



The PARI Journal

A quarterly publication of the Ancient Cultures Institute
Volume XVI, No. 4, Spring 2016

In This Issue:

**Death Becomes Her:
An Analysis of Panel
3, Xunantunich,
Belize**

by
Christophe Helmke and
Jaime Awe

PAGES 1-14

•
**The Ocellated
Turkey in Maya
Thought**

by
Ana Luisa Izqueirido y
de la Cueva and María
Elena Vega Villalobos

PAGES 15-23

•
**The Further
Adventures of Merle
(continued)**

by
Merle Greene
Robertson

PAGE 24

Marc Zender
Editor
marc@ancientcultures.org

Joel Skidmore
Associate Editor
joel@ancientcultures.org

The PARI Journal
202 Edgewood Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94117
415-664-8889
journal@ancientcultures.org

Electronic version
available at:
www.precolumbia.org/
pari/journal/1604

ISSN 1531-5398

Death Becomes Her: An Analysis of Panel 3, Xunantunich, Belize

CHRISTOPHE HELMKE

University of Copenhagen

JAIME J. AWE

Northern Arizona University

The hieroglyphic stair discovered at Naranjo remains one of the most important and most discussed monuments in Maya studies. In part this has to do with its unique context as well as its evocative narrative. It was in 1905 that the Austrian explorer Teobert Maler documented and photographed the carved monuments at the archaeological site of Naranjo in what is now Guatemala. Among these is the hieroglyphic stair, composed of twelve panels and three sculptures representing human crania (Maler 1908:Pl. 24) (Figure 1). During subsequent visits in the succeeding years, early epigraphers such as Sylvanus G. Morley (1909) studied the calendrical data preserved in the glyphic corpus. In the early 1970s, Ian Graham thoroughly documented the hieroglyphic stair as a basis for producing detailed and accurate drawings of each of the panels as part of the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions project (Graham 1978:107-110, 1980:152, 154). Graham's documentation

remains the pivotal record of this hieroglyphic stair, since the monument has succumbed to the predation of looters, two panels having disappeared altogether, whereas others have been displaced to a variety of locations, including the collections of the British Museum in London and those of the Museum of Natural History in New York and the bodega of the Parque Nacional Tikal in Guatemala (Graham 1978:107).

With the advent of decipherment, Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1993:40-41) and Michael Closs (1984:78, Table 1) defined the range of dates of the hieroglyphic stair as spanning the two decades between AD 623 and 642. The latter undoubtedly represents the date of the stair's dedication (Morley 1909:550-554), during the reign of K'an II (r. AD 618-658), king of Caracol, located 42 km to the southeast in what is now Belize (Figure 2). Oddly, the main themes of the hieroglyphic stair are tied to the martial successes of Caracol and the



Figure 1. The hieroglyphic stair as found at Naranjo by Teobert Maler (after Maler 1908:Pl. 24; photograph by Teobert Maler © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 2004.24.3432).

defeat of Naranjo in both AD 626 and 631,¹ and there is a decided focus on Caracol actors, such as K'an II and his allies, to the detriment of Naranjo (see Martin and Grube 2000:73; Tokovinine 2007:15-16). Accounting for the context in which the hieroglyphic stair was found, Linda Schele and David Freidel (1990), in an ambitious early synthesis of Maya history, proposed that this monument must have been raised at Naranjo by victorious Caracol dynasts, during a period of subservience, in order to herald the foreign victors to the local population on a prominent public monument. As Schele and Freidel stated: "Lord Kan II recorded the history of his wars [...] on the Hieroglyphic Stairs erected in the capital of his defeated enemy, Naranjo," going on to remark, "Adding insult to injury, he recorded [such] rites not at his home city but at Naranjo on its subjugation monument, the Hieroglyphic Stairs" (Schele and Freidel 1990:174, 178).

However, the story appears to be more complicated than this. For one, the panels of the hieroglyphic stair at Naranjo were set in a jumbled and unintelligible order, with some panels even mounted on their sides, an apparent attempt to render the narrative illegible for the most part. For another, a panel of the same hieroglyphic stair has been found in the middle of the playing alley of the ballcourt at the site of Ucanal, approximately midway between Caracol and Naranjo (see Graham 1980:152, 154) (Figure 3a). Considering the decidedly Caracol-centric vantage of the narrative presented on the hieroglyphic stair, Simon Martin (2000:57-58, Fig.12) has proposed that this monument was most likely raised at Caracol. Indeed, as part of the extensive program of excavations at Caracol, Arlen and Diane Chase uncovered—in the collapsed architecture at the foot of Str. B5 in the monumental epicenter—a fragment of a carved panel that is identical in terms of size, format and stone that Martin suggests comprised part of the same hieroglyphic stair (see Grube 1994:113, Fig. 9.14a) (Figure 3b). The idea is that this monument was subsequently dismantled and transported to Naranjo (via Ucanal?) as a type of trophy or war booty, an event that could have taken place in the latter part of the seventh century, following the defeat of Caracol at the hands of K'ahk' Xiiw Chan Chaahk of Naranjo in AD 680—as attested in the stucco text of Str. B16 at Caracol (see Martin and Grube 2000:73; Helmke and

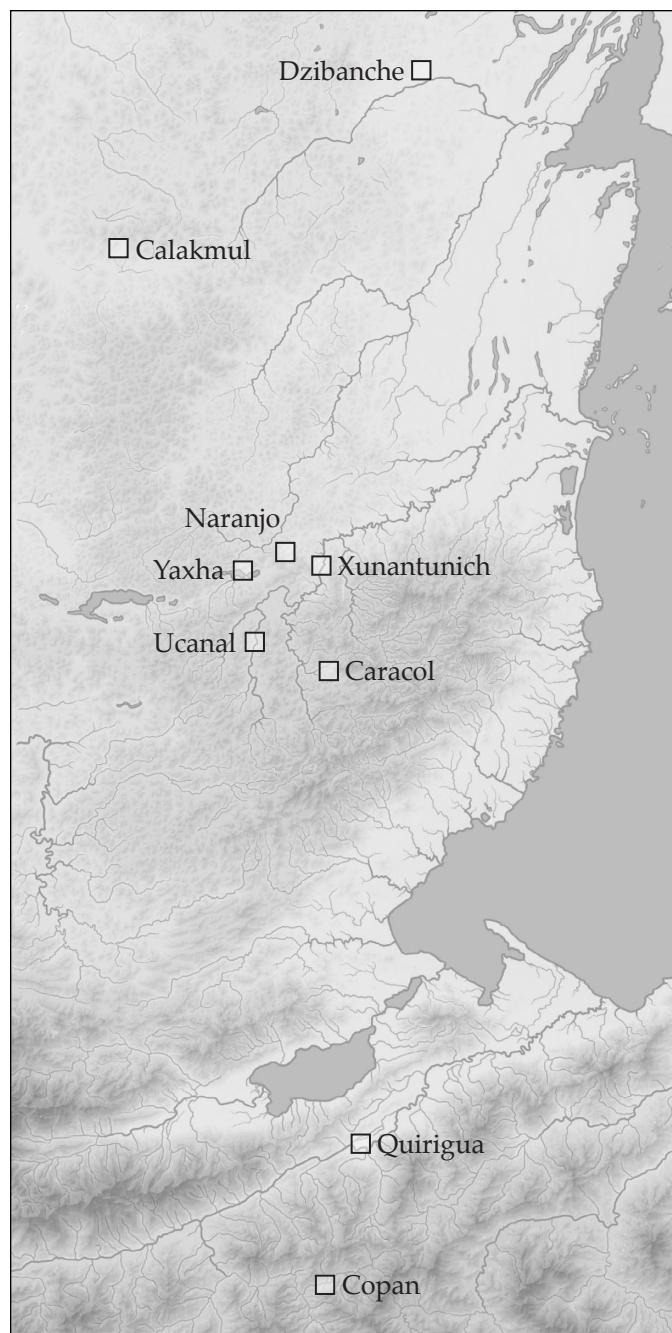


Figure 2. Location of archaeological sites mentioned in the text (Precolumbia Mesoweb Maps).

¹ The segments recording these defeats are interesting for the manner in which they refer to Naranjo as the patient of martial actions. The first of these is the downfall of AD 626 that is recorded on Stela 3 of Caracol, which reads *jubunuy ajsa'u'l*, or "they of Naranjo were toppled"—using the toponym *Sa'u'l* ("where *atole* [maize gruel] abounds"), written SA'-Ia prefixed by the general agentive *aj-*. The second is that of AD 631 and is recorded on both Step 6 of the hieroglyphic stair found at Naranjo, but also on the front caption of Caracol Stela 3. On both of these monuments, the defeat involves the "star war" verb, which is paired off with the same toponym, although these are spelled SA'-Ii for *Sa'uul*, suggesting an *u' > uu* shift sometime around AD 630 (and presumably earlier in spoken forms).

Kettunen 2011:17; Krempel and Davletshin 2011:27-30). As such, the monument appears to have been raised in AD 642 by K'an II and would have remained at Caracol, perhaps forming part of the axial stair of Str. B5, until a few decades later when it was moved to Naranjo and integrated into the architecture of Str. B18 (see Morales 2009). The fragment found at Ucanal may have been left there unintentionally as part of the triumphal return march or could alternatively represent a local trophy, signaling their participation in this conflict on the side

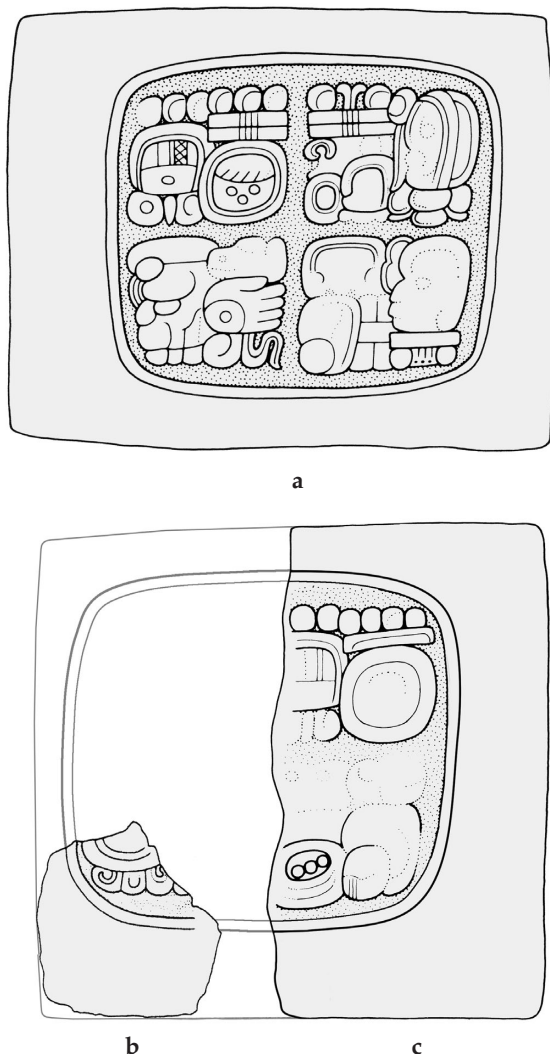


Figure 3. A selection of miscellaneous panels of the hieroglyphic stair: (a) Step 13 as found at Ucanal (Misc. 1) (after Graham 1978:110; drawing by Ian Graham © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 2004.15.6.3.37); (b) fragmentary panel found in the collapse of Str. B5 at Caracol (Misc. Frag. 10) (adapted from Grube 1994:Fig.9.14a); (c) fragmentary Step 8 found at Naranjo (after Graham 1978:109; drawing by Ian Graham © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 2004.15.6.3.32).

of Naranjo—not least since Ucanal is known to have been an ally of Naranjo from at least AD 711 onwards (Martin and Grube 2000:77; Grube and Martin 2004:134-135; Helmke and Kettunen 2011:55). This scenario is credible on several levels: first, it would explain why the panels found at Naranjo are set in an aberrant order, and, second, it would explain

why, despite our best attempts to reconstruct the narrative, there are evident gaps (Table 1), indicating that not all of the panels that originally constituted the hieroglyphic stair have found their way to Naranjo.

Integrating these panels into a nonsensical order as a public monument at Naranjo thereby essentially nullified all pretenses of Caracol power and supremacy that the monument originally conveyed in its original setting. What still plagues us are these gaps, since there are evident lacunae in AD 626, between 627 and 630, between 633 and 636 and, most troubling, the relatively lengthy gap between 637 and 642. As such, whereas it has always been hoped that additional segments of the hieroglyphic stair would be uncovered that would shed light on the original historical discourse, it was not something that could realistically be expected. The discovery on June 3, 2016, of precisely such a segment at the archaeological site Xunantunich in Belize thus came as a pleasant surprise to one and all. Here we will describe the context and circumstance of the discovery of the panel in question and will anchor its dates to the chronology of the hieroglyphic stair, which helps to fill the final gap of AD 637–642, leading up to the dedicatory date that closes the narrative of the monument.

Context and Circumstances of Discovery

Prior to the discovery of this monument, three carved stelae (Stelae 1, 8, and 9), one carved altar (Altar 1), and two carved panels (Panels 1 and 2) had been discovered at Xunantunich (Helmke et al. 2010). The panels constitute the most recent finds, Panel 1 having been discovered by Jason Yaeger as part of the Xunantunich Archaeological Project in 1997, in a fragmentary state in association with Str. A11 of the northern palace complex (Yaeger 1997:35-36); whereas Panel 2 is also fragmentary and was discovered in 2003 by Jaime Awe, in association with Str. A32, the large *audiencia* of the Castillo, the southern palatial complex of the site (Awe 2008:164; Helmke et al. 2010:101-103). Panel 3 is the most recent discovery at the site and was unearthed at the base of Str. A9 as part of on-going excavations by the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance (BVAR) project, under the direction of Jaime Awe, which has been operating at the site since 2015 (Figure 4).

Prior to the BVAR project, both Thomas Gann (1925) and Richard Leventhal conducted limited investigations on Str. A9. Gann's work focused primarily on the summit of the 12-meter high pyramidal building which he designated as Mound E (Gann 1925:61). Gann's (1925:62) investigations in 1924 uncovered a simple burial containing the remains of an adult individual "[t]wo feet beneath the surface" of the summit platform. Accompanying the human remains were a fragment of a chert projectile point, an obsidian blade, two jade earspools, and a "saucer-shaped" ceramic vessel that had been placed over the head of the individual (Gann 1925:62). The vessel is also described rather vaguely as yellow and red, painted with geometric designs (Gann 1925:54, 62). Gann eventually discontinued his excavations approximately "six feet" below the summit of the structure. Leventhal's investigation were conducted in the first half of the 1990s as part of the Xunantunich Archaeological Project (XAP) and consisted solely of a one meter-wide trench on the southern flank of the pyramid

| Long Count / DN | Day | Month | Gregorian Date | Monument |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 9.9.10.0.0 | 2 Ajaw | 13 Pop | 22 March 623 | Step ? |
| + 3.4.4 | | | | Step 8 |
| 9.9.13.4.4 | 9 K'an | 2 Sek | 29 May 626 | Step 8 |
| + 4.0 | | | | Step ? |
| 9.9.13.8.4 | 11 K'an | 2 Ch'en | 17 August 626 | Step ? |
| + 13.1 | | | | Step 7 |
| 9.9.14.3.5 | 12 Chikchan | 18 Sip | 5 May 627 | Step 7 |
| 9.9.?.?.? | | | | Step ? |
| + 3.?.? | | | | Step 13 |
| 9.9.17.11.14 | 13 Hix | 12 Sak | 5 October 630 | Step 13 |
| + 1.4.9 | | | | Step 6 |
| 9.9.18.16.3 | 7 Ak'bal | 16 Muwan | 28 December 631 | Step 6 |
| + 1.1.17 | | | | Step 6 |
| 9.10.0.0.0 | 1 Ajaw | 8 K'ayab | 28 January 633 | Step 6 & ? |
| 9.10.3.2.12 | 2 Eb | 0 Pop | 5 March 636 | Step 1 |
| + 1.13.10 | | | | Step 10 |
| 9.10.4.16.2 | 8 Ik' | 5 K'ank'in | 25 November 637 | Step 10 |
| + 14.2 | | | | Step 10 & ? |
| 9.10.5.12.4 | 4 K'an | 2 Yax | 3 September 638 | Step ? |
| 9.10.10.0.0 | 13 Ajaw | 18 K'ank'in | 7 December 642 | Step 5 |

Table 1. Chronological summary of the narrative preserved in the panels that together comprise the hieroglyphic stair discovered at Naranjo (using the 584286 GMT+1 correlation coefficient). Portions in gray have not been recovered and are conjectural.



Figure 4. Archaeologist Jorge Can exposing the glyphic medallions of Panel 3 (photograph by Kelsey Sullivan).

(Jamison 2010:132-133). Besides the basal terrace of the structure, no other cultural feature was identified by the XAP investigations.

The 2016 BVAR investigations had two major goals: (1) to horizontally expose the terminal phase of architecture on the eastern façade of the pyramid (and subsequently conserve it), and (2) to trench the mound to determine whether the structure was erected in a single construction phase or multiple. Erected at the eastern base of Str. A9, along the primary axis of the central outset stairway, is Stela A4 (following the designation of Sylvanus Morley), and excavations below and just behind this monument uncovered two sub-floor caches. One of these contained nine obsidian eccentrics. The other cache contained more than twenty chert eccentrics and large chert flakes (Figure 5). Panel 3 was subsequently discovered during excavations of the stair-side outset to the south of the central stairway. The collapse debris that engulfed, and thereby fortuitously preserved, the monument also damaged the panel somewhat, yet only as negligible chips



Figure 5. The cache of nine eccentric flints in situ (photograph by Kelsey Sullivan).

and spall along what is now the upper edge (i.e., the original side of the panel that would have been concealed by architecture in its original context). The monument had actually been placed on its side, resting at an angle against the southern stair-side outset. The context suggests that the monument had been placed against the stair side sometime after the final construction of the structure had been executed. At some later date the plaza floor was resurfaced and lipped up to the lowest portion of Panel 3, suggesting that it had not been moved in antiquity since its secondary redeposition at the base of Str. A9. No notable artifactual concentrations nor features have been found in association with the panel. With continued excavations and analyses we hope to obtain materials that can help us to establish the date of the monument's redeposition at the base of Str. A9, since this would go a long way to clarifying the process(es) by which this monument found its way to Xunantunich.

Xunantunich Panel 3

Panel 3 is the most recent and significant addition to the monumental corpus of Xunantunich (Figure 7). As recovered the panel measures 87 cm wide, 141 cm high, and 22 cm thick (all maximal measures). Nearly half of the text is in a pristine state of preservation or only moderately weathered, with only one exception where one initial segment has spalled off in antiquity, removing the entirety of one glyph and part of another. The glyphic text is arranged in two superimposed medallions, measuring on average 41 cm wide by 38.5 cm high. It is noteworthy that the upper one is missing its superior frame. The straight edge of the upper section of the panel, coupled with this missing superior frame, suggests that yet another adjoining section was initially set atop, but one that has not been recovered as yet. The relief separating the foreground from the background ranges between 5 and 6 mm, whereas the smaller incisions delineating the features of the glyphs average at around 1 mm.

The color and nature of the fine-grained crystalline limestone,

coupled with the use of medallions and the style of the glyphs all suggest that this panel finds its origin at Caracol and was a monument raised during the reign of K'an II. In addition, there are some paleographic features that betray that this panel is an integral part of the original hieroglyphic stair, since we find the same use and form of fillers on day signs, including that of 1 Kaban on Panel 3 (Figure 6a), 1 Ajaw on Step 6 at Naranjo (Figure 6b), and the same date on Altar 19 at Caracol (Figure 6c). In addition, the head variant of the *haab* with its "digit" coefficient and the placement of the phonetic signs **bi** and **ya** below, are nearly identical, when one compares Panel 3 (Figure 6d) with Panel 6 at Naranjo (Figure 6e). These features all indicate

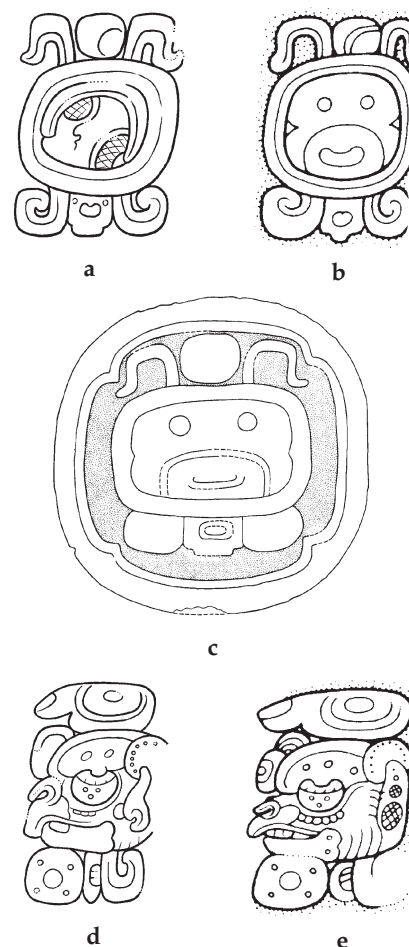


Figure 6. Shared paleographic features in the monuments of K'an II. The almost flame-like fillers found with day signs: (a) Xunantunich, Panel 3 (pZ2b); (b) Naranjo, Step 6 (N3a); (c) Caracol, Altar 19. The spelling of the *haab* in Distance Numbers, with the same head variants, and placement of the **bi** and **ya** syllabograms below the main sign: (d) Xunantunich, Panel 3 (pZ2a); (e) Naranjo, Step 6 (M3b).

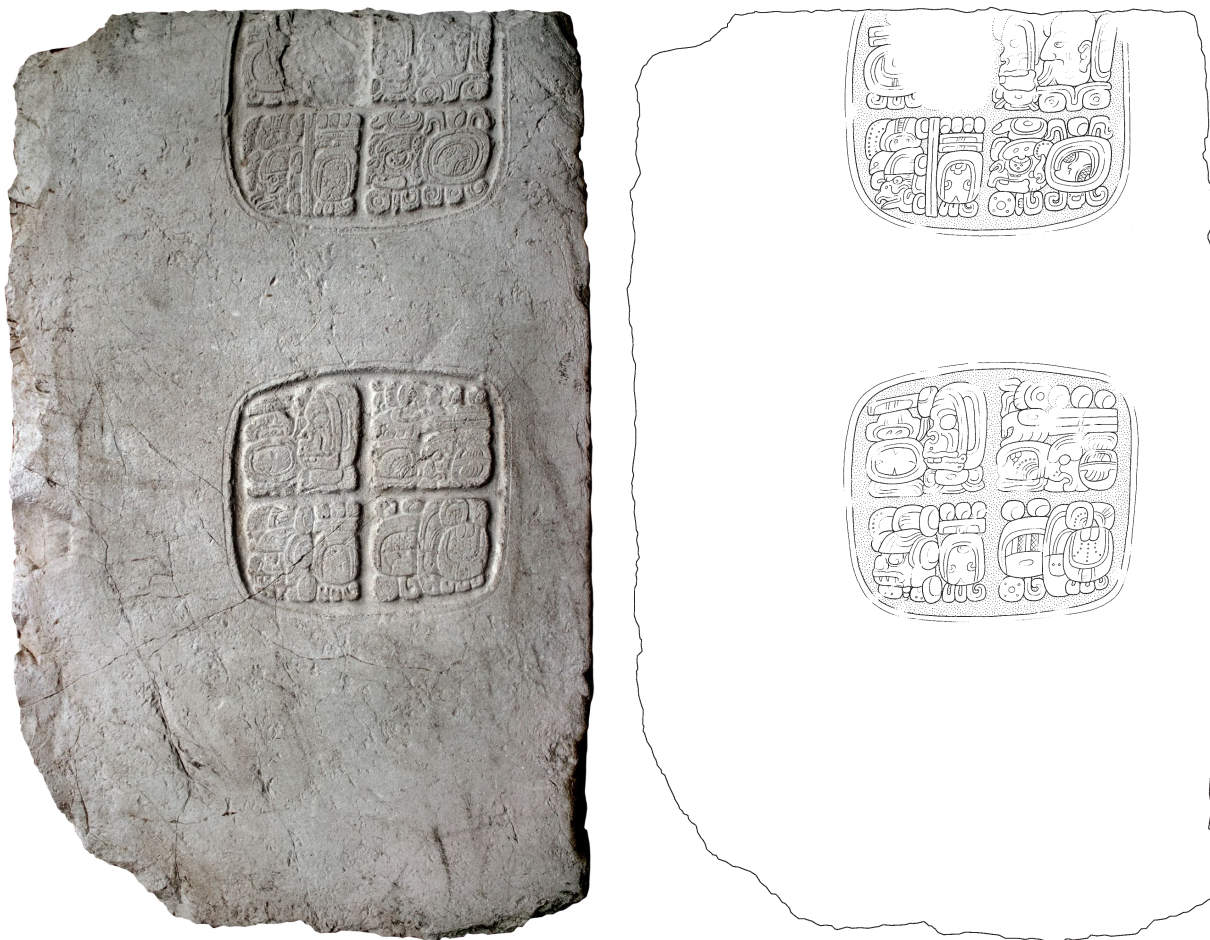


Figure 7. Photograph and drawing of Xunantunich Panel 3 (both by Christophe Helmke).

that these monuments may well be the product of the same scribes and/or sculptor, yet there are also differences in shared signs between the medallions of Panel 3, such as **YAX** (pY2a vs. pY3a), **WINIK** (pY2b vs. pY4b), **mi** (pZ1a vs. pY3b), and **ya** (pZ2a vs. pZ4a). These latter differences suggest that the medallions were carved by different sculptors and reveal that the hieroglyphic stair was carved by multiple “hands,” although ones that may have been following a painted template produced in a single hand, or alternatively a variety of sculptors exhibiting the same degree of variance that characterizes any single workshop. It will be interesting to follow up on this very preliminary paleographic assessment in the future and to expand it to all the monuments raised during the reign of K’an II.

Calendrics

The text preserved on the panel can be divided into three clauses, with intervening calendrical information between each. The first two clauses are headed by complete Calendar Round statements, with complete

Distance Numbers between the first and the second clause, specifying the amount of time between each of these events. Whereas there are some parts that are now illegible, the entirety of the chronological information can be reconstructed (Table 2). The first Calendar Round is mostly obliterated since it was recorded in the section that is now heavily spalled. Nevertheless, the edge of the day sign K’an and parts of a dot and two superimposed bars for the coefficient can be discerned. The Calendar Round of the second clause is split between the medallions and can be read without difficulty as 1 Kaban 5 Yaxk’in. The Distance Number linking the first and second clauses consists of 8 days, 14 “months” (winal) of twenty days, and 1 “vague year” of 360 days. The numerals are all expressed in bars and dots, with the exception of the coefficient for the year that represents a finger and as such functions metonymically as a digit for “one.” Together this Distance Number accounts for a little less than two years and allows us to reconstruct the initial Calendar Round date as 11 K’an 2 Sak. This date matches the remaining outlines of the day sign and its coefficient.

| Long Count / DN | Day | Month | Gregorian Date | Monument |
|-----------------|---------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| 9.10.4.16.2 | 8 Ik' | 5 K'ank'in | 25 November 637 | NAR Step 10 |
| + 14.2 | | | | |
| 9.10.5.12.4 | 4 K'an | 2 Yax | 3 September 638 | — |
| + 1.0 | | | | |
| 9.10.5.13.4 | 11 K'an | 2 Sak | 23 September 638 | XUN Panel 3 |
| + 1.14.13 | | | | |
| 9.10.7.9.17 | 1 Kaban | 5 Yaxk'in | 7 July 640 | XUN Panel 3 |
| + 2.8.3 | | | | |
| 9.10.10.0.0 | 13 Ajaw | 18 K'ank'in | 7 December 642 | NAR Step 5 |

Table 2. The chronology of Xunantunich Panel 3 and its integration in the overall chronology of the hieroglyphic stair discovered at Naranjo (using the 584286 GMT+1 correlation coefficient). The section is gray has not yet been recovered and is conjectural.

The Distance Number leading from the second clause to the third consists of 3 days, 8 “months,” and 2 “years,” amounting to approximately two-and-a-half years. Based on these parameters, the Calendar Round date of the third clause should be 13 Ajaw 18 K'ank'in, although this information has been suppressed on Panel 3. This Calendar Round occurs seven times in baktun 9, yet as a date involving 13 Ajaw this may refer to a period-ending event and precisely such an anchor is provided by the 9.10.10.0.0 Long Count date, which corresponds to December 7, 642. As such, this is the most promising anchor for the chronological data provided on the monument. An anchor to such a prominent lahuntun period ending may also explain its suppression in the text, since it would have been well known and implicit to the reader.

This interpretation of the chronological information is significant since it fits into the missing AD 637 to 642 sequence towards the end of the historical narrative recorded on the hieroglyphic stair discovered at Naranjo. In addition, the latest date recorded in the panels of this hieroglyphic stair is precisely this 9.10.10.0.0 period ending (Step 5), which strongly suggests that this is the dedicatory date of the entire monument. The very last date recorded on the extant panels of the hieroglyphic stair at Naranjo records an event in November 637 (Step 10)—the jubilee celebrating the completion of the first k'atun in rulership of K'an II—and goes on to record another Distance Number leading to another event (Figure 8). What remains of the Distance Number comprises 2 days and 14 “months,” or a little more than nine months later. Whereas this Distance Number does not link directly to the Calendar Round that starts the text of Panel 3, the missing gap amounts to precisely one twenty-day “month” or winal. This is important as the temporal interval is significant in emic terms and also implies that there is another, as yet undiscovered panel that related an event that transpired in September 638. Considering the format of the narrative in these medallions, such an intervening clause could easily be accommodated in

such a medallion.

Another interesting feature is that all the other panels represent only a single medallion, whereas Panel 3 clearly differs in this regard, since it bears two superimposed medallions. The best explanation would be to identify Panel 3 as the facing of a stair-side outset, flanking the right side of the stair. This also makes sense in terms of the narrative since the events recorded on Panel 3 constitute the very end of an account that would have spanned the width of the stair and presumably been read from the viewer's left to right. These interpretations thereby also imply that the very beginning of the narrative, presumably that recording the previous lahuntun period ending of 9.9.10.0.0 (corresponding to March 22, 623), twenty years before, would also have been equally rendered on such a large stair-side panel with two superimposed medallions. From the historical record preserved at Caracol, especially that recorded on Stela 3, it is clear that the first significant event after the

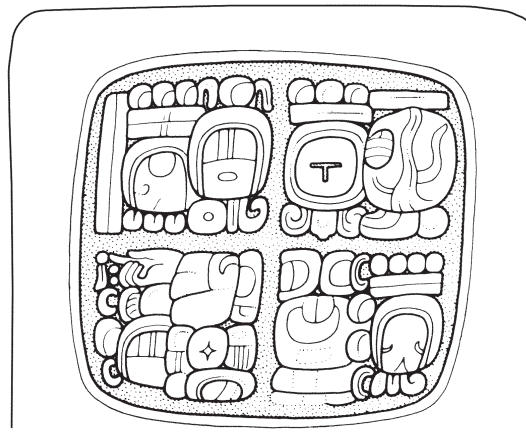


Figure 8. Step 10 of the hieroglyphic stair found at Naranjo (after Graham 1978:110; drawing by Ian Graham © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 2004.15.6.3.34).

accession of K'an II to the throne in 618 (on 9.9.4.16.2), was the lahuntun period ending of 9.9.10.0.0. This may help to explain why this period ending is given such prominence on the monuments of K'an II and serves as the starting point of the hieroglyphic stair's narrative.

Historical Events: Clause 1

The event of the first clause is recorded succinctly as the intransitive verb *kam* or *cham*, “die,” suffixed by the root intransitive suffix *-i* (pZ1a) (Figure 9). Precisely the same type of event and spelling is seen on Step 13 of the hieroglyphic stair found at Naranjo, which records the death of the Snake-head king Tajo'm Uk'ab K'ahk' in AD 630 (Figure 3a) (Table 1). The tradition of recording the death of overlords of the Snake-head dynasty is a practice that K'an II may have inherited from Yajawte' K'inich II, his father, since the death of Sky Witness in 572 appears to be dutifully recorded on Stela 3 of Caracol (Martin and Grube 2000:104). On Panel 3, the patient of this verb, the individual who is said to die on this day, is named in the following glyph (pZ1b). This subject is the so-called Lady Batz' Ek', a nickname ascribed to this nominal segment on account of the apparent prognathism of the portrait glyph (see Stone et al. 1985; in comparison, Carl P. Beetz [1980] had nicknamed her “God C Star”). Lady Batz' Ek' was the mother of K'an II, and as such, this was clearly a significant turning point in his life to warrant commemoration on this monument. Since we now know that Lady Batz' Ek' died in September 638, it explains why her passing was not mentioned on Stela 3, which was dedicated just the year before in November 637 (the latest date on the stela is 9.10.4.15.18, an event that was explicitly said to have been witnessed by Lady Batz' Ek'). In addition to the references to Lady Batz' Ek' in the monuments of Caracol, she is also named as part of the parentage statement of K'an II on so-called Lintel 1 (Grube and Martin 2004:56-57) and Step 3 of the hieroglyphic stair discovered at Naranjo (Simon Martin in Grube 1994:107, Fig. 9.13). As the son of a junior wife of Yajawte' K'inich II, K'an II was at pains to promote the status of his mother, not least since he succeeded the reign of his half brother, Knot Ajaw (see Martin and Grube 2000:90-91). This helps to explain why Lady Batz' Ek' figures so prominently in the monuments of K'an II, which cite her birth, her arrival at Caracol, the many events that she sanctioned and witnessed, and ultimately her death, as recorded on Xunantunich Panel 3. Her name has not been adequately deciphered at present, since it includes a series of different logograms that are resisting coherent decipherment. We will comment on her name before addressing some of the implications of her death statement.

Apparently the portrait head of her name glyph melds the female profile that stands as the logogram IX(IX), functioning here as the female agentive prefix

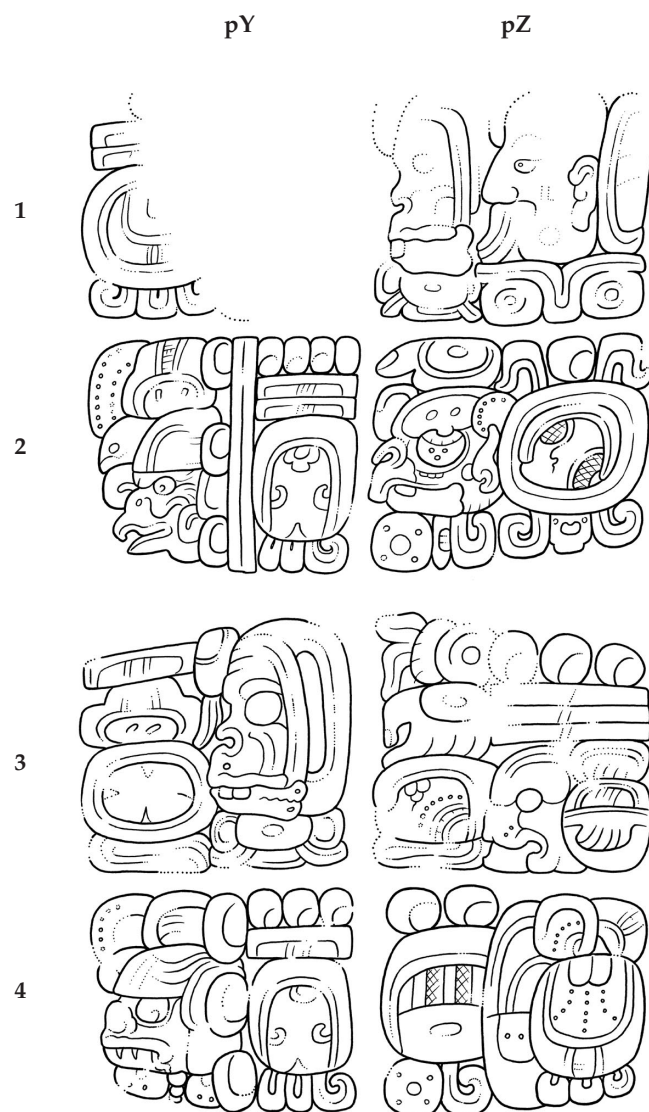


Figure 9. The glyphic text of Panel 3 (drawing by Christophe Helmke).

ix-, with the profile of another portrait glyph with large lips. These large and elongated lips are a characteristic of her name that are also found in the name of the father of Ahku'l Mo' Naahb III, ruler of Palenque in the first part of the eighth century (see Martin and Grube 2000:172-173; Stuart 2005a), and an individual at Copan (Bíró 2010:24). The almost duck-billed and elongated lips are a feature of a particular wind deity that may have been named *tiwool* (Stuart 2005a:25, n.3).² These readings are based on the substitution set written on Palenque's Tablet of the Slaves as **ti-wo-CHAN-na**, as well as the spellings recorded on the sculptured pier

² Alternatively, this part of the name could have been read as *tiwo'* (Alexandre Tokovinine, personal communication 2013).

of Temple XIX at Palenque, where the name is written with a *-la* phonetic complement, a spelling that is also seen in the name of the individual at Copan (see Stuart 2005a:23-26; B  r   2010:24). As such, in more complete form the individual at Palenque appears to have been named Tiwool Chan Mat, revealing a type of “celestial” name wherein the middle segment involves *chan* or “sky.” The same may also be the case with the name of Lady Batz’ Ek’, especially since her name also includes the logogram **EK’** “star” as a subfix below the portrait head. Based on onomastic patterns, names that include *ek’* tend to record the fuller sequence ... *chan ek’*, as seen in the well-known examples of the name Chan Ek’ in the Lowlands during the Classic and the cognate Kan Ek’ of the Itza’ during the early Colonial period (Boot 2005:39-49, Map 2.2). What may be the final part of her name is written with a polished celt sign T24, for which David Stuart (2010:291-292) has proposed the value **LEM**. Assuming that all of these elements have been correctly identified, the complete name of the mother of K’an II may actually have been closer to Ixtiwool Chan Ek’ Lem.

Her name is also followed by a title, recorded in the following glyph (pY2a), duplicating the one that she bears in the text of Stela 3 of Caracol (see Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981:Fig. 4, B10b). This title is written **K’UH-YAX-a-AJAW**, which allows for two possible readings (Grube and Martin 2004:50-52). It might provide the title *k’uhul yax ajaw*, wherein the **a** vocalic sign merely functions as an initial phonetic complement for the *ajaw* “lord, king” part of the title. If this is the case then her title could be translated as “godly Yax lord,” wherein the medial segment would name an as-yet-unknown locality. Alternatively, her title can be transcribed as *k’uhul yaxa’ ajaw*, wherein the **a** vocalic sign serves to mark the toponymic suffix *-a’* (Zender 2005), which here would provide the toponym Yaxa’, the Classic period equivalent of the large archaeological site known as Yaxha, in adjoining Guatemala (Stuart 1985). We prefer the latter option and as such her title would designate her as a royal princess hailing from Yaxha.

Panel 3 also provides us with a clear death statement for Lady Batz’ Ek’, which is here said to have occurred on September 23, 638. This date is significant because a large and well-furnished tomb, unearthed within Structure B19-2nd at Caracol, has long been thought to be her possible resting place (Grube 1994:108; Martin and Grube 2000:91-92). This is bolstered by the analyses of the skeletal remains that suggest that the individual interred was an adult female (Chase and Chase 1987:26). Structure B-19 is the central building of the triadic temples at the summit of the majestic Caana palatial complex and as such the individual interred in this tomb must have been of paramount importance, particularly given that this is one of the most elaborate and well-furnished interments discovered at Caracol (Chase and

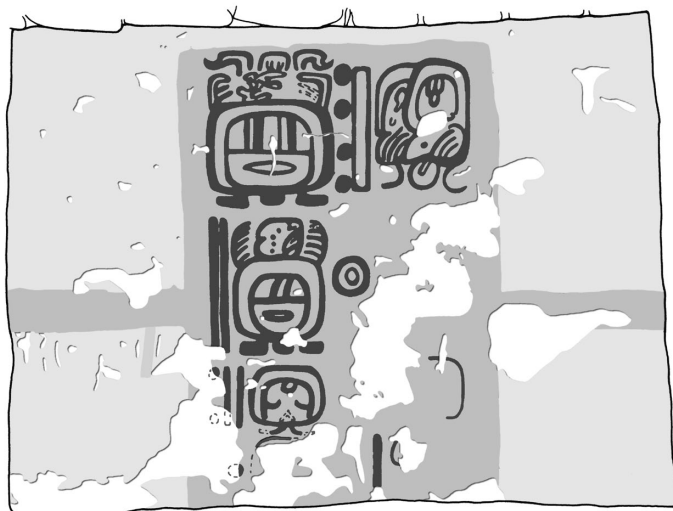


Figure 10. The painted text on the rear wall of the Str. B19-2nd tomb at Caracol (adapted from Chase and Chase 1987:Fig. 23).

Chase 1987:27). The rear wall of the tomb was embellished with a glyphic text, wherein a Long Count date is partially preserved, undoubtedly recording either the date of the occupant’s death, or alternatively the date of the tomb’s dedication, the inhumation proper, or closing of the tomb (see Chase and Chase 1987:27) (Figure 10). As preserved, the Long Count is 9.10.1.12.#, and whereas the final coefficient is eroded the date clearly corresponds to AD 634. This event transpired a full four years before the death date recorded on Panel 3 at Xunantunich, which implies that it is no longer tenable to assume that the B19-2nd tomb is the final resting place of Lady Batz’ Ek’.

Clause 2

As we have already seen, the second clause records an event that transpired a little under two years later, on July 7, 640. In keeping with the theme of the first clause, the second also provides a death statement, using precisely the same root intransitive verb *kam-i* or *cham-i* (pY3b), although here it can be translated as “he died,” since the patient of the verb is a male. The name of the subject is provided in the following two glyphs (pZ3a-pZ3b) and his title closes the clause (pY4a). As we will see this clause does not pertain to a Caracol dynast, but instead refers to the fate of one of the rulers of the Snake-head dynasty to which Caracol owed fealty.

The first part is not entirely clear since it has suffered some erosion, especially in the upper part, and involves a sign that remains unknown in its identification—although it bears some resemblance to the syllabogram **ti**. This first sign is followed by a **ye** syllabogram representing a human hand. Together this may yield an intransitive verbal root, followed by an archaic change

of state suffix *-ey*. Below this segment is **TUN-ni** or *tuun* “stone,” providing the subject of this verb. Thus, this segment may provide a complete, albeit short, intransitive clause, which we initially assumed to record a pre-accession name, or youth name of the royal figure that is said to die. If so, the second part of the name would record the regnal name received upon accession (Eberl and Graña-Behrens 2004; Colas 2014). A similar practice is seen in the case of several rulers who keep their youth names even after assuming the throne, usually preceding the accession name. Thus, for example, K’an II of Caracol was named Sak Baah Witzil (or Sak Witzil Baah) in his youth (Grube 1994:104; Martin and Grube 2000:91; Marc Zender, personal communication 2014), whereas Yaxuun Bahlam III of Yaxchilan was named Ajwak Tuun (Martin and Grube 2000:104), “Itzamnaaj” Bahlam IV was Chelew Chan K’inich (Marc Zender, personal communication 2015), and Yo’nal Ahk III of Piedras Negras was named in part Ik’ Naah Chak (Martin and Grube 2000:151). These examples establish the onomastic pattern wherein some rulers maintained their youth names even after their accessions.

Nevertheless, an alternative explanation for this segment can be found in parallel clauses inscribed on panels originally from the site of La Corona in Guatemala. One of these, now in the private collection of Thomas Ford, in Massachusetts, has been designated as Element 9 (originally designated as Panel A by Peter Mathews; see Stuart et al. 2015:Fig. 1a, 9); it provides a death statement of the king of the site of Santa Elena in Tabasco (also known as the “wa-Bird” site; see Martin 2003). Interestingly, his death is recorded as **CHAM-mi** (pB1), followed once more by **ti-ye-TUN** (pA2), providing a very close parallel construction to that seen on Panel 3 at Xunantunich.³ Similarly, on Panel 2 of La Corona, the accession of one K’uk’ Ajaw is closely followed by his death recorded as *i-cham* (C6) *ti y-eh-tuun* (D6). As such, these prepositional subclauses may all somehow specify the manner of their deaths, by means of, or with, an *eh-tuun* (lit. “tooth-stone” or “sharp-stone”; see Grube et al. 2002:85).

Returning to Panel 3 of Xunantunich and following this prepositional sub-clause, we see the regnal name (pZ3b), which includes three bars and three dots for the numeral “18,” and below we find the sequence **BAH-ka-KAN**. Together this name can be read as Waxaklajuun Ubaah Kan, which is immediately reminiscent of the well-known Copan ruler known as Waxaklajuun Ubaah K’awiil, who lost his head at the hands of the Quirigua king K’ahk’ Tiliw Chan Yopaat (r. AD 724–785), in AD 738.

³ A similar construction is seen on the finely engraved travertine bowl (K4692), where the same expression **ti-ye-TUN-ni** is also seen, rendered twice, and once significantly after *cham-i*, forming yet another parallel construction (Marc Zender, personal communication 2016).

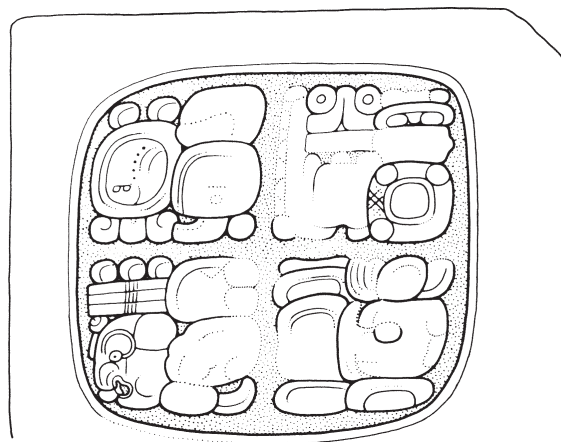


Figure 11. Step 1 of the hieroglyphic stair found at Naranjo (after Graham 1978:107; drawing by Ian Graham © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 2004.15.6.3.25).

The individual named on Panel 3 is, however, another, as is made clear by the differing endings of the names, as well as the chronology, since the Copan ruler reigned several decades later, from AD 695 until his untimely death (see Schele and Freidel 1990:315–319; Martin and Grube 2000:203–205; Loooper 2003:76; Stuart 2005b). The name Waxaklajuun Ubaah Kan can be translated as “eighteen are the heads / images of the snake” (see Taube 1992:59–68; Zender 2004:200, 201–203) and refers to the manifold aspects or incarnations of the supernatural entity known as the War Serpent (Helmke 2012:76, 78–79). That this serpentine deity frequently adorns military regalia of prominent warriors, both at Teotihuacan and in the Maya area, makes clear its martial attributes and associations (Taube 1992:59–68). Although this name is best known for its use as a theonym, here it is used as an anthroponym of the individual that passed away in AD 640. Interestingly, the same individual is mentioned in an earlier passage of the hieroglyphic stair at Naranjo (Step 1), four years before his passing, on the date 2 Eb 0 Pop, or AD 636 (see Table 1), at which juncture he is said to have been defeated (Figure 11). This setback is recorded with a “star war” verb followed by a poetic couplet or difrasismo, *u-took’ u-pakal*, literally “his flint and his shield” (see Hull 2003:422–425; Lacadena 2009; Helmke et al. 2010:104). Although metaphorical, this records the toppling of his army in a crushing defeat, an action that is apparently credited to the king of the Snake-head dynasty known as Yukno’m Head (see Martin and Grube 2000:92, 106). What is really significant here is that we know that Yukno’m Head eventually established his court at Calakmul (Martin 2005) and bore the emblem glyph of the Snake-head dynasty, read *k’uhul kanu’l ajaw* (see Helmke and Kupprat in press).

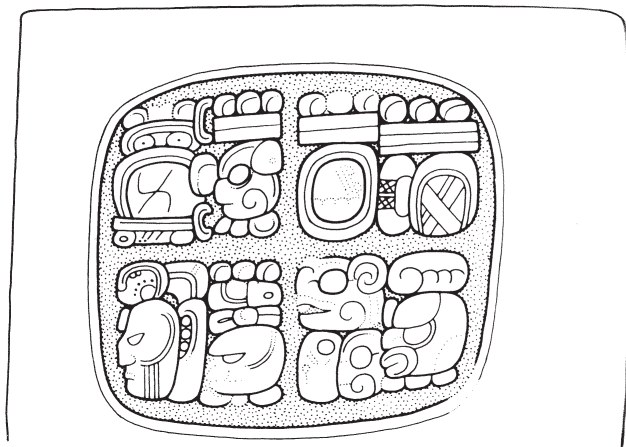


Figure 12. Step 7 of the hieroglyphic stair found at Naranjo (after Graham 1978:109; drawing by Ian Graham © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, PM# 2004.15.6.3.31).

This makes the title of Waxaklajuun Ubaah Kan all the more remarkable. Whereas on Step 1 at Naranjo the title is mostly eroded, on Panel 3 at Xunantunich (pY4a) there can be little doubt that he carried the same Snake-head emblem glyph, complete with initial *ka*- phonetic complement for *kan* “snake,” and the final *-la* syllabogram for the locative suffix *-u’l* (see Lacadena and Wichmann n.d.:21-28). As such, the conflicts that pitted Yukno’*m* Head and Waxaklajuun Ubaah Kan may well represent differing contenders to the throne, each bearing the same Snake-head emblem glyph. Based on analogous circumstances in the Maya area—and here we can think of Tikal and Dos Pilas (Houston 1993; Martin and Grube 2000:39-43, 56-58)—we are probably witnessing a bout of sibling rivalry, wherein half-brothers leading opposing factions eventually incited a civil war, with a splinter dynasty ultimately relocating to an alternate location, all the while asserting legitimacy and maintaining their claims to the throne. It may thus be these conflicts that are the lynchpin behind these events and the ultimate relocation of the Snake-head dynasty to Calakmul. If this is correctly deduced, then Waxaklajuun Ubaah Kan may have been the last of the Snake-head kings to rule at Dzibanche—apparently the seat of the dynasty in the Early Classic (Velásquez García 2004, 2008a, 2008b; Martin 2005).

Clause 3

The third and final clause is only partially preserved and apparently would have continued on another panel. The Calendar Round of this date is not recorded on Panel 3, but as we have seen can be reconstructed as an important lahuntun period ending. All that is recorded on Panel

3 is the verb of the action that transpired on this day (pZ4b). Here it is written *i-pi-tzi-ji* for *i-pitz-ij*, involving the substantive *pitz* “ballgame,” here denominalized by the verbalizing suffix *-ij* (Lacadena 2003), the whole preceded by the conjunctive *i-* “and.” As such the narrative recorded on Panel 3 relates that the period ending involved the celebration of a ballgame, although who was involved is not specified here. There are two other references to the ballgame in the panels of the hieroglyphic stair found at Naranjo (Step 7 and 11), one of which took place in AD 627 (see Table 1) (Figure 12). That ballgame is said to have been captured by the Snake-head king Tajo’*m* Uk’ab K’ahk’ (r. AD 622–630)—the predecessor of Yuhkno’*m* Head—and was played in a ballcourt named Ux Ahal Ehbul or the “three conquest stair” (see Martin and Grube 2000:130; Bíró 2013:18-19). This name is that of a legendary ballcourt where the Maize God was decapitated in the distant past, but was also a name attributed to historical ballcourts at a series of different sites across the lowlands, all as material emulations of the mythic precedent (Freidel et al. 1993:353-355). As such, any ballgames played within such courts were in essence replications of mythic events that transpired in the time before creation. Unfortunately we do not know more about the ballgame recorded on Panel 3, since the remainder of the clause would have been rendered on another panel that has yet to be recovered. The other references made to the ballgame, on the hieroglyphic stair found at Naranjo, are mentioned in conjunction with Snake-head kings as their primary agents. As such we can see that there is an intimate relation between the ballgame and the hegemony of the Snake-head overlords (see Helmke et al. 2015).

Concluding Comments

The discovery of Panel 3 at Xunantunich is a significant find on several fronts. Not only does it provide a heretofore unknown glyphic text, but it also helps to flesh out several important historical events during the reign of K’an II at Caracol. It also provides ample support to the hypothesis that the hieroglyphic stair is a monument commissioned by K’an II and that it was raised at Caracol. The secondary contexts and the multiple sites at which the panels of this monument have been recovered are evidence of the power and extent of ancient Maya political alliances and the destructive effects of warfare, especially when wrought by vengeful kings. The death date recorded on Panel 3 also makes it clear precisely when Lady Batz’ Ek’ died and eliminates the B19-2nd tomb as a candidate for her final resting place. The mention of Waxaklajuun Ubaah Kan and his attribution of a Snake-head emblem glyph may help to reconstruct what undoubtedly was a period of instability for the dynasty, eventually resulting in the wholesale relocation of the splinter dynasty to Calakmul. It

was this splinter dynasty that would rise to greatness and extend its sphere of influence and ties of vassalage, dominating most of the politics of the Late Classic period. With Panel 3 we have now been able to close an important gap in the lengthy historical narrative that once graced the hieroglyphic stair of K'an II and, however improbable, we can only hope that additional fragments will come to light in the future. The discovery of Panel 3 confirms the ties that bound Xunantunich to Naranjo in the late seventh century, an alliance that would endure well into the Terminal Classic (Helmke et al. 2010). That the hieroglyphic stair of Caracol was dismantled and scattered among the allies of Naranjo is a testament to the might and forceful impact of ancient Maya politics. Whereas the intention of Naranjo kings may have been to silence a glorious part of Caracol's history, we are incredibly fortunate to be able to pick up the pieces and reconstruct much of this once forgotten history.

Acknowledgments

The 2015–2018 Xunantunich Archaeology and Conservation Project is a collaborative effort between the Belize Institute of Archaeology and the Belize Valley Archaeological Reconnaissance project of Northern Arizona University. Funding for the conservation component of the project is generously provided by the Tilden Family Foundation of San Francisco, California. We are particularly grateful for the assistance provided by Doug Tilden, Catharina Santasilia, Kelsey Sullivan, Diane Slocum, and Julie Hoggarth. Special gratitude is owed to Jorge Can for supervising the conservation of the monumental architecture, and for assisting in all aspects of our project. Many thanks also to the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments that have greatly benefitted the paper. Our thanks to the President and Fellows of Harvard University College as well as the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology for permission to reproduce the images herein and to Katherine Meyers for her help in securing these images from the archives of the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions. We would also like to acknowledge the efforts and help of Marc Zender and Joel Skidmore in seeing this paper so quickly to press. Last, and certainly not least, we extend our appreciation for the great work conducted by all the workers from the village of San José Succotz.



Figure 13. Nighttime photography of Panel 3, with Jorge Can holding the lights (photograph by Christophe Helmke).

References

- Awe, Jaime J.
2008 Architectural Manifestations of Power and Prestige: Examples from Classic Period Monumental Architecture at Cahal Pech, Xunantunich and Caracol, Belize. *Research Reports in Belizean Archaeology* 5:159-174.
- Beetz, Carl P.
1980 Caracol Thirty Years Later: A Preliminary Account of Two Rulers. *Expedition* 22(3):4-11.
- Beetz, Carl P., and Linton Satterthwaite
1981 *The Monuments and Inscriptions of Caracol, Belize*. University Museum Monographs 45. University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

- Bíró, Péter
2010 A New Look at the Inscription of Copan Altar K. *The PARI Journal* 11(2):22-28.
2013 Aj- and ah-: An example of velar and glottal spirant distinction in Classic Maya script. *Mexicon* 35(1):15-21.
- Boot, Erik
2005 *Continuity and Change in Text and Image at Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, México*. CNWS Publications, Leiden.
- Chase, Arlen F., and Diane Z. Chase
1987 *Investigations at the Classic Maya City of Caracol, Belize: 1985-1987*. PARI Monograph 3. Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, San Francisco.
- Closs, Michael P.
1984 The Dynastic History of Naranjo: The Early Period. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 15:77-96.
- Colas, Pierre Robert
2014 Personal Names: The Creation of Social Status among the Classic Maya. In *A Celebration of the Life and Work of Pierre Robert Colas*, edited by Christophe Helmke and Frauke Sachse, pp. 19-59. *Acta Mesoamericana* 27. Verlag Anton Saurwein, Munich.
- Eberl, Markus, and Daniel Graña-Behrens
2004 Proper Names and Throne Names: On the Naming Practice of Classic Maya. In *Continuity and Change: Maya Religious Practices in Temporal Perspective*, edited by Daniel Graña Behrens, Nikolai Grube, Christian Prager, Frauke Sachse, Stephanie Teufel and Elisabeth Wagner, pp. 101-120. Anton Saurwein, Markt Schwaben.
- Freidel, David, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker
1993 *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path*. William Morrow, New York.
- Gann, Thomas W. F.
1925 *Mystery Cities*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Graham, Ian
1978 *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 2, Part 2: Naranjo, Ch'unhuitz, Xunantunich*. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge.
1980 *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 2, Part 3: Ixkun, Ucanal, Ixtutz, Naranjo*. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge.
- Grube, Nikolai
1994 Epigraphic Research at Caracol, Belize. In *Studies in the Archaeology of Caracol, Belize*, edited by Diane Z. Chase and Arlen F. Chase, pp. 83-122. PARI Monograph 7. Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, San Francisco.
- Grube, Nikolai, and Simon Martin
2004 *The Proceedings of the Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop: Patronage, Betrayal, and Revenge: Diplomacy and Politics in the Eastern Maya Lowlands*. Transcribed by Phil Wanyerka. University of Texas at Austin; Cleveland State University, Austin and Cleveland.
- Grube, Martin, Simon Martin, and Marc Zender
2002 *Proceedings of the Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop: Palenque and Its Neighbors, March 9-10, 2002, University of Texas at Austin*, transcribed and edited by Phil Wanyerka. Maya Workshop Foundation, Austin.
- Helmke, Christophe
2012 Mayojeen pantheon / Mayas panteon / The Maya Pantheon. In *Maya III: Life • Death • Time*, edited by Maria Didrichsen and Harri Kettunen, pp. 62-103. Didrichsen Museum of Art and Culture, Helsinki.
- Helmke, Christophe, Christopher R. Andres, Shawn G. Morton, and Gabriel D. Wrobel
2015 For Love of the Game: The Ballplayer Panels of Tipan Chen Uitz in Light of Late Classic Athletic Hegemony. *The PARI Journal* 16:1-30.
- Helmke, Christophe, Jaime Awe, and Nikolai Grube
2010 The Carved Monuments and Inscriptions of Xunantunich. *Classic Maya Provincial Politics: Xunantunich and Its Hinterlands*, edited by Lisa J. LeCount and Jason Yaeger, pp. 97-121. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Helmke, Christophe, and Harri Kettunen
2011 *Where Atole Abounds: Naranjo during the Reign of K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Chahk*. 1st Cracow Maya Conference, Department of New World Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.
- Helmke, Christophe, and Felix A. Kupprat
in press Where Snakes Abound: Supernatural Places of Origin and Founding Myths in the Titles of Classic Maya Kings. In *Places of Power and Memory in Mesoamerica's Past and Present: How Toponyms, Landscapes and Boundaries Shape History and Remembrance*, edited by Daniel Graña-Behrens. Indiana series. Gebrüder Mann Verlag, Berlin.
- Houston, Stephen D.
1993 *Hieroglyphs and History at Dos Pilas: Dynastic Politics of the Classic Maya*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Hull, Kerry M.
2003 Verbal Art and Performance in Ch'orti' and Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.
- Jamison, Thomas R.
2010 Monumental Building Programs and Changing Political Strategies at Xunantunich. *Classic Maya Provincial Politics: Xunantunich and Its Hinterlands*, edited by Lisa J. LeCount and Jason Yaeger, pp. 122-144. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Krempel, Guido, and Albert Davletshin
2011 Two Polychrome Maya Drinking Vessels for Cacao in the Chocolate Museum Cologne. *Mexicon* 33(2):26-32.
- Lacadena, Alfonso
2003 El sufijo verbalizador -Vj (-aj ~ -iij) en la escritura jeroglífica maya. In *De la tablilla a la inteligencia artificial, vol. 2*, edited by Antonia González Blanco, Juan Pablo Vita Barra, and José Angel Zamora López, pp. 847-865. Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, Centro mixto entre las Cortes de Aragón, Consejo Superior de Investigación Científicas y la Universidad de Zaragoza, Zaragoza.
2009 Apuntes para un estudio sobre literatura maya antigua. In *Text and Context: Yucatec Maya Literature in a Diachronic Perspective / Texto y contexto: perspectivas intraculturales en el análisis de la literatura maya yucateca*, edited by Antje Gunsenheimer, Tsubasa Okoshi Harada, and John Chuchiak IV, pp. 31-52. Bonner Amerikanistische Studien 47. Shaker-Verlag, Aachen.

- Lacadena, Alfonso and Søren Wichmann
n.d. Harmony Rules and the Suffix Domain: A Study of Maya Scribal Conventions. Manuscript.
- Looper, Matthew G.
2003 *Lightning Warrior: Maya Art and Kingship at Quirigua*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Maler, Teobert
1908 *Explorations in the Department of Peten, Guatemala and Adjacent Region: Topoxté, Yaxhá, Benque Viejo, Naranjo*. Harvard University, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
- Martin, Simon
2000 At the Periphery: The Movement, Modification and Re-Use of Early Monuments in the Environs of Tikal. In *The Sacred and the Profane: Architecture and Identity in the Maya Lowlands*, edited by Pierre Robert Colas, Kai Delvendahl, Marcus Kuhnert, and Annette Schubart, pp. 51-62. Acta Mesoamericana 10. Verlag Anton Saurwein, Markt Schwaben.
2003 Moral-Reforma y la contienda por el oriente de Tabasco. *Arqueología Mexicana* 11(61):44-47.
2005 Of Snakes and Bats: Shifting Identities at Calakmul. *The PARI Journal* 6(2):5-13.
- Martin, Simon, and Nikolai Grube
2000 *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens: Deciphering the Dynasties of the Ancient Maya*. Thames & Hudson, London.
- Morales, Paulino
2009 Monografía de investigación arqueológica. In *Investigación arqueológica y consolidación del Edificio B-18, del sitio Naranjo, Parque Nacional Yaxha-Nakum-Naranjo, Departamento de Peten, Municipio de Melchor de Mencos, reporte 1, temporada 2009*, edited by Paulino Morales and Francine Valiente, pp. 12-26. Dirección del Patrimonio Cultural y Natural, Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes, Departamento de Monumentos Prehispánicos y Coloniales – IDEAH, Guatemala.
- Morley, Sylvanus G.
1909 The Inscriptions of Naranjo, Northern Guatemala. *American Anthropologist* 11(4):543-562.
- Proskoriakoff, Tatiana
1993 *Maya History*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Schele, Linda, and David Freidel
1990 *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya*. Quill & Morrow, New York.
- Stone, Andrea, Dorie Reents, and Robert Coffman
1985 Genealogical Documentation of the Middle Classic Dynasty of Caracol, El Cayo, Belize. In *Fourth Palenque Round Table*, edited by Merle Greene Robertson and Elizabeth P. Benson, pp. 267-275. Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, San Francisco.
- Stuart, David
1985 The Yaxha Emblem Glyph as Yax-ha. *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing* 1:1-6.
2005a *The Inscriptions from Temple XIX at Palenque: A Commentary*. Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, San Francisco.
- 2005 A Foreign Past: The Writing and Representation of History on A Royal Ancestral Shrine at Copan. In *Copan: The History of An Ancient Maya Kingdom*, edited by E. Wyllys Andrews and William L. Fash, pp. 373-394. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe.
- 2010 Shining Stones: Observations on the Ritual Meaning of Early Maya Stelae. In *The Place of Stone Monuments: Context, Use, and Meaning in Mesoamerica's Preclassic Transition*, edited by Julia Guernsey, John E. Clark and Barbara Arroyo, pp. 283-298. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
- Stuart, David, Marcello A. Canuto, and Tomás Barrientos Q.
2015 The Nomenclature of La Corona Sculpture. *La Corona Notes* 1(2). Mesoweb: www.mesoweb.com/LaCorona/LaCoronaNotes02.pdf
- Taube, Karl
1992 The Temple of Quetzalcoatl and the Cult of Sacred War at Teotihuacan. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 21:53-87.
- Tokovinine, Alexandre
2007 Of Snake Kings and Cannibals: A Fresh Look at the Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway. *The PARI Journal* 7(4):15-22.
- Velásquez García, Erik
2004 Los posibles alcances territoriales de la influencia política de Dzibanché durante el Clásico temprano: nuevas alternativas para interpretar las menciones epigráficas tempranas sobre Kaan. Paper presented at the V Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Palenque, Mexico.
2008a Los posibles alcances territoriales de la influencia política de Dzibanché durante el clásico temprano: nuevas alternativas para interpretar menciones históricas sobre la entidad política de Kan. In *El territorio maya: Memoria de la Quinta Mesa Redonda de Palenque*, edited by Rodrigo Liendo Stuardo, pp. 323-352. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico D.F.
2008b En busca de Testigo Cielo (ca. 561-572 d.C.): el punzón de hueso del Edificio de los Cormoranes de Dzibanché. Paper presented at the VI Mesa Redonda de Palenque: *Arqueología, imagen y texto – homenaje a Ian Graham*, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Palenque.
- Yaeger, Jason
1997 The 1997 Excavations of Plaza A-III and Miscellaneous Excavation and Architectural Clearing in Group A. In *Xunantunich Archaeological Project: 1997 Field Season*, edited by Richard M. Leventhal, pp. 24-55. University of California, Los Angeles. Report on file at the Institute of Archaeology, Belmopan.
- Zender, Marc
2004 On the Morphology of Intimate Possession in Mayan Languages and Classic Maya Glyphic Nouns. In *The Linguistics of Maya Writing*, edited by Søren Wichmann, pp. 195-209. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
2005 Classic Maya Toponyms: Problems and Prospects. Paper presented at the 10th European Maya Conference, Leiden University, Leiden.