately added it to the end of their two-volume publication that year. They were fortunate to find the site fully cleared of vegetation because the area had recently been burned to clear it for planting corn. The 18 pages of text and 4 illustrations of Uxmal are the only descriptions of Puuc region sites in their 1841 publication (pp. 413-414, 420-435). In contrast, their two volume 1843 publication, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, based on later visits and more extended study, devotes more than half of volume 1 to the Puuc region, with 47 illustration of Uxmal, Kabah, Sayil and Labná.

Both Stephens' text and Catherwood's drawings in their 1841 and 1843 publication are **descriptive rather than interpretive or imaginative and are justly famous for their remarkable accuracy.**

Stephens, John L.; illustrations by Frederick Catherwood

Incidents of Travel in Yucatan, illustrated by 120 engraving. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843 (many later reprintings and editions, including a Dover paperback, 2 vols., 1963).

Catherwood's illustrations of Uxmal, Kabah, Sayil, and Labná and maps are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Stephens.htm>

Two years after the successful 1841 publication of his two volume *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, Stephens returned to the Yucatan and again immediately authored this 2-volume publication. As on his previous expedition, he was accompanied by the draughtsman, Frederick Catherwood. The earlier publication on Central America included only 4 illustrations of Puuc region sites, all of Uxmal. This later publication on the Yucatan was illustrated by 120 engravings (47 of Uxmal, Kabah, Sayil, and Labná), including ground plans based on measurements by Stephens, and two spectacular fold-out panoramas of the facades of the Governor's House, Uxmal, and the Great Palace, Labná by Catherwood. As has been noted by many authors, these prints are remarkable for their coverage and accuracy, far in advance of most other graphic recording at the time and still of use in the study of these sites. Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed that Catherwood's drawings were always accurate. For example, in the print of the main façade of the East Building of the Nunnery (Vol. I, facing p. 306), most of the doorways are clearly too narrow (cf. Charnay's photograph taken ca. 17 years later).

In an extended description of their recording procedure, Stephens writes: "Mr. Catherwood made minute architectural drawings of the whole [of the House of the Governor, Uxmal], and has in his possession the materials for erecting a building exactly like it; and I would remark that, as on our former expedition, he made all his drawings with the camera lucida, for the purpose of obtaining the utmost accuracy of proportion and detail. Besides which, we had with us a Daguerreotype apparatus, the best that could be procured in New-York, with which, immediately on our arrival at Uxmal, Mr., Catherwood began taking views; but the results were not sufficiently perfect to suit his ideas. At times the projecting cornices and ornaments threw parts of the subject in shade, while others were in broad sunshine; so that, which parts were brought out well, other parts required pencil drawings to supply their defects. They gave a general idea of the character of the buildings, but would not do to put into the hands of the engraver without copying the views on paper, and introducing the defective parts, which would require more labour than that of making at once complete drawings. He therefore completed everything with his pencil and camera lucida, while Doctor Cabot and myself took up the Daguerreotype; and, in order to ensure the utmost accuracy, the Daguerreotype views were placed with the drawings in the hands of the engravers for their guidance" (Vol. I, pp.174-175).

Correspondingly, Stephens' text is straightforward, detailed and accurate, with little attempt at imaginative interpretation. He includes not only his own descriptions of the ruins and their surroundings but also reports of local people regarding such things as portions of buildings that had collapsed in the recent past and the recent rediscovery, clearing out and repair of the largest aguada near Uxmal. Their four volumes immediately became best sellers and have gone through many editions and reprintings, helping to develop a broad audience for archaeology. Moreover, the straightforward, detailed and accurate descriptions of sites in Stephens' text and Catherwood's drawings compare favorably with the finest archeological studies at the

time anywhere in the world and are universally credited with laying the foundation for Maya archaeology. Theirs was an altogether remarkable achievement.

On their 1843 trip, Catherwood **used a camera lucida** as an aid in delineating the architecture. When using a camera lucida, the draftsman looks through a prism at the subject in front of him, which he wishes to draw. The prism casts a virtual image of the subject downward onto a sheet of paper, which the draftsman attempts to trace. The purpose is to achieve an exact delineation. In practice, this requires a very steady eye and precise hand.

George Kubler reports that: “Stephens’s role was to prepare the objects for ‘Mr. C’ to draw by ‘scrubbing and cleaning, and erecting the scaffold for the camera lucida’ (reducing prism). Catherwood ‘made the outline of all the drawings on paper divided in regular sections, to preserve the utmost accuracy of proportion.’ For publication those engraved on wood were eventually discarded as unsatisfactory and reengaged on steel with corrections by Catherwood” (Kubler, pp. 127-128).

One of the important illustrations in this publication is **an 1842 copy of a map of Mani, dated 1557**. In the map, Mani is in the center, with over 15 other communities radiating out on all sides. All of these communities are indicated by buildings with crosses, except for Uxmal, near the bottom, indicated by a Maya façade (Vol. 2, opp. p. 264). This shows that Uxmal was well known at the time but was not a Spanish community.

T

Thompson, J. Eric

“The Elephant Heads in the Waldeck Manuscripts”. *Scientific Monthly*. Vol. 25, No. 5 (Nov. 1927): 392-398.

A description of two competing ideas about Maya art. The first, the **diffusionist theory**, claims that “a cultural trait is only invented once in the history of the world” (p. 393) and that, therefore, the fact that Maya art shares characteristics with much earlier art in cultures on other continents proves that these characteristics descended from these earlier cultures, through some type of migration or influence. The second idea is that such characteristics could be **home grown**, not influenced by much older cultures on other continents. To introduce this comparison, Thompson reproduces and describes 2 of Waldeck’s previously unpublished drawings which include elephant heads. Strangely, Thompson does not evaluate Waldeck’s evidence or the competing theories.

Tozzer, Alfred M.

“Stephens, and Prescott, Bancroft and Others” *Los Mayas Antiguos: Monografías de Arqueología, Etnografía y Lingüística Mayas, publicadas con motivo del Centenario de la*

Exploración de Yucatán por John L. Stephens y Frederick Catherwood en los años 1841-42. 33-60. México [D.F.]: El Colegio de México, 1941.

V

Viollet-le-Duc, [Eugene Emmanuel]

“Antiquités Américaines”. Charnay, *Cités et ruines américaines: Mitla, Palenqué, Izamal, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal, receuillies et photographiés par Désiré Charnay, avec un texte par M Viollet-le-Duc*, 3-80. Paris: Gide Éditeur, A Morel et C, 1862-1863 (a Spanish translation, side-by-side with the original French, was published in *Ciudades de Luz*, by Désiré Charnay and Viollet-Le-Duc, introduction by Guillermo Tovar de Teresa; México: Grupo Financiero del Sureste, 1993; 13-80).

The drawings and map of Uxmal accompanying Viollet-le-Duc’s article are reproduced on this web site.

<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Charnay-1.htm>

Viollet-le-Duc’s essay was published as part of the 1863 text volume of Charnay’s classic *Cités et ruines américaines*. Viollet-le-Duc’s account was **based primarily on photographs, drawings, and notes provided by Charnay, though the interpretation is his own and heavily influenced by writers other than Charnay**. At least 1 of the 3 drawings in the section on Uxmal must have been drawn by him, probably all 3. Viollet-le-Duc describes research of the Americas by previous authors and explorers, like them drawing analogies between the architecture and sculpture of Mexico and that of cultures in Egypt, India, China and Japan, and Europe. **As had other authors, he claims that the art and architecture of Pre-Columbian Meso-America are based on foreign prototypes**.

He then describes the ruins of Izamal, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal, Palenque, and Mitla, providing a section of 12 short pages on the ruins of Uxmal. Here he describes Charnay’s photographs of Uxmal and, more importantly, includes 3 drawings with descriptive and interpretive text (pp. 61-72). Figure 8 is **the first published map of Uxmal**, obviously either by Charnay or based on his notes. The major buildings and a few altars and cisterns are identified on the map by letters and, in Viollet-le-Duc’s text, named and briefly described.

In **the most revealing section of his description**, Viollet-le-Duc writes:

“Let us take a moment to examine this interior façade of the building marked K [Nunnery East Building]. Here, the tradition of construction with wooden piers and interposed openwork is evident. Moreover, underneath the masonry, the lintels of these square doors are made of wood. . . . Between the two columns projecting from the base that simulate supporting framework beams, the architect placed a series of juxtaposed wooden beams. **No doubt this was meant to recall primitive wooden buildings of the people of mixed white and yellow descent** that consisted first of a

corbelled arrangement timbers stacked in such a way as to leave large spaces at their base. These spaces were then closed off by lattices that suggest openwork.

In order that these stacked structures, which are still in use in regions where yellow and white races are intermixed, are clearly understood, it is useful to have a diagram of this primitive work of carpentry.

In figure 9, A represents columns or interior walls. At the top of these stacks lay the first pieces of wood, B, onto which cross beams are interlocked at right angles, C. Another layer of beams B' are parallel to B; then a second layer of corbelled crossbars is stacked, C'. This method of construction creates vertical partitions directly above the bearing walls that incline in the direction of the openings and support the beam D, into which crossbars are inserted. If we were to fit lintel E between the two piers, yet set deeper than the front section of BB', and then lay trellis upon these lintels, we would have a primitive wooden structure, which was obviously the guiding decorative principle of the stone facades of the edifice (plate XXXIX) [Plate 39 is Charnay's photo of the north-west corner and façade of the East Building of the Nunnery]. But this primitive construction method was not understood by the artists who erected these facades: we will notice that these wooden corbels are arranged haphazardly over walls and openings alike" (pp. 64-66).

Figure 10 is a plan of the south end of the East Building, showing the shape of the vault in one of the back rooms. About this Viollet-le-Duc writes (in translation):

"we can see in figure 10, giving a portion of the layout of the building, that the inclined walls of the room are arranged parallel to the opposite walls, as indicated by section G, rather than perpendicular to these walls. While this tradition of wooden construction was conserved at Uxmal, it functioned only as decoration, which indicates a long artistic era between the tradition's origin and the construction of these edifices" (p. 66).

von Hagen, Victor Wolfgang

Frederick Catherwood, archt.. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.

An early survey of the life of Frederick Catherwood, based partly on previously unpublished correspondence. Although only a few pages are given to his work in the Puuc region, the book puts this and all other aspects of Catherwood's professional career in the context of his entire life and times. Von Hagen includes the full text of Catherwood's "Introduction" to his *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatán* (1844) and reproduces 8 of the plates of Uxmal (1 also in color), 2 of Kabah and 1 of Labná, all grey-scale. Most importantly, 2 of Catherwood's original sepia drawings of Uxmal are reproduced, though weakly (plates 12 and 13).

von Hagen, Victor Wolfgang

Frederick Catherwood, Architect-Explorer of Two Worlds. Barre, MA: Barre Publishers, 1968.

A much-reduced version of the same author's 1950 *Frederick Catherwood, archt.*

von Hagen, Victor Wolfgang

Maya Explorer: John Lloyd Stephens and the Lost Cities of Central America and Yucatán. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948 (paperback edition Chronicle Books, San Francisco, 1990).

An early account of the life of John Lloyd Stephens, based partly on previously unpublished correspondence. Includes an account of his explorations of the Puuc region, most notably Uxmal, with Frederick Catherwood, and of the remarkable success of their two publications, *Incidents of Travel in Central America* (1841) and *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (1843). These are presented in the context of Stephens' entire life and times. Includes a brief chronology of Stephens' life and bibliography of reviews etc. used by the author in research for this book. There are 7 illustrations of Puuc sites, including an aerial photograph of Uxmal.

von Hagen, Victor Wolfgang

"Waldeck". *Natural History*, Vol. 55 (Dec. 19 ?): 450-456.

W

Waldeck, Frédéric de

Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dan la province d'Yucatan (Amérique Centrale), pendant les années 1834 et 1836, par Frédéric de Waldeck, dédié a la Mémoire de Le Vicomte de Kingsborough. Paris: Bellizard Dufour et Co; Londres, J. et W. Boone, Bossages Barthes et Lowell, 1838 (for description of the two 1838 versions, see annotation below)

1930 Spanish edition: *Viaje pintoresco y arqueológico a la provincia de Yucatán (América Central) durante los años 1834 y 1836, por Federico de Waldeck ... Traducción y prólogo del dr. Manuel Mestre Ghigliazza; editor, Carlos R. Menéndez, Merida: Compañía tipográfica yucateca, s.a., 1930.*

1930 Italian edition.

1996 Spanish edition: *Viaje pintoresco y arqueológico a la Provincia de Yucatán, 1834 y 1836.* Trans. Manuel Mestre Ghigliazza. "Presentation" Hernán Menéndez Rodríguez. México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996.

1997 Spanish edition: *Viaje pintoresco y arqueológico a la Provincia de Yucatán, 1834 y 1836.* "Prologo" Miguel Leon-Portilla. México: Servicios Condumex, S.A. de C.V., Centro de Estudios de Historia de México Condumex, Núm. 186.

All of Waldeck's images of Uxmal in this book are reproduced on this web site.
<http://academic.reed.edu/uxmal/galleries/thumbnails/drawings/Drawings-Waldeck.htm>

The original 1838 French edition was published in two slightly different forms, with the same text and illustrations. One form, an extremely elegant version, had a slightly larger binding, making it possible for the fold-out plates to be folded once instead of with two folds as in the slightly smaller version. In both versions, the Yucatan map plate includes some color, but 4 of the plates in the more elegant version were in rich color whereas the same 4 plates were without color in the slightly smaller binding.

The plates constitute by far the most important section of this lavishly produced folio volume. There are 22 large prints on pages 22-1/32 x ca. 16 inches. Three of the pages are 22 1/32 x ca. 32 inch foldouts. Accompanying the plates are 18 pages of text identifying and describing the images. A number of the plates represent Yucatan men and women. All but one of the architectural plates are of Uxmal, representing the Pyramid of the Magician and the Nunnery Quadrangle (the other plate represents Palenque). The Turtles, a portion of the Governor's Palace and other structures are noted on Waldeck's Uxmal map. This was the first publication to include illustrations of Maya architecture and sculpture, and as such served as an impetus for the pursuit of Maya culture until the vastly more informative and accurate publications by Stephens and Catherwood 3 and 5 years later.

Waldeck's publication is a mixed bag. Because he often presented false information about his own life, and because his interpretations of archaeological evidence in both text and illustrations are often speculative, scholars have largely criticized the accuracy of Waldeck's prints and his descriptions of them. For examples, in his excellent *History of Mexican Archaeology*, Ignacio Bernal, then Director of the National Museum of Anthropology, wrote: "his book had its part to play in the general flow of interest towards the Maya remains, along with his very beautiful drawings which were yet, archaeology speaking, so highly inaccurate" (p. 119).

But many of Waldeck's drawings are quite accurate and, in a few cases, provide more informative details of the Nunnery than in any of Catherwood's prints. Comparing his recreation of a section of the façade of the West Building of the Nunnery (plate 13) with the 1843 world-class print after Catherwood, representing the small, then existing portion (Vol. 1, p. 302), Waldeck's print appears reasonably accurate for the portions still existing when Catherwood drew them. His drawing of a large portion of this façade is especially important because Stephens reported that he was told by the proprietor of the local hacienda "that in 1835 the whole front stood, and the two serpents were seen encircling every ornament in the buildings" (Vol. 1, p. 198). We cannot assume that his drawing of the portions that had fallen were accurate, but the areas that remained when photographed by Charnay in 1859-60 are reasonably accurate in Waldeck's print. Likewise, his drawings of the courtyard facades of the East and South Buildings, which were relatively well preserved and therefore did not require much imaginative reconstruction, are reasonably accurate. His detail of a section of the courtyard façade of the East Building, which has been well preserved, is an impressive print and the most informative until Le Plongeon's photograph 25 years later.

The generalized contrast made by Bernal and other scholars between archaeology and art is oversimplified and misunderstands Waldeck's intentions. He was not attempting primarily to make beautiful drawings. Two distinctions must be made about the text and images in Waldeck's volume. First, it is **important to distinguish between the descriptive aspects of Waldeck's text and images of Uxmal and, on the other hand, his interpretations of this evidence.** In describing each of the prints, he often provides detailed information, including measurements, and comments such as (in translation) "The colors that the buildings were painted, in the past, are blue, red, yellow, and white. There can be found in some places visible traces of these different shades; especially in the back of the carvings where the rain has not been able to penetrate, they are perfectly apparent" (p. 223).

Most importantly, in evaluating Waldeck's images, it is **important to distinguish between drawings that are intended primarily to record visible evidence of buildings as they appeared when Waldeck drew them, comparable to the drawings of Catherwood, and, on the otherhand, drawings which are intended to suggest how they might have looked when new.** Where facades were well preserved, Waldeck had sufficient evidence and his drawings and detailed descriptions are reasonably accurate. But where parts of facades had collapsed, details are missing, and stone carvings badly worn, he has attempted to suggest how they might have looked. Thus, he speculated that the tumbled down pile of the Pyramid of the Magician originally had four sloping sides, comparable to Egyptian pyramids. He drew carvings with the sharp edges more representative of newly carved stone, and, in his few color plates, filled in the largely missing color.

Some of these, such as his famous drawings and descriptions of caryatids on Temple V of the Pyramid of the Magician, are not only highly speculative, but **seem deliberately falsified.** The remaining fragments of these figure as they exist today, which were seen by Waldeck, though small, clearly disagree with his imaginative reconstructions of them. Yet Waldeck writes: "I was very surprised to find in these caryatid figures a drawing so correct, especially in the lower part, that after having recomposed and drawn one of the statues . . ." (p. 222). These and a few other of Waldeck's drawings are not justified even as speculative reconstructions, and warn us to view all of his drawings with caution. But they do not justify wholesale rejection of the information recorded in his drawings and descriptions of them.

We should note also that he demonstrates an early concern for preservation. About several masks fallen from the façade of the Nunnery's East Building, he wrote (in translation): "the masks will not be lost for travelers who come to visit these ruins after me. They will be found in a pile and covered with earth in the second room of the north side where I had the precaution to deposit them" (p. 244, 246).

The excellent prologue, by Miguel Leon-Portilla, to the 1997 Spanish translation, is separately listed and annotated in this web bibliography.

