

**THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD DIARIES OF
SYLVANUS GRISWOLD MORLEY:
EXCAVATIONS AT QUIRIGUA, 1912 AND 1919**

The Morley Diary Project, Volume III

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This, the third volume of The Morley Diary Project, presents a detailed study of the initial excavations and reconstruction of the Quirigua Acropolis. It is a departure from our earlier volumes in that rather than focusing on a contiguous set of annual expeditions (Volume 1: 1914–1916; Volume 2: 1917–1918), we have included two periods separated by 7 years—1912 and 1919—together with some material covering work at Quirigua in 1914. Our decision to include two disparate years is based on the shared subject matter of the diaries themselves: both cover the ongoing excavations at the Quirigua Acropolis under Morley’s direction (work which was suspended between 1913 and 1919 with just one short season in 1914 under Earl Morris). The groundbreaking excavations at Quirigua, originally begun in 1910, represent one of the first focused, comprehensive, multi-year, archaeological projects in the Maya area¹ and Sylvanus Morley’s first full-scale work in Mesoamerica.

Morley’s diaries for both 1912 (Chapter 2) and 1919 (Chapters 9 and 10) come in the form of excavation notes, offering detailed accounts of daily excavations together with some comments on personal affairs—Alice, Morley’s first wife, accompanied him to Quirigua on the 1912 expedition. Unfortunately, Morley’s original hand-written diaries, which included his numerous sketches, maps, and drawings, are lost for most of the period covered in this volume. Typescript versions exist at both the Peabody Museum and at the American Philosophical Society, but neither includes Morley’s drawings. Although we excised references to these missing illustrations, we have been able to illustrate his text by drawing upon the vast collections of photos he took during the excavations, and by reproducing the sketches and maps published in *The Inscriptions at Copan* (Morley 1920) and *The Inscriptions of the Peten* (Morley 1937–38). A rich volume of photographs detailing the early Quirigua excavations in the Carnegie Institution of Washington (CIW) archives held at the Peabody Museum, together with early School of American Archaeology (SAA) photographs in the Earl Morris Papers at the University of Colorado, offer a vividly illustrated chronicle. We feel these more than make up for the missing original drawings.

As in previous volumes of The Morley Diary Project, where appropriate we have included essays to flesh out the story of early twentieth-century Maya studies, effectively using Morley’s diaries as a framework to explore pertinent topics. Included here are a history of more than a century of archaeological work at Quirigua (Chapter 1), discussion of the Acropolis inscriptions (Chapter 5), and commentaries on tropical diseases (Chapter 8). Additionally, we have included two works by Earl Morris (Chapters 3 and 7) that offer another perspective on events covered by Morley’s texts. Finally, we have republished two of Morley’s published writings: his description of the architecture of Structure 1B-1 from *The Inscriptions of the Peten* (Chapter 4) and his 1913 *National Geographic Magazine* article about the 1912 season (Chapter 6).

¹ The only comparable project from these early days of Mesoamerican archaeology was the Peabody Museum excavations at Copan under George Gordon in the 1890s.

As today's tourists know all too well, any trip to Quirigua is not complete without a venture to nearby Copan (or vice versa). In both 1912 and 1919, Morley traveled to Copan after the close of the season at Quirigua. In 1912 he was accompanied by his assistant, Earl Morris, who ended up carrying a deathly ill Morley, tied to the back of a mule, back to Zacapa after only a few days at Copan. Morris' account of this harrowing experience is presented as Chapter 7. Morley's 1919 visit was much more productive, resulting in extensive exploration of the area now covered by the modern town of Copan Ruinas (Chapter 10). In addition, Morley made the first brief record of the nearby site of Rastrojón, a visit unrecognized before the preparation of the present volume. Finally, we present as an appendix photographs from a newly-discovered photo album of the 1912 Quirigua season, compiled by Earl Morris.

For background on Morley himself, as well as many other topics, we refer readers to our earlier volumes, especially Volume 1, which provides basic coverage of Morley's career and an overview of general topics such as the Maya calendar. Although coverage of these subjects would nicely fit into the introductory pages of the present volume, we feel that repeating the same information on an ongoing basis is not productive. As a new feature, and going forward in future volumes, we are including the tables of contents of all volumes of The Morley Diary Project as a form of research guide.

Numerous colleagues provided assistance in the preparation of this study. Marc Wolf offered valuable information about Rastrojón and allowed us to reproduce one of his original maps. Matthew Looper also allowed us to reproduce some of his illustrations in the form of glyph drawings, and he provided valuable advice on our chapter regarding the inscriptions of Structure 1B-1. Our work would not be possible without the ongoing support of the archivists who safeguard the original documents and photographs that provide the foundation of this study. Cynthia Mackey at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology has offered continual assistance in securing images and permissions; her colleagues at the Peabody, Katherine Satriano and Marie Ann Wasnock, have facilitated the replication of documents contained in the CIW archives. Kathleen Dunn at the Fray Angelo Chávez History Library at the New Mexico Museum/Palace of the Governors assisted in providing numerous letters and papers from the Edgar Lee Hewett Collection that document the SAA work at Quirigua and Morley's early career. Letters written by Charles Bowditch critical of both Edgar Hewett and Morley, originally sourced from the Peabody Museum, were kindly provided by Keith Merwin of the Institute for Maya Studies. Will Gregg of the University of Colorado offered advice and assistance in securing permission to republish materials (both photos and texts) from the Earl H. Morris Papers collection. As we have recognized in both of our previous volumes, we offer special thanks to Paul Sutherland of the American Philosophical Society for making available the typescript copies of Morley's diaries. Evan Peugh, Assistant Archivist at the Penn Museum, helped us secure permissions for the use of several maps from the Quirigua Reports series; Alenka Barreda, the Director of the Escuela de Arquitectura, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, granted us permission to include an architectural rendering of the Quirigua Acropolis; Camilo Luin kindly allowed us to reproduce his photographs of glyph blocks from the Acropolis; Robin Heyworth at Uncoveredhistory.com and Roger Pena at Webeautos.com granted permission to use photos from their websites, as did independent photographer Ever Giron. Travis Doering of the Digital Heritage and Humanities Collection at the University of South Florida allowed us the use of one

of their new digitally scanned images of inscribed monuments at Quirigua. Arlen and Diane Chase, who both participated in the fieldwork at Quirigua during the 1970s, provided us with a wonderful image of the 1977 field team in front of Zoomorph P. To the scholars in that photo who are no longer with us, and to the many others of yesteryear, we offer appreciative acknowledgment of their contributions to our understanding of the Maya. Finally, as always, great appreciation is offered to Don Rice who drew our maps and architectural renderings. It goes without saying, but we will say it anyway, that the support and generosity of Joel Skidmore at Mesoweb.com makes this project possible and we are very thankful that he allows the public access to the Morley Diaries at no cost.

CHAPTER 1.

QUIRIGUA: HISTORY, ARCHITECTURE, AND ARCHAEOLOGY ON THE SOUTHEAST MAYA PERIPHERY

Location and Economy

Quirigua, one of two major Classic sites in the southeastern periphery¹ of the Maya lowlands, holds a special place in the history of the ancient Maya and of Maya archaeology. Lying on the right bank (south side) of the Río Motagua,² along the modern border of Guatemala and Honduras, the site was occupied as far back as the Late Preclassic period but reached its apogee in the eighth and early ninth centuries (Looper 2003, 2007). Prior to that, Quirigua had been a small dependency of much larger Copan, as seen in artistic and architectural similarities. Other sites under the sway of Copan include Río Amarillo, Los Higos, and El Paraíso (Figure 1.1). But in AD 738, Quirigua rebelled against Copan and asserted its independence, the city's rulers undertaking creation of the remarkable carved monuments that stand among the most magnificent Maya sculptural masterpieces.

Quirigua (Figure 1.2) lies at the crossroads of two important trade routes linking the highlands and the southeastern periphery to the Maya heartland via a low pass through the Sierra de las Minas and the Montañas del Mico, allowing access northward into Peten (Looper 2003: 1–2). Obsidian from the Ixtepeque source in eastern Guatemala and jade from the nearby Río Motagua valley were the main commercial goods traveling through Quirigua, bound for the Caribbean coast via the river (see McKillop 2005: 47–48), but also headed to Copan to the south and the cities of Peten to the north. Numerous obsidian workshops—some large and others artisanal—have been found at Quirigua and its immediate vicinity, indicating that rather than

¹ The term “periphery” used to describe the southeastern Maya area is more appropriate than “border” or other terms implying impermeability between the Maya areas and non-Maya areas to the east (Urban and Schortman 1986: 13). Indeed, permeability and a gradual transition toward the non-Maya cultures of Honduras, for example, in pottery styles (Joyce 2017: 231–239, 249–250), is a defining characteristic of this fluid zone. Maya influences were felt far beyond the Motagua River and, at least in the case of Copan, non-Maya influences were strongly felt in the city itself, reflecting a two-directional cultural exchange (Newsome 2001: 60).

² Although the Río Motagua is now about a mile from the Quirigua site core, during the Late Classic it flowed directly adjacent to the western side of the Acropolis. Quirigua was thus a port city (Sharer 2011).

being just a trans-shipment point, the city anchored a thriving industry for the production of blades and other items (Sheets 1983: 91–92). The cultivation of cacao was also an important local export agro-industry (Ashmore 2007: 111).

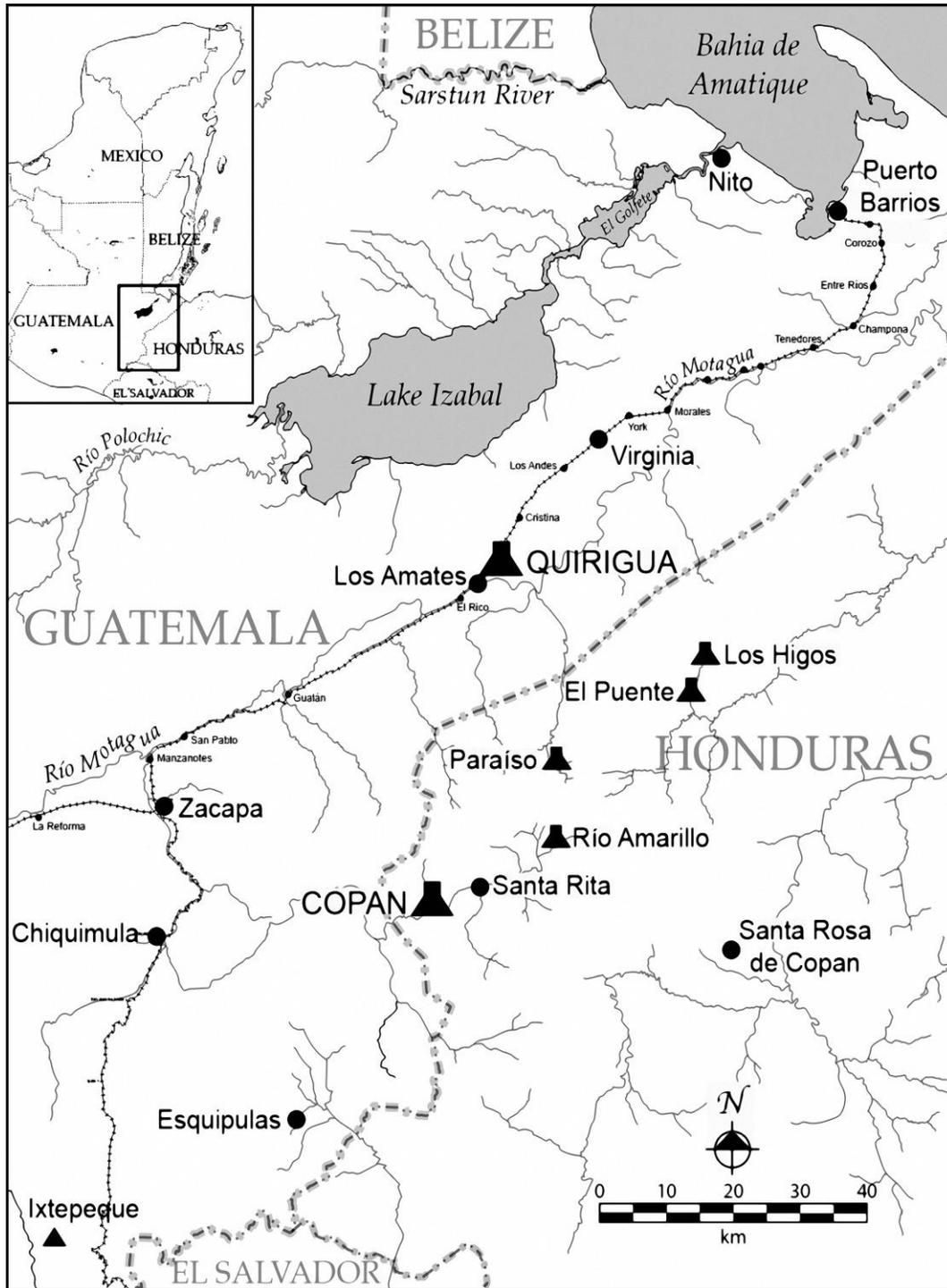


Figure 1.1. The southeastern periphery of the Maya lowlands, with sites, towns, and other features mentioned in the text. Note the railroad and towns along the Río Motagua.

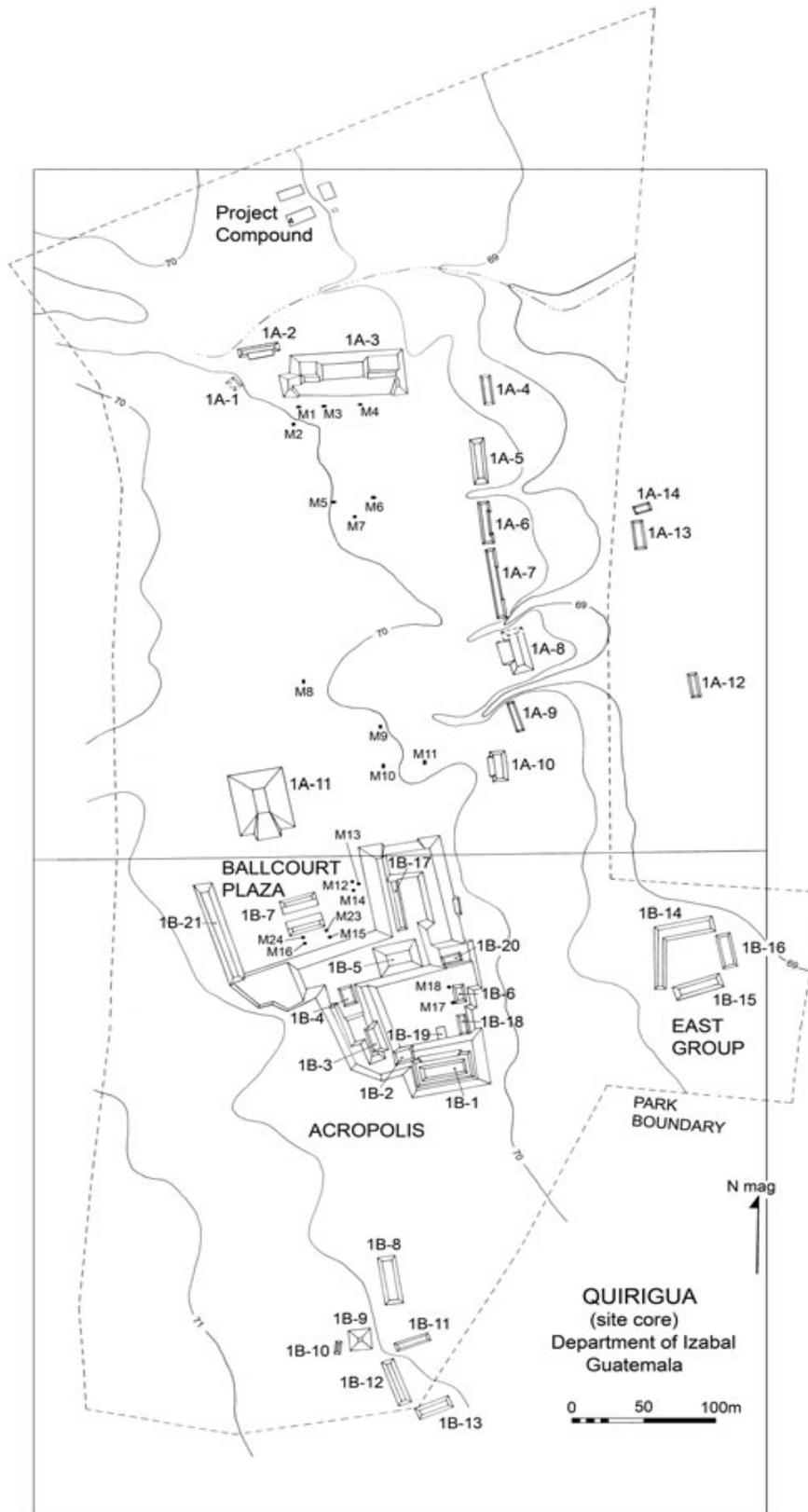


Figure 1.2. Map of the site core of Quirigua.

The obsidian trade and industry provided an economic foundation for Quirigua's success, and in the fifth century the city was closely tied to the lucrative markets of Tikal and other sites in Peten. Tikal is thought to have established a major presence at both Quirigua and Copan during the Early Classic (Sharer and Traxler 2006: 333), with Quirigua possibly more closely related to Tikal than to Copan (Jones and Sharer 1986: 32–33). Contrary to the traditional understanding, Robert Sharer, head of the University of Pennsylvania's 1974–1979 Quirigua Project, at one point argued for an alternative perspective: "To us, . . . Quirigua's economic fortunes were more closely connected to Tikal's than to Copan's. In our view, Quirigua and Copan were rivals. Quirigua's connections were with the Petén, either by way of the coast and the Motagua and Belize Rivers, or more directly by way of overland trails through the lower Verapaz and the southern Petén" (Jones and Sharer 1986: 33).

More recent scholarship, chiefly translations of inscriptions unavailable to Sharer but also analyses of Quirigua's artistic programs (Looper 2003), have strengthened the traditional interpretation that for most of its history Quirigua was politically subordinate to Copan. For example, the text on Quirigua's early Stela U (AD 480) records that Quirigua ruler "Turtle Shell" was under the authority of someone bearing the title of *ochk'in kalomte*, referring to the highest level of Maya kingship, which was frequently used at Copan (Looper 2003: 30, 39–40). Zoomorph P, dating to AD 795, retrospectively chronicles the founding of the Quirigua dynasty under the authority of Copan's ruler, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo (Looper 2003: 36). Additionally, the original outlines of the Quirigua Acropolis mirror the design at Copan, a further indication of direct and close ties between the sites (Looper 2003: 36).

History

Here, we do not delve into the details of Quirigua's dynastic history, which has been well recorded elsewhere (Looper 2003, 2007; Martin and Grube 2008: 215–225). Nonetheless, it is appropriate to briefly review the period up to Quirigua's eighth-century florescence, when the buildings excavated between 1911 and 1919, the focus of Morley's diaries in this volume, were constructed.³

The first known ruler at Quirigua, nicknamed Tok Casper, was installed by the ruler of Copan in AD 426. The city at this time occupied a hilltop formerly known as Group A (more recently named Locus 002). Little is known about the next two centuries, although the few inscriptions from this period that do exist confirm Quirigua's role as a vassal to Copan.⁴ A series of poorly understood circumstances, perhaps natural disasters such as local flooding or misfortunes at Tikal, contributed to Quirigua's decline in the sixth century, with little construction and no monuments dedicated between AD 495 and 653 (albeit possibly one in 541;

³ The following overview of Quirigua's history comes from Looper's epigraphic studies in his *Guide to Quirigua* (2007: 29–38) and *Lighting Warrior: Maya Art and Kingship at Quirigua* (2003).

⁴ The large site of Copan, 50 km south of Quirigua, is located on the Río Copan, a west-flowing southern tributary of the Río Motagua.

Looper 2003: 233n20). Tikal experienced a similar hiatus from AD 562 to 692), the timing furthering Sharer's opinion of the primacy of Tikal in Quirigua's history.

Matthew Looper (2007: 34) notes that during the hiatus, Quirigua may have been sacked by outsiders, suggested by the defacement of early Stela U and Monument 26. Additionally, excavations in 1976 revealed what were possibly defensive walls at the Acropolis (see below; Sharer et al. 1979: 52). Another critical event during this dark period was a massive flood that left a thick layer of silt across the site, sparing only structures at higher elevations (Ashmore 2007: 81; Martin and Grube 2008: 217). If a lesson were to be learned from this flooding of Quirigua, it was soon forgotten—the very area subjected to the worst flooding became the city's Late Classic Main Plaza, location of many of its stelae.⁵

Immediately after Quirigua's hiatus, evidence of Copan's continued hegemony is confirmed by inscriptions on Altar L, which mention a visit by Copan's ruler in AD 652. In 725 Copan's thirteenth ruler, Waxaklajuun Ubaah K'awil (also known as 18 Rabbit) placed a new vassal, K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Yo'paat⁶ (AD 724–785, also known as Cauac Sky) on the throne of Quirigua, a man who would usher in the greatest era of Quirigua's history. Little is known about K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Yo'paat's (hereafter K'ahk' Tiliw) first two decades as ruler, but hints as to his ambitions are found in the hieroglyphic record. For the first time he describes himself as *k'ul ajaw* (holy lord), rather than simply *ajaw*, a less exalted rank (Sharer and Traxler 2006: 298–299).

Also during this time, the Quirigua Emblem Glyph (Figure 1.3) first appears, a clear indication of the town's rising status.⁷ The main sign of the Emblem is thought to represent a gourd, and the original name of the city may have been *tzu* ('gourd' in Tzotzil and other Eastern Mayan languages) or *tzuk* (partition, province) (Macri and Looper 2003: 232–233). A final indication of Quirigua's growing stature is the architectural activity undertaken in the first years of K'ahk' Tiliw's reign, specifically the start of renovation of the Acropolis⁸ (Looper 2003: 64–67).

Growing friction between Copan and Quirigua climaxed in AD 738 when K'ahk' Tiliw attacked Copan, captured its king, Waxaklajuun Ubaah K'awil (18 Rabbit), took him back to Quirigua, and beheaded him in the Main Plaza, an event recorded on monuments at both cities, though from different perspectives. At Quirigua, it was recorded multiple times as an "axe event," whereas at Copan it is mentioned only briefly and ambiguously as "in battle" in an inscription on the Hieroglyphic Stairway (Looper 2003: 77; Sharer and Traxler 2006: 482). How was it possible for Quirigua, with a population of only a few thousand (Ashmore 1987: 221;

⁵ Repeated flooding after the site was abandoned left up to two meters of accumulated sediment, which has challenged excavators.

⁶ Yo'paat or Chan Yo'paat is not uncommon in lowland ruler appellatives, and references a rain, storm, or lightning deity (*chan*, 'sky') (Gutiérrez González et al. 2012).

⁷ After decades of debate, it is now agreed that Emblem Glyphs have both geographic and dynastic associations, referring to both a place and its rulers. They appear almost exclusively in association with ruler names and titles, followed by the word *ajaw* indicating that the glyph itself is part of a royal title rather than a simple place name (Palka 1996: 213; Stuart and Houston 1994: 3). Display of an Emblem Glyph is often seen as an assertion of a city's independence from an overlord.

⁸ Structure 1B-2 (see Chapter 3).

Looper 2003: 2, 2007: 28), to defeat Copan, at least ten times as large (Fash and Agurcia Fasquelle 2005: 4)? The Stela I text describes a visit by the ruler of Calakmul, Tikal's rival, who may have offered K'ahk' Tiliw support—even warriors—to assist in the attack on Copan, which was tightly allied with Tikal. Elizabeth Newsome (2001: 64) has suggested that Quirigua's military forces may have been supplemented by warriors drawn from non-Maya sites in the lower Motagua valley, which had become more closely tied to the city during the early eighth century. Whatever the case, after AD 738, Quirigua asserted control over trade along the Motagua to the exclusion of Copan, ushering in a golden age that lasted nearly a century.

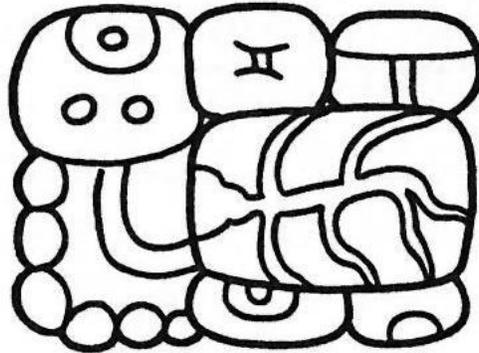


Figure 1.3. The Quirigua Emblem Glyph, the main sign of which (center right) may be a gourd.

K'ahk' Tiliw ruled for nearly 50 years after his victory over Copan's king, a time spent creating the Quirigua known today. His beautiful monuments on the Main Plaza were made on a massive scale, as if to demonstrate artistic superiority over Copan: Quirigua's stelae are the largest monolithic sculptures of the Maya world. Stela E (Figure 1.4), which chronicles events in K'ahk' Tiliw's rule (including a description of the decapitation) stands some 8 m above ground, with another 3 m below the surface level. Unlike Tikal after its sixth-century defeat by Calakmul, fallen to its knees and beginning its long hiatus, Copan suffered only a brief period when no monuments were erected (Martin and Grube 2008: 206–207), rebounding quickly from its defeat, inaugurating a new king immediately, and finishing construction of the Hieroglyphic Stairway (Newsome 2001: 48). The city did not reassert its dominance over Quirigua, however.⁹

⁹ Although Copan was not immediately decimated by the 738 defeat, longer-term implications for trade relations were consequential. As Quirigua seized control of trade with the highlands from Copan, the latter was forced to reorient toward the non-Maya areas of Honduras. This separation from previous cultural ties may have influenced the rise of Copador pottery, a locally inspired polychrome form that can be considered a break from traditional highland associations (Newsome 2001: 60). The distribution of Copan-originated Copador-style ceramic decoration far into Honduras—and a near complete lack of it at Quirigua (Coe and Sharer 1979: 22; Beaudry 1984)—emphasizes the post-AD 738 relationship between the non-Maya hinterland and Copan itself.



Figure 1.4. Quirigua Stela E.

Quirigua's eighth-century expansion of its Acropolis, the erection of numerous monuments, and the development of a very large ceremonial plaza, were efforts to not just copy the basic form of the site core at Copan, but to exceed it in size and scope¹⁰ (Looper 2003: 94–95; Ashmore 2009:

¹⁰ Morley (1920: 428) saw the similarities between Copan and Quirigua and noted that the frequency of dated monuments at Quirigua coincided temporally with a lack of dated monuments at Copan. Unaware of the conquest of Copan by Quirigua, he attributed this to an emigration of Copan artisans to the smaller site, which resulted in aesthetic parallelism.

19; Martin and Grube 2000: 220–221; Sharer 1990: 108). To be sure, the similarities are striking: both are oriented along a north/south axis with a confined residential acropolis south of an expansive plaza hosting political and religious statements in the form of sculpted monuments.¹¹ But although K'ahk' Tiliw designed a main plaza larger than Copan's and erected stela twice as tall, the architecture of Quirigua never rivaled the more impressive structures at Copan.

K'ahk' Tiliw's public monument program consisted of at least 11 carved monuments, raised mainly on the north and central areas of the Great Plaza.¹² The portrait of the king in full regalia appears frequently on these monuments, along with texts celebrating his person, his victory over Copan, period endings, and references to Maya cosmology.¹³ Together, his monuments bring to mind the elaborate and extended hieroglyphic program on Yaxchilan lintels created by ruler Bird Jaguar IV to honor his father, Itzamnaaj Bahlam III (Martin and Grube 2008: 129; Rice and Ward 2021: 49n41) or the nearby stela sequence of Waxaklajuun Ub'aah K'awiil at Copan (Newsome 2001). The monuments created during K'ahk' Tiliw's reign provide one of the most extensive inscribed documentations of any Maya ruler. Inscriptions mentioning his name do not end with his death; monuments erected by the two succeeding Quirigua rulers, Sky Xul (reigned AD 785–795) and Jade Sky (AD 800–c. 810) frequently refer to him, legendary as the greatest ruler of the city. The final recorded inscriptions at Quirigua, which appear on the cornice and benches of Structure 1B-1 (see Chapters 2 and 3), date to AD 810.

Although this final date effectively ends the epigraphy-derived history of the site, Sharer's excavations in the 1970s revealed that the Late Classic story at Quirigua continued, without inscribed monuments, through the ninth century until the very early years of the tenth (Looper 2007: 38; Sharer 1990: 110). Jade Sky constructed Structure 1B-5, the largest building at the site, as a palace after AD 810 (Looper 2007: 159–160; Sharer 1990: 110). Interestingly, the final inscriptions at Quirigua record a visit from the ruler of Copan, who, this time apparently returned to his kingdom still in possession of his head. This visit signified that ties between the two cities had been reestablished (see Chapter 5, page 119). The demise of Quirigua was not unique to the city itself: Copan suffered a similar collapse at the same time, demonstrating that centers in the southeastern Maya periphery, though somewhat distant from the Peten heartland, suffered a fate similar to other southern lowland sites throughout the Maya area.

After a period of abandonment, Quirigua was apparently reoccupied during the Early Postclassic period, as evidenced by glossy-surfaced Plumbate ware as well as a chacmool sculpture, hinting that the new residents had ties to Yucatan or the Toltec culture¹⁴ (Martin and

¹¹ The erection of multiple stelae as part of a public "program" originated with Chan Imix K'awiil (Smoke Imix, Copan's twelfth ruler) with his dedication of seven stelae to commemorate the k'atun ending 9.11.0.0.0 12 Ajaw 8 Ceh (AD 652 GMT).

¹² The stelae and other monuments associated with K'ahk' Tiliw are Stelae A, C, D, E, F, H, J, and S, Zoomorphs B and G, and Altar M.

¹³ Each stela at Quirigua is drawn and described in detail in Looper's (2007) guide to the site.

¹⁴ A chacmool is a reclining figure, knees bent, hands usually holding a bowl-like object on the chest. Morley evidently did not know of this chacmool, as it was first published in 1940 (Richardson 1940). Mary Ellen Miller (1985) argues that the Quirigua chacmool resembles similar figures at Tula (home of the Toltecs in central Mexico) rather than Chichen Itza. She also posited

Grube 2000: 225; Sharer 2000: 488). Ultimately, even this group abandoned the city. Nito, a community at the mouth of the Río Dulce, continued to control the commerce of the Motagua River valley until the time of Cortés's visit in 1525.

Early Archaeology

The story of archaeology at Quirigua can be divided into roughly six phases: (1) initial discovery and exploration in the early 1840s to 1880s; (2) Maudslay's investigation of the inscriptions between 1881 and 1894; (3) the formal excavation of the Acropolis by the School for American Archaeology from 1910 through 1914; (4) the CIW work carried out on in multiple years from 1919 through 1934, much of which was supervised by Morley; (5) the multi-year Quirigua Project undertaken by Robert Sharer and his team under the aegis of the University of Pennsylvania and the Instituto de Antropología e Historia of Guatemala (IDAEH) from 1974 to 1979; and (6) epigraphic work since the early 1960s (Hatch 1982; Kelley 1962b), continued by Matthew Loooper from the 1990s to the present.

Discovery and Early Exploration

Freshly returned from an extensive trip to the Middle East that resulted in several popular travel books, New Yorker John Lloyd Stephens came across the writings of Juan Galindo¹⁵ that described the ruins of Copan. On his Holy Land travels, Stephens had met English architect and artist Frederick Catherwood who, using the technology of the *camera lucida*¹⁶ to facilitate his topographic drawings, was able to create detailed and accurate sketches of ancient structures. The two joined forces in 1839 for the first of two expeditions to Central America, momentous adventures that were published in lavishly illustrated editions as *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1841) and *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (1843). These volumes introduced the ancient Maya to the western world, effectively launching the field of Maya studies.¹⁷

Ironically, Stephens never visited Quirigua (and also never set foot in Peten), but

that the presence of a chacmool at a Classic era site might indicate a Maya origin of the form at an earlier period, a notion no longer considered valid (Miller 1985: 14).

¹⁵ Juan (born John) Galindo (1802–1840), born in Ireland, served as a military officer in the Federal Republic of Central America, including in Peten, where he was given a million-acre land grant. He visited many Maya sites and studied their hieroglyphs. He was one of the first to draw attention to problems with the boundary between Guatemala and then-British Honduras, a dispute that continued into the 1980s with “*Belice es nuestro*” posters at border crossings.

¹⁶ The *camera lucida*, invented in 1806, is an optical device that projects an image onto drawing paper, allowing the artist to make more accurate sketches.

¹⁷ Numerous volumes have been written about the Stephens and Catherwood expeditions, the most recent of which is the *Jungle of Stone* by journalist William Carlsen (2016). The classic biography of Stephens is *Maya Explorer* by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen (1947). Fabio Bourbon (2000) offers a biography of Catherwood.

Catherwood spent a few days at the site making rough sketches of the stelae (Carlsen 2016: 181–183). Stephens, who had gone ahead to Guatemala City, leaving his artist behind to complete his drawings, includes an account of Catherwood’s visit in the second volume of his first book. Rumors of another large site had circulated while the pair was at Copan, and Catherwood met the sons of a landowner named Payés, who had just inherited land at Quirigua. Together with a Jamaican living in Guatemala, one Carlos Meiney, Catherwood and the Payés sons made the trek from Copan to Quirigua and became the first recorded visitors to the ruins in nearly 1,000 years. Access to the ruins was difficult, as Catherwood (1844: 6) describes in his own *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*:

I regretted exceedingly not being able to make other than slight sketches of these remarkable monuments [Figure 1.5]; but I was alone, and the difficulties were too great to be overcome single-handed. In order to reach the ruins, I had to descend a rapid and dangerous river in a small rickety canoe, and then cut a path, for a mile, through a forest such as none can fully understand who have not been in a tropical country. The distance which, in descending the river, was performed in an hour, required four in ascending; so that the greater part of the day was taken up in going and returning.

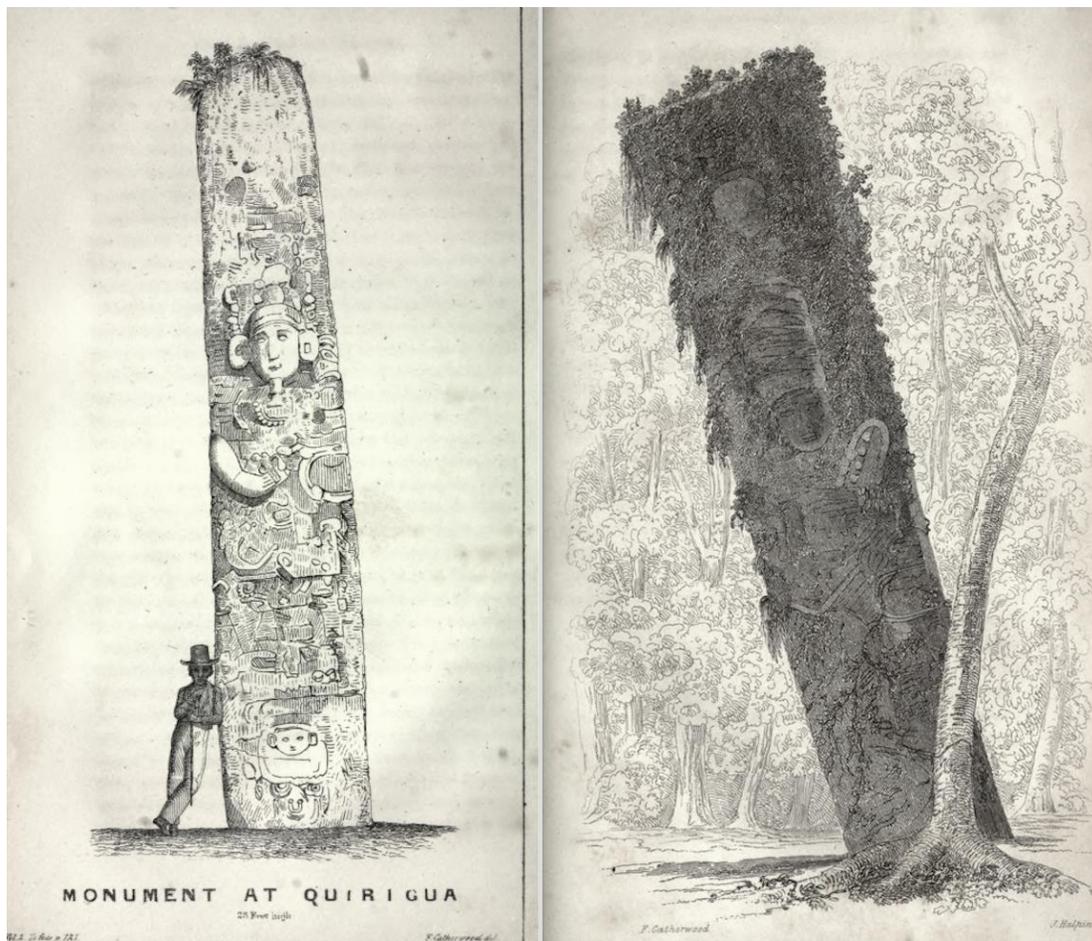


Figure 1.5. Catherwood’s drawings of Quirigua Stela F (left) and Stela E (right). These images lack the detail of his Copan drawings because of the short time he spent at the site.

Despite his brief visit and dissatisfaction with his notes and drawings, Catherwood did manage to provide not only two engravings for Stephens' book (Figure 1.5), but also to describe the various standing stelae at Quirigua (Stephens 1841: 118–124). As he wrote later:

It is in many respects similar to Copan, but probably more ancient. It consists of ruined mounds and terraces, with many colossal statues, deeply buried in the entanglement of a tropical forest. Some of the statues are twenty-six feet in height, of a single stone; the sculpture is in lower relief than at Copan; and, as usual, there are numerous hieroglyphics (Catherwood 1844: 6).

Stephens (1841: 123) added his own wistful comment about the ruins:

...no account of its existence has ever before been published. For centuries it has lain as completely buried as if covered with the lava of Vesuvius. Every traveler from Yzabal to Guatemala [City] has passed within three hours of it; we ourselves had done the same; and yet there it lay, like the rock-built city of Edom, unvisited, unsought, and utterly unknown.

Just as at Copan, Stephens tried to purchase the ruins of Quirigua. Unlike at Copan, his negotiations failed, as the Payés brothers seem to have been told by the French consul that the ruins were worth more than Stephens was willing to pay (Stephens 1841: 124). Stephens' desire to purchase the ruins was based on an ambitious plan: In the mid-1830s, while travelling in the Middle East, he had witnessed nations exporting Egypt's obelisks back to their respective European capitals. Indeed, he specifically mentions France's exporting of Luxor monuments to Paris. Stephens (1841: 123–124) wrote of his grand plan, "Besides their entire newness and immense interest as an unexplored field of antiquarian research, the monuments [of Quirigua] were but about a mile from the river, the ground was level to the bank, and the river from that place was navigable; the city might be transported bodily and set up in New York." His hopes did not die as a result of the failed negotiations and he speculated that "I trust that when these pages reach the hand of the reader, two of the largest monuments will be on their way to this city [New York]" (Stephens 1841: 124).

The stelae remained in Quirigua, but once Stephens' book was published the world knew about the existence of this remarkable site, although few visitors made the arduous journey to the ruins. The next published description came in John Baily's *Central America: Describing Each of the States of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica* (1850: 64–66). Baily's description is brief and offers little additional insight beyond Stephens'. Morley (1937–38, IV: 73) notes that Baily did make numerous drawings of Quirigua's stelae, now apparently lost. In 1854 the German explorer Karl Von Scherzer (1857) briefly explored Quirigua and noted that a major flood in 1852 had done further damage to the site (Morley 1937–38, IV: 73). American artist Charles Dorman Robinson may have seen Quirigua on his painting expedition in the region. Several additional visits were made in the decades before the arrival of Maudslay in 1881: Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg in 1863; Simon Habel sometime in the 1860s; Heinrich Meye in 1877, a visit that resulted in detailed drawings of Quirigua's stelae; Otto Stoll in 1882; Gustav Eisen in 1882; and William Brigham in 1883 (Figure 1.6; Morley 1937–38, IV: 74).¹⁸

¹⁸ See Brasseur de Bourbourg 1866: 22; Brigham 1887: 219; Eisen 1888: 19; Meye and Schmidt 1883: Plates 15–20; Stoll 1886: 443–453).

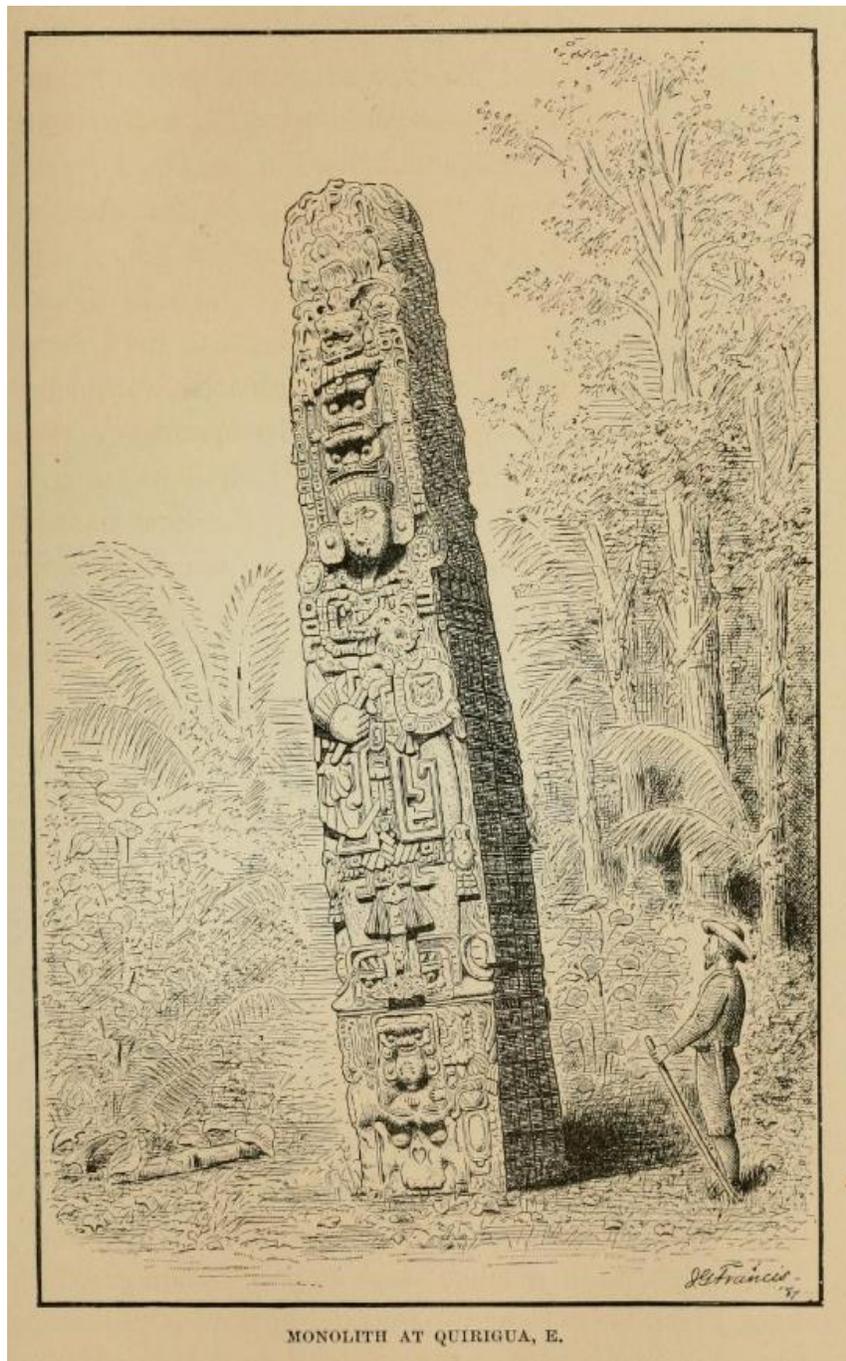


Figure 1.6. William Brigham's 1883 drawing of Quirigua Stela E, which offered more detail than Catherwood's earlier sketches.

Alfred P. Maudslay

Alfred Percival Maudslay's (Figure 1.7) arrival at Quirigua in 1881 signaled a transition from an era of exploration and discovery to one of formal archaeological investigation. Although his first

visit lasted only three days, he was so impressed with the site that he decided to devote his life to Maya studies. On this first visit, and on a second in 1882 that lasted five days, Maudslay cleared much of the site to examine the principal stelae and zoomorphs then exposed. He soon realized that his photographs of the monuments, although of good quality, did not fully capture the sculptural detail. Having seen plaster casts of European classical artworks, at the time a popular attraction at major British museums and, having heard of Désiré Charnay's papier maché impressions of several Maya inscriptions, Maudslay decided to undertake a major expedition to Quirigua in 1883 to make plaster of Paris casts of the sculpted monuments. The result, requiring three months of on-site work, became one of his greatest contributions to studies of the Maya.



Figure 1.7. Alfred Maudslay at Quirigua.

Maudslay's 1883 undertaking was the single largest and most expensive Central American archaeological expedition of the nineteenth century (Figure 1.8). It involved importing four tons of plaster of Paris to the remote site (the Northern Railroad of Guatemala was still a decade distant), and then, even more daunting, carrying out hundreds of heavy, fragile casts. The effort to make the casts was both time-consuming and laborious. Because the Quirigua sculptures are in high relief, many monuments required multiple smaller castings. Zoomorph P, the Great Turtle, for example, required over 600 individual casts, each of which would be carefully pieced together in London (Graham 2002: 115). Maudslay hired a specialist, Lorenzo Giuntiani, an Italian master plaster worker, to do the actual casts. He also brought on Charles Blockley, a surveyor, to make the first reliable map of the ruins (Figure 1.9).



Figure 1.8. Maudslay (center) and his base camp at Quirigua in 1883.

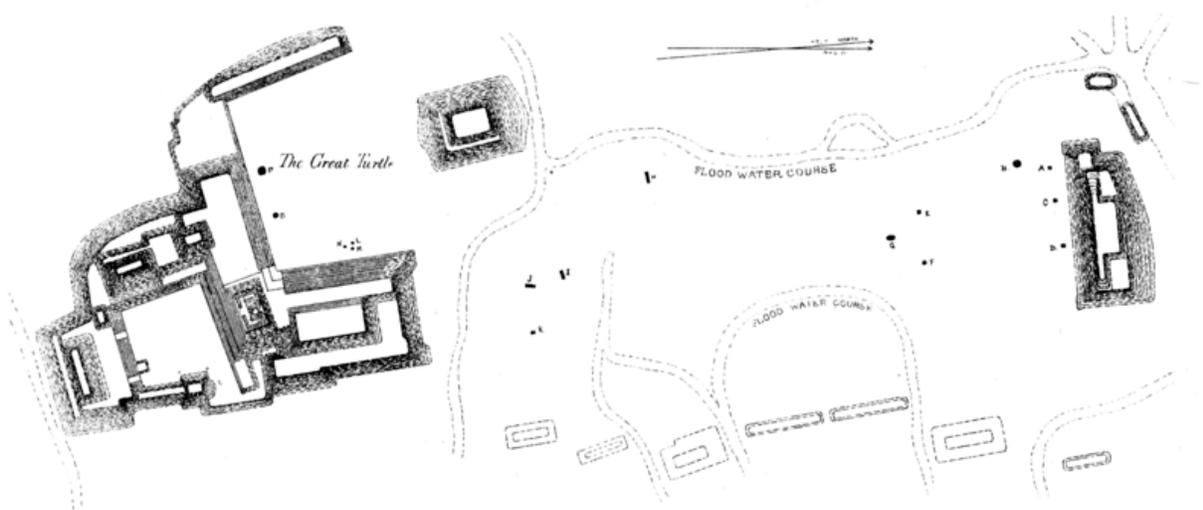


Figure 1.9. Maudslay's first map of Quirigua. The outlines of the Acropolis are largely accurate. "The Great Turtle" is Zoomorph P.



Figure 1.10. Maudslay's cast of Quirigua Stela E, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

In addition to the casting and survey work, Maudslay made the most complete set of photographs of the Quirigua monuments to date, images that Ian Graham (2002: 129) says “remain unexcelled in quality, even one hundred and twenty years later.” These were ultimately published in Maudslay’s historic six-volume contribution to the *Biologia Centrali-Americana* (1889–1902), a work still consulted because of its recording of monuments that have been further eroded by the elements over the past century. Indeed, Maudslay’s casts (Figure 1.10) now show more detail than the originals.¹⁹

During Maudslay’s 1886 expedition to Copan, he sent a team to excavate at the north end of the Great Plaza (Structure 1A-3), but because the results were disappointing, digging was shifted to Structure 1B-5 (ruler Jade Sky’s palace) on the north side of the Acropolis (Figure 1.11). The probing was minimal, although a rudimentary plan of the building showed several chambers. Maudslay last visited Quirigua in 1894 for a six-week stay to finalize drawings of the monuments for the *Biologia Centrali-Americana* (Maudslay 1889–1902) and to secure additional casts.



Figure 1.11. Maudslay’s start of the excavation of Structure 1B-5. Note the stumps of many enormous trees that had been previously cut down. For scale, see man standing on stairs, center right. As Morley noted in his excavation notes (Chapter 2), tree roots were a major destructive force in each of the buildings of the Quirigua Acropolis.

¹⁹ For a detailed study of the 1883 Quirigua work, see Graham (2002: 127–142; also Morley’s *The Inscriptions of the Peten* 1937–38, IV: 75).

One additional investigation at Quirigua occurred during the last years of the nineteenth century under the leadership of George Byron Gordon of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University. Essentially a tangential add-on to the Museum's work in the 1890s at Copan (supervised by John Owens until his death in 1891, then by Gordon until 1901), Gordon replicated the castings and photography previously done by Maudslay. These casts are currently housed at the Peabody Museum. Gordon's detailed photographs, unlike Maudslay's, were never published, although they are available online at the Peabody's online photo archives.

Hewett, Morley, and the School for American Archaeology

The School for American Archaeology was founded in 1907 in Santa Fe, New Mexico, through the efforts of Alice C. Fletcher and the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA). Fletcher, an influential anthropologist whose work focused on Native American Plains groups, led the effort to establish a formal institution for the study of American Southwestern archaeology, mirroring the AIA satellite offices in Rome, Athens, and Palestine. She had met Edgar Lee Hewett (Figure 1.12) in 1900 in Washington, DC and, given his later role in the passage of the 1906 U.S. Antiquities Act, he was the obvious choice to head the new venture. Santa Fe was chosen as the location not only because of the abundance of indigenous sites to investigate, but also because the government of the Territory of New Mexico offered the new school the historic colonial-era Palace of the Governors as a home. Additionally, Hewett had a history in Santa Fe as president of the New Mexico Normal School.

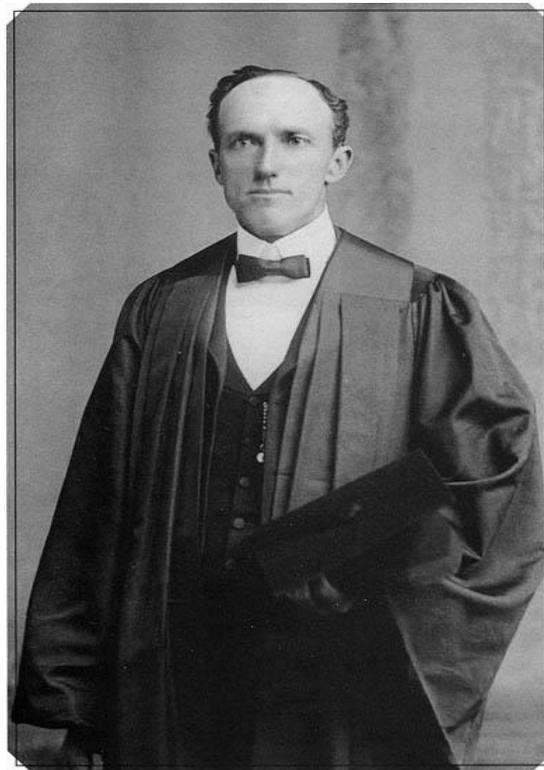


Figure 1.12. Edgar Lee Hewett circa 1908.

Hewett himself was a controversial figure, as much a grandstanding promoter as a member of traditional scholarly circles. Indeed, although a central figure in Southwestern archaeology, he was peripheral to and often opposed by the “east coast anthropological establishment” centered on Harvard and Columbia Universities (see Fowler 1999; Hinsley 1986). From his earliest years, Hewett was an outsider—his 1904 doctoral degree on Southwestern anthropology was from the University of Geneva in Switzerland,²⁰ rather than one of the east coast institutions. Interestingly, even as Hewett remained estranged from the northeast establishment, he was in good standing in Washington, DC through his close association with the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution. Also, his political role in the passage of the Antiquities Act gained him valuable ties in the halls of power at the federal level. Despite the controversies surrounding his academic career, supporters and critics alike consider Hewett’s work in securing the passage of the Antiquities Act a crowning achievement.

One of the reasons for founding the School for American Archaeology (SAA; subsequently renamed the School of American Research in 1917 and since 2007 known as the School for Advanced Research) was to offer young archaeologists field experience, the opportunities for which were, at the time, rare to non-existent. Hewett set up annual field schools and solicited students from Harvard and other east coast institutions. His 1907 request for three volunteers was posted by Frederick Putnam on the anthropology department bulletin board at Harvard, and three young men took the bait: Sylvanus Morley, Alfred Kidder, and John Fletcher (Chauvenet 1983: 80).

Hewett’s “field school” was certainly in the field, but it was hardly a school: rather than offer any training, Hewett dumped the young men at a site in southwestern Colorado and left them on their own. As he wrote in his memoirs (Hewett 1943: 152), “I planned their work so they wouldn’t lie about camp; told them to make a complete archaeological survey of McElmo Mesa and have their report ready in six weeks. I had to join a group of western students two hundred miles down the [Río] San Juan. Helplessly, they watched me ride off into the sunset.” In Morley’s case, this lack of formal field training impeded his excavation techniques throughout his career. Morley did, however, write a report impressive enough for Hewett to hire him to a full-time position at the school, employment that lasted five years until Morley moved to the Carnegie Institution of Washington (CIW) in 1914.

Although Hewett’s primary focus was Southwestern archaeology, he seems to have had some interest in Mesoamerica. His experience with the ancient Maya was limited. In a November 1909 letter, Morley wrote to him regarding a visit to Guatemala that “by this time you will have seen the greatest ruins in the Western Hemisphere, bar none,”²¹ intimating that this was Hewett’s first encounter with many important Maya sites. Beatrice Chauvenet’s (1983) biography of Hewett makes no mention of any Hewett travel to Yucatan or Guatemala prior to 1909.

²⁰ Not only did his professors know virtually nothing about Southwestern archaeology, Hewett himself knew little of the French language. His doctoral committee waived his oral exams because of communication difficulties (see Woodbury 1994). An English translation of his dissertation was published 85 years later (Hewett 1993).

²¹ HP Box 9, folder 1.

Morley may have played a key role in convincing Hewett to expand his SAA focus to include Mesoamerica, evidenced in the correspondence between the two dating from 1908–1909. As early as 1908, Hewett plotted with the newly hired Morley to undertake a well-funded, multi-year project at Palenque. He negotiated a five-year concession with the Mexican government and secured funding from Charles Bowditch of Harvard and William Bixby of the St. Louis Society of the AIA. Artifacts uncovered during the excavations were to be split evenly between the Harvard Peabody Museum and the St. Louis Society.²² But the acrimony between Hewett and the east coast establishment was growing, a relationship that had first begun to sour as a result of his aggressive campaign to locate the SAA in Santa Fe over the objections of Bowditch and Franz Boas (at Columbia University). Both felt the new school should be located in Mexico City in the same way that other AIA schools were located in Rome and Athens. Ultimately, in Spring 1909 the Palenque proposal was cancelled, ostensibly over a dispute between Bowditch and the SAA over who would supervise the distribution of project funds. But the underlying conflict, which continued to escalate in years to come, was in essence a turf war: the SAA was asserting itself into matters previously exclusively under the purview of east coast institutions.²³ The situation, as of summer 1909, is noted in a letter Hewett sent to Morley,²⁴ which helps explain the reasons for the Palenque failure and outlines an ambitious game plan and justification for work at another Maya site, still unspecified:

Washington, June 4, 1909

My dear Mr. Morley:

I feel under the necessity of recasting all the plans for our work in Central American Archaeology. The futility of such arrangement as that entered into last year with reference to Palenque is obvious when compared with the progress of our work in the Southwest. In New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, our work goes on with telling results every year because it has a permanent institution back of it in each case. The permanent foundation in New Mexico enables us to plan for continually productive work, not for a year or two, but for all time. Under our Palenque arrangement, the caprice of one donor, Mr. Bowditch, was sufficient to defeat one of the most carefully planned pieces of work ever projected. You had much to do with that and know how thoroughly it was gone into. Moreover, he [Bowditch] was able to obstruct operations under other willing contributions. I have no more time to waste with fiascos of this kind.

Then too, I have given a great deal of thought during the last three years to the question of Central American research, and the thing that most impresses me about it is the great poverty of results in return for the money that has been expended there. Not a single Maya site has been completely excavated. How much absolute certain knowledge have we concerning that great civilization?

²² Objects obtained by the St. Louis Society form the backbone of the artifact collections of the St. Louis Museum of Art.

²³ Various letters between Bowditch, Hewett, and Francis Kelsey. HP Box 11.

²⁴ HP Box 9, folder 1: Hewett to Morley June 4, 1909.

I am convinced that our method of research is fundamentally wrong. We have little to expect from these sporadic expeditions. What we need is an established archaeological station in the midst of the Maya field, permanently financed, situated in close proximity to one of the Maya cities of the first importance, that will afford a field for productive excavation for a long period of time, no matter if for a hundred years, and from which collateral expeditions can be directed into all the related fields of Central America and Mexico. With such an arrangement there can be no doubt that substantial progress can be made every year.

I do not consider the working out of such a plan as a particularly formidable undertaking. We have accomplished it for the Southwest and can do it for Central America. At any rate, I should undertake it with great confidence.

I wish you would prepare for my use a statement setting forth at some length your views as to the best available site for such an establishment. Please keep in mind the following points:

1. The scientific importance of the site.
2. Its magnitude, so as to afford a practically permanent field for excavation.
3. Strategic position in relation to the whole Maya and related cultures.
4. Practicability of permanent occupation, and all the year-round work in some form.
5. Situation with reference to permanent and efficient labor.
6. Accessibility from our central establishment at Santa Fe.
7. Conditions with reference to food, water, health, and all other considerations touching the comfort, welfare, and efficiency of the scientific staff.

I shall be greatly obliged if you will bring to bear upon the question all that you have learned during your visits to Yucatan, and write me fully your impressions.

As ever,

Very cordially yours,

EH

Morley kicked into high gear, excited by the possibility that his long-held dream of excavating Chichen Itza could become a reality.²⁵ Over the next six months, Hewett and Morley exchanged a series of letters detailing the serious attempt by the SAA to set up operations at Chichen Itza. At first, the plan was to rent the site from its owner, Edward Thompson, but soon negotiations shifted to a purchase option. Thompson set his price at \$70,000 and Hewett began the task of raising funds, quickly securing \$20,000 in commitments, but the rest of the funding, and therefore the project, fell through.²⁶ Negotiations with Thompson continued well into 1912, long after the SAA focus had shifted to Quirigua, but Morley never lost hope that the School could eventually purchase the ruins.²⁷

²⁵ On his first visit to Chichen Itza in 1907, Morley knew immediately that his life work would be excavating its ruins, as he noted in a letter to Hewett dated August 26, 1909 (HP Box 9, Folder 1).

²⁶ HP Box 9, Folder 1, letters dated 7/2, 8/6, 8/9, 8/26, 9/21, 10/28, 11/04 in 1909, and 1/03/1910.

²⁷ HP Box 9, Folder 1, Hewett to Morley, March 26, 1912.

The reasons for the failure of the Chichen Itza project are severalfold, but two stand out as primary difficulties that Morley's enthusiasm could not overcome. First, the simmering dispute between Hewett and the east coast establishment made raising funds impossible. In the above-cited letters, frequent mention is made of back-stabbing and sabotage by figures at Harvard (especially Bowditch and Alfred M. Tozzer) who, Morley thought, were threatened by the SAA moving in on their effectively exclusive domination of Maya archaeology. A second, and perhaps even more significant, factor was the ongoing unrest in Mexico, which exploded into full-scale civil war just a year later at the end of the Porfiriato.²⁸ Indeed, for the next decade, work in Mexico was nearly impossible. Accordingly, eyes shifted south to Guatemala and eventually to Quirigua.

Quirigua neatly satisfied many of Hewett's criteria for selecting a site for extended excavation as outlined in his letter, and, given the abundance of hieroglyphic inscriptions there (and at nearby Copan), Morley was no doubt influential in making the selection. Thus began in 1910 not only the SAA multi-year (1910–1914) Quirigua archaeological project, but also Morley's multi-decade association with the southeastern Maya periphery. This scholarly focus resulted in his massive *The Inscriptions at Copan*²⁹ (Morley 1920), an extended section in *The Inscriptions of the Peten* (Morley 1937–38), and the shorter *Guide to Quirigua* (Morley 1935).

The first two years of work at Quirigua—in 1910 and 1911—saw only limited excavation because of the dense tropical forest that covered the site core (Figure 1.13). Massive old-growth trees and thick impenetrable bush made mapping and photography nearly impossible. As Morley (1913: 341) noted in a *National Geographic Magazine* article, presented here as Chapter 6, clearing the site core was not just a simple matter of turning loose a gang of workers with saws and machetes:

Giant trees, often 150 feet in height, had to be removed occasionally from the midst of a cluster of elaborately sculptured monuments, where a single blow from a falling branch might have shattered the high relief and done irreparable damage. In such delicate cases the trees first had to be cabled, and then, while they were being cut, gangs of native laborers pulled them away from the endangered monuments.

This careful work, which occupied two full seasons, was successful and no damage was done to the monuments.

Morley's summary of his limited 1911 work is offered in a letter to Hewett dated May 18, 1911:³⁰ the "fire guards" were finished, the cut-down brush was burned off (Figure 1.14), the initial survey of the site core was completed, and extensive photographs were made of the stelae and other monuments.

²⁸ "The Porfiriato" is the term used to describe the period of rule of Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz—1877–1880 and 1884–1911—a period of *fin de siècle* opulence that saw the expansion of the wealth of the ruling classes at a high cost to the impoverished.

²⁹ Morley's in-depth treatment of *The Inscriptions at Copan* (1920; the first edition is nearly 650 pages long and weighs over ten pounds!), though outdated, was sufficiently thorough that Ian Graham omitted Copan from his *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* project.

³⁰ HP Box 9, Folder 1.



Figure 1.13. The tropical forest at Quirigua before clearing.



Figure 1.14. Burning the Acropolis Plaza.

Finally, Morley notes that three small excavations were made as preliminary work for the next season at Quirigua. That is, a test pit was dug between Zoomorphs P and O to the depth of what he thought to be the first plaza floor (22 inches [56 cm] below ground surface). Another test pit was dug near Altar N. A trench excavated at the northwest corner of the Acropolis Plaza exposed a “rather complicated series of terraces,” including a decorative balustrade leading upward from the plaza. He included a sketch (Figure 1.15) of one side of the balustrade which shows two small figures with arms:

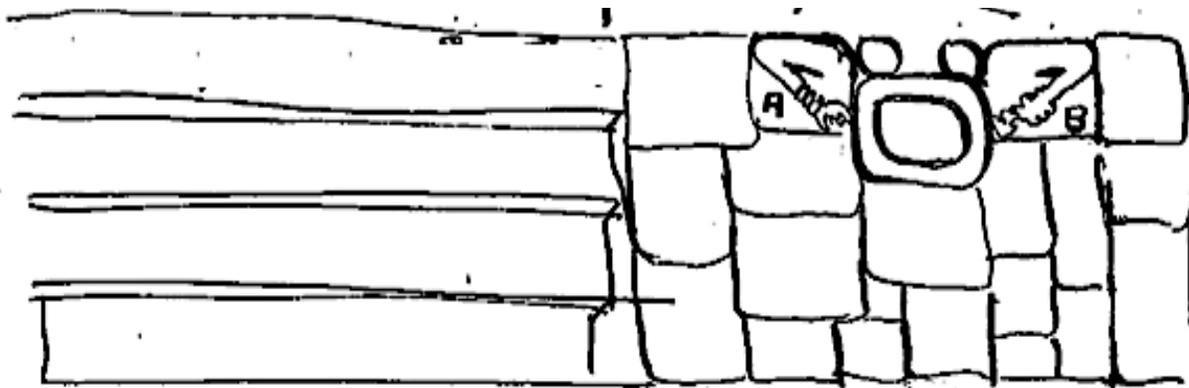


Figure 1.15. Morley’s sketch of the stairway and right balustrade of Structure 1B-1 during the preliminary excavations in 1911.

The most important preliminary excavations were undertaken at what Morley called the South Temple or Temple 1 (better called Structure 1B-1 or Structure 1). This is by far the most important structure at the Quirigua Acropolis and was fully excavated and reconstructed during the 1912 season (Figure 1.16). Morley’s interest in the building was heightened by its hieroglyphic frieze, which includes an Initial Series date.

Unfortunately, the project was underfunded from the beginning. Morley wrote several letters to Hewett literally begging for his own salary to be paid. The St. Louis Society became frustrated with the lack of “loot” during these first preliminary years, and without a steady flow of artifacts they felt little incentive to continue funding.³¹ At the end of the next season (1912), the Society terminated its association with Hewett, causing a crisis of funding that would extend until 1914 when the Panama- Exposition stepped up with operational cash. Although Hewett hoped to bring the Society back on board, more feathers were ruffled the next year when Morley (1913) published his *National Geographic Magazine* article (reproduced here as Chapter 6) summarizing the Quirigua excavations without giving the St Louis Society credit for underwriting the venture.

After the 1910 and 1911 seasons, Hewett embarked on something resembling a publicity tour, offering lectures and press interviews detailing the work of the SAA and the excavations at Quirigua. An uproar broke out after an article featuring an interview with Hewett appeared in the January 21, 1912, edition of *The New York Times*, in which he offered his own ideas about

³¹ Letters between F. W. Shipley of the St. Louis Society and Hewett; HP Box 9, Folder 11.

Quirigua and its role in North American prehistory. Hewett argued that Quirigua was the oldest city in the Americas, that its inhabitants (and those of other Maya sites) had ties to the US Southwest, and that, in short, Quiriguans were the first Americans. The article clearly demonstrated that even if Hewett had a command of knowledge about the desert Southwest, he possessed little understanding of the Maya area.

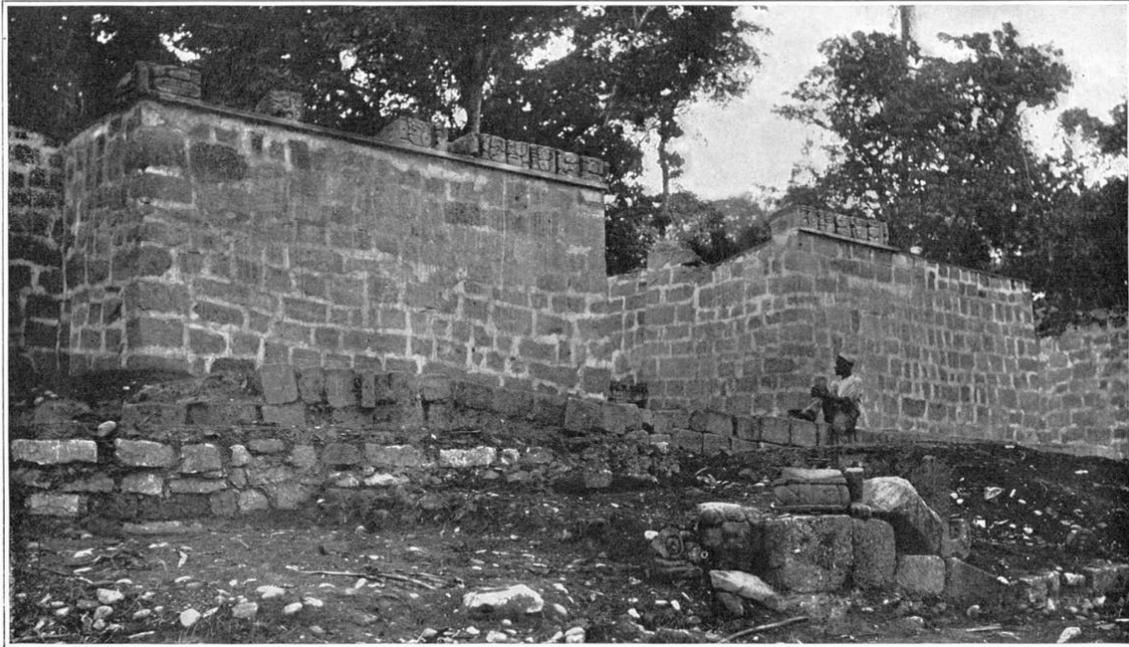


Figure 1.16. The final results of the 1912 excavations: a restored Structure 1B-1. Note the positioning of the hieroglyphic cornice. The first glyph block on the left side is the Initial Series Introductory Glyph, but the rest of the I.S. is missing, as indicated by the gaps. See Chapter 5.

By 1912, archaeologists had amassed a great deal of knowledge about the ancient Maya, and Hewett's pretensions as an expert with unsubstantiated and clearly erroneous theories rubbed many the wrong way. The aggravation was sufficient to cause Alfred Tozzer to contribute his own article to *The New York Times* on February 5 excoriating Hewett:

Against it [the Hewett article] I venture to sound a note of warning. In this case there are two possible kinds of error, those of judgment and those of fact. The first are venal, although hardly excusable in one occupying the position of Director of the American School of Archaeology of the Archaeological Institute of America. Errors of fact are inexcusable, and these it seems to me, ought not to pass unnoticed.

We have no documentation of what Morley thought of Hewett's outlandish claims. His only comment appears in his diary entry for February 9, 1912, mentioning that Tozzer had sent him a clipping of his responding article, but one can speculate that his silence on the topic might be an expression of embarrassment. In numerous letters during his early association with Hewett, Morley hints of being caught in the middle between Hewett and his professors at Harvard, and

it is not difficult to read between the lines his fear of being ostracized from the east coast inner circles of the anthropological establishment, perhaps specifically of being tarred and feathered by his close association with Hewett. In a letter to Gardiner Lane (a financier of Maya archaeological work) dated October 28, 1910, Tozzer complained about Hewett and his shoddy methodology, mentioning that he worried Hewett was having a negative effect on his underlings, specifically Morley. And a few years later, Bowditch wrote to Tozzer arguing against Morley's being selected to head the CIW program.³² Bowditch undertook something of a campaign to have Tozzer chosen by the CIW instead of Morley.

The 1912 season at Quirigua — the last funded by the St. Louis Society — saw the start of large-scale excavations, but only after many more weeks of clearing the bush that had grown back to a significant height since the team left the year before. Morley arrived with his wife Alice and infant daughter at the end of January, but because of the need to re-clear the ruins from jungle growth and put in place infrastructure (a narrow-gauge rail track to remove masonry debris; Figure 1.17), excavations did not begin until February 24.



Figure 1.17. The narrow-gauge rail track constructed to remove debris from Quirigua Structure 1B-1 in 1912. The mound shown is 1B-1 before excavation.

³² Our thanks to Keith Merwin for providing letters from the Peabody Museum archives discovered during research for his biography of Raymond Merwin (Bowditch to Tozzer, December 28, 1913, File 113 Object Number 41-7; Bowditch to Tozzer, January 2, 1914, File 113 Object Number 41-7).

Hewett himself returned to the States on March 3, leaving Morley in charge.³³ The season focused on the excavations of what Morley called Temple 1 (1B-1) and Temple 2 (1B-2), with Morley working on the former and Earl Morris³⁴ (Figure 1.18; also 3.1) on the latter.³⁵ After the season closed, Morley and Morris made a side trip to Copan, an expedition that proved near fatal when Morley had to be carried out on muleback after a severe bout of either malaria or another tropical fever (see Chapter 7).

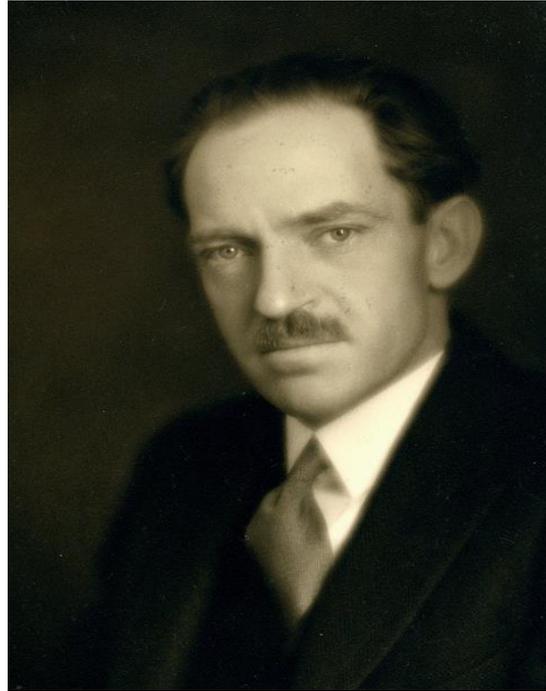


Figure 1.18. Earl Morris circa 1920.

³³ Hewett had to attend to other SAA obligations, not the least of which was fundraising. He did, however, return to Quirigua in mid-April.

³⁴ Earl Halstead Morris (1889–1956), possibly the inspiration for the fictional Indiana Jones, began archaeological work in the Southwestern U.S. after meeting Hewett. He worked at Quirigua with Morley in 1912 and 1914 (see Chapter 3), then later excavated Aztec Ruins in New Mexico (1916–1922), and still later became Morley’s most valuable associate during the CIW project at Chichen Itza, where he worked with his wife Ann Axtell Morris in the 1920s. His principal contribution was the excavation and reconstruction of the Temple of the Warriors (Morris 1931). A biography of Morris (Lister and Lister 1968) specifically excludes his Mesoamerican and Central American work in favor of his Southwestern contributions. See also Chapter 10, pages 253–254.

³⁵ The details of this season’s work are found in Morley’s diaries and field notes, published here for the first time as Chapter 2. Another perspective on the 1912 season (and other years), written by Earl Morris and previously unpublished, is presented as Chapter 3. Hewett himself published a short review of the season (Hewett 1912). Rather than repeat the details here, the reader is referred to Chapter 2.

One item of special note, however, was Morris' discovery of a small effigy vase in Temple 2, a rather hideous piece which at the time was considered a masterpiece of Maya art (Figures 1.19, 6.20).³⁶ The 18 cm (7 in)-high vase may depict the patron deity of traveling merchants and chocolate, known in Colonial times as Ek Chuah. Per the funding arrangement outlined above, the vase was given to the St. Louis Society of the AIA. A century later, in 2014, it became the subject of controversy when the Society decided to sell it, along with similarly acquired Egyptian artifacts, through Bonhams Auctions in London. The vase was purchased by the Dallas Museum of Art for \$21,250, whereupon the AIA took immediate action against the St. Louis Society to expel them from the organization. The point of contention was that the sale of museum collections to fund other museum-related programs was a violation of AIA practices. The St. Louis Society was allowed to keep its charter only after the entire board of directors was replaced.³⁷



Figure 1.19. Restored effigy vase from Quirigua Structure 1B-2, excavated by Earl Morris.

With funding from St. Louis cut off, Hewett turned his attention away from Quirigua toward another project that fit well into his mindset as a grandstanding promoter of pre-Columbian cultures—specifically the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego, a fair that ran

³⁶ Beautiful Classic Maya polychrome pottery was only just coming to light with Raymond Merwin's Holmul discoveries, excavated in 1910–1912 through the Peabody Museum (Reents-Budet 1985: 1). Rice thinks the Quirigua vase looks Terminal Classic in date or later and non-Maya ("Toltec"? Plumbate-like) in form and subject, and may be related to the late re-occupation of the site responsible for the chacmool figure (see note 14) at the site.

³⁷ The full story of the effigy vase kerfuffle, as well as useful insights into the early Quirigua work of the SAA, can be found in Khristaan Villela's (2015) "The case of the Quirigua vase."

concurrently, and perhaps in competition, with the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. Both fairs were held to commemorate the 1914 opening of the Panama Canal.³⁸ Hewett, with the apparent support of the Smithsonian,³⁹ was selected to oversee the San Diego exhibits, central to which was one entitled “The Story of Man Through the Ages,” a grand display that specifically focused on the American Southwest and, in part, on the ancient Maya.

Because funds were not available for work at Quirigua, Hewett sent Morley and fellow SAA associate Jesse Nusbaum to Chichen Itza to make a movie to be shown at the fair in San Diego. Although Nusbaum was eventually known for his photographic talents, neither he nor Morley had any idea what they were doing.⁴⁰ They arrived in Yucatan in late December and began working on their film, running into immediate challenges. The original plan was to make a “Maya drama,” a fictional depiction of the ancient Maya using Chichen Itza as the set (Figure 1.20). Morley asked for additional funds from Hewett to hire hundreds of native actors and outfit them in “tiger [jaguar] skins” and feather headdresses.⁴¹ Hewett was unable to increase the budget, however, given the uncertainty of continued funding from St. Louis. Things went from bad to worse when Morley discovered that the entire area around Chichen Itza had become nearly depopulated because Thompson’s hacienda had reduced its agricultural operations. Morley complained that to cast his Maya crowds he would have to import actors from other towns at considerable expense.



Figure 1.20. A rare surviving negative from the lost Morley/Nusbaum movie production at Chichen Itza.

³⁸ The Panama-California Exposition was hosted in San Diego between January 1, 1915 and January 1, 1917: San Diego was the first western U.S. port of call for ships sailing from Panama. Besides the Quirigua casts, the Exposition exhibited Carlos Vierra’s dramatic landscapes of several ancient Maya cities, including one of Quirigua. See Rice and Ward 2021: 39; Shields, n.d.

³⁹ HP Box 9, Folder 1; Hewett to Morley, March 26, 1912.

⁴⁰ In a letter to Hewett, Morley mentions contacts with the Gaumont Moving Picture Company and the acquisition of a camera. HP Box 9, Folder 1, November 23, 1912.

⁴¹ HP Box 9, Folder 1, letter of Dec 13, 1912.

The final solution was to abandon all pretenses of filming a drama; instead, Morley had Nusbaum shoot scenes of everyday life—the markets, festivals, and some footage of ruins. The end result, however, was a failure. We have found no evidence that any part of the film was ever shown to the public, and no surviving footage has been found. Nonetheless, The Maya offering at the exhibition, like the one at the 1893 Chicago World Columbian Exhibition, was not only successful, but influential as well.⁴²

Although Hewett's full focus on the Panama-California Exposition precluded any work at Quirigua during 1913, the fair, set to open on January 1, 1915, was a strong force to guarantee a vigorous 1914 field season: If Hewett could not have a movie, he would have casts of the Quirigua stelae made to stars in his Maya exhibit and the Exposition agreed to fund the year's work, to boot (Villela 2012). With financing secured, Hewett and a team comprising Earl Morris, Neil Judd,⁴³ Wesley Bradfield,⁴⁴ Ralph Linton,⁴⁵ Carlos Vierra,⁴⁶ Anthony Poli,⁴⁷ and Ruth Laughlin⁴⁸ (Figure 1.21) began a five-month season in late January. Morley, who was then shifting his employment to the CIW, was not a participant in the 1914 expedition, although he did briefly visit Quirigua in late June, well after the SAA team had departed.⁴⁹

⁴² Frank Lloyd Wright, impressed by the monument casts, Vierra's paintings, and other aspects of the exhibit, launched the Maya Revival phase of his career. He and others designed homes and buildings in southern California in a Maya-inspired style in the 1920s and 1930s (Evans 2004: 182).

⁴³ Neil M. Judd (1887–1976) was an archaeological assistant with Hewett in Santa Fe until his 1911 move to the Smithsonian Institution. Best known for excavation of Pueblo ruins at Chaco Canyon, he was curator of archaeology at the Bureau of American Archaeology at the Smithsonian.

⁴⁴ Bradfield (1876–1929), who arrived in Santa Fe in 1909 to work for the U.S. Forest Service, met Hewett and became interested in archaeology. Hewett chose him to photograph the Quirigua stelae and work with Poli on the creation of the casts for the Exposition. Bradfield remained associated with the SAA and the Museum of New Mexico for the next decade before becoming associate director of the San Diego Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, a position he held until his sudden death in 1926 (Anon. 1929). A collection of his papers and photographs are held at the Palace of the Governors Archives.

⁴⁵ In 1914, Linton, an undergraduate at Swarthmore College, participated in one of Hewett's "field schools," then in the 1914 Quirigua expedition. Later succeeding Franz Boas (with whom he did not enjoy friendship) as head of the anthropology department at Columbia University, he is known for his work detailing acculturation of Southwest Native American groups (Linton 1940).

⁴⁶ Carlos Vierra (1876–1937), a noted painter working in Santa Fe, was commissioned by Hewett to paint large panoramas of several major Maya sites for display at the Panama-California Exposition. The paintings currently hang in the Museum of Us, which occupies one of the buildings constructed for the Exposition (Rice and Ward 2021: 38–39).

⁴⁷ Anthony Poli was an Italian sculptor and plaster specialist.

⁴⁸ Laughlin (1889–1962), a native of Santa Fe, participated in the Quirigua expedition of 1914 but this was one of her only archaeological ventures. She is remembered today as an influential suffragette and noted journalist. Her book *Caballeros: The Romance of Santa Fe and the Southwest* (Laughlin 2007[1931]) remains an important history of New Mexico.

⁴⁹ Morley noted in his diary entries (Rice and Ward 2021: 138–144) that the Initial Series

Morris headed the excavation and reconstruction of Structures 1B-5 on the north side of the Acropolis and 1B-6 on the eastern side. This left only the two large buildings on the west side of the Acropolis unexplored, the excavation of which would be accomplished in 1919 under Morley (Chapter 9). The largest undertaking in 1914, however, was the casting of eight monuments for display at the Exhibition. These monuments were Stelae C, D, E, and K, Zoomorphs B and P, and Altars L and M (Morley 1937–38, IV: 77), some of the casts of which are still on display at San Diego’s Museum of Man (Figures 1.22, 1.23).



Figure 1.21. The 1914 SAA team in front of Stela E at Quirigua. Among others, who remain unidentified, are Ralph Linton (in rear), Edgar Hewett (center in white shirt), Ruth Laughlin (next to Hewett), Neil Judd (next to last on right), and Earl Morris (at far right).

The details of the creation of these castings are told in two publications (Judd 1968: 146–153; Villela 2012). As was the case during the Maudslay expeditions decades before, the undertaking of making exact duplicates of the large monuments at Quirigua was a daunting logistical challenge, made worse when Guatemalan authorities at Puerto Barrios refused entry of the plasticine that was to be used to create the forms for the plaster casts. The SAA team replaced the plasticine with red Quirigua mud, and strengthened the plaster with banana fiber:

It was our practice first of all to scrape off the lichens and then thoroughly scrub that portion of the monument to be cast. A two-inch layer of mud was spread directly upon the carved stone, and then a layer of reinforced plaster upon the mud. Fibers from dead banana stalks, of which there was an inexhaustible supply close at hand, replaced the Manila rope which we lacked for strengthening the plaster shell. Sections of this shell,

Introductory Glyph, which he had re-positioned in the cornice of Str. 1B-1, had again fallen. He also noted that, except for areas excavated in 1914, the entire site was again overgrown with bush.

of a length and width convenient for handling, had to be braced and closely fitted at the ends...[later] the mud was removed...for reuse while the plaster forms were reassembled in proper order, braced and bound together...Then we were ready for the melted glue that would replace the mud later and provide a negative imprint of the carving, faithfully reproducing its every surface irregularity. (Judd 1968: 147)



Figure 1.22. The cast of Stela E made at Quirigua in 1914 for the Panama-California Exposition, now on display at San Diego's Museum of Us.



Figure 1.23. Five casts made in 1914 for the Panama-California Exposition on display at the San Diego Museum of Us. From left to right: Zoomorph P, Stela D, Stela E, Stela C, Zoomorph B.

No detailed summary of the SAA five-year project was ever published, but four short articles outlining the highlights of each season were written by Hewett (1911, 1912, 1916), each of which presents more photos than text. Apparently the only existing field notes from the SAA years at Quirigua are the ones penned by Morley for the 1912 season (Chapter 2). As Robert Sharer and William Coe wrote some sixty years later, the lack of detailed notes renders much of Hewett's work nearly unusable (see below).

The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1919–1934

After the close of the 1914 season at Quirigua, large-scale work at the ruins did not recommence until 1919, when Morley returned to excavate the two remaining buildings at the Acropolis, Structures 1B-3 and 1B-4, on the western side of the plaza. This effectively completed what the SAA had begun in 1910. The details of his 1919 work are found in his field diary for that year (Chapter 9). Between 1914 and 1919, Morley briefly visited the site three times: in March 1915 (Rice and Ward 2021: 194–196), to draw the inscription on newly discovered Stela S; in February 1916, shortly before his ill-fated Uaxactun expedition; and in June and December 1917 with John Held, Jr., during their work as espionage agents for the Office of Naval Intelligence (Ward and Rice 2021: 271–288).⁵⁰ Each of these visits was of short duration and the only activities undertaken were photography and drawing of inscriptions; no excavations were carried out.

⁵⁰ For detailed coverage of Morley's activities during these years, see his field diaries of 1917–1918 (Ward and Rice 2022); for general coverage of the spy work undertaken by American archaeologists—led by Morley—see Harris and Sadler's *The Archaeologist Was a Spy* (2003).

The origin of the 1919 CIW Quirigua expedition was happenstance. Morley was still employed by the Office of Naval Intelligence until spring 1919, so there was no time to plan an extensive Peten expedition similar to those of 1915 and 1916, and there were no CIW expeditions in 1917 and 1918 because of the U.S. involvement in World War I. Rather than sit idle until 1920, Morley proposed that he spend a month excavating the final two buildings on the Acropolis Plaza. The remainder of his time that year would be the final preparation of his *The Inscriptions at Copan* (1920); of course, his work at nearby Quirigua allowed him to spend time at Copan to double-check his text readings before publication. This side trip to Copan is detailed in Chapter 10. Morley presented a full summary of his 1919 investigations at the Acropolis in the 1919 CIW *Yearbook* (Morley 1919: 317–321). One of the interesting findings was the discovery of a rare interior stairway in the northwest corner of Structure 1B-4 that apparently led to the roof.⁵¹

With the final Acropolis structures cleared, Morley was able to present the first detailed diagram of the Acropolis and a sketch of the south and west side of the plaza, showing the structures in restored form (Figures 1.24, 1.25). Morley's decades-long association with Quirigua resulted in not only 200 pages of detail in *The Inscriptions of the Peten* (Morley 1937–38)—this extensive text comprising the bulk of volume IV—but also in a short guide to the ruins aimed at the general public (Morley 1935).⁵²

The very thick walls of Structure 1B-1, especially at the rear, might have been designed to support a large roof-comb but Morley's drawing omits this feature.⁵³ Unfortunately, his clearing of the building in 1912 did not provide any details of the removed debris—other than inexact references to its huge volume—that might have indicated the presence of a roof-comb. Alternatively, 1B-1, known to have post-dated other structures at the Acropolis, most of which have extensive earthquake retrofitting, might have been built with thick walls because of seismic activity in the years immediately before its construction in AD 810.

Morley returned to Quirigua often, in June 1920, January 1922, April and May 1923, April 1928, and sometime in early 1934. On each of these occasions, with the exception of 1923, the visits were brief and only epigraphic work was done. In 1923, he spent a week at the site in the company of Thomas Gann and Oliver Ricketson (Figure 1.26), during which time they partially excavated one small building at Group A (now Locus 002), a short distance from the Acropolis behind the Quirigua hospital. Morley was interested in this structure because of the discovery of Stelae T and U there in 1921. The team briefly excavated a platform mound in Group B (now known as 7A-1, 1.5 km west of the site core), the location of Stela S.

⁵¹ Structure 1B-4, on an elevated platform, may be one of the tallest buildings at the site. Its stairway to the roof could have facilitated observation of the skies, permitting some visibility of the horizon. Quirigua lacks the towering temple pyramids of Classic sites in the central area.

⁵² Morley's was the first of three guidebooks on Quirigua: Sharer's (1990) *Quirigua: A Classic Maya Center & Its Sculptures* is also presented in guide form (including travel advice), and Looper's (2007) *Quirigua: A Guide to an Ancient Maya City*, now out of print.

⁵³ Notably, in his rendering of this structure in *The Inscriptions of the Peten*, Morley does include a roof-comb (1937–38 IV: 231). See Figure 4.2.

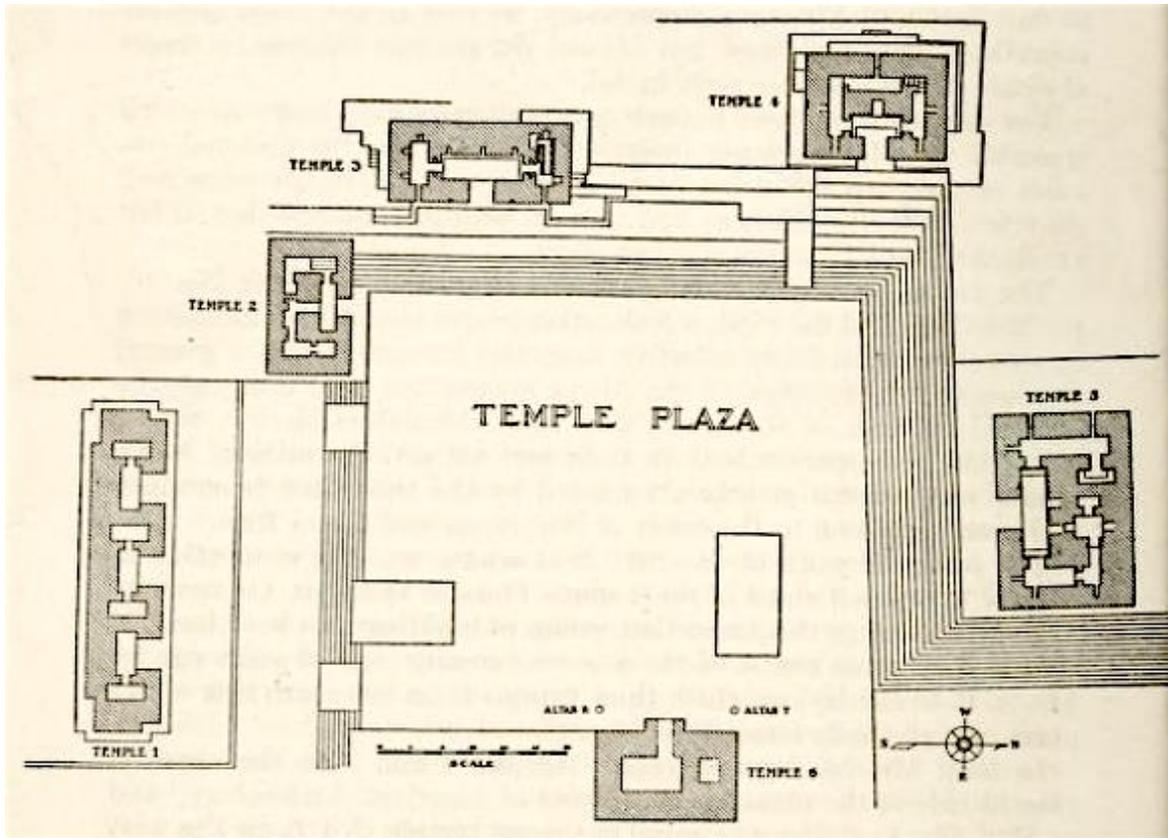


Figure 1.24. Morley's drawing of the Quirigua Acropolis ("Temple Plaza") after the 1919 excavations. Note the stairway opening to the roof in the northwest corner of Temple 4 (also Figure 1.25. See Chapter 9, page 184 and Figure 9.15.)

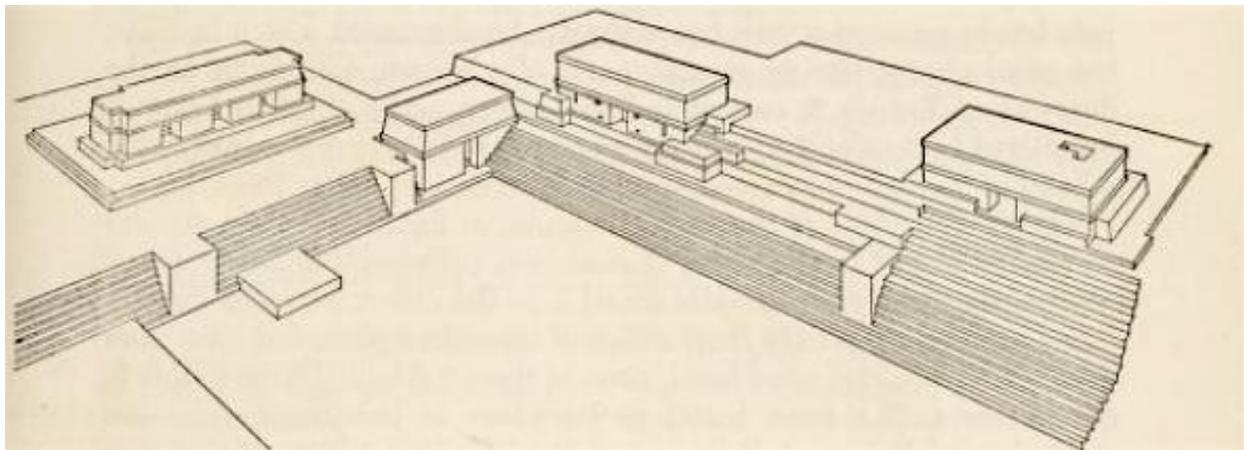


Figure 1.25. Morley's drawing of the south and west side of the Quirigua Acropolis (Structures 1B-1 through 1B-4, left to right). Note that he has not drawn a roof-comb on 1B-1, as he did for a later publication (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3). The chronology of the excavation of these structures runs from left to right—1B-1 and 1B-2 in 1912; 1B-3 and 1B-4 in 1919.

In 1933, when the CIW projects at Chichen Itza and Uaxactun were winding down, Oliver Ricketson spent two weeks at Quirigua on a dual mission—first, to assess the potential for additional CIW work in support of turning the ruins into a national park; and second, to excavate numerous test pits to begin the process of developing a stratigraphic analysis of pottery similar to that at Uaxactun. Pits were dug in three core locations—the Main Plaza, the Ball Court Plaza, and the Acropolis Plaza. Ricketson found that, rather than bedrock, the site was built on soft clay, possibly alluvium of the Motagua River. This prompted him to make preliminary studies of the bases of some of the stelae to determine how these massive monoliths could be seated in the soft soil. He found that the stelae were anchored in stone foundations. Ricketson’s work established the basis for a larger CIW expedition the next year (Ricketson 1933: 95).



Figure 1.26. From left to right, Oliver Ricketson, Thomas Gann, and Sylvanus Morley at Quirigua in 1923.

In 1934, Earl Morris was sent back to Quirigua for four months to work with another CIW archaeologist, Gustav [Gus] Stromsvik (Figure 1.27).⁵⁴ The expedition had two specific goals: to

⁵⁴ Stromsvik (1901–1983) entered the field of Maya archaeology through the back of back doors. One night while a sailor on a Norwegian tramp steamer, he and a friend saw the lights of the 5-mile distant Yucatan shoreline. Fed up with the ship and crew, the two jumped overboard and swam to shore, where they soon heard about Morley’s project at Chichen Itza. Stromsvik enticed Morley to engage him as a mechanic. When the season ended, Stromsvik was retained as a caretaker to watch over the CIW properties until the start of work the next year. During this period, he read Morley’s complete on-site library of works related to the Maya, and when Morley returned in January, he was astounded by Stromsvik’s acquired knowledge. He hired him to a permanent position as a CIW staff member, a post Stromsvik held until World War II, when he

raise fallen stelae and stabilize standing ones, and to excavate in search of offerings or dedicatory deposits associated with each monument (Morris n.d.: 14; Morris and Stromsvik 1934). The four fallen stelae that were raised were: H and J, both on the ground at the time of Catherwood's visit; I, which apparently collapsed during a major flood in 1852; and E, the famous leaning stela, which fell in 1917. Before tackling the re-seating of these stelae, Morris and Stromsvik practiced on Stelae A and K, straightening them back into an upright vertical position (Figure 1.28). After success on these, they moved to fallen stelae E and I. Morris describes the process (n.d.: 15–16):

The uprooted Stelae E and I were erected as follows: A pit was dug beneath the butt of each to appropriate depth, and in the bottom of it a concrete foundation was poured. A huge A-frame of native timbers was put up to span the pit. From a point well forward the tip of the stone shaft, a steel cable was attached to the top of the A[frame] and fastened to another steel line, which, rove through double blocks, connected with the drum of a ratchet-action hand winch. Stay lines were provided at the sides of the stelae to prevent lateral swing during the upward movement and a rear stay to forestall possible forward collapse after the vertical had been attained. The re-erection of Stela I was comparatively simple, since the stone was short and weight only seventeen tons. In contrast, Stela E was the largest stone ever quarried by the Maya, its length being thirty-five feet and its weight well over fifty tons. Once in upright position, each shaft was secured by pouring a sturdy collar of concrete in the pit which had been dug to receive the base.



Figure 1.27. Sailor-turned-archaeologist Gustav Stromsvik.

returned to sea. Stromsvik's personal life was equally interesting: between bouts of heavy drinking, he undertook a multi-year campaign to win over the heart of Tatiana Proskouriakoff. He proposed marriage frequently, but to no avail, and never ever married (Shook 1998: 221).

Morris fails to mention that when he and Stromsvik were erecting Stela E, the steel cables snapped, sending the monolith crashing to the ground. It split in half during the process and had to be rejoined with cement.



Figure 1.28. The CIW team straightening Quirigua Stela A in 1934; Zoomorph B is in the foreground.

In their CIW yearbook report, Morris and Stromsvik (1934: 88) describe the foundations the Maya constructed to hold the large monuments in place:

Every stela in the city, with the possible exception of A, C, and D, stands at the center of a rectangular platform some two feet higher than the surrounding court level. The margins of the platforms are composed of very large sandstone blocks neatly cut and fitted. At the point where a stela was to be set up, a pit was dug to a depth of several feet below the court level, then filled solid with masonry laid in clay except for a faced well at the center. Masonry was spread over the bottom of the well and covered, sometimes with a single very large flat stone, or in other cases, with three or more smaller ones to serve as a bearing plane for the shaft. After the latter had been raised on end, the space between the butt and the sides of the well was wedged with masonry. The buried butts ranged in length from 3.5 to 8 feet [1.1–2.4 m] (Figure 1.29).

As to the second 1934 goal, the team discovered dedication caches beneath multiple monuments: Stelae E, H, I, and J, and Zoomorphs B, G, O, and B (Figure 1.30). None were found associated with Stelae A and K. In nearly every case, the cache was a rectangular pottery box, 30 to 35 cm long, which had held now-disintegrated perishable goods (Morris n.d.: 19).

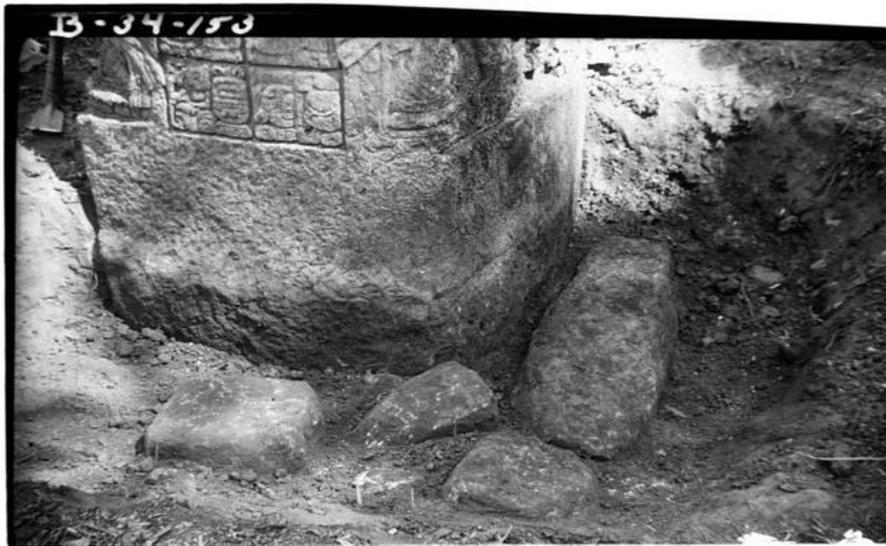


Figure 1.29. Excavated foundation of Stela K.



Figure 1.30. Cache box of Zoomorph G.

Numerous obsidian and flint blades were found, some of which had been chipped into “eccentric” shapes. An unexpected development was the discovery of two sculptured altars associated with Zoomorphs O and P (Figure 1.31), adding two additional hieroglyphic monuments to the corpus of Quirigua’s inscriptions. Morris (n.d.: 21) noted that Morley had dated these at AD 790 and 795.⁵⁵

For all the work done to stabilize the stelae, the earthquake of 1976 proved that the cement foundations employed by Morris and Stromsvik were not ideal. Sharer (see below), who was at Quirigua when the earthquake hit, noted that each of the 1930s-era cement foundations suffered, as did the structural reconstructions done in 1912, 1914, and 1919 (Bevan and Sharer 1983: 111–112).

⁵⁵ Morley’s dates were based on his incorrect calendar correlation. Dates given here are GMT.

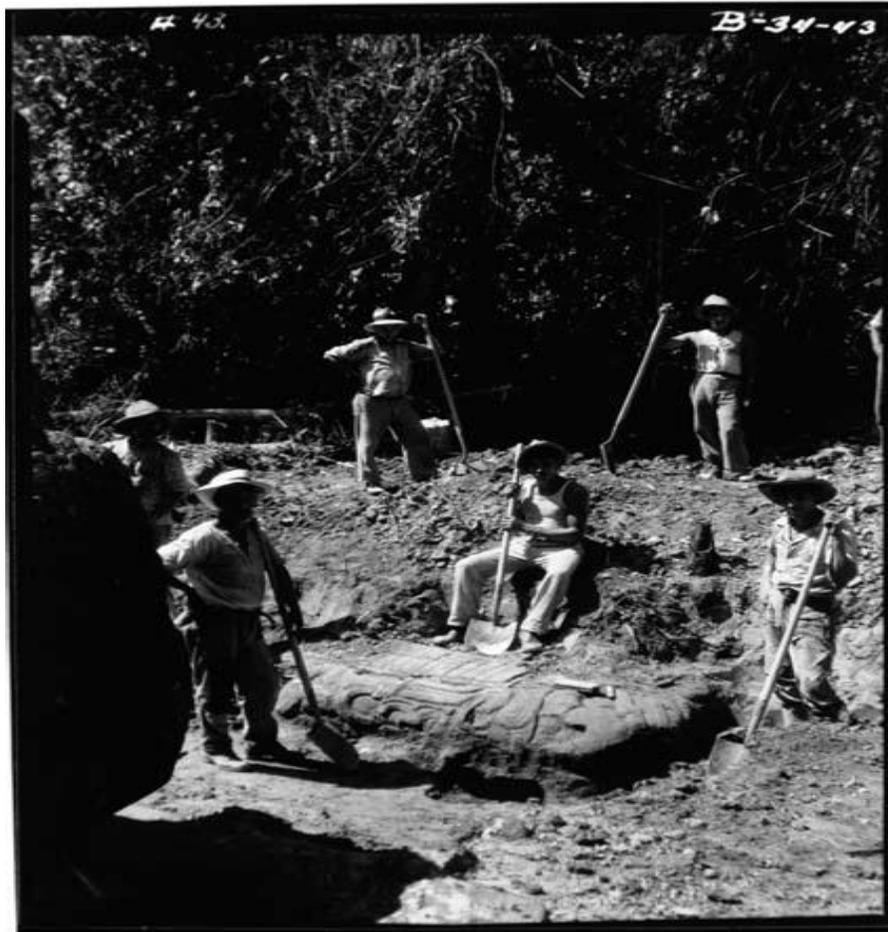


Figure 1.31. Uncovering Altar P at Quirigua in 1934.

Ricketson briefly returned to Quirigua during the 1934 season to excavate several water-gathering mechanisms that had been uncovered by United Fruit Co. workers during the digging of drainage ditches in the nearby banana fields. These consisted of large ceramic pots with perforated bottoms (Figure 1.32). Sunk to the water level, the perforations allowed ground water to accumulate in the pot with some degree of filtering. The filtered water was then accessed via a ceramic pipe (Ricketson 1935).⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The mid-1930s work at Quirigua was secondary to the much larger contemporaneous CIW program at Copan, which, like the Quirigua expedition, at first focused on excavating the stela foundations and resetting the monuments on the Main Plaza. The CIW work, however, was ongoing, with only a few years interruption owing to WWII between 1935 and 1946. The most important result was the successful redirecting of the Río Copan in an effort to stop further erosion of the Acropolis (Newsome 2001: 40).



Figure 1.32. Maya pottery “well” excavated by Oliver Ricketson in 1934.

Morley’s early and long association with the southeast periphery almost certainly influenced his perspectives on Maya society in general. During the early years of his career, Morley focused heavily on Copan and Quirigua in the southeast and Chichen Itza in the northern lowlands. The sculpture of the southeast is unique in its distinctive lack of clear and unambiguous military motifs or references. Looper, in his careful study of the Quirigua monuments and inscriptions, identified nuanced reference to warriors and warfare, but these would not have been obvious to Morley in his day. The rulers portrayed on the stelae of both Copan and Quirigua are almost never in outright military attire—K’ahk’ Tiliw at Quirigua is often shown with what is probably a military shield, but there is only one example of him with a possible spear (Stela H). At Copan, rulers are invariably portrayed in cosmic/mythical regalia rather than as warriors, though there are subtle hints of military imagery. In his classic study of Copan’s sculpture, Claude-François Baudez (1994: 240–246) offers a series of tables summarizing rulers’ costumes on each stela. This analysis lists numerous costume attributes (sandal types, wristlet types, headband variations, knee ornaments, earflares, various plaques, etc.) as well as details of serpent bars, sacrificial implements, grotesques, earthforms, and so on. Decidedly absent is any mention or reference to captives, weaponry, or attributes indicative of warriors, and no images of captives appear at either site.

One of the scarce references to hostilities in southeast epigraphic data is found at Copan, where the demise of its ruler Waxaklajun Ub'ah K'awil in AD 738 is recorded on the Hieroglyphic Staircase as “with his flint, with his shield” (Looper 2003: 77). This is interpreted as death in battle. At Quirigua, however, the death is recorded as an “axe-event”: beheading by K'ahk' Tiliw. Sharer excavated what might have been defensive walls built in the early phases of construction at the Quirigua Acropolis (see below), but the purpose of these walls remains speculative. The defacement of early Stelae U and Monument 26 may indicate that the city was sacked during the long hiatus period (Looper 2007: 34). Even so, does the lack of warrior iconography prior to the eighth century in the southeast periphery stem from the long suzerainty of Copan over Quirigua before K'ahk' Tiliw's capture of its king, which precluded frequent conflict in the region? Warfare, commonly recorded by multiple euphemisms in texts and images (e.g., trampling captives, spears and other weapons of war, etc.) elsewhere in the Maya heartland, was less prevalent in the southeast, a situation of political stability described as the “age-old order” (Martin and Grube 2008: 218–219).

In contrast to the “Old Empire” or Classic-period sites in the southeast periphery, “New Empire” Chichen Itza and other cities of the northern Yucatan Peninsula, thought in Morley's time to be later and heavily influenced by non-Maya (“Mexican”) cultures, abound with warrior iconography. In addition, many of these sites have perimeter walls, presumably defensive. We suggest that the juxtaposition of apparently benign artistic representations in the southeast with war/conflict imagery in northern Yucatan was a key to Morley's understanding of the Classic Maya, and fundamental to his notion of the Maya as a peaceful people headed by priest-kings, in contrast to the more bellicose society represented by later Chichen Itza. Morley's promotion of this notion, further promulgated by Eric Thompson, was to have a lasting and misleading influence over the field of Maya archaeology throughout the twentieth century.

The University of Pennsylvania Quirigua Project

The most significant archaeological project at Quirigua was undertaken by the University of Pennsylvania's Museum of Anthropology (hereafter Penn) under the direction of Robert Sharer between 1975 and 1979, a joint effort of the Museum and Guatemala's IDAEH. Additional support was offered by the Del Monte Corporation (which had purchased the site and surrounding farmland from United Fruit in 1972) in the form of a land grant, which transferred ownership of the Quirigua site core over to the Guatemalan government.

The origins of the Penn project came about after the completion of the same institution's massive Tikal project and the publication of its results. In 1971, William Coe, then curator of the American Section of the University Museum, joined with newly hired Robert Sharer to begin the process of selecting another important Maya site for an extended excavation/restoration project, mirroring the task that faced Hewett and Morley decades earlier when they began to consider expanding the School for American Archaeology's reach into Central America. Coe and Sharer visited numerous potential sites and ultimately selected Quirigua as the focus of the Museum's next big effort, as it fulfilled several important criteria, especially ease of access via a newly

constructed, paved road⁵⁷ (Sharer and Coe 1979: 1–2). The successful collaboration between IDAEH and the University during the Tikal project simplified negotiations for a five-year contract (ultimately extended by an additional year) that required Penn to fund all excavations (with a contracted total expenditure over the course of the project of \$263,387) and Guatemala to fund all restoration and stabilization efforts (funded at \$80,374 for the five years) (Sharer and Coe 1979: 2). Funding for each season was supplemented with support from the National Geographic Society and other donors.

The goals of the Penn project are clearly articulated in Sharer and Coe's (1979: 3–4) overview, and present an opportunity to compare and contrast the goals and methods of Morley's early era with those of the "New Archaeology" of the 1960s and 1970s (Meltzer et al. 1986: 38–39; Sabloff 1990: 5–7). Obvious differences stand out that reflect the changing nature of American archaeology as a discipline. The traditional "culture historical" approach addressed largely static goals of dating and establishing chronological sequences of sites in a given culture area, whether by stratigraphy, ceramic comparisons, inscriptions (in the Maya area), or, increasingly, radiocarbon dating. Morley's approach throughout much of his career (as exemplified by his two volumes on inscriptions) was directly influenced by nineteenth-century positivist theory,⁵⁸ which focused on collecting and presenting raw data rather than offering interpretation (Davis 1981: 1–2). A related but much later example of this approach can be found in Ian Graham's *Corpus* project, which offers drawings and photographs with virtually no commentary or insight.

The "New Archaeology" of the 1960s and 1970s did not abandon basic fact-gathering and ordering activities, but was concerned with making archaeology more "scientific" and "processual." It incorporated a form of positivism that emphasized quantitative or statistical methods and a search for laws or "law-like generalizations." Practices included hypothesis formation and testing, and developing probabilistic sampling strategies, statistical tests of significance, and other ways of minimizing biases in data collection and interpretation. The goals of processual archaeology were directed toward understanding sites and material remains not as static snapshots,⁵⁹ but rather as insights into activities, functions, social behavior, and processes of cultural change through time and over large areas, as gleaned by settlement surveys and test-pit sampling programs.

As noted above, Morley's early SAA project had three basic goals: 1) determining a timeline for the occupation of the site, mainly through the study of dates in the inscriptions; 2) excavation of various Acropolis structures for reconstruction, and 3) securing excavated artifacts for the St.

⁵⁷ In 1975 Harvard launched a similar multi-year project at Copan focused on similar problems, most notably a valley settlement survey, directly paralleling the Motagua settlement survey.

⁵⁸ Positivism, a philosophy first promoted by Auguste Comte in the 1840s, influenced most fields of study, but insofar as history is concerned it implied that historians should allow historical sources to "speak for themselves," without additional commentary. Such an approach was a guiding principle for the likes of Maler and Maudslay—their goal was to photograph, make molds, and create drawings in order to present the raw findings to a wider audience."

⁵⁹ Harvard was slow to catch on. The late George Cowgill, who earned his M.A. from the University of Chicago and Ph.D. from Harvard in 1963, realized that "ideas were a Chicago thing and to do well at Harvard, the main thing . . . was to assemble data" (Cowgill 2008: 168).

Louis Society, which assisted in funding the project. Obviously, these goals were meant to enhance the body of knowledge about Maya civilization in general terms, but no specific questions or hypotheses were posited for testing or as guidelines for the work undertaken. Some fifty years later, the Penn approach was much more rigorous in terms of objectives and methods falling squarely within the “proudly processualist” framework that was gaining ground at that time (Ashmore 2009: 17). Like Morley, Sharer and Coe listed their first goal as that of determining an accurate chronology of occupation at Quirigua, but rather than simply seeking an outline of dates, they sought to understand and explain the timeline at Quirigua as it related to “constructional, occupational, ritual, and political” aspects of the site (Sharer and Coe 1979: 3). In addition, the Penn project viewed the entire Motagua valley in holistic terms, expanding excavations and mapping well beyond the original site core which, with only Morley’s 1922 work at Group A as an exception, had been the exclusive focus of earlier investigations. Thus, Penn’s purview included both the near periphery of the core area (Ashmore 2007; Sharer 1990: 8) and the entire valley region over which Quirigua exerted influence, some 2,125 square kilometers (Schortman 1993; Sharer and Coe 1979: 4–5).

The entire program was bifurcated into two separate but interactive and concurrent projects, the first related to the site core and the second dealing with the immediate periphery and the Motagua valley more generally. In terms of methodology, the Penn project relied on well-documented stratigraphic and lateral excavations, concepts only minimally employed by the SAA. Carefully mapped surface collections of artifacts were made over a wide area. Sharer’s team also sought to tie excavation-revealed information to the epigraphic historical information presented at the site. Another important goal outlined at the beginning of the project was to seek archaeological evidence to test various hypotheses as to the origins, functions, and collapse of the city. As a final goal, a new, detailed map of Quirigua, the first significant update to the one published by Morley in *The Inscriptions of the Peten* (1937–38, V[2]: Plate 214) was prepared. The valley survey was very successful: 23 new sites were discovered, four of which were partially excavated, the details published as a separate volume (Schortman 1993; Sharer 1990: 9).

Prior to the start of excavations, which were to have begun in 1974 but were postponed until 1975 because of funding delays, a general site survey of the Motagua valley was undertaken by Timothy Nowak in 1973–1974, assisted by graduate students Douglas Hancock and Arlen Chase. Although numerous sites were identified, most of the valley remained unexplored. An aerial reconnaissance failed to prove fruitful. Chase supervised some limited excavation in the form of test pits at Virginia and Juyama. The team also found the location of what appeared to be an obsidian workshop.

Formal work began in 1975 with William Coe in charge, Sharer serving as field director for each of the subsequent seasons until the project finished in 1979.⁶⁰ The first season got off to a

⁶⁰ The Quirigua Project was a team effort. Sharer (1990: 8) credits his “colleagues, especially the project administrator, David W. Sedat; the directors of the Quirigua Restoration Program, Arq. Marcelino Gonzales C. and Sr. Enrique Monterroso, both of the IDAEH; the director of the Project’s laboratory, Mary R. Bullard; the directors of the site core excavations, William R. Coe in 1975 and Christopher Jones in 1976 and 1977; and directors of the Site Periphery and Lower Motagua Valley Programs, Wendy Ashmore and Edward M. Schortman, respectively.”

quick start and set the pace for the duration of the five-year project. Quirigua had largely been neglected since the 1930s, and its early twentieth-century standing as an important tourist stop gradually faded as other Maya sites became more accessible, especially those in the Yucatan Peninsula, and alternatives to the Guatemala Northern Railroad provided access to the national capital. By 1975, the Acropolis was overgrown and many of the structures cleared by Morley had again become choked with vegetation. Before excavations could begin, the bush had to be cleared in order to lay out a reliable grid system to support the accurate mapping of the site, the first attempt to create a map since the CIW years. In addition, Quirigua's hieroglyphic monuments, previously identified by monument type (stela, altar, zoomorph) and letter, e.g., Stela A, were renamed (Table 1.1). The new names were simple numbers, e.g., Monument 21. The new system is occasionally used (Martin and Grube 2008), but the system begun by Maudslay has endured. Indeed, in the latest edition of Morley's *The Ancient Maya*, Sharer abandoned the new numbering system in favor of Maudslay's original (Sharer and Traxler 2006).

Excavations soon began at Structures 1A-2 and 1A-3 (the latter fronting the North Platform, the location of many of the stelae discussed above) and at the Acropolis at Structure 1B-8. Experienced workers previously employed on the Tikal project made up the backbone of the 60-man excavation team (Coe and Sharer 1979: 13). Excavation of 1A-2 was completed during 1975 but investigation at the much larger 1A-3, which consisted of several test pits and extensive trenching, revealed that considerably more work would have to be done in future seasons. Even so, a great deal was learned from the 1975 excavations at 1A-3, the first exploration of this overgrown mound, including the fact that a sub-structure (1A-3-2nd) existed beneath the current observable building. The team also found that the ancient stonemasons had abandoned work on the newest iteration of the building about halfway through its construction, a discovery that offered clues about the decline of Quirigua in the ninth century.

Table 1.1. Monuments at Quirigua: Maudslay and Penn Designations (Coe and Sharer 1979: 19).

ORIGINAL (MAUDSLAY) DESIGNATION	PENN PROJECT DESIGNATION
Stela A	Monument 1
Zoomorph B	Monument 2
Stela C	Monument 3
Stela D	Monument 4
Stela E	Monument 5
Stela F	Monument 6
Zoomorph G	Monument 7
Stela H	Monument 8
Stela I	Monument 9
Stela J	Monument 10
Stela K	Monument 11
Altar L	Monument 12
Altar M	Monument 13

Altar N	Monument 14
Zoomorph O	Monument 15
Zoomorph P	Monument 16
Altar Q	Monument 17
Altar R	Monument 18
Altar S	Monument 19
Altar T	Monument 20
Altar U	Monument 21
Altar V	Monument 22
Altar of Zoomorph O	Monument 23
Altar of Zoomorph P	Monument 24
Unsculptured Stela	Monument 25

The Acropolis presented its own set of problems, not the least of which was the challenge of clearing “staggering quantities of materials” from previous excavations choking the plaza area (Coe and Sharer 1979: 17). Trucks were brought in to remove the thousands of cubic meters of accumulated dirt and masonry discards. The challenge was not just in hauling away this material to a stockpile area for future use as infill: each stone had to be manually inspected and sorted to separate plain versus sculpted masonry. When possible, facing stones and sculptured elements were placed near their probable structure of origin.

Another major challenge was “how to contend with the miserable records of past excavations—records that Ricketson’s 1933 field notes realistically tag as ‘scientifically useless’” (Coe and Sharer 1979: 17):

Determination of the original condition of the mounds and ‘inter-mound’ areas was a serious problem because of the virtual lack of records from past excavations. Except for work by Ricketson and possibly at one point Hewett, the former excavations were conducted at a late, shallow level. Fortunately, the huge bulk of constructional buildup was untouched by early excavators. What have been lost are the sequence of collapse (which made the mounds) and the detailing on roofing, capstones, and vaulting. The evidence of secondary features between structures was on occasion nearly obliterated. Furthermore, intricate façade ornamentation in stone was recovered in the past in a totally uncontrolled fashion, then scattered, or at best placed in common piles.... While at times we felt the Acropolis perhaps hopelessly brutalized, it is archaeologically salvageable.⁶¹

It is not known if the Penn team had access to Morley’s actual excavation diaries, which are published in this volume for the first time.⁶² Although they offer details that might resolve some

⁶¹ Despite the critique, Sharer dedicated his 1990 volume on Quirigua as follows: “This book is dedicated to the memory of those pioneer Maya archaeologists who worked at Quirigua, Guatemala, from 1881 to 1934” (1990 front matter).

⁶² Morley’s unpublished field notes from his 1922 excavations at Group A (Locus 002) were consulted by the 1978 team.

of Coe and Sharer's criticism (for example, on roof and vault construction), the resounding critique of Morley's excavation technique is harsh.

Two trenches were dug across the Acropolis Plaza, uncovering four construction strata compressed into a chronology of only about two centuries, ending in the early ninth century. These represent nearly 4 m in rise above the original natural ground surface (Coe and Sharer 1979: 18). Interestingly, two free-standing walls rising some 4 m high were found in the Acropolis Plaza, one of which was adorned with alternating large *k'inich ajaw* masks and serpent heads. The careful trenching and excavation of test pits, as well as the beginning of the excavation of structures (continued in subsequent seasons) resulted in the collection of thousands of artifacts, mostly obsidian, pottery, and stone items. Of special note were a high proportion of incense burners (censers). During this first season, archaeologists were struck by the complete absence of Copador pottery, abundant at Copan (Coe and Sharer 1979: 22). What little (non-censer) pottery that was found had minimal decoration.

The four-month 1976 season began in late January with an expanded staff of 60 excavators and 20 laborers devoted to renovation efforts. The season was marred by the February 4 earthquake, which registered 7.5 on the Richter scale (Sharer et al. 1979: 45). Although no one on the research team was injured, the site itself suffered damage (Figure 1.33). The objectives of the second full season included continuation of the mapping project and expanding the focus of excavations at the Acropolis to include: the adjacent Ballcourt Plaza to determine a construction timeline; continuing the Peripheral Project survey to include the 95 km² surrounding the site core; initiation of a pottery analysis program; a magnetometer survey to identify structures buried by river silt; and an effort to stop ongoing damage to the sculpted monuments caused by microflora.

Christopher Jones headed the team working the Acropolis. Structure 1B-5, the largest building at Quirigua, was revealed to have been built over a previous structure, as were Structures 1B-3 and 1B-4, the site of Morley's 1919 excavations (see Chapter 9). Morley, of course, had only scratched the surface and had not dug below the final iteration of any of the Quirigua buildings or platforms. Jones was able to document two distinct phases of Acropolis construction, the first of which was largely destroyed during the fabrication of the newest version. The structures beneath the current buildings were found to have presaged the final buildings in basic form, just on a smaller scale. Jones also found that Structure 1B-3 was erected later than 1B-4. Excavations of the Acropolis Plaza also shed light on its form and changing function: the earliest version was characterized by surrounding high walls, possibly defensive in nature, which limited public access, whereas the final version of the area removed walls and replaced them with open plazas with public access (Sharer et al. 1979: 52). Given the results of later epigraphic studies detailing the history of Quirigua's ruling dynasty, the timing of the shift away from what was possibly a defensive posture dovetails with K'ahk' Tiliw's victory over Copan in AD 738.

Additional excavations were carried out at Structures 1A-3 (a continuation of the previous year's work) as well as at nearby 1A-11, 1A-8, and 1A-10. A number of smaller mounds located immediately northwest of the site core (in grid square 3C of the Periphery Project mapping system) were also excavated in 1976, the results of which were published years later in 2007 (Ashmore 2007: 223–285). This, the first detailed look at a residential complex clearly outside, but near, the Quirigua site core, revealed that these sites had possible administrative and ceremonial roles in addition to serving as residential compounds (Sharer et al. 1979: 60).



Figure 1.33. Repairs being made to Stela E after the 1976 earthquake.

The year 1976 also saw a change in direction when Sharer took over project leadership from Coe. Sharer had originally wanted to make epigraphic studies part of the project, something that Coe had strongly opposed⁶³ (Sharer 2011). From 1976 onward, however, at least part of the team focused on the study of the art and inscriptions of Quirigua's monuments, the results of which updated Morley's more limited, calendrically focused drawings. These new drawings were published in Sharer's guide to the site (Sharer 1990). Sharer's goal was to draw data from both

⁶³ In his contribution to a tribute to William Coe, Sharer offered an anecdote reflective of Coe's attitude toward epigraphy. The expedition team had to deal with constant distractions from a stream of tourists with numerous questions. Sharer drafted a pamphlet for visitors and gave it to Coe for review. As Sharer writes, "He gave it back a day later saying that it looked good, except for one crossed-out paragraph briefly summarizing the Quirigua dynastic sequence David Kelley had proposed in his 1962 *American Antiquity* article. Bill's blunt characterization of the offending paragraph says it all, —'We don't need that Kelley crap in the brochure!'" (Sharer 2010: 24). Bill was estranged from his brother, Michael Coe, an influential Mayanist who, unlike Bill, was devoted to epigraphy.

historical texts and excavations (an approach he called his “Conjunctive Perspective” (Fash and Sharer 1991: 170–171) and then test conclusions between epigraphic and archaeological sources, although he acknowledged that this approach offered more opportunity when studying Maya elites as opposed to the study of nonelites (Fash and Sharer 1991: 171). Sharer’s addition of epigraphic information to the site record presaged what has now become common practice at sites where inscriptions are found.

The third season—1977—continued where 1976 left off (Figure 1.34). Robert Sharer and Diane Chase dug 52 test pits in the Main Plaza; David Sedat and Diane Chase excavated Structure 1A-10; Arlen Chase cleared the rooms of 1B-6 and 1B-18 at the Acropolis and excavated beneath the extant structures to determine the scope and chronology of substructures; Christopher Jones deepened the Acropolis trenches to determine the area’s earliest occupation; Kevin Grey and John Weeks recorded all architectural plans in each of the Acropolis structures, including observations of masonry sizes, shapes, and materials; and Christopher Jones tunneled into Structure 1A-3 in a failed attempt to find the tomb of Cauac Sky (K’ahk’ Tiliw) (Jones et al. 1983: 2).



Figure 1.34. The staff of the 1977 Quirigua Project. Back row (left to right): Robert Sharer, Ed Schortman, Chris Jones, Arlen Chase, Kevin Gray; Front row (left to right): Mary Bullard, Becky Sedat, David Sedat, Pat Urban, Wendy Ashmore, Diane Chase, John Weeks.

The Periphery Program grew in significance during the 1977 season, with excavations conducted at nine individual sites. This exploration of the larger Motagua valley offered evidence that, outside the Quirigua site core, most inhabitants were non-Maya and represented “an intrusion of Maya among already resident populations of distinct identities” (Ashmore 2009: 18). This supports the widely-held assumption that Maya entry into the southeast periphery came from Peten in the Early Classic, when Teotihuacan was exerting powerful influence over the southern lowlands (Sharer 1990: 104–105;Looper 2007: 30; Martin and Grube 2000: 192–193).

The most significant result of the third season was the formulation of a detailed construction chronology of the Acropolis, the result of deep trenching, excavation of substructures, and the discovery of a buried ballcourt (called 1B-Sub), which closely matched the size and orientation of the three ballcourts at Copan (Jones et al. 1983: 5). The new chronology expanded the two phases identified the previous year into four phases (from Jones et al. 1983: 3–9):⁶⁴

Phase 4: Before or about AD 724

Str. 1B-6-2nd

Str. 1B-1-2nd

Str. 1B-3-3rd

Phase 3: Between AD 724 and 737

Renovation of Str. 1B-6-2nd

Renovation of Str. 1B-1-2nd

Str. 1B-2

Str. 1B-Sub. 4 (the Ballcourt)

Str. 1B-5-2nd

Str. 1B-Sub. 3-2nd

Str. 1B-Sub. 2-2nd

Phase 2: Between AD 737 and 810

Str. 1B-18

Str. 1B-3

Str. 1B-4

Str. 1B-3-2nd

Str. 1B-sub. 1

Str. 1B-sub. 3

Str. 1B-sub. 2

Western Platform

Phase 1: After AD 810

Str. 1B-6

New stairs of Str. 1B-1

Str. 1B-1

Stairs covering Str. 1B-sub. 2

Str. 1B-5

⁶⁴ The construction phases were counterintuitively numbered backwards from the present iteration (Phase 1) to earliest (Phase 4), a decision that might have been less confusing if reversed.

For each of the phases of the construction of the Acropolis (Figure 1.35), the function of the complex remained constant as a residential-administrative center for Quirigua's rulers (Jones et al. 1983: 22). Excavation revealed no evidence of ceremonial usage at the Acropolis, a finding that sharply contrasts with Morley's assumption that some of these structures were religious temples.

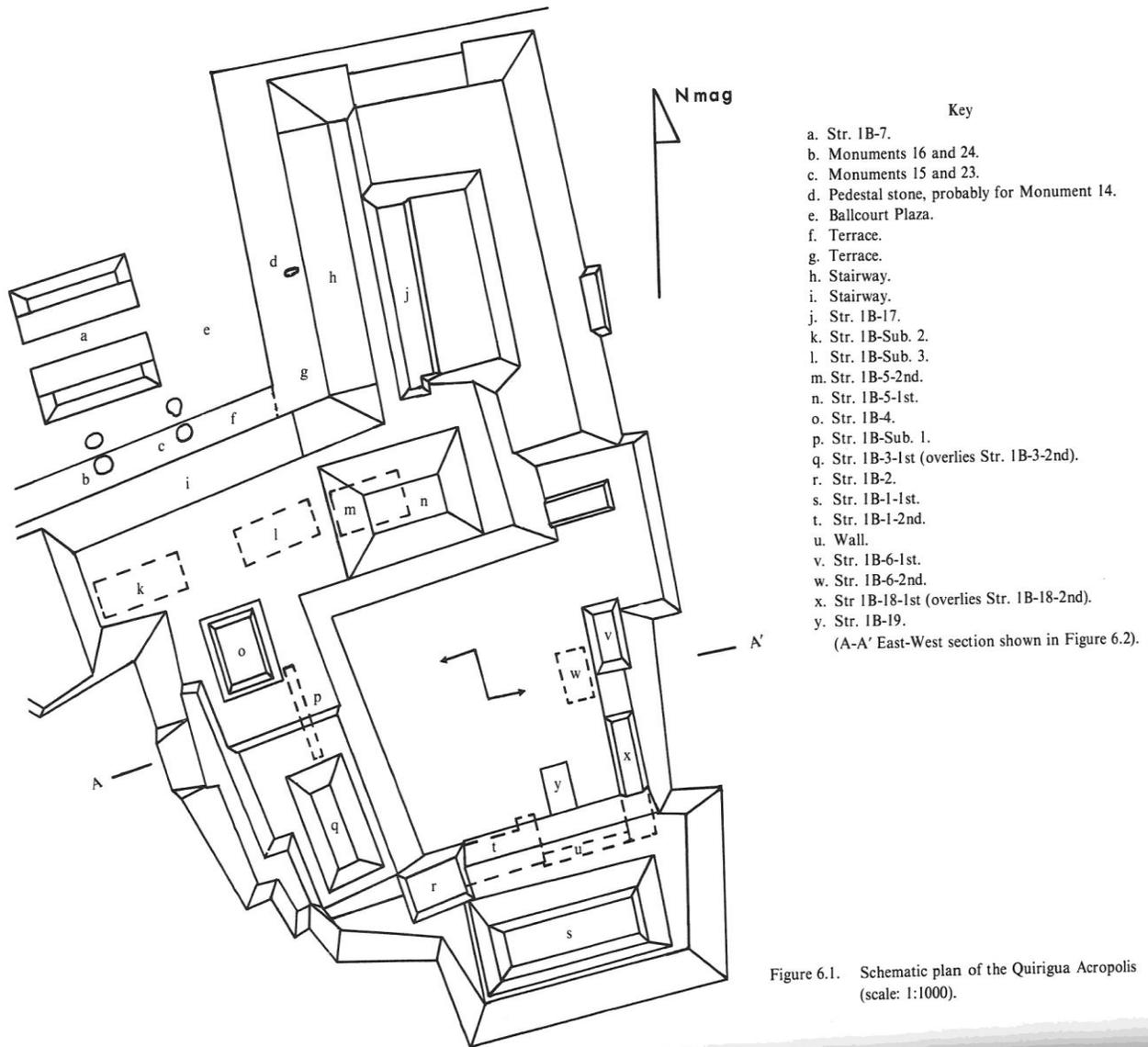


Figure 6.1. Schematic plan of the Quirigua Acropolis (scale: 1:1000).

Figure 1.35. The Quirigua Acropolis showing earlier structures (dashed outlines).

Of special note, a tomb, designated Burial 2, was excavated in 1B-6-2nd and dated to the earliest years of the Acropolis. The skeletal remains found in this grave are thought to contain the remains of Quirigua's founding ruler, Tok Casper (Sharer 2011).

The final two seasons of the project, 1978 and 1979, saw a significant slowdown of activity at the site core; the excavations that were undertaken focused on resolving questions that remained

from the previous years of research. Some work was done on the ballcourt plaza, mainly exploratory in support of possible IDAEH restoration of Str. 1B-7. Excavations were also conducted at Str. 1A-11, an endeavor which continued briefly after the official close of the season. But if investigation at the site core was slowing down, a robust effort was made at Group A (Locus 002), some 4 km west-northwest of the Acropolis. Morley had visited and excavated at this group in 1922, his interest prompted by the two carved monuments there. The two stelae presented a problem: the inscribed dates fall in the fifth century, far earlier than any other dated monuments in the area, but at the same time the several buildings at Group A mirror the style of the final two construction phases dating to the late eighth and early ninth centuries AD (Sharer et al. 1983: 42–43). One possible resolution to this paradox is the proposition that these stelae were moved to Group A as part of Quirigua’s expansion under K’ahk’ Tiliw (Sharer et al. 1983: 42).⁶⁵

Excavations did not resolve this question and the conclusions regarding the chronology of Group A remain nebulous: “the principal use of Group A probably fell within the period of major occupation of the site core, c. AD 550–850” (Sharer et al. 1983: 43). During the final season in 1979, Bruce Bevan conducted a ground-penetrating radar survey of sections of the site core to identify additional monuments and/or structures buried by the alluvial deposits from the frequent flooding of the Río Motagua. The results, however, were disappointing because “the unexpectedly high attenuation of the soil at the site did not allow radar echoes to be received from deep enough underground” (Bevan 1983: 67).

Art, Epigraphy, and Current Studies

The story of epigraphy at Quirigua begins with Morley and his early work in the region, the first results of which were published in *The Inscriptions at Copan* (Morley 1920). These studies, specifically focused on date inscriptions, were revisited in *The Inscriptions of the Peten* (1937–38, IV: 72–241). It was not until 25 years later that the modern era of Quirigua epigraphic studies began with the publication of David Kelley’s (1962b) landmark article, “Glyphic Evidence for a Dynastic Sequence at Quirigua, Guatemala.” Kelley, who completed his doctorate under Tozzer at Harvard in 1957 (see Matthews 2011), followed the approach of Tatiana Proskouriakoff’s (1960) groundbreaking study demonstrating that the Piedras Negras inscriptions presented historical data related to the ruling dynasty. Kelley identified five Quirigua rulers, three of whom—K’ahk’ Tiliw, Sky Xul, and Jade Sky—were the final three kings. These were early cracks in the Morley/Thompson view of the nature of ancient Maya writing (and Maya culture) that emerged in the early 1960s.

Working under Linda Schele at the University of Texas, Andrea Stone studied the challenging art and inscriptions on the Quirigua Zoomorphs (1983, 1991). Looper, who also

⁶⁵ Ashmore explores the similar relocation of Stela S to Group 7A-1 and postulates that the original location of the monument was in the Great Plaza, where a stela foundation without a stela was found. Stela S was moved during the reign of Jade Sky, the successor to K’ahk’ Tiliw, possibly to allow for a more intimate location for veneration of Quirigua’s greatest king (Ashmore 2009: 24).

studied under Schele, spent several seasons at Quirigua making detailed drawings of the site's inscriptions and sculptural imagery, also referencing Maudslay's photographs and various castings of the stelae, and Sharer's earlier works. His analysis of both hieroglyphic texts and monument imagery, combined with information gleaned from Sharer's excavations, allowed for the most detailed study of Quirigua's history to date.Looper (2003: 213–230) breaks down the texts of the K'ahk' Tiliw monuments, block by block, transliterating them into Mayan, then translating into English, and then finally into smooth sentences.

In 2008–2009, a team of Guatemalan epigraphers made an attempt to sort out the glyphs that formed the Structure 1B-1 cornice, which was (and remains) stored in a shed at the site (Luin et al. 2010). Working from earlier photos (especially Morley's) as well as the actual stone glyph blocks in storage, many of which have significantly deteriorated over the past decades, the team was able to sort the inscription into various categories—verbs, place names, dates, etc. Although no full translation was possible because of the jumbled order of the glyphs, they were able to extract more information than was previously known about the rule of Jade Sky. This project is discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

Another important contribution to the study of Quirigua is Aura Cristina Peralta Vázquez's analysis of the site's architecture as part of the completion of her graduate work in the School of Architecture at the Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (2010). She presents a history of building at the site drawn mainly from Sharer's work in the 1970s, but importantly she presents computer-generated models showing the sequential constructions during the Classic era (Figure 1.36). Her perspective as an architect offers an alternative disciplinary approach to the study of the site. Her renditions do not include the roof-comb on Structure 1B-1 that may or may not have existed.

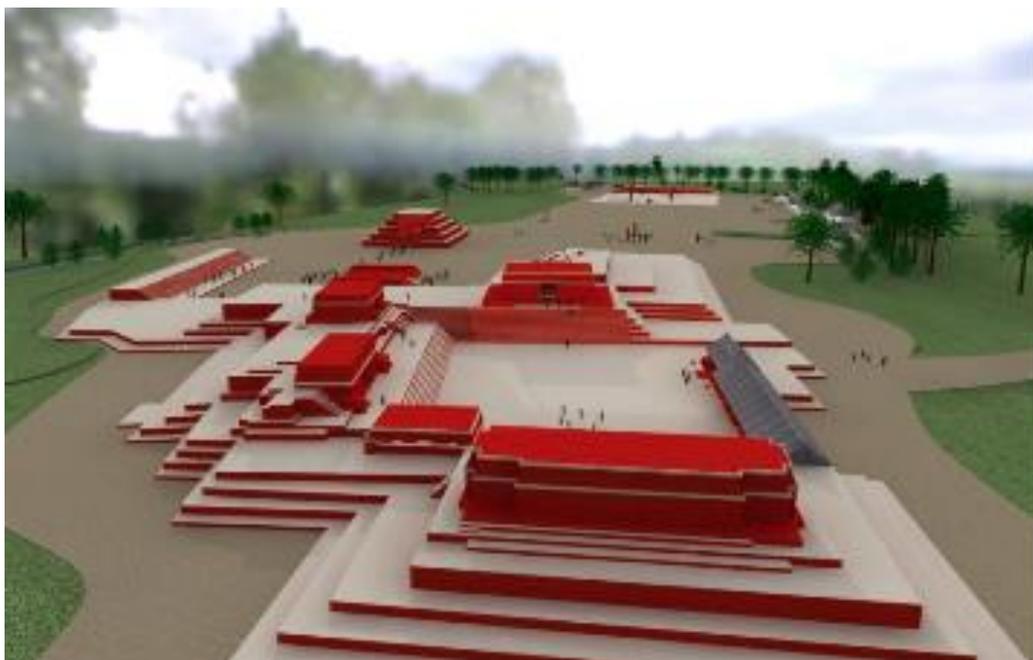


Figure 1.36. Computer rendering of Quirigua. Structure 1B-1 is in the foreground; the Great Plaza with its associated stelae is in the distance. Most buildings had been painted red.

The most recent work at Quirigua took place in early 2019, when a team from the Digital Heritage and Humanities Collections at the University of South Florida, headed by Travis Doering, used modern technology to create digital 3D scans of many of the Quirigua monuments and structures.⁶⁶ These, the digital progeny of a century of efforts to create casts at the site, have produced the most accurate renderings to date (Figure 1.37), although because of additional weathering over the past decades, the images may not be as true to the Maya sculptor's originals as were the casts made by earlier teams. They do, however, not only record exactly what exists today, but also highlight details that were not revealed in traditional castings, drawings, or photography.



Figure 1.37. Detail of the digital scan of the west side text of Stela A made by the University of South Florida team in 2019.

⁶⁶ Oswaldo Gómez, in charge of the Quirigua site, was a co-principal investigator on this project. The scans are available online at <https://dhhc.lib.usf.edu/project/the-quirigua-3d-project/>.

Current work brings to the present day the long history of archaeological investigations at Quirigua, which began a century and a half ago when Frederick Catherwood first gazed upon the towering stelae on the jungle-encrusted Main Plaza. Quirigua offers a good case study in the history of Maya archaeology as outlined by Gordon Willey and Jeremy Sabloff (1974). Catherwood's and Maudslay's early explorations fit nicely into their Classificatory-Descriptive Period (1840–1914), characterized by a focus on description rather than interpretation, and attempts to arrange sites and artifacts in some logical order. The next period, Classificatory-Historical (1914–1940), began at Quirigua in 1910 with the arrival of Hewett and Morley, and continued until the end of the CIW programs in the late 1930s, with a focus on chronology-building, aided by the abundance of dated inscriptions. As late as Stromsvik's work in the 1930s, few questions were asked that went beyond the superficial understanding of *things*, rather than causes or implications. Sharer's work in the 1970s exemplifies the Explanatory Period – post-1960 and the “New Archaeology” – pushing research beyond ceremonial centers in an effort to gain a holistic understanding of the entire region and how it functioned via a processual approach. The overall project had clear goals to understand not just “what” and “when” questions, but also the “whys” and “hows.” Looper's ongoing epigraphic and art analysis work does not neatly fit into these “periods” of archaeological theory, but fleshes out the already established framework.

CHAPTER 2

MORLEY AND THE 1912 SEASON AT QUIRIGUA

Morley's 1912 diary begins at his mother's home in Swarthmore, a southwestern suburb of Philadelphia. The first month is spent—with his first wife Alice and their young daughter True—packing and traveling through Washington, DC and New Orleans, before setting sail for Guatemala, arriving on January 27.

Monday, January 1

Today put the finishing touches on my ms., *An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyphs* [Morley 1915]. Saw Jean Myers off in the morning. Brother returned to Boston last night.

Tuesday, January 2

Sent ms. off to Hodge.¹ Finished *Pickwick Papers* for the nth time. Big surprise of the New Year in shape of the announcement of [Edgar Lee] Hewett's marriage on December 30th to Donizetta Woods.²

Wednesday, January 3

Went into Dr. Turnbull's and had my eyes examined. Not enough drops in, must return tomorrow. Outfitted for Quirigua at Wanamaker's³. Alice ironed all day. Very tired.

Thursday, January 4

Alice and I went in town together, I to the oculist for final exam, Alice to shop. Lunched together at Wanamaker's, came down together on the 5:00. Brought True candy.

¹ Frederick W. Hodge, Morley's contact at the Bureau of American Ethnology, later founded the *Journal of Physical Anthropology* and served as the executive director of the Smithsonian Institution.

² Hewett's first wife, Cora, died in 1905. Woods was a prominent Santa Fe suffragette and a key player in Santa Fe's social scene. She died in 1960.

³ Wanamaker's was one of the first chain department stores in the United States, founded by John Wanamaker in Philadelphia in 1876.

Friday, January 5

Aunt Nell came out to sew for Alice all day. I went in to see Hinkson about Aunt Virginia's will.⁴ He advises simply "standing pat." He also says J. G. is no heir-at-law of Grandpa's.

Saturday, January 6

Letter from Hewett says he is going over to New York today. Played "Landlord" and "Stop" with Miss Lizzie Hannary in evening.

Sunday, January 7

Alice and I spent the entire day packing, and nearly finished it. Constance and Harry took True and Daisy over to Fussell's in the afternoon. Four trunks for Guatemala.

Monday, January 8

Letter from Hewett says back from New York. We'll probably leave next Sunday. Alice and I had a very bitter quarrel and much was said that much better not have been.

Tuesday, January 9

Letter from Hodge about illustrations to ms. Worked all day on getting them ready. In the evening went to a monologue entertainment with Con and Muz. Punk. The streets are one mass of ice.

Wednesday, January 10

Packed almost all day. Toward evening Alice turned up with "a miserable feeling." Lemonade and whiskey, quinine, and a hot mustard foot bath and early to bed for her.

Thursday, January 11

Went to town in the morning, leaving Alice in bed. Returned on the 12:02 bringing everything with me, including even 6 lbs of gummy candy. Alice no better.

Friday, January 12

Alice real sick, and True also. Called Dr. Alger, who says Alice has bronchitis and True a kind of stomach trouble. Telegram from Hewett. Met him in Philadelphia at 8:20. Probably will sail on the 24th.

Saturday, January 13

Nursed Alice all day long. True too is very miserable. Doctor again this morning. Says it is bronchitis. Aunt Nan was up from Chester this afternoon.

⁴ Morley's Aunt Virginia supported, presumably through this will, much of his travels and research in Central America.

Sunday, January 14

Alice still sick, though seemed better; True decidedly improved. Harry took Con, Helen Price, Lybs, and Eleanor sleigh-riding in the p.m. Finished *The Doomed City*.⁵ Fair.

Monday, January 15

Dr. came again. Both slightly better. Harry and I went up to the automobile show in the eve. Bully line of cars for 1912—"Overland" (Figure 2.1), "American," and "Locomobile" leading.



Figure 2.1. The 1912 Overland Torpedo series 59.

Tuesday, January 16

Both better. In fact, Alice sat up for a little while in the afternoon. Played Store after supper and we had lots of fun. William Price was down.

Wednesday, January 17

Alice came downstairs for the first time yesterday, but did not stay down to supper. Mother had been upset all day. Thinks her sons have turned against her. Rubbish, I told her.

Thursday, January 18

News from Hewett that all money from St. Louis (see Chapter 1) was sent the 16th and that he'd send my check "tomorrow the 18th." If it arrives in the morning we will leave at noon.

Friday, January 19

Left for Washington at 1:20; arrived 4:20. Lloyd met us and took us to the [Hotel] Normandie, where Grandpa wished us to put up on him. Phoned Hewett, but did not see him.

⁵ *The Doomed City: A Thrilling Tale*, by Frank T. Searight (1906), tells the eyewitness account of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.

Saturday, January 20

Busy day. Saw Hewett, Jesse,⁶ and Judd,⁷ who is at the National Museum [Figure 2.2]. Spent great part of the day with Hodge. Heard indirectly of the Big Scheme.⁸ Hewett and wife left for New Orleans tonight. Jesse came up to supper with me.



Figure 2.2. A who's who of early twentieth-century archaeologists associated with the School for American Archaeology (SAA) in Santa Fe. Seated from left to right: Alfred Kidder and Frederick Hodge. Standing, from left to right: Earl Morris, Neil Judd, Miss Johnson, Aileen Nusbaum, Jesse Nusbaum, Ed Coffin, and Morley. This photo was taken in Arizona in 1920.

Sunday, January 21

Alice's uncle and family came and spent the morning. Grandpa, Jeanette, Spring, and Jesse in the aft. The two last for supper. Lloyd saw us to the train in the evening.

⁶ Jesse Nusbaum (1887–1975), hired in 1907 to join Morley and Kidder as photographer on the Mesa Verde expedition, supervised the restoration of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, and was a long-term associate of the SAA. Superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park, he eventually worked for the National Park Service. His photo archive is held at the Palace of the Governors.

⁷ See Chapter 1, page 29, note 42.

⁸ The editors do not know to what this refers.

Monday, January 22

Alice sick all day long in the stateroom, apparently with tonsillitis. True and I miserable with a touch of indigestion. Alice ran a high fever all day long.

Tuesday, January 23

Reached New Orleans O.K. Alice miserable. Went straight to the [Hotel] St. Charles and put her to bed, called a doctor, and had a trained nurse for True. Saw Hewett. Purchased supplies all day. Alice has tonsillitis. Will not interfere with leaving.

Wednesday, January 24

Sailed at noon. Alice much better. A Mrs. T.A.D. Cockerell of Boulder⁹ joined the party late last night. Weather fine and indications are for a clear voyage.

Thursday, January 25

Uneventful sea weather. Alice better, weather wonderful. I read greater part of the day *Viva Mexico*,¹⁰ a vivid picture of life in that republic.

Friday, January 26

Wonderful weather. No one sick on board yet. Alice very much better. Finished *Viva Mexico* and started Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* for the nth time.

Saturday, January 27

Passed Isla de Mujeres [Mujeres] about 11:00 a.m., too far off to see the temple, however. Landed [at Puerto Barrios, Guatemala] about 6:00 p.m. Went to the Fruit Co. hotel. Saw Cutler, Matos, Garceau, Heil, Humphries, Witting, and Brown.

Sunday, January 28

Came up to Quirigua by myself. Things greatly improved. Found a new superintendent, Landry.¹¹ Returned to Barrios on the evening train. All back tomorrow.

Monday, January 29

All came up this morning. Lunched with Landry and worked like a dog all afternoon to get into house by night. We went to bed in the dark amidst great confusion.

⁹ Wife of Theodore A. Cockerell (1866–1948), professor of zoology at the University of Colorado.

¹⁰ *Viva Mexico* (Flandrau 1910), was a summary of life in Mexico during the years of the Porfiriato (see Chapter 1, page 21, note 28).

¹¹ Dr. M. C. Landry was the superintendent of the Quirigua district of the Guatemala division of the United Fruit Company. Based in the town of Quirigua, he became intimately familiar with the nearby ruins and discovered several stelae and outlying structures. Landry and his wife were the center of the active social scene at Quirigua, a “must stop” on the train line between Guatemala City and Puerto Barrios. Landry and Morley became long-term friends.

Tuesday, January 30

Hewett and wife and Mrs. Cockerell left for [Guatemala] City this morning. Worked (Alice and I, and 3 boys) like slaves to get the place in order. We will finish tomorrow, I think.

Wednesday, January 31

Matilda Chambers, engaged yesterday, failed to show up. I engaged a Chinaman, Juan Cheu, who said he would start in the morning. Balanced our accounts last night with some straining.

Thursday, February 1

Alice got breakfast. Juan showed up about 9. Engaged a houseboy, one Custodio Satuye, from British Honduras. Meals and service. Wonder how long it will last.

Friday, February 2

Worked almost all day on the illustrations for my book. Found that our gasoline car was coming up in the morning. Wrote a long letter to Hodge putting my position up to him.

Saturday, February 3

Feeling punk all day. Off my feed in some way or another. Wrote a long letter to brother and another to mother. The local “up” freight [train] is in the ditch near Barrios.¹²

Sunday, February 4

Went down to the ruins for the first time this morning with our foreman and the outlook is surely discouraging. The bush, now again after the lapse of only 8 months, covers all to a depth [height] of 20 feet.¹³

Monday, February 5

First day of work on the ruins, season of 1912. The biggest archaeological discovery of the three years since we have been down here occurred today. I was able to read the date of the hieroglyphic frieze Initial Series [I.S.] which began to turn up last year on the South Temple [Str. 1B-1] as 9.19.0.0.0 9 Ajaw 18 Mol. The latest date of all at Quirigua. Hewett back this afternoon.

Tuesday, February 6

Hewett, myself, and Dr. Russell (a lady who came down from the city with him last night) went down to the ruins. Fowke¹⁴ and Earl H. Morris (of Farmington [NM]) came today.¹⁵

¹² Probably a derailment coming “up” —over rising terrain into the interior highlands—from Puerto Barrios.

¹³ See Chapter 1. The SAA team had cleared the bush from the ruins during their 1911 season.

¹⁴ Gerard Fowke (1855–1933) was a geologist/archaeologist who worked North American mounds at the end of the nineteenth century. His 1912 visit to Quirigua is his only work in the Maya area.

¹⁵ This was apparently the first time Morley met Earl Morris, who became a professional partner over the next two decades. See Chapter 1, page 26, note 34; also Chapter 10, pages 253–254.

Wednesday, February 7

No work today because the paymaster came. I took Fowke and Morris down to see the ruins and made up my expense account today—\$83.05.

Thursday, February 8

Men worked all day on their camp. Sent for material from tram and in the afternoon took a nap—the first daytime snooze for some moons. 33 men on payroll.

Friday, February 9

Mrs. Cockerell came back tonight. Started felling trees for the trestles.¹⁶ We have secured a very good foreman for this work in the person of a Jacksonville, Florida, darkey,¹⁷ one William James. N.B.—not of Merida.

Saturday, February 10

Continued felling trees for trestles. Yesterday a telegram came from Joe Spinden saying to meet him on the Sunday train. Will go up to Zacapa.

Sunday, February 11

Went up to Zacapa but did not see Joe until the train was moving out, he then was en route for the city. He yelled, “Back on Wednesday.” I yelled, “Stop off a day.” He yelled, “Can’t do it.”

Monday, February 12

Wired to Joe to come down from the city a day early. Then drove Hewett down to the ruins. Work on the cribbing progresses very slowly. Letters from mother, brother, and O. C. Watson.

Tuesday, February 13

Morris and I held down the ruins both morning and afternoon. “*No hay* Hewett.” Work on the first crib was completed, and the benches started on the platform.

Wednesday, February 14

Met Joe at Zacapa, and we literally flew at each other to exchange news.¹⁸ All the way down to Quirigua we were at it. And when we reached Quirigua, I told Alice that I would go on down to the port with Joe, which I did.

¹⁶ The trestles were to hold a narrow-gauge rail car to carry excavated debris away from the ruins (see Figure 1.17).

¹⁷ See Ward and Rice (2021: 10–13) for a discussion of Morley’s racism.

¹⁸ Spinden was Morley’s closest friend in Mayanist circles, though the relationship had not always been friendly. During the years leading up to the SAA launching work at Quirigua, Morley—professionally insecure at this early stage—suspected Spinden of undercutting his career, a rivalry that is well documented in letters in the Hewett archives (HP letters from Morley to Hewett: September 21, 1909; January 23, 1910; January 24, 1910; July 6, 1911).

Thursday, February 15

Bid Joe goodbye and came up from Barrios on the morning train. Brought with me a Mr. and Mrs. Haymaker,¹⁹ missionaries from the States. Hewett and I took them down to the ruins after breakfast.

Friday, February 16

Hewett went to see some mounds across the river with Landry this a.m. when I returned from the ruins. I found that work on the car had not yet been started. Put Donaldson on the job and rustled him some tools.

Saturday, February 17

Payday and work largely demoralized, though we only took our black gang for one-half day, and our natives not at all. Morris and Mrs. Cockerell went to Gualán²⁰ again today. True had a little fever tonight.

Sunday, February 18

Finished another plate for the book. Walked up to Fowke's diggings with Alice and True. Took three United Fruit Co.'s engineers down to the ruins. Wrote to mother. Finished up 3 days time. Baby had a fever tonight.

Monday, February 19

Mail today. Clipping from Allie T.²¹ showing his reply to Hewett's Sunday *Times* interview [see Chapter 1, pp. 23–24]. A letter from Jesse enclosed a blank, which I am to fill in order to join the Masons. Will return it next mail.

Tuesday, February 20

Two very pleasant U.S.A. officers visited the ruins this afternoon, a Major Cheney and a Captain McCoy. They called in the evening and we enjoyed their conversation greatly.

Ash Wednesday, February 21

This morning Mrs. Cockerell went up to Gualán to stay overnight. Work on the first trestle nearing completion.

¹⁹ Edward Haymaker, the first Presbyterian missionary in Guatemala, served in Central America until his death in 1947. He amassed a large collection of indigenous textiles and objects, now held as The Haymaker Collection at Central Missouri State University.

²⁰ Gualán is a small town several rail stops southwest of Quirigua (heading toward Guatemala City), between Los Amates and Zacapa. See Figure 1.1.

²¹ Alfred M. Tozzer.

Thursday, February 22

Rail laid on first trestle and Earl started clearing around Structure No. 2.²² In afternoon brought up an Englishman, a Mr. Childs, Mrs. Cockerell.

Friday, February 23

Spent the day putting on the finishing touches at the ruins ready for excavation tomorrow. The first dump car reached the ruins and was assembled. A regular old Puye stone line hustled out the stone in good shape.²³

Saturday, February 24

Grand start of the excavations. Everything commenced with great éclat. Mrs. Hewett, Mr. Hewett, Mrs. Cockerell, Morris, Fowke, and self on hand. In the afternoon calamity No. 1 overtook us with the dump car going over the dump [see below]. Smashed the frame only.

Excavation of Structure 1

*Field Notes*²⁴

Saturday, February 24

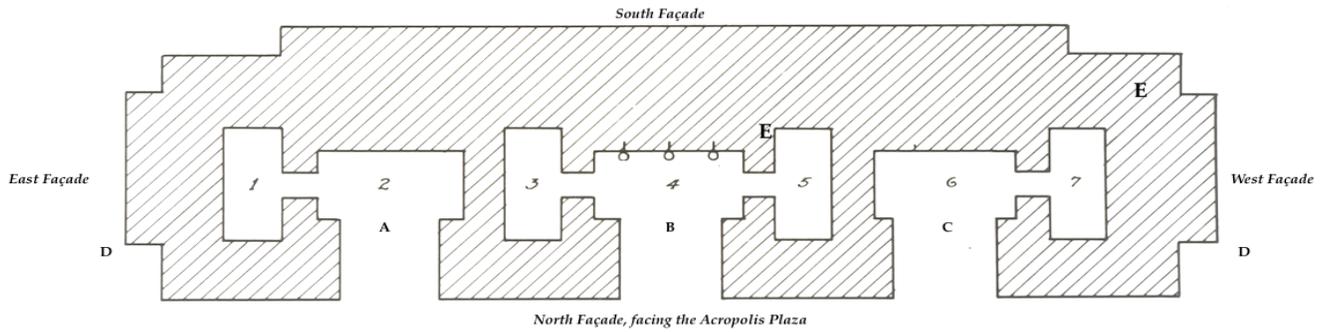
The excavation of Structure 1 [Figures 2.3, 2.4, 2.5] was commenced at the SE interior corner, 10' [3 m] W of the exterior face of the E wall and 10' [3 m] N of the exterior face of the S wall, the location of both of which were determined by preliminary excavation last year (1911 season). At this point, the top of the mound is about 10' [3 m] above the level of the platform surrounding this structure (also determined last year) and was strewn with faced stone as well as rough rocks used in the rubble work of the walls.

²² Morley's Structure (or Temple) No. 2 is now known as 1B-2; what he calls Structure (or Temple) No. 1 is today's 1B-1.

²³ Puye refers to Pueblo cliff dwellings in New Mexico, cut into "soft" volcanic tuff, and excavated by Hewett. The reference to a "stone line" probably refers to a line of workmen passing the excavated stone, one-by-one, to an out-of-the-way location (see Figure 6.6).

²⁴ From February 24 through March 18, Morley continued his brief journal entries, but maintained a separate, more expansive, field diary. Some information in these dual entries is duplicated, but we retain both. After March 18 the personal journal ends, only the field diary continuing. There are no entries for any Sunday, which was always a day taken off. Morley's original included numerous sketches, but these have been lost as the only versions of his notes are typescript transcriptions. Fortunately, most of the information in his sketches is fully elaborated in his text.

QUIRIGUA STRUCTURE 1B-1



Numbers indicate room identifications as referenced in the 1912 diary.
A, B, and C indicate location of the three hieroglyphic steps.
D and D show locations of the eastern and western façade offsets
E indicates where large tree roots hampered excavations.
Small circles in Room 4 show original location of the three tenoned heads.

Drawing after Morley by Christopher Ward

Figure 2.3. Diagram of Structure 1B-1 showing some points mentioned in Morley's text. This combines his many incomplete floor-plan sketches (made during the course of excavation when the full picture remained unknown) into the final form seen in Figures 1.16, 3.6, and 6.16.



Figure 2.4. Structure 1 (Structure 1B-1) at Quirigua before the start of excavations.



Figure 2.5. One of the first days of excavation at Structure 1B-1.

At a depth of 2' [61 cm] below surface, numerous beveled blocks²⁵ began to come up. These undoubtedly belong to the vault roof (angled ceiling) and had been plunged inward and downward when the exterior walls failed. No sculptured blocks appeared at all, indicating, as previously assumed in almost all Maya structures, that the bulk, if indeed not all, of the sculptured decoration was on the facades and not on interior walls. Some 4' [1.2 m] below the surface, the earth began to grow very moist and sticky, arguing for a muddy condition below at the floor level. On the fifth load, the dump car went over the dump.

Sunday, February 25

The Seeleys came up from Virginia this morning to visit the ruins. We had an early breakfast, 11:30, and went down afterward. It's a pleasure to show such people around. She was a Cambridge girl. Mrs. Cockerell left for the States on the afternoon train.

Monday, February 26

Kept pegging away at the SE corner of Structure No. 1 [Figure 2.6], but failed to develop²⁶ either floor or walls. Morris' work in Structure 2 is growing very interesting. Hewett was down in the afternoon. The heat was appalling.

²⁵ These are shaped blocks with one side or end finished at a slant (bevel). When aligned, the bevels form the slanted surface of the interior corbelled ceilings/vaults of Maya structures (Figure 3.5). Note that Morley often wrongly refers to the vault ceilings as "arches."

²⁶ Morley often uses the word "develop" to mean "expose" or "uncover" through excavation.

Field Notes

About 5' [1.52 m] below the surface several pieces of plaster came out, about 1" [2.5 cm] thick and very smoothly finished. The digging continued very heavy, the material becoming an almost pure clay of reddish color, in which the stones were very heavily embedded. The beveled arch stones noticeable yesterday practically have disappeared, as well as most other faced stones.



Figure 2.6. Excavation of the southeast corner of Structure 1B-1.

Tuesday, February 27

First day of new working schedule: Rising at 4:00 A.M., starting work at 5:00 A.M. We drove down by lantern light, but as it rained, no men showed up until 6, so we made a 4 o'clock day of it. The Hewetts went to Guatemala City today.

Field Notes

The dirt becomes more and more sticky, being little more than pure reddish clay now. At a depth of 9' [2.7 m] below the surface an approximately level floor composed of rough undressed stones was uncovered. This seems to have been the foundation for the flooring proper, i.e., a layer of pure red clay about 1" [2.5 cm] thick lying on these stones. Before pronouncing this the floor level, it will be necessary to establish this same level at other points.

Wednesday, February 28

Earl uncovered a fine grotesque head [a mosaic mask] in position in his building, i.e., façade of Structure 2 [Figure 2.7]. The incisor teeth, of which there are six, are 7 or 8 inches [15 to 17 cm] long. A letter from Gann²⁷ says he will try hard to come over.

²⁷ Thomas Gann, a British medical officer in British Honduras [now Belize] who also worked as an archaeologist. He and Morley were long-term friends (see Ward and Rice 2021: 338–343).

Field Notes

Continuing southward at the supposed floor level—established yesterday—what seems to be the remains of the S wall was reached. This was in very poor condition, having been forced outward when the roof caved in. There are no indications yet as to which way the corbelled arch ran in this corner of the structure. The buckling of the S wall outward might indicate that the arch itself ran E and W here, i.e., rested on the walls running in this direction. Sliding perhaps occurred on the lower part of the S wall buckling outward from the thrust.



Figure 2.7. Grotesque head (mosaic mask) excavated by Morris in the façade of Structure 1B-2.

Thursday, February 29

Only occurs once in four years

A near serious incident at the ruins. Nearly killed a man on the trestle. In getting up one of the long stairs, a darkey, George Joseph, in trying to lift it, got pinched between it and the frame, and if it had not been for a husky Honduran heaving to, he would have been killed outright. As it was, he was badly pinched and worse scared. When I said to him, "George, how are you feeling?" he replied, "Not too bad, sir."

Field Notes

Clearing along the E wall from the point established last year to the SE corner, a very fine stone of the hieroglyphic frieze came up as well as several other pieces of the sculptured mosaic which covered the upper part of the façade. The member of the hieroglyphic frieze clearly showed 4 k'atuns. It also developed that what I had regarded as the E wall of this structure is in reality the

platform surrounding it, and in all probability, what is left of the E wall will be found 3' [91 cm] further W.

Friday, March 1

The trestle is finished. What with the frequent showers of the last three days, the Panama tank is very nearly full. I will start both dump cars going in the morning.

Field Notes

The excavation of the E façade was continued. Digging westward from the top of what seemed to be the wall, the true façade was uncovered about 3' [91 cm] in. It is in a ruinous condition, even the bottom course having shifted in several places. The complete excavation of this end showed that the platform here did not extend to the corners of the building. As near as could be determined in its present ruinous condition, it was 19' [5.8 m] long N and S, 2' 4" [71 cm] wide, E and W, and 2' 6" [76 cm] high. Although the SE and NE corners have not been located yet, fairly close approximations of these points shows that this platform against the eastern façade was asymmetrically placed with reference to the façade, its southern end being 6' [1.83 m] from the SE corner while its northern end is only 3' [91 cm] from the NE corner. The top was covered with a lime and clay cement,²⁸ now almost entirely disintegrated.

Toward the close of the afternoon the digging had become so hard—stone laid down in a pure clay mortar—that I ceased work within the building and put a man where the southern façade had been uncovered last year, and had him follow it along to the E, i.e., toward the SE corner.

Saturday, March 2

Both cars running for the first time. Came to an offset in my wall this afternoon, which indicated that our hard digging is due to the fact that we have been going down inside a wall. Hewetts come back from the city tonight. We had Matheson down for dinner.

Field Notes

Affairs took a very unexpected turn today because of the development of an offset in the S façade at a point W, which is as yet indeterminate with reference to the SE corner. The discovery of this offset will throw the SE corner, when that point has been located, about 3' farther N and this will make the platform against the E façade symmetrical with reference to that façade and nullify the observation as to its asymmetry which I made yesterday. The only point yet indeterminate about the ground plan of the exterior of the E end of Structure 1 is the eastern limit of the S. platform, the debris over which has not yet been cleared away.

By far the most important result of today's discovery, however, is that it demonstrates conclusively that we have been digging down inside a thick wall, so wide in fact that the faced masonry which confined the rubble hearting thus did not appear at all. Any estimates as to the

²⁸ Maya "cement" or concrete is a composite of calcined calcite (CaCO₃) and its impurities (e.g., magnesium, from dolomite), and clay, in various proportions (Díaz Coutiño 2000). This material was the basis for derivatives such as mortar, plaster, and stucco.

thickness of this wall, in view of the fact that neither its exterior or interior face has yet been developed, would be purely conjectural. It would seem, however, that the S wall must have been at least 7' or 8' [2.13 m or 2.4 m] thick. The exterior face of the S wall has been forced outward so that it would have to be entirely rebuilt to save it. Just before knocking off for the day, a cross wall (i.e., N and S) was uncovered on the top of the building²⁹ and also the corner of a door.

Sunday, March 3

Wrote all morning. After breakfast, Hewett, Mrs. Hewett, Morris, and I went down to the ruins in a blinding shower. They [the Hewetts] left in the afternoon train for Barrios and will sail for the States tomorrow.³⁰ We went over to Landry's afterwards.

Monday, March 4

It rained on and off all day. I spent most of my time rebuilding the E end of the S wall, which was literally pushed outward by the rubble behind it. Had only an indifferent force. No mail except the papers.

Field Notes

Spent the greater part of the day in rebuilding the E end of the S façade and platform against the N façade. The former was so badly bulged [Figure 2.8] that I was obliged to mark each stone as I took it out and go down to the very bottom course, which I laid in level again, replacing the upper courses in their original positions. I also replaced some of the stones of the front, or N platform. I followed the doorway developed Saturday to the N. It probably is the same one as that uncovered at the E end of the N façade during the preliminary excavation of last year.

Tuesday, March 5

Day of finding first hieroglyphic step,³¹ east doorway – Another remarkable discovery at the ruins. While excavating the E doorway of the N façade, a hieroglyphic step was found in position.

²⁹ It is unclear what this refers to: something on the roof? But the roofs had collapsed. Perhaps it relates to his belief that the structure had a roof-comb? Morley never mentions it again.

³⁰ Although Hewett claimed credit for the work at Quirigua, he was largely absent during each season. He was never involved in actual excavation, his activities focused on fundraising, public relations, and other administrative tasks. Also, the Quirigua project was only one of many that the SAA was undertaking (mainly in the desert Southwest) during 1912, distracting Hewett's attention from the excavations in Guatemala.

³¹ The appropriate term to describe these features, whether "steps" or "benches," is unclear. Morley called them steps, probably because he associated them with hieroglyphic stairways, and that descriptor has continued, but they are better termed benches. As seen in Figures 2.3 and 2.12, the three doorways or openings of the north (front) wall of Structure 1B-1 open into wide anterooms or vestibules, the backs of which are closed off by the low constructions in question. These consist of a raised area with a slightly projecting ledge, approximately 2' (61 cm) high, filling the entire "room" behind the vestibule. The projecting face of the ledge carries text. A 60

This bears the Calendar Round date 8 Ajaw 18 Xul, which was exactly 40 days earlier than the I.S. date 9.19.0.0.0 9 Ajaw 18 Mol [June 26, AD 810] found on the frieze of the same structure.

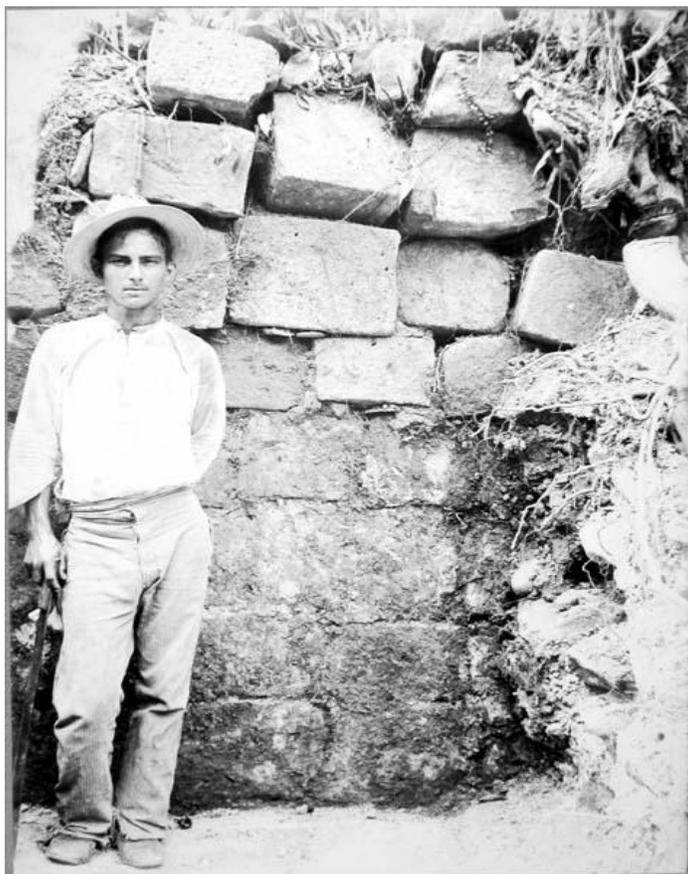


Figure 2.8. The excavated south façade of Structure 1B-1. Note the buckled wall stones in the upper courses.

Field Notes

Continued excavating the E end of the S façade clear to the SE corner. The wall was in very poor condition, having practically disappeared at the corner. I took out all the fallen faced stones, noting their positions, straightened the foundation stones, and commenced relaying the displaced stone.

Everywhere the platform upon which this building rests has a cement floor into which the lower course of masonry sinks 6" [15 cm] or so. This cement flooring seems to have been covered with a layer of a good white plaster, some of which still may be seen.

cm-high "step" is difficult to navigate (especially for short-statured Maya). Given that Structure 1B-1 is thought to have been a palace complex with combined residential/administrative functions (Martin and Grube 2008: 225; Sharer and Traxler 2006: 353), rather than a "temple," these are more akin to benches found in structures throughout the lowlands. They could have served as thrones for kingly audiences, or as sleeping platforms.

The most interesting discovery of the day was a hieroglyphic step, which ran across the doorway the N façade [actually, the back of Room 2; Figures 2.9, 2.10, 2.11]. The glyphs are in a remarkable state of preservation owing to their protected position. The first two are 8 Ajaw 18 Xul which probably corresponds with the Initial Series value 9.18.19.16.0. That is, such an Initial Series value for this date would place it exactly 40 days in advance of the Initial Series, which extended around the outside of this building on either a frieze or cornice. This façade I.S. I deciphered on the first day of work this year as 9.19.0.0.0 9 Ajaw 18 Mol, which date is just 2 winal, i.e., 40 days later than 8 Ajaw 19 Xul recorded on the rise of the step in the E doorway of the N façade.



Figure 2.9. East doorway of Structure 1B-1 before the exposure of the hieroglyphic step (which lies slightly below and behind the shovel).

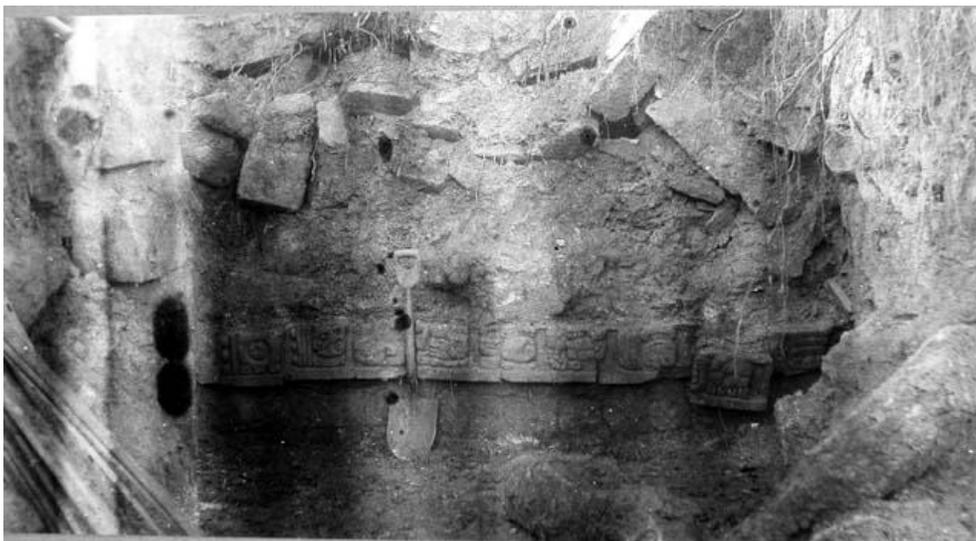


Figure 2.10. The east doorway of Structure 1B-1 showing the newly revealed hieroglyphic step.

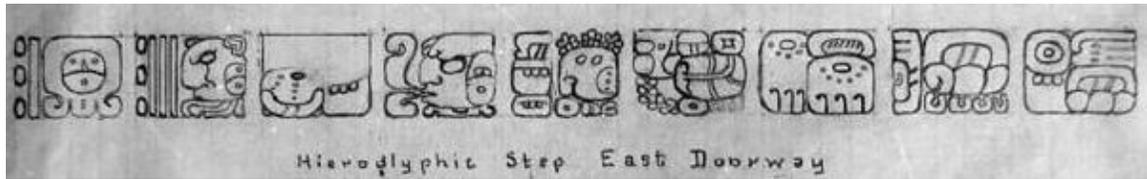


Figure 2.11. Morley's drawing of the east step of the hieroglyphic doorway. The date 8 Ajaw 18 Mol are the first two glyph blocks on the left. The Quirigua emblem glyph appears in the sixth block. (See Chapter 5 for a translation of this and the other bench inscriptions.)

Wednesday, March 6

It poured cats and dogs and everything else today, and as a result we only had four men—three natives and my darkey boy, Charles Williams. Finished uncovering the hieroglyphic step I found yesterday. It presents 9 glyphs.

Field Notes

Finished rebuilding the S façade out to the SE corner. This completes the rebuilding at the SE corner. With a very few exceptions, the stones used were those which had originally stood in the wall, indeed so far as possible they were replaced in their original positions with reference to each other.

The E doorway of the N façade was cleaned out, laying bare the hieroglyphic step discovered yesterday [Figure 2.12]. This doorway presented some unusual features, which deserve special mention. In the first place, this doorway was 9' 10" [3 m] wide. The lintel must have been of wood, for a block of stone large enough to have bridged such an opening would have been recovered in fragments, if not intact. No such fragments or whole pieces were recovered during the excavation of the doorway and it is necessary to conclude that the lintel was composed of wooden beams. The outside wall is 8' 6" [2.64 m]³² in thickness, and the floor level of the first platform seems to have been the floor level of this deep threshold. This floor was covered with a concrete base apparently, which was, in turn, covered with a layer of white plaster, some of which yet remains in place.

In excavating this doorway, large wide slabs of stone were found near the top, their long axes usually running N and S. Some of these were close on to 2' [61 cm] wide, and one was taken out which measured 7' [2.13 m] in length. Many were over 4' [1.23 m] long. Their shape and position, i.e., so near the top, indicated with great probability their use. Doubtless they were the capstones of the corbelled Maya arch. Near the floor, in fact 4" [10 cm] above it, were found some enormous beveled stones which had formed part of the corbelled arch. One of these measured 3' 6" [1.01 m] in length and was 1' 6" [.46 m] wide, and must have weighed two or three hundred pounds. The raising of such heavy stones to positions so high in the wall—at least to the spring of the arch, fully 6' [1.83]—must have entailed tremendous labor. The position of some of these slabs on a

³² In the diary this figure is left blank, but the correct thickness is found in *The Inscriptions of the Peten* (Morley 1937–38, IV: 233). On March 9, he gives the thickness as 8' 8".

layer of dirt 4" [10 cm] above the floor level would seem to indicate that the roof did not fall in until after at least 4" [10 cm] of dirt and siftings had accumulated on the floor. The long axes of the beveled stones were in almost all cases N and S, thus indicating that the arch had run from E to W, i.e., sprung from N and S walls.



Figure 2.12. The east doorway and Room 2 after restoration.

There were nine glyphs in the glyph band running across the top of the step and all of these, except one, were in practically perfect condition. A more detailed description of this step and the room into which it gives will be given after it has been excavated.

Thursday, March 7

Big force of men today and we accomplished a whole lot. Discovered a small room [Room 1] in the E end of my structure—the existence of which had not been known.

Field Notes

William James returned to the payroll today, going on as a stonemason. He commenced laying up the E façade. Continued a gang of 6 men cleaning out the E doorway of the N façade of Structure 1. I had a man clearing in front of the track along the N façade, working toward the next

doorway—the E jamb of which was laid bare last year. Another gang of two worked along the S façade in front of the railway. The work will be continued to the westward on both sides until sufficient has been cleared to lay in another length or half-length of rail.

The most important discovery of the day, however, was the location of a small room—roughly 7' [2.13 m] N and S by 6' [1.83 m] E and W from surface indications—just E of the room into which the large doorway gives [noted as Room 1 on Figure 2.3]. The upper part of the doorway leading from the new chamber into the large one W of it was uncovered. Unfortunately, its lintel had collapsed. The first few courses of the arch seemed to be in position in the SE corner of the larger room and fairly accurate approximation of the height of the building will probably be possible. With good luck I may have both the little room—Chamber 1—and the larger room—Chamber 2—cleared by Saturday night.

Friday, March 8

William, whom I have put on as a mason, found that the NE corner of Structure 1 is offset. This probably means that the SE corner is offset in the same way. If so, I will have to rebuild it from the ground up [D on Figure 2.3].

Field Notes

The most important discovery today was made at the NE exterior corner, which was found to have had an offset. This makes possible the reconstruction of the ground plan at the E end. It also developed that the platform along the E façade paralleled this offset and thus came around and gave on to the platform running across the front of the structure—N façade. The trench along the N façade developed several decorative elements of the façade, including two or three of the leaf or feather design [Figure 2.13], but no glyph blocks. Work continued on the wall and on the trench along the S façade, which is now nearly opposite the middle of the building.

Saturday, March 9

Father Cooper and a Mr. Gordon and Kelly visited the ruins today and lunched with us. Little True was not well this morning—seems to have caught a cold. Earl took out a whole bowl in the doorway of his structure [Temple 2]. It was literally surrounded with stone and it is almost impossible to see how it escaped being broken.

Field Notes

Continued work on the trenches N and S of the building. This one on the S side is now halfway across the back of the building and I will carry it no farther at present. The N trench I will continue clear across the front so as to expose the doorways. It is now clear that all the rooms will have to be cleared through the doorways which open on the N side *only*, hence the necessity of opening the N trench clear across.

The doorway leading into Chamber 2 is 9'11" [3.02 m] wide. The floor is of cement and the outer wall 8' 8" [2.67 m] in thickness. Flush with its inner face there is a 2' [61 cm] rise composed of two courses of masonry, the upper of which was carved with the 9 hieroglyphs already mentioned. The detailed description of Chambers 1 and 2 will be given later.



Figure 2.13. Decorative elements of the façade of Structure 1B-1. What Morley calls a “feather or leaf” design is shown on the blocks to the left.

Sunday, March 10

Little True not well at all. In the afternoon Earl and I went down to the ruins and uncovered a kind of “sun-head” in position on the façade of Structure 2 [Figure 2.14].³³ When we got back Alice was worried sick over True, who nearly choked when waking up from her nap. I phoned [Doctor] Macphail to send some medicine.

³³ Excavations in the 1970s revealed this to be one of a series of nine rosettes that were positioned on each of the exterior walls of Structure 1B-2. The face might represent Pawahtun, indicating that this building, the oldest at the Acropolis, may have been used in rituals related to death and resurrection (Looper 2007: 166–169).



Figure 2.14. The “sun head” decorative element on the north façade of Structure 1B-2, with Ajaw glyph faces on either side (see Figure 3.4). Similar rosettes were present on other façades of the structure. Originally (and preserved on another example excavated in the 1970; see Sharer 1990: 86) a foliated decoration rose above the face.

Monday, March 11

Doc’s medicine came up on the morning train and it turned the trick. When I got back found little True much better. Also, a good mail—a fine letter from Bowditch and an encouraging one from Harpers. Tommy’s letter to Hewett was an awful sting.

Field Notes

In finishing up the work on E end of the building, two more surprises came to light.

1. It seems probable that the SE corner of the building had an offset like the NE corner of the building. This is not a certainty yet, but I will put a man digging at this point tomorrow.
2. The second point is that in the final excavation of Chamber 1, the S and N walls were found to be farther S and N, respectively, than the S and N walls of Chamber 2

Another point confirmed by the day’s digging was that the sculptural mosaic which formed the façade decoration was covered with a fine coat, or slip, of lime plaster. One of the sculptured stones uncovered in the N trench today still retained this plaster slip, demonstrating the point beyond all cavil.

Tuesday, March 12

The usual domestic rumpus occurred tonight just before dinner. Juan and Custodio fell out and this time for good. I tried to patch up peace, but Juan said, “*Si Custodio entra aqui*—the kitchen—*yo voy*” [if Custodio enters here, I go]. It’s a new houseboy for ours.

Field Notes

Work continued on re-laying the fallen stone in the various walls at the E end. At a point 57' W of the NE corner there was uncovered in the N trench another human head exactly like the two found further to the E in the same trench. It seems not unlikely that these heads were associated with the doorways in some way. The two uncovered last year with a third, a grotesque head, were found near the E doorway in such a way as to indicate that the grotesque head was flanked by the two human heads. It is possible that the head uncovered today may be one of a similar trio, particularly since it is exactly like the human heads of last year, and since it too is near the second, or middle, doorway in this façade.

Wednesday, March 13

Hubert the First reigns today. Don't know how long Juan will let him stand, but Alice says he tries hard. "A new broom sweeps clean," but how long it will last, I can't swear to.

Field Notes

Continued the work on the N trench, which is now over halfway across the building. Finished cleaning so that where we take out the section of the wall, or at least what is left of it, it will not cave in. Tomorrow we will commence digging through the next doorway and into the next room. I anticipate another hieroglyphic step leading into it, as was the case in Chamber 2.

In re-laying the S wall of Chamber 1, it became necessary to straighten the bottom course, which had fallen in. When this had been removed it was found that all of its stones had rested on flat stone plates, like the slabs which have been so prevalent all over the building. It is interesting to note the use of these as plates for resting the foundations on. In another day I will have finished the repairing of the E end of the building, as well as Chambers 1 and 2.

Thursday, March 14

The agonies of payday. Benson handed me our *dinero* about 5:15 and I commenced paying our *billete* gang off at once at the house. Every mother's son of them kicked. In the evening, Doc Macphail and I beat Landry and Matheson at bridge. I won 45 gold.

Field Notes

Commenced looking for the middle doorway of Structure 1 and found its E jamb 17' [5.18 m] W of the W jamb of the eastern doorway. The distance between these two doorways, i.e., 17', is the same as the distance between the NE corner and the E jamb of the eastern doorway, which seems to indicate that this building had three doorways which divided the N façade into four equal parts of 17' each.

Started digging in though this new doorway, and by tomorrow night should reach the hieroglyphic step, which probably separates the threshold from the room into which it gives. In repairing the S wall of Chamber 2, what appeared to be traces of a wall was uncovered; careful and deep digging, however, failed to yield any further traces of it and the surface indications were not confirmed.

While this digging was in progress, the SE corner of the chamber, entered though the middle doorway, was located.

Friday, March 15

As usual, payday greatly depleted our force. Indeed, we only had 16. Persistent rumors amongst the boys to the effect that one of them had run off with the cook. Heavy grouching all along the line.

Field Notes

The day after payday and the usual depleted force. Only 16 men out of the 26 or 27 in camp yesterday. William finished rebuilding the S wall of Chamber 2 and commenced on the W jamb of the E doorway.³⁴ With the failure of the lintel over this doorway, the W jamb bulged outward. This bulging has proceeded so far that in order to obtain stability, it will be necessary to re-lay the corners almost from the very bottom. This work was commenced and should be finished by tomorrow. In removing the top course there was found in position one of the enormous beveled blocks of the corbelled arch. When the wall has been straightened, it will be possible to secure the height of the spring of the arch from this block--the only place where this is true in either Chamber 1 or Chamber 2. At first, I thought I had a beveled stone in its original position in the SE corner of Chamber 2, but this did not prove to be the case after all. The arch stone found today gives the necessary data for this important measurement.

Work continued on the N trench, which is now nearly three-quarters of the way across the front. The W jamb of the middle doorway was uncovered this morning and from the rough surface measurements obtainable at the outside it was exactly the width of the E doorway, i.e., 9' 10" [3 m], a further indication of the symmetrical proportion of the N façade. By tomorrow night I should reach the stairway leading into the next room. By the appearance of the jambs of the middle doorway—so far as they have been uncovered—this part of the building has been almost as badly shattered as the E.

Saturday, March 16

Two gangs, one from Maya [Farm], the other from Quirigua [town], made roads around to the different monuments for Secretary of State Knox's³⁵ party, which comes tomorrow. Did not accomplish much at the ruins, as it had rained heavily during the night.

Field Notes

William finished re-laying the W side of the E doorway and a fine job he made of it. The cross-section of the wall laid bare by taking down the facing was most instructive as to the method followed in wall construction.

³⁴ To Morley's credit, the reconstruction of the Acropolis largely complies with UNESCO's standards and practices (Stanley-Price 2009: 32)—to wit, only parts for which there is absolute knowledge of original appearance were reconstructed. Morley did not attempt to reconstruct the structure's collapsed upper parts. Original materials were used, but set with modern concrete so that there is no ambiguity as to what was original vs. what was restored. Documentation of pre-restoration conditions was accomplished via field notes and extensive photography.

³⁵ Philander C. Knox (1853–1921), appointed secretary of state by President Taft, held the position from 1909 to 1913. Before and after, he was a U.S. Senator representing Pennsylvania.

The facing stones on the two sides rest on the plates at the bottom of the walls. Between the two is the hearting made of transverse courses of slabs running across the wall and courses of large, roughly shaped stones running at right angles to them, i.e., with the wall. All being laid in front and filled with a mortar of sticky, and very hard when dried, red clay. The interlacing of the corners in the hearting of the wall made for great strength. One of the first course of beveled stones was found *in situ*, or at least in a position which could hardly have been otherwise. From the floor to the bottom of this course is exactly 5' 6" [1.67 m]. Before the measurement can be accepted as final for the distance from floor to spring of the arch in this building, it will be safer to find it elsewhere, as there is a bare possibility that the stone may not be in its original position in the wall.

Work continued in the middle doorway, though the step had not been reached yet. Also, work was continued on the N trench.

Sunday, March 17 - Secretary of State Knox visits the ruins

The big day. About 4 the regular [train] pulled in. At 4:15 the pilot, and 4:30 the Special with Sec. of State Knox and his party. Cutler and I boarded the train, took them down to the ruins and back. The secretary expressed himself greatly repaid for his stop-over. They left at 5:30.

Monday, March 18³⁶

Day of finding second hieroglyphic step in middle doorway. Just after lunch discovered the hieroglyphic step leading into the middle chamber of the building I am excavating [Figures 2.15, 2.16]. There were four decipherable glyphs—2 winal, 0 k'ins, and the date 9 Ajaw 18 Mol. The distance [blank] 0 leads from 8 Ajaw 18 Xul, the date in the E doorway, to 9 Ajaw 18 Mol.

Field Notes

Reached the step into the middle room just after lunch. It has a band of glyphs, [just] as the step in the E doorway. These are in a truly remarkable state of preservation. The glyphs of which it is composed prove beyond all doubt that they had been covered with a very fine slip of white plaster. Ample traces of this adhere to several of the glyphs. Concerning the glyphs uncovered, four are at present decipherable, although all of the others are familiar.

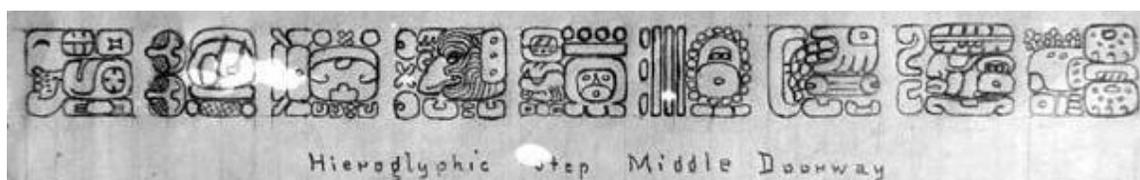


Figure 2.15. Morley's drawing of the hieroglyphic step in the middle doorway of Structure 1B-1. The date 9 Ajaw 18 Mol is in glyph blocks 5 and 6; the hand-scattering sign follows in block 7.

³⁶ This is the final entry in Morley's journal for 1912; after this date only his field diary exists.



Figure 2.16. The middle doorway hieroglyphic step.

The readable glyphs are the distance number 2 winals, 0 k'ins, i.e., 2.0, and the Calendar Round date 9 Ajaw 18 Mol. This date also occurs as the Initial Series 9.19.0.0.0 9 Ajaw 18 Mol on the hieroglyphic frieze which, commencing at the NE corner of this building, extended clear around it on all four sides. The fact that the date 9 Ajaw 18 Mol occurs with an I.S. on the exterior of this building would alone be almost sufficient to place the same date inside in the same position in the Long Count, but this proof is further corroborated by the date 8 Ajaw 18 Xul given in the E doorway and the distance number 2.0 above-mentioned. I suggested in connection with the date 8 Ajaw 18 Xul in the E doorway that it was just 40 days, i.e., 2.0 in advance of the I.S. date which appeared on the outside of this structure; and that consequently its probable Initial Series value, although not recorded, was 9.18.19.16.0. This is now confirmed by the fact that we find in the middle doorway the distance number 2.0 leading to the date 9 Ajaw 18 Mol. The whole may then be summarized:

(9.18.19.16.0)	8 Ajaw 18 Xul	East doorway
	2.0	Middle doorway
(9.19.0.0.0)	9 Ajaw 18 Mol	Middle doorway
9.19.0.0.0	9 Ajaw 18 Mol	Exterior frieze

The other glyphs are all familiar, but of unknown meaning.³⁷ I noted the hand-scattering grain of some sort, so common in other texts here at Quirigua.³⁸

³⁷ See Chapter 5 for discussion of these inscriptions.

³⁸ Interpretation of the hand-scattering glyph (#710 in Thompson's catalog, 1962: 300-301; MZS in Macri and Loooper's catalog 2003: 133) has evolved over the years, at one point being associated with blood sacrifice. Currently this glyph is translated as *choh* (Yucatekan), to scatter, or *chok*

Field Notes

March 19

Work continued in the middle doorway and the S wall was very nearly reached. What appeared to be the E wall was uncovered but I have some doubt about this. Work continued on the N trench and re-laying the N wall. Commenced the excavation of Chamber 3 from above. In order to save time, it seemed best to excavate at least the upper 4 or 5 feet from above, throwing the dirt out to the car along the S side. In this way the excavation of Chambers 3 and 4 can go forward at the same time. The finding of this chamber, i.e., 4, makes positive the complete restoration of the ground plan based on the assumption of symmetry.

March 20

The S wall of Chamber 4 was uncovered today. It is in fairly good condition, much better than the S wall of Chamber 2, only having bulged a little at its W end. This bulge was due to a large tree, which had grown in the hearting of the wall at the SW corner of this room. What seemed as though it was the E wall yesterday proved to be the upper part of the E wall which had slipped down over the lower part without breaking in pieces. This was clearly proven by the arch stones, which were in position adjoining it, though they were within 2' [61 cm] of the floor. The lower part of the E wall is in position and has a doorway through it into Chamber 3. The S jamb of this was uncovered this afternoon.

The excavations today showed that the walls of Chamber 3 stand above the spring of the arch. The work on the N trench and the relaying of the N wall was continued.

March 21

While it may seem somewhat premature to attempt a restoration of the ground plan of Structure 1 before that building is entirely cleaned out, yet since the building is in all probability symmetrical, and since it is now excavated, or at least nearly so as far as the middle point, it is fairly safe to draw at least its provisional ground plan [Figure 2.3]. I have now reached the center of the building and if the ground plan is symmetrical, of which there is very little doubt, I should say the foregoing plan is correct.

Continued work on the N trench from which occasionally turned up the feather-work frieze, members which probably surrounded this building in a continuous band on all sides. At least they are the commonest decorative element yet discovered and have been found on all four sides.

Re-commenced work on the S trench again. Continued the excavation of Chambers 3 and 4. Evidence is piling up as to the immediate cause of the destruction of Structure 1. This was due to

(Ch'olan), to throw away. The small round items being scattered may depict grain or another form of offering, most probably incense and, perhaps as originally postulated, blood (Love n.d.: 14.). Or, it could depict sortilege: casting lots. This verb glyph almost always appears adjacent to date inscriptions, as in the middle doorway of Structure 1B-1. Many stelae depict rulers scattering with one hand, especially at the endings of important calendrical periods, such as k'atuns. See Chapter 5.

the failure of the wooden lintels above the doorways leading into Chambers 2, 4, and 6. These wide openings—9' 10" [3 m]—were in the beginning a factor of danger to the structure, and when the lintels above them gave way, the whole façade above these points plunged downward, causing all adjacent parts to fall toward them. This is clearly shown in the middle of the building. The N wall of Chamber 3 is badly bent out at the top, backward—i.e., to the N, the bending reaching its maximum at the NW corner—the corner nearest the large doorway leading into Chamber 4. Further, the NE corner of Chamber 4—the corner nearest the doorway—is almost entirely gone, having been literally ground down by the fall of the upper part of the walls when the lintel gave way. Finally, the jambs of the middle doorway show the same direction of strain. The courses are shoved outward by the pressure of the falling masonry. The downward pressure of the falling masonry, due to the failure of the lintel, coupled with the rigidity of the back, or S, wall exerting a force at right angles to this, a horizontal force, gave a resultant in which direction the courses of masonry were actually forced.³⁹ Indeed, the section of the E wall of Chamber 4 was pushed out bodily from its original position without disturbing the course, and slipped downward and toward the doorway.

March 22

Continued work on the N and S trenches. Finished the excavation of Chamber 3, but did not recover a single specimen—not even a potsherd. The floor is about 18" [46 cm] higher than the floor of Chamber 4 and is of the usual cement covered with lime plaster. Continued the excavation of Chamber 4 down to the level of the bench, 14" [36 cm] above the floor. As these last 14" may be expected to contain the specimen, I am going to work it out from the front rather than from above, so as not to break any pots that may be on the floor. Commenced the excavation of Chamber 5, and before closing had developed the doorway between it and Chamber 4.

March 23

Continued excavating in the N and S trenches, also in Chamber 5. A large tree has grown in the wall just S of the doorway between Chambers 4 and 5, which has created great havoc in the adjacent corners of both of these rooms, i.e., the SW corner of Chamber 4 and the SE corner of Chamber 5. In Chamber 4, it has shoved out the whole S wall and in Chamber 5, also. The doorway between these two rooms is also similarly twisted and thrown down.

In finishing the excavation of Chamber 4, three remarkable stone heads were recovered on the floor level [bottom row on Figure 2.17; Figure 2.18]. The first of these was found on its side on the floor level. It is roughly 8" [20 cm] high by 6" [15 cm] wide, and from the back of the head to the point where the tenon is broken off is 5" [13 cm] long. This tenon is covered with fine white plaster. The head was found exactly 7' [2.1 m] from the E wall, just in front of the bench or

³⁹ Although Morley identified the reason for the collapse of the corbelled vaulting in Structure 1B-1—the failure of the wooden lintels across the doorways—it remains unclear if this failure resulted from wood degradation over time or if an earthquake may have contributed to the destruction. It should be noted that, with only one very small room as an exception, no corbelled vaults survive in any structures at Quirigua, including any that might not have relied upon wooden lintels.

platform running across the back of Chamber 4. The second head was found 11' [3.3 m] from the E. wall just in front of the same bench, with its face half upturned. It is 7" [18 cm] high and 5½" [14 cm] wide. From the back of the head to the point where the tenon fitted in the wall is 6" [15 cm]. The third and last head was found face downward just as it had pitched forward from the wall, on the floor level just in front of the same bench as the others, 2' 6" [76 cm] W of the E wall. It has the same dimensions as the other and is like it, and unlike the middle head. It had almost all of the plaster slip, which had covered it originally, intact.



Figure 2.17. The sculptured stone heads found in Structure 1B-1 in 1911 and 1912. Heads are 18–20 cm high and 14–15 cm wide.



Figure 2.18. Stone head from Structure 1B-1, with tenon to anchor the sculpture into the wall. Note bird in headdress.

It was quite clear that all three of the heads had been covered with fine white plaster and equally clear that, overall, they projected from the wall 11" [28 cm]. Finally, in that spacing, and in their character, it was evident that the one which was a trifle larger and was different from them, had been in the middle of the S wall of Chamber 4, and that it had been flanked at a distance of just about 4' [1.23 m] on each side by the two similar and smaller heads. The height above the floor at which these heads originally stood cannot now be determined, since the remaining part of the S wall shows no place where the tenons could have fitted.⁴⁰

The finding of the above three heads in the middle chamber of Structure 1 would perhaps seem to indicate that this room was the chief sanctuary of the building, if indeed not of the entire court.⁴¹ Since no heads were found in the large East Room, Chamber 2, I would hardly expect to find any in the large West Room, Chamber 6. Chamber 4, with its central location and its more elaborate treatment, would all bear witness to its major importance.

March 25

Reached the NW corner of the platform on which Structure 1 rises, so that now the N trench passes clear across the front of the building. I have put a man following along the W side from this point so as to develop the W façade and its corresponding platform. The N trench has developed a very great number of decorative elements of the sculptured mosaic though

⁴⁰ Morley (1913: 355) later determined (via the excavation of Chamber 6, see below) that these were placed in the wall at a height of 5' 6" [1.7 m].

⁴¹ See pages 69–70, note 31.

comparatively few glyph blocks, which seem to have been thrown farther out. I am not prepared to say, however, that on this account the hieroglyphic frieze was at the top of the building. Indeed, I rather imagine that it was the medial cornice. Commenced the excavation of the last doorway, i.e., leading into Chamber 6, and at the same time started two men above the room working down. Ought to have the last hieroglyphic step uncovered by Wednesday at the latest.

Continued work on the S trench following along the platform, which has nearly been traced to its S corner. Continued the excavation of Chamber 5, which proceeds very, very slowly because of the roots of the large tree which grew in the wall at its SE corner [Figure 2.19]. Indeed, this tree wrought great havoc in this room, having almost torn to pieces the S side of the doorway leading into Chamber 4. The N side of this same doorway is in even worse condition owing to its having slipped down into Chamber 4 when the wooden lintel over the middle doorway failed, swinging with it not only the upper part of the front (N) wall of Chamber 4, but the adjacent parts of Chambers 3 and 5 as well.



Figure 2.19. Tree roots at Structure 1B-1 that caused a slowdown of excavations.

March 26

In continuing the excavation of Chamber 5, a few sherds came up at the N end of the room in such condition as to indicate they were parts of a bowl *in situ*. For this reason, I stopped the digging at this point until the whole room had been cleared to within 8" [20 cm] of the floor, which occupied two men for the rest of the day. Continued the excavation in the doorway leading into Chamber 6 as well as digging down in Chamber 6 itself. Finished uncovering the platform at the SW corner, though the S. façade itself is not as yet laid bare to the SW corner by some 40' [12 m] or more.

In working along the W trench, the same offset in the platform and in the building also was uncovered, as was found at the NE corner. As far as the front of the building is concerned, therefore, the ground plan is symmetrical.

On the completion of the S trench, I started two men digging S along the W façade of the test trench on the W side, which was made last year in order to develop the W wall.

March 27

Reached the hieroglyphics on the step in the west doorway [Figures 2.20, 2.21]. These seem to be in a much finer state of preservation than those in either of the other two doorways. The relief was beautiful and the detail as fresh and vivid as though it had been cut but the day before. There were 9 glyphs in all, of which only two were known. A glyph showing 19 k'atuns and the glyph immediately following it, show that a k'atun had come to its end.



Figure 2.20. Structure 1B-1 west doorway hieroglyphic step.

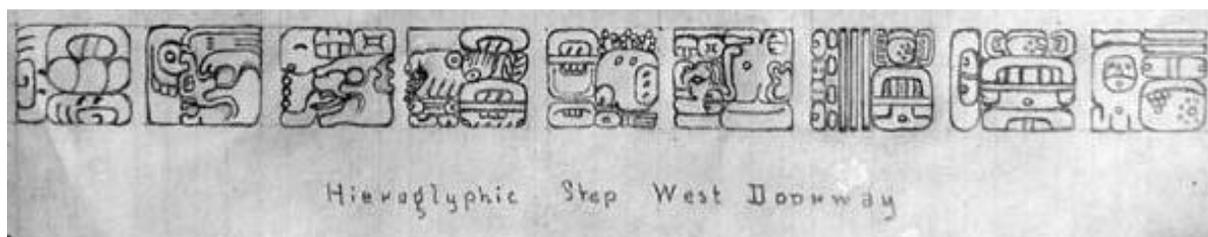


Figure 2.21. Morley's drawing of the west doorway step of Structure 1B-1. Glyph block 4 shows scattering; block 7 shows 19 k'atuns (ending). Significantly, glyph block 3 shows the Copan Emblem Glyph, the importance of its appearance here is discussed in Chapter 5.

Unfortunately, the upper dot of the 19 in the former of the two above glyphs had been broken off,⁴² but the horizontal axis of symmetry passing through the decorative element to the left of the coefficient clearly showed that it had formerly been present. Moreover, the rough edge of the fracture could still be traced.

The finding of these two glyphs nicely rounds out the inscriptions on this building. They definitely fix in the Long Count the date declared in the middle—and probably also for this reason—the most important doorway. The entire inscription summary so far as known:

(19.18.19.16.0) 8 Ajaw 18 Xul 2.0	East Doorway
(19.19.0.0.0) 9 Ajaw 18 Mol End K'atun 19	Middle Doorway West Doorway
9.19.0.0.0 9 Ajaw 18 Mol	Hieroglyphic Frieze

Continued the excavation of Chamber 5, which turns out to be a good room for specimens. A fine ladle of unusual shape was recovered, as well as the fragments of five other pieces. These were scattered all over the room on the floor level, though as near as I could judge, almost all fragments were recovered. Two fine flint spear points or knives were also recovered [Figure 2.22]. Continuing the excavation of Chamber 6, the wall of which—particularly the S wall—are standing to an unusual height, that is, to the spring of the arch, the first course of which is in position.



Figure 2.22. Flint [chert] blades recovered from Quirigua, possibly those unearthed by Morley in Structure 1B-1, Chamber 5.

Commenced the excavation of Chamber 7, the westernmost room in the building. Had one man going down from the top and another digging in from the doorway in the W wall of Chamber 6.

⁴² Morley's drawing restores the missing dot (glyph block 7 in Figure 2.21).

Continued work on the W trench, which is turning up fine glyph blocks and elements of the sculptured mosaic. At the SW corner of the trench developed what appeared to be asymmetry in the ground plan.

March 28

Work continued across the W façade. In getting down into Chamber 6, another head like the two side heads in Chamber 4 was found [Figure 2.17, third row right]. This was on the floor level just against the bench, as was the case with the heads in Chamber 4 at a distance of 6' [1.8 m] from the E wall. It appears from its location in the approximate middle of the S wall to have been a middle head. The men are digging very carefully in the SW and SE corners for the two remaining heads.

Found the S wall and SW corner of Chamber 7, which seems to be in fairly good condition. It should be noted in this connection that the rooms have been growing better and better in their state of preservation as the digging has proceeded from East to West. Indeed, the western end of the building in every way seems to be in a much better condition than the eastern end—hieroglyphic steps and exterior and interior walls.

Completed the excavation of Chamber 5 in the SW corner, of which a curious point developed. In working toward the corner of the floor level, a bowl *in situ* apparently was uncovered. A large stone from the roof had fallen on top of it and broken it, crushing out the sides somewhat. Removing piece by piece, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the bowl was recovered at once, just as they were, and it was possible to fit all of the pieces taken out together. The next large stone was removed and a thorough search made for the remaining fragments, not a single one of [which], however, was recovered in spite of the most painstaking work. Indeed, although the dirt in this corner and, in fact, all over the room—i.e., the bottom 8" [20 cm]—was trundled twice, no other fragments were recovered. To all intents and purposes the bowl was *in situ*, but protracted search failed entirely to recover the missing part. The circumstance remains inexplicable to me.

I noticed that there has been a considerable settling of the four walls of this room, so that the floor was much lower at the sides than in the middle, which rose like a hammock. This was doubtless due to the tremendous pressure on the roof, which could be communicated to the floor only through the four walls.

March 29

Continued the excavation of Chambers 6 and 7. In the former, there was recovered in the SW corner another head exactly like the one taken out yesterday in Chamber 4. It occurred to me that since the S wall in Chamber 6 was standing to the spring of the arch, it was more than likely that the butt end of one of the tenons which had held the two heads already found in the wall should be *in situ*. An examination of the wall in question proved this to be the case, for, at a distance of 3' 3" [98 cm] from the E wall and 3' [91 cm] from the W wall and at a height of 5' 6" [1.7 m] above the floor of the bench, were found two round tenons. A very close examination of the wall space between the butts of the two tenons *in situ* showed clearly that there had been no middle head—i.e., one corresponding with [the central head] in Chamber 4. The intervening blocks were all in their original positions in the wall and showed neither the butt of a tenon or even a round hole where one could have fitted. The finding of these tenons was a great satisfaction to me since it

established the level at which these heads, as well as in all probability those in Chamber 4, had projected from the wall.

Continued the trench along the W façade and its platform, and along the S façade. Continued also the cleaning out of the doorway leading into Chamber 6, which had become choked from the dirt and stone taken from Chamber 6. I noted in a grotesque head which had originally been part of the N façade that the plaster over the eye—the only part now remaining—was $\frac{3}{4}$ " [2 cm] thick. Scarcely a day passes but additional evidence comes up that the entire façade, the plain wall, hieroglyphic cornice, and the sculptural mosaic all were treated with a finishing coat of white plaster, which varies in thickness from a thin slip to about an inch.

March 30

Closing day before *Semana Santa* [Holy Week]. Devoted largely to odd jobs. Finished clearing out the doorway leading into Chamber 6, again laying bare the hieroglyphic step in this doorway. The only floor levels, i.e., last 6" [15 cm] yet remaining to be uncovered are the W end of Chamber 4, all Chamber 6, and all Chamber 7. Work was continued on the W trench, and before closing, this had nearly been brought to the SW corner. Fine sculptural stones have been coming out of this trench in considerable numbers.

A very interesting room was developed at the NW corner of Structure 1 outside of that building, however, the NW corner of the room being about 15' NW of the NW corner of Structure 1.⁴³ Digging down along these walls, their bases were reached below the present ground level. They rested directly upon a rubble made of river pebbles. The time was too short to determine the nature of this construction, and I was obliged to defer further investigation of it until after Holy Week.

Holy Week: April 1st – 7th

April 9

Work under Morris' charge. Finished the W trench and combined work on the S façade. During Holy Week, had William and Charley continue the wall relaying. This work had gone along satisfactorily enough, but slowly. The front may now be considered as about two-thirds of the way across. This N façade is now being laid in cement.

April 10

Rather an off day, I judged. Morris shot full of malaria and unable, poor chap, to supervise. Work was continued at the SW corner where the cleared space was enlarged so as to permit the laying of the track at this point around the corner. There were a few piles of dirt and stone in the N trench, and these were removed so that now this trench was open from end to end. Work was

⁴³ This "room," now known as Structure 1B-1-2nd, is seen as the small structure "t" on the University of Pennsylvania's map (see Figure 1.35). It was probably contemporaneous with Structure 1B-2, which is the earliest surviving exposed structure of the Acropolis (Sharer et al. 1979: 50).

continued on the S façade W end. The corner has now almost been reached and tomorrow the question of the symmetry or asymmetry of this building should be settled. A few boys were set to work cutting up, piling, and burning the large trees and stumps in front of the stairway leading from the court to the terrace in front of Structure 1.

April 11

The work along the S façade finally developed the same offset as the E end of the façade. This finally establishes the symmetry of the ground plan here. A large tree—an *amate* [fig, *Ficus*—had grown up in this corner and this is delaying the work here. The removal of these stumps has proven a costly affair, as their roots are so entangled with stones that the cutting of them proceeds very slowly. Fortunately, there have been only two on Structure 1, this one here at the SW corner, the roots of which may have disturbed the wall behind, and the other which grew in the wall just S of the doorway between Chambers 4 and 5, which I have already mentioned.

In working over the glyphs from the hieroglyphic frieze I believe I have succeeded in placing another one of the glyph blocks, which came out last year. If I have correctly identified it, it is Glyph G of the Supplementary Series [S.S.]⁴⁴ and in this inscription, if I have placed it correctly, stands just before Glyph B'. I am not sure of this yet, but the fit of the two blocks is good. Unfortunately, the joint between the two stones comes in the midst of the inter-groove space. On the whole, however, I am inclined to believe that I have assigned the block to its proper position in the frieze.

Commenced the removal of the large pile of dirt, rock, and fallen masonry which now obscures the front of the building, being in part the dirt and rock thrown out of the N trench and in part the undisturbed fallen masonry. Have started this work at the E end and hope to uncover here the missing glyph blocks from the Initial and Supplementary Series.

Found out that one of the new men was an ex-mason, so put him to work on wall rebuilding under William's direction. His work is good, but requires constant supervision and suggestion.

April 12

Continued work on the big stump at the SW corner. Had two boys all day cutting at it. The roots in the growing drove the stones and dirt together into a compact mass, which is very difficult to loosen and remove. I am afraid this stump will take at least two more days.

In removing the pile of dirt, fallen stone, etc., in front of the building, figured stones are constantly turning up, though as yet no more of the missing hieroglyphic blocks have been uncovered. This fact gives me hope that the missing glyphs may yet be recovered. In excavating the rooms of this building, I was obliged to have some of the dirt thrown out on the S wall; in consequence, there was a pile of dirt and rock along the S wall, which was 3' or 4' [91 cm to 1.22 m] higher than the point where the wall ceases. I put a large force of men on this today and had it cleaned off all along. I am finishing off the tops of all the exterior walls so that they will shed

⁴⁴ The Supplementary Series of glyphs in Long Count dates "supplements" and follows the Initial Series by providing additional information specific to that date, including the Lords of the Night and the Lunar Series. Refer to Chapter 2 and to Appendix D in volume 1 of Morley's diaries (Rice and Ward 2021).

water to the outside, i.e., away from the rooms. Commenced cleaning along the front of the stairway leading to the terrace in front of Structure 1. All of the tree stumps have been burned out here [Figure 2.23] and I am now commencing cleaning out the fallen stone dirt and debris encumbering the foot of the stairway.



Figure 2.23. Burning stumps on the Acropolis Plaza, looking west.

April 13

Continued digging away the pile in front of the building. Started a man on the terrace level, also following across the front. First 9 steps⁴⁵ rise from the court to the first terrace, which is 26' [7.9 m] broad. Then there are two steps and as yet the detail between them and the platform is undetermined. There seems to be, however, a second and somewhat less broad terrace. The vertical distance from the base of the platform from which the building rises to the level of the court is just 15' [4.6 m]. Finished clearing off the top of the S wall as far as the butt stump just outside the SW corner, where I had to stop the work because of this troublesome stump. Three men continued hacking at it all day, but it will require at least two if not three more days before it will be entirely removed.

⁴⁵ Nine steps up to this south-side building is significant in Maya cosmology: south is the direction of the Maya Underworld, which has nine lords. In Late Classic cosmogram-like twin-pyramid groups at Tikal, the elongated low range structures on the south have nine doorways.

The most interesting discovery of the day was made down in the court, where I had a gang clearing across the front of the stairway. When this work, which has proceeded from the SW corner—in front of Structure 2—had reached a point about opposite the middle doorway of Structure 1, a low retaining wall running N and S was uncovered. This extends out into the court for at least 20' [6 m] and I had a man following along it to the N all day. It seems to have been the western retaining wall of a low platform, which could not have been over 3' [91 cm] high. I noticed several sculptured stones on this wall, which apparently were not in their original position, indicating probably a re-use of building material from some other structure as well as the comparative lateness of their construction, which surely must have been after 9.19.0.0.0 [AD 810 GMT].

April 15

Continued pegging away at the big stump in the SW corner. It really begins to look as though I was beginning to get around to it at last. It is almost completely undermined and cut away to the wall at each side. With luck we might finish it in another day.

Continued digging away the pile in front of the building, which is now perhaps a third of the way across. In working out the platform in the court, its NW corner was uncovered at a distance of 30" [76 cm] N of the stairway. Had a boy follow along the N wall of it working E. I found surface indications of what appeared to be its E wall.

The most interesting discovery of the day came at its close. I had put Charley digging in front of the platform on the N side—2 cross-sections—to determine, if possible, the construction features between the two steps and the platform. After laying bare a stone slab floor, he came to its edge, making its width 2' 1" [64 cm]. Going down outside of this for 1' 2" [35 cm], he came to another step, 1' 5" [44 cm] wide, through which he worked to expose these steps was filled with round, water-worn pebbles, not packed in overly hard at the top, but laid in clay as he got down. The all important point to determine here, of course, is, was the section laid in by the Mayas or is it simply dirt and stone which has fallen from the wall above? If the latter, there is every possibility of finding in it the missing hieroglyphic stones, but if the former, there is, of course, no hope of this. I am inclined to believe the former hypothesis is the true explanation of the condition, as the stones have every appearance of having been laid in. This is unfortunate, for I surely thought I had found the hiding place of the missing glyph blocks.

April 16

The big achievement of the day was the felling of the big stump in the SW corner. Fortunately, this was accomplished without too much damage to the wall behind. The platform under it, however, was filled with small roots, which I had cut at the level of the cement flooring. Continued digging around this corner, every shovel full of dirt here has been packed so tightly by the roots that it can only be jarred loose by repeated picking.

Found the NE corner of the platform down in the court. This is 20' [6.1 m] wide E and W, and as mentioned elsewhere projects into the court (i.e., to the N) 30' [9.1 m]. Having reached the NE corner, I have started a boy along the E side working back toward the stairway. Continued work on the big pile, the carting away of which is proceeding surely if slowly across the front.

The most puzzling thing in connection with this structure is, where are the missing glyph blocks of the Initial Series? Yesterday, when I had discovered the step, I thought I had surely found the hiding place of the lost blocks, but when I put Charley digging here, all he took out was water-worn river pebble and no fallen wall material whatsoever. I must confess I am beginning to be at a loss to know just where to look for them.

I put one boy digging in from the E side for the next platform retaining wall below the one on which the building stands, just E of the E trench of last year, and he soon laid bare the retaining wall of that platform. I started him digging along this wall to the N in the hope that a few of the missing glyph blocks might have fallen here and been covered up. I also started Charley looking for the NE corner of the platform, which he developed. I started him along the front with the same hope, i.e., that some of the missing glyph blocks might yet be uncovered.

April 17

The big discovery of the day — as well as the biggest for some time — was the finding of the missing hieroglyphic block which stood at the end of the I.S. and S.S. and shows the time period whose end was completed. The filling in of this stone enabled me to fit in another, which came out last year, but which I could not then place. The finding of this block was important as it marks the position of the end of the I.S. and S.S. This will be of great value in determining whether the former commenced at the corner, all of which will be necessary when I restore this cornice to its original position in the façade.

I am very much inclined to declare now that I have all of the S.S. glyphs, and in fact everything except the following:

1. The cycle [*bak'tun*] glyph and its coefficient
2. The k'atun coefficient
3. The tun glyph and its coefficient
4. The winal glyph and its coefficient
5. The day sign and possibly
6. The first glyph of the S. S.

A circumstance for which I have not been able to account for [sic.] satisfactorily is that the S.S. is now complete, while the I.S. remains, as yet, largely fragmentary. I shall literally not leave a stone unturned to find the missing glyph blocks, but as the days go on, I see less and less places where they could have fallen when the façade was overthrown.⁴⁶

Note: Morley's 1912 field notes end here, although excavations/reconstructions continued until June.

⁴⁶ Most of the missing glyph blocks of the I.S. were never found (Morley 1937–38, IV: 234–237; Looper personal communication to CW, February 2022).

CHAPTER 3

EXCERPT FROM “ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPERIENCES AT QUIRIGUA, GUATEMALA”

by Earl H. Morris

Note: Earl Morris (1880–1956; Figure 3.1, also Figure 1.18) began his career as an archaeologist at the School for American Archaeology under the stewardship of Edgar Hewett (see Chapters 1 and 10). His participation in the 1912 season at Quirigua was his first experience outside the American desert Southwest. In this excerpt from his unpublished account of his work at Quirigua, Morris offers a second perspective on the material covered in Morley’s 1912 diary and tells the story of his 1914 work at the site. He also returned to Quirigua in the mid-1930s as part of the CIW team to re-erect and stabilize the stelae of the main plaza, the details of which are covered in Chapter 1. We present Morris’ text unedited; the footnotes, images, and image captions are ours.¹

It is with Quirigua, one of the early, or as they are called, Old Empire, Maya cities, that we are now concerned. Quirigua lies in the fertile valley of the Motagua River, some fifty-six miles [90 km] from the east coast of Guatemala. The first European known to have visited the ruined city was the artist, Frederick Catherwood, in March of 1840.² In 1841 his observations were published by John L. Stephens in *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*. During the next four decades perhaps a dozen travelers left records of their visits to Quirigua.³ But it was not until 1881 that an outstanding scholar became interested in the richly sculptured monuments, which are the chief characteristic of the ancient city. He was the English traveler and explorer, Alfred Percival Maudslay. He spent some time there in 1881, 1882, 1883, and again in 1894. His

¹ This previously unpublished document is held at the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History’s Earl Morris Papers collection (specifically EHMJ03_004_002.pdf). We thank the Museum for permission to publish it.

² Stephens himself never saw Quirigua, sending Catherwood on a side trip to visit the site while he himself remained at Copan (see Chapter 1, pages 9–11).

³ For a summary of other early explorers of Quirigua see Chapter 1, pages 11–17. Morley (1935: 6–7) says of the visits between Catherwood and Maudslay, “their observations are unimportant and have contributed little or nothing to our knowledge of the ancient city.”

observations and unsurpassed photographs were published in the section on archaeology of the *Biologia Centrali-Americana*.⁴

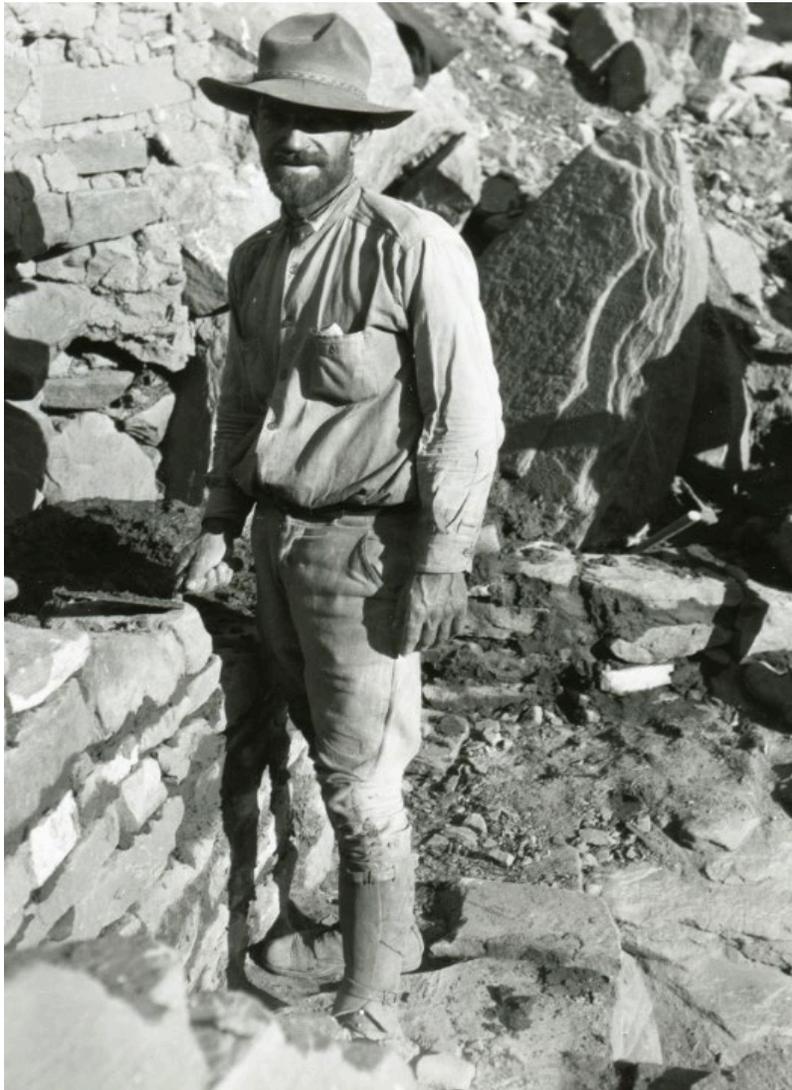


Figure 3.1. Earl Morris at a site in the American desert Southwest, circa 1920.

The first campaign involving excavation and an attempt at the preservation of Quirigua was begun in 1910 by the School for American Archaeology of the Archaeological Institute of America. By the end of the 1911 field season, the temple mounds and the plazas in which stand the many sculptured monoliths, had been cleared of the deep jungle that had shrouded them for so many

⁴ The durations of Maudslay's visits are detailed by Morley (1935: 7): 1881—three days; 1882—five days; 1883—three months; 1894—six weeks. Besides clearing the bush from many structures and plazas and photographing the inscribed monuments, during his 1883 visit he made plaster casts of the stelae. These casts (e.g., Figure 1.10) remain one of his most important contributions.

centuries. The dominant members of the rain forest towered to an average height of about 150 feet, their branches interlocked into a solid canopy. Giant of all were the ceiba [*Ceiba pentandra*] trees, often eight feet in diameter, with umbrella-like tops spreading to cover half the area of a city block [and massive buttresses; see Appendix page 266, Figure A.13]. To fell these, often at an angle varying from the pull of gravity, so that they would not fall athwart any of the archaeological remains, was a most difficult feat, yet through the skill of the Carib axemen it was accomplished without damage to any of the sculptures.

Excavation was to be begun by the third, or 1912, expedition of the School for American Archaeology. I was the junior member of that expedition. In mid-January of 1912, the site of Quirigua appeared as an oasis of jungle towering high above the banana fields that stretched as far as the eye could reach up and down the rich flood plain of the Motagua River. Seventy-five acres of land had been set aside by the United Fruit Company as a setting for the archaeological remains. Clearing of the center of the area left a strip of jungle, impenetrable to the eye, as a periphery of the rectangle within which the principal ruins lay. Now and then a monkey peered down apprehensively from some treetop. Pairs of gaudy macaws streaked the sky high overhead, and toward dusk smaller parrots by the thousands sought shelter for the night amidst the foliage of the jungle strip.

The Temple [Acropolis] Plaza, where our excavations were to begin, occupies the southern end of the clearing. Difficult it was to believe that only six months before, the mounds had been free of vegetation. In that time, new growth had reached a height of twelve feet [3.6 m] and was so dense that it was impossible to force one's way through it. After the machetes of the native workmen had slashed down this lush tangle, the Temple Plaza appeared as a small, nearly square court flanked on the south, west, and north by relatively high mounds with a much lower one almost closing the eastern side. Dr. Hewett, leader of our expedition, decided that we should concentrate our efforts on the southern mound. The surface of it was a litter of fallen rocks studded with the stumps of great trees felled the year before. The contour of the slope was broken about half its height by a more gentle declivity. It was inferred that at this change in slope would be found the top of the substructure and the floor level of whatever sort of building had surmounted it. Leading away from this level we built a trestle of native timber, on which many hand-pushed cars were to transport the debris removed during excavation well back into the bush, where the growing mound of it would not encroach upon the substructure.

The workmen began to sink a pit in the top of the mound near the southeast corner. For three days they worked deeper into a mass of rough stone embedded in a tough, sticky clay. We supposed we were going down inside a room of some sort, but no wall faces were in evidence, and not a cut stone appeared among the hundreds freed from the clay. The situation was perplexing, until finally, along the south side of the hole, there appeared the tapering ends of a row of large stones laid carefully side by side. Their opposite extremities were square-cut and formed a course in the southward face of the eight and a half foot [2.6 m] wall in the heart of which our digging had so far been done!

Now that a part of it had been found in place, it did not take long to follow the outer face of the south wall down to the platform on which it stood. With this level once established, subsequent procedure became almost a matter of routine—simply follow the platform, to remove the debris of crumbled walls and the snarl of roots that ran through it like reinforcement in

concrete; to take care not to disturb any feature of the building still in place; and to keep a sharp lookout for specially shaped or sculptured stones among the debris. Near the northeast corner there came from the mold a block, bearing on its face a handsomely graven hieroglyph. After the corner had been turned and the breast of our digging moved at a snail's pace westward along the front of the structure, similar blocks became more numerous among the debris. I was as intent as a cat which has scented fish, waiting for another and another of the blocks to turn up. If enough of them could be found and laid out in proper sequence, there was little doubt that they would reveal the date of the building. I did not know one glyph from another, but certainly I could see that not one was missed in the digging. When Dr. Hewett returned to the States, the first day earth was broken, he left in charge Dr. S. G. Morley,⁵ now the ranking authority on the Maya, and even so long ago, one of those best versed in Maya inscriptions. He, if anyone, could align and read the glyphic band.

Finally, the jamb of a doorway appeared in the face of the wall we were following. By nightfall the doorway was cleared to the inner face of the massive wall, and at this line there was a high step, its upper course a hieroglyphic molding. Just before quitting time, one of the workmen pried an exquisite [sculptured] human head from among the roots of a palm stump out on the platform forward of the doorway. It was larger than life-size, done in full round in the finest Maya style.

Next morning when I gave the call "Let's go," the workmen remained clustered under a tree at the edge of the clearing with no move to respond. It was a matter of minutes before one of them hesitatingly came forward and said in his queer Jamaican vernacular: "Cap'n, Sah, it be told the treasure lies inside yonder portal. But before you can remove it, the life of one of us blacks must be taken as blood sacrifice. We has to know if this report is truth or slander." Brief questioning laid the tale at the door of a practical joker and the men came smiling to get their tools—as fine a crew as would be recruited among blacks, whites, or browns anywhere on earth.

A week after the first doorway had been cleared, we found a second one, and after another week, a third, both like the first in every respect, even to the presence of a sculptured head on the terrace in front. Meanwhile, the chambers of the building were being cleared as rapidly as possible. Each of the doorways led to the center of a long, narrow room, its major axis in line with that of the building. In both ends of the central one, smaller apertures connected with very tiny rooms oriented at a right angle to the large one. Similar tiny rooms opened off from the inner ends of both east and west chambers.

The interior of the temple was barren of the major fittings we had hoped to find, except for five grotesque sculptured heads, three of which had been tenoned into the back wall of the middle chamber at a height of five feet four inches. The other two had been comparably placed in the western large chamber.

While partial repair of the larger temple was underway, I undertook the excavation of a much smaller one [Figures 3.2, 3.3].⁶ It was of somewhat greater age, as shown by the fact that it was partially buried in the northwest corner of the substructure on which the large building stands.

⁵ Note that Morley never earned a doctoral degree.

⁶ Formerly known as Temple B or Structure 2, it is now identified as Structure 1B-2.



Figure 3.2. Structure 1B-2 after initial clearing.



Figure 3.3. Structure 1B-2 during excavation.

It was entered by a single doorway at plaza level in the center of the north wall. The central chamber thus reached, itself very small, was connected with four others so tiny that one wonders what justification there could have been for expending so much labor to attain such a meager floor space. The upper walls had been embellished with elaborate sculptured masks [Figure 3.4], each a mosaic of many individual stones. Only the basal courses of these remained in place, and not enough of the fallen elements could be found to make it possible to restore them.

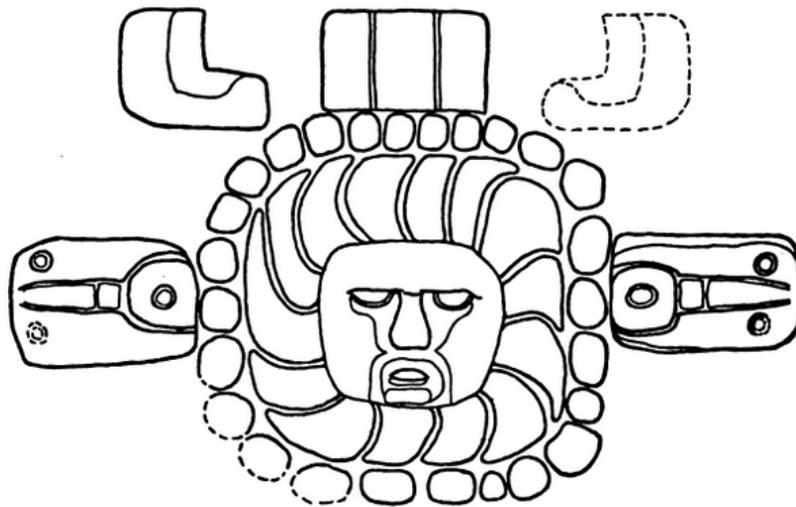


Figure 3.4. Drawing of the “sun head,” one of several sculpted mosaic masks that adorned the four façades of Structure 1B-2. See also Figure 2.14.

In contrast to the larger structure, the interior of this one yielded many minor objects of interest. Across one side of the westernmost chamber was a bench with masonry front and slab-stone top. It echoed hollow to the touch of our tools. I could scarcely wait until the open end of it was uncovered, for certainly it would have been an admirable hiding place for temple paraphernalia. When opportunity came, flashlight in hand, I wormed my way on my stomach through muddy slime to the far end of it—to find a heap of fire-blackened river boulders. The hollow bench was nothing more than a sweat bath to which Maya priests had resorted for cleansing rites.⁷

From the sticky mud covering the floors were taken the fragments of a number of polychrome pottery vessels, which it was possible to restore. Among them were a few chipped stone blades, stone beads, and fragments of a pyrite mirror. And in the farthest corner of the innermost room lay a fluted jar with a splendidly modeled bearded face covering one side—a specimen which still ranks as one of the masterpieces of Maya ceramics [Figure 1.19].

⁷ In 1919, Morley found a similar narrow, hollow construction in Structure 1B-3, complete with blackened river stones. See Chapter 9, pages 189–190, and 192–193.

A description of the larger building may be offered as typical of Maya temples of its time. The terrace, or platform from which the temple rises is fifteen feet high [4.57 m], and about one hundred and twenty-five feet long [38.1 m]. It is ascended on the north, or plaza side, by a stairway of hewn stone seventy feet [21.3 m] broad, flanked at each end by a ramp bearing in relief the head and folded arms of a human being. The level space between the top of the stairway and the low secondary platform on which the building actually rests is twenty-five feet [7.62 m] wide. The temple is one hundred and five feet [32 m] long and eighteen feet [5.5 m] wide. [The] width of the three doorways, equally spaced in the north wall, is in each case, nine feet, ten inches [3 m]. These doorways were spanned by wooden lintels, which once supported that portion of the walls that rose above their level. The three large chambers each were fourteen and a half feet [4.2 m] long by four and a half feet [1.37 m] wide. The small rooms at the ends of the larger ones had less than half the area of the latter. Original height of the structure is conjectural, but it is thought to have been about sixteen feet [4.88 m]. The outer wall was plain to a height of the doorways. Elements of carving found among the debris testify that parts, at least, of the upper zone had been richly embellished with sculpture. Two sculptured moldings had encircled the building, one presumably as a cornice, the other just above the door lintels. In greatest probability, the hieroglyphic band constituted the lower molding. The other bore a running leaf pattern surmounted by rosettes. There is every reason to believe that originally all sculptured elements were painted in brilliant colors.

At the time of the building in question, the Maya depended upon mass rather than upon firm construction for the strength of their walls. In this specific case, out of a total width of eighteen feet [5.49 m], the rear wall took up eight and a half feet [2.6 m] [4 x 64] and the front five and a half feet [1.67 m], leaving a floor space only four and a half feet [2.6 m] wide. The desire for great strength in the lower walls doubtless was occasioned by the terrific weight of the upper part of the building.⁸ The Maya roofed their rooms in a most unusual way [a "corbelled vault"]. Above what may be thought of as ceiling height, the wall stones were cut with faces at an outward bevel, instead of vertical to the bedding plane. Course by course, these bevel-faced stones were added, until the opposite sides nearly met over the longitudinal axis of the room [Figure 3.5]. Then, the narrow gap remaining was bridged with large flat slabs of stone, upon which still more masonry was heaped to form the actual roof. Since the outer wall faces were carried up vertically, the weight of the upper half of the building was double that of the walls called upon to support it, necessitating great strength in the supporting portion if the structure were long to endure.

Although the Maya were using lime for stucco ornamentation, they had not as yet turned to it as the principal ingredient of their mortar. Instead, they filled the spaces between their stones with the toughest clay they could find. This was a great element of weakness. If dry, such clay would have been extremely hard, but one doubts if it ever became dry in so humid a country.

⁸ This was the last major structure built at Quirigua, meaning that it was probably erected after the earthquake buttressing on Structures 1B-3 and 1B-4. Structure 1B-1 has no buttressing, and the unusual thickness of its walls may have been an effort to strengthen the building against earthquakes, rather than to have supported a massive stone roofcomb. Unfortunately, Morley's field notes make no estimation of the volume of rubble removed from 1B-1, which might have resulted from a collapsed roofcomb. But its likelihood is more probable than not.

Moreover, the units of the face courses were cut so that the edges of the stone rested firmly, one against the other. In contrast, the rough chunks that formed the hearting of the wall were thrown into great masses of mud and seldom tamped down, so that stone touched stone. Inevitably the hearting would have settled more than the faces could without outward buckling and collapse.



Figure 3.5. Examples of Maya corbelled vaults above rooms at Palenque. Note the tiers of elongated stones forming the corbels, each topped by a capstone. Only one small, intact, corbelled vault has been found at Quirigua (in Structure 1B-4; see Chapter 9), probably because of lintel collapse and multiple earthquakes.

Four kinds of stone were used in construction. All cut or sculptured elements were fashioned from a dense, heavy, but fairly soft, brown sandstone obtainable at croppings some three miles distant. For hearting and fill, anything obtainable would suffice—chunks of the same sandstone, weathered lumps of marble from the mountains south of the valley, and cobbles from the nearby riverbed. For capstones of the corbelled arches, huge slabs of micaceous schist⁹ were brought from many miles upstream. All of this labor was accomplished without beasts of burden, and every cut or sculptured stone was brought to shape with bits of harder stone. Metal, aside perhaps from gold for ornaments, was unknown to the Maya of Quirigua.

By the end of the 1912 field season, the lesser temple stood completely excavated and the larger one had been repaired up to the tops of the tops of the doorways [Figure 3.6]. Above this level, those of the blocks of the hieroglyphic molding, which it had been possible to find, had been installed in the order worked out by Dr. Morley. And he had reached what was at the time

⁹ Micaceous schist (also mica schist) is a metamorphic rock made up of mainly mica and quartz. It is characterized by thin layering which allows for easy splitting into large slabs.

his dearest goal. Aided by the repetition of critical glyphs in the steps of the three doorways, he had worked out a date which, in accordance with the most probable correlation of Maya and Christian chronology, places the building of the temple at AD 810. It is the latest of the dated monuments at Quirigua.



Figure 3.6. Structures 1B-1 and its platform, and Structure 1B-2 to the right, as they exist today.

By mid-January of 1914, I was again at Quirigua, this time as archaeologist and administrative head of the fourth and last expedition to that site of the School for American Archaeology. The expedition was financed by the Pan-California Exposition and its purpose was twofold: Excavation of the structure on the east, north, and west sides of the Temple Plaza; and the securing of casts of as many as possible of the sculptured monoliths. Excavation was to be my share of the venture. Making of the casts had been delegated to Neil M. Judd¹⁰ of the U.S. National Museum, Wesley Bradfield¹¹ of the Museum of New Mexico, and Ralph Linton¹² of Swarthmore College.

Having been promised ample funds for an extensive campaign, I set to work with boundless enthusiasm and the best judgment I could muster to burn the stumps and logs that still cluttered the plaza and the unexcavated structures, and with the more intelligent of the workmen, to lay bare the structure on the east side of the plaza. It turned out to have been a building forty-five and a half feet north and south by twenty-nine feet wide, facing west on the plaza. The walls stood to a height of only two or three courses. There was so little fallen stone in the neighborhood

¹⁰ See Chapter 1, page 29, note 43.

¹¹ See Chapter 1, page 29, note 44.

¹² See Chapter 1, page 29, note 45.

that it is doubtful if more than the basal walls had ever been of masonry. Pole sides and a thatched roof seemed more probable. The only thing that was certain was the ground plan.

Next, we turned to what had been the tallest of the structures facing the Temple Plaza, the one on the north side [Structure 5 or 1B-5; Figures 3.7, 3.8]. This building had been partially dug out by the López brothers, employees of Maudslay, in 1894.



Figure 3.7. Structure 1B-5 before excavation (left) and after start of excavations (right).



Figure 3.8. Earl Morris in a trench at Structure 1B-5.

It is set back about ten feet [3 m] from the brink of the high, stair-faced platform that flanks the fourth side of the plaza. Exterior dimensions of the building proved to be sixty-two feet, eight inches east and west, by forty-two feet, five inches wide [19 by 12.9 m]. The center of the south wall is pierced by a doorway ten and a half feet [3.2 m] wide, which gives access to a chamber approximately twenty-six feet long and ten feet wide [8 by 3 m]. From the west end of the principal chamber, a doorway leads to the west side of the building. Leading eastward from the northeast corner of the long west room is a narrow passage that connects with a tiny room surrounded on three sides by a masonry bench [see Figures 1.24 and 4.1]. From the east end of the front, or principal chamber, another doorway gives into a fair-sized room with longer axis north and south. The north end of this connects with a very small chamber in the northeast corner, beyond which two or more tiny rooms continue in a line toward the west.

The north structure is like the south in having seven rooms, but the ground plan is radically different [see Figures 2.3 and 4.1 for floor plans]. Except for the principal chamber, all of the cubicles would have been pitch dark and very stuffy [Figure 3.9]. Partially to relieve the latter condition, some of them were equipped with small ventilating tunnels running through the exterior walls.



Figure 3.9. Small rooms in Structure 1B-5.

Not one sculptured stone was found in or about the building, but quantities of snow-white lime and an occasional shaped vestige at the bases of the exterior walls gave proof that the upper zone of the temple had borne copious ornamentation in modeled stucco. Many of the corner stones and those comprising the doorjambs were square-cut blocks of an excellent white marble. One can but lament that the Quirigua sculptors did not carve in so fine a medium. Because it bore no hieroglyphic inscription, there is no possibility of definitely dating the north temple. But from indirect evidence, Morley believes that it was erected somewhat earlier than the south temple;

that is, somewhat previous to 810 AD.¹³

Just as the excavation of the north temple was completed, there came a bitter surprise. The bursar of the United Fruit Company announced that no money had been received with which to meet my second month's payroll, scheduled to be liquidated at the end of the next week. I laid off the crew and spent most of the money I had with me for frantic cables to Dr. Hewett. The workmen, who lived from hand to mouth at best, clamored for their pay. When I could not provide it, they concluded it was my intention to beat them out of it and worked themselves into an ugly mood. For days I did not venture outside without a shotgun across my arm.

In order to have some way of filling the days until Hewett's promised coming, I helped with the making of the casts [Figure 3.10]. We were using glue molds, which up to then had never been tried successfully in the tropics, nor have been since, to my knowledge.



Figure 3.10. Neil Judd's workmen making a cast of one of the Quirigua stelae.

¹³ Current thinking dates this building to after AD 810, making it, along with 1B-6, one of the last major constructions at Quirigua (Looper 2007: 159–160; Jones et al. 1983: 3–9).

The result of that aspect of the 1914 campaign was exact reproductions of eight of the great monoliths. These were exhibited at the Pan[ama]-California Exposition at San Diego in 1915,¹⁴ and are now part of the permanent collections of the San Diego Museum [Figure 3.11].



Figure 3.11. Cast of Zoomorph B at San Diego's Museum of Us.

After many weeks had drawn by, Dr. Hewett arrived, squared up the indebtedness I had incurred for excavation—he still had funds for the plaster work—and provided for my passage home. I have never known why he could not muster more than one-fifth of the amount he had definitely promised for excavation during that field season of 1914. Probably a plan counted upon as reality failed to work out as expected. But as a matter of precaution, I never again had anything to do with him or any organization that he represented.

¹⁴ See Chapter 1, pages 29–32.

CHAPTER 4

MORLEY'S DESCRIPTION OF STRUCTURE 1B-1 FROM *THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PETEN*¹

Structure 1 [1B-1] is located on the south side of the Temple [Acropolis] Plaza, being the principal building facing this court. It is first mentioned by Maudslay, who says: "There can be but little doubt that the mounds on the southern [1B-1 and 1B-2] and western [1B-3 and 1B-4] sides of the south court would well repay excavation" (Maudslay 1889–1902, II: 6). A preliminary examination of Structure 1 in 1911 by the Second Quirigua Expedition of the School of American Archaeology resulted in the discovery of a number of inscribed blocks, which had formed parts of a hieroglyphic cornice running around all four sides of the building, as well as some very fine heads.

The excavation of Structure 1 was carried out the following year by the writer [Morley] (Third Quirigua Expedition) and resulted in the discovery of three hieroglyphic steps in the three exterior doorways, and three beautifully carved heads.

Structure 1, which would seem to have been the most important building at Quirigua since it is by far the most elaborately sculptured in the city, faces north. The ground plan is shown in Figure 4.1, a restored elevation in Figure 4.2, and a restored perspective view in Figure 4.3. The last shows clearly the disposition of the buildings on the west and south sides of the Temple Plaza. Structure 4, at the extreme right, and Structure 3, to the left of it and at a lower level, form the west side of the plaza. Structure 2, in the southwest corner, is partially surrounded by the western terrace supporting Structures 3 and 4 and by the southern terrace, supporting Structure 1. It is obvious from Figures 4.2 and 4.3 that Structure 2 is older than Structures 1, 3, and 4.

Structure 1, which concerns us here, is approached from the Temple Plaza by a broad stairway consisting of nine steps [see Chapter 2, page 90, note 45], flanked by two sloping balustrades, or more accurately ramps, upon which are carved the head and folded arms of a human figure. Toward the east, there is a broad, low platform projecting northward into the plaza. The high terrace reached by this broad stairway is built around the east and south sides of Structure 2, partially enclosing it. This terrace is 7.92 m deep (north and south) back to two low steps, which lead to a second smaller terrace from which, in turn, rises the low platform (76 cm high) on top of which stands Structure 1. From the floor level of the Temple Plaza to the base of this low platform the height is 4.57 m. [For more on measurements, see chapter Addendum].

¹ Morley (1937–38, IV: 229–234); his original footnote citations have been omitted. Figure numbers and captions are by the editors. Note his misidentification of Structure 1 and others as "temples."

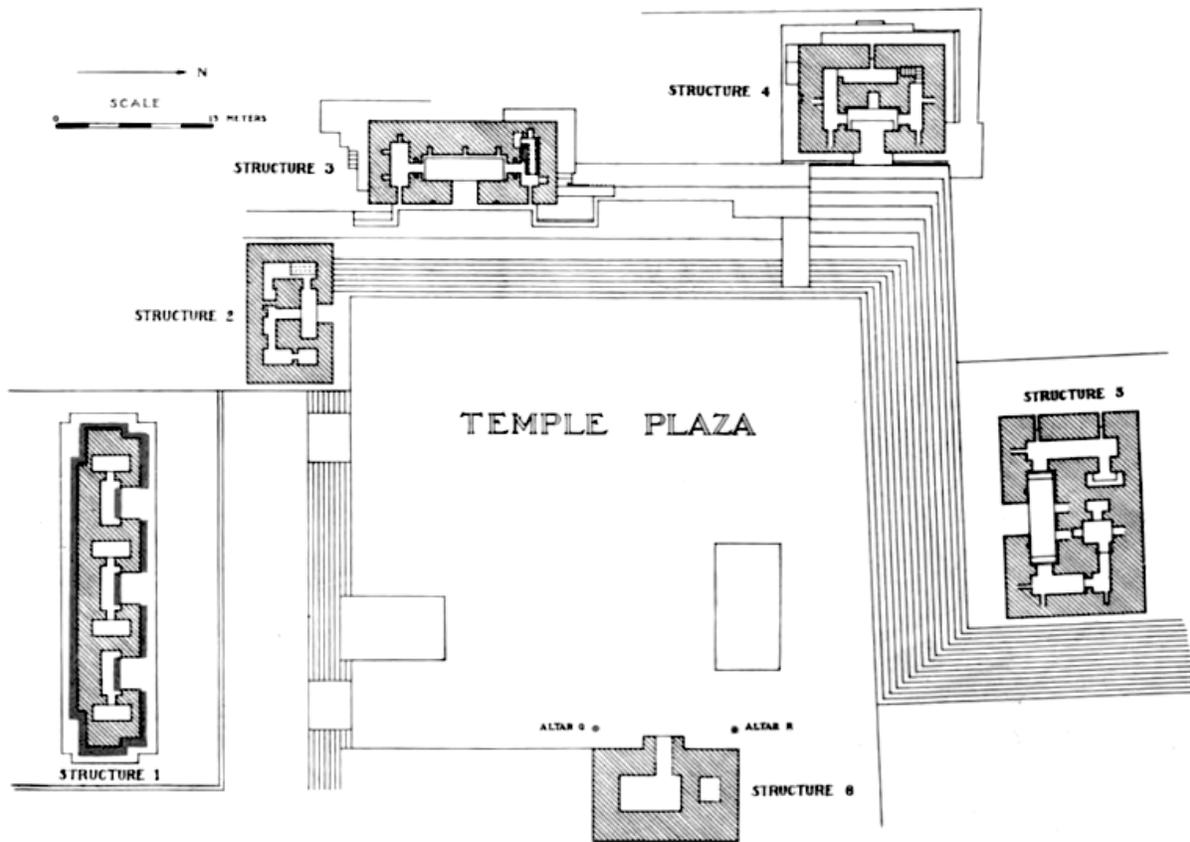


Figure 4.1. Ground plan of the Quirigua Acropolis ("Temple Plaza"), prepared after the 1919 excavations (see Figure 1.25; also Chapter 9, pages 206–207).

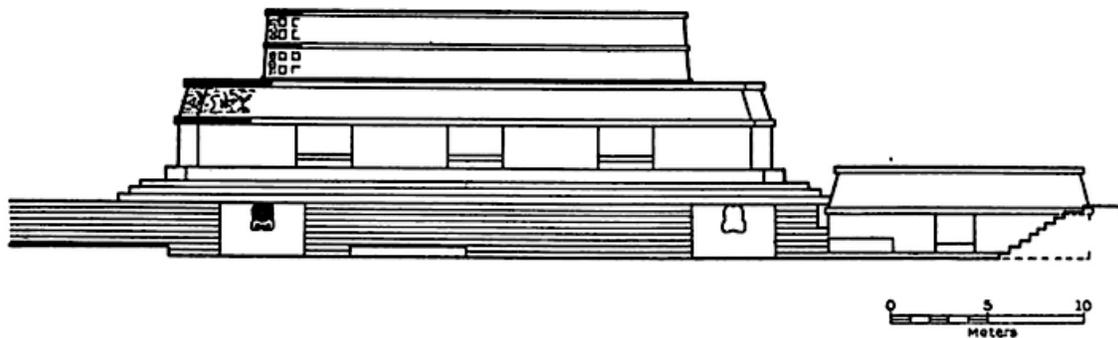


Figure 4.2. Elevation of Structure 1B-1 and, at the right side, 1B-2. Note that Morley has included a roof-comb in this rendering. See Figure 1.25 for his drawing without a roof-comb.

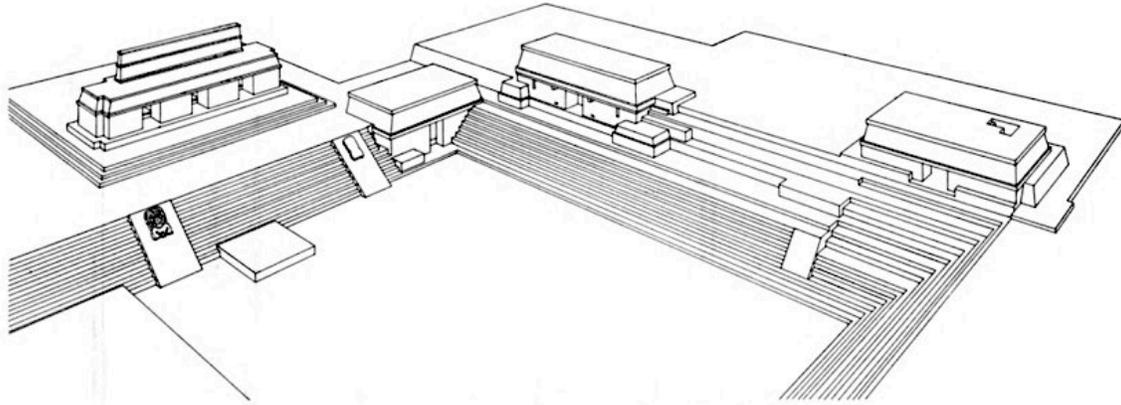


Figure 4.3. Morley's rendering of the south and west sides of the Quirigua Acropolis. Note that Morley has again included a roof-comb on Structure 1B-1.

Structure 1 itself is 32 m long (east and west), 8.84 m deep (north and south), and including the low supporting platform, but not the roof-comb, must have been about 5 m. high. The walls had fallen to below the level of the medial cornice, which was nowhere *in situ*. On the basis of the material recovered during the excavations, the writer has attempted to make an elevation of the north façade in Figure 4.2 and a profile of the east end of the north façade in Figure 4.4. The upper zone above the medial cornice is here shown as sloping like the upper zone of the Temple of the Sun at Palenque; however, it may equally well have been vertical. There is now no evidence to indicate what it was like originally.

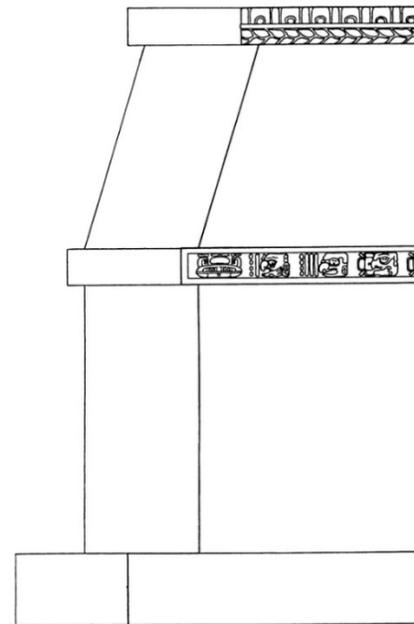


Figure 4.4. Morley's rendering of the northeast corner profile of Structure 1B-1, showing (bottom to top): foundation platform, lower wall, hieroglyphic cornice (I.S. glyphs added); stuccoed upper register; and leaf-patterned band. A possible roof-comb would have stood above (see Figure 4.3)

Two cornices, one inscribed with glyphs, the other presenting a running leaf pattern surmounted by rosettes originally appeared on all four sides of this building, but since not a single stone of either remained *in situ*, it is not certain which was the upper cornice and which the lower. In Figure 4.4, the running leaf pattern is shown at the top of the façade, since it seems more probable that the band of glyphs would have been the medial cornice (the lower of the two), in which position its inscription could have been more easily read than if it had stood at the top of the façade. Elements of both cornices were found scattered on all four sides of the building, so much intermixed that from their provenance alone it was impossible to tell which originally had stood above the other. The arrangement given in Figure 4.4, however, appears the more probable.

The upper zone, between the hieroglyphic medial cornice and the running leaf upper cornice, had doubtless been sculptured; fragments of this sculptural mosaic were found in the excavations, but it was impossible even to attempt to restore the design.

Structure 1 has seven chambers arranged as shown in Figure 4.1, its ground plan being bilaterally symmetrical with reference to the principal north-and-south axis. There are three exterior doorways, all in the north façade, each 3 m. wide. As these are too wide to have been spanned by stone lintels, they must have had wood lintels like the similar very wide doorways in Temples I, II, III, IV, and V at Tikal. The failure of these beams would seem to have been the immediate cause of the collapse of this building, since the excavations showed that both the north and south façades have fallen to the north.

The exterior walls were very thick, the front [north] measuring 2.64 m and the back [south] 4 m in thickness. The probable explanation of this enormous thickness of the back wall, which was pierced by no openings, is that directly above it there had originally been a roof-comb (Figures 4.2 and 4.3). Such enormously thick back walls in standing buildings elsewhere are found to have roof-combs built above them, and so here, even though the roof of Structure 1 itself has fallen, its thick back wall may be interpreted as indicating that a roof-comb had originally been built above it.

The floor levels of the three doorways are the same as that of the floor of the low platform from which the building rises. At the back of each doorway there is a step [bench] some 80 cm in height, the top of which is finished by a hieroglyphic band. That in the east doorway was discovered on March 5, 1912, that in the middle doorway on March 18, and that in the western doorway on March 29.

These doorways give access to three chambers, which are 4.42 m long (east and west). The middle chamber is flanked by two smaller ones; the east large chamber has a smaller chamber entered from its eastern end, and the western large chamber a smaller one entered from its western end. The four smaller chambers all have their floors 46 cm above the level of the floors of the adjoining larger chambers, and all have their arches running north and south, i.e., at right angles to the arches of the three large chambers.

The middle chamber of the building would seem to have been ceremonially the most important. Tenoned into its back (south) wall and evenly spaced at a height of 1.68 m above the floor were three heads, the middle one being slightly larger than the two flanking ones. This, coupled with its centrality of position in the building, its two flanking chambers, and finally the fact that the band of glyphs in the doorway giving into it repeats the contemporaneous date 9 Ahau 18 Mol, recorded by the I.S. on the medial cornice outside, all tend to indicate that this

middle chamber was the most important in the building, possibly being the principal sanctuary, if Structure 1 was a temple, as the writer believes.

The western large chamber had two heads tenoned into its back (south) wall, one at either end, no middle head being found. Further, the south wall of this chamber was preserved almost to the spring of the arch, and the tenons which had supported these two heads are still to be seen in their original positions in the wall, but there is no tenon between them, nor was a corresponding head found with the two others on the floor. No heads were found in the remaining large chamber to the east of the middle chamber.

Directly in front of the middle doorway, outside, were found the heads shown in Figure 4.5 in such positions as to indicate that, originally, they had probably been tenoned into the north façade above the middle doorway, the two human heads flanking the grotesque head.



Figure 4.5. Front and profiles of three stone heads from Structure 1B-1 middle room (see also Figures 2.17, 2.18, 6.13). Note bird headdresses and earplugs in profiles.

Addendum: A Possible Standard Unit of Linear Measure?

The accuracy of Morley's measurements (in feet and inches)² of the Quirigua structures he excavated in 1912 and later can be questioned, but when translated into m and cm some of them hint at the possibility of a standard unit of linear measure. Maya structures are not known to have been built using multiples of standard units, although at Teotihuacan (highland central Mexico) such a unit was suggested to be 83 cm (or more broadly 80–83 or 80–85 cm; Sugiyama 1993). Doubled (1.66 m), this might represent an armspan (fingertip to fingertip, with arms outstretched at the sides), which often correlate with height. This would be equivalent to a person about 5½ feet tall. At Quirigua, a possible standard measurement unit ranges around 64, 64.5, to 65 cm. This might have been taken from the length of an outstretched arm, from fingertip to underarm/chest.

The possibility arose while reviewing Morley's first measurements of the northern façade of Structure 1B-1 (also referred to as Structure 1) in Chapter 2: the wall was found to have four sections, each 17 feet long. In meters, 17 feet is equivalent to 5.18 m; if 5.18 m represented multiples of some kind of standard unit, that would be 8 multiples: 518 cm is equivalent to 8.09 units of 64 cm, 8.03 units of 64.5 cm, and 7.97 units of 65 cm. Differences of ~1 cm between 64 and 65 and their multiples can be readily dismissed as errors of measurement or rounding by Morley, errors of measurement technology by the Maya, or simply variability in construction (e.g., he gives the thickness of the north wall as both 2.64 and 2.67 m).

To the Maya, a unit of 64 would be arithmetically significant through quadripartition: 64 is easily divided by 4 or multiples of 4 into smaller units. A unit of 65 would have been significant in terms of calendrics, specifically the 260 days of the ritual "calendar" or almanac: the "Burner cycle" of fire rituals divides the almanac into four 65-day periods; also, there are 260 tuns (~years) in a Cycle of 13 k'atuns. But the three doorways separating these sections measured 9'10" (2.997 m) wide; this is not an even multiple of the proposed units (it is 4.6 units of 65 cm).

In the end, Morley (1937–38; see page 108 here) gave the total east–west length of the northern façade of Structure 1 as 32 meters; this is 50 units of 64 cm. The width (north–south) of the structure, at 8.84 m, had no obvious multiples of the standard units. However, the thickness of the walls did: the south (back) wall at 4 m thick is equivalent to 6.15 units of 65 cm; the north (front) wall at 2.64 m thick is equivalent to 4.06 units of 65 cm. The length of individual chambers at 4.3 m is ~7 units. The terrace upon which Structure 1 sits is 7.92 m wide (~12 units) and 38.1 m long (~6 units) (see Table 1). Again, the small departures from exact multiples (e.g., 4.06 rather than 4) can be excused by the probable inexactitude of Maya metric technologies. Unlike the Teotihuacan case, however, and other than 4 and 20, the multiples of these units do not seem to have symbolic (astro-calendrical) numerological significance.

² Acropolis structure measurements also can be found in Chapter 3 (pages 100, 104), Chapter 6 (page 130), and throughout Chapter 9. In many cases, the later measurements differ from—and presumably are more accurate than—the earlier ones.

Table 1. Possible standard units of Quirigua Acropolis structure measurements^a

STR. #		Meters	Possible Standard Measurement Units		
			÷ 64 cm	÷ 64.5 cm	÷ 65 cm
1B-1	Length	32	50		
	Width	8.84			
	N wall Thick	2.64			~4 [4.06]
	S wall Thick	4			~6 [6.15]
	Chamber Length	4.3	~7 [6.9]		
	Terr. Width	7.92			~12 [12.18]
	Terr. Length	38.1	~6 [5.95]		
1B-2	Length	13.49		~21 [20.9]	
	Width	8.23			
1B-3	Length	17.3 (17.63?) (18?)	~27 [27.03]		~8.5 [8.547]
	Width	7.92			~12 [12.18]
	Doorway W	2.59			~4 [3.98]
1B-4	Length	13.74 (13.82?)			~21 [21.14]
	Width	10.11			~15.5 [15.55]
	Doorway W	2.28			~3.5 [3.51]
1B-5	Length	19.1	~30 [29.8]		
	Width	12.93		~20 [20.04]	
	N wall Thick	~3.66			
1B-6	Length	13.87		21.5	
	Width	8.94	~14 [13.96]		

a, Heights are not included here because they were Morley's eyeball estimates.

The cosmological symbolism of the nine steps up to Structure 1B-1, on the south side of the Acropolis Plaza, has already been mentioned (Chapter 2, page 91, note 45): Nine Lords of the Underworld, the Underworld being the place of death. Seven is also important: Structure 1B-1 has seven chambers in its interior, each measuring seven units of 64 cm in length (east-west). In Maya numerological symbolism, seven may be associated with death (e.g., the sacrifice of Seven Death, a Lord of the Underworld) and deception (Seven Macaw, the false sun god), as well as creation and order in the Postclassic *chilam balam* books. There may have been seven heads tenoned into the south walls of the three larger rooms: three in the central room and two in the western; perhaps the eastern room originally also had two heads. Quirigua glyphs mentioning black hole and black lake may also be Underworldly referents (Martin and Grube 2008: 221).

CHAPTER 5

THE TEXTS OF STRUCTURE 1B-1

Although most of the inscriptions at Quirigua appear on monuments in the Great Plaza, the final texts are found on architectural elements of Structure 1B-1 at the south end of the Acropolis. A glyphic cornice with a very long text ran across all four sides of the building, and three rooms had hieroglyphic benches. Although the latter are well preserved, the cornice text is very compromised; both have challenged scholars over the years, and as recently as 2016 new interpretations were presented (Zender and Guenter 2016).

Dedicated on June 28, 810, Structure 1B-1 was built during the reign of Jade Sky, the city's sixteenth and final dynastic ruler (Jones, Ashmore, and Sharer 1983: 3;Looper 2007: 170; Martin and Grube 2008: 224–225). Structure 1B-1's inscriptions, first exposed and described by Morley during the School for American Archaeology's (SAA's) excavations of 1912 (Chapter 2), reveal important information about the final decades of Quirigua's nearly century-long florescence, which began with K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Yo'paat's defeat of Copan in AD 738 and ended in the early ninth century.

The Hieroglyphic Cornice

The longest inscription of Structure 1B-1 is found on what was originally a medial cornice that, if all four sides of the building are added together, ran some 81–82 m in length: twice the building length of 32 m plus twice the building width of 8.84 m. The text begins on the northeast corner of the front façade with an Initial Series Introductory Glyph (ISIG) and, after circling the entire building, ends at the same glyph block on the east-facing side with text that possibly references the accession of Jade Sky (see Figure 5.1). As this inscription was positioned high on the structure, it was found scattered in bits and pieces in the mound of rubble formed when the building collapsed.

Morley found the individual glyph blocks mostly disarticulated, with many inexplicably missing. Only 51 glyph blocks have been located thus far, with an unknown number unrecovered (Luin et al. 2010: unpaginated). Morley was driven to distraction by these elusive glyphs (Chapter 2) and could not explain their absence. Most vexing were the key missing stones that formed the Initial Series (I.S.; block positions 1–14) on the front façade, glyphs that would have been easily recognizable. After allocating spaces for the missing I.S. components, Morley identified glyphs that formed part of a Supplemental or Secondary Lunar Series (Morley 1937–38, IV: 234–235). He ordered the glyphs in this section of the cornice—blocks 16–23—in an effort to sort out a confusing

array of dates, distance numbers, and Lunar Cycle gods (1937–38, V[1]: Plate 174). Fortunately, many of the glyphs were inscribed across two stones, which made positioning somewhat easier, and others physically fit together. Matthew Loooper studied this section of the inscription, reordered it, and offered a tentative reading of individual glyphs that differs from Morley’s original interpretation, although it is recognized that these glyph blocks do not constitute a continuous sequence (Figure 5.1; Morley 1937–38, IV: 237, V[I]: Plate 174; Loooper 2007: 172).

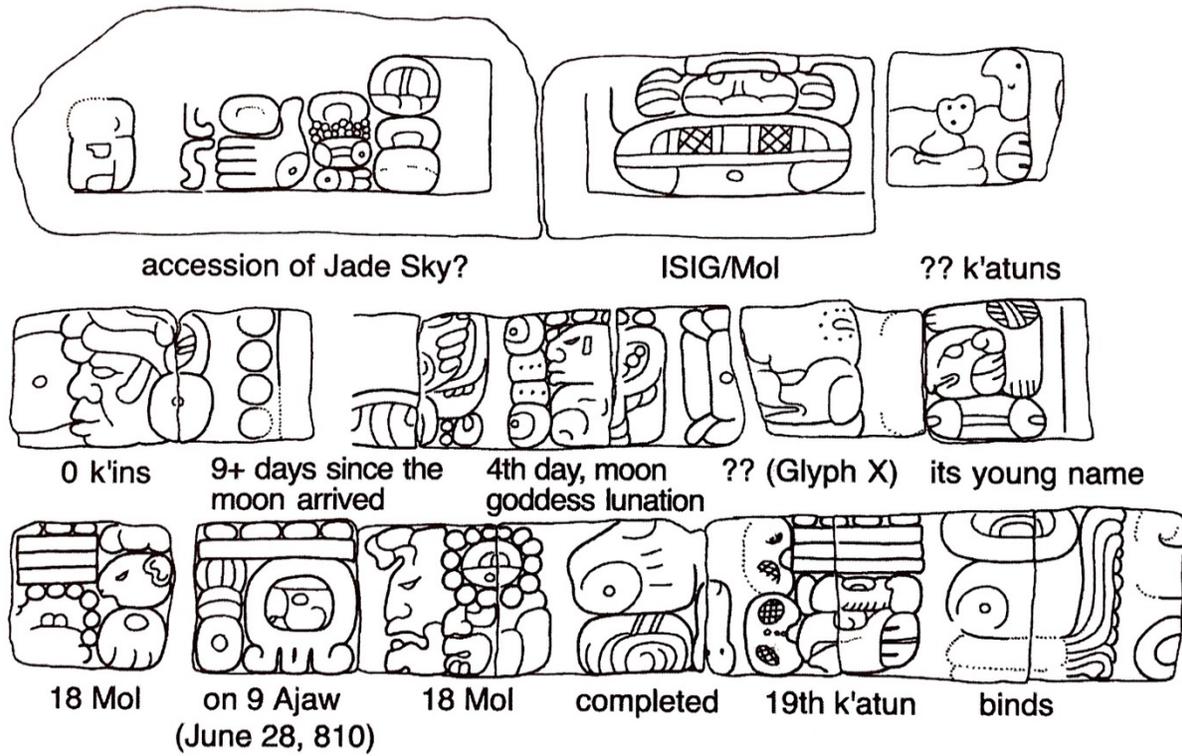


Figure 5.1. Loooper’s (2007: 172) drawing and interpretation of individual glyphs from the cornice of Structure 1B-1. Note that the first glyph block (a possible reference to the accession of Jade Sky) is the final text of the long cornice inscription and appears on the east side of the north-facing stone that presents the Initial Series Introductory Glyph.

The rest of the glyph blocks, recovered randomly from all sides of 1B-1, remained untranslated and largely unstudied¹ until 2007–2009. Between 1919 and the beginning of the twenty-first century, these cornice components were moved about and stored in various sheds and warehouses at the site. Even if Morley had sorted blocks in terms of a specific provenance that might offer clues to their original position, over the years any such information has been lost.

In 2010, Camilo Luin led a team of Guatemalan epigraphers in the first concerted attempt to organize and understand the jumble of stones that make up this inscription. Their approach was

¹ Loooper drew these glyphs in the early 1990s, but they remained unpublished. Today his renderings are available online at the Maya Hieroglyphic Database Project (Mayadatabase.org).

to sort them into categories: dates, verbs, names, titles, etc. Besides the stones in the Quirigua warehouse, the team tracked down photographs of elements now missing or degraded. The photographic record—especially Morley’s, made immediately after excavation—proved essential not only because of the significant deterioration of the sculptures in the interim (Figure 5.2), but because some blocks recovered early are no longer at the site. By combining photographs with existing stones, Luin’s team was able to make headway achieving a very general, though not complete, understanding of at least the topics communicated in the original cornice inscription.

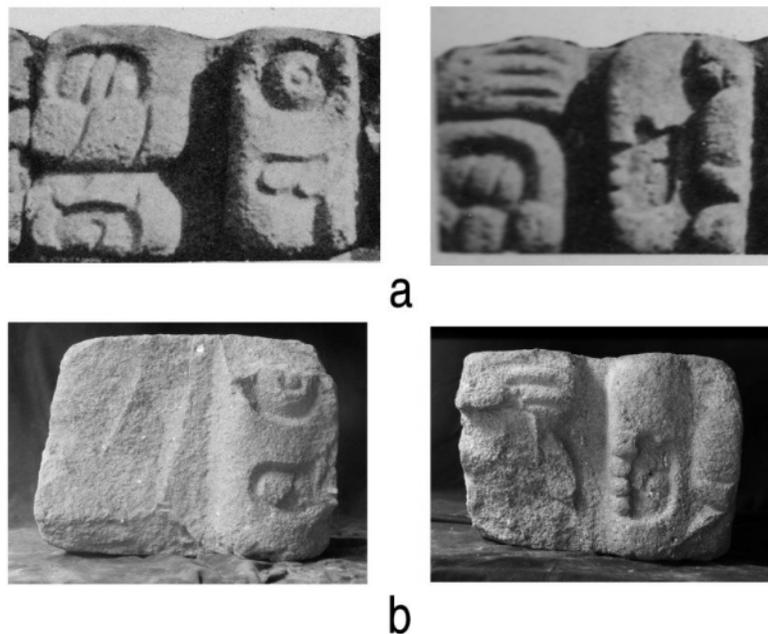


Figure 5.2. (a) Examples of Morley’s 1912 original photos of glyph blocks from the Structure 1B-1 cornice, compared to (b) recent photos by Camilo Luin in 2010. Recent readings of these glyphs reveal that they refer to “20 young lords.” Note the significant degradation between the two.

Luin’s team made an effort to reconstruct the I.S. sequence from available glyph blocks and photos (Figure 5.3). If their proposed I.S. is correct, then there never were any missing parts to the sequence—Morley simply failed to recognize that the glyphs he recovered were part of the Long Count date. However, Luin’s proposed I.S. is not generally accepted:Looper notes that the Calendar Round (CR)² included is not part of this I.S., and that some glyph blocks—number 6 in Figure 5.3, for example—do not belong. As Looper puts it “Morley basically got it right” (personal communication to CW, February 2022). In viewing Figure 5.3, it is challenging to see Luin’s

² A Calendar Round date, such as 8 Ajaw 18 Xul, specifies the day in the two Maya calendars, the 260-day *tzolk’in* (20 day names, e.g., Ajaw, preceded by numbers 1–13) and the 365-day *haab’* (18 month names, e.g., Xul, with coefficients from 0–19). The same CR day can only occur once every 52 years. In the Terminal Classic period throughout the lowlands, Long Count dates began to be simplified to present just the CR day, a process that culminated with presentation of only k’atun-ending Ajaw days in the Postclassic period.

reconstruction if only because of the degraded condition of the glyph blocks. Even without the complete sequence inscription, the date of the I.S.—9.19.0.0.0 9 Ajaw 18 Mol 9 (June 28, 810 GMT)—could be deduced from the CR dates on the building, a date confirmed through repetition in the texts on 1B-1’s three hieroglyphic benches (see below).

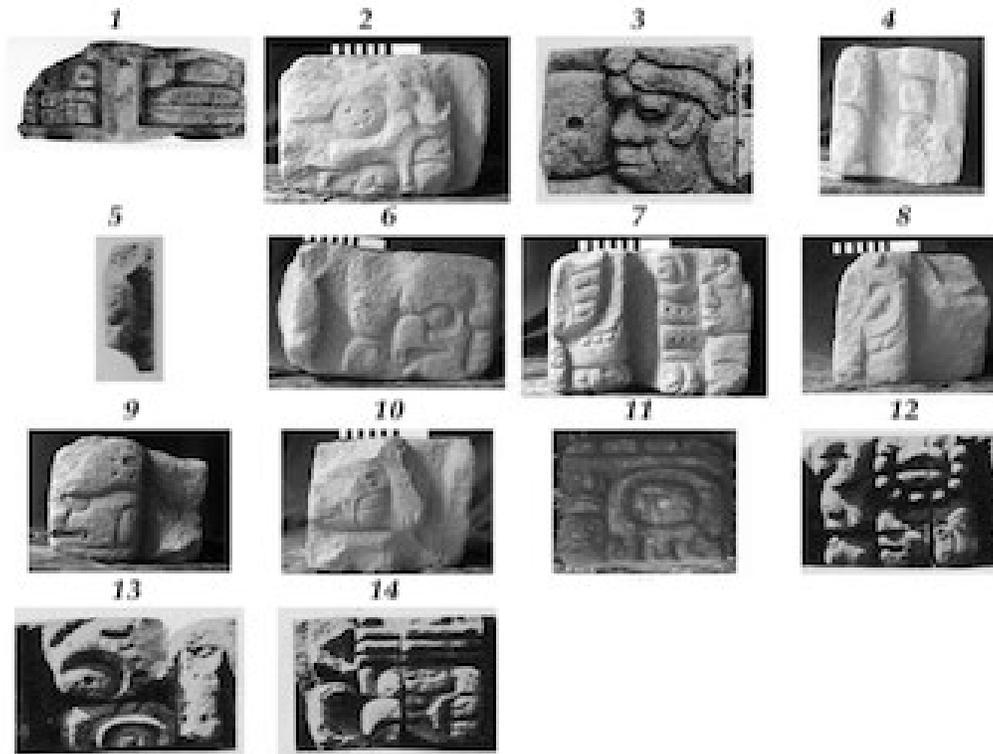


Figure 5.3. Luin’s team’s reconstruction of the Structure 1B-1 cornice I.S. date (left to right, top to bottom), created from current stones (lighter images) and earlier photographs (darker images). The ISIG is found in position 1; 9 Ajaw is in position 11; 18 Mol is in position 12.

Moving beyond the date glyphs, verb phrases found in the cornice text include (in random order): *it already happened*, *he finished it*, *it was dedicated*, and *he already ordered it*. People named in the text are K’ahk’ Ti’ ? Ik’al (possibly someone from another city or a deity) (Luin 2010: Figure 12), Jade Sky, and K’ahk’ Tiliw Chan Yo’paat. The numerous titles found in this inscription, including the Quirigua Emblem Glyph, are related to rulers named in the text, Jade Sky and K’ahk’ Tiliw. One title of interest associated with K’ahk’ Jolow (Jade Sky) is *uhx winikhaab’*, which Luin reads as “man of three katuns.” This is likely a reference to Jade Sky’s age—putting him between 41 and 60 years old in AD 810—supporting the assumption that he was the son of K’ahk’ Tiliw and the probable younger brother of Sky Xul, his immediate predecessor on the Quirigua throne (Luin et al. 2010: Figure 16). This would also confirm a relationship hinted on Zoomorph G (see Figure 6.3;Looper 2003: 187). Other glyphs relate to water, black hole, black lake, and various locations either mythical or real (Luin et al. 2010; Martin and Grube 2008:221).

Although an exact translation of the cornice text is not now possible (and without the unlikely recovery of more blocks, may never be), the inscription, despite its flaws, is one of the few at Quirigua that offer information on period-endings and dedications during the reign of Quirigua's last ruler. Fortunately, the much better-preserved hieroglyphic texts in the rooms of Structure 1B-1 are more clearly read and understood, and present important historical information that also might once have been found on the cornice.

The Hieroglyphic Benches

For Morley, the discovery of hieroglyphic benches in the interior rooms of Structure 1B-1 were the highlight of the 1912 excavation season. These inscriptions, each nine glyph blocks long, create a single text in three segments. His excitement at finding them in near pristine condition is apparent in his daily diary entries (see Chapter 2)—he marveled at the quality of the sculpting and the fact that in many cases they were so well preserved that a fine slip coat of plaster still adhered to many individual glyphs. This state of preservation is explained by shelter from the weathering resulting from exposure to rain and other phenomena: the inscriptions were in roofed rooms and, when the building collapsed, the debris provided a blanket of protection. Fortunately, and unlike in other parts of 1B-1, no tree roots penetrated to the areas where the benches were located. In short, when first revealed by the SAA team, the benches were remarkably true to their ninth-century appearance (Figure 5.4).

Because the benches presented several CR dates, Morley was able to read at least the calendrical aspects of the text, although other aspects eluded him. He was easily able to directly tie the dates on the benches to the I.S. date on the building's cornice, confirming that both texts were related, a determination confirmed by recent epigraphic work. Morley summarized the calendrical inscriptions as follows (see Chapter 2, page 86):

(19.18.19.16.0)	8 Ajaw 18 Xul	East Doorway
2.0 (distance number)		
(19.19.0.0.0)	9 Ajaw 18 Mol	Middle Doorway
End K'atun 19	()	West Doorway
9.19.0.0.0	9 Ajaw 18 Mol	Hieroglyphic Frieze

Note that Morley does not offer a reading of the final date in the inscription (empty parenthesis above). Despite the good condition of the sculpting, the final CR date has presented problems for decades and only in recent times has been satisfactorily explained. The problem arises in the final glyph block, which presents a CR combination that is impossible. The date is apparently inscribed as 5 Ajaw 10 Kej, which is not a viable tzolk'in/haab' combination (see Figure 5.4C, final glyph block).

The first problem with this CR is that the upper portion of the final glyph block was damaged: the top of the bar-and-dot numbers were somehow sheared off, presenting a misleading numerical coefficient. The corrected coefficients offer an updated reading of 7 Ajaw 18 Kej. However, this also presents an impossible date combination.

A: East bench



B: Middle bench



C: West bench



Figure 5.4. Morley's photographs of the hieroglyphic benches of Structure 1B-1 immediately after excavation. The three inscriptions create a single text, read left/east to right/west. A and C are composite images created by permission of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Various scholars (Schele and Friedel 1990: 342;Looper 2007: 174–175; Zender and Guenter 2019: unpaginated) have postulated that the clear Kej month sign is actually an error on the part of the ancient scribe, and that the reading should be 7 Ajaw 18 Sip, which is the bak'tun ending 10.0.0.0.0. This is not the only CR dating from the late period at Quirigua that has a scribal error:

a similar error occurs on Zoomorph P and Altar O' (Looper, personal communication to CW, February 2022). A correct 10.0.0.0.0 CR date is, in fact, inscribed on Zoomorph G, although Morley (1937–38 IV: 441) notes that on this monument a 13 is given instead of the correct 7 as a Secondary Series tun coefficient. All of these CR errors were inscribed within a short period during the reigns of Quirigua's final two rulers. One wonders if these errors might have been made by the same calendrically challenged scribe?

Of the two 10.0.0.0.0 dates at Quirigua, the one on the hieroglyphic bench discussed here records no event, serving only the purpose of fixing the CR date in the Long Count (Looper, personal communication to CW, January 2022). A similar calendar-lock fixing a CR date to 10.0.0.0.0 occurs on Zacpeten Altar 1, in central Peten (Rice, Rice, and Pugh 1998: 236). Interestingly, at Quirigua the other Cycle 10 bak'tun-ending inscription on Zoomorph G elevates the date to one of mythical importance: the inscription predicts that on the date 10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Kej, a future king of Quirigua would conjure the resurrection of the great K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Yo'paat to celebrate the bak'tun ending (Looper 2007: 98).

Two recent studies of the bench text are available, both reflecting the significant gains made in epigraphy since the days of Morley. Looper (2007: 174–175) identifies the first two glyph blocks (Figure 5.4A, left; compare with Figure 5.5) as 8 Ajaw 18 Xul, an unambiguous CR date.



Figure 5.5. The East bench inscription today, evidencing a century of weathering (compare with Figure 5.4A). The glyph blocks' order, incorrectly restored in the mid-twentieth century, originally would have shown the Calendar Round date 8 Ajaw 18 Xul in the first two blocks.

The third glyph block is identified as a verb, “plays ball,”³ followed by two references to Jade Sky and his title of *ajaw b'akab'*, and the Quirigua Emblem Glyph. The final glyph of the first (east) bench has the number 20 and the first line of the second (center) section mentions “ajaws” (Figure 5.4B). Next follows a date reference stating that 0 *k'ins* and 2 *winals* had passed since an event.

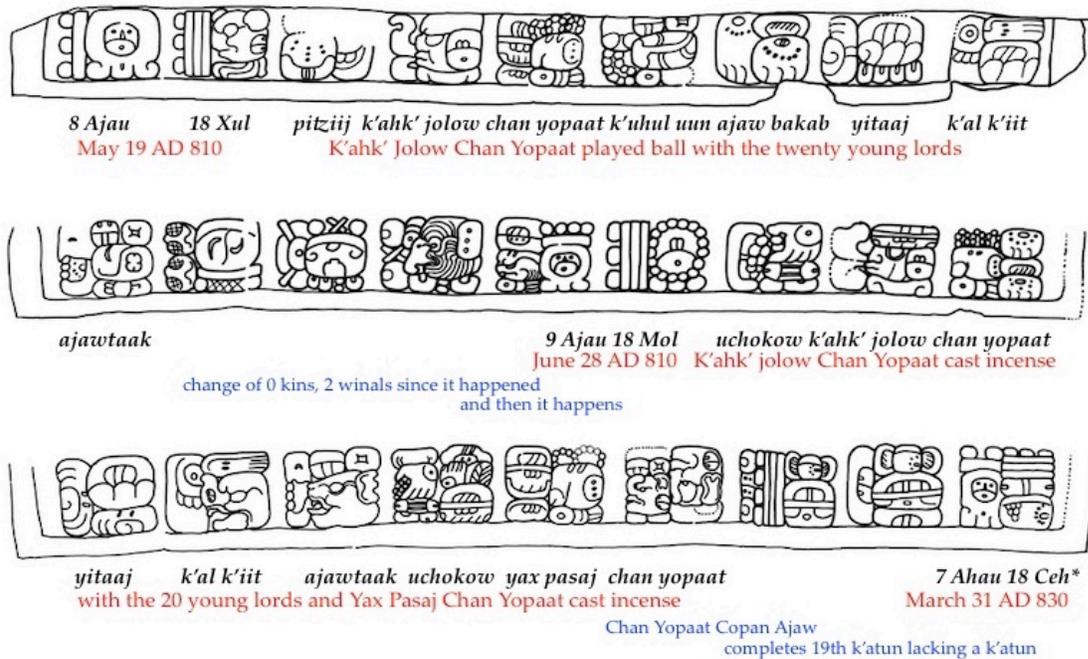
³ Ritual ballgames were important in political/diplomatic relations. Calakmul kings played ball with vassals at La Corona, Zapote Bobal, Uxul, El Peru, and possibly Tonina (Martin 220: 338).

The date 9 Ajaw 18 Mol is then presented, followed by the scattering glyph which represents the dedication of Structure 1B-1. As the text continues (Figure 5.4C), Jade Sky is again mentioned as are his 20 companion ajaws. Then comes the name of the ruler of Copan, Yax Pasaj Chan Yo'paat, who also scatters, and the Copan Emblem Glyph. The final three glyph blocks state that the date of the building dedication is one k'atun short of the bak'tun ending 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (10.0.0.0.0). Looper (2007: 175) paraphrases his translation of the text:

On 8 Ajaw 19 Xul (9.18.19.16.0—May 19, AD 810) Jade Sky, holy Quirigua ajaw b'akab', companion of 20 K'at ajaws, plays ball. It is a change of 0 k'ins, 2 winals since it happened, and then 9 Ajaw 18 Mol (9.19.0.0.0: June 28, 810) happens, when Jade Sky b'akab', companion of 20 K'at ajaws, scatters and Yax Pasaj Chan Yo'paat, holy Copan ajaw, scatters. The 19th k'atun is completed (lacking?) a k'atun until 7 Ajaw 18 Sip.

A significant revelation here is that the ruler of Copan was present with the ruler of Quirigua, scattering together at the dedication of Structure 1B-1. The implication is that the hostilities between the two polities that began in the 730s had been resolved, and that their close relationship had been restored. Looper (2007: 174) goes so far as to postulate that the dedication of 1B-1 was itself a celebration of renewed alliance between the cities.

In 2016, Marc Zender and Stanley Guenter discussed the texts of Quirigua, including the hieroglyphic texts of the benches of Structure 1B-1 (Figure 5.6).



Black text in italics (top line) is Zender and Guether's Maya language transcription
Red text (second line) is Zender and Guether's paraphrase into English
Blue text is Looper's translation of texts not addressed by Zender and Guether
 *A scribal Calendar Round error. Should be 19 Sip.
 Original drawing by Linda Schele

Figure 5.6. Translations of the Structure 1B-1 bench texts (Looper 2007; Zender and Guenter 2016), with correct coefficients added to the final glyph block.

Expanding on Looper's earlier translation, Zender and Guenter (2016: unpaginated) confirmed that the text recorded a ballgame played by 20 "young lords" (*k'at ajawws*) as part of the building's dedication. These same young lords then joined the two kings to "cast incense." The term "20 young lords" also appears across two stones of the 1B-1 cornice inscription (Figure 5.2).

It may or may not be significant that the scattering reference, sometimes interpreted to represent blood sacrifice (Schele 1982: 145–146; Love: 1987: 14; Harris and Stearns 1997: 53), follows the text mentioning the ballgame, a sport/ritual that often ends with a human sacrifice (Gillespie 1991; Sharer and Traxler 2006: 730). Zender and Guenter posit that the scattering glyph implies casting incense rather than blood, the former a much more widely accepted interpretation of the hand-scattering gesture (Love 1987: 12; Bricker 1986: 144–147; Hammond 1981: 78; Stuart 2005).

Summary

Current understanding of the inscriptions of Structure 1B-1 indicates that in AD 810, Jade Sky, the ruler of Quirigua, joined with his ally, Yax Pasaj Chan Yo'paat, the ruler of Copan, to dedicate the newly built edifice at the south end of the Quirigua Acropolis, an event signaling a reconciliation between formerly belligerent polities. The dedication included scattering rituals by both kings and the playing of the ballgame by 20 young nobles. The placement of text on the cornice of the largest of the Acropolis buildings offered public proclamation of the new relationship between Quirigua and Copan.

The rapprochement between Quirigua and Copan did not prolong the florescence at either site: no additional inscribed monuments or structures appeared at Quirigua after the dedication of Structure 1B-1 in AD 810, and only two dates at Copan from the reign of Ukit Took' (reigned briefly after AD 822) are known (Looper 2007: 174; Martin and Grube 2008: 213). Soon thereafter, both sites were largely abandoned as the Classic Maya collapse engulfed the southeastern periphery.

CHAPTER 6.

EXCAVATIONS AT QUIRIGUA, GUATEMALA¹

by Sylvanus Griswold Morley

Assistant Director of the Quirigua Expedition, 1912

The ruins of Quirigua are located in the Republic of Guatemala, Central America, 57 miles [92 km] from the Caribbean Sea. The heart of this ancient city, its civic and religious center [Figure 6.1], covered about 75 acres, surrounding which on every side for a distance of several miles were the dwellings of the common people.

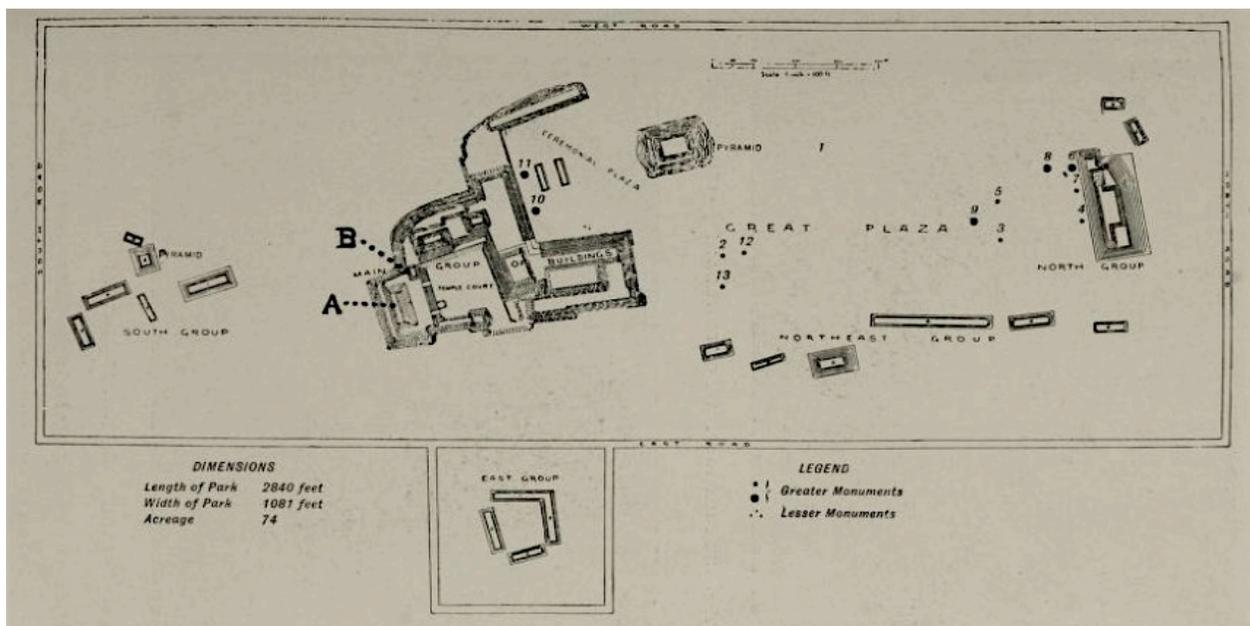


Figure 6.1. Map of the ruins of Quirigua, Guatemala. The structures excavated [in 1911] are marked A and B on this map. [Note that we retain Morley's original designations for the structures discussed in this article: Temple A refers to what are elsewhere (e.g., in Chapters 2 – 5) called Structure 1 or 1B-1; Structure B refers to Structure 2 or 1B-2.]

¹ *The National Geographic Magazine* XXIV (3): 339–361 (March 1913), with minor editing, reformatting, and added notes. Images are from the original article, most taken by Morley; figure numbers added. Four images were removed because they duplicate images in other chapters.

Quirigua was one of the older centers of the great Maya civilization, which flourished in southern Mexico, Guatemala, and northern Honduras during the first 15 centuries of the Christian Era. Judging from the dated monuments which were erected in its several courts and plazas, this ancient American metropolis was abandoned during the first half of the sixth century, AD.² Toward the close of the sixth century the Mayas moved out from the older centers of their civilization into Yucatan. Here, in the stress of colonizing a new and unfamiliar land, the remembrance of their former homes gradually faded, until Quirigua, along with many another southern city, became only a memory, a tradition. Finally, long before the discovery of America, even the tradition of its former existence had passed from the minds of men.

Quirigua Lost for Centuries

Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, must have passed within a few miles of Quirigua in 1525, on his memorable march to the Golfo Dulce, but he makes no mention of the fact, and it was not until over 300 years later, or in 1840, that the site was again made known to the world by [John Lloyd] Stephens and [Frederick] Catherwood.³ During the centuries which had elapsed since its abandonment a dense tropical vegetation [Figure 6.2] had overgrown the city, overthrowing the temples and palaces and reducing them to shapeless mounds of fallen masonry.



Figure 6.2. View of the temple court [Acropolis], looking south, before excavation. The mound in the background and the low mound to the right of it are Temple A and Structure B respectively, before excavation. [This same view after excavation is shown in Figure 6.16.]

² By the GMT correlation, abandonment occurred in the tenth century.

³ Original footnote: *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, Stephens (1840).

The jungle had won its way into the different courts and plazas; and these public squares, once teeming with the life of a populous community, had become the haunt of the tiger [Figure 6.3], peccary, monkey, ant-eater, and the infinite host of the tropical forest. The jungle had again reclaimed its own.

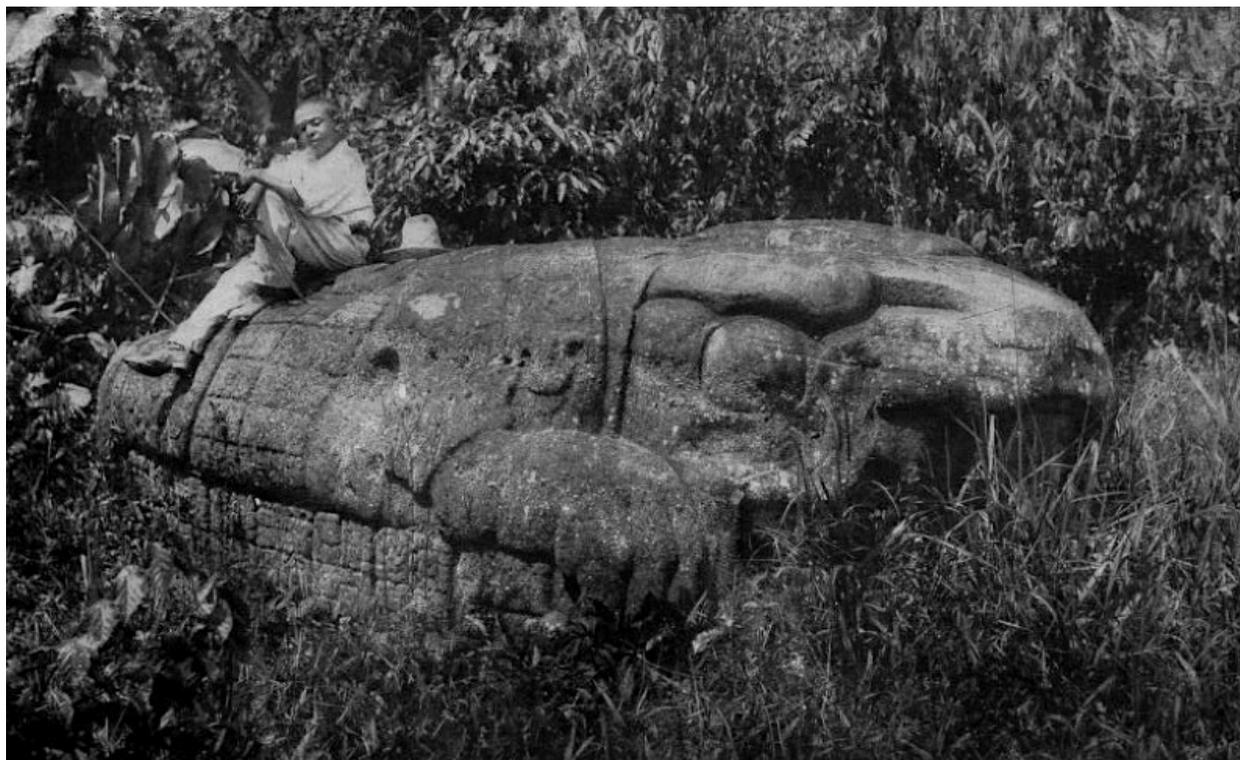


Figure 6.3. This monument, known as Zoomorph G, represents the jaguar, or American tiger [*Panthera onca*]. The bulging eye, yawning mouth, and clawing fore-leg appear very clearly in the accompanying photograph. The jaguar plays a very important role in Maya mythology, and its skin was extensively used as a priestly vestment. [Later researchers (e.g., Sharer 1990: 43) considered this zoomorph to be a composite creature. For example, its “shoulders” are decorated with circles, not evident in this photograph, representing the parotid glands of the cane toad, *Bufo marinus*. The crenelated “eyebrow” and right forepaw more closely resemble crocodilian features. The inscription predicts a resurrection of the great ruler K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Yo'paat to celebrate the bak'tun ending in 10.0.0.0.0 (Looper 2007: 98).]

In 1909 the United Fruit Company, incidental to the purchase of a large tract of land in this vicinity for a banana plantation, acquired title to the site, and in the following year, through an arrangement with the School for American Archaeology, the systematic study of the ruins was undertaken under the direction of Edgar L. Hewett.⁴

⁴ See Chapter 1, pages 17–32.

Difficulties in Clearing the Site

The archaeological investigation of Quirigua presented many new and difficult problems. Before digging could be commenced, it was first necessary to fell the all-enveloping jungle. Giant trees, often exceeding 150 feet in height [Figure 6.4], had to be removed occasionally from the midst of a cluster of elaborately sculptured monuments [Figure 6.5], where a single blow from a falling branch might have shattered the high relief and done irreparable damage. In such delicate cases the trees first had to be cabled, and then, while they were being cut, gangs of native laborers pulled them away from the endangered monuments. All this preliminary work consumed much time, and it was not until February of last year that the actual excavation of the site was commenced.

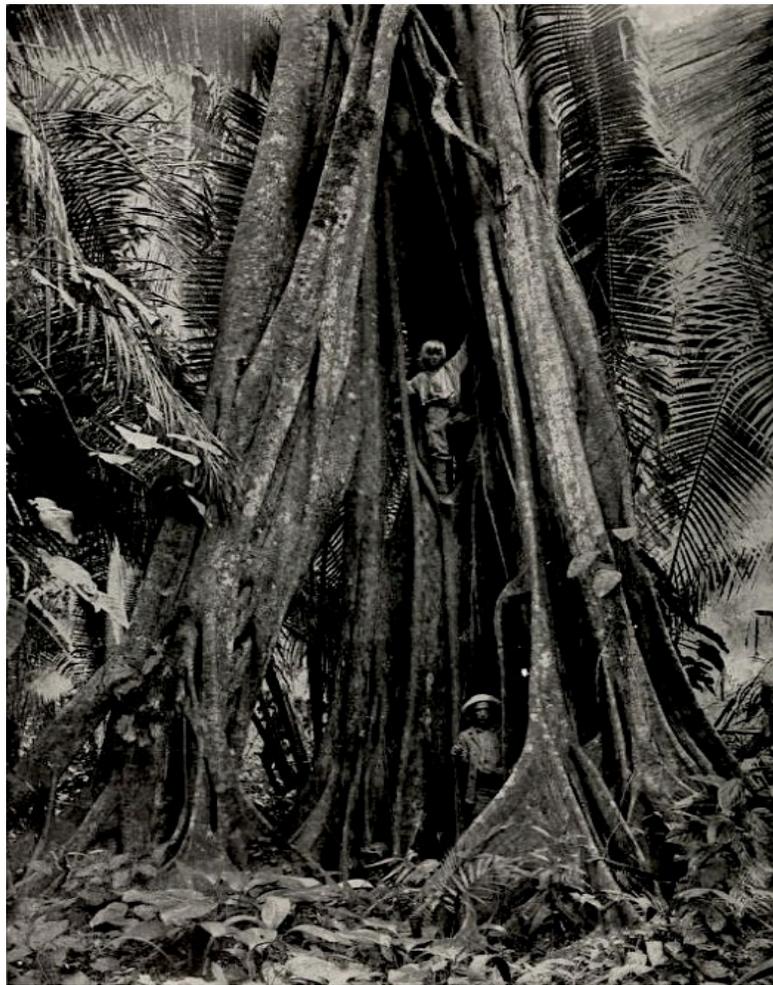


Figure 6.4. A *matapalo* tree [now known as a strangler fig, one of several species of genus *Ficus*.] This tree when young grows around some other tree, clinging to it for support. As it grows it gradually surrounds the tree supporting it, and finally ends by choking it to death; hence the name *matapalo* or 'kill-tree.' It is no uncommon sight in the vicinity of Quirigua to see two entirely different foliagees emerging from the same trunk. The *matapalo* illustrated here has succeeded in entirely surrounding the tree, which originally gave it a helping hand upward.



Figure 6.5. This is one of the best-preserved monuments at Quirigua and is known as Stela D. The relief is very slightly weathered and looks as though it has just left the sculptor's chisel. The Egyptian type of face, with its characteristic little beard, shows very distinctly in this monument.

The place selected for the first season's digging was the south side of the temple court, at the points marked A and B on the map [Figure 6.1], and at A, a trestle and tramway were built for carrying off the excavated material [Figure 6.6]. Surmounting the broad and spacious terrace which forms the southern side of the temple court was a large mound [A on Figure 6.1], which from its size and location looked to be the remains of a very important construction [Figure 6.7]. Fragments of sculptured stone, human and grotesque heads, hands and feet, feather-work and geometric forms, and parts of a hieroglyphic cornice strewed the ground on every side [Figure 6.8] and the first trenches brought to light much additional material of the same character.



Figure 6.6. The first step in excavating Temple A was to remove the surface stone. A line of native workmen are here shown passing the fallen building blocks down to the dump car (see Figure 1.17). An assistant stands at the car to see that no sculptured stones are thrown away.

The building material used in Temple A is sandstone, which was quarried from the foothills two miles west of the city and probably transported thither on rafts during the rainy season, when the greater part of the valley is submerged by the overflow from the Motagua River. In this way the building material could be floated right up to the base of the temple structure.⁵ The blocks were finished—that is, either sculptured or faced—as occasion required after they had been laid in the wall. This accounts for the remarkable accuracy with which the lines of a design are carried from one block to another without a perceptible break in the composition. This is particularly true of the hieroglyphic cornice, which could have been sculptured only after the blocks were laid in the wall, so perfect is the fit of the lines in the details of the characters.

⁵ The Motagua now flows some distance from Quirigua's site core, but in ancient times it flowed directly adjacent to the west side of the Acropolis.



Figure 6.7. Excavating Temple A: Exposing the southeast corner after it had been buried for more than 15 centuries.



Figure 6.8. Sculpted fragments of stone found around the base of Temple A: note the curious variety of bizarre designs.

An Imposing Temple Found

As the work of excavation proceeded, there gradually developed from this mound of earth and fallen stone the ground plan of what had originally been an imposing temple. This temple [Figure 6.9] was found to be 105 feet [32 m] long and 29 feet [8.84 m] wide. It is composed of seven chambers, symmetrically arranged, the three larger ones of which, those opening to the outside, are 14 feet [4.3 m] long and about half as wide.

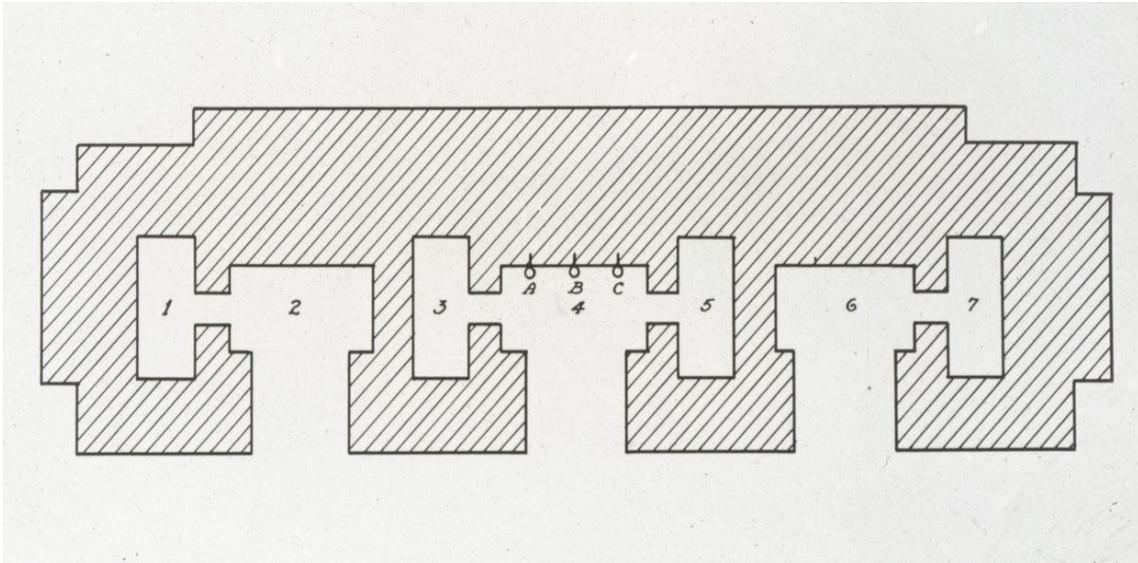


Figure 6.9. Ground plan of Temple A. Note the proportions of wall space to room space in this building. The walls, which are of solid masonry, occupy nearly three times as much space as the rooms [see also Figure 2.3].

The four interior chambers, alternating with the preceding, are somewhat smaller, being only 9 feet [2.7 m] long by 5 feet [1.5 m] wide. The floors of the smaller chambers are in every case a foot and a half higher than the flooring of the large chamber from which they are entered; and similarly, the floors of the larger chambers are again 2 feet higher than the floors of the spacious doorways giving into them. In the latter case the rises of the steps [benches] are sculptured with hieroglyphics, drawings of which are shown below [see also Chapter 5]. Successive stages in the excavation of the middle chamber of Temple A are shown [in Figures 6.10, 6.11, and 6.12].

This chamber originally had three heads tenoned into its back wall at a height of 5½ feet [1.7 m] above the floor [Figures 6.13]. This unusual feature of decoration doubtless indicates a chamber of corresponding importance, which its central position in the building further corroborates. Indeed, it is more than likely that this chamber of the tenoned heads was not only the chief sanctuary of this particular temple, but of the whole city as well.⁶

⁶ This building's function was administrative (that is, it was not a "temple"), the other Acropolis structures being elite residences or palaces (Sharer and Traxler 2006: 353).



Figure 6.10. Excavating the chief sanctuary of Temple A: clearing the doorway.



Figure 6.11. Excavating the chief sanctuary of Temple A: the sanctuary partially cleared. The back wall has been partially uncovered and the threshold cleaned out, exposing the hieroglyphic step [bench]. The three heads on the bottom row of Figure 6.13 were found in the layer of dirt on the floor of this room.



Figure 6.12. Excavating the chief sanctuary of Temple A: the sanctuary after final repair.

A Shrine for Human Sacrifice?

It requires but little effort of the imagination to picture once again the rich and varied scenes which had this temple for their background. White-robed priests, with jaguar skins hanging from their shoulders, ascend the stairway to the sanctuary. Garlanded victims in the shadow of death tremble at the altar.

Gorgeously plumed chieftains pace the broad terraces or press around the covered dais of the city's ruler, while below thronging the stone seats along the sides of the court, the multitude, in ignorance and awe as always, awaits the sacrifice. All the pomp and pageantry of the bygone days again fill the court under the magic spell of the romantic surroundings.

Curiously enough, the excavation of this sanctuary failed to bring to light a single specimen, not even a potsherd, although the interior chamber adjoining it on the right yielded a generous return. Among the specimens recovered from this latter room were two very fine flint spearheads, each over 6 inches [15.24 cm] in length, and the fragments of a dozen or more pieces of pottery, which show a variety of pleasing shapes and designs. In general, the Quirigua ware is red, or red and yellow, and of a basin-like shape. Many pieces have three legs, the legs being made of balls or inverted cones of clay. Decoration was largely confined to the exteriors and was effected by fluting, painting, and incising. It has been suggested that the first of these was derived originally from the calabash, which abounds in the vicinity. The yield of specimens from the other chambers of Temple A was rather meager, all combined being less than the cache just described.



Figure 6.13. Sculpted stone heads found during the excavation of Temple A. These heads, with the exception of the three in the bottom row, were found in the front of the temple. Originally, they had been fastened to the façade by rough stone tenons projecting from their backs. The large grotesque head in the second row was over the middle doorway, and the two heads in the third row were over the eastern and western doorways respectively. The three smaller heads in the bottom row were fastened to the back wall of the sanctuary, 5½ feet [1.7 m] above the floor level.

The Temple Conforms to Maya Type

The façade of Temple A, like that of all Maya structures, was divided into two parts by a cornice which passed around all four sides of the building half way between top and bottom. In Temple A this cornice was composed of a band of hieroglyphics, which began at the northeastern corner and extended clear around the building [Figure 6.14]. Below this cornice the façade was plain, being without sculptural decoration of any kind. This severe treatment of the lower panel offered a striking and effective contrast to the upper panel, which was composed of an elaborate mosaic of sculptured stones finished at the top with another cornice showing a leaf motive.



Figure 6.14. Fragments of the medial and upper cornices of Temple A. In the foreground appear several glyph blocks from the hieroglyphic band, which divided the façade into two horizontal bands. Behind are blocks from the upper cornice, showing the leaf or feather pattern.

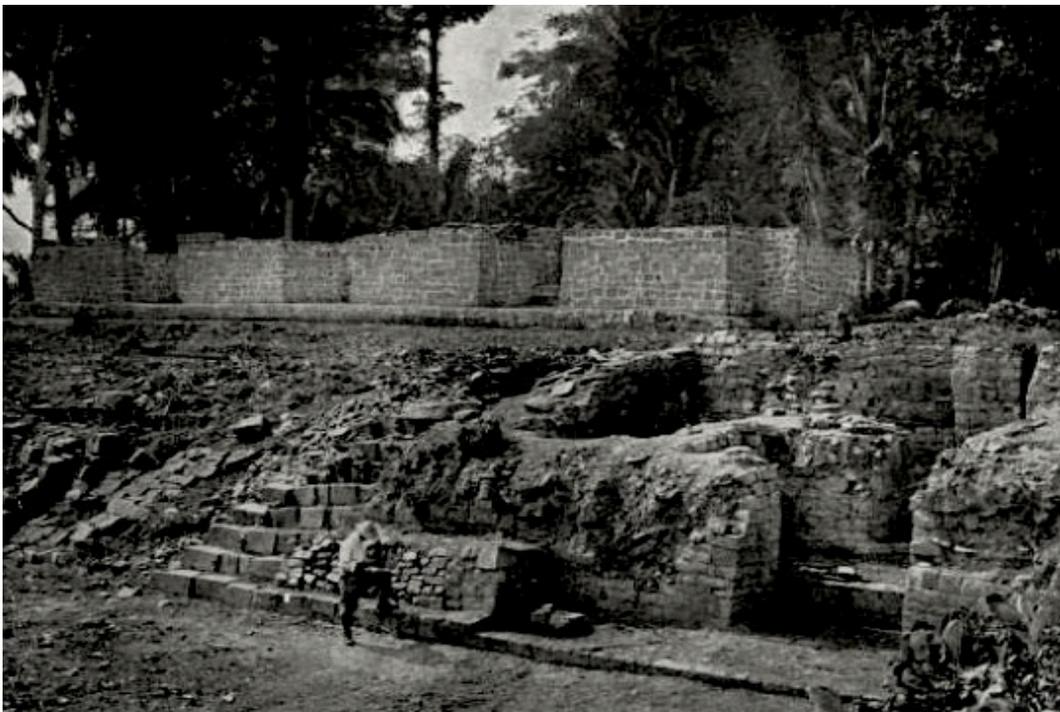


Figure 6.15. View of the south side of the Temple Court after excavation: Contrast with the view shown in Figures 2.4 and 6.2.

Unfortunately, the upper part of the building has suffered most, having fallen at every point, carrying with it all of this sculptured mosaic, not a single stone of which now remains in its original position. This appears very clearly in Figures 6.15 and 6.16, which show the front or north side of Temple A. The walls up to the hieroglyphic cornice are perfectly plain. At the left, where the inscription begins and where the first 15 or 16 hieroglyphics are known, the cornice has now been restored to the position it originally occupied.



Figure 6.16. North façade of Temple A, showing the reconstruction that followed excavation. When the walls were uncovered, they were found to be in an extremely ruinous condition. Most of the building blocks had to be re-laid in cement, and all of the walls had to be finished off with a water-proof cap to shed the large annual rainfall. [This is a rare photo that shows Morley's attempt to position the glyphs of the hieroglyphic cornice of Structure 1B-1 (Temple A) in their original position. By 1917 when he returned to the site, many had again fallen to the ground.]

Some Hieroglyphics Deciphered⁷

The hieroglyphic inscriptions presented on the exterior cornice and on the rises of the steps in the three exterior doorways of this temple is of unusual interest. The text on the cornice records the date 9.19.0.0.0 9 Ahau 18 Mol of the Maya chronology, which corresponds approximately to

⁷ See Chapter 5 for discussion of the inscriptions of Structure 1B-1.

540 AD [GMT AD 810].⁸ This date doubtless indicates the time at which Temple A was erected, or at least dedicated. It marks the close of the K'atun 19 of Cycle 9 of the Maya era⁹ and is the latest of all dates yet discovered at Quirigua.

The first two hieroglyphics in the eastern doorway [a and b on Figure 6.17] record the date 9 Ahau 18 Mol, which is exactly 40 days in advance of the date presented on the outside. The third hieroglyphic in the middle doorway [c on Figure 6.17] expresses this distance of 40 days and the fifth and sixth hieroglyphics, e and f, the date 9 Ahau 18 Mol, recorded also on the cornice outside. Finally, the seventh and eighth hieroglyphics in the western doorway g and h [Figure 6.17] declare that this day, 9 Ahau 18 Mol, was the end of the K'atun 19 of Cycle 9, thus repeating the information given on the exterior of the building.

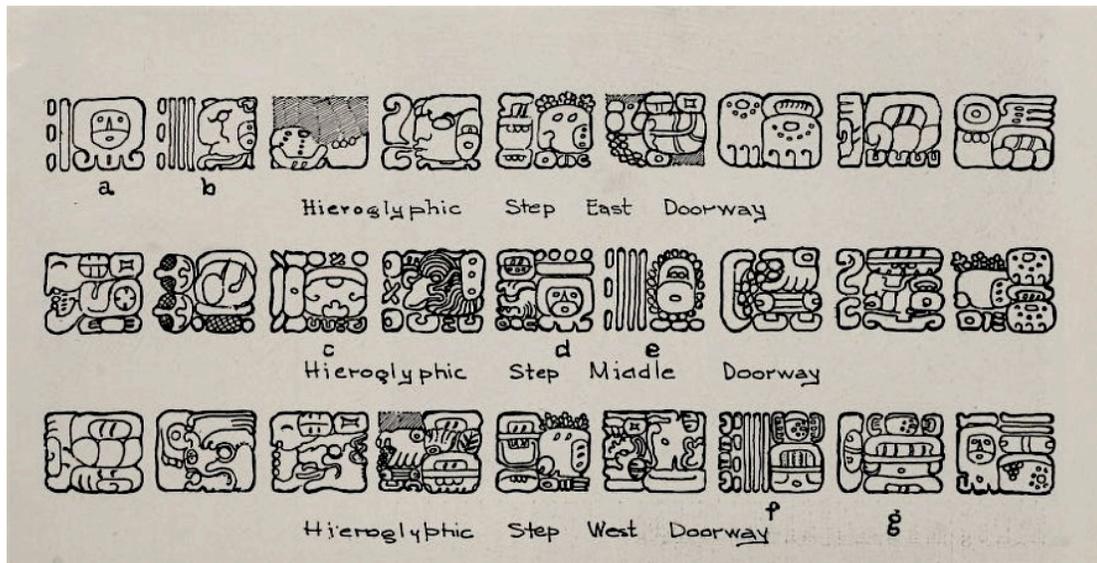


Figure 6.17. Hieroglyphics on the steps of the doorways leading into Temple A. The hieroglyphics marked d, e, f, and g, record the date 9 Ahau 18 Mol at the close of K'atun 19 of Cycle 9 of Maya chronology. This date corresponds approximately to the year 540 [AD 810 GMT] of the Christian Era, and is repeated on the hieroglyphic cornice outside. [See Figures 5.4 and 5.6.]

What Do the Hieroglyphics Hide?

It will be seen from the foregoing that the only Maya hieroglyphics which have been deciphered up to the present time are those which deal with some phase of the calendar, such as day, month, or period signs, and the like. Indeed, all told, the meanings of not more than 50 different

⁸ Original footnote in article: Authorities differ as to the exact correlation of the Maya and Christian chronology. [Note: the correlation here is that proposed by Morley.]

⁹ Original footnote in article: The Maya k'atun comprised 7,200 days, approximately 19¾ years, and 20 k'atuns made a Cycle, nearly 400 years long. Maya Cycle 9 [AD 435–830] was the first historic period of the Maya civilization. [Note: Morley himself went on to discover a Cycle 8 date at Uaxactun. See Rice and Ward 2021: Chapter 21.]

characters have been worked out, leaving in the neighborhood of 150 which are still indeterminate. These undeciphered hieroglyphics probably treat of the events which occurred on the corresponding dates; or, in other words, they probably deal with the subject matter of Maya history.¹⁰ The framework of Maya history—that is, its chronology—no longer presents serious difficulties to the student; but the more human side of this great aboriginal civilization, the records of its wars and conquests, its religious and social movements, its rise and fall, still remain a sealed book.

Structure B

In addition to the temple just described, one other building (Structure B [Structure 2]) was excavated at Quirigua this year [B on Figure 6.1]. The relation of these two structures appears very clearly in the view of the temple court, shown in the photograph [Figure 6.15]. This Structure B can hardly be classified as a temple, but more readily falls into the dwelling or palace type of Maya structures. It is built on the level of the temple court and does not rise from a sub-structure like the other buildings surrounding this enclosure, which fact somewhat detracts from its dignity and impressiveness. Its ground plan is irregular.

There are no large open chambers rendered further conspicuous by unusual features of decoration, as in Temple A. Instead, the rooms are small and dark, the entrance, shown in Figure 6.18, being the only exterior doorway in the entire building. All of the doorways are provided with pairs of stone hooks for hanging curtains.¹¹ These are set in niches in the walls, two hooks on each side of a doorway—one at the floor level and the other 4 feet above. By means of these the door-hangings could be secured in four places, and prevented from flapping in the wind.

The exterior of Structure B was decorated with a curious sculptural mosaic shown in Figure 6.19. This design occurs at each of the four corners and in the middle of the back and side walls. It is a variation of the grotesque head motive found throughout the Maya area. In this particular example the incisor teeth are as prominent as Colonel Roosevelt's, and the first tourist who saw the head immediately called it the original Roosevelt grin. Under this name its fame rapidly spread, until it became the chief point of tourist interest in the ancient city.

The yield of specimens from the smaller structure exceeded that from Temple A in both quality and quantity. Indeed, the finest specimen recovered during the entire course of the excavations—an effigy vase [Figure 6.20]—came from this apparently insignificant building.

¹⁰ Morley was correct in his assessment of the probable content of Maya hieroglyphic writing, but he later came to the conclusion that the texts contained little more than calendrical and ceremonial information. His influence, and his incorrect assessment about the nature of Maya inscriptions, probably set back the understanding of the ancient Maya by decades. The full realization that the inscriptions held historical information came about in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

¹¹ This is a recess in a door jamb or wall, holding a vertical element of wood or stone, and usually paired with another on the opposite jamb. Curtains could be tied to each vertical element, shielding the interior from view. See description and measurements of one in Temple 3 (1B-3), Chapter 9, page 170).

When discovered, this vase was broken into a score or more of small pieces, and it was not until after these had been put together that its true character was revealed. It is 7 inches [17.8 cm] in height and 3 inches [7.6 cm] in width at the top, flaring slightly at the bottom [see also Chapter 1, page 27, Figure 1.19].

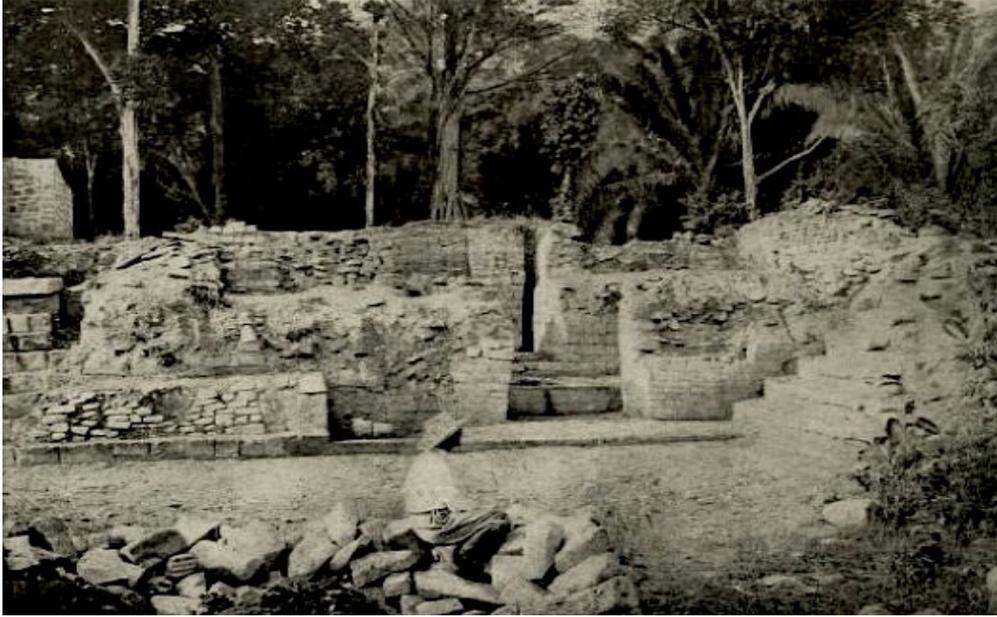


Figure 6.18. View of Structure B after excavation.



Figure 6.19. Remains of a grotesque head [mosaic mask] on the south façade of Structure B. The resemblance of the teeth to Colonel Roosevelt's incisors earned for this head the title "the original Roosevelt grin."

The body of the vase is a rich cream or buff in color, decoration being confined to the fluting already mentioned. The grotesque head which ornaments its front is truly remarkable as an example of free-hand modeling, the features being rendered with a verisimilitude rarely encountered in any aboriginal art. The eyes, ear-rings, fillet, and mouth are painted a dull bluish-white, the beard and fillet decorations being done in a rich shade of red. When discovered, this vase was in fragments on the floor of a back room in a dark and inconspicuous corner.



Figure 6.20. Effigy vase from Structure B. This vase was found in a dark back room. It had been broken into about 22 or 23 pieces, all of which were recovered, with the exception of two very small fragments not exceeding a quarter of an inch in any dimension. It is unquestionably one of the finest examples of the Maya ceramic art that has ever been discovered.

Why Was Quirigua Abandoned?

In finding such an unusual specimen one is prompted to ask, What dire circumstances could have necessitated its having been left behind? Was it abandoned in the extremity of sudden flight or overlooked in the confusion of an equally hurried sack? Or, again, could some general death or universal pestilence have laid low all the hands which might have borne it off? The number of conjectures possible is as endless as such guessing is idle. Such questions by their very nature are destined to remain unanswered until the end of time. In its dark corner, shattered and forgotten, this gem of Maya ceramic art slept undisturbed throughout the centuries, only to be awakened in another day and age by the archaeologist's shovel.

Decidedly the most unique article recovered during the course of the work was a series of small worked hematites found near the effigy vase above described. For the most part these were hexagonal in shape, about 1/16 of an inch [0.4 cm] in thickness and not over an inch [2.5 cm] in thickness and not over an inch in width between any two points. One side was very highly polished in each case, the other being ground smooth. The edges were beautifully cut, and in some cases finished off round, as though such pieces had formed the border of some mosaic. The use of these curious little stones is unknown.

The Age of the Buildings

One important point which the excavation of Temple A and Structure B settled beyond dispute was the relative ages of the two buildings. After the southern side of the temple court had been partially excavated it became apparent that the small building in the southwest corner--i.e., Structure B--belonged to an earlier epoch than the imposing temple which towered above it. Indeed, Structure B is almost entirely surrounded by the platform of the larger building, which indicates that it was already standing when the foundations of Temple A were laid. This appears very clearly in Figures 6.16 and 6.18, where Temple A is seen to be on top of the terrace built around Structure B. Except that it was erected at some time prior to Katun 19 (the date inscribed on Temple A), no definite conclusion as to the age of Structure B can be reached.

However, since the very earliest date at Quirigua only precedes Katun 19 by 87 years, it is probable that Structure B was built sometime during the century preceding Katun 19, or during the period 440–540 AD [AD 710–810 GMT].

The excavation and repair of the two buildings above described constituted the work of the present year at Quirigua. When these ancient structures were finally uncovered, it was found necessary to make extensive repairs in order to preserve them from speedy deterioration and decay. The building stones had to be re-laid in concrete and the walls plumbed and finished off with a waterproof cap of cement to shed the enormous annual rainfall. These permanent improvements, however, necessarily consumed much time, and scarcely had been brought to a close before the rainy season set in, putting a stop to all work, excavation as well as repair.

The Real Work Yet to Be Done

So far as the possibilities of the site are concerned, the ground at Quirigua may be regarded as having been little more than scratched. The Temple Court [Acropolis] alone has four other buildings surrounding it, to say nothing of the remaining courts and plazas of the city. It is the purpose of the School for American Archaeology to continue excavations here until an exhaustive study of the site has been made; for only through systematic investigations extending over a number of years can these great centers of the Maya civilization be made to tell their interesting story and contribute their quota to the record of man's progress and development.

Meanwhile, in the deep twilight of a tropical jungle, the crumbling remains of this once proud city lie forgotten, its builders unknown, and its very name lost in oblivion—a melancholy commentary on its vanished glory.

CHAPTER 7.

JOURNEY TO COPAN (1912)¹

by Earl H. Morris

When excavations at Quirigua closed in June of 1912, Morley took me with him to Copan. By prearrangement, from Zacapa on, there travelled with us Adrián Recinos, one day to be Guatemalan Minister to the United States, and a geologist named Fernando Cruz. Already Morley was well remembered at Copan. The *comandante* greeted him most cordially and gave us as sleeping quarters a room in the long single-row building that flanked the west side of the plaza. Food was to be provided by a certain Doña, whose name I have forgotten. And what food it was! The memory that has survived the years is of thick, soggy tortillas and chicken scalded slightly more than would have been necessary for easy plucking. There was partial famine in the valley that year.

After a brief look at the ruins following our arrival, Señores Recinos and Cruz rode on toward whatever may have been their destination. Before the clatter of their mounts had died away, Morley had turned to his purpose, which was to find further portions of inscriptions, parts of which he had recorded on previous visits. The stone fence that bordered the trail from the modern village to the ancient city had been built in part of broken-up stelae. We would peek and pry into the crevices of the dry-laid masonry until a sculptured fragment was discerned, and then make the breach necessary to recover it. Morley would glance at it, roll it aside with a sputter of disgust, or, if it was something that he sought, squat to copy the carving in the notebook that he could produce from somewhere on any occasion.

When the possibilities afforded by the fence and the dwellings which had recently been constructed in the village seemed to have been exhausted, we moved down to the center of the ancient city. Morley went on with his quest for inscriptions and I began a task assigned to me before we left Quirigua. It was to place a marker at the grave of a member of a Peabody Expedition who had died of fever at Copan [Figure 7.1].

A neatly-hewn block from some ancient structure lay not far away. I worried it over to and finally inside the tumbled row of stones that enclosed the spot of interment and placed it with best side up at the end where I hoped his head might lie. With a chisel spared by the geologist and a hammer borrowed from the village cobbler, I set out to carve:

¹ Originally published in *Morleyana: A Collection of Writings in Memoriam of Sylvanus Griswold Morley—1883–1949* (Anderson 1950: 154–159). Reproduced by permission of the School for Advanced Research.

John Owen 1893
A Martyr to Science

The work went so slowly and so poorly under my untrained touch that it seemed I had scarcely made a beginning when Morley came by on the way back to the village for lunch.



Figure 7.1. The stone chiseled by Earl Morris in 1912 to mark John Owen's grave.

"Earl," he said, "I've found an inscription I never saw before on a stem in a stairway down toward the south side. Only the left end of the glyph shows. I hope you can uncover the rest of it for me this afternoon."

Lunch and a brief siesta over, we went to his find with a nearly worn-out shovel loaned by the *comandante* from the store of tools which had served the villagers well since they had been left behind by the Peabody people years before. Morley went off to pursue ends of his own and I began to dig. A native came along and for a small coin agreed to help for the rest of the day. With his machete to cut the roots that bound the talus, we made good progress until we encountered a crack between two of the blocks, from which a cloud of black bees boiled. The Indian was determined to pry out the blocks to reach the honey in the nest behind them. It took strong arguments to induce him to leave them alone until the *patrón* could draw and photograph them as they lay. We plastered mud over the crack to keep as many of the bees as possible inside and by the time the sun had dipped behind the purple of the western hills the last member of the glyphic band had been laid bare.

That evening was an uneasy one for me. There could be no doubt that Morley was ill. Beginning with the second night in the village, he had moaned and mumbled through hours of

restless tossing. If, during the daylight hours, he sat still for a moment, he would sink into an immediate stupor. But he had not acknowledged the fact, nor shown a sign of weakening.

As soon as it was light the following morning, we went back, he to copy the inscription on the stair step, I to complete Owen's epitaph. I was doing the last letters of the final word when his voice sounded from behind me. "Got most of it. Can finish easily this afternoon." He came closer, laid a hand on my shoulder and looked down at the gravestone. Suddenly the hand became heavy with most of the weight of the body behind it. "My God, Earl," he sobbed, "I don't want to go like Owen did. Let's get out of here."

By two o'clock there had been assembled the minimum number of mules that could carry us and our impedimenta on the outward journey—the *mulada* that brought us in was not to have returned for us until two days later. Somewhere I got hold of an eight-foot length of heavy rope. As we passed the first tree that leaned low over the trail, I cut a forked limb. With one branch of the fork cut off at about four inches length, well-sharpened and the other left long for a handle, I had a sort of goad with which by raking the belly of my mule, I could startle it out of a walk. By the use of the goad on my own mount, and the rope to lash the other whenever I got close enough, we hit a pace to which the creatures were not accustomed.

Late in the afternoon we paused at the single thatched hut that constituted a stopping place called Anchor. There was no maize ground for tortillas, but the crone of the hut could provide us with a boiled egg apiece and tea. As she turned to the glow of charcoal on the cooking bench, Morley stretched out on his back in the inches-deep dust that floored the portal and instantly was asleep. A mother turkey came by with her scrawny brood. One of them fluttered up onto Morley's stomach, walked along his torso, hopped to his chin, and after a brief inspection, began to peck at the right lens of his glasses. With a sputter of disgust, he swept the wee thing off, then got up to take a seat opposite me on a bench that ran along the huge slab table. His face tightened into a grimace of revulsion. Glancing in the direction of his gaze I saw a small child who had been sitting, naked, with upright trunk and outstretched legs. Straightening her arms by her sides, she had raised herself enough to squeeze out a bit of excrement between her body and the earth. This accomplished, she rolled over to one side and crawled unconcernedly away. Soon Morley cursed and his face tightened again. A somewhat older girl was scooping up one handful of dust after another, slowly and methodically to let it run between her fingers like the trickle in an hourglass, upon the smaller child's deposit until it was completely hidden from view. The meal was served. Morley had just cracked his egg when he screamed an oath and jumped up to launch a vicious kick at a gaunt dog that had scooped the morsel from the dust and was swallowing as he made off with it. Morley heaved amidships and headed for the post to which his mule was tethered. The opened egg and the black-red tea remained untouched upon the table.

By dark we reached the border town of Jocotán. After reading our credentials, the *comandante* placed his office at our disposal for the night. In one corner stood a bedstead—a simple legged affair, laced across with a plaiting of inch-wide strips of cowhide. As soon as Morley's blankets were spread upon it and he between them, he sent me across the plaza to a druggist's shop in search of a liniment that might dull the terrific aching of his left shoulder. As I was rubbing in what the shopkeeper recommended, a bit of brown came crawling up over a fold in the blanket. I crushed it and said not a word. But the scent travelled. "Ay, *pulgas*," [fleas] Morley shouted, and he was on his feet in an instant. We pried apart some of the crossing of the cowhide strips. Every

one was crowded full of bed bugs of impressive size. Morley glanced about. With one movement of his arm he swept the *comandante's* desk free of papers, pens, inkwells, everything, and on that hard surface he writhed and twisted through a miserable night.

The early hours of the next morning went fairly well. But as we descended toward the plain, the sun burned down with ever increasing fury. Morley's fever rose. For moments he would be rational, then lapse into the incoherence of delirium, weaving and tottering in the saddle with every threat of falling out of it. To guard against this, I used my driving rope to lash his feet tightly across beneath the belly of the mule. Although the trail seemed endless as it led off into the heat shimmer ahead, there was nothing to do but push on. Finally, at 1:45 we drew up beside the frame railroad men's barracks at the Zacapa station. We had covered in just short of 24 hours what had taken two full days going in.

When the rope was untied, Morley slid into my arms like a bag of salt. I carried him through an open doorway to a cot that showed invitingly within. In those days the bar at the far end of the barracks offered the most refreshing drink it has been my lot to quaff—fresh lime juice squeezed into simple syrup, served in a huge tall glass with ice and carbonated water. A lump of ice rubbed over Morley's cheeks and forehead brought him to full consciousness. He tugged at the straws with the avidity of a nursing lamb and when the glass was drained, closed his eyes in what I hoped would be a long and restful sleep. I went round to the bar for a drink on my own account. Upon my return I witnessed as forceful a demonstration of the relentless drive and unquenchable spirit of the man that I was ever to behold in years of subsequent association. There he sat with shirt open, one trouser leg on, one off, huddled over the ubiquitous notebook. He said, "They'll wreck that inscription for the honey behind it. Got to draw those terminal glyphs before I forget..." At that point he slumped forward in a dead faint.

CHAPTER 8.

DISEASE AND DEATH ON THE MAYA TRAIL

Nearly all of us who have worked in rural areas of Mesoamerica have had our share of encounters with tropical illnesses²—insect-borne, water-borne, and food-borne—and Morley was no exception. Cholera, intestinal disorders, and other often undiagnosed ailments were significant threats to early archaeological work in the Maya area, but among the most widespread and dangerous diseases were two spread by mosquitoes—yellow fever and malaria (yellow fever is so named because of the jaundiced color of the victim’s skin; malaria comes from medieval Latin *mala aria*, or bad air). Malaria remains to this day one of the major causes of death in warmer climates.³ The list of Mayanists who were sick—often mortally so—in the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century is long: John Lloyd Stephens died of malaria in Panama in 1852 (Brunhouse 1973: 109); Alfred Maudslay and Henry Sweet had malaria at Chichen Itza (Graham 2002: 163); Maler was seriously ill along the Usumacinta in 1897 (Brunhouse 1975: 15); John Owens died at Copan in 1893, possibly of yellow fever; Raymond Merwin’s career and life were cut short by a decades-long bout with Chagas disease⁴; and Jesse Nusbaum, Joe Spinden, Tatiana Proskouriakoff, Earl Morris, Edwin Shook,⁵ and Gustav Stromvik all reported severe cases of malaria at one time or another in their long careers (Chauvenet 1983: 86; Brunhouse 1975: 105; Solomon 2002: 53; Shook 1998: 218, 40, 218, 222). Morley suffered greatly from malaria and it is generally accepted that his death in 1949 from cardiovascular disease at the age of 65 was probably aggravated by his many years of battling recurrent bouts of fever.

Although malaria was endemic in the Maya lowlands, and especially so in the eastern lowlands, yellow fever, then also known as Yellow Jack, was an equally feared disease in the region. Unlike malaria, which could be treated with quinine sulfate, yellow fever’s symptoms had to be endured until recovery or death.⁶ And also unlike malaria, which was a constant presence,

² The present editors included, via cases of hepatitis and dengue fever (PMR) and malaria (CW).

³ In 2019 there were 229 million cases of malaria world-wide, resulting in over 400,000 deaths (<https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/malaria>).

⁴ In 1909 while at Nakum, Merwin was bitten on the face by an insect, a bite that became infected and left him debilitated for decades and caused his early death in 1928. His overall decline has been attributed to Chagas disease, possibly the result of a parasite delivered by this bite (Kevin Merwin, personal communication to CW, October 2021).

⁵ During World War II, Shook headed up an extensive operation in Guatemala to grow the quinine tree, *Cinchona pubescens*, to supply quinine sulfate to US troops fighting in the tropics. At the height of the program Shook had 60 million trees under cultivation (Shook 1998: 86–92).

⁶ An effective vaccine against yellow fever was developed in 1937 by Max Theiler.

yellow fever appeared in outbreaks. A viral disease that infects humans and other primates, the sickness is spread via the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito. The fear of Yellow Jack largely stems from the unparalleled number of deaths from this disease that occurred during the construction of the Panama Canal—some 22,000 Frenchmen died between 1881 and 1889, almost all from yellow fever or malaria (Ward 1991: 23–24). In the first decade of the twentieth century, great strides were made, largely in Panama by American doctor William Gorgas, in eliminating the mosquito vector that spread both yellow fever and malaria, the result of which was a great reduction in the number of deaths among workers. At that time, the Panama Canal Zone was the most modern and well-equipped plot of land in Central America; the elimination of mosquitoes in places like the Peten jungles or the Yucatan scrub forests was not possible.

Some scholars have speculated that yellow fever may have been mentioned in the indigenous books of *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* and of *Tizimin*, where the word *xekik*—bloody vomiting—occurs (Boshell 1955: 66). Most, however, believe the disease arrived, along with malaria, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries via enslaved Africans (Castro and Singer 2005: 340; Oldstone 2009: 102–104), as both diseases were endemic to the African continent. Symptoms of both include fever, chills, nausea, headaches, and muscle and joint pain. In more severe cases of yellow fever, abdominal pain occurs in the second week, followed by the liver damage that causes the patient’s skin to turn yellow, and internal bleeding can cause victims to vomit coagulated blood that appears like black coffee grounds.⁷ The yellow fever virus can infect most primates, including howler monkeys, in addition to humans.

A graphic account of an outbreak of yellow fever along the Río Pasión is recounted in Jorge Boshell M.’s symposium paper “Yellow Fever in Central America” (1955: 67):

Around 1882, Felix Castellaños, a child of ten, accompanied his father to a logging camp along the Pasión River. Roughly one month after the arrival...while the campsite was still being cleared, people began to die. They were seized by a terrible fever, vomited ‘black ground coffee’ and in the following days became intensely yellow. This man lost his two brothers and a sister in that manner.

The camp was abandoned by most of the terrified survivors. One day the boy [Castellaños] was alone nursing his sick siblings, when through the door of the hut he noticed a band of howler monkeys, which usually came to a guanacaste tree (*Higuronia*)⁸ close to the camp. Suddenly he was amazed to see one of the monkeys drop to the ground. Soon after, another fell from the tree, and this continued to happen throughout the day; the monkeys hung on to the tree for a while, then dropped.... When his father came back from the forest, in the evening, the boy told him what he had observed. ‘Of course,’ answered the lumberman, ‘this has been happening for some time in the forest. The whole place reeks with the stench of them.’

When considering extending field activities in Central America for his School for American Archaeology (see Chapter 1), Edgar Hewett wrote in a letter to Morley that his biggest concern was sickness among his staff. This concern stemmed from their work at Quirigua after their first

⁷ <https://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/yellow-fever>.

⁸ The guanacaste tree, now classified as *Enterolobium cyclocarpum*, is in the Fabaceae family.

season (1910), where both Percival Adams and Jesse Nusbaum had lingering illnesses that they could not shake. In the same letter, Hewett speculated about one particular tropical fever: “I have a well-defined notion that the so-called black-water fever down there is merely a prolongation of the common malaria and is really dangerous.”⁹ In fact, Hewett was correct in his theory: black-water fever is indeed a serious complication of one variant of malaria which results in chills, very high fever, jaundice, vomiting, anemia, and dark red or black urine. Black-water fever was so prevalent in the Quirigua region it was locally called Motagua fever (Long 2006: 13).

Quirigua played a unique and important role in fighting disease in Central America because of the presence of the United Fruit Company and its associated hospital. United Fruit began operations in Guatemala in 1904 and by 1913 had 126,189 acres under banana cultivation (Long 2006: 10). The company divided its Guatemalan project into two divisions, one along the Pacific coast and the other, the Bananera Division, in the eastern part of the country in the Motagua valley. Quirigua was selected as the headquarters for this division largely because the fertile ground around Quirigua was the site of the largest of the company’s expansive banana plantations. United Fruit built and operated a railroad, from the Caribbean coast to Guatemala City, that ran through town. If the spot was an ideal headquarters from a commercial perspective, it was a very poor choice in terms of climate and health. As early as the 1840s, John Lloyd Stephens noted that the Department of Izabal (where Quirigua is located) was a very sickly place:

The constant rains, river flooding, and heat provided ideal conditions for the reproduction of arthropod vectors. Thus, the inhabitants of the valley were afflicted not only by the general epidemics that swept the entire country (yellow fever, 1851 and 1895; cholera, 1837 and 1857; smallpox, 1879 to 1881), they were subject to the additional hazards of dysentery, typhoid, influenza, acute respiratory infections, whooping cough, syphilis and parasitism, including hookworm. (Long 2006: 13).¹⁰

United Fruit, employing thousands of workers across the region, faced the daunting task of providing medical services not only for its U.S. nationals working in the tropics, but also for the Guatemalan, Jamaican, and Honduran (both British and Spanish) workforce required to provide manual labor for plantation operations. Although small clinics were established in most United Fruit satellite stations, the company’s largest medical facility—indeed the largest medical facility in Central America in the first decades of the twentieth century—was established at Quirigua under the direction of Dr. Neil Percy Macphail (Figures 8.1, 8.2) (Aliano 2006).¹¹ The original hospital at Quirigua was named Dartmouth Hospital, after the alma mater of one of its early leading physicians, but in 1913 the new, modern, 150-bed facility was opened, marking a milestone in the medical history of the area (Figure 8.3). Built of cement and steel against potential earthquake damage at an expense of \$150,000, the new hospital housed the most up-to-date medical equipment available at the time (Long 2006: 16–17; United Fruit Co. 1913: 43–44).

⁹ Hewett to Morley, September 27, 1911 (HP Box 9, file 1).

¹⁰ Perhaps malaria went unmentioned in this listing because it was ubiquitous.

¹¹ The Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica in Antigua [CIRMA], Guatemala, houses Dr. Macphail’s extensive collection of photographs, which chronicle his forty years of service in the United Fruit Company’s medical division at Quirigua.



Figure 8.1. Morley (left) and Dr. Macphail in the 1940s. They remained close friends until Morley's death in 1948. Macphail died one year later.

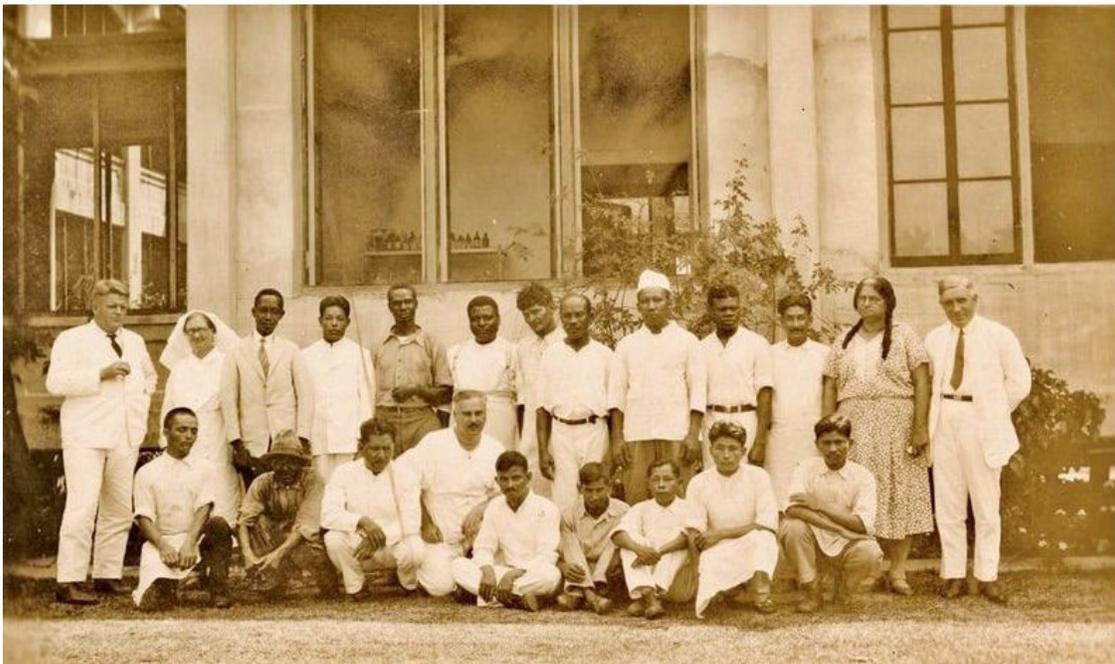


Figure 8.2. Staff of the Quirigua Hospital circa 1930 (Macphail on the right, back row).



Figure 8.3. The new Quirigua Hospital when it opened in 1913.

Insight into the diseases that were treated at the Quirigua hospitals in 1913 can be found in the United Fruit Medical Department annual report, in which patients are broken down by race (Figure 8.4). The higher number of Blacks represented in this table reflects the smaller population of Whites at the site. All told, in 1913 more than 700 individuals had cases of malaria severe enough to warrant some level of hospital care. No doubt the addition of un-hospitalized or undiagnosed patients would greatly expand this number.

Although there was no outbreak of yellow fever in 1913 at Quirigua,¹² the cases of malaria in its various forms were numerous and by far the most frequent serious illness treated at the hospital. In terms of death, in 1913, 69 United Fruit employees in the Guatemala division lost their lives, with the top four causes representing more than half the fatalities: general pneumonia (17), tuberculosis or phthisis (10), malaria (9), and dysentery (5) (United Fruit Co. 1913: 59–60). The other listed causes of death include homicide, machete wounds, burns, and senility.

Morley himself never seems to have had yellow fever, but he was not so fortunate in terms of malaria. We have two detailed accounts of Morley's early bouts with malaria (in addition to returning fevers he mentions in his diaries), the first in the form of a letter from Morley to Edgar Hewett dated April 11, 1909; the second dates from 1912 and was written by Morley's fellow archaeologist Earl Morris (presented as Chapter 7, above).

¹² In 1920 an outbreak of yellow fever was severe enough for authorities to order the town quarantined (Long 2006: 22).

TABLE SHOWING CLASSIFICATION OF DISEASES.

Diseases.	Dartmouth.		Quirigua.		Total.
	W.	B.	W.	B.	
GENERAL DISEASES.					
Malaria, Estivo-autumnal	9	-	-	2	11
Malaria, Tertian	46	125	-	-	171
Malaria, Undetermined	6	8	-	379	393
Malaria, Clinical	6	92	-	-	98
Malaria, Cachexia	2	41	-	-	43
Hemoglobinuric Fever	-	4	-	-	4
Dysentery	1	4	-	21	26
Inc. Dysentery, Amœbic	-	8	-	-	8
Inc. Dysentery, Bacillary	-	2	-	-	2
Inc. Dysentery, Clinical	1	3	-	-	4
Erysipelas	-	-	-	1	1
Mumps	-	13	-	1	14
Tuberculosis of the Lungs	2	18	-	1	21
Inc. Tuberculosis of Bones and Joints	-	1	-	-	1
Syphilis, Secondary	-	11	-	-	11
Syphilis, Tertiary	-	5	-	-	5
Soft Chancre	1	7	-	-	8
Inc. Adenitis, Chancroidal	4	4	-	14	22
Gonococcus Infection.	2	11	-	12	25
Inc. Gonorrhœa	3	13	-	11	27
Inc. Gonorrhœal Arthritis.	-	3	-	-	3
Inc. Gonorrhœal Ophthalmia	-	1	-	-	1
Tumors (Tumors of the Female Genital Organs excepted)	-	1	-	-	1
Acute Articular Rheumatism	1	19	-	10	30
Chronic Rheumatism and Gout	1	17	-	3	21
Inc. Gout	-	1	-	-	1
Inc. Muscular Rheumatism	-	8	-	2	10
Leucæmia	-	3	-	-	3
Anæmia, Chlorosis	1	15	-	-	16
Inc. Anæmia, Primary, Pernicious	1	3	-	-	4
Other General Diseases	3	2	-	25	30
Alcoholism (Acute or Chronic).	1	-	-	-	1
Inc. Alcoholism, Acute	-	2	-	-	2

Figure 8.4. Listing of major illnesses treated at the two Quirigua hospitals in 1913.

In early 1909, Morley received a grant of \$500 from Charles P. Bowditch to support travel to Yucatan, funding that would cover expenses until Morley's School for American Archaeology salary kicked in later that year. Morley took his new wife, Alice, with him on this trip, during which he visited Chichen Itza and several ruins in the Puuc Hills to map the orientations of the principal structures at each site. It was at Kabah that Morley became sick. Excerpts from his letter to Hewett tell the story in Morley's own words (Figure 8.5):



The New Porter's Hotel

SAN JUAN DE LETRAN No. 12.

THE LEADING AMERICAN HOTEL OF MEXICO CITY.

~~~~~

This Hotel is Conducted on that High Standard of Excellence that Always Pleases the Public.

México, April 11<sup>th</sup>

[1909]

My Dear Mr. Hewett

Here Alice and I are in Mexico City for the days preparatory to leaving for the States. It all fell out quite of necessity and equally unexpectedly, but to begin at the beginning. On March 22<sup>nd</sup> I completed the orientation of all the principal structures at Uxmal after three weeks of exceptionally hard work. Hard for several reasons first because the ruins are located  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles from the hacienda where we stopped, and

Figure 8.5. First page of Morley's April 11 letter to Edgar Hewett from Mexico City.

Dated from the New Porter's Hotel in Mexico City  
April 11th, 1909

My Dear Mr. Hewett

Here Alice and I are in Mexico City for the days preparatory to leaving for the States. It all fell out quite of necessity and equally unexpectedly, but to begin at the beginning. On March 22<sup>nd</sup> I completed the orientation of the principal structures at Uxmal after three weeks of exceptionally hard work. Hard for several reasons. First, because the ruins are located  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles from the hacienda where we stopped, and I walked that distance twice a day under a sun which was always growing hotter. Then, too, I worked very rapidly long hours, etc., to finish the site so as to be able to

complete Labna and Kabah also before May 1st. On March 22 we returned to Merida where I only remained four days to outfit for my final trip into the field.

We left Merida March 25th and reached the ruins of Kabah on March 26th, which was Friday. I made a good camp, selecting one of the ruins as our home, establishing latrine, etc., and made my initial observation on the North Star that night. The next day, Sat., I was surprised at having a slight fever, but thinking it some passing indigestional disturbance worked just the same. Sunday our clinical thermometer showed a fever of 102 Fahrenheit, and I went to bed feeling miserable; all Sunday this fever continued and all Sunday night and Monday as it showed no signs of abatement. I sent one of my Indians to Ticul for a doctor (Ticul nearest town, 21 miles [33.8 km] distance from Kabah).

The doctor said, when he arrived Monday afternoon, that I had *paludismo*, a species of malaria, and that it would leave the next day. He gave me nitra and quinine and toward evening my fever falling somewhat, he left saying I would be well in the morning. The next day, Tuesday the 30th, my fever rose again steadily despite his medicines, reaching a new highwater mark of 103. Alice, poor little woman, was desperate. No one to help her but our two Indian boys into whose hands we put ourselves. They fixed up some kind of a bath with herbs and hot water, bathed me and within an hour I was breaking out in a violent sweat and fever free. They were much rejoiced saying it had left for good.

Not so, unfortunately. Wednesday the 31st it came up again, and Thurs and Fri and Sat. Each day I hung on thinking it would be the last, and each day the fever returned falling toward midnight, rising toward noon, reaching its daily culmination about 8 or 9 pm at the neighborhood of 102 or 102½. By Sat. this fever had so weakened me that I could not walk (the 8th day) and so Alice insisted on my going back to Merida, and to tell the truth I was too miserable to care one way or the other. A doctor was sent for and a *volan*. My two Indian boys carried me to the latter and on reaching Ticul I was carried to the train. We reached Merida [on] Sunday, April 4th and I summoned a good physician. He confirmed the Ticul physician's report. I had a kind of intermittent malaria. In Merida, despite doses of quinine amounting to 30 grains every morning, the fever, now fortunately much lower, still persisted. Indeed, the physician said little short of leaving Yucatan for a time would expel it completely from my system. I disliked this idea of going with the last third of my work unfinished, but he said that should I remain in Merida it would be quite out of the question for me to take the field at the earliest before two weeks, and very likely three, and that what with my weakened condition and the excessive heat of the sun (which is hottest just before the rains in May) he was very much opposed to any laboring in the field again this season.

As I saw myself that I was too weak to go at once to the field and that three weeks would bring me to the end of April, my legitimate closing point, I asked him to draw a formal certificate stating his opinion and forthwith made plans to leave the country. Our tickets read to Vera Cruz, and thinking perhaps the high altitude of the capital would knock this malaria fever out of me better than anything else, we left Progreso

April 10th and took the night sleeper for the city where we arrived this morning, Easter Sunday. As I write I still have the fever, but believe it will leave me shortly...<sup>13</sup>

At some point Alice also became infected with malaria, as Morley wrote to Hewett in late 1911 that Alice was fighting off a severe case of the disease.<sup>14</sup> Despite this, Morley decided to bring his entire family—his wife and their one-year old daughter—with him to Quirigua for the 1912 season of excavations, even while acknowledging how unhealthy conditions were at the site.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, during the 1912 field season both Alice and daughter True were often sick (see Chapter 2), but not apparently from a severe disease. Morley himself became deathly ill shortly after excavations closed in June while on a side trip to Copan with Earl Morris and had to be strapped to a mule to be extricated (Chapter 7). For many years to come, Morley would suffer returning bouts of malaria, including an aggressive onslaught in 1917 (Ward and Rice 2021: 83–84). In 1925 he had to leave Chichen Itza to return to the States for emergency medical treatment, possibly the result of another emergence of malarial fever (Brunhouse 1971: 224).

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<sup>13</sup> HP Box 9, folder 1.

<sup>14</sup> Letter from Morley to Hewett, September 27, 1911 (HP Box 9, folder 1).

<sup>15</sup> Letter from Morley to Hewett, October 15, 1911 (HP Box 9, folder 1).

## CHAPTER 9

### THE 1919 SEASON AT QUIRIGUA

#### Quirigua, Thursday, May 1

Came up from Virginia<sup>1</sup> with Smith in his car, roused Chico, who was sleeping amid a great confusion of heterogeneous baggage and freight in the station, and changed into khaki. Weightman introduced me to a good husky Belize man, Alexander Ifield, whom I took on as foreman, and sent out forthwith to build up a gang, at \$1.50 per day. Next went up to the hospital, where I saw Deverall and Keyho—the Vice C. D. is returning to the States today owing to the same trouble I have been having for the past few days. On comparing notes, we think we got it at his boarding house at the same time. He decided not to come down to the ruins. Keyho said he would, however, after getting into khaki. I had to wait until after the train came in to see how many huskies Major was sending me up from Puerto Barrios, and before the train came in, I arranged with Smith for shovels, picks, crowbars, wheelbarrows, and planking for runways.

The train brought me one old decrepit Jamaican, hoary with age and tottery with years, gray of beard and watery of eye, one Boy Jackson. Oh boy, he had better have been. With Chico then, and a Guatemalteco—Habier [Javier] Espama—whom Smith turned over to me, my foreman, a really good man I believe, Oh Boy, and Keyho, we set off for the ruins in Smith's car. When I was here last Friday (April 26th), I arranged with Landry and Welles, the *mandador* [manager] of Maya Farm<sup>2</sup> where I am to eat my lunches, to have the bush cleared to the ground over the sites of Temples 3 and 4—indeed, Welles came with me to see what I wanted to be done.

Before leaving Quirigua,<sup>3</sup> we picked up the digging tools at Smith's bodega and then came on down to the ruins. Welles' gang had completed the clearing of Temple 4 and were half through with Temple 3 [Figures 9.1].<sup>4</sup> I put Alexander and his two men on the east side of Temple 4 on a level about 5 feet [1.52 m] above the temple terrace level and started them working in looking for

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<sup>1</sup> Virginia, also known as Nueva Virginia, is a small town on the train line between Puerto Barrios and Guatemala City, about 15 km northeast of (i.e., before) Quirigua (see map, Figure 1.1).

<sup>2</sup> The Finca Maya was a large banana plantation about 1 km northeast of the Acropolis of Quirigua. A farm (*finca*) by that name still exists at the location.

<sup>3</sup> When Morley writes Quirigua he means the town of Quirigua, and more specifically the United Fruit Company compound, as distinct from "Old Quirigua," which is the Guatemalan town. The ruins of Quirigua are always called "the ruins" in Morley's writings.

<sup>4</sup> These buildings on the west side of the plaza are today known as Structures 1B-4 and 1B-3, respectively. None are "temples," as Morley calls them, but rather administrative-residential.

the exterior of the eastern façade. A close study of the surface of the entire mound failed to establish the presence of any cut stones, and I am very much afraid this temple, like No. 5 on the adjacent (north) side, was built of rough stone, laid in the thick red clay as usual here, and that a finish of plaster was relied upon to even up the surface inequalities, a slovenly method at best, and one which makes me fear already that I won't find any hieroglyphic steps leading to the chamber inside.

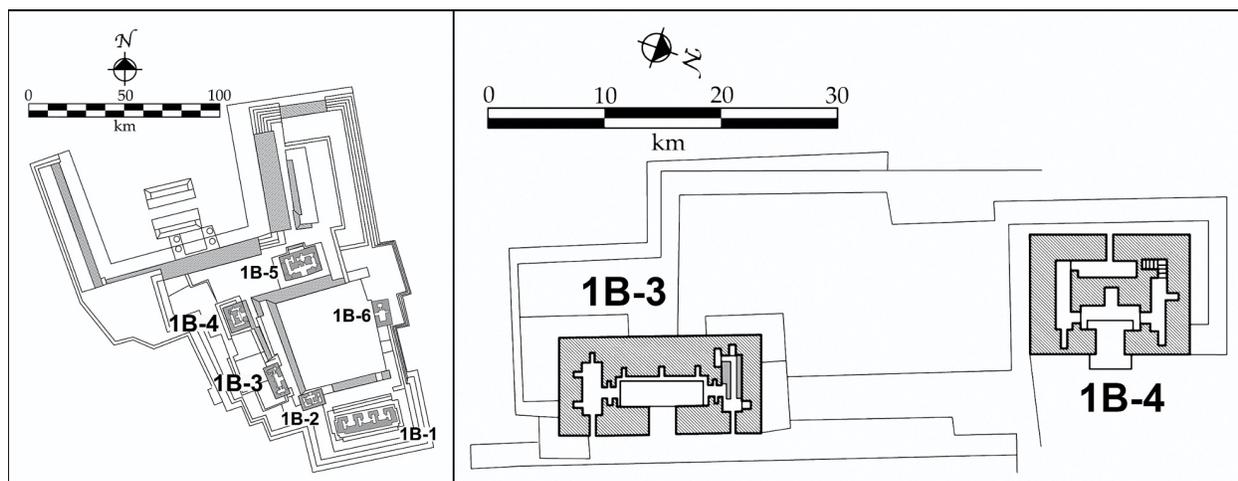


Figure 9.1. The Quirigua Acropolis (left); Structures 1B-3 and 1B-4 (right).

Just before I left for lunch, who should turn up but my old foreman, Hamilton Wray. I engaged him forthwith to engage a native gang for Temple 3 to start tomorrow and he promises to have five at work the first thing in the morning. I have decided to begin work at 6, work until 11, knock off for an hour and a half for lunch, and then work from 12:30 to 4. By that time, they will be all burned out, and myself ready for a shower. At eleven, Keyho, myself, and Chico left the dig and walked over to Maya Farm, I should say a scant mile from the Temple Plaza. My lurching with the Welleses can be nothing short of a rank nuisance, but both Welles and Mrs. Welles were very kind about it. It's an imposition they are used to, living in the nonstrategic position of being the nearest house to the ruins. I met here a chap, Hahnemann, who I came down with two years ago in April, the tattooing expert. He opened the question—discussed two years ago—of tattooing some Maya glyph on me “real artistically.” I thought seriously about having 13 Pax, my birthday (June 7th) done then, and am considering it even now. It isn't the pain I dread. That would be nothing. It's the idea of a blemish on the skin one would have to live with for life. I doubt whether I'll have nerve enough to put it through.

While at Maya Farm, Smith called me up to say that the boundary commission<sup>5</sup>—seven American engineers, geologists, bureau of agriculture experts, etc., etc. would come down to the

<sup>5</sup> This was a large-scale survey conducted by the American Geographical Society in May and June of 1919. In addition to clarifying the boundary between Guatemala and Honduras, the commission conducted a major economic survey of the eastern Guatemala and western Honduras along the Motagua River (Platt 1929: 323–326; N.A. 1933: 306).

ruins at four to “see” them and would I take them over, etc., etc. This was quite like old times again and carried me back to that most memorable of all visits when Secretary of State Knox and party visited the ruins in 1913<sup>6</sup> en route to Puerto Barrios. I was to be at the ruins path at four to meet them and conduct them through personally.

I came back to the dig and found Chico had gone back to Quirigua with a sore eye, and Oh Boy had caved in with the heat. He told Alexander his head turned around too fast in this work, and had also departed for Quirigua. Keyho and Hahnemann came down about 3:30 and shortly after we found the wall, the eastern façade of the temple. It was as I suspected, of rough stone, largely slab-like pieces of white marble, laid in a hard, sticky red clay. The outer surface of the wall was covered with a white lime plaster from a half-inch to an inch in thickness. The boys found this about half an hour before closing time and shortly after I had to leave to meet the commission.

There were 13, all told. I did not get the names of all the Americans: there was a Yale man, who knew Professor Clay very well, a Mr. Pittier—a naturalist who lived for years in Costa Rica and of whom I had heard before. Besides several engineer corps lieutenants, etc. Of the natives I knew the two *jefes*, General Alvarado, who, with the Minister of War, General Ovalle, were sent by Estrada Cabrera to meet Captain Brumby of the *Cincinnati* after the earthquake last January (Jan. 3, 1918),<sup>7</sup> who I accompanied when Brumby went to see the President. We were both most effusively overwhelmed at the felicity of this second meeting. Lowenthal was also along. I saw him last January in San Salvador at Mrs. Ruano’s at a tea with his wife. He was then Chargé d’Affaires for Guatemala in Salvador. There were numerous lesser *gente*, a sprinkling of colonels, captains, or *comandantes*. I took them through the ruins. It had been a vicious, hot, humid day, 90 in the shade and the humidity—it seemed 110. Terrific. General Alvarado and Lowenthal had wisely provided themselves with Turkish towels, with which they wiped their faces from time to time. Poor Lowenthal suffered particularly: he is a fat diplomat, double chin, double fold over the collar behind, and used to all the hardship of wearing a frock coat and sitting behind a mahogany desk. Even the General, who might have been supposed to have roughed it in his junior days, assured me the heat was terrible.

I spared them nothing, however, lugged them all around the grand circuit, even including a crawl through the bush to Temple 1,<sup>8</sup> now very much overgrown.

One of the Jamaica boys got off a good one here earlier in the afternoon. He was clearing the hieroglyphic step in the central doorway of the temple and I was explaining that the characters were the writing of the ancient Maya. “Yes, boss,” he observed, “this am sure de han’ writin’ on de wall!” Everybody admired everything and the General was careful to assure me, not once but several times, that they only had an hour to devote to the ruins, so we returned to the track. I could see both he and Lowenthal thought I was quite mad to muck around old stones in such a terrible heat; and the heat is nothing alongside of the mosquitoes, which here at the ruins belong to the larger carnivore. When we reached the track, our train was not due for ten minutes, so we walked on up to Maya Farm for some ice-water. I am afraid the Welleses must have been

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<sup>6</sup> Morley has the year wrong: the Knox visit occurred in 1912 (Chapter 2, p. 79).

<sup>7</sup> See Ward and Rice 2021: 329–333.

<sup>8</sup> Structure 1B-1, which Morley had excavated and restored in 1912. See Chapter 2.

dismayed at sight of such a thirsty crew. Everybody had their fill of ice-water before the train came along and took us to Quirigua.

The next thing on the program was an inspection of the hospital. We climbed the hill and introduced the principals to Doctor Macphail.<sup>9</sup> The general expressed himself as particularly impressed, confided to the doctor, so Mac told me, that he was going to send his wife down to him for an important operation—a hernia! I was glad to speed them on to Los Amates<sup>10</sup> where they are to spend the night, and from which tomorrow they start east to commence their survey.

I went back to the hospital and had a shower, and in the evening played auction with Landry, Mac, and Keyho. On the whole, I cannot complain over the first day's work. The bush is practically cleared, and just before knocking off we found a wall. It is to be hoped, however, that I will have no more of these official visitations. They are time-consuming and energy-destroying.

### May 2, Friday

Hamilton Wray was at work on Temple 3 [1B-3; Figure 9.2] when I got down with the gang of five men. Alexander had also succeeded in finding two more [men] as well as in holding his previous two—Oh Boy was replaced in the afternoon yesterday by another less moribund—and so we got down to work, eleven strong, including the two foremen.



Figure 9.2. The start of excavations on Structure 1B-3; Structure 1B-4 distant on the right.

At this stage, a dig moves very slowly. One is still prospecting around to locate walls, doorways, etc., and the intenser [sic] interest of getting into a room, or finding a hieroglyphic step is wanting. No. 2 gang under Wray spent the morning in finishing the clearing of Temple 3, which

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<sup>9</sup> See Chapter 8, pages 146–147.

<sup>10</sup> A large town about 1 km west of the modern village of Quirigua.

they completed at lunch time. No. 1 gang continued along the front of Temple 4 [1B-4; Figures 9.3, 9.4], going deeper and deeper and farther and farther along without finding the doorway. Indeed, I almost despaired of finding this when just before eleven we reached the southern edge of this doorway, and going down deeper found at least four courses in situ in the original line of the doorway.



Figure 9.3. Structure 1B-4 at the start of excavations.



Figure 9.4. The start of excavations at the SW corner of Structure 1B-4.

The digging here was very hard: marble slabs, sandstone, and even some granite held in a close, sticky red clay, the binding material of the hearting. As we approached the doorway, it was clear that most of the stones were on end, just as they had fallen from the upper part of the wall and not flat as though they were in all walls as found. This seemed to confirm the fact that we were following along an exterior wall, and not down along the side of a retaining wall in the heart

of the substructure. This was finally confirmed by the discovery of the door-jamb just before noon, already mentioned.

After lunch, I started No. 1 gang about 3 feet [91 cm] lower on the edge of the terrace in front of Temple 4, so as to strike the doorway about the floor level. This necessitated moving several cubic yards of dirt and stone, but it will be necessary before we can excavate the interior of the temple, so I have to be reconciled to a dead half-day for this gang. They were still at it when we knocked off at 4.

No. 2 gang had better luck. Hamilton Wray finished clearing Temple 3 just after lunch and then I put his men along the façade of the temple [Figure 9.5]. Started them in what I thought was plenty low, but soon they were prying up flat marble slabs from a bed of sticky red clay and I knew I was inside the hearting of the walls again. I had them start a little lower and this time the southern jamb of the doorway was soon located, and soon after the northern jamb and corner it makes with the eastern façade of the temple. This gave the width of the doorway as 8' 6" [2.59 m]. After clearing off the surface stone from above this doorway a number of long, beveled roof stones were found and several slabs of schist<sup>11</sup> which probably served as cap stones. These were on end just as they had fallen forward when the wooden lintel over this doorway had collapsed.



Figure 9.5. Clearing the façade of Structure 1B-3.

These stones were packed in together very hard and were hard to get out. From these surface indications, at least, the walls in this temple are better than in Temple 4. While it is of course too early yet to predict the ground plans of these temples with anything like a chance of success, I believe nevertheless that No. 3 probably may have only one chamber, and No. 4 one just behind the other. In the evening I walked over to Landry's for a few minutes to keep a promise made

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<sup>11</sup> See Chapter 3, page 101 and note 9.

yesterday with Sadie Marie to do so, and later Keyho and I won a few points at auction from Doc and Weightman.

### May 3, Friday

Ate my first breakfast at the hospital at 6 and found Chico up and waiting at the station—*mirabile dictu*. Stopped at Smith's bodega and got 6 more picks and 2 more shovels against the prospect of a full gang. This only turned out to be three new men when I reached the ruins, and one of these left as soon as he found out I was only paying the natives \$1.15 a day. Still, both foremen promise me full gangs for Monday, and inasmuch as I did not expect to get down to serious work before then, I am satisfied. Next week, however, I want the dirt to fly.

No. 1 gang in the morning uncovered a bench or buttress built against the outside of the eastern façade of Temple 4 [Figure 9.6]. This does not begin flush with the southern jamb of the doorway, but at a point 2' 3" [68 cm] south of the corner. It is 2' 7" [79 cm] wide on top and the outer face is battered. As I have not yet reached the original floor level, I cannot give the height of this bench. There is undoubtedly one on the north side of this doorway, but the earth from this side has not yet been cleared away. Just in front of the doorway, i.e., between the two benches in fact, a large stone slab, carefully squared and on one side very smoothly dressed was found lying with its dressed side up. This stone is 3' 4" [1 m] long, 1' 5" [43 cm] wide, and 10" [25 cm] in thickness. It is dressed perfectly smooth on one surface, which was then treated with a coat of fine white lime plaster. No traces of paint were visible. The only use I can suggest for this large and finely worked slab is that it was one of the capstones of the arch. It was too short to have been a lintel, though it might well have come from the sides of the doorway, except they usually used smaller blocks.



Figure 9.6. The main doorway of Structure 1B-4. Note the low bench, or buttress, at the far left (south).

Just before noon, the north jamb of the doorway was uncovered, and this gave the width of

the doorway as 7' 6" [2.28 m]. Although I am not yet down to the original floor level, and the boys are working only at the threshold of the doorway, the earth is already 10 feet [3.04 m] high at this point and will be 15 feet [4.57 m] at the back of the temple. The digging is of the hardest character, the stones and slabs being tightly wedged into a sticky thick red clay. Each block has to be pried loose with great effort, and even when cut away underneath, does not fall until pried loose. No. 1 gang was all but decimated in the afternoon as everybody save today's recruit, one B. Quinn, a 6-foot Jamaican, went up to Quirigua to be paid off at the pay-car for previous work.

No. 2 gang started in 4 feet [1.23 m] below the level they commenced yesterday and cut in until they had exposed both sides of the doorways of Temple 3 and the adjacent parts of the eastern façade.

The wall of fallen earth and stone at the threshold of the doorway is not so high as in the case of Temple 4 but it will be 12 feet [3.66 m] high before the back wall is reached. The masonry is somewhat better than in [Temple] No. 4, the individual blocks are larger and they are better dressed, particularly the corner stones. The whole day was spent in opening up the doorway and laying bare the adjacent parts of the eastern façade, so that Monday I can start a gang going in the doorway. Just before closing at the corner the north jamb of the doorway makes with the eastern façade, some excellent pieces of red plaster were found still adhering to the jamb. This is the brick red found throughout the Maya area, and was still bright when exposed.

About three, a hard shower came up—one could hear it pattering through the bananas east of the ruins, thence through the little fringe of bush along the sides of the cleared area and then on it. Wray's gang had thrown together a corozo palm screen against the afternoon sun and this also served as a *paragua* as well as a parasol.

In the evening, we had two tables of auction at the Landrys'. Mrs. Weightman and I played against Mrs. Landry and Schultz at one table, and Kehoe—that is the way to spell his name and not Keyho—and Tyvie against Mr. Weightman and Mrs. Tyvie. Landry himself had a sick headache and couldn't play. We had some delicious ice-cream at the end.

### **May 4, Sunday**

The day started out with its full quota of trouble. Just after breakfast word came that a man wanted to see me, and downstairs I found Hamilton Wray. At best he looks lugubrious, but now his face was as long as the Eiffel Tower is high. The *soldados* had descended upon his camp early this morning, tied him up, and brought him into the *comandancia* here in Quirigua, and also borne off his most recent woman, a *Salvadoreña*, who makes tortillas for his men, to make tortillas at the *comandancia*. Hamilton observed that if he had no woman to make tortillas for his boys they would leave, an obvious observation under the circumstances. I promised to go down to the *comandancia* after the train left for the city.

I went down with Kehoe to see him off, a delightful naïve chap, Irish of the third or fourth generation grafted on to Southern strains—North Carolina. He is going to send some fresh films down tomorrow. I forgot to mention in yesterday's record that last night while we were playing cards, Pollan called me up from [Puerto] Barrios with word that a cable had come. He read it over the telephone. It was word from Doctor Woodward<sup>12</sup> that funds had been sent as requested. This

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<sup>12</sup> President of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

was a pretty quick response I thought, just eight days after my letter left Barrios. It also illustrates what a satisfactory institution and organization the Carnegie Institution is.

After the train, I went down to the *comandancia* with Hamilton Wray. Met a great horde of boys leaving there with their *boletas* in hand, freed from military service for another fortnight. Guatemala has compulsory universal military service, but Fruit Co. employees, etc., can be exempted and are. I laid my case before the *comandante*, one Leopold Guerra, a decent enough chap, who happily had seen me with General Alvarado and Coronel Monzon, the latter *jefe político* of this department—Izabal—at the ruins last Thursday. I secured from him a blanket exemption for 10 men, names to be furnished later. I also arranged with him to set at liberty Wray's woman and returned to the hospital.

Visitors had turned up in my absence. Lowenthal and Coronel Monzon himself, the former far from the debonaire, fashionable diplomat of Mrs. Ruano's drawing room. He was now in perspirey-looking khaki, had several days' beard, and looked generally disreputable. He said he was unaccustomed to the life and disliked it. Coronel Monzon and I had a long talk about the ruins, in which he really seemed interested, and I showed him Bulletin 57,<sup>13</sup> which he insisted he would order forthwith, politely if not truthfully. Polite, that is these people all over, Mable! They had come up on business for the commission, which is now out at Rafael Rodezno's place, Alsacia, beyond the Mixco Farm, and had stopped over at the hospital for a shower and some ice on the way back. They stayed on for lunch and afterward Don Luis (Monzon) took a long siesta while Lowenthal and I discussed Salvadoran politics, with which, of course, he is thoroughly *au fait* [knowledgeable].<sup>14</sup> They left about 2:30, greatly rejoiced in body and spirit. Read an interesting parallel to the Roger Casement<sup>15</sup> case in April *Blackwoods* about a gentle adventurer, one Colonel Despard,<sup>16</sup> who had once been Superintendent of Belize something over a century ago.

Landry gave me the second *golpe* [blow] of the day when he told me in the late afternoon that he had been obliged to send the *manietta*<sup>17</sup> [Figures 9.7, 9.8] I had been using down to one of the lower farms on some new engineering work being done there.

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<sup>13</sup> Morley's *An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyphs* (1915), copies of which he frequently showed to visitors, colleagues, and anyone else who might show an inkling of interest.

<sup>14</sup> Morley himself was an expert on the politics of El Salvador, having spent several months in San Salvador as an agent for the Office of Naval Intelligence (Ward and Rice 2021: Chapter 29).

<sup>15</sup> Roger Casement (1864–1916) worked for the British Foreign Office, during which service he exposed the horrors of the tropical rubber trade. He was later executed for treason when, during WWI, he conspired with the Germans to support the Irish independence movement. His life ended in scandal when his "Black Diaries" were exposed, detailing his years of homosexual adventures. Today, the Irish consider Casement a national hero.

<sup>16</sup> Edward Despard, an Irishman like Casement, was remarkable for his color-blind administration of justice during his service in Belize. He married a black woman, Catherine, the daughter of a Jamaican preacher. In 1803, he was arrested, tried, and executed for treason for his pro-Irish (and republican) stance, which the crown claimed manifested itself in the form of a plot to assassinate King George III (see Conner 2000).

<sup>17</sup> A hand-operated flatcar that traveled on narrow-gauge rails. The tracks were used by the United Fruit Company to carry bananas from the plantation fields to shipping centers.

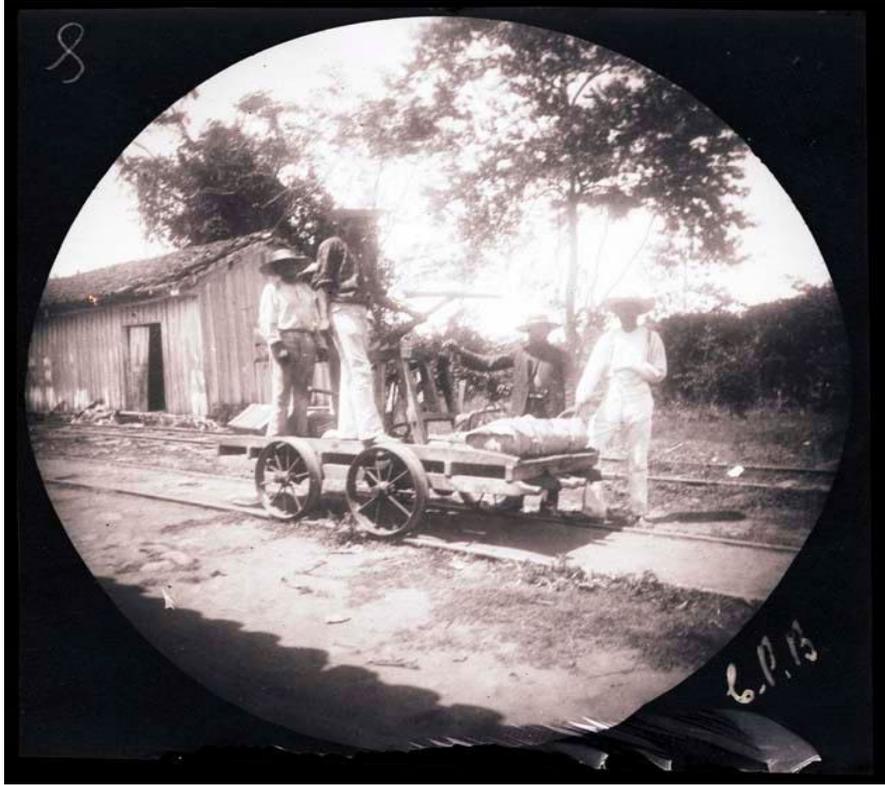


Figure 9.7. A *manietta* at Quirigua in Maudslay's time.



Figure 9.8. A *manietta* on the track through bananas at Quirigua at the turn of the century.

He suggested that Kellar had one I might get. I called up the latter and he told me the *manietta* in question was not his but belonged to Victor Peralta, the station agent. I went down to see Victor and he passed the buck back to Kellar. I phoned Kellar again and he slipped the bet to Victor, etc., etc. Finally, I got both to agree to letting me rent it for a fortnight. Although both were loath to have it on a renting basis, I insisted. The Carnegie Institution should be under obligations to nobody. I sent Chico after Alexander and when he came told him to have two boys stay up to man the car tomorrow morning. In the evening played auction at the hospital with Doc, Weightman, and Tyvie.

### **May 5, Monday**

Chico was up at the hospital at six and reported that the *manietta* boys were waiting. I stopped at Smith's bodega and got 6 more picks and four more shovels before coming down to the ruins. I found No. 1 gang well filled up with six new men, and only one out. They were at work on the eastern façade, and had already cleared north far enough to show that there had been no bench against the east wall on the north side of the doorway as there had been on the south side. This would tend to indicate that the bench or platform on the south side had been built to brace the wall; that it was indeed a buttress rather than a part of the building as originally conceived, probably built later to strengthen some real or fancied weakness at the southeastern corner of the temple.<sup>18</sup>

Poor Wray's gang, far from being augmented, was reduced to 4 men, the boy he sent to Iguana not having returned yet, and another sick. I let Wray off about 8 to look around for some more men, and he says he will be back by closing time this afternoon.

Evidence accumulates that the bench along the east façade of [Temple] No. 4 was built to strengthen the southeast corner and was not part of the original plan. In addition to there being no corresponding bench on the north side, it developed that this bench extends south until the flooring at its base merges with the top of the general terrace level between [Temples] Nos. 3 and 4. Finally, the plastered exterior finish on the eastern façade of the building proper extends down behind this bench, establishing that the bench itself was added some time after the temple was finished. At the point where the cement pavement at the base of the bench merges into the general level of the terrace, a sculptured stone was found. As they are getting into the doorway, the earth and stone are less closely packed. The same is true in [Temple] No. 3 also, where loose places and actual hollows are beginning to appear among the rocks [Figure 9.9].

During the first hour after lunch, No. 1 gang reached the southeast corner of Temple 4 and started around the southern side. From the south side of the doorway to the southeast corner is 19' 2" [5.82 m], which—assuming the doorway is centrally placed—will give a total length for Temple 4 of 19' 2" + 7' 6" + 19' 2" or 45' 10", about 46' [5.82 m + 2.3 m + 5.82 m = 14 m]. I measured where the northeast corner should be and found it probably will be in the same line as the top step on the southern side of the plaza. A few minutes later, the inner side of the eastern wall was

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<sup>18</sup> Morley's insight that the exterior "benches" were a form of buttressing holds today. Structure 3 (1B-3), next to Structure 4 (1B-4), had such possible buttressing support (Kovach 2004: 88). Several meters away, an earlier earthquake is evidenced by the skeleton of a child crushed under the fallen wall of Structure 1B-18 (Kovach 2004: 88–90).

reached and this had a thickness of 7 feet [2.13 m]. In reaching this part of the doorway, the stones were very loose and the butt ends of the vault stones confronted us in several places with the forward ends depressed, just as the collapse of the roof had left them. They did not show a clean-cut bevel [facing of the corbel], but the ancient artisans had evidently trusted to the surface coat of plaster to leave the wall smooth.



Figure 9.9. Clearing the outer chamber of Structure 1B-3: Left—start of excavations; right—halfway through clearing. Note the remaining section of the corbelled vault

No. 2 gang reached the inner side of the eastern wall. This is 7' 10" [2.39 m] in thickness. The typical Maya roof construction is beautifully illustrated here. As we were going in through the doorway at the back end, we began to strike the butt ends of the vault stones. These were roughly rounded at their butts and were depressed in the front. Farther in, I encountered long slabs of schist which were lying in relation to the vault stones. These seem to have been a part of the hearting above the vault. And there were many of them. The boys are now working so far in each vestibule that I ought to start wheelbarrows as soon as possible. When I got back to Quirigua I phoned Smith who said he would do what he could for me tomorrow.

No auction tonight as we were all too tired out.

## May 6, Tuesday

Doc Walcott came down with me. The *manietta*, which I had left at the shop last night, was not yet finished, so it was after seven when I finally got down to the ruins. Found 12 men at work in No. 1 gang, but only 6 in No. 2. The work on Temple 3 is going much slower than on Temple 4, but it is just as well, as Temple 4 is the larger of the two. About the middle of the morning there came a surprise in the discovery of the remains of the bench on the north side of the doorway of Temple 4.

This was very much destroyed, and only its lower courses were recovered. This bench runs into the top step along the terrace on the north side of the Temple Plaza. I still believe, however, that it is a subsequent construction, built to strengthen the temple, indicated by the plaster on the exterior of the eastern wall continuing down behind this bench. The bench rests on a ledge and the ledge on the cemented floor, which will probably turn out to be the top of the next terrace. The discovery of this ledge indicated the advisability of following it all the way across the eastern façade of Temple 4 from where it abuts against the top step of the terrace on the north side of the Temple Plaza. It was found to extend clear across and when in front of the doorway proper, it was evident that the top of this ledge or step was the floor level of the doorway leading into the temple. The level at which we are digging in through the vestibule is thus seen to be about 8" to 10" [20–25 cm] above the actual floor.

I am leaving this bottom 8 inches to 10 inches to be dug out last for two reasons: first, because it protects the cement flooring from being broken by the heavy roof rocks falling down upon it, and second because it is in this last 8 inches to 10 inches where any specimens will be found and I want it to be very carefully dug over.

Toward the close of the afternoon, the northeast corner of Temple 4 was exposed. This was made of small undressed stones whose natural cleavage planes had given them a right angular slab-like form—mostly small marble slabs. The corner was well preserved, although the stones composing it were small. The north side of the doorway is 7 inches [18 cm] shorter than the south side, being 18' 7" [5.66 m] as compared with 19' 2" [5.83 m]. The total length of Temple 4, therefore—subject to a control measurement on the west façade, or back—is  $19' 2" + 7' 7" + 18' 7" = 45' 4"$  [5.83 m + 2.32 m + 5.7 m = 13.82 m].

A fragment of an obsidian flake was found yesterday and another today, in front of the eastern façade of Temple 4, and during the following across the ledge, a small pottery handle, the first fragment of pottery yet recovered in the diggings on either temple. The work on Temple 3 dragged all day long. I have already said that Hamilton Wray's gang was short—he only had seven men—but work on Temple 3 had reached a dead center, as it were. The wall of dirt inside the vestibule [Figure 9.10], or better, at the threshold of the chamber behind is now 10 feet high, and very hard digging, with numbers of those long flat slabs of schist, most of which measure 5' 1" or 5' 2" [1.56–1.62 m].

I tried to locate the back wall of this chamber from above, but it was no use, the wall was all gone so high up. Another factor contributing to the slowness of work on Temple 3 is the fact that its east façade is in a ruinous condition, gone almost to the bottom courses in some places, and in addition, whole sections of the wall have been pushed out of line, in some places as much as a foot. This made difficulty in following it, and we were frequently obliged to go deeper to get a course in its original position, all of which made the work slow.



Figure 9.10. The doorway to Structure 1B-3, which Morley describes at this stage of the excavation as the “vestibule,” based on his erroneous assumption that this building probably contained just one room.

In spite of the fact that the masonry in Temple 3 is superior to that in Temple 4—larger blocks as well as better faced—the eastern façade of Temple 3 has suffered more than that of Temple 4. This is no doubt due to the fact that the east façade of Temple 4 had a bench in front of both sides [?? but see page 164], which kept the wall from slipping out. Toward the northeast corner of Temple 3, part of the east wall showed at the present ground level, and working down here and following along to the north, the northeast corner was developed about the middle of the afternoon and found to be in fairly good condition. The distance from the north side of the doorway to the northeast corner along the eastern façade is 24' 8" [8.76 m]. Assuming the

doorway to be centrally placed, Temple 3 must have been 24' 8" + 8' 6" + 24' 8", or 57' 10" [7.54 m + 2.6 m + 7.54 m = 17.63 m] long.

Dr. Walcott came down again in the afternoon, bringing with him a Doctor Padilla from Guatemala City, who has been attached to the commission from home, now somewhere across the river in the bush, as its physician. I took him over the same ground as I had done with Walcott in the morning, Temples 1 and 2, and he expressed himself impressed. It is not raining today, although it looked very threatening for a while. This doctor says Don Luis is back again in Los Amates. Am looking for another visitation this week.

I phoned Smith after dinner about the boards and wheelbarrow. He promises faithfully to have the latter up from Bananera<sup>19</sup> Thursday and the boards will be down tomorrow. Welles also telephoned me after dinner that they are coming up tomorrow, so I will have to take my lunch down from the hospital. A Mr. James, the *mandador* of Maya [Farm], will take Welles' place at Maya [Farm], and I can probably lunch with him beginning Thursday. I will miss the Welleses—they've been very kind to me, and Helen is a dear little girl.

No auction as we couldn't raise a fourth. Landry would not play. A young fellow named Thompson from Michigan, at the hospital for stomach trouble, Walcott, and myself talked local archaeology instead.

### May 7, Wednesday

On the way to the ruins an amusing incident occurred. I had stopped the *manietta* for a moment in front of Kellar's house to see about the boards, and coming out met a *mozo* who looked idle. "*Quiere trabajo, muchacho?*" [Do you want work?]. The *muchacho* thought some time, it was apparently a debatable point in his own mind, and finally answered: "*Si, si Señor, pero mañana.*" [Yes, sir, but tomorrow]. Even Chico and the two *manietta* boys caught the joke of it, and everybody laughed. It epitomized the national attitude toward work: they want it, because they have to live, but always "tomorrow."

I found Hamilton had added another two men, and took on a third just after I got there. He now has 10 under him, and Alexander has 12. Gang No. 1 is now divided into four groups, and as these work together pretty well, within each group I mean, I am going to leave them so. Four men are working in through the doorway. They are now well within the first chamber, and at the left side against the back (i.e., west wall) they have developed a low stone bench. This does not appear on the right side as yet, but may later. Three men working on the north wall have now reached it, and are cleaning out toward the northeast corner exposed yesterday. Two crude red potsherds came from against the north wall this morning. Three men are around on the opposite (south) side and these are working westward along the south wall. They should reach the southwest corner by tomorrow night, which will give the outside dimensions of Temple 4. Finally, I have two men working on the eastern approach to Temple 4, exposing the series of receding terraces which led to it.

Gang No. 2 is divided into three groups: the first of four men working in through the doorway, the second along the eastern façade north of the doorway, and the third along the eastern façade south of the doorway. The first is now well within the chamber, and by tomorrow

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<sup>19</sup> A small town about 20 miles NE of Quirigua, today the site of a small airport.

night should have located the back wall. In one place, about 6" below the level we are working in, they exposed the floor, which is made of lime plaster, but I had this covered up again so as not to break it. The men north of the doorway found the northeast corner yesterday, but have spent today in cleaning down levels all along the north side of the doorway. The two men working toward the southeast cannot, did not reach it today, and will not before tomorrow afternoon.

Had two groups of visitors this morning, to say nothing of a native one this afternoon, the last being Hamilton Wray's woman and her various *criadas* [maids] and friends. Mr. Shaw and his family came up fairly early in the morning when it was pleasant. Mrs. Shaw has just returned from England where she has been for the past three years. Rica, whom I last saw as a child of 10 playing around the hotel in Virginia some 8 years ago, is now quite a young lady. The two boys, both older, are fine looking men, one I think was in the war. They brought a young friend of Rica's with them, who gave me quite a shock, so much she looked like sister Alice—same hair, eyes, lovely pink complexion, and even the glasses. I am sure this resemblance is not imagined only, but must have existed. I showed them all around, including our diggings of 1912.

Just after I had knocked off for lunch, and was crossing the plaza of the monuments, I descried a party of four gentlemen and two ladies making toward me. These turned out to be old friends, in part at least: Guillermo Aguirre, the Argentinian Consul in Guatemala who I had met under "interesting" circumstances at the Tivoli Hotel in Panama last September when "his diplomatic person had been insulted."<sup>20</sup> Here he was, big as life, with two of his daughters, Maria Elena and Sophia, the latter married to one of the Galusas in Guatemala. This Galusa and his brother were the second and third men, and one Fero, that Colombian spy of Estrada Cabrera, was the fourth. They went everywhere but did not linger anywhere, the mosquitoes and heat were not to Don Guillermo's liking. When we got back to the track, I found Smith awaiting them.

I ate my lunch at Wray's camp as the Welleses came up to Quirigua this morning. Hamilton's family came back to the ruins with him, but did not tarry long. "*Ah, que calor*" [what heat], "*tanto calor*" [so hot], etc., etc., and they betook themselves back to camp speedily.

Nothing turned up of importance in the afternoon. It looks as though gang No. 2 will find the interior of the back wall of Temple 3 before gang No 1 reaches the back wall of the outer chamber of Temple 4. The digging in Temple #3 is now easier and the vault stones are not very far from their original positions, which means that the back wall is not far off. Coming from the dig I met Kellar coming in to see what we had done. Turned back with him. He says we have moved a lot of dirt and our week isn't up until tomorrow noon, either. He thinks we've moved a lot of dirt for that time, and we really have, for that matter. He tells me my wheelbarrows left Bananera this morning and he will send them down tomorrow.

Chico has an infected sore or scratch on his ankle—which he ascribes, the infection that is, to the sun—they never will believe ill of dirt and filth, so I took him up to the hospital and had it painted with iodine. Telephoned Welles and found out arrangements have been made for me to eat with Mr. James, the *mandador* of Maya [Farm]. I found the films from Kehoe in my room when I got back to the hospital. I had asked for 6 exposures, but happily these were 10's. I can use them.

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<sup>20</sup> Morley was in Panama in the Fall of 1918 on his way to El Salvador as part of his espionage activities for the Office of Naval Intelligence (Ward and Rice 2021: Chapter 29).

## May 8, Thursday

Poor Chico's foot continued infected in spite of the painting with iodine last night, and I left him behind to have it opened and dressed this morning at the hospital. Wray had two more men and at last my gangs are getting built up. One, *mirabile dictu*, was the *muchacho* who answered "*pero mañana*" yesterday. Apparently, the food quest must have triumphed over a constitutional disinclination to work.

Early in the morning, the No. 2 gang began to find interesting things. I had placed two boys digging down along the east wall just north of the doorway, and presently they found a curtain fastener.<sup>21</sup> This is 6½" [17 cm] high, 8½" [22 cm] wide, and 10½" [27 cm] deep and has a stone shaft 2" [5 cm] wide and 1" [2.5 cm] thick running from top to bottom, and set back ¼ inches [6 cm] from the edge of the wall. This recess was located 5' 3" [1.6 m] from the north jamb of the doorway, and 1' 8" [53 cm] above the level outside the temple. At the north corner of the doorway, two layers of plaster show very distinctly, one superimposed upon the other. The inner layer was painted red, but the outer layer was left white.

A little further digging showed that Temple 3 rests on a platform 1' 9½" [55 cm] wide. I am going down beside this to ascertain how high it is. An interesting feature was the discovery of a window in the east façade, about 16' south of the south side of the doorway—accurate measurements will be taken on this later. Attention was called to this by a horizontal layer of plaster with a painted red surface uppermost. Cleaning along this carefully, it was found to be the bottom of a stone-faced opening through the eastern façade, which probably gives into a chamber south of the central chamber of the temple. I put a boy cleaning this out and he soon developed the stone-faced sides of the passage and is now tracing it in through the wall. I will describe this later when it has been completely laid bare.

This morning the southeast corner of the temple was exposed. From it to the south side of the doorway is 25' 10" [7.87 m] long. This is longer than the other side by 1' 2" [35 cm] and makes a total length of Temple 3 subject to a control measurement across the back 25' 10" + 8' 6" + 24' 8", or 59' [7.87 m + 2.6 m + 7.52 m = 18 m]. The southeast corner has been strengthened by a low buttress which begins 8' [2.44 m] north of the corner. Apparently in ancient times this corner had begun to sag, the substructure drops off sharply here toward the northwest corner of Temple 2, and it was necessary to strengthen this corner of Temple 3 to keep it from falling out.

I now have a gang going west on each of the end walls of Temple 3 and another going east from the front to determine the construction of the substructure down to the plaza level. The gang working in the central chamber reached the back wall, this has a shallow shelf probably about 2 ½' [76 cm] above the floor level, just as in Temple 1, Chambers 2, 4, and 6. The sill of this shelf was also the level of the floor or a niche, or recess [Figure 9.11], in the back, or west wall. This faced exactly the center of the doorway and is 2' 5¾" [76 cm] high, 1' 3" [38 cm] wide and 2' 10" [86 cm] deep. The shelf is 9½" [24 cm] wide. The central chamber on the floor, i.e., to this bench is 7' 6" [2.23 m] wide. The lower courses of the corbelled vault are in situ at the back of the north of this niche and show the typical Maya roof construction admirably.

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<sup>21</sup> See Chapter 6, page 137, note 11.



Figure 9.11. One of the recesses, or niches, in Structure 1B-3.

Just before the closing hour, the boy working through the narrow window in the south chamber of Temple 3 came to the inner end of it, i.e., to the east wall of the south chamber. Tomorrow I will start two boys cleaning off from the top. The niche in the central chamber was a great disappointment. There it was in the most conspicuous place in the temple, facing the doorway, of convenient size to have accommodated a fairly good-sized figure (2' 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 2' 10" deep [76 cm x 86 cm]) and empty as Mother Hubbard's cupboard of all save dirt and stone. Considering how protected it was, it was astonishing how full of earth it was in the first place, to within 4" [10 cm] of the top, and in the second place, how tightly this earth was packed. I could only account for the first by washing in from above, and for the second by the same process. The floor and sides had been covered with white plaster painted the same red as we have been finding everywhere else in this temple. It was on the whole a great disappointment as it was the place ideal for an idol to have stood.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> An "idol" — an effigy figure or incense burner — likely once stood in it, but was later removed.

Work on Temple 4 went more slowly. The two gangs working on the north and south walls respectively both encountered large buttresses, that on the north wall being farther forward. On the south wall there also was found a shallow niche, or recess, like those at Tikal. The gang in the doorway reached the back wall after a long hard day's work, the earth being more tightly packed. The outer chamber was then found to be 7' 3" [2.21 m] wide, 3' [91 cm] to the bench and the bench itself 4' 3" [1.23 m]. The doorway into the interior chamber is asymmetrically placed in the outer chamber with reference to the exterior doorway, and indeed up to closing time we had only found its southern jamb. It also rises from a step considerably above the floor, or bench level of the outer chamber [Figure 9.12].



Figure 9.12. A fully cleared chamber of Structure 1B-4.

Due to the discovery of the southern lateral chamber of Temple 3 today, it is possible to reconstruct the ground-plan with considerable probability of its being correct.

Only had one visitor yesterday: Landry came down to disapprove of the work, not specifically but on the grounds that any such work should be done at all. I told him that it would live long after the bananas had become flesh and that flesh dust and that dust bananas again, a vicious circle that led nowhere and from which there was no escape. Had lunch with Mr. James, the new *mandador* of Maya [Farm], an Englishman of mixable qualities. Curiously enough, he knew Frank, who tramped all over everywhere. I think he had met him in Colombia. I took Mrs. Weightman's photograph and that of little Betty for their passports, and Weightman is going to give them to the conductor on tomorrow morning's passenger [train] to take to the city [Guatemala City] for further development and printing. In the evening, Weightman and I sustained another trouncing at the hands of Meiggs and the doctor at auction.

### May 9, Friday

Temple 3 continues to afford interesting developments. At the south end, the boys working there developed a buttress or bench which curiously was approached by several well-built steps on its south side. At the other end (north) the boys found there a wall running north from the north side, 2' 9" west of the northeast corner. It was clear from the way these two walls joined each other, one course running into the other wall and vice-versa. First, a course of one wall would run behind a stone in the other, and vice-versa. In one place, a stone in the north wall of Temple 3 had been especially notched to accommodate a stone in the other wall. In following this out to its end, we ran into a wall running into it from the east that looks as though it could only be a buttress. The corner is badly gagged and I am afraid when uncovered will fall out entirely.

The boys I set to work in the south chamber of Temple 3 have already developed the north wall and are working toward the northeast corner now. The latter has been located and they are now going down at the east end of the room. The wall mentioned is a bench and runs back south, hitting the southeast corner. The arrangement at the south end of Temple 3 seems to be that of a stairway built against the end of the temple. Further excavation will be necessary here before a final drawing can be made [Figure 9.13].

Just as I was leaving the ruins for lunch, I met Weightman and the chief engineer of the *Saramacca* coming in to see the work, so I turned back to show them over the diggings. Weightman ran me down to Maya [Farm]; it was very hot, I heard later 98 degrees in the shade at Los Amates. Indeed, today has been the hottest day since I arrived, with the exception of that first Thursday a week ago yesterday, when I suffered cruelly, and thought it was only because I had grown soft. I know now that it was because that day was a real scorcher.

I looked for Julius Jackson to meet me when I got up to Quirigua, but he was nowhere in sight. He wants me to intervene with the *comandante* at Old Quirigua on his behalf. He claims other Jamaicans there are troubling him, "a muttering among the people," as he puts it, and "a clandestine conspiracy." I happened on the *comandante* at the Commissary and asked him about the matter, and he says poor Julius is "*torcido*," touched [lit. twisted, bent], but surely the thieving he told me about was real enough. I met Landry and Doc en route to Los Amates to fetch a Major Ashmead—head of the economic survey commission, and Mr. Hogdson. Later met both the gentlemen at the hospital where they stopped overnight. Major Ashmead is a relation of Henry

Ashmead of Chester [P.A.], and appeared very greatly interested in Maya archaeology. Hogdson I had long wanted to meet. He is now Custodian of Alien Enemy Property for Guatemala, and regaled us with a lot of interesting stories about his job, attempted evasions, etc., etc. Fancy few Boches [Germans; German soldiers] put anything over on him.



Figure 9.13. Structure 1B-3, its excavation well along; Structure 1B-4 is at the right.

Outside, the gang on the south side has reached the southwest corner [of 1B-4] and that on the north side is approaching the northwest corner. At both corners there are buttresses and, as in the case of the two buttresses on the East façade, they are built of dressed sandstone, whereas the temple itself is build of marble slabs, i.e., in other words, the buttresses are of better workmanship than the temples they abut. Toward the east end of the northern façade, a weep hole was found about 1 foot above the platform level. This probably leads into the northeast chamber. The two boys exposing the terraces and steps leading from the terraces between Temples 3 and 4 down to the level of the Temple Plaza finished their job today.

I turned in early, very tired out with the heat. Major Ashmead and Mr. Hogdson are coming down to the ruins with me in the morning.

### **May 10, Saturday**

I awoke this morning with the strangest stuffed up feeling in my left ear; my own voice sounded a long way off. As Major Ashmead and Mr. Hogdson were coming down later in a motor, I decided to come down in my *manietta*, put the boys to work, and then returned to the hospital and have Doctor Macphail excavate in my ear. I got back at 7:30 and found them just sitting down for breakfast. After breakfast, Don Luis Monzon and Doctor Padilla turned up for a shower-bath.

Doc excavated both my ears and found them full of wax. My own private untechnical opinion is that the heat was so intense yesterday that it dried up all the moisture in me, coupled with

whatever was in my ears. Then too a great deal of dust was in the air, and that may have helped. At any rate, after he had syringed them out with hot water, I was able to hear as of yore and was quite *compuesto* again. We set off for the ruins at 8:30, six strong in Landry's motor: Landry and myself, Major Ashmead, Mr. Hogdson, a chap Blake from the Bureau of Plant Industry, and a young chap Yates, who had been recommended to Ashmead, so the later told me, by Boaz Long. Rarely have I enjoyed showing a visitor over the ruins more than I have Ashmead. His questions and speculations betrayed a fine clear intelligence, beginning at once to grasp the details of an exceedingly complex subject. Being an engineer, he was particularly interested in structural questions. Unfortunately, they had to hurry to get back to Quirigua before the pickups started at 10, so had to cut short their stay at the ruins. Blake knew all the Bureau of Plant Industry people—Corville, Safford, Cook, Collins, Poponoe, et al.

The dig in Temple 4 proceeded as unsatisfactorily as ever. Here I have been in the outer chamber for four days and I do not yet know the ground plan of it. The roof stones are wedged in beyond all conception. At Temple 3, more steps and buttresses were turned up at the southern end, adding to the confusion already existing there. The ancient priests must have felt great fear that their Temple would fall at this end to have prompted them to such heroic measures to prop it up. The east jamb of the doorway in the south chamber of Temple 3, leading into the central chamber, was exposed during the morning, and last night the southeast corner of the same room, which gives a width of 5' 2" [1.57 m]. Also, just before closing time, another recess or niche was found in the back (west) wall of the central chamber at the south end of the room. This southern end of the central chamber is nearly cleared out and by tomorrow noon the doorway leading into the southern chamber should be reached.

Yesterday afternoon, the plan of Temple 4 began to grow clearer, but I will defer a description of it until tomorrow when the central doorway will have been opened up. Came back to Quirigua very tired out; the heat has been terrific at the ruins today, especially between 1 and 4, and I believe heat alone, and by heat, I mean temperatures above 95 in the shade, exhausts one as much, if not more than, work. Julius Jackson met me at the station, but I was literally too tired to walk down to Old Quirigua with him.

Landry, Smith, and a Mr. Thornton were in for dinner. The last mentioned has a claim against the Guatemalan Government for something like \$300,000 in connection with a cancellation of some concession of his at Puerto Barrios without compensation. It is a historic claim down here with apparently all the rights on his side. That one-eyed solider of fortune and ex-professional revolutionist, General Drummond, is supposed to have swindled him.

In the evening went down to Weightman's for auction. Mrs. Weightman and I played against Weightman and Mrs. Landry. Going back up the hill about 11:30, I met Landry returning from his poker game at the hospital.

### **May 11, Sunday**

Of course, when I especially want to be on hand at the ruins early, the *manietta* had to break down. However, Eliseo Ramos, one of the two boys who are on it, was able to patch it together until it can be properly repaired at the machine shop, and I got down to the ruins about seven. I do not believe I shall attempt Sunday work again. Wray had only 5 out of 14 and Ilfield 9 out of 12. The Jamaicanos turned out better than the *paisanos*. The situation in the outer chamber—more

properly speaking, the outer corridor of Temple 4 as it now appears—is clearing up. I was looking for a corner to define what I supposed to be a doorway. This turned out to be (this morning) a large recess or niche, like those in Temple 3 only larger, with the sill [bench] I should judge about 2' [61 cm] above the level of the floor:

At last, both temples are beginning to take shape. The southwestern corner both of the buttress and Temple 4 as well has just been exposed and the northwest corner is almost in sight. Work on the outer chamber of Temple 4 is going forward rapidly. I have five men at work there, one picking, two shoveling, and two on the wheelbarrows. It is already obvious that the chamber behind the outer chamber must be entered by one or two lateral passages.

Later in the morning a window or niche was uncovered at the outer end of the interior of the east wall, and the north side of this coincides with the north interior wall of the temple as indicated. The northwest corner of the buttress outside is in excellent condition, and is of excellent finished, nicely dressed sandstone. I have four men working across the back now, and this should be finished by tomorrow.

Work progressed rapidly in Temple 3 also, in spite of the fact that Wray's gang is reduced to five men. The doorway between the central and southern chambers was exposed. Its sill is the same bench or shelf which forms the sills of the recesses in the west wall of the central chamber. The jambs of this doorway, particularly in the central chamber side, are in excellent condition. The lower courses of the vault are in situ in the southwest corner of the central chamber, and when the latter is cleared out it will be possible to ascertain the height above the floor at which the corbel commenced. A surprise was the discovery of a doorway in the south wall of the southern chamber leading to the outside. This explains the steps against the southern façade, which doubtless gave access to this doorway from the outside.

No one visited the ruins this morning, and we knocked off work at twelve. Found them waiting lunch for me at the hospital, and so I postponed my bath until later. Slept all afternoon. I believe the Shaws came up from Virginia,<sup>23</sup> but I did not see them. In the evening a poker game was on at the hospital. Mac, Meiggs, Taylor (the engineer), Thornton, and Landry. I played auction again at the Weightmans, Mrs. Weightman and I playing against Weightman and Miss Douglass, one of the nurses at the hospital. Retired about 11:00.

### **May 12, Monday**

As the *manietta* was being fixed at the shops, I could not get off until seven o'clock. Sent two telegrams over to Don Juan at Copan advising him of Major Ashmead's arrival there Tuesday or Wednesday, and telling him I expect to get over for the last week of May myself. I sent another to Reeves, that Englishman in the city [Guatemala City] who wants to visit the ruins, telling him to come down this week. I went down to the shops about seven and found the *manietta* still in process of being "fixed." They patched it up for the trip down and I am to send it back for final repair this afternoon. As early as it was, I found two visitors were at the ruins before me. Mr. James, my congenial host at luncheons these days, the *mandador* of Maya Farm, and a Mr. Carr from Seminole Farm, I believe the *mandador* there.

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<sup>23</sup> G. M. Shaw was the General Manager for the United Fruit Company in Puerto Barrios and had been one of Morley's ONI informants/agents during the war.

No. 1 gang off three men, but a new one, so net loss of two; No. 2 gang off two men; total loss four. I have instructed both foremen to take on several more men each. This good digging weather, sunlight and no rain, cannot last much longer at this time of the year and I literally must make my hay while the sun shines. The afternoon's work did much toward clearing up the obscurity in the ground-plan of the front part of Temple 4, and at the same time disclosed why it has been so baffling. This was due to the discovery of the opposite side of the southern doorway. This jamb was in excellent condition and went so high as to show a part of the adjoining arch. The corresponding one for the doorway had broken down to its last, or next-to-last, course, I subsequently discovered, which had not only caused the north corner of the central recess to break down, but also all the inner section of the north wall 22' [6.71 m] opposite it. Its collapse indeed was largely responsible for the ruinous condition in the northern end of the outer chamber of Temple 4.

A clay slab with applied clay lines laid on it, possibly the beard of a human face on an incense burner, was found in the corner of the shelf or bench, which makes a corner, the sills of both still being a foot high. In Temple 3, the boys got to within 2' [61 cm] of the floor level of the southern chamber, disclosing more wall openings. The one in the west wall is clearly a recess only, like those in the central chamber, and the one in the east wall is just as clearly a window going clear through to the outside. Although I have not had them cleared yet, I am inclined to disagree with myself as expressed earlier, that the western one of these goes clear through the wall. It now looks as though both were recesses like the one in the west end.

Chico lost my tape line coming down and I could take no measurements today.

I met Lane in the Commissary with a Mr. Vorhees. I asked him if he could loan me a tape and he said he thought Hahnemann of Pueblo Farm had one. He telephoned me about dinner time that this tape would be at Maya Farm early tomorrow morning. After a shower, I composed a telegram of congratulation to the Minister in Tegucigalpa. He and Julia Duron are to be married on the 15th, next Thursday. Also wired Jean. One of Mac's boys, Conrad, black as the ace of spades, put my English to the minister into very flowery Spanish.

In the evening, Weightman and I played Meiggs and the Doctor at auction, and lost as usual. This chap Vorhees, whom I met this afternoon, tells me some Indians told him of a group of ruins with monuments some 40 miles northeast of Mixco. I make it out to be about where I found Los Higos, but it may be some other.

Alexander got off a good one today. One of the stones in Temple 4 detached itself from the overhang of the dig and crashed down with a great thud, whereupon he observed "Dese old Indian rocks is sure hard rocks." He spoke feelingly too, as one had hit him yesterday in the small of the back and given him a right sharp blow, as the Minister at Tegucigalpa would say.

### **May 13, Thursday**

It seems impossible for me to build up my gangs. This morning, for example, I have one new man in gang No. 1, but two old ones are missing, net loss one. In No. 2 gang, I gain a new man and lose an old one, Alfred Guzman, whose baby is ill. I suppose any excuse will do. I sent Chico on to Maya Farm for the measure, but he came back later with the news that it had not yet come up from Pueblo. I have five men now working across the back of Temple 4 and these should come together by eleven o'clock. The wall 22' [6.7 m] on still continues broken. [We] found this morning

a fragment of a worked piece of shell. This looked a bit like ivory but it is probably from the outer part of a large conch shell. I stopped all pick work and put them on machete digging in this corner.

At the bottom of the bench, fragments of a black cooking pot were found. A number of other fragments, red and black, were found, including part of the rim of another cooking pot, also the rib of some small animal, I think. Also a small black clay cylinder, perhaps 2" [5 cm] long and ¾" [1.9 cm] in diameter, with a small hole running through the center and both ends broken, was found in the same cache. It had a fairly highly polished black finish.

In the southern chamber of Temple 3, at the point inside left of the doorway from the central chamber on the level of the floor, was found a stone disc that had been tenoned into the wall somewhere. It is about a foot in diameter and has two concentric circles and structures from the outer one to the edge. In addition to fragments of several different vessels, the greater parts were missing of a reused bowl that was found just inside the doorway to the left. This was broken by a stone in ancient times and further demolished by a blow from the pick in the hands of Castro Piñeda who, aside from this single bit of carelessness, has proved to be one of my best men. This is flat on the bottom and was about 3" [8 cm] in diameter at the base. It had been used as a receptacle for a red pigment of considerable brilliance, traces of which still adhered to the bottom inside (No. 9).<sup>24</sup> Another fragment from the same place and the same room is a ladle handle (No. 10) about 4" [10 cm] long, the bowl part is entirely missing. A tapir's tooth (No. 11), 2" [5 cm] long was found on the floor level at the same spot, and also about a foot from the doorway against the northern wall, and toward the northeast corner, a human tooth, very much worn down (No. 12). The floor of this chamber is painted the same red as elsewhere in this temple and is in excellent condition.

The southern chamber continued to yield after lunch, when its excavation was continued. Fragments of an alabaster bowl or basin were found toward the southeast corner. This is painted a brilliant red inside (No. 13). Seven fragments of it have been recovered so far, and I have hopes we will find more, though as yet no two fit. Near the east wall a ladle was found, but in terribly rotten condition—it literally fell apart when it was exposed to the air. Temple 3 continued to be the center of interest all afternoon. The gang working in the central room reached the northern recess in the west wall, which means that they are getting near the end of the room. The arch of the western wall, north of the central recess, is in excellent condition and I believe I will be able to photograph it in situ before it falls. The top two courses just below the spring of the arch and the arch itself leans at a considerable angle, but I believe I will be able to photograph it before it falls, unless indeed we should get a torrential rain, in which case I cannot answer.

The gang along the front of the temple unearthed a tremendous slab of stone, which had broken in two in falling; two adjacent edges were dressed. Its position just below the northeast exterior corner of the building indicates that it had formerly been at the corner and may possibly have been the cornerstone of the cornice. Another large, irregularly shaped slab showed two lines crossing it.

Quite a number of pieces of stucco decorations came up from the paved level in front of Temple 3. These were too fragmentary even to suggest what the complete design had been. They

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<sup>24</sup> These numbers refer to entries on Morley's artifact list, which is found at the end of this chapter, page 209.

were, however, very well done and indicate that the façade of this temple must have been no less magnificent than that of Temples 1 and 5. The latter also had stucco decoration. With the discovery of these stucco fragments went my last hope of finding a sculptured step in this temple.<sup>25</sup>

Just before the closing hour, the two gangs moving across the back wall of Temple 4 met, and I took four of them off and put them to work developing the back wall of Temple 3, which appears quite clearly in one place. I left two men clearing off the buttress on the back of Temple 4, and developing the back of the western façade of the temple proper. In Temple 4, the south side of the north chamber was at last recovered. On the opposite (i.e., north) side of this chamber, however, at 22' [6.7 m] the wall is very much broken down. Working at the other end, the corresponding opening in the east wall was found, and also the south interior wall. The latter is in excellent condition and if there is a corner, I hope it may be intact.

Had three visitors yesterday, all early in the day. First, Kellar came down, and the Welleses and James. The latter had gone to Quirigua when I went over to Maya House [at Maya Farm] for lunch, but found Hahnemann there. He had forgotten my tape line under stress of a dog fight but promises to send it up tomorrow. He tells me old Mr. James has decided to leave the company. I should be sorry, for aside from the inconvenience of being broken in with a new host, I had begun to like the old man. At the hospital, I found a telegram from Reeves saying he would be down tomorrow. Also found Professor Whitford of Yale, the forestry expert of the economic commission, at the hospital for a touch of fever. Doctor Walcott told me that Doctor Burres,<sup>26</sup> the Rockefeller Foundation man, was also an inmate. Doctor Baily had asked me to look him up when I was in San Salvador last month<sup>27</sup>, and I tried to find him at the Grand Central Hotel in Guatemala [City], but was told he was sick and could see no one. Doctor Walcott took me to see him tonight. He has had quite a siege with some intestinal fever. Has been sick for six weeks and is all run down.

In the evening, Whitford and I played Mac and Meiggs at auction and under an extraordinary run of luck amassed 19 hundred points in five rubbers. As we were playing, a fairly heavy thunderstorm came up, which settled into a steady rain. This was still coming down when I turned in about eleven, and made me fearful of that overhanging corbelled vault in Temple 3, to say nothing of the mud conditions.

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<sup>25</sup> These stucco fragments were intact enough for Morley to observe that the workmanship was well done. One has to wonder if modern imaging technology might have been able to offer some idea of what the original design looked like.

<sup>26</sup> W. T. Burres was the Guatemalan director of the Rockefeller Foundation's Latin American medical program, launching in 1914 a multi-decade program to eradicate tropical diseases, especially yellow fever. Burres remained in Guatemala until 1920, when he returned to San Francisco to recover from influenza.

<sup>27</sup> Morley did not return to the United States over the winter of 1918/1919. He was discharged from the Office of Naval Intelligence on March 1 while in Tegucigalpa, and traveled from there to El Salvador before returning to Guatemala to excavate at Quirigua.

## May 14, Wednesday

A great showing of new men in gang No. 2. To be sure I lost Castro Piñeda, the boy who was excavating in the southern chamber of Temple 3, but to replace him came four others! Wray now has 16 men under him. This gang is now well organized. Two men on the southern façade, two in the southern chamber, three in the central chamber, and nine across the front on both sides of the doorway. This should be finished certainly by tomorrow night. Gang No. 1 loses another man with no replacements, and so it goes. The work, however, is now well organized and if the rains will only hold off another week, I can finish it. Speaking of rain, the latter made a lot of sticky digging at the ruins this morning, but a hot sun is quickly drying it up.

About seven thirty, Hahnemann sent over the tape line and so I am going to put in a day of measuring [Table 9.1].

Table 9.1. Dimensions of the recesses or niches<sup>a</sup> (see Figure 9.11) in the walls of Temple 3 (Structure 1B-3).

| ID. | WIDTH |    | HEIGHT |     | DEPTH |     | Height of sill above floor; comment                                        |
|-----|-------|----|--------|-----|-------|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|     | In.   | Cm | In.    | Cm  | In.   | Cm  |                                                                            |
| A   | 8½    | 22 | 6¼     | 19  | 10    | 25  | 20 in. (51 cm)                                                             |
| B   | 10½   | 27 | 6½     | 17  | 15    | 38  | 24 in. (61 cm)                                                             |
| C   | 14    | 36 | 31     | 77  | 32    | 81  | Floor level with shelf in central chamber <sup>b</sup>                     |
| D   | 14    | 36 | 29½    | 75  | 33    | 84  | Floor level with shelf in central chamber <sup>b</sup>                     |
| E   | 14    | 36 | 29     | 76  | 32½   | 63  | Floor level with shelf in central chamber <sup>b</sup>                     |
| F   | 3½    | 9  | 4½     | 11  | 15½   | 36  | 25½ in. (65 cm)] above Recess G                                            |
| G   | 4     | 10 | 60     | 152 | 17½   | 44  | 10½ in. (27 cm); below Recess F                                            |
| H   | 4     | 10 | 5½     | 14  | 17    | 43  | 25 in. (64 cm) above top of Recess I                                       |
| I   | 4     | 10 | 5      | 13  | 17¼   | 44  | 19 in. (25 cm); below Recess H                                             |
| J   | 13½   | 34 | 24     | 61  | 28½   | 72  | 26 in. (66 cm)                                                             |
| K   | 14    | 36 | 34½    | 57  | 31    | 79  | 30 in. (76 cm); slightly deformed                                          |
| L   | 28    | 41 | ---    | --- | ---   | --- | Top missing                                                                |
| M   | 15    | 38 | 72     | 182 | --    | --  | Window through wall; top missing; base 75 in. (190 cm) above outside bench |
| N   | 4½    | 11 | 6½     | 17  | 29    | 74  | 25¼ in. (64 cm) above top of O                                             |
| O   | 4½    | 11 | 5      | 13  | --    | --  | 11 in. (28 cm)                                                             |
| P   | 5¼    | 13 | 6¼     | 16  | 23    | 53  | 13 in. (33 cm) above top of Q                                              |
| Q   | 3½    | 9  | 5½     | 14  | 16    | 41  | 9 in. (23 cm)                                                              |
| R   | 11½   | 29 | 55     | 140 | --    | --  | Window through wall; top missing; wall is about 66 in. (167 cm) thick here |

a, Two (M, R) are “windows” passing entirely through the thick wall. Note pairing: F and G; H and I; N and O; P and Q.

b, These are in the back (west) wall of the central chamber (see diary entry for May 8). Morley measured one niche but the dimensions do not correspond to these; nor does he mention the presence of three.

The two openings in the south wall of the southern chamber, like that in the west wall, proved to only be recesses, all have their sills and lintels on the same respective levels. The gang at the back of the temple has located the back, or western wall, and are now following along it in both directions. It is possible that there may be a hieroglyphic step in the main doorway of this temple, and I have put four men cleaning in front preparatory to driving in on it. A fragment of a pot was recovered with glyphs inscribed just under the lip. The next to last looks like the rodent's head in Glyph B of the Supplementary Series.

The overhang of the arch at the north end of the central chamber is so great that I am photographing it [Figure 9.14] before it falls, which may occur at any time. It measures from the spring to the highest course now in situ 6' on the slope. Just before closing, the northern end of the central chamber was reached and the wall making the west side of the doorway into the north chamber was found to be intact. This, of course, gives the adjacent part of the arch a large support and may prevent its falling before the heavy rains commence. The south chamber continued to yield more material: a small jade bead, the teeth of a mammal, and more pottery fragments. I will not describe the work in Temple 4 today beyond saying that at last I am beginning to get light on what has been a confusing business since we first got in through the doorway.

Gangs are going back (i.e., west) now in both the lateral corridors and I am hoping to be able to give the ground plan in a day or so. The southern corridor is in a much better state of preservation than the northern one owing to the failure of the wall, which made the west side of the doorway leading into the outer chamber. When this collapsed it carried with it the corner, this jamb, a section of the north wall 22' 2" [6.76 m], and I am now inclined to believe the northern end of the bench.



Figure 9.14. The central room of Structure 1B-3 fully cleared. Note the bench, the niches, and the side of the corbelled vault that Morley worried would collapse.

We had a visitor in the last two minutes of play, a young Fruit Co. employee from Barrios, a very nice chap named Barry, or something similar. He came just before closing time and I did not see much of him. At lunch, Mr. James asked me to bring \$500.00 in Liberty Loan Bonds up to Doc Macphail for deposit in the hospital safe, which I did. I found two native *médicos* at the hospital when I got up, and Mac disgusted at the prospect of having to be *simpático* in Spanish for 3 or 4 days. Heaven knows, he is the best-natured man alive, but being host in Spanish is as much a business for him as it is for me, and they are a bit heavy going too.

After dinner I was very tired—the heat has been terrific again today, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the rain—and so, excusing myself to the two Latin *médicos*, I went to bed before nine. Later, Doc came in and said Weightman wanted me to come down and play auction, but I wasn't up to it for once. A few minutes later Weightman came up with the first batch of pictures I took the other day. These were all very successful and if the subsequent ones keep up to the mark my batting average will be above 300. Saw Doctor Burres this afternoon. He is very depressed and, I believe, a really sick man.

### **May 15, Thursday**

Three men out this morning, but all with legitimate excuses. Two with cut feet from stones, and the third with a mashed finger. I have 25 under the two foremen, however, and so long as I do not fall below 20, I am satisfied. There has been an epidemic of small wounds the last day or two, and luckily this morning I had brought down with me a package of medicine, iodine, cotton, etc., etc. One of the new boys received a deep cut from a falling stone. It struck him on the foot and cut almost to the bone. The central chamber of Temple 3 looked like a shambles before Wray had finished dressing it.

The work on Temple 3 went slowly forward. The south chamber was finished, swept, and measured. The overhanging wall in the north end of the central chamber looked so threatening that we tried to brace it with a 2" x 12" x 14' [5 cm x 30 cm x 4.27 m] plank, but during the more or less delicate operation a stone fell from the corner and Wray, who was steadying the board, leaped like a chamois, but the wall itself showed no disposition to fall. Toward the close of the day, the doorway into the northern chamber was completely exposed. It is in excellent condition, and standing much higher than the one at the other end of the chamber.

The work across the front went forward satisfactorily. Two boys at last began working in through the doorway and before four had laid bare a part of the face of the step. Alas, it was bare, devoid of inscription, and so goes my last hope of finding glyphs in either of these two temples. It would have been such an excellent place, as good as the three doorways in Temple 1, but *no hay*.

Evidence multiplies that Temple 1 was the final and most imposing edifice at Quirigua, and I believe it to be deducible from the chronological evidence here that the city was abandoned shortly after 9.19.0.0.0, at least before 9.19.5.0.0 (i.e., after 540 A.D. [AD 810 GMT] and before 545 [AD 815 GMT]). The nearest I will get to glyphs on this dig is the sherd found yesterday with three on its rim.

I have four men working across the back, and these made satisfactory progress. At one time near the northern end, I thought we had discovered a doorway, but deeper digging, not to say study, showed a bottom course in situ and a lack of finish on the sides that would have been

jamb. So, the idea was abandoned no sooner than entertained. I was a bit sorry, as a doorway here would have greatly facilitated the excavation of the northern chamber.

Spent a good part of the morning in clearing out the three doorways of Temple 1 [1B-1], and in photographing these three beautiful hieroglyphic steps [see Chapter 5, pages 117–121]. I also reassembled the fallen fragments of the hieroglyphic cornice on Temple 1, which I had restored to their original positions in 1912 when the temple was excavated and repaired. Unhappily, several years later, water was seeping in behind the walls and had undermined them so that they fell, taking with them this cornice, several pieces of which were chipped when they crashed down. I located all of these I could two years ago, and today gave a more thorough search for the rest. Chico is a veritable ferret at such work, and took two boys with me to fell the bush and Chico to find the stones. Presently all were recovered, save part of the month sign and its coefficient and Glyph B of the Secondary Series. Finally, all but the last was found. We moved a great pile of stone but could not find it until Chico's lynx-like eyes espied it at the edge of the bush, whither it had rolled when it fell. All the glyphs that I found seven years ago were now assembled save one, and that deserves a story.

A Captain Bennett was here this spring, claimed to be U.S.A., had it on his cards, and gave it to be understood he was working for the M.I.D.<sup>28</sup> Hamilton Wray was with him for five days here at the ruins, and also on a trip to Izabal. Walcott told me that once while he (Walcott) was down here with him, the man wanted to carry off one of these loose glyphs from the cornice of Temple 1. At that time, Walcott gave him to understand very clearly that he, Walcott, could not control his actions when he, Walcott, was not there, but when he (Walcott) was, Bennett could not carry away any one of them. A damn fine stand for Walcott to have taken, I think. Well, the upshot of the whole business was that Bennett returned by himself alone with Wray, and having borrowed a wood saw—brand new—from Welles, he proceeded to saw, crack, and break the face off one of these stones. He chose a face, the *k'in* head and coefficient.<sup>29</sup>

When I arrived here a fortnight ago, I saw the raw rough end of the block with its unsightly new break, and then got the whole story. I cannot think for a moment that this man would have done this thing had he known what he was carrying off, at least I hope not, but I am going to give him the chance to make restitution and ask him to give me the piece he took so that I can take it back, re-cement it on its original tenon, and leave it in its proper place in front of Temple 1. This is not the only serious count against the man, either. He had the imprudence or audacity or blasphemy, whatever you will, to have inscribed his initials, R. B., on Stela A twenty-five years ago! (Wray says captain did this thing on April 24). Both acts I think speak for themselves. That ancient apt couplet applies here, "Fools names are like their faces, always seen in public places."

Well, I reassembled all this morning, even including the broken, raw-faced tenon of the *k'in* block, a mute though eloquent witness of his vandalism. The glyphs present are [see Figures 5.1 and 6.16]:

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<sup>28</sup> Military Intelligence Division, which oversaw all intelligence gathering for the US Army.

<sup>29</sup> In his 1921 diary, Morley reports that he had had a dinner with Captain Bennett and his wife in Washington, DC, and brought up the matter of the missing glyph. Bennett promptly returned the stone to Morley, who returned it to Quirigua and the hands of his friend Doctor Macphail.

1. The I[initial] S[eries] Introducing Glyph
2. Cycle sign and coefficient MISSING
3. *K'atun* sign and coefficient MISSING
4. *Tun* sign present but coefficient MISSING
5. *Uinal* sign and coefficient MISSING
6. *K'in* sign and coefficient taken by Bennett
7. Day sign MISSING, coefficient present
8. Glyph G, S[upplemental] S[eries]
9. Glyph F, S.S., present
10. Glyph E, S.S., present
11. Glyph D, S.S., present
12. Glyph C, S.S., present
13. Glyph X, S.S., present
14. Glyph B, S.S., present
15. Glyph A, S.S., MISSING
16. Day sign and coefficient of I.S. terminal date repeated, present
17. Month sign and coefficient of I.S. terminal date, present
18. End of *K'atun* 19 present
19. Ending sign present

Even during the excavation of Temple 1, seven years ago, the above missing fragments were never recovered, although I searched everywhere for them (see Chapter 2). Tomorrow I am going to align them properly and photograph them.

The biggest surprise of today came from Temple 4, where, in following west along the northern corridor, a stairway was found, very narrow—2' 1" to 2' 8" [64 cm to 81 cm] wide, leading first four steps west and then turning 90 degrees and going five steps west [Morley meant to write "north"] and emerging on the summit of the mound [Figure 9.15; also Figure 9.1, right]. This raises many interesting points. Was there a second story to this temple? Or did this stairway go up into a roof comb? Or was it only a means of ascent to the roof? [See Chapter 1, page 33, note 51.] I will not attempt to answer these questions today, not until the southern corridor has been excavated and I have found out whether it similarly has a stairway first starting west and then turning north to emerge at the top, or whether this corridor leads into a room behind the large recess in the outer chambers, to which latter view rather than the former I incline. I will cover this matter more fully later.

The usual galaxy of visitors came at quarter to four: the two Guatemaltecan *médicos* who came last night, some native friend of theirs, Walcott as cicerone [guide], and several boys from the hospital, including Porfirio. I was too busy over tracing the top step of the stairway in Temple 4 to see if it came out at the top—that is the present top of the mound—to give them much personal attention. We traced nine steps—cabalistic number<sup>30</sup>—the top practically flush with the present

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<sup>30</sup> Another reference to the nine gods and levels of the Underworld. Nine steps, nine doorways, nine terraces, etc., are frequent structural references in Maya architecture (see Chapter 2, page 91, note 45).

top of the mound. This crowd had come in Macphail's motor, and went on around the belt line. I came back direct, bringing that boy who had his foot so badly cut by a falling stone.

I found a telegram from Reeves saying he would be down tomorrow. As the Latin *médicos* are still with us, there was no auction again tonight. Mac hopes to have them out by tomorrow, so perhaps if Reeves plays, we can have a game tomorrow night. I saw Burres for a few minutes before dinner. He was feeling better and not so depressed as yesterday, but the world is still far from roseate for him, poor chap, and he is yet a sick man. Turned in about eleven after a long talk with Mac and Meiggs, after having slept the whole early part of the evening.



Figure 9.15. Lower part of the interior stairway in Structure 1B-4.

### **May 16, Friday**

Spent a large part of the morning in assembling the I.S. and S.S. from the cornice of Temple 1, and placing them in exact alignment on a plank, after which I made two sets of exposures of them [Figure 9.16]. As assembled, and leaving the proper spaces for the six missing glyphs (Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, and 15), the I.S. and S.S. occupied a space of 23 feet [7 m]. A fine inscription indeed and beautifully executed.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Morley's photos of these glyphs have proved essential to modern scholars. Some of the glyph



Figure 9.16. First section of the hieroglyphic cornice of Structure 1B-1. The Initial Series Introductory Glyph is on the left.

Well, the beginning of my third week sees the beginning of the end. I put three boys clearing bush on Temple 1 and two more this afternoon.<sup>32</sup>

Both temples [Structures 1B-3 and 1B-4] are nearly finished. About an hour before closing two boys on the back of Temple 3 located the northwestern exterior corner and another two will reach the southwest ditto before tomorrow night. One difference is already to be noted between the backs of Temples 3 and 4. In the case of the latter, they were obviously afraid the back wall would slip outward and downward, and to avoid this, a triple buttress was built against it. In the case of Temple 3, on the other hand, there never seems to have been any such fear, and barring the usual low platform, there are no buttresses built against its back. There is much less debris behind than there was in front, partly due to the fact that the substructure was lower in front than in back, but principally to the fact that when the wooden lintel over the front doorway failed, the whole upper part of the temple toppled forward.

Inside the temple [Temple 3], the vestibule was almost entirely cleared save only for a part left to support the planks over which the earth and stone from the north chamber will still have

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blocks have been lost over time, and many of them have deteriorated significantly since Morley's time (Luín et al. 2010: Figure 14). See Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>32</sup> Since 1914—the latest prior excavation at the Acropolis—Structure 1B-1 had again become completely overgrown. After Morley's departure at the end of the 1919 season, the Acropolis was largely ignored for the next 56 years until the arrival of the Penn Museum team, at which time the site had to be cleared again from scratch. Today it is maintained as an archaeological park.

to be carried. The central chamber is now cleared with its three interesting recesses [C, D, and E; Table 9.1], each one of which was barer than Mother Hubbard's proverbial receptacle for comestibles, and they were such lovely places to have had things left in them too. The entire doorway into the northern chamber now shows and they will be into the room itself tomorrow.

As it did not rain last night, the mud has all dried up and it is easy digging again. It was, however, furiously hot again and it seems as though the rains cannot hold off another week. Hamilton says his almanac says it will rain the 25th, so I am looking for rain a week from day after tomorrow. One of the Jamaican boys was marveling how I could stand the heat and said there were not two white men in the whole division [of the United Fruit Co., Guatemala] who could stand it like I do. I wonder how well I am standing it. When I got back to the hospital, I weighed myself and only tipped the scales at 120 lbs. To be sure, I had on a silk shirt, but even then, I am six or seven pounds off. Not much, but my maximum has only been 135.

Slowly the vast amount of debris in front of Temple 3 is being moved and tomorrow, I think, it will stand out perfectly clear. At the southwest corner of the vestibule, a part of a human skeleton was found, certain parts of the skull, several teeth, etc. These were found on the floor level and almost looked as though their owner had lost his life when the doorway lintel collapsed.<sup>33</sup> Curiously enough, 3 very small fragments of that painted alabaster vase or basin found in the northern chamber were found in the back of the vestibule, but how they got out here is more than I can imagine. Possibly more will be found when the last six inches from the floor of the central chamber has been removed. Near the skull, a bit of plaster was found on the floor, painted green, the first of its kind so far encountered.

I had to leave the ruins at three to meet Reeves at 3:40, and up to that time the stairway in the south corridor of Temple 4 had not been reached, and the corridor was already cleared beyond the point where the stairway started. I think I will find the south corridor leads to a chamber behind the outer one. Will know tomorrow.

No visitors today, if I except Hamilton's Salvadoreña, who comes over quite regularly, for what purpose I cannot divine, since she complains loudly about the heat as soon as she arrives and always carries a large Turkish shawl with her. Today, however, there was an immediate object: I had promised to take Hamilton Wray's picture with her. I had the boys cover the central chamber of Temple 3 with manaca palm branches (i.e., the corozo palm) and thus converted the ancient holy structures, temporarily only, into a photography gallery. I posed Hamilton with his lady—alas I cannot write *señora*—at the northern end, seated on the bench, and snapped them thrice at different combinations of shutter and stop to make sure of one. I was glad to do this, as Hamilton has been a faithful, efficient foreman, and in addition to having worked for me seven

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<sup>33</sup> Although Morley ascribes the collapse of the building as resulting from the failure of the doorway lintels, the crushed skull may be evidence of an earthquake during the late occupation of the site. A skeleton of a small child surrounded by cooking utensils was discovered crushed under the walls of Structure 1B-18 by the Penn Museum team in the 1970s, and has been cited as evidence for a Late Classic tremor (Kovach 2004: 89–90, 93; Ashmore 2007: 48). Further evidence pointing to a destructive quake as early as the ninth century is the excellent condition of the glyph blocks of the Structure 1B-1 cornice, which show almost no weathering. The near pristine condition may be explained by their having been buried under protective debris at an early date.

years ago on Temple 1, he pitches in now and then himself and works with the men to show them how, he says.

I shall cut down the negro gang (No. 1) next week to eight men, but will keep up No. 2 to do the clearing of the Temple Plaza. Came in at 3 o'clock to meet Reeves, was caught twice by pick-up trains and just managed to reach the station as the train pulled in, but *no hay* Reeves. Nor when I reached the hospital was there any word from him. Cannot imagine why he fell down after the telegram of yesterday advising that he would see me tomorrow.

Many people, the Landrys, Mrs. Weightman, Mrs. Welles, etc., etc., went down on the train tonight to Puerto Barrios for the dance tomorrow night. Brought up from the ruins that boy whose foot was crushed yesterday, to have it dressed. After we got in, Chico went up to Los Amates to buy himself a shirt or two. After dinner—we are back to three again, Mac, Weightman, and myself—I went in to see Burres and played a game of cribbage with him. When I got back, Mac had brought up \$125.00 in ones with which I have got to pay off tomorrow. Turned in early, pretty tired out with the heat, which has again been terrific.

### May 17, Saturday

The third anniversary of poor Lafleur's death.<sup>34</sup> This time two years ago I was at Copan. This time one year ago I had just returned to Monte Cristo from Palenque. And this year at Quirigua. I wonder where I will be next year this time? Before another year has gone by, now that the European War is over, I earnestly hope our government will do something about the matter and press for an indemnity. Heaven knows, this is poor enough recompense in all conscience for the loss of a brother, and it is the very least that the government of Guatemala should be compelled to do, and a good round indemnity at that.<sup>35</sup> Walter Thurston<sup>36</sup> told me in the city [Guatemala City] a fortnight ago that he was in a good humor to press the whole case.

Found that I had 19 men in No. 2 gang, the highest record yet, and eleven in No. 1. I am finishing with No. 1 gang today. Temple 4 is practically finished, or will be by nightfall. It is as I expected—the southern corridor makes a right angle turn to the right (i.e., north) and will end somewhere behind the front outer chamber not far from the stairway. I may retain 3 or 4 Jamaicans to finish odd bits, but will let the greater part out today.

Hamilton had another long hard luck story this morning. He went up to the *comandancia*—on order therefrom—last night and was kept there until nine o'clock. Hamilton thinks he was let out because Alexander told the *comandante* that if he was kept all night the work would suffer down here, and there would be trouble. At all events, he let Hamilton out at nine. I told Hamilton to tell him next time that if he made any more trouble for my foreman, I would take the matter directly up with Don Luis Monzon himself. The trouble seems to be over Hamilton's Salvadoreña,

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<sup>34</sup> See Rice and Ward 2021: Chapter 22, for the story of the murder of Dr. Moise Lafleur, the medical doctor on the ill-fated 1916 Uaxactun expedition.

<sup>35</sup> This refers to the Lafleur brothers' ongoing efforts to secure recompense from the Guatemalan government for the death of their sibling.

<sup>36</sup> Walter Clarence Thurston (1894–1974) served as an American diplomat throughout Latin America, as well as in Europe. At this time, he was stationed in Guatemala City.

whom the *comandante* wants. The girl prefers Hamilton, and hence all this annoyance. If there is any more, however, I shall go direct to Don Luis myself.

Work went slowly at first. A change has been necessary for the last day or so in Temple 3. The central chamber being cleared out, it had become time to finish the clearing of the vestibule. This held up the work inside for about an hour, but after the vestibule was cleared, I got the gang working again. Effort on Temple 3 was concentrated on clearing away the front. This we nearly finished; Monday morning will see it out. The curtain tier and peg corresponding to the one north of the doorway was uncovered in the afternoon. It was in poorer condition than the one on the other side.

The clearing of the bush from Temples 1 and 2 went on apace, and before the close of the afternoon the whole west end of the south side of the temple plaza had been exposed.

Back of the temple (3), the northwest corner both of this temple itself and a surrounding platform was reached and found to be in excellent condition. The two boys working south still lack a couple of meters of reaching the southwest corner. In spite of the fact that one of them is the biggest man on the job, a Trujillo Carib, he works very slowly. Lazy, I suspect. No matter, this is the last day, I suspect.

The biggest surprise of the day came just after we had got through the doorway into the northern chamber. Here, instead of finding ourselves in a room similar to and symmetrical with the southern chamber, at not more than 18" inches we reached a wall, which excavation soon developed turned at right angles and came back against the wall through which the doorway passed. Excavation further showed the wall came to an end. This wall showed a level top about 3½' above the floor upon which rested a mass of fallen roof material, including a very large, thick, rectangular slab. This material was so closely packed that it will be Monday before we can get around it. However, a happy hole though this wall gave what I believe to be the secret of this construction. Two adjacent stones had sagged apart here some 10", disclosing a black hole, or "*hueco*." It was very black inside, but by standing off a foot or so, and not blocking the light, one could see that there was a parallel wall about 2½' [76 cm] on the other side, making a narrow passage. I got a stick about 4' [1.22 m] long though this hole but could not reach the end in either direction. I next lighted a newspaper and thrust it through the hole, and by its illumination saw that this passage had a roof of large slabs, like those we have been taking out, and that this roof was actually intact. There appeared to be some earth on the floor, but the passage or tunnel was at least 2½' [76 cm] high. [This narrow passage can be seen in Figure 9.1, right.]

Here, there is a wonderful place to find the temple treasure or paraphernalia, buried in the bowels of the temple with its roof as intact today as it was 1,380 years ago when the city was abandoned, *más o menos*. Jade plates, alabaster vases, painted bowls, etc., etc. What a treasure of non-perishable materials I could easily conjure up. But alas, previous experiences and one very especial experience here at this very city, not fifty feet [15 m] off in the west chamber of the adjoining Temple 2, acted as a restraining influence; a wet blanket. Seven years ago, when Earl Morris and I dug up Temple 2 [see Chapter 3, page 99] we ran across just such a construction, only then there was no hole in the side wall to show that it was hollow, and until we turned the corner and reached its one open end, we thought it was one of those benches which are so common against the back walls of Maya chambers. When we discovered it was hollow and formed a passage about 2' [60 cm] high, we were frantic with anticipation, thinking it to hold a

priceless treasure at the very least. But what a disillusionment was in store for us. We tore away the earth at the entrance and after poking in a stick to arouse possible *tamagas* [snakes], Earl wiggled in like one on his belly, and disappeared. Presently I heard a muffled grunt followed by a choice stream of miscellaneous profanity and Earl wiggled out feet first and streaming perspiration. The passage at its father end contained 12 or 14 rounded river pebbles ranging up to a foot in diameter, and much blackened with smoke and soot, and not one other single blessed thing! What a *disgusto*, what a *tristeza* [sadness, disappointment]. Here our temple treasure had vanished in the twinkling of an eye into a pile of sooty river pebbles.

The only explanation I could offer for this peculiar construction and its even more bizarre contents was that it had been a place for taking or making, to put it more accurately—sweat baths—custom not unknown to the American Indian. Pebbles were heated in the embers of the fire and then thrown into receptacles of water in a confined place, very much like this, and the resulting vapor brought out the desired secretions of the sudatory glands. I remember Earl Morris' dilating upon the admirability of the place for this purpose.

The construction reached today in Temple 3 very much resembles that discovered in Temple 2 in 1912, and while I hope for the best day after tomorrow, I shall not be disappointed if I only get a few smoky river pebbles.

Temple 4 is nearly finished, a little work clearing of the tops of the buttresses on the west and north sides and working out the end of the narrow passage running behind the outer chamber.

The passage behind the outer chamber is not yet entirely cleared out, but it will probably end just south of or under the stairway which starts from the other corridor. To finish these odd jobs and also the back and north exterior walls of Temple 3, I kept Alexander and seven men in gang No. 1 to come back next week. I had brought down several hundred dollars to pay off this gang, and give out such advances as the men in No. 2 gang may want. Two of this gang wanted to be paid off in full, as they alleged they could not return Monday. So, I paid them in full, \$4.60 each. Hamilton told me afterward that it was a put-up game, some had said they were not getting the \$1.15 I had promised them, but only \$1.00 and this was a test case. Both these men had worked 4 days and each got \$4.60. The effect was salutary, as all the native boys told me they would come back including the two whom I had paid off in full, one assured me that if his *dolor de barriga* [stomach ache] was better Monday, he would return. It is a pretty sure bet that this distressing complaint will have disappeared by that time.

This paying off delayed me somewhat, and I didn't get back to Quirigua until five. I went directly up to the hotel thinking Reeves might have gone there, and saw young Yates, Major Ashmead's private secretary. He said Reeves had gone down to the Commissary with Lane. Later they came up to the hotel and I took Reeves up to the hospital. We both took showers, and then Doc came in and I introduced him. Found a very nice letter from Doctor Woodward saying that I had been reinstated as from March 1st at full pay.<sup>37</sup> And further, that he hoped I could finish my Copan memoir at once as soon as I got home, as there was already a demand for it.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See note 12; Morley was on half pay since early 1917, the balance of his salary covered by the Office of Naval Intelligence during 1917–1918. He was discharged from the ONI in March, 1919.

<sup>38</sup> The Copan "memoir" is Morley's monumental *The Inscriptions at Copan*, which the CIW published in 1920.

Walcott had gone to Puerto Barrios to the dance—indeed Quirigua and all its dependent farms are about emptied of their white population—and there were only three of us at dinner.

Afterward, we went in to see Burres for a few minutes. He is going down to the ruins with us tomorrow morning at six. We talked and played the phonograph and went to bed about half past 9.

### **May 18, Sunday**

I woke at 5:30 and went in and roused Reeves. We sat down at six, the three of us, and the *manietta* and Chico were waiting for us when we got down to the track. Doctor Burres stayed only for half an hour, and as poor Chico's foot was hurting him, I sent him back with Burres, the *manietta* returning for us again, and the boys waiting at Hamilton's camp. Reeves made about two dozen exposures while I followed him around and wrote. He is very much impressed with the ruins, and says they far exceeded his anticipations. We came back about eleven, took a shower, and had lunch. Afterward, I changed to my altogether and read and slept. When one sleeps during these hot days one perspires more freely than waking. And today the mercury fairly soared. It was 90 at 6 o'clock this afternoon.

About five, Reeves and I walked over to see the Welleses and hear all about the *baile*. It was dreadfully hot, and they had danced until four. Men wilted coats as well as collars, and I was given to understand it was a wet night in more ways than one. I was glad, when I heard of the heat and humidity, that I had not gone. Will get the Walcott, James, and Hahnemann versions tomorrow. Two engineers from Guatemala City, down to repair that bridge that is out at Cristales, were up for dinner. Afterward, I was so tired that I excused myself at eight and slept until 10. I reappeared and then talked with Mac and the two engineers until 11, when the two turned in. Mac and I, like a pair of young boarding-school girls back from the Christmas vacation, talked on about ourselves until quarter of twelve. "And me a working man."

### **May 19, Monday**

Reeves came down with me at 6:15 and left me at Stela H to go over and photograph Stelae I, J, and K. I found gang No. 1 in its reduced proportions at work on Temple 4 and gang No. 2, now swelled to the grand total of 22, making things fly at Temple 3. Work on the north chamber with its Turkish bath (?) goes slowly. There was such little space to work around and clear down to the level of its roof. This is taking time and we cannot possibly get around to the entrance until tomorrow, and will probably not finish the chamber itself until Wednesday. The work across the front will be most done tonight. Temple 3 was built so low on the substructure that whereas its back wall is standing only 3' or 4' [91 cm to 1.23 m] high, we had to go down fully 10' [3.04 m] below this in front to get the base of the platform on which the temple rests.

This has necessitated the moving of a great deal of earth and stone, some of it twice, and I am afraid before we get the front really cleared up it will have taken another whole day with 10 or 12 men working on it. Two men are working across the north end and they will also reach the northeast corner tomorrow. In Temple 4, the three men working in the interior are even moving slower. They are working now and although the room is very narrow—not more than 3' [91 cm] wide—it has to be taken around three corners before it finally reaches the outside dump, and this takes time. The west exterior wall is now fully exposed, and there lacks only a small section of

the north side. But this goes slowly, too. In the face of all this slowness, the only spot of speed is the clearing of the bush in the Temple Plaza and over Temple 1, which now goes forward rapidly. Two more days should finish this.

I found out this morning where the fragment of green plaster found Saturday came from. A large section, several inches square, was found adhering to the top of the back step of the vestibule. In this position it overlays a coat of red plaster. I found no traces of this below the top of this step.

The heat has been so terrific that I took a thermometer down to the ruins today and put it in the sun, which is where we all have to work. I copy the record at 7, 9, 11, 1, and 3:

7:00 A.M. 86 degrees

9:00 A.M. 100 degrees

11:00 A.M. 104 degrees

1:00 P.M. 105 degrees

3:00 P.M. [left blank]

One of the boys put it [the thermometer] where it got the full benefit of the early afternoon sun, and it climbed to 125, which is as high as the thing registered.

I spent the last hour of the day in the northern chamber of Temple 3. The boys working there had got down to the top of the covered passage, which well nigh fills this room. This was one of the typical white plaster finishes and had been painted red like the floors and walls of the rest of the building. Just at four we got down to the entrance of this passage, but it was too choked up to enter. Our hopes and fears were all keyed up and Reeves was very anxious to go on so he could see it opened before he returns to the city—he goes back tomorrow.

I chose my two *manietta* boys and Ismael Arden, the boy who had been digging it out, and they set at it with vigor under promise of a day and a half's pay for the day. Stone and earth flew as never before. They fairly panted with their exertions and in a half an hour they had enough earth cleared from the low doorway so that I could wiggle in on my belly like a snake. Chico had cut a long stick which I poked ahead against any lurking *tamagas*, and I carried a bunch of old newspapers and a box of matches to illuminate my way. The passage was 10 or 12 feet [3.66 m] long—accurate measurements to be made later—2' [61 cm] broad and perhaps 2 ½' [76 cm] high, after I got in. At the far end it ran against the west wall of the northern chamber and then made a right angle turn to the left, ending at the south wall of the same chamber.

Unhappily for all my dreams of jade plates, inscribed bowls, painted vases, things thus made and, after all, theoretically possible, and in so convenient and appropriate a place as this so easily to have been cached, the place was another Mother Hubbard's cupboard. Save for a fine earth, almost a dust (though damp), which had either sifted in or washed down, the place so far as I could judge was empty. Before I can pronounce definitely, however, it will be necessary to clear out all this earth on the floor, but that cannot be done until the floor level of the northern chamber has been reached, which will be by tomorrow. Considering that they had already had a long and fearfully hot day's work, these three boys labored like demons, and before five had cleared the entrance of this passage sufficiently for me to wiggle in. I could not help but wonder who had entered last. Some faithful servant of the temple seeking to remove the holy vessels before the city was abandoned, some chance intruder years later, wandering through the silent city, or possible some jungle animal—jaguar, peccary, tapir—a-hunting. Whoever or whatever it had

been could little have suspected the circumstances and time under which and by whom it was to be entered next. But the cool, clean, speechless walls told no tales, and I wiggled back out, half suffocated with the heat and smoke made by my improvised torch.

Just before closing time, along the buttress on the north side of Temple 4, Francis found a lonely spherical jade bead, beautifully polished and well bored. We were late in returning to Quirigua, and by the time we were through our showers and iced-tea, it was time for high-balls and dinner. Just before we sat down, young Yates came up. He expects Major Ashmead Friday or Saturday of this week. I am anxious to hear how he fared at Copan, how Don Juan received him, and whether anything new has turned up since I was there six months ago. In the evening we played auction, our old four—Meiggs and Mac against Weightman and myself. Reeves read and wrote up some notes, as he doesn't play. He returns to the city in the morning.

### **May 20, Tuesday**

After breakfast, I went in and bid Reeves goodbye. He is taking up 56 exposures for me to Biener to be developed and printed. No. 1 gang was intact at 7, and No. 2 only one off at 21. Francis found an obsidian knife a little bit east of where the jade bead turned up yesterday, i.e., along the north façade of Temple 4. These two specimens are Nos. 20 and 21 [see artifact inventory at the end of this chapter]. It is very sharp and both Chico and myself managed to cut ourselves with it. I am going to try shaving with it tonight when I go in.

In the back, or west chamber, of Temple 4 they have found a deep recess extending at least six feet [1.83 m] into the back wall. This back chamber of Temple 4 is very narrow, less than 3' [91 cm] and work goes very slowly here. In the north chamber of Temple 3, a narrow window was exposed, similar to that in the same wall of the southern chamber. There is also a recess like those in the south and west walls of the southern chamber in the east end of the north wall.

The eastern end of Temple 1 is now cleared of bush and I walked over there to see the sculptured stones, hieroglyphic and otherwise, which came from the façade of this temple. I counted at least 13 pieces with hieroglyphs, and these I am going to have brought around in front of the temple and placed on a board as I did with the I.S. and S.S.

Walking across the foot of the stairway leading to Temple 1, i.e., on the court level, I found a stone from the hieroglyphic cornice with the familiar Secondary Series glyph followed by the day 11, 12, or 13 Ik'.

In front of Temple 3, and on each side of the doorway, was found a long piece of stone. It was rough at one end—obviously that which had been tenoned into the wall, but dressed smooth from where it had projected beyond the wall. Traces of plaster painted red still adhered to it in spots. The one on the north side of the doorway was broken. Toward the close of the afternoon, the gang in Temple 4 reached the end or north wall of the back (west) chamber of the temple. This comes to the surface less than 2' [61 cm] behind (i.e., south of) the edge of the top step of the stairway leading from the north chamber. How the roof could have been constructed here is difficult to say. When the whole back chamber is excavated, possibly traces of the vaulting may be left to tell the story.

I had hopes of finishing the front of Temple 3, and its northern chamber, but both of these will hang over until tomorrow. The thermometer fairly soared today. I copy the readings below. All were taken in the shade, save the first two:

7:00 A.M. 84 degrees  
9:00 A.M. 108 degrees  
11:00 A.M. 106 degrees  
1:00 P.M. 109½ degrees  
3:00 P.M. 104 degrees

The heat at one o'clock was stifling. Perspiration—happily—poured from me, and even the Jamaican boys, black as ebony, suffered. One Nathaniel Watt said, "The sun bite today, chief."

Coming back to Quirigua, I stopped off with Hamilton Wray and one of my new men who knows the place at Section 76, Maya Farm, to see Stela S.<sup>39</sup> If the weather holds out and the native boys finish before Saturday of this week when I want to close my work, I may have them open the fairly large mound which is behind Stela S.<sup>40</sup> I stopped at the station and sent a telegram to Mr. Clark asking him to ask Reeves to send back his camera tripod. At the hospital, I found two big registered letters from the C.I. I heard from True,<sup>41</sup> Alice Jackson, Jack Belt, Popenoe, bills, club notices, etc., but no drafts from the C.I. Doctor Woodward's cable reached me Saturday, May 3, and said "funds sent as requested." If so, they ought to have arrived ere this.

Three-handed poker game—Meiggs, Mac, and Landry—was in progress when I got in. Landry said it was 102 degrees on his porch at 3:00 P.M. There were three at dinner—Mac, Walcott, and I. In the evening we played: Mac and Meiggs against Weightman and me. Just after dinner, young Yates came up and said Major Ashmead reached Esquipulas yesterday. That probably means Chiquimula today, Zacapa tomorrow, and here Thursday. Yates looks for him Friday, but in all this heat I fancy he will not want to tarry longer than necessary.

### May 21, Wednesday

While we were playing cards last night, it grew hotter and hotter and hotter until a storm broke, a heavy wind, and some rain. After the wind had passed, the rains settled down to a steady business, though not heavy. Today shows a heavy loss: Maya Farm lost 4,000 trees, Choctaw 45,000 and others correspondingly.<sup>42</sup> I am anxiously waiting to hear how Mac's little *finca* came out.

Today was devoted to finishing up a number of loose ends. Francis, working by himself, reached the southwest corner of Temple 3, and started east, working along the south wall to meet the diggings abandoned here ten days ago. The north chamber of this temple was finished, and a recess was found in the west end with its sill above the level of the floor of the passage or sweat-

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<sup>39</sup> Stela S, dating to AD 736—the first monument of ruler K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Yo'paat—was discovered at Group B, just over 2 km west of the site core. It was originally erected at the Main Plaza, but moved "as a relic to sacralize Group B" (Looper 2003: 196–196, 2007: 177–178).

<sup>40</sup> This structure was excavated during Morley's brief return in 1923 (Chapter 1, page 33).

<sup>41</sup> Morley's daughter.

<sup>42</sup> The first rains of the rainy season, arriving in late May or early June, are often accompanied by violent, derecho- or tornado-like winds. May is the last and hottest month of the dry season. Although Morley doesn't mention it here, this month is also when Maya farmers, in anticipation of the coming rains, clear and burn their fields for planting, making the atmosphere not only unbearably hot, but also chokingly smoke-filled.

box. I borrowed a lantern from Mr. James at lunch and when they get in, they will use this. I am also having the floor of the central chamber cleared up and this will be finished tomorrow. The front of the temple is now cleared, and just before lunch I had No. 2 gang stand in the doorway and photographed them there. I have two boys exposing the southwest corner of the court showing the relation of Temple 2 to the substructure of Temple 3, and two other boys working above them on the terrace showing the relation of the northwest corner of Temple 2 to the southeast corner of Temple 3. The big discovery of the day was made by Frenchy and Nathaniel Watts. They were working just north of Temple 3 on the terrace facing the Temple Court and found a large mosaic in situ [Figure 9.17]. This has not been uncovered sufficiently to say just what it is yet, but the part exposed is in excellent condition. It has scrolls, fangs, etc. and is probably a mask in profile. The big discovery, however, was not this but the fact that the narrow bench, which was first exposed on the back side of the temple is in reality the medial cornice.



Figure 9.17. Mosaic mask on wall between Structures 1B-3 and 1B-4 (under the covering on Figure 9.24).

This cornice is at least nine feet above the level of the platform outside and doubtless went clear around the building formerly. It is preserved entirely on the west and north sides owing to the general terrace having built right up to the temple on these two sides, and actually under it and against the temple proper. When I come to take the final measurements, particularly elevations around the temple, I think it will be possible to come very close to calculating its original height.

Another fragment, and fortunately a contiguous one, of the hieroglyphic vase was found 2 yards back. I spent a great part of the morning assembling fragments of the hieroglyphic cornice of Temple 1 in front of it. I had left these disconnected glyphs in a pile by themselves in 1912 when I last worked here, at the east end of the Temple. These I had carried to the platform in front of the temple and arranged them so I could photograph them [Figures 9.18, 9.19].



Figure 9.18. Two taped-together photographs of un-ordered glyph blocks from the cornice of Structure 1B-1, arranged and photographed by Morley. Also see Figures 9.20 and 9.21, below.



Figure 9.19. Additional glyph blocks from the cornice of Structure 1B-1, again not in original order. Note the lack of weathering on the sculpting.

After lunch, I started to draw the scale and I.S. and S.S. of Temple 1 and finished the former. It was very difficult because of the perspiration which literally poured off me, running chiefly from the extremities of my nose and chin. It was all I could do to keep these from dropping on my drawing and ruining it. The temple plaza is now practically cleared of bush. The boys are finishing Temple 5 this afternoon, and I already have two gangs working to expose the exterior walls, which neither Maudslay nor Hewett ever seem to have uncovered. I am looking for them so I can make an accurate ground plan of the temple, which I am afraid Hewett never had either Morris or Judd do for him. I had planned to get in about 4:30 and photograph the six little girls, but got caught behind a banana “pick-up” train and the surly engineer would not let me by him, with the result that I didn’t get in until way after five, and the sun was then too low to make a snapshot safe.

I telephoned Mrs. Landry that I would try it Sunday afternoon. When I got up to the hospital, Meiggs, Mac, and Landry were having a 3-handed poker game. I asked at once after Mac’s *finca*, but he had no certain news save that it was probably very bad. Weightman and Walcott came in presently for their daily highballs, and I slipped away for a shower. In the evening while we were playing auction—Meiggs and Mac contra Weightman and me—Mac had a phone call from his *mandador* saying that relatively speaking the damage on his *finca* was very slight. Mac, naturally, was delighted. He told me before dinner that if only half were standing he would be satisfied, but he now finds the damage was very much less. We had a rule that we would not start a new rubber any evening after 10:15. The first time I looked at my watch, however, it was 11:40. Too late by far for a working man that rises at 5:30 the way I do.

### **May 22, Thursday**

Shortly after five this morning—Mr. James tells me it was 5:05 by his watch—I was awakened by a considerable earthquake. The whole hospital shook, beds rocked, and the building trembled—it seemed—for some thirty seconds. One could hear the patients stirring, and that indescribable murmur of many people disturbed passed through the building. I went back into a doze after it was over until 5:30, when I rose. I stopped at the station on the way to the ruins to find out if possible if anything had happened to Guatemala [City]. The operator told me he thought not, as he was talking with Gualan he said, where the Gualan operator told him it had scarcely been felt.

This morning at eleven, three weeks’ works were finished. When I came up from Puerto Barrios three weeks ago this morning, Welles’ gang had not yet completed the clearing of Temple 3. I had three men, Ifield and two others, one of whom burned out before lunch. We have moved a lot of earth and stone in this period. All the Fruit Co. men who know anything about labor problems here say so—Landry, Welles, Lane, etc.—think we have accomplished considerable in view of this terrific heat wave which the thunderstorm night before last seems to have broken. All that is now left is a few odd jobs, and I disbanded gang No. 1 as a working unit and dismissed the foreman at the conclusion of the day’s work. I kept five of the men, however, to help me finish a few odd jobs.

During the cool of the morning, after the work was well organized for the day, I went over to Temple 1 and started drawing the Supplemental Series [Figures 9.20, 9.21]. Before it had gotten too hot to work, I had finished all of it but the last four glyphs of a period-ending, which follows immediately after the Initial Series terminal date.

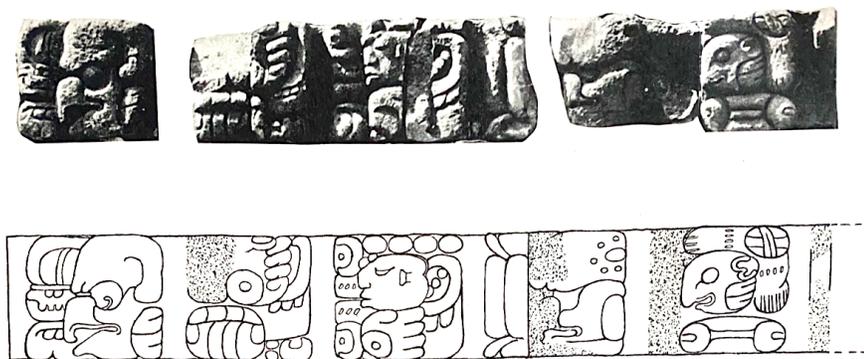


Figure 9.20. Morley's photos and drawings of the Supplementary Series (first half) from the cornice of Structure 1B-1 (see Chapter 3).

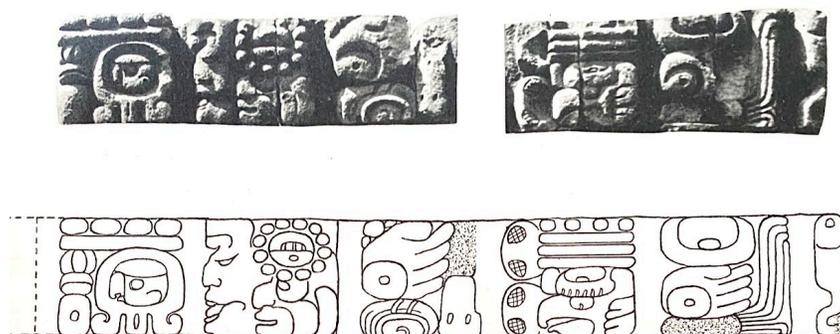


Figure 9.21. Second half of the Supplemental Series from the cornice of Structure 1B-1.

After Francis had exposed the southwest exterior corner of Temple 3, I put him to going down into the hearting of the mound which had been built right up alongside and against it, and before closing he had found this intact, well buried in the platform, or terrace, which had been built up against the wall proper.

Chico and Daniel worked in the little passage in the northern chamber of Temple 3 almost all day. It was hot, close work with a smoky kerosene lantern, and when they came out from time to time for breathing spells, they looked like little blackamoors. The passage, which turns to the left instead of stopping at the south main wall of the north chamber, enters through a narrow low doorway into a small vaulted chamber. The doorway of this latter is so filled with a fine, damp dust that I could not get into it until it is cleared out.

Although no hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found in the two temples excavated this year, structurally they have been far more interesting than either of the buildings excavated in 1912 (Nos. 1 and 2) or the two in 1914 (Nos. 5 and 6). No. 4, with its interior stairway leading to the roof, and now No. 3 with this small dark vaulted chamber in the very heart of the building, easily are of greater architectural interest. What could this small chamber have been used for? As I peered in through the narrow, choked doorway by the light of a blazing manaca leaf, it seemed to be about 4 to 5 feet high, 4 feet wide, and 8 feet long [.91–1.52 m high, 1.22 m wide, and 2.44 m

long]. Was it a storage room for temple paraphernalia? Was it a place for inner secret rites? *Quien sabe?* When I crawl into it tomorrow, I may be able to tell more about it.

At present its entire floor is covered to a depth of two feet [61 cm] with the fine, damp, reddish-yellow earth, which I have mentioned before, and in which I think a lot of rotten wood pulp is present. That this chamber was not an afterthought, built in after the building had been completed, is clear from its position in the center of the wall. It could only have been built when the walls themselves were in course of construction, and it was part of the original plan. Such were the methods of Maya roof construction that it would have been extremely hazardous to have taken out such a great section from the hearting of the wall without greatly weakening, if not actually bringing down, the roof. Another point indicating that this passage in the north chamber, as well as the small interior chamber itself, was part of the original plan is the fact that the sill of the recess in the west wall of the north chamber without the floor of this passage to stand upon, would have been so high above the level of the floor of the north chamber to have been practically useless.

I had Francis dig down through the platform at the southwest corner of Temple 3 under the cornice and expose the corner, which of course was in excellent condition here. Also have two men clearing back along the south side of the temple exposing the buttress, which goes around the southeast corner [Figure 9.22]. Finished work here today, save for cleaning out the passageway and interior chamber.



Figure 9.22. A corner buttress on Structure 1B-3.

The roof construction in the back room of Temple 4 is now clear, and it is also apparent that this chamber is now standing to its original height. This room was roofed only with a half arch, i.e., the wall on its east side only was corbelled. The top course of this is *in situ* and, moreover, the end wall (north) shows this same shape at the top that is the line of the ends of the stones *in situ* slopes only on the one side. As noted above, the rise of the last step *in situ* is only 1' [30 cm] north

of the north wall of this chamber, and the tread of this same step is the same level as the slabs which originally covered this back chamber. North and south cross-section through center of stairway and back chamber of Temple 4 are the roof slabs of this back room and the line of its north wall being the top of the rise of the last step and being 1 foot [30 cm]. This settles clearly enough the roof construction of the back chamber, but leaves unsettled how the stairway itself was roofed and how it emerged on top, i.e., covered or through an opening in the roof. Unfortunately, the remains of this part of the stairway are gone and we can only conjecture what took place. Possibly it was covered with an arch, like the stairways at Copan.

I made what may be an important discovery—if it pans out—in Temple 5 in the afternoon. In exposing the base of its south façade, i.e., the front of the temple, it became apparent that Earl Morris had not gone to the floor of the vestibule in clearing the doorway [in 1914]. Earl had taken his earth and stone out on the level of the floor of the north and south cross-section through main doorway Temple 5, outer chamber. I discovered the original cement flooring outside along the south wall, which at once established the fact that there is a step [bench]. This probably has no hieroglyphics on it, but I will have a gang take out the earth and will know by tomorrow whether it has or not. All my hopes are one way but all my fears point another after the failure to find hieroglyphic steps in Nos. 3 and 4, and particularly in No. 3. I will know tomorrow, however.

Only had one visitor today—Welles—who came down fairly early in the morning. At the close of work today, I paid off gang No.1, including Ifield. I kept five men, however, to do odd finishing up jobs for me until the end of the week. Also reduced gang No. 2 to 10 men, i.e., to those actually living in Hamilton Wray's camp. When I got back to the switch, I found that the earthquake had been very slight in Guatemala [City], scarcely felt. At the hospital, Meiggs, Mac, and Landry were playing poker. Landry stayed on to dinner, and also Ames, the Superintendent of El Pilar District, and they had a foursome at poker afterward. I went up to see Louise Silas, who used to be True's nurse girl here eight years ago. She is now married to Landry's table boy and she is now the Landry's nursemaid. Mrs. Landry told me the wedding was a very gala occasion, all the money they had earned for months going into the festivity. Louise wants me to take their picture, which I promised to do. Her two brothers, Andrew and Marius, were with me when Lafleur was killed.<sup>43</sup> Both are now in the American Army and in France.

### May 23, Friday

The day started inauspiciously enough in all conscience. I was just crossing the railroad track coming down from the hospital when who should pass but Eliseo Ramos, one of my two *manietta* boys in *duress vile* [under arrest]. A corporal and two soldiers were bearing him off to the *comandancia*. I protested violently and told the corporal I had the *comandante's* exemption for all my *cuadrilla*, but he said there was a new *comandante*. I told him that Don Luis himself had given me special assurance that my work would not be molested by having my men drafted for military service—which they all loathe, let me add, because they have to work for nothing—but the *cabo* only shrugged his shoulders in that inimitably expressive Latin way, which says so much so impudently in no words at all, and said Eliseo would have to go to the *comandancia* just the same. What he said was "*Que me importa*" [I don't care; what does it matter to me]. I was furious, and

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<sup>43</sup> See notes 34 and 35.

the five of us set out for Old Quirigua at a smart pace set by me. Arrived at the *comandancia*, I was halted outside until the *comandante* himself came out. He proved to be a very decent sort, and when he found out I had had Don Luis' permission he had Eliseo released immediately, and asked me to send him back at five with a list of all my men so they could be given their *fichos* or *boletas* of exemption. The only other mishap in reaching the ruins was that the *manietta* ran into a push car at A Line, but happily did not break and I went on my way rejoicing.

I have a number of men at work on Temple 5, clearing it and excavating in several places to expose its four exterior walls in order that I can make a ground plan. The east and west walls were quickly exposed, but the north wall was not found today. I had a boy start on the side at what looked like ground level and dig for four hours, until it became apparent we were inside the wall and I had to look elsewhere. I put him then along the east wall to follow it north until he had the northeast corner, which he had not found by closing time.

The gang in the doorway, just before lunch, reached the step, which I so fondly hoped might be hieroglyphic, but no such luck; it was plain as the palm of your hand, made of excellent blocks, but unsculptured. The excavations this year have conclusively demonstrated that Temple 1 was the most elaborately decorated and, probably correspondingly, the most important on the Temple Plaza [Acropolis]

After this doorway was cleared out, I transferred this gang to the terrace between Temples 3 and 4, where I am removing the last of the dirt and stone that encumbers the substructure at this point, and unnecessarily complicates the arrangement here. I also put a boy in the plaza of Zoomorphs O and P, going down through the two-odd feet [~60 cm] to the original flag paving of this court. He is excavating a six-foot [1.83 m] trench from the northern base of the Acropolis to Zoomorph O so that I can get some level readings here next week. I spent the cool hours of the morning in drawing the rest of the S.S. of Temple 1 (Figures 9.20, 9.21), and the first glyphs of the east doorway of the temple. In clearing out the floor level of the south chamber of Temple 4, a part of that small clay cylinder with a hole running through its long axis found in the outer chamber was recovered. This part has a fancy end. In addition to the perforation along its long axis there are two holes running down from the surface of the shaft into the longitudinal perforation. It would seem to have been some sort of wind instrument, a flute perhaps. One end was not recovered at all. Its discovery in two adjacent rooms would tend to indicate that it had been broken by the fall of the room and the fragments scattered. The break where the missing part joined on is an old break, however.

Today has been, and tomorrow will be, a day of cleaning up. The bush is now almost all down and the Temple Plaza again looks like it did in 1912 when I left. In the evening we played auction, the usual four—Meiggs, Mac, Morley, and Weightman.

### **May 24, Saturday**

The last official day of work. Doctor Walcott came down with me, and I took him in by Stela K, which is much the best way to enter now, as this path comes in over the low platform of the east side of the Temple Plaza, and all the work done there strikes one suddenly—the clearing after the walk through the dense bush, the excavation, the temples themselves—one sees it all at once in an overpowering *coup d'oeil* [lit. “stroke of the eye;” brief survey]. Walcott got it all right, said he was

swept off his feet at the immensity of it; that it was the first time he had realized that it was a city. I sent him back in my *manietta*.

I drew six glyphs in the eastern doorway of Temple 1, and then began taking final measurements in Temples 3 and 4. Daniel and Chico, with brooms improvised from some bush plant, swept out the interior chambers, doorway, platform, and approach to Temple 3, and thus cleaned up, it really begins to look very well. I had hoped this would be the last day, but the heat was so terrific, 100 degrees in the shade, that the boys slowed down under it considerably and another half day will be necessary tomorrow. At least the northeast corner of Temple 5 has been located, and shows that the back wall is about 12' [3.66 m] thick!, surely indicative of the former presence of a roof comb here.



Figure 9.23. Front (east) façade of the west side of the Acropolis as seen today. Structure 1B-3 is in the distance at the far left, Structure 1B-4 is in the foreground. The covered area between them is the location of the wall that is decorated with mosaic masks (see Figure 9.17). Note the long buttress on the façade of Structure 1B-4, directly against the wall (near center of photo). A corner buttress is visible on Structure 1B-3 on the extreme left (see Figure 9.22).

The earth and stone on the substructure between Temples 3 and 4 were not quite cleared away by closing time, nor are the fallen bush from the slopes of the substructure of Temple 5, so we can use a few men tomorrow.

I paid off the last men of Gang No. 1 tonight and told Hamilton to bring only four men out in the morning, which, with the two *manietta* boys, will make six. I decided to pay off down here at the ruins tomorrow morning.

Whitford, the Yale Forestry man down with the Economic Survey Commission, is back from the other side of the river and was up at dinner this evening. He said something which to me was of extraordinary interest, bearing directly as it did on the problem of my cherished Maya, who after all these years and particularly at Quirigua, I am beginning to feel I know so well. He made the statement that insofar as his investigations have gone in this region, that he does not believe that the forest in the Motagua Valley is a primeval forest that has never been felled, but that on the contrary he believes that the whole valley plain has at one time been under intensive cultivation. He reaches this interesting conclusion from wholly un-archaeological evidence, and entirely from evidence presented by the forest itself in its present condition. He says that a virgin forest never is simple like this Motagua forest, but that such a forest is exceedingly complex, running as high as 20 different varieties of big trees to the acre. The Motagua forest, on the other hand, runs only 6 or 7 on the average, and these are all quick growths like the ceiba, the tamarind, the corozo (manaca) palm, *amate* [fig], and mahogany.

This simple character of the Motagua forest strongly indicates that it was not primeval, that it is, in short, a new forest due to reforestation after having been completely felled at one time. In the Philippines and Colombia, the coastal forests of Brazil, and the Malay Peninsula, where he has examined primeval forests, they are exceedingly complex and present far more varieties than does the Motagua forest. He believes, in fine, that many species were exterminated here when the Maya felled the original forest and put it under cultivation, species, moreover, which have never succeeded in re-establishing themselves. This all bears importantly on the contention we archaeologists have long maintained that the whole Motagua Valley, hereabouts, was cleared and under intensive cultivation 15 centuries ago.<sup>44</sup>

In the evening he stayed on, and with Meiggs, Mac, and myself had an evening of auction.

### **May 25, Sunday**

I had six men at work this morning finishing the clearing and those last few odd jobs that will never finish. I drew some glyphs in the central doorway of Temple 1, laborious affairs which required a great deal of measuring only to find that I had put them on the wrong sheet and both had to come out. My procedure was as follows: Swore fluently for a couple of minutes, then wiped the perspiration off my face, sat down and smoked a cigarette, and then erased the two misplaced characters.

The first work I did, however, was to pay off Hamilton Wray's boys, the nucleus of gang No. 2, and certainly the best natives I have had. These had time ranging from 10 days to 22, and we had quite a session. I had them carry my table and stool into the outer chamber of Temple 4, and there in the shade of its thick eastern wall, paid them off. It was the first time in its hoary antiquity that its venerable sanctity had been violated by making of it a counting house, and I half expected to see some offended Maya priest appear and drive the money changers from the temple.

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<sup>44</sup> This is an extremely early and prescient observation. After decades of studies, virtually all Mayanists now agree that the species composition of lowland forests is not original or pristine, but instead heavily (and negatively) affected by Maya slash-and-burn agricultural, building construction, lime-burning, and other practices.

I added to my series of measurements on Temple 3, which I finished, indeed, this morning. I knocked off work at eleven-fifteen and came in to Quirigua as I had to go to Virginia this afternoon, and also Doc and I had been asked over to the Welleses for dinner. I brought young Yates back with me—he had come down to photograph the ruins—and it was so hot I persuaded him to stay until I went back. Mr. James and his old time-keeper at Aztec [Farm], a Mr. Holme, were also visitors during the morning.

We nearly suffocated with a delicious big dinner at the Welleses at which Gurier—Doc's *finca* manager—and Hahnemann were the other two guests. Poor little Helen had quite a hot fever when I got there, but before I left this had broken and she had begun to be her little self again. In addition to chicken, which their cook negotiates more successfully than any other *cocinero* or *cocinera* here, we had *tepisquintle*, that most delicious of all bush meats.<sup>45</sup> Mac and I did not tarry long after dinner. Mac had a call at the hospital and I had a number of things to do before leaving for Virginia. I heard Smith was up and went over to see him about a level, level rod, etc., etc. He said I could have anything I wanted, but had better pick it out myself.

The ride down was very hot. I found them all playing tennis when I got there. Mr. Shaw, the two boys, Rica, Mr. and Mrs. Tyvie, and a boy who came out from England with the Shaws to work for the Fruit Co. I watched them for a while, but it appeared to me too strenuous for the heat. Father Shaw was the motive power, and time and time again he drove reluctant sons forward to the fray. After the tennis, we repaired to the manager's house for dinner. Had some delicious *tepisquintle*, it is undoubtedly the best of all the bush meats.

I decided to postpone all business until morning, and as soon as dinner was over, we went upstairs and cleared decks for action. We were five, both Shaw boys, Shaw, their friend Halsey, and myself. The Shaw boys both play an excellent game, but the Halsey boy was putrid. I was fairly rank myself, was very sleepy. We played until twelve, however.

### May 26, Monday

Up at 6:00. Right after breakfast, went over to Mr. Shaw's office and asked him if he would cash my personal check for three hundred dollars, which he very kindly consented to do, because of the non-arrival of my drafts from Washington. I next looked up the engineering instruments. First tried to get Smith at Quirigua, but he was out on the line somewhere and wasn't to be reached. Messing around with all this surveying paraphernalia carried me back 15 years to old P.M.C.<sup>46</sup> days. I finally selected a small level and stadia rods, and had them carried down to Mr. Shaw's office. And as I had about half an hour, wrote a letter or two and also added to these pages. I came up on the morning passenger [train] and found my *manietta* boys waiting for me. Left the level and rods with Lane, who is going to help me in the survey, and came down to the ruins at once.

I found Hamilton Wray and the two Angels had carried out some of the planks, and were at the moment clearing the fallen bush from the terrace between the Great Plaza and Temples 4 and

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<sup>45</sup> *Tepisquintle* (Nahua, *tepezcuintle* 'mountain-dog'; *Cuniculus paca*) is a large brown rodent, often called an agouti (*Dasyprocta*), weighing 15–20 pounds. Its flesh is mild and flavorful, not unlike chicken or similar fowl, and has been dubbed "the other white meat" in certain field projects.

<sup>46</sup> Pennsylvania Military College, where he earned a degree in civil engineering.

5. I put the two *manietta* boys to work on clearing the earth and stone from between Temples 3 and 4. This job is nearly finished. The heat was terrific. I made a map of Temple 4 with Hamilton Wray at the other end of the measure. After lunch I put the two Angels clearing the pile of dirt and fallen stones from in front of the doorway of Temple 5.

The two *manietta* boys refused to work, said the heat was too intolerable. They would wait until I was ready to go home and then take me thither and I need only give them a half day, therefore, but they refused to work in that sun, they said. About two a boy came over from Mr. James with a message from Landry saying "the *pagador* was to give him some *pisto*" [slang for money, cash]. I knew of no reason why I should turn over to this wretched *mozo* some *pisto* and sent him scurrying back to James for further particulars. I had been making the map of Temple 5 when he interrupted. Between intervals of measuring in that terrific heat I retired to the little interior chamber, and gasped for breath to go on again, and put down the measurements.

In one of these intervals, the boy appeared again with a note from James saying that Landry had telephoned out that the paymaster had some money for me and I was to come in at once. I knocked off work, it was about three, and started for Quirigua at once. Met Lane at the station and he said the paymaster was up at the hotel. When I got up there, he said Mr. Shaw had instructed him to cash a check for \$300.00 for me. Quick work on Shaw's part, I thought. He handed me \$290.00, taking out \$10.00 for a wireless I had sent Gann from Tegucigalpa. Lane ordered a huge pitcher of iced tea, and I drank four huge tumblers full, and at that I was not holding my own against losses through perspiring.

Lane is coming up tonight to lay out the ground for our surveying tomorrow. When I got up to the hospital, he called me up and asked me to be sure to have whiskey, and plenty of it. I was a bit fearful of this as I didn't want to have any "Light That Failed" type of help, but a social glass, of course—one or two, that is—would be a different matter. He came about 7:30, a game of bridge was on: Meiggs, Mac, Doctor White (a yellow-fever man who came down last night and whom I hadn't met until now), White, and Whitford of the Commission. I had asked Mac if I could have a bottle of Scotch, one nearly empty, and I had had some soda water put on ice. I saw at once that it was to be a talkfest and devilish little work. Indeed, Lane cleared the decks for action by saying we could do better on the ground than making any rough sketch map first and that he had to talk to someone anyhow. As soon as he saw there were but two drinks left in the bottle—I was taking nothing—he said that wouldn't last any time, and for God's sake to get more, as it was a hot night. I told him when he finished that I would ask Mac for more. He proceeded to hasten this by taking the whole business in one "*trago*" [drink]. And followed what he claimed was the history of his life and the cause of his unhappiness. I cannot go into this record even here. It was given voluntarily to be sure, but under pledge of secrecy. It was an extraordinary yarn in which he figures as an almost unbelievable hero. If half of what he told me his true, his life has been a hideous tragedy with his having to continue to pay the piper to the very end. This did not all come at once, and not always coherently. It was interspersed with drinks—I had gotten another bottle—and this he fell upon, drinking his rounds neat and washing them down with only a sip of water.

By ten I had had enough of it, and heard enough, and besides, as is my usual custom, I had become sleepy. But by this time also he had become drunk and he would not go. I told him I was tired, but he replied he was lonesome and I would have to talk to him. The card game broke up

and still he talked on and on, drinking, drinking, drinking. At twelve I drew the line, told him I was going to sleep. I had been undressed in pajamas and in my bed since ten—whether he stayed or not. After leaving me, he went in and drawled on to Mac, and was still at it when I went to sleep.

### **May 27, Tuesday**

Arose at 5:45 a.m. and was down at the switch about 6:30. To my amazement, Lane was up and, although looking very seedy, could [not do] very much more than navigate. Mac told me when I came back in the afternoon that he (Lane) had gassed on and on and on to him (Mac) until two o'clock, when Mac had to send him home, at which time, as Mac put it, he was downright slobbery drunk. We got the [survey] instrument aboard and set off for the ruins at seven. When we got down there, he [Lane] asked me to send back for a half dozen bottles of beer, and I did so. I felt I had to get what help I could out of him even if I had to coax him that way. Sent Chico back in the *manietta* for it.

The surveying did not start off too promisingly, either. In the first place, the level I had picked was “*no bueno*” as far as the compass part was concerned. Although it was new, the needle had become bent in some way and would not float clear when the instrument was leveled up, so that when we were taking bearings, we had to tilt the compass slightly on purpose so that the needle would swing around clear. And in the second place, Lane was in no condition for efficient work. His potations of the night before, plus the six beers (which he consumed before eleven) left him lousy and sodden and in no condition certainly to withstand the heat, which was rapidly becoming a terrible thing. He wanted to knock off at 10:30, at which time we had finished the bearings, but I persuaded him to stick it out until eleven, by which time we had made a good start on the levels, established our benchmark, which is the lefthand dot (i.e., east dot) of the coefficient of 9 in the day 9 Ahau in the center doorway of Temple 1, and made several readings.

During the morning I had the two Angels clearing the western chamber of Temple 5 so I could finish making the plan of it, interrupted yesterday, when I had to go into Quirigua in the middle of the afternoon to see the paymaster. As we were walking though the Great Plaza on our way to Maya Farm for lunch, with the sun broiling down straight on top of us, Lane said, “God, Morley, I wish I did not have to go back this afternoon.” As the last half hour had been sufficient to bring back running levels to me: F.S., H.S., H.I. [instrument height], and Elev. [elevation], and indeed as he was more of a hindrance than a help, I said, “Well, why come out after lunch. The work is practically over and what little is left I can do myself.” This arrangement appealed to him powerfully and he said he would take a siesta instead. It was arranged at lunch that I should send the *manietta* for him at 2:30.

The heat after lunch was simply beyond description. I learned afterward that it had been the hottest day of the year at Quirigua. In the shade on the porch of Landry's office, it had been 105 degrees at three o'clock! Of course, at the ruins it was much higher. Between one and two it was simply diabolical. The sun beat down unmercifully, and the heat waves seemed to drop with the force of sledgehammers on one's head, and one's temples beat and throbbed. It was so fierce, this heat, that even in the shade there was no relief. Even here the heat flooded in and beat, beat, beat upon one's head. For the first time in my life, I really felt as though I might be going to have a heat stroke. Hard as I would try to drive myself, I would find myself lagging at the task. And the

boys, including Hamilton Wray, were similarly affected. They scarcely moved a shovelful. And fiercer and fiercer came the heat waves. Finally, a little after two, when it seemed as though we could endure it not a moment longer, it suddenly clouded over. From nowhere, they seemed to develop out of the hot, dead sky. A fitful breeze sprang up, which one could hear playing among the bananas. Presently it grew quite dark and overcast and the temperature dropped perceptibly. We feared a heavy rain and windstorm, and hastened to finish the ground plan of Temple 5.

We were out at the track before 3:30 and I sent Chico to tell Lane to hurry on, that we could slip in behind a pick-up train, which was going clear into Quirigua. But Lane delayed, "Didn't understand my message," etc., and tarried until I had to run back to Maya House for him and tell him that if he did not come at once, I would go in without him. That brought him to his senses and he came lumbering up the track. But the fat was already in the fire, and we had to lift off the track for 2 trams, which we could have missed otherwise had not Lane delayed us.

It was the last day of work for the two Angels and I told them I would give what was coming to them to Hamilton Wray. Well, I got a map of the Temple Plaza out of it anyhow [Figure 4.1]. Lane asked me if I was coming down to write up the notes and I gave him to understand distinctly, no. Last night was enough.

We had four at auction after dinner—Whitford and I against Doctor White and Weightman. We won pretty heavily. Meiggs and Landry, Ames and Mac played poker in the next room.

I gave Chico his final instructions about the mules at Zacapa this afternoon, telling him I wanted 4 animals at the station Thursday afternoon, if possible. Bought Chico his ticket and gave him five dollars for incidental expenses. He will go up on the passenger [train] tomorrow morning, deliver the letter, and make all the arrangements about the mules so that they will be ready when I come up day after tomorrow. I will not wake him up when I go down to the ruins in the morning, as I will only use Hamilton Wray on the last odd jobs that are left.

### **May 26, Wednesday**

Three men working today—Hamilton Wray and the two *manietta* boys. The former helped me in photographing and taking a few final measurements, and [for] the two latter I have a *tarea*, or task, of which native labor is very fond in these countries. I told them when they had finished clearing the pile of earth and stone from in front of Temple 5, they could call it a day and wait for me out at Wray's camp. They fell in with a vim and finished shortly after I got back from lunch. It was not nearly so hot working today as yesterday. That shower cleared the atmosphere, and while not cool, it was by no means depressing. Hamilton and I took a number of pictures—exposed more than three rolls in fact—and also took some final measurements. Took the complete measurements for the elevation of Temple 3, which took some time as I was continually interrupted by favorable light conditions which I had to utilize immediately for photographing.

When I went over to Maya house it was my last day, and I paid my bill. Mr. James was most modest in that he deemed sufficient recompense for what I had eaten, eight dollars being the amount of his bill for the entire month. This I paid and took leave of the old gentleman. He wanted me to carry a pair of spectacles for him up to the city [Guatemala] to Doctor Raymond to have the lenses changed, and I was only too glad to have this opportunity to discharge some of my heavy obligation to him. Bidding him goodbye, I returned to Wray's camp, picked him up, and we set

out for the ruins. Eliseo and José María were just finishing their *tarea* [task], and I told them that I would not be long myself.

There were a few last odds and ends to do and some things I left over until I return from Copan, when I expect to come back for a couple of days. I still have to draw the hieroglyphs in the western door of Temple 1, and take all the measurements for the elevation of Temple 4. Then too, when I come back, I will know where I have fallen down in the photographic record and can fill in the gaps.

Took Hamilton Wray up with me to Quirigua to pay him off. One thing I should mention here that I forgot to add to these pages yesterday was the fact that when I got in yesterday, Mac handed me a registered letter which contained my drafts. It had left Washington on May 2nd and reached me on May 27th, nearly four weeks! It took a great load off my mind, and enabled me to redeem my two-hundred-dollar personal check from Mac right away. While I was paying off Hamilton, I got a phone call from Lane asking me if I had heard the news. I said no, what news. He said he couldn't tell me over the phone, but to come down to the hotel at once and he would tell me. This I couldn't do. I was busy packing. I told him I might manage between five and six, but that now it was impossible. He said it was very important—and so it was for him, I found out later—but I told him not to expect me before 5:30. He is getting a nuisance, and besides I more than half expected the important news to be his discharge, as it turned out to be.

Saw Mac for a few minutes and he told me Landry had fired him [Lane] for drunkenness! A pretty kettle of fish, but his own fault entirely. He was headed straight for that rock in the course he has been making during the last three or four days. After I had finished my packing, I went down to see him and he wanted my advice. Also, he tried to touch me for fifty dollars, then twenty-five, and then ten, but having already been touched to the tune of eleven dollars by him, I stood pat and told him frankly I had no more money to give him outright. That if he was prepared to go home, I would help chip in to a purse to get him out of the country, but as far as any more loans or gifts, I was finished. He wanted to know what he was going to do. I had talked the matter over a bit with Mac, and we both thought he had better go home, but he said he had no home he could go to. No, he wanted to go over to Honduras to the Cuyamel Co. where he said \$150.00 and all expenses were waiting for him (\$25.00 or more a month than he was getting here, in addition to his living clear). To do this, though, he figured he would have to have fifty dollars and would I lend it to him. This looked to me like throwing good money after bad, so I told him I was afraid I could not. He wanted to see me again after dinner, but I could not see any necessity, but told him I would see him once more before I went up in the morning.

Had a long talk with Doctor White about Yucatan. It seems he has been to Progreso, Merida, and Campeche, and knows Consul Marsh very well. If Mexico would permit, he would organize the yellow fever campaign there for the Rockefeller Foundation. In the evening, we had our old four at auction for the last time. Whitford and myself against Doctor White and Weightman. We won heavily again.

## Artifact Descriptions

Note: Objects and dimensions recovered in excavations. In some cases, Morley left a blank space to fill in measurement of items at a later date, but we have removed those spaces. Names at the end of each entry are those of the workers who found the artifact in question.

- No. 1. Diamond-shaped stone 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " [20 cm] long, 4  $\frac{1}{4}$ " [11 cm] wide,  $\frac{3}{4}$ " [2 cm] thick. Found at the corner of the top step on the north side of the plaza makes with the step on which Temple 4 stands. D. Francis.
- No. 2. Shell ring  $\frac{3}{4}$ " [2 cm] in diameter. Found 28' [8.53 m] west of northwest corner of Temple 4 along the buttress on the north side. D. Francis
- No. 3. Obsidian flake 2" [5 cm] long. Found at the southwest corner of doorway leading into Temple 4. P. Williams.
- No. 4. Part of a clay incense burner (?) with clay applique. Found in the outer chamber Temple 4. T. Young.
- No. 5. Part of worked conch shell. Found in outer Chamber Temple 4. T. Young.
- No. 6. A bone, probably rib of some small animal. Found in outer chamber Temple 4 with Nos. 4, 5, and 6. T. Young.
- No. 7. A section of small clay cylinder, perforated with both ends broken. Found in outer chamber of Temple 4. T. Young.
- No. 8. Large stone disc with tenon. Found on floor level southern chamber Temple 3 in doorway leading to central chamber. C. Piñeda.
- No. 9. Re-used base of a bowl, traces of red paint still adhering. Found in the southern chamber of Temple 3, just inside and left of the doorway. C. Piñeda.
- No. 10. Broken ladle handle. Found inside doorway of southern chamber Temple 3, near No. 9. C. Piñeda.
- No. 11. Tapir's tooth. Found floor level in southern chamber of Temple 3 near No. 10. C. Piñeda.
- No. 12. Human tooth very much worn down. Found in southern chamber of Temple 3, just east of doorway toward northeast corner. C. Piñeda.
- No. 13. Alabaster bowl or basin (?) painted brilliant red. Found inside eastern end of south chamber of Temple 3. C. Piñeda.
- No. 14. Ladle in very poor condition. Found at eastern end south chamber of Temple 3. C. Piñeda.
- No. 15. Fragment of a bowl with glyphs inscribed on the outer surface just below the rim chord, rim found 2" [5 cm]. Found on bench outside and just east of the northern chamber of Temple 3. Narciso Piñeda.

- No. 16. Small jade bead—floor of south chamber Temple 3 toward the western end. Salomon Gómez.
- No. 17. Teeth and fragments of bone of a small mammal. Found near No. 17 [note this item is #17; probably a typographical error]. Salomon Gómez.
- No. 18. Fragments of several bowls, all badly broken. Found in the southern chamber of Temple 3. Salomon Gómez, José María García.
- No. 19. Fragments of a human skull (molar tooth) and other bones found in the southwest corner of the vestibule of Temple 11. José María García.
- No. 20. Jade bead. North exterior wall, Temple 4.
- No. 21. Obsidian knife, same place as No. 20.
- No. 22. Clay flute, east end South chamber of Temple 4.

## CHAPTER 10

### A VISIT TO COPAN, 1919

#### May 29, Thursday

A long, hard day. Was up at 5, packing, letter writing, sorting clothes, baggage, photographs, notebooks, specimens, etc., etc. I got a long letter off to Doctor Woodward with a number of photographs of the work [at Quirigua]: what took time was writing on the back of each what it represented. After breakfast, I phoned Weightman and asked him if he had anybody who could sharpen my knife, and he said to send it down. From the machine shop I went down to the Commissary and bought a small bill of goods for the Copan trip, and also stopped at the station to pay Victor for Chico's board and use of the *manietta*. By this time, it was nine, and I thought I only had forty minutes, but as it turned out the passenger [train] was forty minutes late, but I had to make all of my preparations in the first hectic forty and could not count on the second. I was in a fearful final rush at the hospital when Lane called up. He said he wanted to see me. I promised to stop for him on the way down. Said goodbye to Mac, but Walcott wasn't to be found.

Picked Lane up at the hotel. Poor chap does not know what to do. Tried to borrow money, but thought I had contributed enough in that direction, yesterday and the day before. He saw some ladies coming down to the station, Mrs. Welles and Mrs. Weightman and made off. I bid him goodbye with regret for his condition, and his inability to leave drink alone. If one must have troubles, how much more manly to keep them to one's self, particularly when they are of one's own making. If the half of what he told me the other night is true, which I will verify some day, he had his big moment and sacrificed his life to it. What he has been doing since is simply paying up. And if his story, too long and intimate to give here, be true, then he must continue paying until the end.

Weightman gave me a negative of himself and wife for passport pictures and I sent these on up with the other I had exposed myself. Whitford and three or four other members of the Economic Survey went up to Los Amates with me, and old Don Luis Monzon himself got off there to be on hand to meet Ashmead when he comes in on the down train today.

Chico met me at Zacapa and informed me that the mules were all arranged for, but that the owner would not bring them down to the station. That mile and a quarter is a blinding stretch of white light, and they all dodge it.

Ashmead was breakfasting in the hotel to the accompaniment of a marimba and the admiring glances of many *muchachas*. I went in and talked with him. He said they had had a great time, had gone as far as the Cerro Brujo (Hill of the Witch) which marks the boundary between Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. Said also Don Juan at Copan had treated them royally. From what he wouldn't say, however, I gathered that Honduras as a whole had treated them cavalierly. He said some time he would tell me, and would enlarge on the hospitality, dinners, honorary guards,

marimbas, etc., with which he had been greeted everywhere on the Guatemala side; the contrast was too eloquent.

I daresay Bertrand<sup>1</sup> is showing his ill-temper over the election stew by acting discourteously to the economic commission. Very short-sighted, I should say. I also saw old Thornton of the historic \$200,000 claim against Guatemala, going back some 20 years for the cancellation of a concession he had to certain dock rights at Puerto Barrios.

Chico had secured a *carreta*, and in this our baggage—one suitcase, the cot, a roll of bedding including a McClellan saddle, and two boxes of food—was taken up to Rafael Levy's. It is always a pleasure to find people and their surroundings unchanged in such a swiftly moving world as that of today, so when I walked into the cool of L. Leon Lowe's showroom office, I saw Rafael Levy standing there leaning over the bales of drill, a cool contrast to the hot white street, and even saw an old wicker rocker on which I had sat many a time. I felt I was among old friends. Presently Salvador Lowe came in. His father, the head of the firm, died last December, and I was back to 1912, or 1914, or 1916, or 1917. All this was very pleasant, and the fact that the mules were arranged made my ointment without a fly. Mrs. Lowe came in presently. I had met her seven years ago when I went to Copan the second time (1912) with Earl Morris. Her husband, head of the firm, died last December and she is down here living with Salvador. There were changes even here, however, as Rafael had taken unto himself a wife—a widow lady—and lived up the street.

Everyone was complaining of the heat, but hot as it was it could not compare with the Quirigua temperatures. It seemed to them fairly suffocating, but after all I had put up with in the Temple Plaza at Quirigua, it seemed almost cool.

Next came the inevitable wait for the muleteer—one never gets away from Zacapa without a struggle with the muleteer. If it is a midday start one is making, they delay until 3, and then urge a wait over until the next morning. I was up to all such tricks, however, and when Nicolás pleaded the heat, etc., I put my foot down and said we would start today and go to Anchor if it took us until midnight. When he saw it was no use arguing his point, he showed unexpected energy. The cargo was weighed and balanced and loaded on, and at 4:10 with the goodbyes of Rafael, Salvador, and his mother to cheer us on, we wound out [south] along the dusty, hot highway leading to Chiquimula, between fences of organ cactus.

Presently we branched off to the left from the Chiquimula trail and, descending a sharp hill, wound along the right bank (left, as we were going) of the Copan River, here called the Zacapa. We passed Palmar and then turning again to the left commenced an easy climb to Jumuzna. We passed through Jumuzna at sunset. It does not seem to have changed from the time when I took the big party over: Mr. Holmes<sup>2</sup> and myself, the Jacksons, the Lothrop's,<sup>3</sup> Doctor Underhill, and

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<sup>1</sup> Francisco Bertrand (1866–1926) was president of Honduras in 1911–1912 and 1913–1919.

<sup>2</sup> William Henry Holmes (1846–1933) was an American archaeologist long associated with the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Lothrop (1892–1965), an influential anthropologist who worked for the CIW during the 1910s and 1920s, was also an active participant in Morley's 1917–1918 spy ring working for the Office of Naval Intelligence (Ward and Rice 2021). A long-time research associate of Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Lothrop often travelled with his wife, Rachel.

Arthur Carpenter<sup>4</sup> in 1916.

After leaving Jumuzna, one commences to climb a low ridge of hills, and once—it seems after one had almost reached the top—one drops back down to the level of the lovely little stream one has been trying so hard to escape. Here we passed a house or two, and many dogs made the welkin ring<sup>5</sup> as we passed through. Even in the dark I could distinguish bits of the old Spanish road over which we were travelling, built doubtless for the padres at Jocotan and Camotan in the old days by the Indians. We crossed the crest of this little range shortly before eight and at 8:10 reached Anchor, our first night's lodging.

Nicolás knew everybody, and resurrected at once two girls who took us to a collection of small thatched huts where men were sleeping but dogs not, and soon had a supper under way. I was very tired. Chico put together the cot and I fell asleep on it before supper was ready. That eight to ten pounds I am off seems to have carried with it most of my endurance. After supper—eggs, frijoles, Vienna sausages, tea, and tortillas—I went to bed for the night, even snoring *muchachos* and grunting pigs and snarling dogs failing to keep me awake. Zacapa to Anchor: 4 hours.

### May 30, Friday

Up at 5:30. A not infrequent alarm arose at once over the alleged disappearance of one mule. Nicolás thought it had broken out of the *potrero* and made off for Zacapa. Happily, it had only betaken itself to the very farthest end of the *potrero* and in good time it was brought back, vigorously admonished by Nicolás. After breakfast, I settled my bill with the two *señoritas*, or one I dare say was a *señora*, and we got off at 7:05. The road after leaving Anchor winds up over a steep hill, from which one catches a lovely glimpse of Chiquimula, a little straggling patch some 15 miles off on the plain across the Zacapa River. After crossing this ridge, we dipped down at first sharply and afterward with many windings around the flanks of the hills to the Copan River again, which we crossed at Los Mangoes—a lovely grove of the latter—one and a half hours after leaving Anchor. Halfway between, we passed the abandoned and burned rancho of Teperinto, where I once passed the night when I came out with Percy Adams in 1915 after my biggest year at Copan.<sup>6</sup>

We had travelling companions from Anchor to Jocotan, a funny old fellow with a high cracked voice, and two boys. He was going back to his home at Secor, just across the line in Honduras after having taken a load of tobacco to Zacapa. At Los Mangoes we met an Indian taking a bath and his 3 women gathering up mangoes. Nicolás must needs bathe also, but as this is to be our big day in which we break the back of our journey, I did not permit myself the luxury, but pushed on with the pack animal.

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<sup>4</sup> Arthur Wiltse Carpenter (1890–1954) was a Harvard-trained archaeologist who briefly worked in the field in the 1910s. Representing the Peabody Museum, he joined Morley's 1916 CIW expedition and was nearly killed in the massacre at its end (Rice and Ward 2021: Chapter 18). After 1917, he went into private business in Latin America (Browman and Williams 2013: 339).

<sup>5</sup> An archaic phrase indicating a very loud noise.

<sup>6</sup> See Rice and Ward 2021: Chapter 14.

The stretch after leaving Los Mangoes climbs over—not across—but along a great hill high above the Copan River, which here passes through a box canyon. On the opposite side, the even steeper hill (and higher too) is cultivated from top to bottom. The community, one cannot call it a village as the farms are too scattered, is called Flores and is pure Indian. As it lies before one, the different fields in different crops, or at different stages of growth, it looks like a giant's patchwork quilt, the patches of banana along the bottom of the little ravine striking the highest color note, a fairly brilliant green. This is always a long stretch, and before we reached Laguna we had consumed 1¾ hours. Why Laguna, I never could make out—there seemed to be not the slightest suspicion of a lake for miles around. Before reaching Laguna, one passes one of the most conspicuous landmarks of the entire trip: a great red dome on the left with precipitous sides. It has vertical sides, and a brick red color.

At Laguna, Chico and I stopped to wait for Nicolás, who came along in about 10 minutes. I tried to arrange for *zacate* [grass for the mules] here on my way out, but the *señora* said she could and would not promise anything. The burden of her refrain was “*no hay.*” Seeing that nothing was to be gained here, we pushed on and soon came to the crest of the hill overlooking the valley of Jocotan and the village itself, with its pretentious church dating from the Spanish period, and the red-tiled village clustering around. Beyond lay Camotan, its church fully as large but just recently treated to a coat of whitewash, as it was fairly dazzling [Figure 10.1].<sup>7</sup>



Figure 10.1. The whitewashed colonial church at Jocotan.

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<sup>7</sup> The churches *were* nearly identical—but on June 8, 2021, the church at Camotan, built in 1734, was struck by lightning and burned to the ground (Figure 10.2).



Figure 10.2. Camotan church, a near exact duplicate of the church at Jocotan, and its destruction by fire in 2021.

We wound down the hill and crossed the ford in front of the village without adventure. The river is lower than I have ever seen it, but I could vividly remember two years and three weeks ago, May 17, 1917<sup>8</sup>, when John Held, Joe Spinden, Hebbard, and myself floundered in it, more than did the famous Mr. Foster of Gloucester,<sup>9</sup> since more than our middles were involved in the operation. This time I passed without mishap and, a little before twelve, turned into a street leading from the plaza and stopped at the house where we were to have lunch. Our actual going time between Anchor and Jocotan being 4¼ hours.

We stopped for 3 hours. Had a fairly good breakfast, and hearing that there was no *zacate* ahead, bought some corn to take on with us to Xupa, where we are to pass the night. Two of the pineapples I bought in Zacapa were eaten with great relish, but it was blisteringly hot. Everybody in Jocotan seemed to be in a sort of collapse from the heat. Nicolás wanted to rest until later, but as Xupa was at least four hours off, it behooved us to be up and doing if we were to arrive before nightfall.

<sup>8</sup> Morley's dating is incorrect. His 1917 encounter with the river occurred well before May 17, when he was encamped in Copan itself (Ward and Rice 2021: 19–20).

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Foster went to Gloucester,  
in a shower of rain;  
he stepped in a puddle,  
right up to his middle,  
and never went there again.

A nineteenth-century English nursery rhyme.

We finally got off at 2:50. The road goes along the valley passing Camotan. I could see its church is getting a vicious renovation. The lovely old ivory color of the façade due to age and weathering has been “done over” in a dazzling white, and it is getting a new roof in the bargain.

We passed though without stopping and a mile or so beyond commenced climbing a high *piñol*, or pine-covered mountain. Back and forth the trail zig-zagged up this, and at the top a lovely view of Jocotan, Camotan, and all the hills sweeping beyond was to be had. The descent was even sharper and steeper before we got back down to the level of the river. The little valley here, formed by the high *piñol* we had just crossed, is indeed lovely: palm trees, banana, milpas, rich black bottom soil, which must yield heavy crops.

Before crossing the river the second and last time, the road follows the left bank (right in the direction we were going) a mile or two. At the ford which we crossed at six o'clock we passed some Indians with high piles of *cántaros*—clay water jars—in frames which they carried on their backs. By this time, I was very tired, and had there been a rancho nearby would have stopped for the night. But as there was nothing this side of Xupa, we had to push on to there.

We arrived at 6:50, just four hours from Jocotan. Another *mulada* [mule train] was already in, coming out from the Copan region with tobacco. Supper was got underway by the lady of the house, and by and by was served. Not very good, and worse than Anchor, as there were no tortillas. I had my cot put up in the corridor outside, as inside was too impossible, and soon fell asleep. About twelve I was awakened by a furious barking—many dogs it seems participated. Finally, the household was aroused. I could see lights through the cracks in the wall and hear voices. More furious barking, now a whining and crying and the sound of heavy blows falling on flesh and bone. A fainter whine, the barking crescendo, and finally quiet again. It seems that a strange dog had strayed in behind the house, where he had been fiercely attacked by the dogs of the house, and all but dispatched outright. After the household was aroused, the owner had given him the *coup de grace* with a heavy club, but as he proudly said the next morning, the dogs of the house had practically finished the job.

### **May 31, Saturday**

It is impossible to start before a certain time and that time is somewhere between 7 and 7:30. We were up at 5:30 again, but the *lomillas*, or pads which go under the packsaddle, had to be re-stuffed, and by the time this was finished, breakfast over, and the packs and saddles on, it was 7:30. My mule, after being saddled, broke the halter and started off for Zacapa by herself. Happily, Nicolás caught her a few hundred yards off before she had a fair start.

After leaving Xupa, the road follows up the Copan valley for several miles; the river itself finally disappearing off to the right to wind around through a box canon near Flores and comes back to the road at the village. We crossed the frontier not far beyond this point, and began to climb a long, steep hill, almost a mountain. The top of this was reached at last and we came over the crest and down into the little valley where Hacienda Grande lies. I could see the mounds where Stela 19 lies but did not go over to them.

Chico's foster brother, Ramón, met us at Hacienda Grande. The homecoming held some anxious moments for Chico, having run away from Doña Julia's six months ago with a member of the band who had been summoned to Tegucigalpa by Reyha, and I left the two boys together

and rode ahead with Nicolás. Chico had much to tell Ramón, who I since learned is his half first cousin, and more to learn.

As we came by Stela 10, I stopped for a minute and then we started the long descent to the village. About a mile out, Don Juan, Don Rafael, and the latter's secretary met me and we exchanged greetings. It was just 11:20 when we passed the *campo santo* [graveyard] and swung into the village street and stopped before Doña Julia's door, 4 hours from Xupa to Copan, or 16¼ hours for the entire trip to Copan as I made it this time:

|                   |           |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Zacapa to Anchor  | 4 hours   |
| Anchor to Jocotan | 4 ¼ hours |
| Jocotan to Xupa   | 4 hours   |
| Xupa to Copan     | 4 hours   |

Doña Julia met me at the door and after an *abrazo*, Chico came forward. The good old lady was crying, and Chico awkwardly put his arms around, tears in his own eyes. He had brought her a little gift from Zacapa. I heard her saying "*ingrato para dejame*" [ungrateful to leave me] and the tears gushed out of her eyes. I intervened to ask for breakfast alleging excessive hunger, which indeed oppressed me, having eaten but an indifferent breakfast, and under cover of this excuse Doña Julia and Chico, the later with very great relief, almost obvious, got ahold of their emotions and came back to earth again.

While breakfast was being prepared, I went with Don Juan and Don Rafael over to the former's new house, just next to the old one. This was building when I was here last December. It is now finished, and a fine new place. We stopped by the new market, which is in the same block as the *cabildo* and just behind it. It will be a large, commodious structure when finished with rooms to let on the two streets it faces, and the two corresponding sides of the interior will have long, roomy corridors. Up to date, i.e., they have been working on it for four months to June first, it has only cost about a thousand dollars gold.

After looking over our quarters, Nicolás had in the meantime saddled the horses, brought in the baggage, bid goodbye to Don Juan and Don Rafael, and returned to Doña Julia's for lunch. Rafael told me that on some lands of his near the Quebrada Seca, a small stone with some glyphs on it had been found, and we made an engagement to go out there on horseback at four.

There were no more tears and recriminations at Doña Julia's, happily, and I settled down to the keen enjoyment of the first real meal I had had in two days, in fact, since leaving Zacapa. There were *caldo*, *arroz*, *frijoles*, *tortillas*, *pollo*, *papas*, *queso*, *te*, *pan dulce*, *dulce*, and *quien sabe* what not. After lunch I tried to get a *cuadrilla* [gang] of men together to work on the low mound behind the house, or rather in the back yard of the house of Clementino López, but none came around and the heat was dreadful and I was very tired, so went into my room and slept until nearly four.<sup>10</sup>

When I got up, I found my horse saddled and Don Rafael ready. We set off by ourselves and turned off the road to Santa Rita on the left just before reaching the Quebrada Seca. I estimated,

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<sup>10</sup> Morley's 1919 visit to Copan was his final investigation of the site before the publication of his landmark *The Inscriptions at Copan* (1920). His goal was to tie up loose ends in terms of copying inscriptions and to finish his investigation of the inscriptions related to the mound of Stela 7, which is located within the town limits of the village of Copan—known today as Group 9.

and Rafael confirmed this, that the group we visited must be just about 3 miles from the village. We climbed up the foothills and on the first bench came on to a group of stone buildings, showing not only cut and squared stones, but also carved elements, parts of an elaborate sculptural mosaic (Figures 10.3, 10.4).<sup>11</sup> This must have been a group of considerable importance, as the number of sculptured stones was large, and there were a number of buildings. It will certainly have to be added to the groups in Publication 219.<sup>12</sup>



Figure 10.3. Restored wall with mosaic mask at Rastrojón.

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<sup>11</sup> This almost certainly refers to a small compound today known as Rastrojón. The fact that Morley was the first to see it has been forgotten, with the initial recording of the site attributed to surveying activity in the 1970s. From 2007 to 2013, *El Proyecto Arqueológico Rastrojón Copán* worked the site, which is now open to the public (W. Fash et al. 2016; B. Fash 2011: 164). Marc Wolf (personal communication to CW, February 2022), who participated in the Rastrojón project, offers some comments on the site: “Rastrojón likely served partially as a military enclave perched on the upper terraces of the Copan Valley, guarding, and overlooking the valley *entrada* to the south. Several of the site’s buildings are adorned with complex warrior/military jaguar/bird imagery stucco that has fallen from their original positions and now litter the ground-surface. The site appears to have been reoccupied in the early Postclassic period in Maya history while the Copan central precinct was mostly abandoned, as evidenced by many artifacts dating to this period—including smaller obsidian lithic points less refined than earlier counterparts associated with Classic Copan. The site has been heavily disturbed through probable seismic activity, leaving most of its structures damaged by the undulating earthquake activity.”

<sup>12</sup> *The Inscriptions at Copan* (Morley 1920).

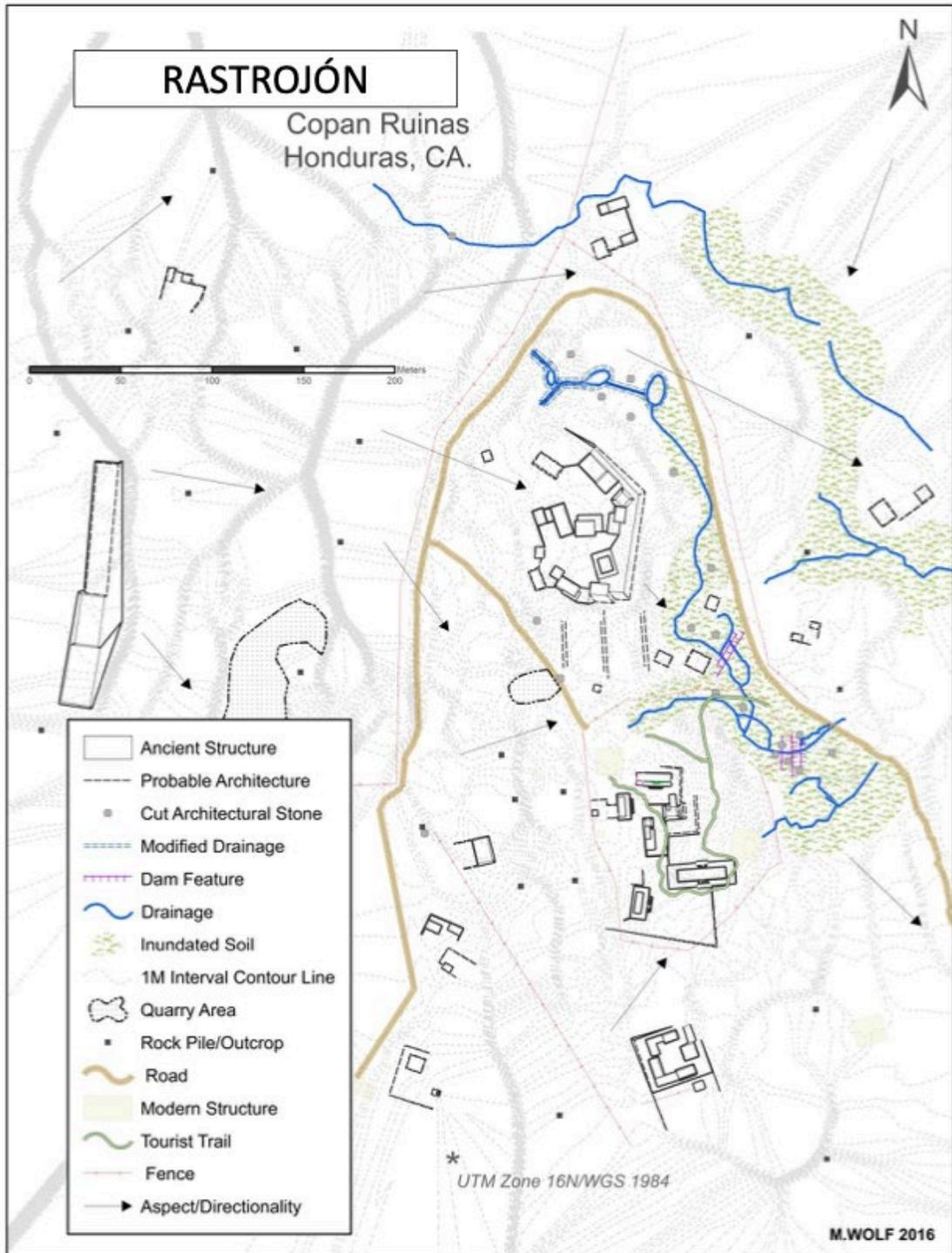


Figure 10.4. Map of Rastrojón by Marc Wolf. Morley’s brief visits centered on the principal group—*noted above near the green “tourist trail.”*

We saw two sculptured grotesque houses, but although we searched high and low for the stone itself, we could find no trace of it. Rafael was of the opinion that the boy who found it had

hidden it again for safe keeping against my coming. On the way out, Rafael showed me a stone tomb, the roof of which had caved in. It was built of stone and I will have it cleaned out tomorrow or the next day. Returning, we thought we would get wet, a shower crossing the lower part of the valley, but it only released a few drops for Copan and its vicinity.

It was after six when we got back to the village. We met José María, the boy who found the stone in the first place, and he informed us he had hidden the stone. He promised to go out and look for it first thing in the morning. Supper at Doña Julia's, and afterward I sent Chico to look for Carlos Martínez. He brought him down to Rafael's store, and after greetings I commissioned him as foreman to get a gang of eight or ten men for the first thing tomorrow morning, to work in Clementino López's back yard. He said he would.

I rather suspected the band would give me a concert, so changed my clothes, the which I had scarcely finished when Nicolás came in, eyes as big as saucers, saying they were putting up their music stand outside the door in the corridor and that a concert was imminent. I sent him over to the Turk's for a bottle of wine and at this minute the band struck up, and I went outside into the corridor and sat down on a chair. Don Juan came over, and presently Don Rafael and his secretary. At the end of the first number, I passed around cigarettes to everybody, and after the second Nicolás had the wine ready—Medoc—which he brought out in some little *copitas* he had borrowed off Don Juan.

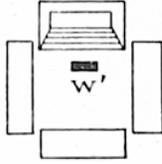
And so the evening passed. Monday night, June 2, there is to be a session of the municipality at which Don Juan and Don Rafael are going to propose me for admittance to the standing of "*vecino del la municipalidad de Copan*," in fine, to be a Citizen of the Municipality of Copan [see below, pages 233–234]. The municipality meets the first and fifteenth of every month, but the first this month, coming in on a Sunday, its meeting takes place the following day. I am very proud of this and assured them that I would meet all my obligations as a citizen of the municipality to the best of my ability. The concert broke up about nine, and I turned in almost immediately. As I was undressing Carlos Martínez came in with the welcome news that he had 10 or 11 boys for me ready to work in the morning. And just as I was dropping off to sleep, Chico came in with two fairly good little knives, and promised that more would come in tomorrow.

### **June 1, Sunday**

Arose about 6:30 and, after Chico had dressed, took a basin bath. It was refreshing, if not altogether satisfactory as cleansing. Chico came in and told me my men were waiting, so first went over to Don Juan's for some tools, shovels, and picks. These were in a tool house behind the *cabildo*, and he summoned an *alguacil* [sheriff], who took me over to the tool house where I picked out what I wanted, and then, invading the back yard of the house of Clementino López, I set them to work, going to breakfast myself.

This excavation I am doing here now is on a low, flat mound, perhaps 100 feet long north and south and 50 feet east and west. It lies, all save its northernmost end, in the back yard of Clementino López's *Farmacia* [Labeled Mound of Stela 7 on Figure 10.5; see also Figures 10.6 and 10.7], and has been variously dug into by him from time to time, the most important find being the base on which Stela 7 stood, and a fragment of Stela 24 recording the earliest date yet discovered at Copan, i.e., 9.2.10.0.0 [AD 210 GMT], which had been reused in the foundation of Stela 7. The northern end of this mound extends into the two properties just to the north of





#### LEGEND

Capital letters—Private properties mentioned.

Small letters—Monuments.

■ Probable original positions of monuments.

□ Later positions of monuments.

- A. House of Don Rafael Villamil.
- B. House of Don Felix Galván (destroyed).
- C. Former *rancho* south of the old church.
- D. House of Don Domingo Hernández.
- E. House of Don Florencio Lemos.
- F. House of Don Clementino Lopez.

- a. Altar T when first discovered.
- b. Present position of Altar T.
- c. Altar U when first discovered.
- d. Present position of Altar U.
- e. Fragment E' when first discovered.
- f. Fragment E' from 1885 to 1917.
- g. Altar L' when first discovered.
- h. Altar L' from 1892 to 1915, destroyed in 1916.
- i. Altar M' when first discovered.
- j. Altar M' from 1892 to 1915, destroyed in 1916.
- k. Stela 21 when first discovered.
- l. Altar S when first discovered.
- m. Present position of large plain stela.
- n. Present position of Altar U'.
- o. Original position of Stela 7.
- p. Stela 7 when found by the First Peabody Museum Expedition in 1892.
- q. Stela 24 when first found in foundations of Stela 7 in 1916.
- r. Fragment of Stela 15 found by the writer in 1915.
- s. Approximately original position of Stela 15.
- t. Stela 15 from about 1850 to 1894.
- u. Stela 15 from 1894 to 1913.
- v. Approximately original position of Stela 20.
- w. Stela 20 from 1897 to 1917 (Fragment 1).
- x. Approximately original position of Stela 18.
- y. Piece of Stela 20 found in 1915 (Fragment 2).
- z. Piece of Stela 20 found in 1916 (Fragment 3).

- G. Originally house of Doña Ana C. Orellano.
- H. Small house belonging to Don Juan Ramon Cuevas.
- I. House of Don Juan Ramon Cuevas.
- J. House of Don Pedro Ramirez.
- K. House at the southeast corner of the plaza.
- L. House of Don Porfirio Villamil.

- a'. Present position of Stela 18.
- b'. Approximately original-position of Altar Q'.
- c'. Present position of Altar Q'.
- d'. Altar P' when first discovered, now destroyed.
- e'. Approximately original position of Stela 25.
- f'. Fragment of Stela 25 discovered in 1918.
- g'. Fragment of Stela 25 discovered in 1919.
- h'. Fragment V'3 when first discovered.
- i'. Fragment V'11 when first discovered.
- j'. Fragment V'14 when first discovered.
- k'. Fragment V'7 when first discovered.
- l'. Fragment V'12 when first discovered.
- m'. Fragment V'6 when first discovered.
- n'. Fragment V'4 when first discovered.
- o'. Fragment V'8 when first discovered.
- p'. Approximately original position of Fragment V' 1.
- q'. Fragment V'1 from 1897 to 1916.
- r'. Fragment V'10 when first discovered.
- s'. Fragment V'13 when first discovered.
- t'. Fragment V'9 when first discovered.
- u'. Fragment V'2 when first discovered.
- v'. Fragment V'5 when first discovered.
- w'. Fragment of Stela 22 when first discovered.

Note. Of the above pieces those represented by the following letters are now in the cabildo at the Village of Copan: *f, k, l, p, q, r, u, w, y, z, f', g', h', i', k', l', m', n', o', p', r', s', t', u', v', and w'*; *j'* is in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge.

Figure 10.5. Map of the town of Copan showing Morley's location of the monuments and fragments thereof. The entire area within the town is now designated as Copan Group 9. Morley remains the main investigator at this group—as much of the site is now buried under the modern town of Copan Ruinas.

This locality, probably this very mound, was a repository of the most Archaic [Early Classic] monuments yet found at Copan. To begin with, Stela 7, when first found, was lying across this very mound not two yards from the foundation stone, which was years later found buried under it. It lay obviously just where it had been uprooted [Figure 10.8].<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The modern story of Stela 7 began when one Colonel Vicente Solís tried to remove the monument from Copan, but when it broke in half, he abandoned the effort and left it in the field where Maudslay found it in 1885, some 50 m southeast of the town plaza. It was ultimately repaired by the CIW team under Morris and Stromsvik in 1934 (see Chapter 1) and erected in the courtyard of the old Copan Museum, where it stood for the next 80-odd years (Baudez 1994: 137; Morley 1920: 102–104).

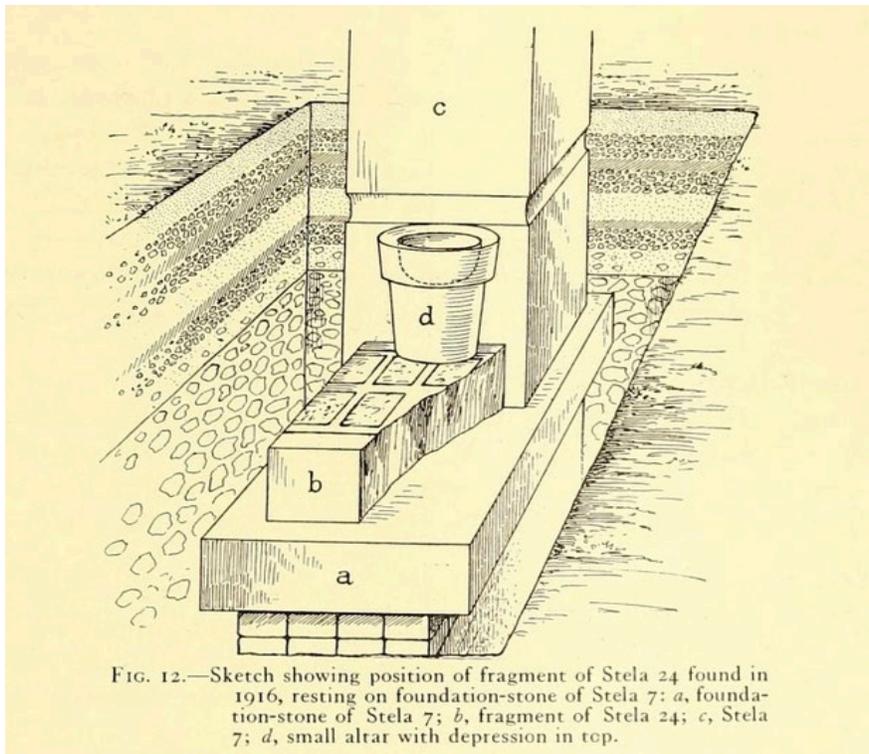


Figure 10.6. Foundation of Stela 7.



Figure 10.7. Mound—actually a platform--of Stela 7.



Figure 10.8. Stela 7 on the ground during Maudslay's era.

The fragment called Stela 24, found in its foundation and resting on its foundation slab, or base stone, has already been noted. In 1915 I found a piece of Stela 15<sup>14</sup> lying on this same mound, the *k'in* glyph. Stela 15 itself was first seen by me in a wall of the house (since rebuilt) now called *La Fundadora*, belonging to Rafael Villamil [A on Figure 10.5] and located at the northwest corner of the plaza.<sup>15</sup>

I tried to get information then as to where it came from, but could not except that all felt sure it had come from the vicinity of Clementino's house, but across the street, i.e., somewhere from the block on the south side of the plaza. My finding of the *k'in* fragment, however, on the mound strongly indicates, to me at least, that here was where Stela 15 originally came from. In 1891 Jacobo Madrid came to Copan. He bought the place now occupied by the Turks from Señora Anita Acevedo, and there two stone fragments of Stela 15 were found in the foundation of a wall [r on Figure 10.5]. This wall marked the eastern boundary of the property of Doña Anita and to the east lay free land when Don Mariano Madrid, the father of Jacobo, first came to Copan. Two trees served Jacobo as a guide in marking where this stone had come from. The stela, as found,

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<sup>14</sup> See Rice and Ward 2021: 214–215.

<sup>15</sup> Reused carved stones in colonial and modern construction are called *spolia*, from Latin 'spoils.'

was some few feet east of an orange tree still standing in the Turk's back yard. Also, when Don Mariano first found this property, it included part of the plaza. Don Mariano took this wall down to get out this big stone (Stela 15) to make a *pretil* (low wall) of it, and when he got the stones off of it, he found it had cracked, or broken, clear through. This was in 1894 or 1895, and these two stones were then carried across to the northeast corner of the plaza and placed in the back wall of the house then being built there by Don Mariano and Jacobo. There they were when I first saw them, and there they remained until about 1913 (after Reina's visit) when they were removed to the *cabildo*.



Figure 10.9. Stela 15 after being removed from the back wall of Don Mariano's house for transportation to the *cabildo*. It has glyphs on all four sides, two of which host I.S. inscriptions—one shown in this image. This early monument dates to 9.4.10.0.0 2 Ajaw 8 Mol (AD 524 [AD 721 GMT]), the reign of Copan's seventh ruler, Bahlam Nehn (Morley 1920: 86–87; Martin and Grube 2008: 197).

As I said above, I found the *k'in* fragment on this mound, and from here I believe the other two fragments were carried to the property of Doña Anita or some predecessor of hers and put into the wall on its east side as foundation stones. Jacobo Madrid, who gives me all this information, came here from near Florida on the frontier as a lad of 16 in 1891 with his father

Mariano, who was the first *síndico* of the municipality. He tells me, and this is indeed important, that the four big fragments found in the house of Domingo Hernández (Victor Caregena, etc.) [D on Figure 10.5], Stela 20, Stela 18, Altar Q, etc., *all came from this same mound*, and further, that *he himself carried them there* with one Joaquin Nufio, a Guatemalteco, when he (Jacobo) built this house to serve as the foundation of a *pretil* along the corridor in back, the *pretil* itself being of adobe. He did this in 1897. This house afterward passed through the following hands:

Jacobo Madrid built it in 1897, sold in 1901 to  
 Siriaco Adron, never occupied, house selling almost immediately to  
 Cristóbal Meléndez, sold in 1903 to  
 Clementino López, sold in 1906 to  
 Manuel Sagastume, sold in 1909 to  
 Antonio Guerra, sold in 1917 to  
 Domingo Hernández (present owner, 1919).

Returning now to monuments *I found* on this mound [mound of Stela 7] should be included Altar P', which has since been destroyed.<sup>16</sup> Of larger pieces this makes:

|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Stela 7  | (2 frags.)                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Stela 24 | (1 frag.)                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Stela 15 | (3 frags.)                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Stela 18 | (1 frag.)                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Stela 20 | (1 frag., surely and possibly 2 others which fit together, one found in the wall of the house of Pedro Ramírez [J on Figure 10.5], the other in the foundations of the house of Juana Pérez, now destroyed) |
| Altar P' | destroyed                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Altar Q' |                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

All these may be traced directly to this mound and doubtless also several small fragments found in houses nearby. Doña María Meléndez is a very old lady, at least 70. At six she remembers an epidemic of cholera in Jocotan, and came to Copan at 10 years old, that is, at least as far back as 1859. She says the wall of Doña Anita's house was there when she first remembers it. Don Juan Villeda, husband of Doña Anita, used to say that a light came from under the stone. The owner of this house when Doña Anita first came was Doña Ana Carlos Orellano. She says she was 16 years old when this house passed into the hands of Doña Anita. She says further that Eleuteria Meléndez was 1 month old (i.e., in March 20, 1874) when a Coronel Vicente Solis came from Santa Rosa with troops pursuing some political malefactors who had fled through here. He tried to move Stela 7 to the plaza, but it broke and he left it where I saw it first—behind the house of Clementino López. At this time the whole place was still "*monte grueso*" [dense, overgrown or wild forest] according to the old lady, and there were only 12 houses, very scattered, in the bush

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<sup>16</sup> In 1915, the old church at Copan was torn down to make room for a new church. Several carved monuments (Altars L and M) were employed as spolia in the old church. These two altars, together with Altar P, were broken into small fragments to be used in the construction of the new sanctuary walls.

when she first came. She confirms the story of the locations of Altars T and U behind the house of Juan Ramón Cuevas [H on Figure 10.5]. The first church was built in 1892. Altars L' and M' were found in a house that stood behind the place and near the mound behind the church, the first owner of which was Severino Duarte, and then from him to Tiburcia Rodríguez. These seem to have been found on the surface of the ground.

The story of Altars T and U<sup>17</sup> follows [Figures 10.10, 10.11]. Originally, they stood under a big *amate* [fig] tree, which grew where now is the *zaguan* [entry] of Don Juan Ramón Cuevas' house, opening to the east, i.e., on the street leading south from the southeast corner of the plaza [I on Figure 10.5]. In this position they are, or rather were, directly in front of and in line with the middle of the high mound which stands behind the SE corner of the plaza, on whose summit Altar S was found. Between T and U and this high mound stands the large rough stone, only dressed on one side and irregularly shaped, which is one of the biggest single blocks of stone at Copan. According to Jacobo Madrid, this has never been moved and I can well believe it. But more of this later. In 1893, Don Carlos Madrid, *comandante* of Santa Rita at the time, and shortly after the municipality of Copan had been organized, came here and had all the people out, and dragged Altars T and U into the middle of the plaza, where they now stand under the large ceiba tree.



Figure 10.10. Altars U (left in foreground) and T under the ceiba tree at the Copan town square. Altar U shows a jaguar mask with *ajaw* signs as eye pupils—a sculptural representation of K'inich Ajaw, or Lord Sun-eye or Sun-Face (Baudez 1994: 104).

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<sup>17</sup> Altar U was dedicated on 9.18.5.0.0 4 Ajaw 13 Kej (AD 795). Altar U dates to the reign of Copan's sixteenth ruler, Yax Pasaj Chan Yoaat (Martin and Grube 2008: 209) but the poor condition of much of the sculpture and the fact that context was removed via relocation to the town plaza makes the interpretation of this monument difficult (Baudez 1994: 107).



Figure 10.11. The back side of Altar T on the village plaza at Copan. The upper surface depicts a crocodile, now almost completely eroded. The sides, in better condition, show a dedication date of 9.17.12.5.17 4 Kab'an 10 Sip (AD 783), much later than many of the earlier monuments at Group 9. Hieroglyphs are part of the depiction of human figures on this altar: in this image the two figures are seated on a glyph and both hold a glyph in their hands. Another glyph appears in each headdress (Morley 1920: 334–335; Baudez 1994: 97–104).

It would seem, then, that Maudslay's photograph showing them under a tree, and Altar T on top of Sculpture E' were taken before 1893, and that Sculpture E' disappeared after the removal to the plaza where Gordon took his photograph. Maudslay's tree is, therefore, the old, now long gone *amate*; Gordon's the new and now large ceiba. Old Doña Maria Meléndez also confirmed the fact that the huge stone in front of the high mound where Altar S was found had never been moved. The small altar U' also stood nearby, with 9 and a death's head on it, being very similar, if indeed not identical with Altar T found on a leveled hill or rise some distance south, almost exactly off the *campo santo*.

Returning now to the mound where Stela 7 was found, and which I am excavating: it will be seen that many of the most ancient monuments may be traced to it directly. Further, several fragments from here, now or at one time built into houses in the immediate vicinity, fit together and form parts of Archaic stelae. Two beautiful examples of this may be cited. I took a fragment from the wall of the house of Pedro Ramírez in 1915<sup>18</sup> and another from the foundations of the

<sup>18</sup> See Rice and Ward 2021: Chapter 14.

house of Felix Galván (just east of where the market now stands) and the two were found to fit together exactly, and further, although this escapes positive proof, the piece thus formed is probably the back of Stela 20. Again, in December 1918 I found a fragment which was found to fit with a fragment which was excavated the day before I got there from the back yard of the house of Clementino López, i.e., from the mound where Stela 7 stood last December.

In summing up the whole situation, it would seem that on or about this mound there was a cluster of at least eight monuments: Stelae 7, 15, 18, 20, 24, 25, Altars P' and Q' and possibly several others. Many were doubtless broken up in ancient times, and others more recently, particularly during the last 20 years when most of the houses in the vicinity went up. These monuments are all Archaic, and we are probably safe concluding that this was the earliest important center of population in the valley.<sup>19</sup> In addition to these early monuments, it should be remembered that Stelae 9, 21, and 22, and Altars L' and M' also came from nearby.

At noon a disappointment awaited me. Jose María came back at lunchtime with word that he had searched the mound over where he had left his stone and could not find it. Said someone must have carried it off, which looked very unlikely to me on the face of it. Made an engagement with him to meet him at the group where Rafael and I went yesterday. Meanwhile, several other rumors came in, one very good from the plain south of the Main Structure [the Acropolis], whither I sent Chico to look it up. In the meantime, little Porfirio Villamil brought in a rumor of a "glyph stone" not far from his house. He took me out the street leading west from his father's house, the ground here had all been cleared of bush, and remains of a number of stone structures were visible. We were going out a tongue of land parallel to the Zacapa road, but south of it, and separated from the *campo santo* by a little ravine. When we had arrived almost opposite (i.e., south) of the little mortuary chapel connected with the *campo santo*, we came to the stone, which I found was Altar T', which I had drawn three years ago. So poor little Porfirio had nothing new to be paid for here. He had another stone, however, down by the river and when we got back to the village, seeing that Chico had returned, I sent him down with José to look it over. In due time he returned, reporting it "*nada*" and again poor Porfirio's hopes were dashed to the ground.

By this time, it was nearly four and I told Carlos to let the men off at 4:30. Porfirio's father was going with me first to show me a sepulture and second a sculptured stone he had hidden. Going down toward the Main Structure, we turned off to the right after passing the corner of Don Pablo Urrutia's wall and rode out across the plain west of the Main Structure, which is literally covered with the remains of stone structures. Near a high pyramid, Porfirio pointed out his sepulture, which was one beyond any doubt. The roof had fallen in or been broken in at one place, and one could see the typical Maya construction. It was very small. I could see all four walls when I hung by my heels headfirst down into it, not more than 4' [1.13 m] square. It is filled with debris, but I will send Chico down to clear it out in the morning. Don Porfirio's sculptured stone proved to be a parrot's [macaw's] head with a tenon behind for fastening it into the wall, and after examining it briefly to satisfy myself of its non-glyphic character, we rode back on down to the other "rumor," which Chico reported as glyphic.

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<sup>19</sup> Morley's view that Group 9 was the site of the first "center of habitation and monument commemoration in the valley" (Fash 1991: 87) is accepted.

As we neared near the spot, I was afraid I had seen it before, and when we reached it I recognized it immediately as Altar G', the small table with four low fluted legs and glyphs around the periphery. The date is 4 Imix 9 Mol or 4 Imix 14 Mol. After these two disappointments, we rode on down almost to Quebrada Seca and met José María coming back. He reported that he had been again unable to find his glyphic stone. He returned with us, and sure enough he had cleared the spot of bush and turned over all the stones, but *no hay*. He had reconstructed a fragment of a glyphic text, however, which from the plain band above and below it appeared to me to be a glyphic frieze or cornice like that on Temple 1 at Quirigua. This I called Sculpture Z' and will have it carried into the *cabildo* tomorrow. Many sculptured fragments lay about this building, and it must have been a fairly pretentious building in its gentility (if one can so translate the Spanish *gentilidad*).

We turned back from this hillside temple with its fine view of the white cliffs on the other side of the river where the valley begins to narrow down again, and got back to the village a little after six. After supper, my room was filled with boys and men with little trinkets to sell, mostly the small stone chisels with a cutting edge at one end and a blunted point upon which they were founded. These occur in such abundance, I buy at least a half dozen every time I come, that I am sure they were the tool by which the carving of the monuments was done. I was particularly fortunate in picking up two long obsidian flakes, perhaps 6" [15 cm] long each which had come from one of the 3 graves excavated in the mound of Stela 7, and also a large shell from another. I should add that the only thing that turned up in the digging there today was a small clay retainer which was broken into pieces by a blow of the pick. Happily, however, both fragments were recovered.

Just as I had started to undress, Don Juan came in to tell me I would find nothing in my digging at Clementino's. If I should find what I want—more fragments of Archaic stelae—he would still say I had found nothing, so it all depends on the point of view. He tells me that at tomorrow's session of the municipality they will present me and vote me in as a *vecino de Copan*. Rafael Villamil was going to propose me, but as he is going to Santa Rosa early in the morning, his brother, Porfirio, and José are going to act as my sponsors.

## June 2, Monday

Arose at 6:30 and put the men to work at seven—fifteen reported for work and the earth flew. After breakfast, I sent Chico with his half-brother, Siriaco Martínez—"por el lado de madre" [on his mother's side] Doña Julia informed me—the usual tie of consanguinity in these parts, a nice boy older than Chico but far less intelligent, if looks count for anything, and another boy down to the sepulture to clean it out. I also asked Don Jacobo Madrid to come over and give me a few more points. When I got back to the dig, a really valuable find had been uncovered, a jade pendant—a human figure in profile and a green pebble, which had been sawed though [in half] around the edge and then a hole, perhaps an inch and a quarter, had been bored though it. It looked like jade in color but was not polished. These were a curious and beautifully worked pair of stones both obviously from the same pebble. The figure was even more beautiful than the stones. It is 3" [8 cm] long exactly, about 1¼" [3 cm] wide and ¾" [2 cm] thick. Here [Figure 10.12] is a drawing of it with the perforations shown as a dotted line.

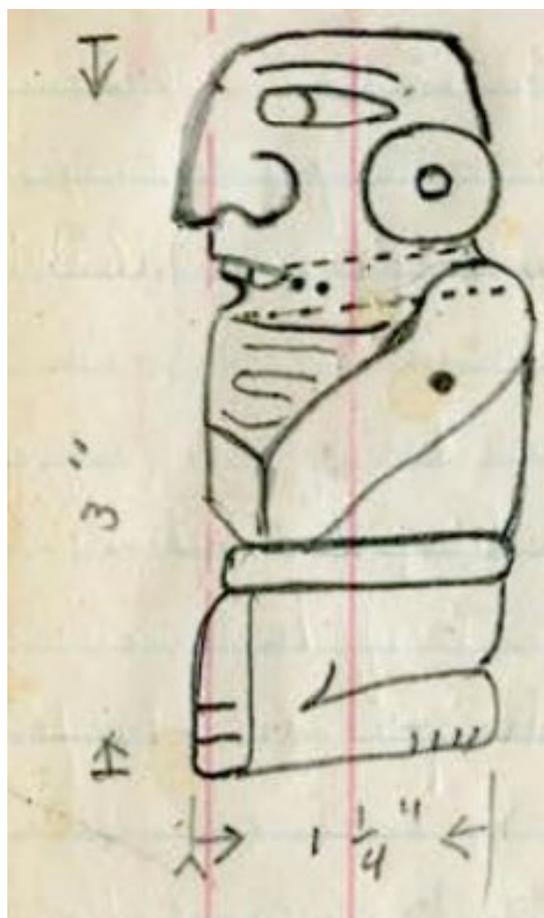


Figure 10.12. Morley's drawing of the jade pendant in his diary.

The large stone, the front and sides of which show attempts at dressing, which stands in front of the high mound at the southeast corner of the plaza—now hidden in the patio of the houses here—is 7' [2.13 m] high, 7' wide and 2' [61 cm] thick. It stands 28" [71 cm] in front of the mound, i.e., to the west of it, and from it to where Altar T and U and Don Juan's old *amate* tree formerly stood, is another 60' [18.29 m]. This stone is not unlike those large, uncut, uncouth-looking stones one sometimes sees in the centers of the plazas of the Yucatecan cities. This one was clearly associated with the mound of Altar S.

Today was very busy. I spent most of the time at the *cabildo* arranging the stones I have been carrying there for the last five years.<sup>20</sup> I took four of my boys, out of my abundance of riches, and went over to the *cabildo*. Eventually, when the market is finished [Figure 10.13] and all the work about the *cabildo*, Don Juan tells me the intention is to put all the monuments together (the fragments I have brought into the *cabildo* from time to time). This place is to be at the north end

<sup>20</sup> These lines recount the story of Morley's founding the first Museum at Copan, one of the first on-site museums at any Maya site. His collection at the *cabildo*, which housed the small museum for many decades, was the forerunner of the new Copan Sculpture Museum (see B. Fash 2011).

of the back corridor, which is walled in, but at present the space is occupied by a pile of lime. Whatever installations I make now, therefore, will only be temporary, but the names of the monuments I give and data concerning them can be copied when the change is made.



Figure 10.13. The new market hall being built in 1919; Stela 7 is in the foreground.

The northernmost room of the cabildo is occupied by the band, the next room north, however, is where I have all the fragmentary stelae stored and along the north end of this, I had the boys now make a low platform out of some old lumber which was piled under the back corridor of the cabildo. On top of this bench, which was less than a foot high, I assembled all the fragments that I have been collecting in the past five years as follows [Figure 10.14]:

|              |                                                  |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Stela 20     | 3 fragments, two fitting together                |
| Stela 21     | 1 fragment                                       |
| Stela 22     | 1 fragment                                       |
| Stela 24     | 1 fragment                                       |
| Stela 25     | 2 fragments fitting together (V'4 and V'7 below) |
| Sculpture E' | 1 fragment                                       |
| Sculpture Y' | 1 fragment                                       |
| Sculpture Z' | 1 fragment                                       |
| Fragment V'1 |                                                  |
| Fragment V'2 |                                                  |

Fragment V'3  
 Fragment V'4 (Stela 25)  
 Fragment V'5  
 Fragment V'6  
 Fragment V'7 (Stela 25)  
 Fragment V'8  
 Fragment V'9  
 Fragment V'10  
 Fragment V'11  
 Fragment V'12  
 Fragment V'13  
 Fragment V'14



Figure 10.14. Morley's sculptures in the back room of the *cabildo*.

After I had these all arranged on the bench and was studying them for possible fits, I found that V'4 and V'7 fitted together and were part of a new stela which I have named Stela 25, the glyph-blocks of which were 11" [28 cm] high, higher, that is, than on any of the other fragments.

When they were all arranged, or rather in the midst of this task, José Villamil appeared and announced that the municipality was in session and ready to go through with the citizenship business. He was very neatly dressed in a light suit with a pumpkin-colored bow tie. His brother, Porfirio, joined us and the three of us went into the *cabildo*. About 20 people were seated on the benches outside the railing, *alguaciles*, spectators, people who had business with the municipality, etc.

Behind the railing and at a table sat Don Juan, the *alcalde* [mayor], and at the left at right angles, behind another table, sat the secretary. The *regidores* [aldermen], among whom Doña Julia's Tereso is numbered, sat around inside the railing. I was shown to a seat next to Don Juan himself. Minutes of the previous session were being read and approved when I got there, but after disposing of a few routine matters, including the awarding of a schoolteacher's job at Porvenir at the munificent sum of \$15.00 gold a month, they got around to my business.

Don Juan announced that there were two new applicants for citizenship in the village—Don Silvano G. Morley, *Norteamericano*, and Francisco Aragón, Guatemalteco. This was passed and incorporated as Article 6 of the minutes of the current session. I judged it was to be a good time to make my annual contribution for the privilege of working there. We reached a very satisfactory working agreement four years ago, whereby I am not charged at the regular rate, but pay a lump sum at the end what my conscience dictates. This year I gave them twenty-five, which will be applied toward the new market.

The next order of business on hand was the appointment of a new schoolteacher for Porvenir, north of Copan 4 leagues. The applicant was at hand and this business soon concluded. The secretary now wrote these two pieces of business into the "Acts of the *Cabildo*" and brought it over to Don Juan to sign, the other municipal officers, including Tereso, following. As all this had taken some time, and as my part of the business was concluded, I asked Don Juan if I might leave, and he said there was nothing further for me to do. I thanked everybody for the privilege of citizenship just conferred upon me and told them how honored I felt, etc., etc., and left.

The next thing on hand was getting some black paint to paint the names of the monuments on the wall behind. Don Clementino, José Villamil told me, would be the only one to have paint, and after trying at the Turk's and Rafael's I went to Clementino's *La Farmacia "El Mejor."* Although he did not have paint as such, he had "the makings:" animal black, turpentine, and linseed oil, and we soon had a satisfactory paint compounded. It fell out that he had a brush too, so armed with these materials I returned to the *cabildo* and painted the name of each piece on the wall behind it. For the fragments V' I also painted this on the stones themselves, as V'1, V'2, V'3, etc.

Received a long telegram from Jean urging me to come on to the wedding, so evidently the minister is not married yet. Two from the minister, and one from Martha Streber, giving me the *recuerdos cariñosos* [fond memories] of Anita and Helen!

Chico came back at noon reporting that he could not finish the tomb today without another man, which I gave him, but he came in again at night saying there was almost a day's work left. He brought in quite a bit of jade, perhaps 20 small jade beads, some of lovely color, a large one, perhaps  $\frac{3}{4}$ " [2 cm] in diameter, and one small carved one. There were five or six very fine delicate blades from an obsidian nucleus, and parts of a pinkish shell with some shell pendants.

In the late afternoon it came on to rain and carried over into the night, so I did not look Jacobo up as I said. The room rather early in the evening was filled with small boys with the usual run of little *cuenticitos* [trinkets, small artifacts] to sell, mostly the small stone chisels, which occur in such great abundance, as I have said before, and which I believe was the utensil with which the monuments were carved and the building stones dressed. They also brought in some fine pottery fragments, obsidian blades, etc.

It was a cheerless sort of night, what with the rain and general chill, and half my boys coming

to be paid off so they could sow their milpas again—they have been praying for this [rain] for a fortnight, and those who planted them after the first showers will have to do it over again as this long dry spell has prevented at least half the seed from coming up. Over two-thirds came in for their time after supper, and I will be lucky if I have half a dozen men in the morning. What with all these tribulations, I went to bed early in disgust.

### June 3, Tuesday

I spent the day largely in doing last things. After getting Chico and his two *mozos* [young men] off to the ruins to finish the grave, I looked up Jacobo Madrid to run over with me to Domingo Hernández's house to see if it would be necessary to take any stones out of the foundations [D on Figure 10.5]. When we got there, he was quite emphatic that only the fragments in the *pretil* had had carvings, and that all other stones in the house had been plain. As he built the house himself, and as I have found his information reliable always, I let sleeping dogs lie, and did not pry the suspicious stones from their positions in the foundation, which would have entailed a lot of work as well as repairs to the wall. When I went over for him before breakfast, Don Juan was in a sort of barber's chair getting shaved. It seems Clementino runs the village barber shop, and his son was officiating. Don Juan was booted and spurred and was on the point of leaving for Tesoro and Porvenir to see about the building of a bridge so that the school children could cross a certain stream during the rainy season, now at least a fortnight overdue. As he will not be back until tomorrow night, when I shall have gone, I thanked him for the loan of his house, and the "*vecino*" business and bid him goodbye.<sup>21</sup>

It was as I suspected about my men: I only had six at work, counting Carlos Martínez, the foreman, but these did very well. I drew sculptures Y' and Z' and took a number of photographs of the monuments installed in the *cabildo*, also a film of general views of the village. I made a final examination of Stela 18 [Figure 10.15], which is so important as being the earliest example of the human figure on a stela known.<sup>22</sup> The *tun* coefficient is surely a tun-like affair, which I have shown elsewhere has the probable value of zero. The day-sign coefficient looks like 6, but might have been 7 or 8. It is very unlikely that it could have been 1, 2, or 3, or 11, 12, or 13. I should say the best readings are 8 and 6, and 7 as a good third. Of these 8 is too early (9.0.0.0.0) and 6 almost as bad (9.1.0.0.0). 7, however, gives a very plausible reading 9.7.0.0.0 (just 2 k'atuns earlier than the next earliest human figure stela here at Copan—Stela 7, i.e., 9.9.0.0.0) and would here fill a

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<sup>21</sup> In the Spanish colonial world, a *vecino* was not simply a resident citizen but a privileged one, with a sizeable estate near the city plaza, often inherited, and voting rights and civic obligations (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983: 96). Morley considered his citizenship at Copan a great honor (Brunhouse 1971: 148–149). He maintained excellent relations with local citizens throughout his career and in Yucatan, too, he was a respected figure to a generation of Maya in the region. Even 60 years after his death, Morley remained a household name and stories about him—most fanciful—were still told in oral performances in Yucatan (Sullivan 1989: 181–182).

<sup>22</sup> Morley was correct in assessing the early date of Stela 18, which dates to the reign of K'inich Popol Hol, who ascended the throne at Copan around 437. He was the second king after the founder of the Copan dynasty, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' (Martin and Grube 2000: 194).

long gap in the sequence of our monuments between 9.6.10.0.0 and 9.9.0.0.0. I am strongly inclined to accept this as the reading of this stela.<sup>23</sup>

I spent a great part of the day making the plan of the mound I am excavating [Figure 10.16], also several cross-sections.

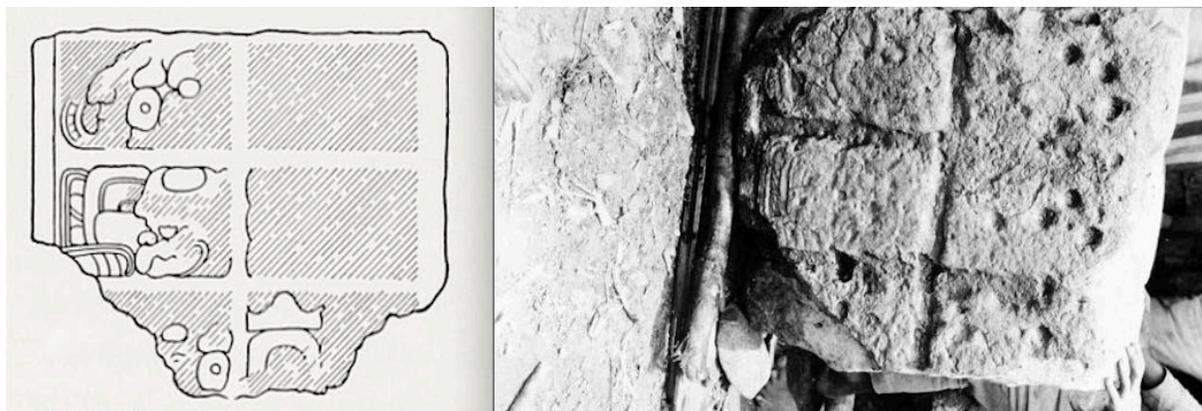


Figure 10.15. Inscription on the back of Stela 18. Left—Morley's drawing; right—Morley's photo. The degraded sculpture of a human torso appears on the front. Although Morley devoted much energy to working out a date on this fragment, his conclusion was wrong (see notes 22 and 23).

When I got back to the house at 4:30, it was so lovely I carried a chair out on the corridor and started to write up my diary, but José Angel López, Clementino's 19 year-old son, and the assistant schoolmaster came over and wanted to talk, so I put up my diary. They are all my friends here, and I would not hurt anyone's feelings for anything. Another message from Jean, saying the wedding has been set for June 11th, and that I ought to come. He says the MacDuffs are going in June and that the Scholles have already gone. Of course, my going is out of the question. Even if I did, I could not arrive there in time from here. Will telegraph him tomorrow.

After supper, the moon, now approaching its first quarter, shed already a fairly brilliant light over the plaza. The night was balmy, the sky clear, so one could see one's favorite constellations, or in my case the very few I know. I started out to look up Jacobo and get him to accompany me to see old Pío Garin and Cristina Ramírez, the two remaining old timers of the village. Pío lives on the same street as Jacobo, so we went there first. We knocked and knocked at the front door, but could not raise an answer at first. Just as we were on the point of giving up a voice came through the door, "*atrás*" [behind]. We went around behind and found the family squatted on the mud floor of the corridor eating the evening meal of eleven families out of every ten in Copan: tortillas and frijoles, by the light of a branch of fat pine.

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<sup>23</sup> Martin and Grube (2000: 194–195) date Stela 18 to the mid fifth century, about a century earlier than Morley, and the tun coefficient would probably have been 1. In *The Inscriptions at Copan*, Morley (1920: 99–102) postulates that the date could have been 9.0.0.0.0 or 9.1.0.0.0, but as these did not fit into his understanding of Copan history (he considered them improbably early), he thought the 9.7.0.0.0 reading more likely.

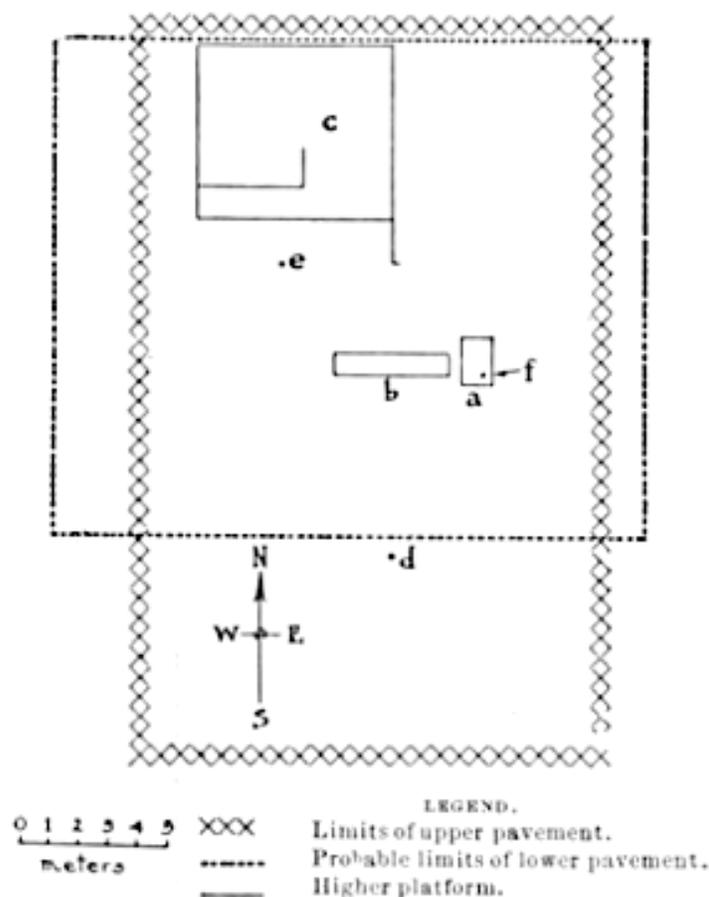


Figure 10.16. Morley's plan of the Stela 7 mound. a—foundation stone of Stela 7; b—Stela 7; c—stone platform at northwest corner of mound; d—lower pavement; e. cache of jades; f—Fragment V' 14, found in cruciform chamber beneath foundation stone.

Don Pío did not have the keen memory of Doña María, though he remembered the bringing of Altars T and U from under the *amate* in 1893 to their present location in the plaza. He differed in one important respect from Doña María, and Jacobo, who has been my guide in these matters, is inclined to follow him rather than Doña María. Pío says that Altars L' and M', i.e., the two that were in the altar of the first church (which was built in 1892), came from the yard of a small *rancho* [rural house] about what is now the southeast corner of the plaza, and that they were near (just beyond, i.e., south) of the big dressed stone 7' x 7' in front (i.e., west) of the Mound of Altar S [g and h on Figure 10.5]. The old man spoke of playing about them when he was a child, also remembered a round stone there—probably Altar T'. Doña María said they came from the yard of a *rancho* just south of the church, but Jacobo says as a boy of 19, 17, and 18, he visited that house a lot and does not remember any such stones there. He thinks—and I agree with him—that had these stones been there he would have remembered it, and believes Doña María has confused this *rancho*, which belonged to a Tata Uch, a Marcia, I think, with the one farther south.

Having helped in the building of this church, Pío would be more likely to have remembered

the exact details than María. He could tell nothing about Doña Anita Acevedo's predecessor at the southeast corner of the plaza, and as I still had another call to make, and fearing that my old lady might go to bed, I thanked him for his information and left.

Old Doña Cristina lives way up on the hill even higher than Carlos Martínez's place. We finally got there after crossing a little *cañon*, the same that has the bridge just west of the village, and after making our way through at least three generations, if not four, reached the old lady herself. She was what the English would call a proper old crone, straggly hair, fallen away in the flesh everywhere, wrinkled, scrawny, and dirty. She had, however, an astonishingly loud bass voice and a vigorous manner for all her years.

Her granddaughter said she was at least 70 that they knew, but believed she was even older. She was born at Copan so she knows the village probably longer than anyone else. If no older than 70, she was born in 1849, and I am inclined to think 1845 is not putting her too far back. I think Stephens must surely have met her parents.<sup>24</sup> She could shed no light on the altars found in the church, but remembered distinctly Anita Acevedo's predecessor as owner of the property at the southwest corner of the plaza, namely Doña Ana Carlos Orellano. She says as a child she was frequently sent to Doña Ana's to buy cheese, and that Doña Ana's husband was Domingo de Aguilar. When questioned about the old stone wall (*cerca*) which surrounded the place, she remembered it distinctly, and even more important, remembers that Don Domingo *built it*. She says she remembers the *mozos* bringing the stones that went into it—not Stela 15 specifically, which, however, she remembered as in this wall—but stones in general for the wall. When I asked her about how old she was at this time she said with a vigorous gesture, palm down to about waist high, "*todavía muchacha, todavía muy muchacha*" [still a girl]. If she was 10, and if she were born in 1845, this would make the wall date from 1855. I think it safe—since she remembers its construction as a little girl—that it was built in the decade between 1850 and 1860. Jacobo tells me in this connection that when he came in 1891 it was still the only stone *cerca* at Copan: he remembers distinctively thinking it quite a construction. Cristina says the whole place during her childhood, and she swept the four winds, was still "*monte grueso*" and only a few houses here and there in the bush.

Thanking this remarkable old lady who almost saw Stephens, and whom I shall probably never see again, we took our leave and I dropped Jacobo at his door. I was very much pleased with the evening's work, especially learning that the *cerca* of Doña Anita was built by her predecessor's husband, Domingo de Aguilar, between 1850–1860.

Had a telegram from Cristina Valentine today, sending the usual greetings. Says Luis will return the end of this month. Am afraid I will miss him.

### **June 4, Wednesday**

Last days are always busy, particularly at Copan where all days are busy. Started Chico out early with 3 men, including José María, to dig out the *piedra redonda* [round stone], which is supposed to have hieroglyphics on its periphery, news of which José brought in last night.

I went over to Clementino's and photographed the cross-section of the mound, which I made yesterday 6' [1.83 m] north of the foundation stone of Stela 7. Getting down under the stone I

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<sup>24</sup> John Lloyd Stephens visited Copan in 1839.

found it rested on a stone vault. In excavating it, Clementino López had torn out the entire north wall, and all but the bottom course of the east wall. The vault was cruciform, each arm being of equal length, 6½" [6 cm] long and 1'6" [46 cm] wide. The total length of each one of the transverse was 2' 5" [73 cm] and the vault was 2'6 ½" [77 cm] high from the underside of the foundation slab to the stone flooring. The outer sides of the stones forming this vault were undressed, and indeed they were backed by undressed rough stone of the usual volcanic tuff laid in very closely to one another. The only thing found in the vault was a small fragment of an Archaic stela, still showing a brilliant vermilion paint. This was found in one of the two southeastern corners. As Clementino López had been here before me, and as he is no better than he should be, I would believe he had got something here if it were not for the fact that he didn't offer it to me for sale. There have been practically no visitors to the ruins since 1916 but myself or people I know very well, and if anything important had been found I think he would have offered it for sale. The finding of the small fragment of an Archaic stela in the vault of Stela 7 raises the question as to whether or not it was not deliberately put there to confer on Stela 7 or the period it commemorates, the good luck of the period or stela, a fragment of which was deemed sufficient to convey such good luck. In other words, a part stood for the whole and it was "good medicine." One cannot prove such a speculation, but the hypothesis is attractive.

I next sent three telegrams, one to Jean saying I was sorry I couldn't attend the Minister's wedding on the 11th. Even if it were otherwise practicable, I couldn't get there in time; one to the MacDuffs saying hello and asking why they were malingering in Tegucigalpa still; and one to Reeves telling him I would be up on Friday's train. I next rode out to the ruins [the main group]. Just as I was leaving the village, Chico came back to report that the round stone was out, and that he believed it had glyphs. I sent him back to get his horse, and he overtook me. I first went to see the tomb he has been excavating. This is really only a shaft lined with cut dressed stone with a cement floor. It is 5' [1.52 m] deep, 4' 3" [1.3 m] long, N and S, and 3'3" [99 cm] wide E and W. It was roofed with heavy slabs of stone 8" [20 cm] in thickness, which were dressed and cut. The tops of these slabs were 3' 2" [97 cm] below the present level of the top of the mound outside, and this was composed of rough stone laid in over the slab. This tomb was built in a low mound just west of a higher one, west of the Main Structure.

From here I went to where José María had thought he had found a hieroglyphic altar. We returned to the road to Santa Rita—Chico and I—and continued east along it, passing north of the ruins. We crossed the first small *quebrada* [ravine] beyond the Main Structure and then turned off the road to the left, climbing a bit through a fringe of bush. This brought us out onto a cleared place from which I could see the quarries not too far off to the northwest of me. The group which José María had found must have been a beauty in its day. Rarely have I seen more sculptured fragments laying about a Maya structure. The temple itself was still in the bush, though the clearing ran to the very edge. I crawled through the undergrowth up toward the top of what had been a magnificent temple, scattered fragments showing elaborate feather ornamentation lay everywhere, and below those were torsos, shields, etc. One of the boys even found a waterspout, one of those long stones square in cross-sections with a channel running along it.<sup>25</sup>

José María found what appeared to be a small round altar, in fact parts of 3, all alike. As I

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<sup>25</sup> This group is the Rastrojón group discussed earlier. See page 218, note 11.

remember the design, there was a band of shells around the top of each, and below a beautiful constellation band, a real beauty. These altars were really truncated cones and he found one complete one and two incomplete ones. The glyphs or constellation signs were well-preserved in each, and when someone finally gets around to that problem, will form interesting examples of this kind of thing. I photographed the three fragments found and then sent Chico back to the village to keep his eye on the work on the mound, while I went back to the main structure.

Before leaving this group, I want to write down an impression that has come home to me this time at Copan, more forcibly than ever, namely, how little I know the real extent and magnitude of the city, and unless indeed it be Gordon,<sup>26</sup> I know it better than anyone else. Not only is the valley floor filled with the remains of stone buildings, plazas, courts, temples, palaces perhaps, whatnot, but the foothills, or rather their low benches [geol.: terraces], i.e., the first rather broadish bench above the valley floor, from the Rio Sesesmil to the Quebrada Seca on the north side of the valley, of course, is covered with stone buildings, some very beautifully adorned ones too, as witness the group just described and that where Fragment Y' came from. Intensive exploration of the entire bench will, I am satisfied, bring to light the sites of other important groups, groups indeed, which from the sculptures I have seen at the several I have visited, can only be assigned to the Great Period [Late Classic].

Returning to the main structure—the first time I had visited it on this trip—I tied my mule in the Court of the Hieroglyphic Stairway and climbed over the Acropolis past Temple 11 and down into the sunken Eastern Court. Happily, the Bishop of Santa Rosa had visited the ruins only a month before, and they had all been bushed—apparently to the ground—against his coming. I was directly profited by this, as I have not seen the Eastern Court so clean in 4 years, in fact since Percy Adams and I were here in 1915.

I put the three boys to work at once looking for Altar O' [Figure 10.17], which I have been unable to find for 3 years and which I therefore feared had been destroyed. My memory had located it right in front of the Jaguar Stairway, that is, on the lower center of the west side of the court. Searching here, however, again failed to reveal it, and it was not until one of the boys got over into the southwest corner of the court that it was found. My memory evidently played me false, not the first time, unfortunately. I turned it over with the broad sculptured face laying down so that the rains would not wash it any more than necessary, and there it lies, off the beaten path, too unimportant to attract the tourist eye, awaiting the next archaeologist—I might even say glyphologist [epigrapher, in today's parlance]—who wants to examine it intensively.

It was now nearly eleven and high time I was returning to the village. I left the boys to follow with the tools and rode on ahead. The excavation of the mound was about as far forward as I intended to carry it, the vault under Stela 7 having been thoroughly cleaned out and the northern section of the mound itself pretty thoroughly worked over. I put some of the boys to putting back the fences I had had to tear down—the mound extended into 3 different properties—and when that was done told them to take all the tools back to the *cabildo* and wait for me there in the room where the sculptures were. I called Clementino aside and thanked him for all the mess he had permitted me to make in his back yard and gave him \$10.00 gold, to have the piles of dirt cleaned away if he so wishes. This will keep 20 men employed for 2 days at the wages he can get *mozos*

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<sup>26</sup> George Byron Gordon (1870–1927) headed the Peabody's Copan project from 1894 to 1900.

for, and in that time that many could clear away his whole place if he wanted them to. As I was going into the *cabildo*, Nicolás left with the pack mule, far later than he intended, but the pack saddle needed mending! Again!!



Figure 10.17. Copan Altar O' in 1919. Morley (1920: 370–371) was the first to see this stone in 1915 and because there was no discernible date, he noted only that it had a grid of 40 glyph blocks, almost all eroded. Located in the Eastern Court, this altar is not associated with other inscribed monuments, and remains undated and little studied.

After paying off the men, Chico and I went back to the room where we put our last effects, notebooks, tape, and the like, which could not go with the pack animal this A.M., into my saddle bags and then went over to lunch. After lunch I loaned—it really is a gift, I expect—Doña Julia \$25.00 gold, being the half of what she asked me for, in addition to paying my bill which was a little over twelve pesos. Doña Julia had told me she lost a great deal of money when Tereso was down with the influenza<sup>27</sup> for three months, and found herself poorer than ever before, and would I lend her *cien pesos*. I didn't feel I could afford that, but managed to give her fifty. Returning to the room again for the horses, I told Don Juan's wife goodbye and also Don

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<sup>27</sup> Oddly, this is Morley's only diary mention of the 1918 "Spanish flu" influenza epidemic, which clearly had affected the area. Perhaps his silence reflected the greater prevalence other diseases, especially malaria (see Chapter 8). One historian says influenza arrived by ship at Puerto Barrios in October, 1918, and immediately took off in Belize, infecting thousands (Killingray 1994: 71–72). It spread up the Belize River, reaching the Cayo district and Benque Viejo on October 24, completely eliminating some Maya villages. In Guatemala, estimates suggest 44,000 deaths in 1918, a high mortality rate of 35.5 per 1000 people (Patterson and Pyle 1991: 14). The 1919 annual report of the United Fruit Company (UFC 1920), however, reported minimal impact.

Rafael's—both gentlemen being away from the village, and met José Villamil, who was going to ride out with me a little way.<sup>28</sup>

We left the village at 1:25, and José rode as far as the bottom of the hill. Chico came along a bit behind, having had a tearful farewell with poor Doña Julia, who is very lachrymose. I bid José goodbye at the foot of the hill, and Chico and I jogged along at such a good pace that we reached Xupa at 4:55, 3½ hours on the way, bettering our time in by over half an hour.

Nicolás had just finished some sort of a meal and was on the point of setting out for *zacate*. I wrote in diary until it was dark, while the boys gathered a great quantity of *zacate*. I went to bed about nine and woke up with a fearful cramp. Thought I was going to be real ill, but the *señora* heated some ashes and tied them in an old cloth, and with this excellent substitute for a hot water bag—I was enjoined to hold the corners of the cloth tightly or the ashes would spill—athwart my tummy, I went to sleep quite comfortably.

### June 5, Thursday

A long, very hard day. Nicolás got up at 3:30, summoned the *señora* to start breakfast, and by something after four had the mules munching corn almost under my nose. Got up myself at five when breakfast was ready, and *mirabile dictu*, we got off at 5:50 A.M. I was very anxious to go via the Tapuan shortcut, but Nicolás was against it on the grounds that the extra stoniness of the way more than counterbalances in time, any gains in distance. So, when we reached the ford of Leli, pronounced Laylee, which we did at 7:00 sharp, we crossed to the left bank of the Copan [River] and soon were climbing the big *piñol* of Camotan. Going toward Zacapa, the *subida* [rise, climb] is very much worse, stonier, than the *bajada* [descent]. It is not loose stone, but pure virgin outcroppings, almost flinty in hardness. The *bestias* always dislike it.

Yesterday we saved half an hour on the four we had made between Copan and Xupa. This morning by a good, vigorous single step—my mule had a wonderfully easy gait—we did the leg from Xupa to Jocotan, which had taken us another 4 hours, again in three hours and a half, arriving at Jocotan at 9:20. We did not stop here—indeed, I avoided the plaza altogether, seeking bystreets and finally got on to the lane leading down to the ford. I was driving the pack animal as Chico and Nicolás had tarried behind to buy some mangoes. We crossed the ford at 9:25 A.M., just 2 hours and 25 minutes after crossing the river above on the other side of the *piñol*, and then started the long climb to Laguna, which took just an hour.

Nicolás stopped at Laguna only long enough to pick up a boy he had left there, but Chico and I pushed right on. Just beyond Laguna we passed two women on horses going to Zacapa. One impressed me as particularly elegant, for in addition to shoes, a straw hat trimmed with ribbon, and a veil—the whole creation resting not directly on her head, but on a brilliant pink Turkish towel which hung down behind like an Arab tribesman--she carried a silver-handled (?) umbrella. The other woman was fat and flowed down over her saddle in inelegant lines. They were accompanied by a small boy who carried their baggage and trudged along behind them uncomplainingly.

Coming over it had taken us 1¾ hours to do the stretch from Los Mangoes to Laguna, but by dint of steady pushing we cut this to 1½ hours going back. Indeed, as I crossed the stream at Los

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<sup>28</sup> Morley is beginning a journey from Copan to Guatemala City, with a stopover at Zacapa.

Mangoes it was exactly 11:50 and we had been on our way just six hours to the minute. I was not too tired yet but was glad enough and hungry enough to pile off my mule with eagerness and set about getting lunch. Another *mulada* was lunching there, carrying sugar to Jocotan, and after our frugal repast—jam, musty crackers, tongue, sardines, and a tin of peaches—we went over and talked with the *arrieros* [mule drivers]. Unhappily my “capstone cigarettes” gave out last night and I am smoking Doña Julia’s *toosas*, which I find pretty heavy going. We finished eating about 12:30, and I wanted Nicolás to start getting the mules up about one so that we could get off by 1:20, which would give us 1½ hours rest.

But with his usual Latin procrastination, he fooled about, delayed, etc., etc., until by the time we finally got off it was 2:00 o’clock. Now started a long, tiresome climb up to the top of the *cuesta* [hill] beyond Teporinto, and then a drop down to Anchor. We had done this in 1½ hours coming out, we now did it in one hour and 25 minutes, making a net savings of 20 minutes on the leg from Jocotan to Anchor, which going out had cost us 4½ hours, we had done coming back in 3:55.

It was now getting hot; the sun, which heretofore all day long had been gratefully shrouded in clouds, now came out, and as we left Anchor at 3:25 I was distinctly sensible of being tired. This was our last quarter and we started our weary wind through the low divide which separates Anchor from Jumuzna. As we came though the last pass the Zacapa valley lay stretched before us in its semi-arid beauty. It was about 4:30 then, and Zacapa seemed near, just around the corner, in fact, but in reality it was 2½ hours off. And these were the worst of the day. We were all tired out and very saddle-sore and weary, and that last few leagues, although it was cool, was a task.

I had urged Nicolás to avoid the town and, just where the Chiquimula road comes in, he took a trail to the left, which led by many turns at last to the [Zacapa train] station, whither we arrived at 6:50, 13 hours on the way. This last stretch we had done in 3 hours and 25 minutes, a saving of 35 minutes on the out stretch to which must be added 20 minutes for the time down to the station, making a 55-minutes saving on the last quarter, or  $30 + 30 + 20 + 55 = 2\frac{1}{4}$  hours. We were all thoroughly exhausted by now, and after a *refresco* to the boys I sat down to a light supper and then bed. Never did such a hard mattress and adamantine pillow seem softer.

### **June 6, Friday**

Slept until after seven, a late hour for me. After breakfast wrote in my diary until about 10, and then walked up town. Just before I left, the telegraph boy brought around two messages, one from Pollan saying there would be a sailing for Belize a week from today, and one from Hecht repeating a message from the MacDuffs saying they were sailing on the 14th, presumably from Amapala for Panama, since that is their shortest way.

Went up town and called on the Lowes first—three of them: Rafael Levy, Mrs. Levy, and Salvador. They gave me a kindly welcome and I sat down again in my favorite wicker rocker. Presently Rafael sent out for a barber, and I sent Chico around to look for Nicolás. The latter came first and I paid him off. His 4 mules cost \$20.00 for the trip plus their living, and I gave him \$5.00 for his unfailing good humor, even when his *dolor de barriga* [stomachache] was at its height. He was greatly pleased and said if I ever went again to let him know. The barber arrived and I was shaven and shorn. This took so long, however, that when the barber had finished it was nearly 11:30, and I had to bid the Lowes a hasty farewell and, gathering in Chico and my McClellan

saddle, I bundled ourselves aboard a seagoing hack and we rattled off over the cobblestones to the station.

By the time I had got the baggage dispatched, it was twelve and lunch time. The up train came in with a bunch of nondescript passengers, among whom I only recognized Simmons of the East India Oil, Co., and that Guatemalan engineer, Alejandro Castillo, whom I met here a week ago yesterday with Ashmead. Simmons was stopping off a day or so in Zacapa, but Castillo was going on. Afterward, in the train, he introduced me to a young engineer from Tegucigalpa, who knew everybody I did up there. This chap had been one of the Honduran representatives sent with Ashmead.

Read all the way up [to Guatemala City]. Reeves met me at the station, and we went first to Katie Oates'—the Hotel New York—to see if we could get accommodations there, but she was full up. Next to the Grand, which I was told had not opened its rooms, only the restaurant—just as it was 2 months ago, in other words. At last, we found refuge in the Grand Hotel Union, a shabby down-at-the-heels hostelry just below the old market. The corridor was filled with a number of boxes and chests marked "Dominech," the name of the strolling players who were in Tegucigalpa early last march, just before I went to Costa Rica. I had a second story room which did not please me overly, but could find nothing else better. It was very much a case of beggars must not be choosers.

Reeves left me and I dined alone, but very well, let me hasten to add, at the Grand Hotel. After dinner went over to see Toxica and Jim, and found them the same old couple, Toxica planning a fiesta for tomorrow night in honor of my birthday, Rose Peresini's, the 8th, her own and Kehoe's on the 9th. While we were discussing this, in came old Reeves, and presently Captain Kehoe and a chap Livingston Sturgis, whom I didn't know but whom everybody else did, calling him by his first name even.

Although it was nearly 10, we sat down to some auction, Kehoe and myself taking on Toxica and the Sturgis one, and walloping them soundly. The score was so high that we didn't take the trouble to add it up, since we were not gambling. We left about eleven, going around to the Jardin de Italia. Here I met Doctor Hamilton<sup>29</sup> and the Colombian Consul, and we all sat and fraternized, i.e., threw for the drinks until 12. I confined myself to *Appleja*, one of the new things we will have to get used to after July 1.<sup>30</sup>

Walked back toward my hotel with Hamilton, who thought it looked like an earthquake sort of night. It was quite cool, almost chilly, and he said it had been quite hot. *Ojalá que no habría* [hopefully there wouldn't be] for my room is too high above the street to jump in comfort and by the regular interior route I am a long, long way from the stairs. Went to bed, therefore, with my door unlocked, only on the latch and my weather eye at half cock.

### **June 7, Saturday (my 36th birthday)**

A full day. Arose before seven and after breakfast came back to my room and wrote in diary until nearly 8:30. Then Chico and I set out on a world of errands. I thought at first that I would be

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<sup>29</sup> Morley's dentist.

<sup>30</sup> This seems to be a reference to the coming of Prohibition in the United States, although the ban on liquor did not take effect until January 17, 1920.

leaving in the morning early for Quirigua, against the boat's sailing on the 11th or 12th, so had mapped out my day to cover everything. First, left my razor to be honed in the barber shop in the Pasaje Aycinena, and then over to Biener's on 9th street for my photographs. These came out splendidly. I left four more Copan films with him, which I am to get tonight. From here, I went around to Reeves, stopping for a moment to do a few odds and ends at Melgar's drug store, chiefly a comb to replace the very disreputable one that I have carried for more than a year now.

Reeves was late, and I left to go down to Katie Oates' to see if we could possibly get a room there, and met him down on 7th avenue in Herbert Apfel's automobile. Herbert and I compared a few notes about the Divine Bertha, it seems the Apfels entertained her a lot when she was here. Engaged to return to Reeves presently, and continued on to Katie Oates', leaving my swagger stick to be mended at the Little Furniture Shop just across from her place on the Callejon de San Francisco.

Katie had no rooms, nor will have for a week. She told me old Doctor Raymond was back with her and as I had James' spectacles in my pocket, I was able to check another duty off my long list. The old man had just risen and I gave him the spectacles with James' commission. We chatted for a bit and then I had to move on. The old doctor is perennial, and changeth not. For the last nine years now, he has been the same, even to his wig and lisp. The earthquake rocked him heavily<sup>31</sup> and he failed physically rather heavily, I thought, as a result. But this morning he was as chipper as ever.

From here I returned to Rosing Hermanos and Company to see Reeves. I was now quite keen for getting on to the Fruit Co., and finding out if they really have a boat next Thursday, but first he wanted me to identify some photographs he took down at Quirigua, the legends of which he had forgotten. *En passant* I did not think his exposures came anywhere near mine in clearness and detail. At the Fruit Co. nothing had come yet from the port, but Bruni was expecting the *Coppename* to sail Thursday.

Reeves had made a date for me to see the jade collection of Hector Montano, an Italian and formerly the Italian Consul here, at 11:15. As it still wanted an hour, he took me around to Ersbergs, where I got Chico's picture taken for his passport. Next, Chico and I went to the Nicaraguan Legation—since Cantos left, Nicaragua has been looking after Honduras' interests—to get his passport. The consul was just leaving, but said he would be back in ten minutes, *sin falta* [without fail]. I left Chico to wait for him while I slipped around the corner to our own Consulate to have my own passport *viasa'd*.

Kehoe was here big as life and twice as natural—showed me a collection of photos of his conquests in the U.S.A., ravishing ladies. But it was getting on for eleven. I had time to say hello to Lawton, the Consul, who was with Catlin. Catlin was finally able to get a ten-years lease on the electric plant at an annual rental of \$40,000.00. His wife, whom Toxica insists was a chorus girl (but who I thought was quite a grand dame), has gone back to the States. He hopes to get off in another fortnight.

On my way back to Reeves, I picked up Chico at the Nicaraguan Legation. It seems photographs were not necessary after all, as they had taken his thumb print in lieu thereof. At

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<sup>31</sup> This refers to the major earthquakes that devastated Guatemala City between December 1917 and January 1918. For discussion of these, see Ward and Rice 2022: Chapters 22–23.

11:15, Reeves and I walked over to Montano's. His collection of jade is really very fine indeed, about 150 pieces all told, 100 of which are carved in detail. In such a number, of course, he has some museum pieces, a pair of ear-plugs particularly impressed me. I think it is almost the only time when I remember seeing a pair of ear plugs: usually they are only found singly, but he had the set. He had numerous small figures, of course, but the quality of the jade in most of his pieces I thought below the average. There was more of the gray in it than the green. He had one very fine breast ornament at least 7" [18 cm] long and 2" [5 cm] high and perforated from end to end. In such a long perforation they had drilled in from each end as usual, but failing to meet in the middle, they had bored in from the back to see where their two holes wandered to, and incidentally hit both.

He had many beads, a number of figures, and a few ear plugs. He also had a Quiche [K'iche'] *doctrina* of 1610–508 pages—in excellent condition and three other Maya MSS. I took a brief description of each for forwarding to Gates<sup>32</sup> when I get to Washington. He showed me the rest of his collection, which consists of church loot, paintings, carved wood tables, altar supports, bracket mirrors, etc., etc., silver, antiques and what not. But it was now nearly twelve, and I wanted to get over to the British Legation with Chico's passport before they closed. So, taking my leave of my host, I walked down to the Moorish palace of reinforced concrete which houses the British Legation. Had a very nice chat with [British Consul Jack] Armstrong, who asked me to supper tomorrow night, if I am here. Stormont<sup>33</sup> is now here from Amapala and we had a most enjoyable reunion. Asked them both to lunch with me at the Grand, but Armstrong could not get away, so arranged to meet Stormont there at one.

When I returned by way of Reeves, I found Chico waiting for me on the doorstep as per instructions. He had his photographs and the razor. Met Stormont at one, and we managed to have a good meal. He had to go carefully, as he had the universal complaint here now from which I suffered more than a month ago when I passed through the city on my way to Belize. The strawberries were particularly *sabroso* [tasty]. We had to part company rather abruptly, as I had an appointment with Doctor Hamilton at two; as it was, I was ten minutes late, and that ten are sufficient to lose me my appointment, for when I got there someone was already with him, and although I waited until 3, no one came out and his waiting room filled up. While I was waiting, Whitbeck—from Mr. Clark's office—came in. We had a talk for about half an hour, but at 3 he too became disgusted and we left together.

I went next to the Foreign Relations Ministry to get our passports visaed. Adrian [Recinos] was in and we had a short visit. He tells me Toledo Herrarte<sup>34</sup> is still in Washington. Marriage has greatly improved Adrian. He is stronger and more robust looking and less frail; too, he is less

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<sup>32</sup> William Gates (1863–1940), a Mayanist who also collected Mesoamerican manuscripts, had long association with Tulane's Middle American Research Institute. His academic career was limited by his difficult personality: paranoid about conspiracies to deny him credit, Gates made enemies with ease. Morley traveled with Gates in 1921, starting as friends, but they frequently fought and ended as enemies. Gates later tried to sabotage negotiations between the Mexican Government and the CIW for the excavation program at Chichen Itza (Brunhouse 1975: 129, 139–140).

<sup>33</sup> Percy Hope Stormont was the British Vice-consul for Guatemala.

<sup>34</sup> Luis Toledo Herrarte was the long-serving Guatemalan minister to the United States.

serious and more human. Told him to give my farewells to Fernando. On the way back to our own Legation, I stopped in to see the Owens and the Shaws, who are stopping with the former, but they were out. Walter and I had a nice visit, though not long. Will see him tonight at Toxica's fiesta. He gave me two letters, which, he said, had been at the Legation for some time. One was from Doctor Bailey, and the other from Weinberg. Both described the [recent] Salvador earthquakes, and both argued that it was far worse than the first [in 1917]. Even the wood in the bookcases at the Legation was splintered, Weinberg wrote.<sup>35</sup>

Doctor Bailey says he will not be able to go up until July and talks as though he might not return at all. The bungalow, he writes, came though with flying colors. Seventy killed and five hundred wounded was the toll. Before going to the Legation, I should add that I had stopped into Jim Roach's<sup>36</sup> offices and saw Peter Collins, arranging for the use of his dinner coat for the evening. I can contribute even less than the other time to my costume this evening, my contributions tonight being garters, socks, union suit, and a happy smile. On my way back to the hotel, I stopped at the Bieners to see my Copan films. They came out fairly well, all were good, in fact, save those interiors which were underexposed. I had given them 4 seconds too, at 16.

Had dinner by myself at the Grand, though Stormont came in just as I was finishing. I bid him goodbye on the off chance that I will go down tomorrow, but think I will stay over. It seems almost certain that the *Coppename* will not sail Thursday now. When I returned to the hotel, Chico said one man had been in to see me several times but left no name. I shaved and then took Chico over with me to Peter Collins, where I was to dress, stopping en route at Jim's for his suspenders, an important ingredient of my costume. Peter was not in when I got there, and his landlady showed some reluctance in letting me in his room, but it had to be. I had just started to look around for various parts of what I was to wear when Peter came in and saved the day. He pieced me together somehow. At one time I had on a waistcoat cut so *décolleté* that it exposed the upper four buttons of my trousers! Gradually we overcame the more glaring defects, though I finally went to bat, so to speak, in a 15 shirt, whereas 14 is my size. Happily, I had brought my own collar.

I seem fated, here in Guatemala: if I run up for a few days for a rest and leave evening clothes behind, there is sure to be an orgy of fiestas. After dressing, I went over to the Owens' again before going on to the dance. Met both Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, who had not changed in the year and a half since I last saw them. Captain Owens was down on the coast, but Mrs. Owens was home, as also Mrs. Gordon Smith and a Miss Hunter. Stayed for about a half hour, reaching the Roach's shortly after nine.

Toxica's birthday party, or mine, or Rose Peresini's—mine was the date actually celebrated—was a great success. She had the Azul y Blanco marimba, and plenty of girls, lights, and a delicious collation. I remember the punch as particularly agreeable. As I only danced one steps, I had plenty

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<sup>35</sup> The 1917 Richter 6.5 earthquake was on June 7 (Ward and Rice 2022: Chapter 3); the more recent was 5.9 on April 4, 1919. ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_earthquakes\\_in\\_El\\_Salvador](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_earthquakes_in_El_Salvador)).

<sup>36</sup> James Roach, an American businessman in Guatemala City, was recruited by Morley into his spy ring for the Office of Naval Intelligence in 1917 (Harris and Sadler 2003: 79–80). He and his unfortunately named wife, Toxica Roach, remained friends with Morley for decades. Morley visited "Toxie" in Guatemala City in 1947, the year before his death (Brunhouse 1975: 292).

of time to smoke, talk with the men, and enjoy myself. I danced with Toxica, both Rose and Catherine Peresini, the former (Rose) in a very *décolleté* dress, indeed it had no back at all, easily being the most stylishly dressed girl there—she looked as though she had been poured into her dress—Mrs. Apfel, Mrs. Thurston<sup>37</sup>, and an Andrea girl. Mrs. Armstrong was too indisposed to come, though Jack did. Talked with Walter some, and a good bit with Herbert Apfel, who had a lot to say about Bertha Palomo's visit.

The party began to break up at 12:30, and I came home at one, very tired out. And so passed my 36th birthday, one continual go.

### June 8th, Sunday

Wrote up my diary until nearly ten, and then went over to the Legation. Walter was just dressing and had a conference with him while he shaved and showered. He thinks the situation is growing very bad here. The old man brought down a hornet's nest about his ears when he arrested Bishop Piñol,<sup>38</sup> and the whole affair has aroused a storm of protest. One today hears open adverse criticism of the old man, a thing I never have heard before in the nine years I have been coming to Guatemala.

We went into the chancery afterward and he showed me a brand-new copy of Bulletin 57.<sup>39</sup> He is actually reading it, too. He touched on a confidential matter, too delicate to put into writing, which I am going to take up with Bo for him. His mother came in presently and we talked on general things until they had to leave for a luncheon engagement at 11:30. As it was too early to show up at Jim and Toxie's—Toxie had asked me for 12:30—I went around to Rafael Aparicio's. Saw Rafael, Elvida, and the three children. They are probably coming up to the States in Fall. All looked well, save Elvida, who appeared very dragged, and who, I believe, is *enceinte* [pregnant]. I stayed for about an hour's listening to a tirade against M.E.C. [Manuel Estrada Cabrera, dictator of Guatemala], Elvida being even more outspoken than Rafael. All the Catholics are up in arms over the arrest of Piñol, and Elvida is nothing if not Catholic.

I reached Toxica's about 12:30 and we sat down to lunch a little after one. The *piece de resistance* was a kidney stew, and it was delicious. After lunch, Jim talked with us for a while, and then got sleepy and went off for a nap. Toxie and I talked on and on. I had intended on going to the Clarks, but about 3 a heavy shower came on, and I stayed on talking to Toxie. Kehoe came in about 4:30 and as Jim was awake, we told him to hurry and finish dressing so we could have some four-handed auction, Kehoe, Toxie, and I were playing 3-handed, which I cannot endure. Before Jim could get around, however, Sturgis came in, and we played 4-handed instanter. Toxie and I against Kehoe and Sturgis. They won the only rubber we played.

I had to move on about six. Shaved and cleaned up at the Grand Hotel Union, which I

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<sup>37</sup> Wife of Walter C. Thurston, U.S. Chargé d'affaires in Guatemala City.

<sup>38</sup> On May 16, 1919, Guatemala President-cum-dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera (the "old man") arrested Bishop José Piñol y Batres after the prelate openly criticized the regime. Thurston wired to his superiors in Washington that because of the arrest the country was moving closer to civil war. Estrada Cabrera was eventually ousted in April 1920.

<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1919v02/d213>

<sup>39</sup> Morley's *An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyphs* (1915).

frequent just as little as I am able to, so depressing and third rate is it, and got down to the British Legation about 7:30. Three servants were huddled on the doorstep and couldn't get in. It seems the Armstrongs told them they would be back at 5:30 and they had been waiting since then for them to show up, and they had not done so. I espied a light in the second story in what they said was *el cuarto de aquel otro señor* [the room of that other man], and I hailed Stormont from the street below. Presently he heard the rumpus I was making and stuck his head out of the window to investigate. He came down at once and let me in.

He was as surprised as I was that the Armstrongs had not come back, and in the meantime showed me over this Moorish horror. Great rolls of money had been spent on it—Stormont says he had a band of skilled Italian plaster workers--\$60,000 gold it is said to have cost, and I daresay the gingerbread alone must have cost at least \$50,000 of that amount. Then, too, it is built of reinforced concrete which is always very expensive in these countries, and is claimed to be proof *contra temblores* [earthquake proof]. Indeed, it is one of the very few buildings in the whole city which came through the shocks of December 25th and 29th, 1917, and January 3 and 24th, 1918, practically unscathed. It has a court with lotus capital columns, I daresay to show the Moors came through Egypt. The *sala*, or reception room, is Moorish—very—with some mural paintings showing *hareem houri* [women of a harem] in languishing poses. Just off the opening into it, indeed an alcove of it, is a Louis something room, very rococo, with plaster roses and cupids sticking out from the walls and ceilings. I think this house with its restless intricacy of decoration would tire an obelisk, let alone flesh and bone. The really lovely parts of the place are the two *azoteas* [rooftops], that of the second floor and the roof. The floor above the ground, i.e., over the greater part of the house, is in reality or could be made into a fine roof garden. It has a spacious covered corridor, and the Moorish effect here, viewed in general and not in detail, is rather effective, or was as I saw it just at dusk. Then we climbed to the roof, and here from behind the Moorish parapet, and between a number of quasi-minarets, or at least such I judged them to be, we had a fine view of the city under the young moon. The volcano of Agua was fast slipping away into the soft obscurity, and the stars and lights of the city made a fairy picture.

Stormont tells me he often comes up here, twice a day in fact, once in the evening, and once in the morning. I had never suspected him of this strain. We descended to the ground floor and it now seemed time to give up on the Armstrongs as storm-stayed somewhere, and to go out for dinner. While he was getting ready, I telephoned the Clarks to say goodbye to them, and at the same time to see whether the Thurstons and the Armstrongs had dined together there. But they had not, and while I was at the phone, in fact, they came in. They had been out in Swank's place on the Paseo de la Reforma, as a matter of fact, and the failure of their promised cab to call for them and the delays incident to getting another, caused all the delay. Armstrong soon discovered that it would be a good hour before anything was stirring at home, so he suggested our going up to the Grand Central, particularly since Mrs. Armstrong was out of the eating in any event, being still *hors de combat* [out of action] from the general complaint.

The three of us went up there. We met Herbert Apfel, who had just got in from Escuintla, whither he had gone to meet his uncle, Hugo Fleischmann. No, these are not Germans, but very loyal British subjects. I knew Carlos Fleischmann, Hugo's brother, when he was British Consul General here 10 years ago, and had met Hugo in Quetzaltenango 3 years ago when Percy and Alice J. and I had taken that ride through the western departments.

Supper was very *lujoso* [luxurious] with a marimba. Saw Katherine Peresini, young Richards, and that fast-looking Ubico girl—the one married to a Spaniard but home now on indefinite leave. Her hair is the note which suggests her rapidity, being of the shade known as peroxide. Probably she is all right—all that glitters is not gold.

After dinner, for dinner Jack truly made it, we returned to the British Legation. Old Judge Meedes was there. He was Ames' assistant. Said he was going home on the next boat, had been called back. I did not stay too long as I was very tired out. I showed them my Quirigua photographs, however, and then bid them goodnight and goodbye. Packed before going to bed against the early departure of the train.

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At the end of his handwritten 1919 diary, Morley included a list of his Copan workers:

|                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Carlos Martínez  | Manuel Brindez     |
| Jose Angel Eraso | Escolástico García |
| Balerio Galván   | José María Gúzman  |
| Vernacio Santos  | Eriberto Vela      |
| Segundo Pérez    | Jiriacé Martín     |
| Mariane Mayorga  | Jesus Hernández    |
| Pedro Celdana    | Clemente Canales   |
| Tadeo Ramos      | Salvador Gonzáles  |
| Jusano Díaz      | José María Rose    |
| Basilio González |                    |

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The following information is included in Morley's typescript diary after the final entry of June 8, 1919 [GMT dates added by the editors]

|             | Monuments at QUIRIGUA |          |         |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------|---------|
| Stela S     | 9.15.15.0.0           | 475 A.D. | 746 GMT |
| Stela H     | 9.16.0.0.0            | 480 A.D. | 751 GMT |
| Stela J     | 9.16.5.0.0            | 485 A.D. | 756 GMT |
| Stela F     | 9.16.10.0.0           | 490 A.D. | 761 GMT |
| Stela D     | 9.16.15.0.0           | 495 A.D. | 766 GMT |
| Stela D     | 9.17.0.0.0            | 500 A.D. | 771 GMT |
| Stela A & C | 9.17.5.0.0            | 505 A.D. | 775 GMT |
| Zooph B     | 9.17.10.0.0           | 510 A.D. | 780 GMT |
| Zooph G     | 9.17.15.0.0           | 515 A.D. | 785 GMT |
| Zooph O     | 9.18.0.0.0            | 520 A.D. | 790 GMT |
| Zooph P     | 9.18.5.0.0            | 525 A.D. | 795 GMT |

|          |             |          |         |
|----------|-------------|----------|---------|
| Stela I  | 9.18.10.0.0 | 530 A.D. | 800 GMT |
| Stela K  | 9.18.15.0.0 | 535 A.D. | 805 GMT |
| Temple 1 | 9.19.0.0.0  | 540 A.D. | 810 GMT |

Smaller monuments:

|         |               |          |         |
|---------|---------------|----------|---------|
| Altar L |               |          |         |
| Altar M | 9.15.0.0.0    | 460 A.D. | 731 GMT |
| Altar N | No date given |          |         |
| Altar Q | date effaced  |          |         |
| Altar R | date effaced  |          |         |

## APPENDIX.

### THE EARL MORRIS PHOTO ALBUM OF THE 1912 SEASON AT QUIRIGUA

On the very day we finalized the text and layout of this volume of the Morley Diary Project, Will Gregg, the archivist at the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History's Earl H. Morris Papers collection, sent us an email saying that he had just discovered a box of photo albums. He sent along some snapshots of two of these in the hopes that we could help him identify the archaeological sites depicted. To our great delight, we saw that one entire photo album was devoted to the 1912 season at Quirigua, the subject of the present study.<sup>1</sup> We undertook to pay for the digitization of these photos so that they could be included, albeit at the last possible moment, in our study of the Quirigua excavations.

Gregg describes finding these albums and the reason they were not included in the original online posting of the Earl Morris Papers:

As far as discovery of the albums goes...I'm happy to share. A good effort was made at locating all of the Earl Morris materials when we first began to process the collection in 2019 under a National Historic Publications and Records Commission grant. These albums were missed in that survey, however, due to the fact that our archival collections are spread across several rooms in boxes, filing cabinets, and on shelves, with little or poor labeling. I found them recently while I've been conducting a room-by-room, box-by-box inventory of our whole archives. The inventory has resulted in a lot of interesting discoveries, these albums among them. I've now incorporated them into the official Earl Morris collection where their storage conditions have improved significantly. (Personal communication to CW, March 2022)

The Morris Collection, one of the most extensive documentations of early twentieth-century Southwestern and Mesoamerican archaeology as told from the perspective of an important participant, came to the University of Colorado over the course of many years. The first tranche of documents was donated in 1956 shortly after Morris' death, with additional materials arriving in the 1980s and the early 2000s. The donations after 1956 were orchestrated by Elizabeth Morris, Earl's daughter, most likely from her own personal papers. The collection was first organized as

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<sup>1</sup> The other album consists of 150 unpublished photos from the 1924 initial excavations of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itza. We plan to include these images in a future volume of the Morley Diary Project.

early as 1961, but it was not until 2019 that archivists Will Gregg and Alex Elliot formally processed the materials and put them online for open access to researchers and the public.<sup>2</sup> Although most of the material in the collection relates to the archaeology of the American Southwest, many documents and photographs chronicle Morris' important work in Mesoamerica, and most significantly, his years under Morley at the Carnegie Institution of Washington's Chichen Itza project in the mid 1920s.

Like Morley and so many others, Morris began his formal archaeological career through his association with Edgar Lee Hewett's School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe. Morris, however, came to Hewett with over a decade of informal excavation experience. Born in 1889, he was the only child of Juliette Halstead and Scott Neering Morris.<sup>3</sup> The elder Morris, following his own adventurous spirit, moved his wife and toddler son to Farmington, New Mexico, in 1891 in the hopes of starting a freight-wagon business. To supplement his income, Scott Morris saw opportunity in pot-hunting, an undertaking made easy because of the convenient location of large Indian mounds adjacent to his own house. During the early 1890s, east coast museums and private collectors provided robust fiscal incentives for legions of private pot-hunters across the west. In that era, before the maturation of American archaeology as a formal discipline, pot-hunting was not frowned upon, and indeed informal, private excavation was a respected profession. Morris' father fast became a respected pot-hunter and for the next several years was able to amass sizeable collections that were sold. Earl, at a young age, tagged along with his father on these artifact quests, and well before the age of 10 was himself digging pots as part of the family side business. Scott Morris was shot and killed in 1904 during an argument with a business partner, and Earl, just 15 years old at the time, was left with deep scars from his father's death, remaining "introspective and bitter for the rest of his life" (Lister and Lister 1968: 10). He continued pot-hunting on his own until entering the University of Colorado to study psychology.<sup>4</sup>

Earl's life changed course through a chance encounter with Edgar Hewett on a train in 1911. The two talked pots and Hewett, then in search of students for his new field school at Santa Fe, offered Morris the opportunity to participate in formal archaeological work. Eager and competent, by the next year Morris was in Quirigua working under Morley, charged with the excavation of Structure 1B-2.<sup>5</sup> Morris' reputation as an excellent excavator extended over his forty-year career, the highlights of which were his remarkable excavation and restoration work at Chichen Itza and numerous examples of fieldwork at sites throughout the American

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<sup>2</sup> The collection is found online at <https://cudl.colorado.edu/luna/servlet/CUB~20~20> .

<sup>3</sup> Biographical information on Morris comes from Florence and Robert Lister's *Earl Morris & Southwestern Archaeology* (1968). Unfortunately, their study specifically shuns Morris' Mesoamerican work, calling it a distraction from their focus (Lister and Lister (1968: xvii): his significant contributions to Southwestern archaeology practice and theory.

<sup>4</sup> Morris went on to earn his B.A. in psychology from the University of Colorado in 1914. Although he studied at Columbia for his Ph.D., like Morley at Harvard he left school before completing his degree. He was awarded an honorary doctorate by his alma mater in 1942, much as Morley earned an honorary doctorate from his own alma mater, the Pennsylvania Military Academy.

<sup>5</sup> A more extensive treatment of Morris' career will be included in a future volume of the Morley Diary Project devoted to the Chichen Itza project in 1924.

Southwest. He married twice, first to Ann Axtell, a fellow archaeologist, and after Ann's death in 1945, to Lucile Bowman. Morris himself died in 1956, leaving behind nearly 70 publications. His long association with the University of Colorado at Boulder led to the deposition of his papers collection at that institution.

The Quirigua album, bound in black leather, consists of 64 images in total, of which we present just under half (many are duplicative or show the same content we present in earlier chapters). The original photos were mounted, two per page, with paper holders on each corner (Figure A-1). We cropped the images to remove these mounting holders and offer commentary in the image captions.<sup>6</sup>



Figure A.1. A sample page from the Morris album. Note the corner holders that intrude slightly into each image. We have cropped these out.

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<sup>6</sup> Specific image citations with record numbers are listed on the Illustration Credits pages, although the general citation for the album as a whole is: University of Colorado Museum of Natural History, Earl H. Morris Personal Papers: EHM07.05-003-001 to EHM07.05-003-064.

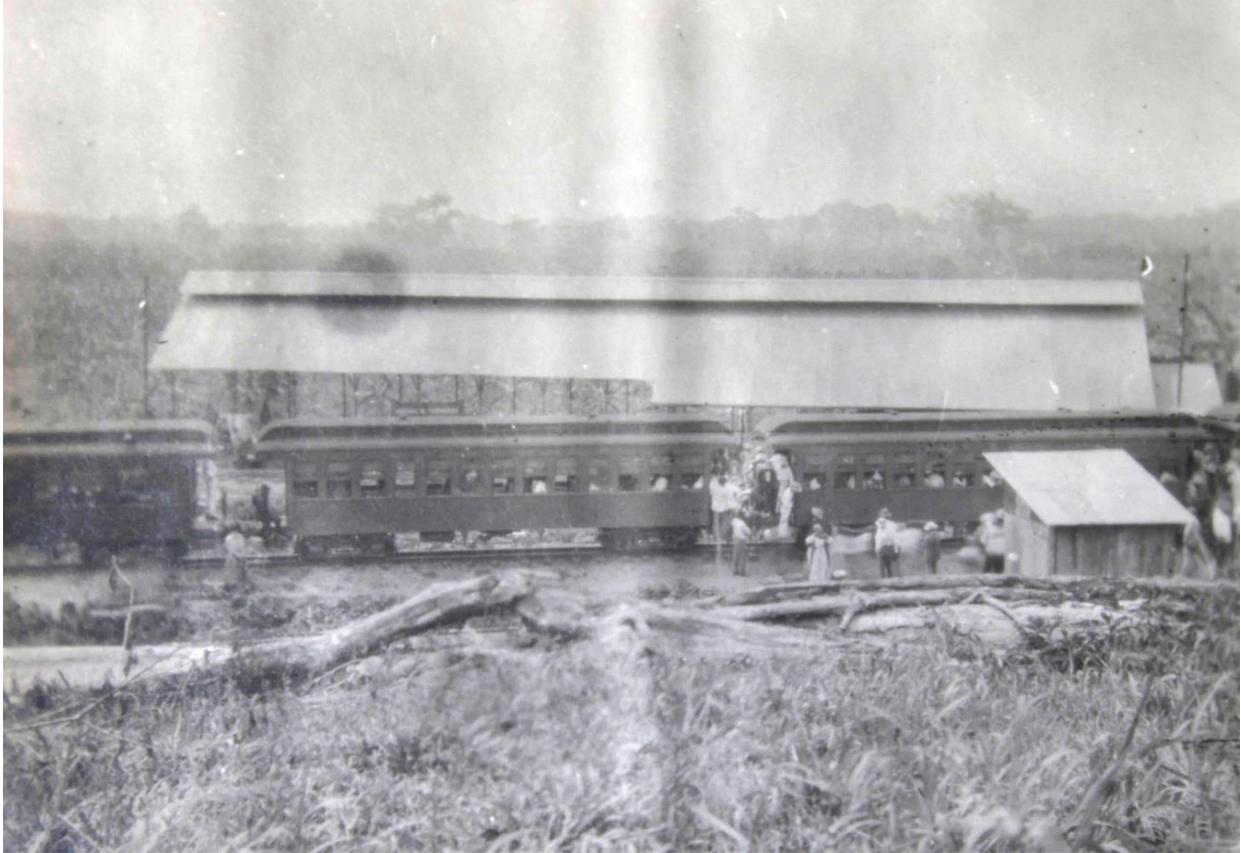


Figure A.2. The United Fruit Company train depot at Quirigua, a stop on the Northern Railroad of Guatemala between Puerto Barrios and Guatemala City. The line was operated by United Fruit until 1954 when the Atlantic Highway was completed, offering an alternative connection between the Capital and the Atlantic port. Service on the line was daily, the “Up Train” heading southwest into the mountains toward Guatemala City, the “Down Train” heading back to the coast at Puerto Barrios. This rail line made Quirigua the most frequently visited Maya site in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and the site was selected by Hewett and Morley for excavation in large part because the railroad allowed easy access. The large Fruit Company operation there also offered modern infrastructure and facilities, most noticeably the Quirigua Hospital.



Figure A.3. The first of several images taken of the on-site kitchen used to prepare meals for the workers. Morley, Hewett, and Morris normally took their meals at the Fruit Company Commissary at the Hospital or at nearby Maya Farm. Morley had his wife (Alice) and young daughter (True) in tow, housed in a Fruit Company bungalow. Although never mentioned in his diary, in 1912 he no doubt ate meals at home with his family.



Figure A.4. Another view of the field kitchen, taken on the same day as Figure A.3. This image shows one of the families that staffed the kitchen, names unknown.



Figure A.5. A closeup of the field kitchen and its clay “oven.” Ovens of this style were made and used in rural areas into the mid-twentieth century. Note the metate and mano in the foreground. Food prepared for the work crew largely consisted of tortillas and frijoles. Like an army, an archaeological field crew “marches on its stomach.”



Figure A.6. A young Maya woman grinding corn on the stone metate.



Figure A.7. A young boy (also shown in Figure A.4) playing on a makeshift seesaw immediately outside the field kitchen. Note the felled trees in the background and the use of stones to create a low wall—both indications that the location of the field kitchen was within the ruins.



Figure A.8. An excavation trench directly abutting the field kitchen. The exact location of the kitchen, which at least insofar as the work crew was concerned was the social hub of the operation, is not known. Other photos of the excavations do not show the thatched buildings in the background.



Figure A.9. Another family that worked the field kitchen.



Figure A.10. A photo of the field camp, which consisted of a series of corozo or manaca palm-roofed *champas*, or huts. The field kitchen is in the background to the left. This kind of structure was ubiquitous throughout the Maya lowlands, especially along the trails used by *chicleros* and *mulada arrieros*.



Figure A.11. The 1912 School of American Archaeology excavation staff at Quirigua (absent Edgar Hewett), photographed at the end of the season in front of the newly-excavated Structure 1B-2. Earl Morris is seated on the left in the front row, Sylvanus Morley is seated on the right. Note that the work crew is made up of both local Guatemalans and Blacks, some of the latter of whom came from Belize. Shown here are 30 workers. Morley normally divided his laborers into separate gangs, each assigned to work specific parts of the excavation. Although we know the names of many of these people from Morley's references in the diaries, we are not able to tie any names to specific faces in this photo. These same individuals were required to serve time working for the local Guatemalan authorities on a regular basis, and although Morley was able to secure temporary waivers of these public-works requirements to fill out his crew, fully staffing his outfit was a constant challenge.



Figure A.12. Some of the giant ceiba and strangler fig trees that ensnarled the ruins at Quirigua. The SAA team spent most of 1911 carefully cutting, clearing, and burning these as the first step toward making excavations in 1912 possible. This process involved considerable time and effort to make sure the felling of the trees did not cause damage to the many sculptures and structures at the site. In a world that had not yet seen the invention of powered saws, the job was monumental.



Figure A.13. One of the great trees growing out of a mound at Quirigua. Morley, dwarfed by the trunk and buttresses of the tree, is pictured standing in the center. The roots of these trees did considerable damage to the collapsed buildings buried within the mounds that defined the east, south, and west sides of the Acropolis. Excavation was often delayed while workers slowly hacked away roots so as not to cause more harm to the structures. Root damage was so significant—not just at Quirigua, but across the southern Maya lowlands—that Morley discounted the role of earthquakes in causing the Maya cities to collapse into ruin. He noted that damage from trees and their roots were sufficient to explain the poor condition of the sites in the early twentieth century and specifically stated that earthquakes probably played no role (Morley 1947: 68-69). Our own view is that earthquakes, especially at Quirigua, played a significant role in collapsing the city into ruins.



Figure A.14. A mound (Structure 1B-1) at the Acropolis freshly cleared of its jungle covering. Note the several stumps marking the location of root systems that extend into the ruins buried below the surface of the mound.



Figure A.15. Before actual excavations could begin, the SAA team had to construct a trestle upon which to lay a narrow-gauge rail track for the purpose of carrying excavation debris away to a dump site. The height of the trestle shows the elevation of Structure 1B-1 above the plaza floor.



Figure A.16. Another view of the trestle, this one showing the debris cart. In the 1970s, the University of Pennsylvania team complained that Morley had not hauled the excavation debris far enough away, necessitating additional work to remove the School of American Archaeology discards from the Acropolis Plaza (Coe and Sharer 1979: 16–17).



Figure A.17. The track laid, the work begins. Edgar Lee Hewett (upper left) supervises the crew. Hewett remained on site only briefly, returning to the States to raise funds and to oversee other SAA projects. He left young Morley in charge. This was the first time Morley ran a major archaeological project in Central America and, in the case of Structure 1B-2, the first time Earl Morris was charged with an important excavation.



Figure A.18. Excavation of the first (left/east) bench at Structure 1B-1. Note the good preservation of the hieroglyphic inscription. Morley was thrilled to find the inscriptions on the three benches of the interior rooms of this structure, an excitement that gave way to disappointment in future years as excavations of other buildings at Quirigua revealed no additional inscriptions.



Figure A.19. The fully exposed hieroglyphic bench of the first (east) doorway of Structure 1B-1. Note the preserved stucco coating on the right wall. Interestingly, this exact photo was published in Morley's *Guide to Quirigua* (1935: Figure 34), demonstrating that he had access to some original negatives of photos in the album. In the photo credits for his *Guide*, Morley specifically notes that this image is not part of the School of American Research photo collection, though he does not state where he found it. No other photos from the album were published in Morley's *Guide*.



Figure A.20. Stones from a corbeled vault. These Maya “arches” were constructed using long stones, one edge of which formed the interior surface of the vault (shown here on the left side of the center stones), the extended tails (right) being embedded in the structure walls. The weight of the structure above these tails, together with mortar, held the vault in place. The fragile structural design of the corbeled vault, combined with poor clay mortar and frequent earthquakes at Quirigua, resulted in the collapse of almost every vault at the site.



Figure A.21. This picture showing sculpted stones from Structure 1B-1 demonstrates the great value of the discovery of Morris' photo album. Previously published in Morley's 1913 *National Geographic Magazine* article (reproduced in this volume as Chapter 6), the poorly printed version of this photograph has been relied upon by epigraphers to draw renderings of the cornice frieze that decorated the 1B-1 façades. These glyph blocks are now severely weathered, damaged, or missing. This new version of the photo offers the first clear view of these glyph blocks for modern study.



Figure A.22. Part of the hieroglyphic cornice of Structure 1B-1, roughly laid out by Morley for a photograph.

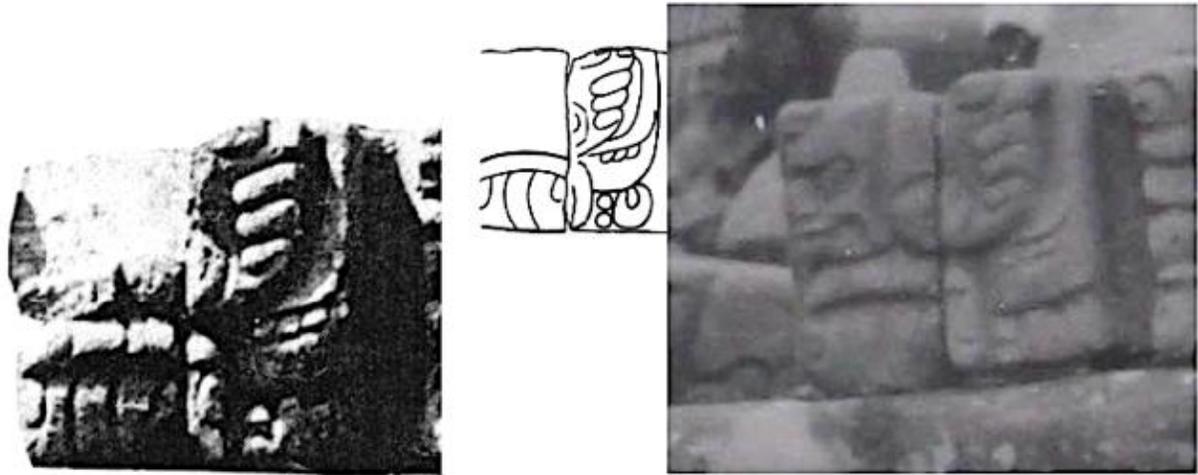


Figure A.23. When shown the new photo of the cornice inscription of 1B-1 (Figure A.22), Matthew Looper sent over this visual comparison offering the previously best known image of the first glyph block (left), his drawing of this hieroglyph based on the poor existing photos (center) and the newly discovered photo of the same glyph block from the Morris photo album (right) which reveals a god image (or perhaps the number 17) that had previously never been recorded (personal communication to CW, March 2022).



Figure A.24. The end result of the 1912 excavation of Structure 1B-2, conducted by Earl Morris under Morley's supervision. Subsequent excavation and study of the Acropolis has revealed that 1B-2 is the oldest structure on the Plaza that was not buried under subsequent constructions. As in the case of Tikal Structure 5D-46, which was revered as the house of Chak Tok Ich'aak's (Jaguar Paw) lineage, this original building remained untouched and preserved during the Late Classic, even when buildings surrounding it were expanded in size and scope. Its preservation indicates that 1B-2 may have had a historical, political, or ritual significance that left it in use in an unaltered form for the duration of Quirigua's occupation.



Figure A.25. Two unidentified men sitting on the platform of the restored Structure 1B-1 at the end of the 1912 season. Note the placement of the cornice hieroglyphic frieze. Within the first of the three doorways the hieroglyphic bench is visible. Also note that the interior wall facing the hieroglyphic bench has been reconstructed despite its originally still having its stucco surface finish (see Figure A.19 above).



Figure A.26. Structure 1B-1 being photographed at the culmination of the 1912 season. Morley, following what are still today accepted reconstruction guidelines, only rebuilt the parts of the building that were verifiably accurate. The original building would have risen to almost twice the height shown here, with an elaborate upper frieze decorated with stucco mosaic figures. Still higher, a roof comb may have risen nearly to the top of this photo. Although the SAA team left structure 1B-1 in this new clean and partially restored state, no provision was made to maintain the Acropolis. Within a few years the entire area shown in this photo was again covered in dense tropical forest, and by the 1970s the building itself was falling back into ruin, necessitating extensive repairs. Fortunately, Quirigua is today well maintained as an archaeological park.

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UOP University of Oklahoma Press, Norman  
UTP University of Texas Press, Austin
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