

An Oxkintok Region Vessel: An Analysis of the Hieroglyphic Texts

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The subject of this essay is a tall fluted ceramic vessel of unknown provenance (Figure 1). The body of the vessel has a large incised panel containing a double-column hieroglyphic text of ten collocations. Along the rim a dedicatory formula consisting of fourteen collocations has been incised. A specific compound in both the panel text and the rim text provides clues to associate this vessel with the region in which the important archaeological site of Oxkintok (Yucatan,

Mexico) is located (Figure 2).1

¹ Recently a new digital map in PDF of the Maya area was posted on the web. This map was produced by Clifford T. Brown (Florida Atlantic University) and Walter R. T. Witschey (Science Museum of Virginia) as part of the project "The Electronic Atlas of Ancient Maya Sites." The map, in three sizes and resolutions, can be found at http://mayagis.smv.org/maps_of_the_maya_area.htm.



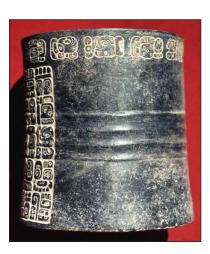








Figure 1. The Oxkintok Region Vessel (photographs courtesy Donald Hales, not to be reproduced without written permission)

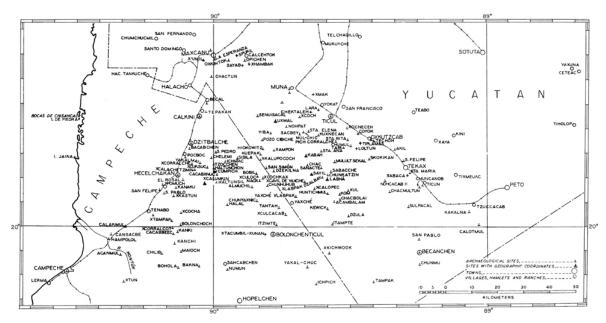


Figure 2. Map of the Puuc Area (from Pollock 1980:Frontispiece).

The site of Oxkintok is located just southeast of the present-day town of Maxcanú. Oxkintok is known for its monumental architecture, notably a building known locally as the Satunsat (an Early Classic architectural labyrinth) (e.g., Rivera Dorado 1995), and a substantially sized but fragmentary inscriptional record. This inscriptional record encompasses some 16 lintels and 26 stelae, most of which are now illegible (several remained uncarved). Hieroglyphic texts can also be found on columns, capital stones, stucco fragments, altars, and a ballcourt ring.² These texts at Oxkintok provide some of the

earliest dates for the Yucatan peninsula. Lintels 1

² The hieroglyphic corpus of Oxkintok is discussed in several earlier studies. Pollock (1980) illustrates the then-known corpus, while Proskouriakoff (1950) discusses some of the most important stelae and their chronological placements. During the period 1986-1991 the Misión Arqueológica de España en México conducted archaeological research at the site, resulting in four monographs on the site (1987, 1989, 1990, 1992) as well as more general overviews (e.g., Cristo 1991; Rivera Dorado 1996). Various articles in the four monographs described (part of) the hieroglyphic corpus at Oxkintok in detail (García Campillo 1992; García Campillo and Lacadena 1987, 1989, 1990; Lacadena 1992; Pablo Aguilera 1990).

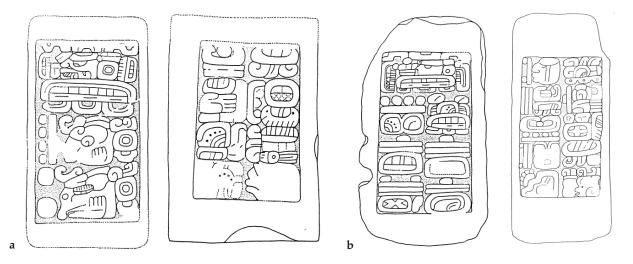


Figure 3. The earliest dates at Oxkintok: (a) Lintels 1 and 2; (b) Lintels 11 and 13 (drawings after García Campillo and Lacadena 1990:Figs. 1-4).

and 2 combined provide a date of 9.2.x.x.x in AD 475-494, while Lintels 11 and 13 combined provide a date of 9.2.11.16.17 in AD 487 (Figure 3).³

Some important epigraphic details from the Oxkintok inscriptional record will be discussed below in this essay, after the analysis of the hieroglyphic texts on the vessel.

The unprovenanced blackware ceramic vessel has a height of 21 cm and a diameter of 19 cm. At the top and the bottom this fluted vessel is wider than in the middle. In the middle there are three bands, which are slightly raised from the surface. As suggested in previous short descriptions of this vessel (e.g., Sotheby's 2004:222), the shape of the vessel seemingly is close to the shape of an architectural column or colonnette, specifically a bound column or colonnette as known from the Puuc area in western Yucatan and northern Campeche.⁴ Along the rim there is an incised dedicatory formula consisting of fourteen collocations, while the body of the vessel contains a large vertical incised rectangular panel with a double-column hieroglyphic text consisting of ten collocations.

The analysis of the hieroglyphic texts on this vessel opens with the rim text. Some of the signs employed in the text are (at present) unique to this vessel (Figure 4):

Α	'a[la?]-LAY?	alay
	STAR.OVER.SKY-ja	CVC-aj
	yi-chi-ya	yichiy
	yu-xu?-li	grang
	'u-k'i?-b'i	yuxul(?) uk'ib'
Eb	tzi-hi?	tzih(?)
	ch'o-ko-sa-ja-la	ch'ok sajal
	'u-ki-ti	,
Н	mu?-ji	ukit muj(il)(?)
	'u-MAM?-ma	umam(?)
J	THREE.STONES?-'AJAW-wa	(?) ajaw
K	wa?-sa-ja-la	wa' sajal
L	?-HAB'-li?	(?) hab'il
M	ch'o-ko-7-PET?	ch'ok huk pet(?)
N	SAK?-'u?[NAL]	sakunal(?)

The dedicatory formula opens with a collocation 'a-LAY?. The prefixed syllabic sign 'a may even contain an infixed sign la; if correct, this collocation should be transcribed 'a[la?]-LAY?.⁵ The main sign of this collocation is common to a group of ceramics, which since Michael Coe's 1973 seminal study of Classic Maya ceramics is known as Chochola-Maxcanu. It is probably an allograph for the regular "mirror" and "G1" main signs as known from dedicatory formulae of the Southern Maya Lowland region. The collocation spelled 'a-LAY? or

'a[la?]-LAY? leads to a transliteration *alay*, which has the meaning of "here; this one" (Boot 2003a, 2003b, 2005d; MacLeod and Polyukhovich 2005).

The dedicatory text or formula continues with a complex composite sign group, which as its main sign has a STAR.OVER.SKY sign. The subfixed circular elements to both STAR.OVER.SKY and **ja** are only ornamental. This sign (group) is also known from the so-called Chochola ceramic group

³ The 9.2.x.x.x date ("x" means "unknown") contained in the inscriptions on Lintel 1 (opening part) and 2 (closing part) may have included a third inscription in between, on a lintel now lost. This I base on the fact that the "Patron of the Month" is Pax (Lintel 1) and the solitary-occurring length of the month as 30 days (Lintel 2) while no month name occurs. If 9.2.x.x.x would have been a truncated Initial Series 9.2.0.0.0 date (see main text of this essay on the concept of a "truncated" Initial Series), the "Patron of the Month" would have been Woh (as *9.2.0.0.0 falls on 4 Ajaw 13 Woh). Additionally, a solitary-occurring month-length indication ("Glyph 10A," i.e. "30 [days]") does not make sense. Both these facts are thus indicative of the existence of a third, now lost, middle lintel text.

⁴A definition and description of the Puuc area can be found in Pollock (1980:1). The vessel that is the subject of this essay has been auctioned three times (Emmerich Gallery 1984:Cat. No. 40 [unsold]; Sotheby's 1985 [Lot No. 86] and 2004 [Lot No. 290]). The descriptions in these publications identify the vessel as a fluted ceramic vessel comparable to (bound) columns or colonnettes found in the Puuc area. The vessel has been the property of Cedric Marks, Peter G. Wray, and "an American Institution" before it passed to its present owners.

⁵ The syllabic sign for **la** in this example consists of only one of the small, commonly paired T-shaped elements (compare to T139, T254 [subfix], and T360). The employing of a single T-shaped element to represent the syllable la can be found in Early Classic inscriptions (e.g., Tikal Stela 31, Back: C17) as well as Terminal Classic inscriptions (e.g., Halakal Lintel, Underside: A6). This is not the only Initial Sign in which the syllabic sign la would be infixed into or superimposed onto the syllabic sign for 'a. One example can be found on a polychrome painted ceramic vessel in a private collection (T534 la infixed into the prefixed T228/229 'a sign) (not illustrated). Other examples can be found on a polychrome painted ceramic vessel at the Rietberg Museum (inventory no. RMA 314; left, Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht 1992:Cat. No. 83 [p. 395]; right, Haberland 1971:Cat. No. 62 [p. 177]) and Kerr No. 1211 (left, rollout as posted at Justin Kerr's Maya Vase Data Base; right, Coe 1981:No. 58 [p. 105]) (Boot 2005d):





Rietberg Museum





Kerr No. 1211



Figure 4. Detailed images of the dedicatory text on the Oxkintok Region Vessel (photographs courtesy Donald Hales, not to be reproduced without written permission).

(e.g., Kerr No. 2774).⁶ It remains however without a solid decipherment (to represent the root in transliteration I have chosen the abbreviation CVC). The final **-ja** of this composite sign group is indicative of the fact that a passive form of an active (or derived) transitive verb was recorded (as such, CVC-*aj* as transliteration).⁷

The collocation at position C can be transcribed yi-chi-ya. Within the context of the dedicatory formula this is a most enigmatic collocation. This collocation is related to the more regular spellings ji-chi and yi-chi as found in other dedicatory formulae. As noted by Justeson and Kaufman, ji-chi seemed to follow after a collocation that ended in -aj, while **yi-chi** seemed to follow after a collocation that ended in -Vy. In 2002 Kaufman suggested that possibly an -ich suffix (from proto-Mayan *-ik) was involved with the meaning "already" (Stuart 2005:153). However, there are several examples in which this suggested correlation is not present. This is for instance the case in the text on the ceramic vessel under discussion; the collocation spells yi-chi-ya, perhaps leading to yichiy, while the preceding verb ends in -aj. A vessel in an Australian private collection contains the sequence ji?-chi-ya 'UH-k'i?-b'i for jichiy uk'ib' (Figure 5a), while a bowl in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts contains the sequence **yi-chi-li ja-yi** for *yichil jay* (Figure 5b).8

Perhaps the solution to the function of **yi-chi-ya** lies in the next two collocations. At position D one can find the sequence **yu-xu?-li**, while at position Ea the sequence **'u-k'i?-b'i** can be found. Possibly the sequence **yi-chi-ya yu-xu?-li 'u-k'i?-b'i** leads to a transliteration of *yichiy yuxul*(?) *uk'ib'* in which *yichiy* operates as an independent and possessed noun and in which *yuxul*(?) would modify the noun *uk'ib'* "drink-instrument." Thus *yuxul*(?) *uk'ib'* would mean "(it is) the/his *uxul*(?)

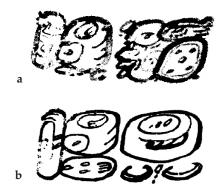


Figure 5. (a) The sequence ji?-chi-ya 'UH-k'i?-b'i on an unprovenanced vessel (after Stuart 2005:148); (b) the sequence yi-chi-la ja-yi on an unprovenanced vessel at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (after Stuart 2005:153).

drink-instrument." The collocation **yu-xu?-li** is a variant of a collocation which is found on ceramic

⁶ Chochola-style ceramics were first identified, illustrated, and described by Coe (1973). More in-depth studies of the Chochola ceramic style, its provenience, iconography, and visual narrative themes can be found in Tate (1985) and Ardren (1996).

⁷ Within the abbreviation CVC the letter C stands for "consonant," while V stands for "yowel." The descriptive identification of the main sign as STAR.OVER.SKY is just that, a description of the fact that a STAR sign is placed OVER a SKY sign. It has no connection to the STAR.OVER.SHELL or STAR.OVER.EARTH signs, which are related to warfare (recent proposals on the decipherment of those signs include ch'ay- [Zender], hay- [Boot], tz'ay-/tz'oy- [Lacadena], and uk'- [Chinchilla], with ch'ay- being a most likely candidate). Although I have not been able to gather sufficient epigraphic evidence yet, it is my estimation that the STAR.OVER.SKY logogram is an allograph of the common FLAT.HAND and as such may simply read **K'AL**. I find corroboration of my estimation in examples of the K'AL sign at Tzocchen (Pollock 1980:Figure 778), the STAR.OVER.SKY at Xcalumkin (Graham and Von Euw 1992:176, Column 4), and the MIRROR.OVER. SKY on Kerr No. 1775:







Tzocchen

Xcalumkin

K1775

In the example from Tzocchen the FLAT.HAND sign for K'AL is superfixed with a STAR sign, instead of the more common MIRROR sign, and suffixed with -la-ja. Interestingly, a non-Chochola vessel (Kerr No. 1775) contains a collocation MIRROR.OVER.SKY-ja, suggesting that MIRROR and STAR can simply substitute for each other (other signs that can substitute for it include SUN, SUN.AND.STONE, and T110var [non-Chochola]). In the example from Xcalumkin the STAR.OVER.SKY logogram is suffixed with -la-ja, in which the suffixed -la may be a partial phonetic complement providing the final -*l* of the word spelled by the STAR.OVER. SKY sign (thus K'AL?). The active transitive verb root k'almeans, among others, "to wrap; to bind; to enclose" but also "to present." The -ai suffix is a thematic suffix identifying passives (the passive form would actually be k'a[h]l-aj, see Lacadena 2004; the preconsonantal [h] is not bound by a spelling principle).

⁸ The bowl in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston has the inventory number 1988.1264 and the Maya Survey number MS1839. A rollout photograph can be found in Stuart 2005 on page 153. The pertinent detail **yi-chi-li** can already be identified in the first photograph of the object as published by Robicsek and Hales (1981:Table 3E). Interestingly a Chochola vessel illustrated by Tate (1985:Figure 6) also contains the spelling **yi-chi-ya** (text horizontally reversed, only partly illustrated):









... yi-chi-ya

yu-xu?

lu-li

'u-ja-yi ...

vessels when these are incised or carved.⁹ This phenomenon was first identified by Stuart (1986, 1989, 2005). The resulting <code>yuxul(?)</code> perhaps can be paraphrased as "(it is) the carved" The phrase <code>yuxul(?)</code> <code>uk'ib'</code> is close to the sequence <code>ji?-chi-ya'UH-k'i?-b'i</code> or <code>jichiy uk'ib'</code> on the Australian vessel. In the transliteration <code>jichiy uk'ib'</code> it is <code>jichiy</code> that seems to modify the noun <code>uk'ib'.¹¹</code> These examples are parallel to the sequence <code>yi-chi-li ja-yi</code> for <code>yichil jay</code> on the Boston Museum of Fine Arts vessel in which <code>yichil</code> seems to modify the noun <code>jay "cup"</code> (Stuart 2005:153).

The collocation at Eb can be transcribed as tzihi?. The identification of the larger T507 sign as tzi is secure (Stuart 1987:16-25); the smaller subfixed sign for hi? is but tentative.¹² The spellings ti-tzi, ti-tzi-hi, ti-tzi-hi-li (with T60var as hi), and tatzi can be found in a large selection of dedicatory formulae.¹³ In the current example, tzi-hi? stands alone; it is written without the common prepositions ti or ta (a sign [and word ti or ta "for, in, at"] which often is abbreviated in Maya inscriptions [Stuart and Houston 1994:14-18]) nor does it modify a following noun such as kakaw (compare to Stuart 2005:143-144). The K'iche'an language provides tzi as a word for soaked corn kernels (Stuart 2005:144), a word of the same meaning exists in Achi' (tzi) (ALMG 2001a) and Sakapulteko (tzey) (ALMG 2001b). 14 Possibly that is what is meant when tzih is found independent of kakaw.

In sum the first part of this dedicatory formula may thus be transliterated and paraphrased as alay CVC-aj yichiy yuxul(?) uk'ib' tzih or "here/this one here was (dedicated?), (it is) yichiy, (it is) the carved(?) drink-instrument (for) tzih."

The collocations at positions F-H provide the title and nominal phrase of the owner or patron of this vessel. At F one can find the collocation ch'o-ko-sa-ja-la for ch'ok sajal, in which ch'ok is a modifying adjective for "young; unripe; emergent" to the noun sajal "local leader." 15 At G and H one can find the sequence 'u-ki-ti mu?**ji** for ukit muj or ukit muj(il). The part ukit or u-kit is a common component of nominal phrases in Yucatan; note for instance Ukit Koy(i') ('u-ki-ti ko-yi; unprovenanced vessel, Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichen Itza), Ukit [?] ('u-ki-ti [?]; Altar 10, Uxmal), Ukit Hix(?) ('u-ki-ti HIX?; unprovenanced jade plaque, Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichen Itza), and Ukit Kanlek Tok' (e.g., 'u-ki-ti 4-le-ku to-TOK'; West Serpent, Structure 1, Ek' Balam). In Yucatec Maya *kit* is a referential term for father (Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980:321), but probably it has a more general meaning as "patron" (Boot 2005a:322, 324-332; Grube 1994:324). The meaning of muj or muj(il)

remains unknown, especially as the identification of the syllabic sign as **mu** is still tentative. The sign

⁹ On Kerr No. 2774 this expression can also be found spelled yu-xu?-li, but there it clearly functions as a possessed noun. On Kerr No. 8017 (now at the Kimbell Art Museum in Forth Worth; see also main text of this essay) one can find the spelling yu-xu?-lu-le and yu-xu?-lu-li, while the Akab Dzib Lintel text at Chichen Itza provides the spelling yu-xu?-li-li. Possibly yu-xu?-lu-li and yu-xu-li-li lead to yuxul(?)il (y-uxul[?]-il, 3RD.poss.pr-CARVING?-poss.SUF), while yu-xu?-lu-le leads to yuxul(?)el (y-uxul[?]-el, 3RD.poss.pv-CARVING?-poss. SUF). Inscriptions from archaeological sites on the western side of the Yucatan peninsula provide several spellings that may indicate an -el suffix instead of an -il suffix; for instance, 'u-k'a-le, 'u-tz'i-b'a-le, 'u-wo-jo-le, yo-to-che, and yu-xu?-le versus 'u-k'a-li, 'u-tz'i-b'a-li, 'u-wo-jo-li, yo-to-ti, and yuxu?-li/yu-xu?-lu-li/yu-xu?-li-li. In my opinion there is at present insufficient evidence to suggest that a final -e enclitic or topical marker was involved in these spellings (compare to Lacadena and Wichmann 2002:287-288).

¹⁰ Stuart (1986, 1989:154-155, 1995:370-371, 2005:154-157) was the first researcher to associate the "lu-BAT" collocation with incising and carving. Most recently it was MacLeod (e-mail to the author and others, October 27, 2003, leading to a short e-mail exchange in October and November of 2003) who provided a new in-depth analysis of the *uxul* root. She suggested that a pair of verbs was employed, *ul* "to gouge" and *xul* "to cut" (*uxul* from *(*h*|*j*)*ul*-*xul*). However, any of the readings of the "lu-BAT" collocation fully depend on the value of the T756a BAT.HEAD.

The meaning of yi-chi-ya remains unknown. The Chochola-style dedicatory formula illustrated in note 9 above (from Tate 1985:Figure 6) also provides the yi-chi-ya spelling in a sequence yi-chi-ya yu-xu?-lu-li 'u-ja-yi or yichiy yuxul(?)il ujay. Here the vessel type ujay is possessed and yichiy and yuxulil(?) also seem to function as possessed nouns. A host of questions thus remain. For instance, is yi-chi-ya related to yi-chi-li? If so, do the suffixes -iy and -il have the same meaning? If they are different, how are they different? And how do ji-chi, ji-chi-ya, yi-chi-ya, and yi-chi-li relate to another interpretation of jich (from *jech) as "surface" and yich as "its surface" (MacLeod 1989, 1990)? An answer to these questions has to remain for a future occasion.

¹² The short and diagonally placed dedicatory formula on Kerr No. 4477 seems to contain a similar collocation **tzi-hi?-?**. The subfixed signs on the Oxkintok-region vessel and Kerr No. 4477 are very similar. Perhaps these signs are not **hi?**, but graphic variants for **li?**. Independent of the **hi?** or **li?** value, the expression opens with **tzi**, indicative of an item *tzi(h)* (or perhaps *tzihil*).

¹³ About fifty percent of the examples of the dedicatory formula on Classic Maya ceramics that I have collected in my database (over 600 examples at present) contains the item *tzih*.

¹⁴ In addition to K'iche' and Achi' other languages belonging to the Greater K'iche'an language group have *tzi* and *tziy* for "nixtamal" or "soaked corn kernels/maíz cocido" (Kaufman 2003:1233). Sakapulteko *tzey*, as cited here, is but a phonological variant of *tziy*. A more common interpretation is to identify *tzih* as "raw, young," as first suggested by MacLeod (1990) (compare to Brown and Wichmann 2004:180, **tzeh*; Kaufman 2003:1191, **tze'h*).









Figure 6. Examples of *mam* spellings: (a) the collocation **'u-MAM?-ma** on the vessel (drawing by the author); (b) "old male head" variant of **MAM**; (c) "bird" variant of **MAM** (*b* and *c* after Stuart 2005:50), d) **'u-ma-MAM** collocation at Xcalumkin (Graham and Von Euw 1992:174)

has elements common to the **mu** syllabic sign, but the %-sign is unexpected. This part of the text thus identifies a certain Ukit Muj(il)(?) as a *ch'ok sajal* or "young, unripe, or emergent local leader." The fact that the personal name is preceded by a title is common to Classic Maya inscriptions from the Yucatan peninsula as well as the Classic ("early Colonial") Yucatecan language (Lacadena 2000).

At position I the next collocation opens with a T232 variant sign for 'u- and terminates with a subfixed syllabic sign for -ma. The main sign depicts an old male head, with the hair bound at the back of the head. Albeit it very tentative, this old male head with a subfixed (phonetic complement) -ma may be a variant of the "old male head" variant of the Classic Maya logogram for MAM (Figure 6b).¹⁷

The word *mam* has the meaning of "maternal" grandfather." Within Mayan languages this word actually has a wider range of meaning than just "grandfather." The full range includes "(maternal) grandfather, grandson, nephew; ancestor" (Kaufman 2003:113-115) (compare to Hage 2003: Table 1, Figure 2) as well as possibly "imposter, replacement" (based on Codex Dresden Pages 25-28) (compare to Stuart 1997:4-5). A similar collocation at Xcalumkin can be found with the spelling 'u-ma-MAM, in which the "bird" variant for MAM is employed (Figure 6d). It can also be found spelled as 'u?-MAM-ma, with the same "bird" variant (Xcalumkin, Lintel 1: Fragment pR). At Xcalumkin *umam* is part of a nominal phrase which can either be transliterated *umam k'awal* or umam k'a'ol (depending on the value ascribed to T504 in the collocation k'a-T504-la; compare to Boot 1996; García Campillo 1995; Grube 1994; Hull n.d). Possibly *umam* functions in a manner similar to *ukit*; a possessed relationship term is integrated into a nominal or titular phrase (compare to Colas 2004:90, a nominal phrase which can be paraphrased "[He is] The Son of K'inich"). At present it is difficult to establish which meaning of and context for *umam* was intended in the text on

the Oxkintok vessel.

The collocation at J can be transcribed THREE. STONES?-'AJAW-wa. This collocation opens with a logographic sign that seems to consist of three stones, one (elongated) placed on top of two (round) stones. This logographic sign also remains without a decipherment. The second part of this collocation is 'AJAW-wa for ajaw "king, lord." As such this collocation refers to a "three stones(?) king or lord," an important royal title in which an ajaw "king or lord" of a place known as "three

15 The item sajal is paraphrased here as "local leader," but this paraphrase does not cover the many sociopolitical, religious, and economic tasks the sajal performs at the central royal court as well as at his own court. Nor does it take into account the often-cited possible root saj "fear." A sajal can be found identified with additional titles such as (b'ah) ajaw "(first) king or lord," b'ah wayib' "first shrine-keeper(?)," yajawk'ak' "lord of fire," yajawte' "lord of the staff/warrior(?)" and aj k'uhun "worshipper(?)." This is however not the place to fully discuss the sajal, the meaning of the title, and his(/ her) position in Classic Maya sociopolitical, religious, and economical organization. In Classic Maya inscriptions the occurrence and inclusion of the sajal title is largely limited to the Western Maya area (e.g., Piedras Negras, Yaxchilan) and Northern Campeche (e.g., Xcalumkin, Xcocha, Xcombec), with only fragmentary information from other areas (e.g., north-central Yucatan, see Mopila Panel [Schele and Freidel 1990:Figure 9:9]; Tikal area, see Kerr No. 0772; Cancuen area, see new square Cancuen panel; El Zotz' area, see tall cylindrical vase found at Uaxactun [Smith 1955:Figure 72b]; Nebaj area, see Kerr No. 2352). The vessel that is the subject of this essay would extend the area in Northern Campeche towards the north to include the site of Oxkintok, Yucatan, and its direct environs. It would explain the apparent lack of the title ajaw in the surviving inscriptions at Oxkintok (although Misc. 30, a lintel, may contain a logograph for 'AJAW placed on the loincloth of the individual portrayed, see Graña-Behrens 2006:117, Figure 14f). Several Chocholastyle vessels that include references to the Oxkintok-related toponym Sakunal (García Campillo 1995:249; note the MONKEY.HEAD for 'u on Oxkintok Lintel 13: B5) contain the title sajal (e.g., Kerr Nos. 3199, 4378, The San Diego Bowl [Strupp Green 1997]), providing additional evidence that the area in which sajalob' were active has to be moved further north to include Oxkintok and its direct environs.

stones(?)" can be identified.¹⁸ If *umam* is part of a nominal or titular phrase the sequence *umam* "three stones(?)" *ajaw* may be that phrase.

The collocation at position K can be transcribed wa?-sa-ja-la or wa' sajal. The meaning of the wa' part is unknown to me; it may simply modify sajal in some unknown manner (depending on whether the identification of the sign is correct). The collocation at L can be transcribed as ?-HAB'-li. The superfixed sign remains undeciphered; it actually may be part of the logogram that contains the HAB' sign. It is somewhat reminiscent of the sign superfixed to T548 HAB' in the Classic Maya head variant of "Number 5" (Figure 7). 20

The penultimate collocation of the dedicatory formula can be found at position M. This collocation opens with ch'o-ko, which is followed by 7-T511var. The opening part **ch'o-ko** leads to *ch'ok*, either an adjective with the meaning "young, princely, emergent" (as found earlier at position F [ch'ok sajal]) or a noun with the meaning "youngster, prince, emergent one" (e.g., Schele 1995). The second part of this collocation opens with the numeral seven, huk in Classic Maya, combined with a main sign formed by a variant of T511. The small suffixed circular elements are only ornamental (see the collocation at position B in the rim text). It is this sign combination that is known from the inscriptional record at Oxkintok as well as a small selection of Chochola ceramics, in which a head variant of the T511var is also employed (Figure 8).

The example in Figure 8a was found at Oxkintok (Misc. 30), while the example in Figure 8b was found on a Chochola-style ceramic vessel (Tate 1985:Figure 15). Most interesting is the example in Figure 8c (Ballcourt Ring), employing head variants for both signs. Note that the small dot in this example has a diagonal line (it runs from the upper left to the lower right) much like the example of the vessel. The remaining examples are found at Oxkintok.

These six examples of the sign combination 7-T511var provide sufficient evidence to identify the example in the rim text on the present vessel as a variant form. If correct, this sign combination connects the hieroglyphic text as well as the vessel to Oxkintok and its direct environs. The sign combination 7-T511var has been interpreted as a local toponym or even "Emblem Glyph" at Oxkintok (García Campillo 1992:195-197, 1995:208-211). The sign T511(var) has been tentatively deciphered as **PET**?. Possibly this value is also applicable here for **7-PET**?, or *huk pet*(?).²¹ Thus Huk Pet(?) may have been the main component of the Oxkintok "Emblem Glyph." The prefixed *ch'ok* in the example of the incised vessel may then be a

modifying adjective "young, unripe, emergent."

The final collocation at position M is difficult to

¹⁶ The identification of the **mu** syllabic sign is tentative, as the %-marking is unexpected. Hieroglyphic signs that contain the %-marking are certain variants of the syllabic sign for k'a, the logogram DIE/CHAM?-, and the logogram 'AKAN. However, not all variants of these signs have the %-marking, which may mean that it is not a diagnostic mark of these signs, but an optional internal mark. This may also be the case with the putative **mu** sign. As can be seen later in this essay, the nominal phrase 'u-ki-ti mu?-ji also occurs in the panel text. In that example the putative mu sign is abbreviated to just the small oval sign with an internal scroll. Only the mu sign can be abbreviated in that manner. Most interesting is a text from Tzocchen (some 10 kilometers northwest of Xcalumkin), which contains a nominal phrase written 'u-ki-ti ?-ji (Pollock 1980:Figure 778) (it employs a rare animal sign for ki, note the T102var sign serving as the eye; compare to Xcalumkin, Column 3: A2b and Ek' Balam, Mural of the 96 Glyphs: O1). Except for the unknown sign (but could this be an actual variant of the putative **mu** sign on the Oxkintok-region vessel?), the spellings are very close:



If these spellings lead to the same nominal, the putative Ukit Muj(il)(?) at Tzocchen may simply be a namesake of the Ukit Muj(il)(?) as mentioned on the Oxkintok-region vessel. The meaning of the putative muj(il)(?) remains unknown. From a calligraphic point of view, note the elongated sign for ti, which spans the full bottom width of the 'u-ki spelling on this monument. It can be compared to the elongated ti which spans the full top width of the 13-'AJAW-wa spelling in the panel text on the Oxkintok region vessel.

¹⁷ Stuart (2005:50) discusses an example at Copan (the main sign of which is illustrated in Figure 6b in this essay) which can be transcribed 'u-MAM-ta and which he transliterates as umamat or u-mam-at "you are his grandfather" (literally: "his-grandfather-you[-are]"), with -at as a rare second person absolutive. I have no objection to this interpretation, but based on the fragmentary nature of the monument (Copan, Bench from Structure 26-sub) I have my reservations. At Chichen Itza one can find the spelling 'u-ma-ma ta-k'a-k'u pa-ka-la-k'a-wi-la (Las Monjas, Lintel 7: C4-E1), which I transliterate as umam ta k'ak'upakal k'awil "(he is) the grandfather to/ for K'ak'upakal K'awil." I interpret the syllabic sign ta to represent the preposition ta "to, for"; within relationship statements in Itzaj Maya, prepositions can be employed to provide stress (Tesucún, personal communication, March 1993). A comparable construction with the preposition ta preceding the next nominal phrase after the relationship statement can be found at Palenque, Palace Tablet: C14-D16, ub'ah ujuntan ta k'uhul ix(ik) yax (?-)y chit k'uh nab' ix(ik) tz'ak ajaw (Boot 2005a:333 and Note 23). The Copan example I interpret in the same way; 'u-MAM-ta leads to umam ta ..., with ta as a(n optional) preposition to provide stress. If Stuart's observation proves to be correct, the examples at Chichen Itza and Palenque may contain a reference with a second person absolutive pronoun, "his/her [...] you are."















Figure 7. Some head variants of "Number 5" (after Thompson 1950:Figure 24 [Nos. 26-31])

analyze, but the three signs appear to be variants of **SAK** (on top), 'u (the main sign), and **NAL** (the sign on the left). That combination leads to a transcription **SAK?-'u?[NAL]** for *sakunal(?)*. Sakunal has been identified as an important local toponym at Oxkintok (García-Campillo 1992:198-200 and 1995:249-250). The combination "7-T511var Sakunal" is found at Oxkintok (Structure CA7).²² The second part of the rim text provides the name of the owner or patron and a possible relationship statement: *ch'ok sajal ukit muj(il)(?) umam(?)* "three stones(?)" *ajaw wa' sajal (?)hab'il ch'ok huk pet(?) sakunal(?)*, or "young, unripe, or emergent *sajal* Ukit Muj(il)(?), *umam* Three Stones(?) Ajaw, *wa' sajal*, young, unripe, or emergent Huk Pet(?) Sakunal(?)."

The body of this ceramic vessel contains a large, vertical, rectangular, incised, and subsequently gouged panel which presents a double-column hieroglyphic text consisting of ten collocations (Figure 9).²³ These ten collocations can be analyzed as follows:

N1	ISIG [Patron: Tzek]	(Patron of the Month: Tze
O1	9-PERIOD.B'AKTUN	9 pik
N2	tu-15-PERIOD.K'ATUN-b'a	tu 15 winikhab'(?)
O2	tu-5-TUN-ni	tu 5 tun
	ti-13-DAY.AJAW-wa	ti 13 ajaw
O3	'u-xu?-la-ja	uxul(?)aj
N4	'u-ja-yi	ијау
	'u-ti-ki-mu?-ji	ukit muj(il)(?)
	CH'OK?-ko-7-PET?	ch'ok huk pet(?)
O5	yu-?-ma-'i	yu-? ma'i'(?)

This panel text opens with the Initial Series Introductory Glyph (or ISIG), containing the abbreviated "Patron of the Month" Tzek as T526 KAB' or EARTH (Thompson 1950:Figure 22 [Nos. 23-28]). The ISIG is followed by the recording of 9 b'ak'tuns or, in Classic Maya, b'alun pik. The next collocation at O2 should record the amount of k'atuns; the collocation opens with tu-15, followed by a unique main sign for the k'atun period, subfixed with a variant of the common suffixed sign -b'a. A possible variant of the common T548 HAB' main sign of the k'atun period sign is infixed into or superimposed onto the T28 WINIK? k'atun period superfix. Following the general conventions of Initial Series or Long Count dating,

this collocation records the amount of *k'atuns* as 15. Thus the opening three collocations provide the calendrical statement: ISIG (Patron of the Month: Tzek), *b'alun pik* (9 *b'ak'tun*), *jo'lajun winikhab'*(?) (15

- ¹⁸ The identification of the logogram THREE.STONES? is only descriptive. The fact that the top stone is elongated or flattened may mean that different kinds of "stones" are involved, perhaps a flat stone tabletop with two supports (an altar?). This sign does not seem to be a variant of the THREE. STONES logograms found for instance at Copan (e.g., Stela 16) and Seibal (the main sign of the Seibal "Emblem Glyph"), but nonetheless it is possible.
- ¹⁹ The prefixed sign can best be compared to the various signs for wa. However, if correct, it is still difficult to explain the meaning of the title wa' sajal. Is wa' the name of a (sub-) polity (to which a specific sajal belongs) or is wa' an adjective modifying the title sajal (wa' "upright, standing")?
- ²⁰ The sign commonly superfixed to the head variant of "Number 5" is the glyphic representation of the root of a water lily. Outside this context this sign seldom occurs in Maya hieroglyphic texts (e.g., Palenque, Temple XIX, Stone Panel, within the nominal of K'inich Akul Mo' Nab' III, part of the **NAB**' logogram). How this water lily-root sign correlates with the **HAB**' sign (the T142 subfix is common to the **HAB**' sign, e.g., Thompson 1950:Figure 4-11) is at present unknown to this author.

Here I put forward a very tentative idea. What if the ?-HAB' compound sign functions as a pars pro toto (or "part for the whole") as only the headdress is employed; this pars pro toto phenomenon can be observed in various hieroglyphic contexts, see Boot n.d.) to stand for the full form of the head variant of "Number 5"? The value of the compound sign would thus be JO' ("five"); combined with -li it would result in JO'-li or jo'il (the -li sign shows internal characteristics common to examples of this syllabic sign employed on vessels with a putative western Campeche origin, e.g., Grolier No. 53: B3 [Coe 1973:113]). The item Jo'il is most interesting, as it can be compared to the Yucatec Maya family name Hoil (the evolution of j to h is common in the Yucatecan language) (note entries below the "H rezia" and "H simple" in the Motul dictionary, see Ciudad Real 1984 [tomo I]:MS 171r-209v). A well-known member of Hoil family was Juan Josef Hoil, who compiled, edited, and in part wrote the "Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel" (the small village of Chumayel is located some 85 km southeast of Oxkintok) (Gordon 1913:MS 81; Roys 1933:144). In the present-day Hoil can be found both as a patronym and matronym (simply enter the pair "Hoil Yucatan" as a search option in Google or any other search engine), with a distribution over the whole northern peninsula. If the decipherment is correct, on the Oxkintok region vessel Jo'il would serve as a part of a nominal and titular phrase; at present we do not know anything about how family names would have worked in the Classic period or even if they existed in that period.

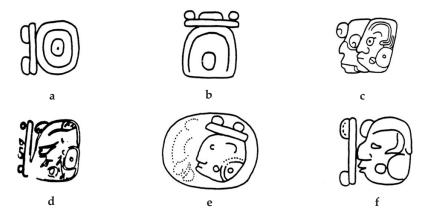


Figure 8. The **7-**T511var collocation at Oxkintok and related ceramics (author composition based on García Campillo 1992:Figure 13 and 1995:Figure 140)





Figure 9. The large text panel with truncated Long Count (left photograph courtesy Donald Hales, right photograph detail from Sotheby's 2004:223 [Cat No. 290])

k'atun) or 9.15(.x.x.x). The Long Count date actually terminates here. Based on Initial Series examples on Xutilha Stela 6 and on Hecelchakan Column 1 this vessel presents an example of an abbreviated or "truncated" Long Count date (Closs 1983:115).²⁴ The truncated Initial Series here is simply 9.15.

The panel text continues at B2-A3 with a so-called Tun-Ajaw statement common to Yucatecan inscriptions (Thompson 1937). The statement opens at B2 with **tu-5-TUN-ni**, followed at A3 with **ti-13-**DAY.AJAW-**wa** or *tu* 5 *tun* ti 13 *ajaw*. This Tun-Ajaw date identifies the fifth *tun* within a *k'atun* that terminates on the day 13 Ajaw. Long Count possibilities of such a *k'atun* are as follows (with other possibilities circa 256 earlier or later):

LC 9.4.0.0.0, 13 Ajaw (18 Yax) AD 514 LC 9.17.0.0.0, 13 Ajaw (18 Kumk'uh) AD 771 LC 10.10.0.0.0, 13 Ajaw (13 Mol) AD 1027

Of these three placements the most plausible is 9.17.0.0.0, 13 Ajaw (18 Kumk'uh), but for this to be

²¹ This collocation opens with the numeral seven, huk in Classic Maya (compare to Dienhart 1989:783-785; Kaufman 2003:1478-1479). The main sign seems to be a variant of T511, a round or oval outer cartouche with an inner small circle. This sign operates as the day sign Muluk in calendrical contexts, while in other contexts it seems to operate as a logogram with the value PET, based on pet "round, disk, circular." This reading for the sign was first suggested by Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm. In 1991 it was Grube who suggested a reading "7-pet" (personal communication cited in García Campillo 1995:210). Other values have been suggested for the main sign, such as MUL, XIB', and NAL (García Campillo 1995:210), and most recently T'AB' (Graña-Behrens 2006:117). At present I identify the head sign as the actual sign intended with an as-yet-unknown value; the circular or oval cartouche with inner small circle I identify as the abstract representation of this head sign. This sign stands as a pars pro toto, a part that represents the whole; the small circle on the cheek of the head is the most salient detail or characteristic of the head sign. Compare this to T741a FROG sign for the sound 'e and its pars pro toto abstraction T542a for the sound 'e; other abstractions include T744a MO' MACAW and T582var **mo** (only the eye element remains) (Boot n.d.).

In inscriptions from Northern Yucatan (both on monuments and ceramics) the "Emblem Glyph" can be written without the common *k'uhul* prefix and even without the *ajaw* "king, lord" title, as recently discussed by Graña-Behrens (2006 and personal communication via e-mail, June 21, 2005). The "Emblem Glyph" at Oxkintok would be an example of this kind of abbreviation, in which the prefixed *k'uhul* and the *ajaw* "king, lord" title are omitted. At present I identify the Oxkintok "Emblem Glyph" as only abbreviating the *ajaw* "king, lord" title, and it would thus belong to a group of "Emblem Glyphs" that does not contain the *k'uhul* prefix (compare to Houston 1986).

²² This collocation employs a different composition and reading order than the usual examples of Sakunal. Normally the **SAK** sign opens the collocation on its left side, the '**u** sign (T513 and the MONKEY.HEAD) occupies the largest space as it is infixed into T86 **NAL**. In the present example the putative

SAK sign is the superfix, placed at an overarching position to NAL and 'u?. This is not an uncommon characteristic for the artist-scribe who made this vessel. In the large rectangular panel, at N3 note the placement of the ti sign as a superfix, commonly found as the first sign on the left. Also note the orientation of the ti as compared to the putative SAK sign: the bottom of each sign is on the right side. The **NAL** sign can be easily recognized, but this is not the case with the putative 'u sign. The sign as such only occurs once (on this vessel); if it indeed is the 'u? sign, perhaps it is because it looks a little like a T520/523 CHUWEN sign. The "Chuwen-Skull" (e.g. Tikal, Stela 31: C6) probably represents the value 'UH in an 'UH-tiya collocation (as it substitutes for 'UH "Ik'-Skull"). Perhaps this is an abbreviated or abstracted form of the "Chuwen-Skull" sign. The signs 'u and 'UH can be found substituting for each other in other items, e.g. 'u-k'i?-b'i vs. 'UH-k'i?-b'i (this essay Figures 4 and 5a).

Support for the fact that this particular collocation indeed may spell SAK?-'u?[NAL] comes from another hieroglyphic text at Oxkintok. The lintel from the southern doorway of Structure CA7 (found in the debris) (aka. Misc. 30) contains a hieroglyphic caption of seven collocations that identifies the human figure portrayed. At positions A5-A6 one can find the sequence [A6] 7-T511var [A7] SAK-'u[NAL] (Pollock 1980:Figure 523b) (here in horizontal linear configuration):



(drawing by the author)

As a last note on this collocation I have to add Kerr No. 4463, the text of which provides a most interesting variant spelling for this toponym: **SAK-['u]NAL-ma**:



(photograph by Justin Kerr)

This spelling is suggestive of a transliteration *sakum(a) nal* and may indicate that all other spellings abbreviate the **-ma** syllabic sign. García-Campillo (1992:Figure 17a) also illustrates this example, but he does not provide an argument on the appearance of the **-ma** sign.

²³ The subsequent gouging of the panel has left the hieroglyphic double-column text in very high relief. High or deep relief is common to many monuments in northern Campeche, for instance Hecelchakan Column 1 (as discussed and illustrated in the main text of this essay) as well as several carved monuments at Xcalumkin and Oxkintok. High or deep relief through carving is also common to many Chochola ceramics (e.g. Kerr Nos. 0514, 4481, 4547). The vertical rectangular panel on the Oxkintok vessel has a double-column text of five rows, comparable to the five-row (only partially double-column) text on Hecelchakan Column 1 and the five-row double-column text on Kerr No. 8017 (as illustrated in Figure 11 in the main text of this essay).

²⁴ Tonina Monument 183 also seems to contain an abbreviated or truncated Initial Series or Long Count date. This monument opens with ISIG (Patron: [eroded]) 9 b'ak'tuns, 14 k'atuns, after which the text continues with a "completion of" 14 k'atuns statement (the date 9.14.0.0.0 falls in AD 711). This example of abbreviating or truncating an Initial Series or Long Count date is very similar to the examples from Xutilha, Hecelchakan, and on the Oxkintok vessel.

correct the truncated Long Count should have been recorded as 9.*16. If correctly deduced, the recorded Long Count should thus have an additional unit for the elapsed amount of *k'atun*s. As such the recorded date would be (Patron of the Month: Tzek) 9.*16, in the fifth *tun* of *k'atun* 13 Ajaw, or 9.*16.4.0.1 to 9.*16.5.0.0, AD 755-756.

Possible confirmation of the correctness of the reconstructed date can be found in the recorded truncated Initial Series date on Hecelchakan Column 1 (Figure 10).²⁵ The text on this architectural stone column can be analyzed as follows (superscript abbreviations: HV means "head variant," BV means "(full) body variant"):

A1-B1	ISIG[Patron: Tzek?]	(Patron of the Month: Tzek?)
A2-B2	9 ^{HV} -TE' ^{HV} -PERIOD.B'AK'TUN ^{BV}	9-te' pik
A3-B3	6 ^{HV} -10 ^{HV} -TE'-PERIOD.K'ATUN ^{BV}	16-te' winikhab'(?)
A4-B4	2 ^{HV} -PERIOD.TUN ^{HV}	2 hab'(?)
A5	tu-2-TUN-ni	tu 2 tun
B5	13-DAY.AJAW ^{HV} -wa	13 ajaw

Karl-Herbert Mayer (1981:Plate 15 [left], 1984:51, Plate 78) was the first who described and illustrated this column. Michael Closs (1983) was the first who analyzed the text on this column in detail. Except for the first and last two collocations this text mainly employs head or cephalomorphic variants and full body or somatomorphic variants (period signs of the *b'ak'tun* and *k'atun*).

The calendrical date opens with the Initial Series Introductory Glyph, containing a "Patron of the

Month." Closs first identified it as the "Patron of the Month" Ch'en (written communication by Closs [1981], cited in Mayer 1984:51); later he suggested Tzek (Closs 1983:117 [note 1], Figure 2). The drawing by Christian Prager (Figure 10, after Mayer 1995:Plate 114) shows a sign close to the T528 KAWAK/STONE sign, for Tzek a T526 EARTH would be recorded. ²⁶ The truncated Initial

²⁶ The inclusion of the "Patron of the Month" Tzek is most interesting. If the truncated Initial Series 9.16.2 would have been extended to its full form of 9.16.2.0.0, the Calendar Round associated with that Initial Series date would be 7 Ajaw 3 Tzek. If the truncated Initial Series 9.*16 would have been extended to its full form of 9.16.0.0.0, the associated Calendar Round date would have been 2 Ajaw 13 Tzek. The "Patron of the Month" in both examples should be Tzek, as the "extended" dates call for such a month position and patron. Thus possibly in a truncated Initial Series the "Patron of the Month" refers to the month when the Initial Series is extended with (0 tuns), 0 winals, and 0 k'ins. The truncated Initial Series date on Xutilha Stela 6 (Sattherthwaite 1961: Figures 65 and 66) is too eroded to provide an additional example to test my hypothesis. The ISIG is too eroded to identify the "Patron of the Month." Similarly the coefficients for the *b'ak'tun* and *k'atun* periods are too eroded. Only the "0 tun" can be identified with confidence.

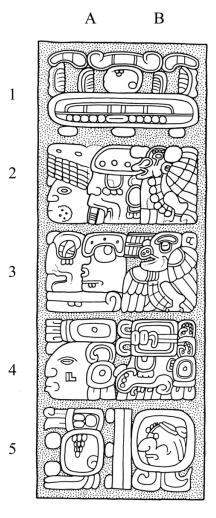


Figure 10. Hecelchakan Column 1 (drawing by Christian Prager, in Mayer 1995:Plate 114)

²⁵ Hecelchakan Column 1 can be found at the "Museo de Camino Real" in Hecelchakan. The column has no known provenance. It was Closs (1983) who suggested a Xcalumkin origin of this column; he based his suggestion on the descriptions and measurements of this column and Column 3 at Xcalumkin as given by Mayer (1981:21, Plate 4). The report of Teobert Maler's 1887 discoveries at Xcalumkin, which remained unpublished for more than 100 years, provides quite a detailed description of the columns at the Initial Series building (Maler 1997:86, Plates 207-208, 211-212). Maler notes that the owner of the land on which the ruins of Xcalumkin were located was named Manuel Puc and that, interestingly, this man lived in Hecelchakan (Maler 1997:86).

Series date itself is recorded as 9.16.2,²⁷ followed by the Tun-Ajaw statement "in the second *tun* (of a *k'atun* that terminates on a day) 13 Ajaw." This Tun-Ajaw statement is in full agreement with the recorded truncated Initial Series of 9.16.2, or a date of AD 751-752.

The truncated Initial Series date on the vessel and the associated Tun-Ajaw statement is recorded as 9.15, in the fifth tun of k'atun 13 Ajaw. Most logically, taking into account the truncated Initial Series date and associated Tun-Ajaw statement on Hecelchakan Column 1, this date has to be corrected to 9.*16, in the fifth tun of k'atun 13 Ajaw. The alternative would be an incorrect recording of the coefficient of the k'atun Ajaw; if the recorded date was intended to be 9.15, with the fifth tun in the k'atun that ends on 9.16.0.0.0, the coefficient of the day Ajaw should have been 2 instead of 13. With the solution I offered above, to change 9.15 to 9.*16, the recording of the fifth tun in a k'atun that terminates on the day 13 Ajaw is correct and provides a date in the period 9.*16.4.0.1 to 9.*16.5.0.0 or AD 755-756.²⁸

After the truncated Initial Series date with accompanying Tun-Ajaw statement on the Oxkintok region vessel there follows at position O3 the verb spelled 'u-xu?-la-ja or uxul(?)aj. The identification of the T756a BAT.HEAD sign as xu? is still debated.²⁹ The verb root uxul(?)- can be found recorded in several passive variants, for instance at Chichen Itza as 'u-xu?-lu-na-ja-ki for uxul(?)najki ($uxul(?)-n-aj-ki-\emptyset$) or at Tikal as 'u-xu?-lu-k'a for uxul(?)k'a(j) ($uxul[?]-k-a[j]-\varnothing$). The Oxkintok region vessel provides a rare instance of a passive form of the root uxul(?)- as uxul(?)aj; in this example the -aj thematic suffix is written with the syllabic pair -la-ja.30 This passive form tentatively can be paraphrased as "carved was." The next collocation at N4 is spelled 'u-ja-yi for *ujay.* For several years the gloss **ja-yi** (at that time transcribed «ha-yi») was considered to refer to «hay» "thin, thin walled" or to be related to Tzotzil «hayil, hayal» "basin" (Grube 1990; MacLeod a numerical classifier, but this needs further research). Again, this Initial Series date militates against Macri's hypothesis.

 28 The list of the different k'atuns around 13 Åjaw is as follows:

9.14.0.0.0,	6 Ajaw
9.15.0.0.0,	4 Ajaw
9.16.0.0.0,	2 Ajaw
9.17.0.0.0,	13 Ajaw
9.18.0.0.0,	11 Ajaw
9.19.0.0.0,	9 Ajaw

The last day of a *k'atun* period is always an Ajaw day. The coefficient descends by a difference of two, as such a whole *k'atun* series of about 256 years (20 x 18 x 360 days) in order would be 11 Ajaw, 9 Ajaw, 7 Ajaw, 5 Ajaw, 3 Ajaw, 1 Ajaw, 12 Ajaw, 10 Ajaw, 8 Ajaw, 6 Ajaw, 4 Ajaw, 2 Ajaw, and 13 Ajaw (after which the next series would open with 11 Ajaw, see Boot 2005a:86-87, 197). The Oxkintok region vessel records a truncated Initial Series of 9.15, in the fifth *tun* of *k'atun* 13 Ajaw; with a small correction to 9.*16, in the fifth *tun* of *k'atun* 13 Ajaw, the date makes good sense (the "Patron of the Month" as Tzek would also be correct, see Note 27 above). Other corrections, especially in the coefficient of the *k'atun* Ajaw (13 has to be changed to 2, see list above), are simply not logical.

²⁹ The value of T756a BAT.HEAD as xu? is still debated (see Note 11 above). The T756a BAT.HEAD sign does represent the syllabic value tz'i in other contexts, for example the looted Naranjo bone needles (Kerr No. 8019) provide the spelling 'u-pu-tz'i, in which T756a BAT.HEAD substitutes for T563a tz'i. The T756a sign in this context has to be tz'i. These examples were first pointed out by Stephen Houston in 1998 (compare to Houston and Stuart 2001:64, Figure 3.2). The matter is too complex to fully discuss in an endnote; as have other epigraphers before me, I think that various bat head signs were incorporated into Maya writing, each with a different value. Possibly in Late Classic times these signs became conflated and/or the important distinguishing elements disappeared. Context thus became important to identify the correct value. I retain a syllabic value **xu** for the T756a BAT.HEAD sign in this particular context, but with an appended query.

³⁰ The examples at Chichen Itza were discussed in detail by MacLeod (1990), while the Tikal example was discussed for the first time by Beliaev and Davletshin (2002). Also note Lacadena (1997b; compare to Lacedana 2004), who discussed the spellings yu-xu?-lu-na-ja-la at Chichen Itza and yu-xu?lu-wa-ja-la at Copan. The -n-aj suffix denotes a passive of a non-CVC derived transitive (-n- passive class suffix, -aj thematic suffix), the -k'-aj suffix denotes a mediopassive of a non-CVC-derived transitive (-k'- mediopassive class, -aj thematic suffix). Erik Velásquez García (personal communication via e-mail, July 5, 2005) suggested that the spelling 'u-xu?-la-ja may be an abbreviated spelling that originally targetted a -n- or -w- passive suffix, as a non-CVC verb root is involved. However, as I recently rediscovered (July 8, 2006), an unprovenanced panel in the Miles Lourie collection (aka Site Q Panel 2B) contains an important variant spelling. The caption that records the names of the sculptors (note the item ha-'o-b'a for ha'ob' "them/it is they who ...") contains the spelling 'u-xu?[lu]-ja (Boot 2002:83, cataloged as «'u-xu?-lu-ha»). Also this spelling targets an ending -aj, given the absence of the expected -n- or -w- class suffix for non-CVC roots. Possibly passive constructions of CVC and non-CVC roots need to be re-examined.

²⁷ The truncated Initial Series on Hecelchakan Column 1 employs the numeral classifier -te' after the coefficients for the b'ak'tun and k'atun. Closs (1983) did not identify these signs. This is yet another, albeit truncated, Initial Series date (note the complete Initial Series date on Piedras Negras Lintel/Panel 2, in Prager 2003:Figure 3) that employs -te' as a numeral classifier. As such this truncated Initial Series also militates against Marcri's hypothesis that the period signs themselves acted as numeral classifiers (Macri 2000; compare to Prager 2003). Also the Initial Series date at Xcalumkin (Graham and Von Euw 1992:180) provides two counted periods that employ the -te' numerical classifier; the full Initial Series date is 9.15.12-te'.6-te'.9-tak, 7 Muluk *2 K'ank'in, in the 13th tun of 2 Ajaw, or a date in AD 744 (possibly -tak also operates as

1990:Part 4; Reents-Budet 1994:127). This gloss would thus refer to "thin walled" ceramics. It was Alfonso Lacadena (1997a) who suggested that the root jay (he used the transliteration «ja:y») might be related to Mopan Mayan jaay "clay bowl." The gloss *ujay* or *u-jay* may thus mean "(it is) the clay bowl of (...)." The Oxkintok vessel is anything but a bowl; it is actually thin-walled and fluted, and the dedicatory formula identifies it as an uk'ib' "drinkinstrument."31 This may mean that our present understanding of the item jay is limited by the definitions that colonial and present-day Mayan languages can offer us. In the Late Classic period, the period in which the Oxkintok region vessel was produced, the item *jay* may have included a wider range of meanings, but probably all semantically related to the above-cited definitions of "basin," "thin, thin walled," and "clay bowl."

The next collocation at position N4 provides the name of the owner or patron, written here as 'u-tiki-mu?-ji instead of 'u-ki-ti mu?-ji (in the rim text) for *ukit muj* or *ukit muj*(*il*)(?). As suggested above, the *ukit* component is common to several nominal phrases in the Yucatan peninsula, whereas utik would be unique.³² This nominal phrase is followed at A5 by a collocation spelled CH'OK?-ko-7-PET? for *ch'ok huk pet*(?). In this case however the regular sign for **ch'o** is not employed (T758var, the head of a rat, *ch'o'h* or *ch'oh*), but a human head. Based on the large "goggle"-like eye and the fact that a human head is employed, I tentatively identify this sign as a logogram with the value CH'OK.33 The syllabic sign **-ko** is employed as a phonetic complement. The fact that in the panel text *ukit muj(il)(?) ch'ok huk* pet(?) is recorded may imply, albeit tentatively, that the phrase umam "three stones(?)" ajaw wa' sajal is indeed an (optional) extention of his nominal and

The last collocation at position B5 can only be transcribed in part, as **yu-?-ma-'i**. The large sign in the shape of a speech, song, or sound scroll remains without a proper identification or decipherment. The meaning of this collocation is thus unknown.³⁴

The subject of this paper, a fluted incised and gouged blackware ceramic vessel, provides two hieroglyphic texts. The rim text presents a local variant of a standardized dedicatory formula common to hieroglyphic texts on a wide variety of objects (Boot 2005e). In the rim text the function of the vessel is identified as an *uk'ib'* "drinkinstrument." The vessel probably contained *tzih*, an item possibly having the meaning "(drink of) soaked corn kernels." The owner or patron of the vessel is identified as Ch'ok Sajal Ukit Muj(il)(?). He may additionally be known as *umam* "three

stones(?)" ajaw wa' sajal. He also is identified as a Ch'ok Huk Pet(?). The Huk Pet(?) collocation is particularly known from the inscriptions at Oxkintok.

The text in the rectangular panel provides a truncated Initial Series date of 9.*16, which is combined with the Tun-Ajaw calendrical statement "in the fifth tun of k'atun 13 Ajaw," or a date between AD 755-756. The verbal expression uxul(?)aj ujay, "carved was the basin, thin walled, or clay bowl," is associated with the date. The owner or patron is again identified as Ukit Muj(il)(?), but now he is directly associated with the title Ch'ok Huk Pet(?). The shortened nominal and titular phrase in the vertical rectangular panel text may be a summarized or abbreviated version of the extended nominal and titular phrase of this person in the rim text. The abbreviation of the nominal and titular phrase of high ranking individuals during the Classic period was a common phenomenon. Note for instance at Chichen Itza the variant nominal

³¹ This vessel presents an important pairing of terms in the identification of the vessel type. The rim text identifies it as an uk'ib', while the panel text identifies it as a jay. Chochola-style ceramics often use the paired terms ujay yuk'ib' to identify a particular ceramic container (e.g., Kerr No. 3199, 4378, 4542, 4684) (Boot 2005b:5). This pair may include a reference to a class of ceramic type (jay "thin walled bowl") and a class of functional type (uk'ib') "drink-instrument"). The pair *ujay* yuk'ib' also occurs on ceramic vessels from the Southern Maya Lowlands (e.g., Kerr No. 4997 ['u-ja-ya yu-k'i?-b'i], 5466 ['u-ja-yi yu-k'i?-b'i]). Notable is the Early Classic hieroglyphic expression ixim(?) jay uk'ab'a' yuk'ib' "Ixim(?) jay is the name of the drink-instrument" on a painted stuccocovered Tzakol 3 Teotihuacan-style cylinder tripod found in Burial A31, Structure A-1, Uaxactun (Smith 1955:Figure 1a-b; Stuart 2005:131).

³² I change the written form and order 'u-ti-ki to 'u-ki-ti, based on the 'u-ki-ti spelling in the rim text and the fact that the transliteration *ukit* occurs in various nominal phrases in the Yucatan peninsula (as cited earlier in the main text of this essay) as well as in the Southern Maya Lowlands (e.g., Ukit Tok' [Copan, Altar L]. Occasional inversion of spellings can be identified in Classic Maya writing, for instance 'a-la-LAY-ya vs. 'a-LAY-ya-la, 'u-ti-ya vs. 'u-ya-ti, CHUM[mu]-wa-ni vs. CHUM[mu]-ni-wa, MUY-ya-la vs. MUY-la-ya, wi-ti-ki vs. wi-ki-ti, 'u-k'i?-b'i vs. k'i?-b'i-'u, or yu-k'i?-b'i vs. k'i?-yu-b'i.

³³ The diagonal text on Kerr No. 8741 contains the *chak ch'ok* collocation at D2, the main sign of which is not a regular T758a **ch'o**. The sign does not seem to have animal (rat, *ch'o'h* or *ch'oh*) features, but rather more human features. This vessel belongs to the Chochola style or tradition.

³⁴ It is unfortunate that in both texts on this vessel the final collocation can not be deciphered (yet). The last collocation in the rim text is more difficult to identify than the last collocation in the panel text, but in this last case the large scroll sign remains undeciphered and as such the meaning of the whole collocation at present remains unknown.

phrases K'ak'upakal (Initial Series Lintel: D9-C10), K'ak'upakal K'awil (Las Monjas, Lintel 2A: B1-B2), and K'ak'upakal K'inich K'awil (Four Lintels, Lintel 4: D4-C6) (compare to Boot 2005a:356-357, for a total of eighteen recordings of the different versions of the nominal and titular phrase for K'ak'upakal).

Most important are the identification of the Oxkintok toponym or "Emblem Glyph," a paramount title, Huk Pet(?), and the toponym Sakunal(?). It relates Ukit Muj(il)(?) to the important archaeological site of Oxkintok, or in a more neutral manner, it relates him to the region in which the site of Oxkintok is located. The corpus of inscriptions at Oxkintok does not provide an inscription that refers to Ukit Muj(il) (?), nor does any of the other ceramic vessels that contain the Huk Pet(?) title and Sakunal(?) toponym or title

Now, how does the reconstructed date of 9.*16, in the fifth *tun* in *k'atun* 13 Ajaw, or AD 755-756 relate to Oxkintok? The inscriptional record at Oxkintok provides a short list of dates. All reconstructions within these dates are preceded with an asterisk (an asterisk in front of a Long Count means that large part or the complete Long Count calculation is a reconstruction). Doubt about a date is indicated through a query between normal brackets after the Christian date.³⁵ The list of dates is:

Monument (Reconstructed) Maya Date ("x" means "unknown")		Christian Date	
Lintels 1 and 2	9.2.x.x.x,	(x) Day (x) *Pax	AD 475-494
Misc. 18	*9.2.10.0.0,	3 Ajaw *8 *Kumk'uh	AD 485 (?)
Lintels 11 and 13	9.2.11.16.17,	11 Kawak *15 Pax	AD 487
Lintel 16	9.3.13.0.9,	11 Muluk *2 *Mak	AD 507
HS 1 (Str. 2B10)	*9.10.9.11.3,	6 *Ak'b'al "end of" Yaxk'in	AD 642 (?)
HS 2 (Str. 2B11)	*9.12.9.10.0,	5 Ajaw *3 Muwan	AD 681 (?)
Ballcourt Ring	9.14.2.x.2,	8 Ik' (x) Month	AD 713-714
Stela 9	*9.15.0.0.0,	4 Ahaw *13 *Yax	AD 731 (?)
Stela 20	*9.16.0.0.0,	2 Ajaw *13 *Tzek	AD 751 (?)
Misc. 4a	*9.17.0.0.0,	13 Ajaw *18 *Kumk'uh	AD 771 (?)
Stela 3	*10.1.0.0.0,	5 Ajaw *3 K'ayab'	AD 849
Stela 19	*10.1.0.0.0,	5? Ajaw *3 *K'ayab'	AD 849 (?)
Stela 21	*10.1.10.0.0,	4 Ajaw *13 *Yaxk'in	AD 859

The date of AD 755-756 on the ceramic vessel falls only a few decades after the Ballcourt Ring date of AD 713-714 and it would be contemporary with Stela 20, if the date of AD 751 is correctly reconstructed. The more secure early dates of AD 475-494 and AD 487 on Lintels 1 and 2 and Lintels 11 and 13 and the late dates of AD 849 on Stela 3 and AD 859 on Stela 21 indicate that the date range of AD 755-756 on the blackware vessel clearly is within the possibilities of socio-political activity at Oxkintok.³⁶ If this vessel was produced at Oxkintok or its direct environs it would have belonged to a local ceramic phase dubbed Cehpech A (circa AD 740-850) by archaeologists.

As can be concluded provisionally, this blackware ceramic vessel may have an origin at Oxkintok, or better, the Oxkintok region. In some way this vessel is reminscent of another blackware vessel which since the year 2000 has been part of the collection at the Kimbell Art Museum, Forth Worth (inventory

³⁵ The short list of dates as presented in this essay is based on calculations and proposals as suggested by García Campillo (1992), García Campillo and Lacadena (1987, 1989, 1990), Graña-Behrens (2002), Lacadena (1992), Pablo Aguilera (1990), Pollock (1980), and Proskouriakoff (1950). All dates have been checked and recalculated by the present author. Other monuments from Oxkintok have been dated, but I find those dates too speculative to be included here. In regard to several of the dates it is important to note the following: Within the Calendar Round dates 5 Ajaw *3 Muwan (HS 2) and 5 Ajaw *3 K'ayab' (Stela 3) the orginal month coefficient is one number lower (in both cases 2 instead of *3, a hallmark of so-called Puuc style dating, see Graña-Behrens 2002; Thompson 1937, 1950, 1952). Within the Calendar Round date 11 Kawak *15 Pax, the actual recorded month coefficient is 12. So there are examples in which an important coefficient has to be drastically corrected and reconstructed, like on the Oxkintok region vessel.

³⁶ Graña-Behrens (2002:211, Table 81) offers even later dates for two stelae at Oxkintok. He dates Stela 12 to *10.5.0.0.0, or AD 928, based on the recording of the phrase *ti* 10 *ajaw k'in*. He dates Stela 9 to *10.8.0.0.0, or AD 987, based on the recording of the possible *k'atun* date 4 *ajaw*. These dates would extend socio-political activity well into the tenth century.







Figure 11. Kimbell Art Museum Vessel (inv. no. 2000.04) (Kerr No. 8017): (a) still and rollout photographs by Justin Kerr; (b) rollout drawing by George Stuart.

no. AP 2000.04) (Figure 11).³⁷

This vessel can be connected to the site of Xcalumkin (Boot 1996; Davoust 1991a, 1991b; Grube 1994; Hull n.d.). The vessel illustrates a court scene, the high-ranking individual is seated on a bench (made of perishable material and covered by woven fabrics) and in front of him an individual of lesser rank can be found making a gesture of peace and friendship.³⁸ This scene is placed between two text columns, while along the rim a dedicatory formula can be found. This whole vessel evokes an actual architectural setting, the dedicatory formula serving as lintels or capitals to a pair of columns represented by the vertical rectangular text panels. The description of the architectural setting of this court scene is actually very close to the front view of the East Room of the Initial Series Building at Xcalumkin (Figure 12).

Classic Maya ceramics provide a large number of court or palace scenes (e.g., Kerr No. 0625, 0767 [also see Boot 2005a:397-400]); however, the visual narrative on the Kimbell Art Museum vessel is very close to an actual architectural setting. The inside of the room does not contain a monumental bench or seat, suggesting the placement of a bench or seat made of perishable materials (compare to Pollock 1980:422-423). This closeness is stressed even more through the fact that the nominal phrase (written

'a-pa-sa-hi?-na) of the owner of the sculpture on the Kimbell Art Museum vessel is named in the central portion of the inscribed lintels of the Initial

³⁷ There are some indications that the Oxkintok region vessel and the Xcalumkin (region) vessel (Kerr No. 8017) may even have been found together (Hales, personal communication, February 20, 2005 and June 10, 2005) or came on the market simultaneously through the same source. These indications are from the 1950s and may be incorrect (just being rumor), but they are currently under investigation.

³⁸ This gesture has often been interpreted as one of submission or a "marker of a specific rank" (Ancona-Ha et al. 2000:1078). I would like to direct the reader to a short passage from the work of Villagutierre Soto-Mayor (1985 [1701]:121 [Lib. II, Cap. 2]): "[...] luego que llegaron saludaron los dos Capitanes (Itzaex) à los Religiosos à su usança que es, echar el braço derecho sobre el ombro, en señal de Paz y Amistad. [...] (emphasis mine)." Although the individual on the Xcalumkin vessel has his left arm over his shoulder I interpret this gesture not as one of submission or rank, but one of indicating peace and friendship. This interpretation would also apply to all other examples of this gesture in Classic Maya visual narratives (compare to Boot 2005a:116). As Erik Velásquez García informed me (personal communication through e-mail, July 5, 2005), Miller (1983) previously came to this conclusion based on the same quote from the work of Villagutierre Soto-Mayor. I was not aware of this publication at a previous stage of my research.

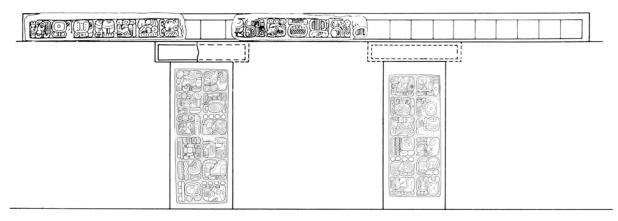


Figure 12. Reconstructed front view of the Initial Series Building, East Room (digital composition by the author based on Graham and Von Euw 1992:157, 173 and 174, jambs removed).











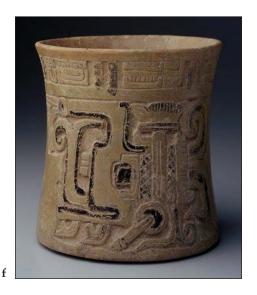


Figure 13: Fluted vessels: (a) Kerr No. 2795; (b) Kerr No. 5545; (c) Kerr No. 6315; (d) Kerr No. 7289; (e) vessel found at Acanceh (photograph by Teobert Maler, in Seler 1915:Plate X); (f) Chochola Style Vessel in the Collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Art (inventory no. 71.61.3) (URL: www.artsmia.org).

Series Building, East room.39

The sites of Oxkintok and Xcalumkin are located relatively close to each other in the Puuc area, being about 45 km apart (see Figure 2). The proximity of the sites may thus provide a basis for the relative closeness in shape of the two vessels.

It has been suggested in the past that the fluted shape of the Oxkintok region vessel emanates a bound architectural column or colonnette known from Puuc architecture (e.g., Sotheby's 2004:222).40 Although this is a possibility, it has to be noted that there is a small selection of Classic Maya vessels belonging to different style traditions that have a fluted shape. As such it is not necessary that the shape of the Oxkintok region vessel be directly derived from an architectural fluted column or colonnette. Among these fluted vessels are Kerr Nos. 2795 (Ik' Site style), 5545, 6315, and 7289 (a codex-style tripod vessel) (Figure 13a-d). The bodies of Early Classic Teotihuacan-style tripod vessels (generally belonging to the Tzakol 3 phase) are also fluted (for example Kerr Nos. 5932, 6195, 6196, and 6197). Of particular interest are a vessel found at Acanceh, Yucatan (Figure 13e), and a Chochola-style vessel now part of the collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Art (Figure 13f).⁴¹

Formerly in the possession of Cedric Marks (see Note 5), the Chochola vessel in Figure 13f has a fluted shape with a height of 15.56 cm. This vessel also contains a typical Chochola-style dedicatory formula, but only the first two opening collocations are visible in this photograph. The painting of certain parts of the vessel is common to other vessels of the Chochola tradition (e.g., Kerr Nos. 4478, 4547). The fluted shape of this vessel is even more pronounced than the Oxkintok region vessel. I suggest that the shape of the Oxkintok region vessel is not related to an architectural feature, but to a rare vessel shape present in several different regional styles from the Early Classic to the Late Classic. The raised triple band, unique to the Oxkintok region vessel, may simply be ornamental.

The present essay has introduced a fluted blackware ceramic vessel. The text on the body of the vessel provides a date of 9.*16 in the fifth *tun* of *k'atun* 13 Ajaw, or AD 755-756. The owner or patron of the vessel is identified as Ukit Muj(il)(?), whose foremost title is Ch'ok Sajal. The final collocations identify him as Ch'ok Huk Pet(?) Sakunal(?). The expression Huk Pet(?) is known from inscriptions at Oxkintok and hieroglyphic texts on several

drawing from Graham and Von Euw 1992:158):





Kerr No. 8017



Xcalumkin, Lintel 1

Although I do not transliterate this nominal phrase in the main text of this essay, it has been transliterated *Ah Pashin* but also as *Ah Pas Hun* (compare to Boot 1996, García Campillo 1995, Grube 1994, Hull n.d.).

⁴⁰ During the Classic period several ceramics were produced which were referred to as *otot* "house (in the sense of home)" (Boot 2005b:8; Houston 1998:349; Stuart 2005:132). Some ceramic vessels even displayed house-like details such as roof lids and rims or even a full house-like form (Houston 1998:349-351, Figure 14). It would thus not be exceptional that the Oxkintok region vessel would evoke an architectural feature like a small decorative column or colonnette known to have been integrated into "house" façades in the Puuc area (compare to Pollock 1980:Figures 644b, 901c). However, at present I have more confidence in the explanation expressed in the main text of this essay.

⁴¹ The vessel from Acanceh, as illustrated in Figure 13e, was found in a burial chamber at the top of the now well-known pyramid on the north side of the square at Acanceh (Seler 1915:390). The photograph was made by Teobert Maler (subscript to Plate X, bottom figure, in Seler 1915). Two very similar fluted vessels are known:







Munich

The vessel on the left is illustrated in Herbert Spinden's 1913 "A Study of Maya Art" (Spinden 1975[1913]:136, Figure 187). In the main text of that study no provenance of the vessel is provided. The extended text to the figure in the "List of Figures" places the vessel at the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (Spinden 1975[1913]:xxi), the forerunner of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris (established in 1937 by Paul Rivet on the occasion of the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne). The vessel on the right is illustrated in Ferdinand Anton's "Art of the Maya" (Anton 1978[1970]:Figure 283). It is said to have been found at Tecoh (a village close to Acanceh) and is now part of a private collection in Munich (Anton 1978[1970]:335, height 13 cm [explanatory caption to Figure 283]).

³⁹ In good order I here illustrate the two versions of the nominal phrase 'a-pa-sa-hi?-na (photographs by Justin Kerr,

unprovenanced ceramic vessels. It probably functions as a kind of "Emblem Glyph," a paramount title. The very last collocation in the rim text probably spells Sakunal, known to be an important local toponym at Oxkintok. Based on the occurrence of the Huk Pet(?) title and the possible Sakunal toponym the vessel which is the subject of this essay can be assigned to Oxkintok or, to be more neutral, to the region in which Oxkintok is located. Further research on the hieroglyphic texts on this vessel, other ceramic vessels, and at the site of Oxkintok itself may substantiate, amend, and/or correct the suggestions presented in this essay.

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