## A MAYA 'POCKET STELA'?

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This paper considers one of the several hundred mould-made pottery whistle-figurines recovered between 1925 and 1927 and again in 1970 from the Late Classic ceremonial center of Lubaantun, Belize (formerly British Honduras); many of these have been illustrated at one time or another (Gann, 1925; Joyce, 1926, 1933; Joyce, Cooper Clark and Thompson, 1927) and a definitive corpus is in preparation (Hammond, in prep.), while a preliminary statement on the contexts and method of manufacture of the whistle-figurines is in press in the final Lubaantun excavation report (Hammond, in press).

The example discussed here was recovered in 1970 during the most recent excavations at the site, directed by Hammond and sponsored by the University of Cambridge, the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, the British Museum and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Inc.; it was illustrated in the preliminary report (Hammond, 1970, Plate XXXIII (b)), and the original is now in the Belizean national collection at Belmopan, while casts are available at the British Museum, Peabody Museum and Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

The object consists of two elements, a flat plaque with a moulded design on the front and a plain back, and, attached to the back, a whistle-chamber of 'hog-snout' form; this form of construction is standard for the Lubaantun whistle-figurines, with the design differing in almost every case. The present example has lost most of the whistle-chamber and part of the plaque; it was recovered, in two fragments, in lot L26 of the 1970 excavations, from a layer of mixed humus and collapsed masonry and earth fill (layer 8-B-1) that also yielded 142 sherds, 21 other figurine fragments and part of a mould and sundry lithic debitage and mollusca (Hammond, in press, Appendix i, Operation 8B). The structural context was a collapsed low stair leading down from Plaza IV into Plaza III (Fig. 1). This stair was the last of a series of extensions of the higher Plaza IV level which has moved southwards, encroaching on the lower level until finally Plaza III was left as merely the northern end-zone of the south ball-court (Hammond, in press, chapter 5).

The sherds from lot L26 included Turneffe Unslipped, Puluacax Unslipped, Remate Red, Belize Red and Lazaro Red types (Hammond, in press, Appendix iii); all are of Late Classic date, the closest comparisons being with the Spanish Lookout phase at Barton Ramie (Willey, Bullard, Glass and Gifford, 1965), Tepejilote and early Bayal at Seibal (Sabloff, 1969) and Late Pasion and Boca at Altar de Sacrificios (Adams, 1971). The whole of the Columbia Ceramic Complex at Lubaatun relates most closely to the

Pasion sites, and the Pasion Zone proposed by Culbert (Culbert, Ed., 1973, Fig. 1) should clearly be extended eastwards to embrace the southern part of Belize.

The earliest known pottery from Lubaantun, occurring in middens on bedrock covered by later construction, dates to the late 7th or early 8th century A.D. (i.e. equivalent to early Tepeu 2 at Uaxactun; this implicitly accepts the Thompson correlation (11.16.0.0.0) but one of us (D.H.K.) would like to disassociate himself from this (Kelley and Kerr, 1973: 189, 194-195). Rands (1973: Fig. 6) suggests a range from 9.12.0.0.0 (A.D. 672) to 9.14.0.0.0 (A.D. 741) for the beginning of Tepeu 2 at Uaxactun and possibly 9.11.0.0.0 (A.D. 652) for Tepejilote at Seibal. from the fifth of the five major phases of construction at the site and its date of deposition on both ceramic and stratigraphic evidence falls well within the 9th century (i.e. Tepeu 3), confirmed by subsequent excavation in the same level when lot L238 yielded a further 19 figurine fragments and 84 sherds, including part of a Fine Orange bowl of Cedre Gadrooned type (Sabloff, 1970: 377-381, Figs. 57-58) dated by Sabloff to not earlier than 10.0.0.0.0 (A.D. 830) and possibly not earlier than 10.1.0.0.0 at Seibal. It is however possible that some of the material in lots L26 and L238 could have come from reused middens elsewhere on the site, although this would mean that both the Fine Orange and Lazaro Red sherds were admixed at the time of deposition; it is thus theoretically possible that the figurine is as early as A.D. 670, but most likely that it dates after A.D. 830. That it was made at Lubaantun seems probably in view of its technical consonance with the many other figurines and moulds found at the site and only rarely at any distance from it; we hope to confirm its local origin by neutronactivation analysis of the fabric and comparison of the trace-element composition with those of Lubaantun utilitarian ceramics and local clays (this work is at present in progress at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, N.J., under the direction of Garman Harbottle).

The design on the front of the plaque (Fig. 2 and Plate 1) depicts an enthroned male figure, facing forwards with the legs parallel and the feet resting on the surface in front. He wears a plain <u>maxtli</u>, which hangs to his ankles, plain broad anklets and wristlets, and a flexible object around his neck with the ends loosely crossed in a half-knot. In his hands he cradles a long ceremonial bar, held with the right-hand end higher; the bar has a shaft divided in its central portion, with two ball-like ribbed ornaments and a decorated and expanded terminal at the upper end. The man's head is missing.

He sits between the profile heads of two saurian or ophidian monsters who face outwards and seem to form part of the throne; of that to his right only the lower jaw and eye remain, while that to the left has lost part of its crest and the outer fang in both upper and lower jaws. The monster's eye is set in a heavy circular orbit; above are two crests, the rearward with parallel ridges, the forward fan-shaped. The jaws are wide open, each with two teeth set together halfway along and formerly with a triangular fang at the front (present only on the lower jaw of the right-hand monster). The gums are defined by a raised ridge, as though the skin of the jaw were drawn back,

and there are two excrescences on the snout. At the corner of the mouth a sickle-shaped flat element with a raised margin emerges, slightly different in shape on each monster.

Man and monsters rest on a U-shaped throne, highly conventionalized in form and with two small feet, one now missing; the front has a recessed panel within a raised margin, containing eleven glyph blocks. Two, smaller than the others, are in the arms of the U, the other nine are arranged in three columns of three blocks each. Each block is carefully and distinctly modelled, with every indication that the glyphs were intended to be comprehensible and comprehended.

The combination of an enthroned figure and a hieroglyphic inscription is one found mainly on stelae, notably at Piedras Negras where it has been shown to commerate dynastic events (Proskouriakoff, 1960). This plaque, the best-preserved of a number of similar depictions from Lubaantun, could perhaps be interpreted as a ''pocket stela,'' a mass-produced, miniature, portable and domestic folk-art adaptation of the public monuments, or at Lubaantun, where stelae are absent, a substitute for them.

Whatever its exact function, whether domestic icon, pilgrimage souvenir or merely plaything, the existence of an apparently coherent hieroglyphic inscription on such an object is of great interest both because of its rarity and because of the scant attention that such non-glyptic and non-codical objects have received until very recently (but see Coe, 1973). Our transcriptions and some speculations on the significance of the inscription follow.

The text is read, in accordance with usual Maya conventions, in a double column in the order A1, B1, A2, B2, A3, B3 and then the remaining single column, C1, C2, C3. The two glyph blocks, A' and C' are considered separately. We do not know how they should be integrated with the main text.

Glyph block	Transcription	on (system of	Thompson, 1962	2) <u>Comments</u>
A1 .	VII. 510?	or 504?? :	125? or 126??	"7 Lamat" T504 (Akbal) less likely than T510 (Lamat). subfix appears closer to 126; context calls for 125.
B1	VIII. 122?	: 563a?		"8 Fire" VIII. 16??: 528?? (8 Yax) is a far less likely possibility. There seems to be no way of reconciling the numeral prefix with the standard Maya calendar round notation since Lamat calls for 1, 6, 11 or 16 as

		a month coefficient and the text has 8.
A2	59.87:515:??	We accept T515 as chu. Possibly the subfix is 228 or 229.
B2	61.568 (??)	The prefix is closer to the codex glyph 62. There definitely appears to be an infix in the 'main sign.' Possibly this is the 'battan' as in the Venus tables of the <u>Dresden</u> codex, with the reading <u>hul</u> .
A3	751a. ??	The ear is very typical of the jaguar head glyph 751 though the snout does not look much like a jaguar. The postfix does not appear to be any of the glyphs in any of the catalogues.
В3	683c.178:178	''kalal''
C1 .	??:??:515??:87?	Very odd prefixes. Main sign most uncertain.
C2	38-(35).168 = 630	"Lubaatun Emblem Glyph" The Thompson system does not adequately account for the variations in the EG prefixes. The basic form is that of T38 but the lower part is like T35. The ahpo ("ben-ich") superfix is expected above T630. The form of the superfix is not very similar to this. Since fine internal detail is not easy to produce in ceramics, we suppose that the 'scribe' merely suggested the outline.

C3	202??:25.178:178	"?-cal" No doubt of the last three glyphs.
A'	228??:??	
C'	III?:504 ??	3 Akbal ?? Little can be made of these two glyph blocks. Another day name is unexpected in

The detailed transcription of the Lubaantun whistle inscription into the numbers of the Thompson Catalog of the glyphs (Thompson, 1962) was based on a careful examination of an enlarged photograph and two different casts, in varying lights, by both Kelley and Mathews. Clay worked at this scale is not an ideal way of representing the intricate detail of Maya glyphs and even where context and general character make a transcription virtually certain, it may be impossible to justify from internal detail.

Our text contains as many non-calendrical glyph blocks as are found on many stelae; the calendrical data are much less full. Columns A and B have what at first sight appears to be a Calendar Round date. The day-name is probably 7 Lamat but might be 7 Akbal. Either would demand the month positions 1, 6, 11 or 16. The number actually found with the presumed month glyph is 8. The glyph itself has the 'smoke-curls' prefix and a not entirely clear main sign. It is Kelley's belief that the two together are the 'fire' compound and that either 'Fire' was a month name in the local area or, more probably, that reference is made to eight ceremonial or calendrical A verb with the root chu appears in A2 and in B2 perhaps the object of this verb. The main sign in B2 could be lu but no interpretation can be suggested here. A3 is a jaguar head and apparently is the family name of the ruler who is discussed in the in-B3 contains the 'moon sign' with affixes, which may be read kalal (or posscription. sibly kalalal). This is a rare Maya title for 'king, ruler,' previously noted principally from inscriptions of 'Bird-Jaguar' at Yaxchilan. In the latter examples, the title appears in a form which should be transcribed ah kal (chac?) and probably translated In C2 is a glyph which, from context and affixes, should be the 'the great (?) ruler.' Emblem Glyph of the place ruled by the individual mentioned on the whistle. reasonable to propose that the whistle refers to the local ruler and Hammond has presented evidence (supra) that the whistle is a product of Lubaantun so it is natural to assume that this glyph (T630) is the Lubaantun Emblem Glyph.

As will be shown, the identification of T630 as an Emblem Glyph leads to conclusions of such importance for the political structure of the late Classic Maya that one would like to have supporting evidence both for the political importance of the site identified by T630 and for the assumption that the inscription refers to Lubaantun.

For the latter, there is still only the internal evidence. The throne itself gives some support to the view that its occupant was of more than local political importance. The ruler represented on the throne is flanked by two gigantic monster heads. The identity of the two heads is not certain. This hinges on whether the eyes are to be regarded as lidded or not. If lids are actually present, the heads probably represent iguanas and the crests are iguana crests. If lids are absent, the heads probably represent snakes and the crest is a feathered crest of the mythical Feathered Serpent. Inspection alone does not certainly solve the problem. If the heads are those of iguanas, the throne may represent a claim to the power of Itzamna, 'Iguana House,' one of the most important Maya deities. If they are Feathered Serpents, they could indicate a claim to derivation from the Feathered Serpent, revered as the ancestor of most of the important ruling families of Mesoamerica.

The indications are that throne symbolism involved a carefully graded hierarchy. At the bottom, local rulers of cities or towns had a mat throne without a back (Maya pop). Somewhat higher in status were rulers with a jaguar throne. Both kinds are frequent in the Mixtec codices. Most previously recognized Maya rulers apparently had the status indicated by a jaguar throne. Water-lily ('lotus') thrones, as depicted particularly at Palenque, can not be fitted into a hierarchical scheme at this time. In the late period, backed mat thrones are associated in the codices with the rulers of Tenochtitlan and a number of Maya rulers are shown on table-like backed thrones on which they sit cross-legged. The topic is worth a much fuller and more detailed study. The rarity of depiction of saurian or ophidian thrones and the repeated assertions that descent from the Feathered Serpent was a necessary attribute of legitimate rule strongly suggest that the ruler shown here is in a higher hierarchical position than jaguar-throne rulers.

The position of the ruler depicted on the whistle supports this view. Leg position seems to have been an important indicator of status in Mesoamerica. In this case, the ruler is sitting in what we would regard as a normal sitting position with legs in front of him, not crossed, and feet flat on the floor. The position is very rare. The great lintel 3 of Temple I at Tikal (revised assignment following Coe, Shook and Satterthwaite, 1961) shows a ruler seated in this position, with a giant jaguar towering behind him. The context there is certainly compatible with great importance in the hierarchy. As will appear, glyphic evidence also associates this ruler with our text.

However, the primary evidence of the hierarchical importance of the individual of the whistle throne and of his predecessors and successors comes from the inscriptions. Here Thompson (1962: 247) has drawn attention to the repeated combination of T630 and T181. The fact that T181 could be read kal, 'ruler' was not demonstrably significant until the inscription on the whistle revealed that T630 was an Emblem Glyph. Proskouriakoff (1964: 194-196) has referred to the 'Moon-sign family' and 'Moon-sign ruler' at Yaxchilan but the full importance of the family could not be recognized, until the 'royal' nature of the title was known. Now that we know that this title, apparently

rare in other contexts, and this glyph, as an Emblem Glyph, are associated together on the whistle, the repeated occurrence of the two glyphs in conjunction at Copan, Tikal, Piedras Negras, Palenque and other Maya sites takes on much greater importance. The absence of Emblem Glyph prefixes in these inscriptions is no substantial objection to regarding them as referring to a place, since 'foreign' Emblem Glyphs frequently lack these prefixes.

On the grounds of the local provenance of the whistle and the clear Emblem Glyph at C2, we would not normally have hesitated to regard this as the Emblem Glyph of Lubaantun. The only other interpretation which seems at all likely is that a ''monument' (even a small portable one) commerating a superordinate ruler might be made anywhere within the area that his authority was recognized. To avoid the constant repetition of such cumbersome phrases as ''ruler of Lubaantun or some other, unknown but superior, site,'' in the following discussion of occurrences of the glyphs at other sites, we transcribe T630-181 simply as 'Lubaantun?-ruler.' This is not intended to close discussion of the identification before it has started and an appropriate degree of doubt should be maintained.

At Yaxchilan, Lintel 14 gives an account of a woman whose names and titles include (at C3) 1000.630-181, 'woman-Lubaantun?-ruler.' The date is 4 Imix 4 Mol. Thompson (1950: fig. 56) suggests the date 9.15.10.0.1 while Proskouriakoff (1964: 199) believes that it is 9.18.1.13.1 (?). It seems likely that the <u>kal</u> title appeared at Yaxchilan through inheritance from some female. If this one, it would have to be the earlier of these possibilities, since the <u>kal</u> title is not borne by Shield-Jaguar, but Bird-Jaguar, ruling from 9.16.1.0.0., is repeatedly called <u>ah kal chac (?)</u>, 'the great (?) ruler.' Lintel 3 shows him in association with a man who is apparently called 'Lubaantun?-ruler' (F4). Proskouriakoff has referred to these people as members of the 'moon-sign family,' an accurate description if the title <u>kal</u> ('moon-sign') was usually borne only by members of the family of the rulers of Lubaantun.

Other texts refer to 'woman-Lubaantun?-ruler' at Copan, Palenque, Naranjo, and Kuna. On Stela M at Copan, IS 9.16.5.0.0 8 Ahau 8 Zotz, the title appears in a passage following the Copan EG, a quite unusual position for a text several glyph blocks long. At Palenque, 'Lubaantun?-ruler' is mentioned in a generally accepted context of personal names on the famed 'sarcophagus' from inside the Temple of the Inscriptions, dated somewhat before 9.13.0.0.0 (apparently the earliest approximately dated occurrence of the two glyphs together). The name of a woman with the same title appears at J3-K1 of the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, dated at 9.17.13.0.0, over 90 years later, and the identification of the glyphs, in which we tentatively follow Thompson, is less certain.

Naranjo Stela 8 at 9.18.10.0.0 depicts a figure with a short skirt and a spear standing on a bound captive. The accompanying glyphs are those of a woman, among whose name glyphs appear what seems to be 'woman-three-Lubaantun?-ruler.' The meaning of the intrusive three is unclear but the context is again that of a human female.

It should be pointed out that the names of women frequently contain foreign Emblem Glyphs without Emblem Glyph prefixes. In none of these examples of female names which include T630 is there any other known Emblem Glyph present. This reenforces the contention that T630 is here functioning as an Emblem Glyph.

Although we know that women inherited rule in the Mixteca and this apparently happened also at Palenque, the relative frequency of the combination 'woman-Lubaantun?-ruler' suggests rather that this combination merely indicates membership in the ruling family of Lubaantun.

On Lintel 3 of Temple I at Tikal, previously referred to, a mighty jaguar rears above the head of a ruler who, alone among the rulers of Tikal, bears as his most prominent name or title 'ruler of Lubantun?.' Now that we know from the whistle that 'Jaguar' was the name of the ruler of Lubaantun (probably a family name), the association of the jaguar with this particular ruler re-enforces the conclusion that we have interpreted the meaning of the combination T630-181. This ruler celebrated his fish-in-hand ritual on 9.13.3.9.18 12 Etz'nab 11 Zac. His name appears also on the carved bones from Tikal showing animals and the corn god in a canoe. He is, by far, the most prominent ruler mentioned in the inscriptions of Tikal. This same ruler is apparently mentioned at a somewhat later date at Piedras Negras (Lintel 3, V'1).

On Quirigua Stela 1, there is discussion of an individual who is referred to in C8 as 'Lubaantun?-ruler' and in D9 there is a further reference to Ah kal. The context seems to be one of personal names but is not not clear as in other cases. The name appears in a passage following the Quirigua Emblem Gluph, corresponding in this relatively unusual arrangement with Stela M at Copan. The nature of the connection with Quirigua is unclear. The date is terminal Classic.

This distribution may be contrasted with that of the Emblem Glyphs of Tikal, Copan and Palenque. The Tikal Emblem Glyph appears once at Copan, once at Silan and probably on a vase from Chiapas (Culbert, 1965: 22) but is generally restricted to the Peten and middle Usumacinta (Thompson, 1962: 195). Occurrences of the Copan Emblem Glyph (T756d, a bat-head with haab infix) outside Copan are hard to recognize because the bat-head glyph is apparently used in a number of other ways and the haab infix may not be a necessary part of the Emblem Glyph outside of Copan itself. appear among the bones texts from Tikal (drawings made available to me by Linton Satterthwaite). Use of the bat-head referring to Copan seems rare at all sites other than Copan and Quirigua. The Palenque Emblem Glyph (T570) appears at Toruguero, Copan, Tikal and fairly clearly at some other sites. Again, use of the glyph in other ways means that we can not always distinguish references to Palenque. It seems to be more widespread than the Tikal or Copan Emblem Glyphs but is not nearly as widespread as the Lubaantun Emblem Glyph. Thus references to Lubaantun (or, at least, the site indicated by T630) seem to be more widely distributed and more frequent than the Emblem Glyphs of the most important Maya sites.

We are still unable to determine whether other occurrences of glyph T630, unassociated with T181, should be regarded as referring to Lubaatun. Given the distribution we have mentioned, it might be expected that there would be a mention of Lubaantun on Copan Stela A, which has the Emblem Glyphs of Tikal, Calakmul and Palenque with the Copan Emblem Glyph itself. T630 does occur in H10 but the kal title is absent and there are no Emblem Glyph prefixes, although they are found with the other Emblem Glyphs on the stela. This, however, is true of all occurrences of T630 except on the whistle. If Lounsbury (1973) is correct in thinking that the 'ben-ich' Emblem Glyph superfix is to be read as ahpo, 'chief,' it may be that the use of the (higher?) title kal generally obviated the need for reference to other titles. At Lubaantun, itself, it would be natural to give a fuller set of titles. The occurrence of T630:1000-181 at D7 of Copan Stela A is not noted by Thompson, but the form of T630 is identical to that at H10 which he does list. At D7, T630 is preceded by an unusual and puzzling glyph and by the head of the sun god. The combination of female head and moon glyph in this context has usually been interpreted as referring to the mood goddess. The reading ixkal, 'woman-ruler' might not be incompatible with such a view, but 'moon-woman' is a reasonable interpretation. However, the following pair of glyphs in E7 is found as a human title (batab?) on the Tikal bones texts and elsewhere.

This survey of some of the more important occurrences of T630-181 on inscriptions throughout the Maya area shows that no occurrence is certainly incompatible with use as the part of a personal name or title indicating geographical origin and in many cases interpretation as part of a name clause seems certain. These references have the same general contextual nature as other Emblem Glyph references but the frequency of reference, the geographic extent of the references, the apparent prominence of some of the individuals referred to and the repeated use of a title which seems to be rare except in composition with T638. There seems to be little reason to doubt that T630 identifies a site of unique political importance to the Maya. There is equally little doubt that the whistle was manufactured at Lubaantun. The Emblem Glyph prefixes are normally found in 'home' inscriptions and are frequently absent in 'foreign' in-Hence the use of these prefixes in the whistle inscription and their complete absence in all other Maya inscriptions strongly suggests that T630 is the Emblem Glyph of Lubaantun. The chronological spread of the identified references runs from about 9.13.0.0.0 to about 9.18.10.0.0. The beginning coincides well with the earliest likely date for the foundation of Lubaantun, which continued to flourish well past the latest recognized and dated reference into cycle 10.

If the Emblem Glyph was that of Lubaantun, then the role of Lubaantun must be reassessed. In spite of its local importance (Hammond, 1972), the archaeological evidence alone would not have suggested to any of us that its hierarchical importance equalled, let alone exceeded, that of Tikal, Palenque or Copan, or indeed, of many lesser sites. It is, of course, true that hierarchical status need not be directly correlated with effective political control and neither one needs to imply economic dominance. The marginal location of Lubaantun with respect to the major Classic Maya sites is comparable in some ways to the marginal location of Tula, Hidalgo during the

Toltec period. Tula was a major political power, but its importance as an outpost against the barbarians is comprehensible. Lubaantun, on the other hand, controlled a major source of cacao which is more than adequate to explain its local importance but does not seem to justify the extremely high status suggested by the inscriptions. not impossible, particularly in view of the late foundation of the site, that the dynasty in Lubaantun arrived there from some other site which would better fit our a priori ideas of what a major site should be, but we have no evidence of this. In that case, the name represented by the Emblem Glyph might have come with them and it could even be possible that the main line of the dynasty stayed behind. The fact that the presumed family name of Jaguar is also found at Yaxchilan and that the dynastic title, kal, also recurs there may suggest some special connection with that area. Certainly, the ceramics of Lubaantun affiliate it to the Pasion-Usumacintazone, but Yaxchilan has its own Emblem Glyph, completely different from that presumed for Lubaantun. The importance of Lubaantun indicated in the texts can not be explained as derivative from Yaxchilan or any known site. Pusilha, the nearest major site to the southwest, monumentally more impressive than Lubaantun, has a known Emblem Glyph -- found only at Pusilha.

Most occurrences of T630-181 fall into three areas: the Pasion-Usumacinta basin; northeast Peten and the Copan-Motagua drainage. The ceramic affiliations of Lubaantun with the former have already been noted and links with the other two in the presence of Belize Red pottery on the one hand and Motagua valley jade and Ixtepeque obsidian on the other are also apparent (Hammond, in press, chapter 8). It seems significant that, with the exception of mention at Xcalumkin, the distribution of the presumed Lubaantun Emblem Glyph in the inscriptions and the directions of Lubaantun's external contacts should be the same. However, only fuller interpretation of already known texts and discovery of new texts can certainly solve the problem of the role of the site indicated by T630 and show whether it is or is not identical with Lubaantun.



PLATE 1. The decorated front of the plaque / height 92 mm/, depicting an enthroned ruler clasping a ceremonial bar, between the heads of two monsters and seated on a hieroglyphic throne.

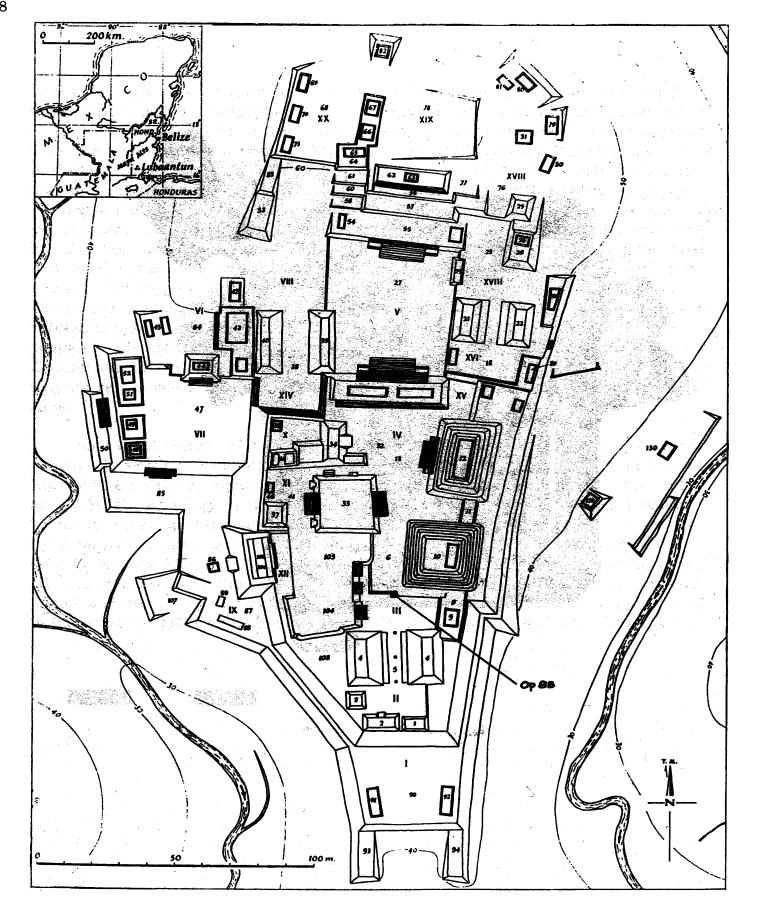


FIGURE 1. Plan of the ceremonial center of Lubaantun, showing the location of Operation 8B where the figurine was excavated.

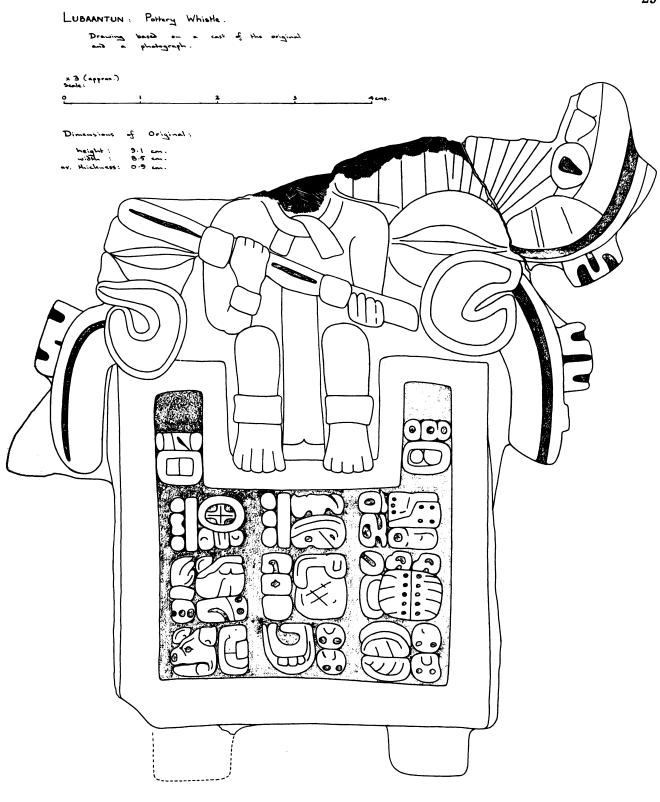


FIGURE 2. Line drawing of the design in Plate 1.

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