

Notes on a Stelae Pair

Probably from Calakmul, Campeche, Mexico

JEFFREY H. MILLER

Yale University

On Stela A at Copan there is an important passage that identifies four Maya centers (fig. 1A) by emblem glyphs and associates them with a number of attributes including the four directions. Berlin (1958:118) first pointed out the passage recognizing three of the centers mentioned as Copan, Tikal, and Palenque. Barthel (1968:185ff.) noticed another grouping of emblem glyphs on Seibal St. 10 (fig. 1B), and initiated the idea that a quadripartite empire could be deduced from these glyphs and attributes. However, he added nothing to the mystery of the site designated by the fourth unknown emblem glyph (third glyph from left in fig. 1A and 1B). Most recently Marcus (1973:912) developed the quadripartite notion — adding evidence from epigraphy and locational analysis — and postulated that the fourth site mentioned was Calakmul, a large almost unknown ceremonial center in Southern Campeche. Romanov and Hammond (1974: 875-876) raised objections to Marcus' model of Maya territorial organization, but principally over methodology in human geography, which must be secondary to understanding the meaning of the epigraphic data.

On the trail for further instances of Marcus' hypothesized Calakmul emblem glyph, I came across a monument listed

with uncertain provenance in The Cleveland Museum of Art.¹ On this monument the emblem glyph in question appears in B4. The iconography and style of this stela (henceforth labelled St. I) led to another stela² (henceforth labelled St. II), also of uncertain provenance, now preserved in the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.³ Further investigation resulted in the hypotheses put forward in this paper, viz., 1) that these two monuments once stood together as a pair, and 2) that they come from Calakmul. The arguments in favor of these two points will be presented in the above order following a rather detailed analysis of the individual monuments.

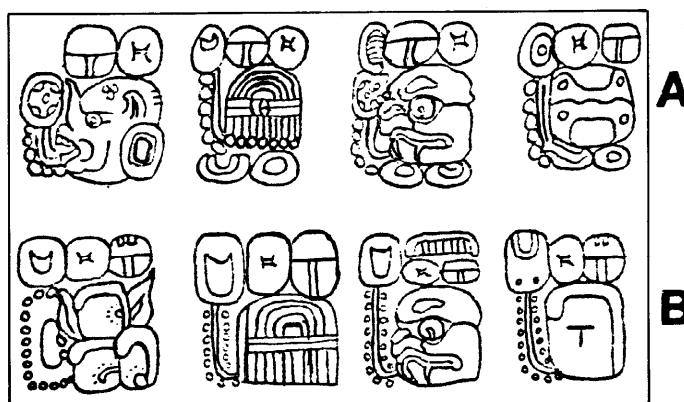


Fig. 1. Passages from Maya stelae referring to four ceremonial centers by Emblem Glyph. Adopted from Marcus 1973: fig 3.

- ¹ I wish to thank Henry Hawley, Curator in charge of Pre-Columbian Art, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, for providing me the opportunity to check my drawing against the original.
- ² Ian Graham, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, pointed out the stylistic resemblance to me.
- ³ David M. Robb, Jr., Curator, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, kindly provided me with an excellent photograph of this piece.

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STELA I

	Glyphs:	Comment:
A1	2 (Kins) 4 Uinals	<i>Secondary Series (SS) 1</i>
B1	2 Chicchan (8 Kayab)	(9.12.13.13.5) <i>Date 1.</i>
A2	"Count forward to"	
B2–A3	6 Manik 5 Zip	(9.12.13.17.7) <i>Date 2.</i>
B3	1030d.670	<i>Event Glyph 1</i> ; see text.
A4	134.176:Jaguar Paw:122	Name; see text.
B4	203.32.168:764?	Emblem Glyph; see text.
C1–D1	13 (Kins) 0 Uinals 6 Tuns	<i>Secondary Series (SS) 2</i>
C2	"Count from"	
D2	6 Manik (5 Zip)	<i>Date 2 repeated.</i>
C3	"Count to"	
D3–C4	8 Ahau 8 Uo	(9.13.0.0.0); <i>Dedicatory Date.</i>
D4	68:586:19.181	<i>Event Glyph 2</i> ; see text.
E1	1.624?	Eroded main sign. Title?
F1	204.62:757?	Subfix eroded (if any). Title?
E2	743.?	Postfix eroded (if any).
		Name? Cf. Graham 1967: 81-87
F2	?202	Eroded main sign. Name?
G1	759[Ik]	Female title (cf. Coe 1973:23); could well refer to Chac.
		God name or attributive?
H1	1032a[32]	
G2	203:764?	Female name; see text.
H2	1000.586:713a:24	Female name; see text.
G3	1000[361] :87	Female title. See text.
H3	204:58 or 68:511?? /568b:127	Female title??
G4-H4	Katun 8 Ahau (8 Uo)	(9.13.0.0.0) <i>Dedicatory date</i> repeated.
I1	?526:?.339?:528?? or 515??	Subfix eroded.
I2	24? or 777.74: ??:?	Prefix and main sign eroded.
Headdress Glyphs:		
Top	1000.586.713a:24 or 188	(Cf. H2 and text.) Female name.
Bottom	1000.203:205 or 764	(Cf. G2 and text.) Female name.

STELA I: THE CLEVELAND STELA

A drawing of this masterpiece of Maya sculpture is presented for the first time here (fig. 2). Photographs have been published in the Cleveland Art Museum *Bulletin* for December, 1967 (p. 338 no. 44) and in the *Museum Handbook* (1969: 293); both sources contain brief captions. The

stela measures 274 cm. in height and 182 cm. in width, with a maximum depth of carving of 5 cm. Recessed areas are indicated by stippling in the drawing. The lower register of the stela is missing, and it is unknown whether the sides or back were carved. The stela is limestone, with conspicuous iron content.

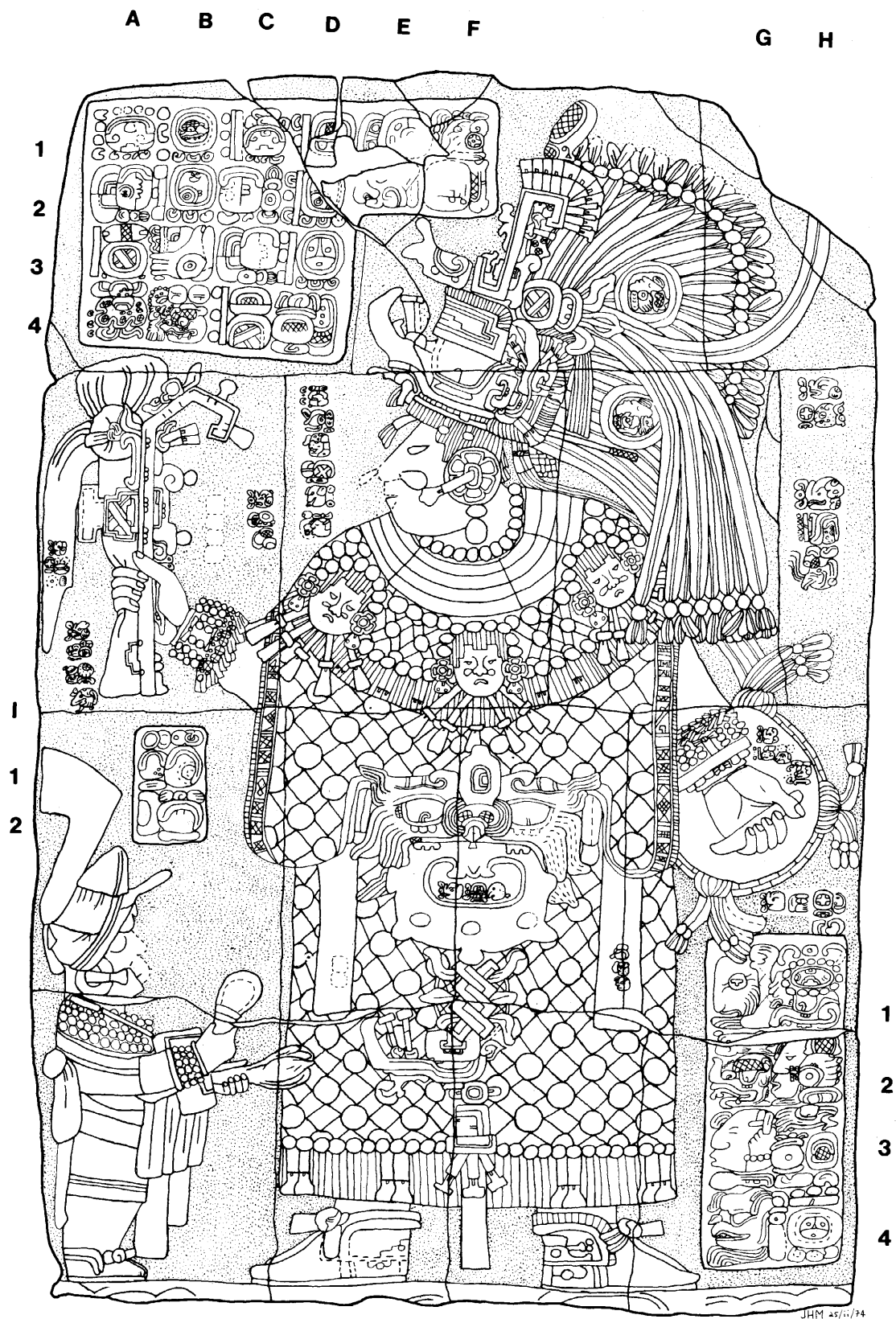


Fig. 2. STELA I, The Cleveland Stela.

Incised Glyphs: (see INCISED GLYPH IDENTIFICATION CHART)

a1	62.756	Cf. b1, d1, f1, i1, j1, ki, and l1. Common initial glyph in incised texts.
a2	281:~/44:110	
a3	582.27 or 25?	
b1	62.756[568]	Cf. a1.
b2	?755/168:513	Main sign (755) appears to be monkey head.
b3	738~/502:23	
b4	747	Vulture head.
cl-c4	?	Completely eroded.
d1	62.756[568]	Cf. a1.
d2	679a.1031?	
d3	?586b:?	
e1	126.74:565	<i>Mac?</i>
e2	601[87]:?.216	Capture??
e3	762	Jaguar head (cf. i2, Stela II, and text).
e4	679a.552:87?	
e5	757.110??	Cf. f1, and text.
e6	?62:1000	Female name?
f1	62.756	Cf. a1.
f2	62.561c:23	<i>Ich-caan-[n(a)]</i> , "In the sky"?
f3	757?	Partially eroded; certainly an animal head.
g1-g2	?	Cf. e5.
h1	?	Completely eroded.
h2	762	Jaguar head. Cf. e3.
h3	?	Animal head.
i1	62.756[568]	Cf. a1.
i2	281:23/762.510	Glyph for patron of Pop, cf. Thompson (1950: fig. 22). Cf. also e3.
j1	62.756[644a]	Cf. a1.
j2	12.528 87	End of a haab??
j3	116.131:747a	
k1	62.756	Cf. a1.
k2	12.155:?	Main sign is animal head.
k3	582.582:736?	
k4	126.?:?:?	Main sign is animal head.
l1	62.756	Cf. a1.
l2	???:713a?	
l3	281:23.181	<i>Tan-[n(a)]</i> , "center"?
l4	??	

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY:

<i>D1</i>	B1	(9. 12. 13. 13. 5)	2 Chicchan (8 Kayab)	685 A.D.
<i>SS1</i>	A1	<u>4. 2</u>		
<i>D2</i>	B2-A3	(9. 12. 13. 17. 7)	6 Manik 5 Zip	686 A.D.
<i>SS2</i>	C1-D1	<u>6. 0.13</u>		
<i>DD</i>	D3-C4	(9. 13. 0. 0. 0)	8 Ahau 8 Uo	692 A.D.

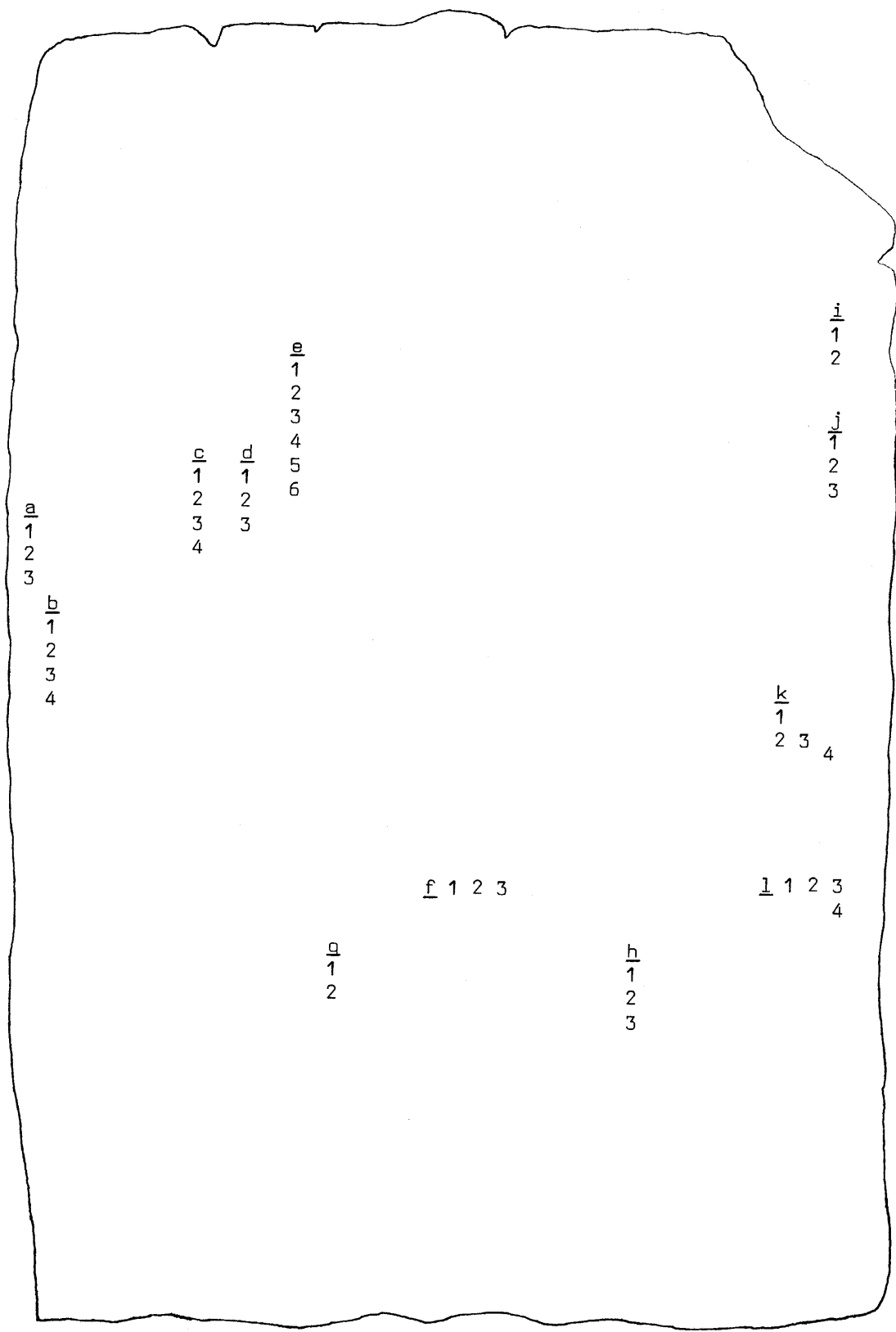


Fig. 4. Incised Glyph Identification Chart (St. I).

Stylistically, St. I can be attributed to the Ornate Phase of Maya sculpture (9.13.0.0-9.16.0.0, or 692-751 A.D. by G.M.T. Correlation, followed throughout here) as evidenced by the static yet finely rounded composition and the emphasis on ornament and textile design (Proskouriakoff 1950:124). The female figure is portrayed frontally, with head facing left. A secondary, dwarf-like figure, nearly identical to a secondary figure on Calakmul St. 89 (cf. Tikal, Lintel of Str. 10), addresses the principal figure. The woman holds up a bow-and-serpent object in her right hand; in her left she holds a shield down to her side. Among the distinctive stylistic features of the piece are the rendering of the palms by Y-shaped lines.

Iconographically, a great deal of information is conveyed. Starting with the headdress, one notices a motif composed of a shell in cross-section, a serpent with upturned beaded snout, and a vegetal element with crossed bands in a cartouche (fig. 3A). At the Mesa Redonda Merle Greene Robertson discussed a related motif (the "tripartite badge") where a leaf motif or bifurcated feather occurs in place of the serpent (fig. 3C). Here a feather sits atop the serpent; the structural interplay of the motif seen here and the tripartite badge

can be seen clearly in a mediating image on Pier c of House D at Palenque where the beaded serpent sits atop a feather (fig. 3B). To my knowledge the only other instance of the tripartite badge semblant, as seen on St. I, can be found on Lintel 2 of Temple 2 at Tikal (Coe, et. al. 1961:fig. 17).

Another iconographic motif of importance is the waist decoration, composed of a flattened fish head grasping a *Spondylus* shell, a doubled version of the shell in her headdress. The flattened fish (T204), sometimes read *xoc* (cf. Thompson 1944), grasping a shell occurs at the waist of female figures at Naranjo (St. 24, 29, 31), Copan (St. H), Altar de Sacrificios (St. 7), and Calakmul (St. 54). In the first four cases the female figures have been recognized as belonging to male-female pairs, and the present case would be the fifth example. The remaining two examples, from Altar de Sacrificios and Calakmul, do not constitute exception since pairing has not been attempted. Besides meaning "shark" and "count", the word *xoc* in Yucatec also means "waist" or "hips" (Roys 1940:35, 44). In addition, Lounsbury (personal communication) writes: "In some Maya languages (Quiche, Cakchiquel, Tzutuhil, Kekchi, Pokomom, Pokomchi) the word for "woman" or

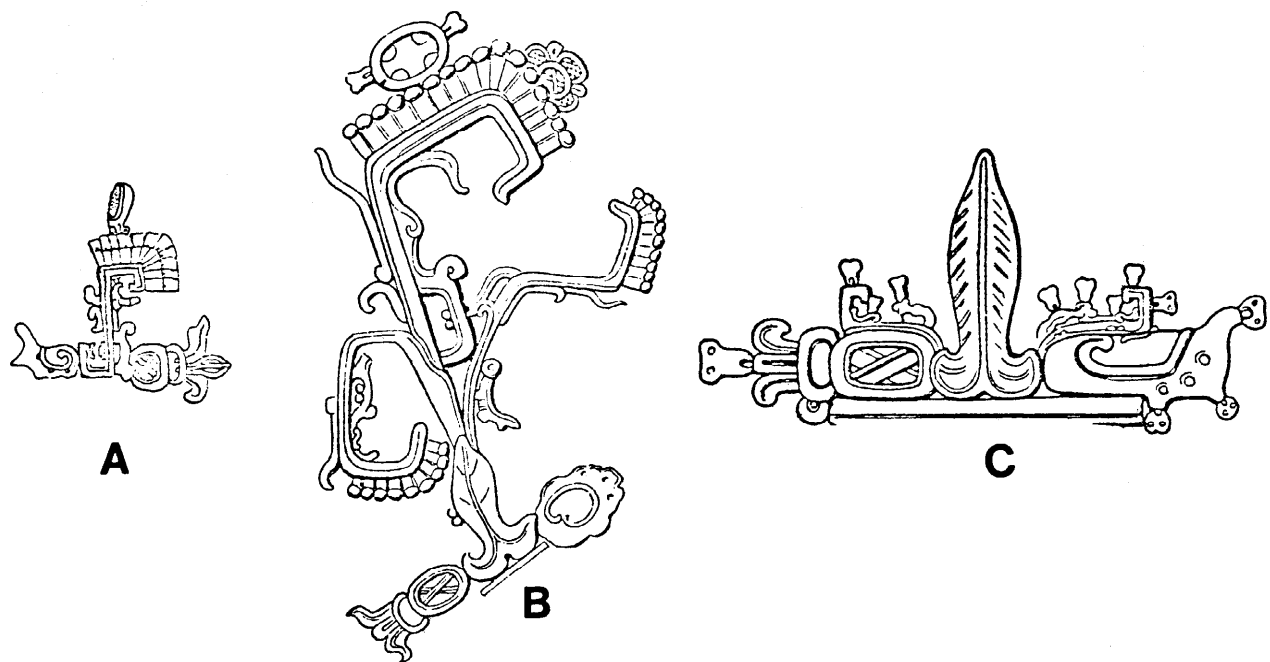


Fig. 3. Structural interplay in Maya iconography. (A) Detail from headdress of St. I., (B) Detail from Palenque, House D, Pier C. After Maudslay 1889-1902, IV:Pl. 35. (C) Detail from Tablet of the Temple of the Cross, Palenque. After Maudslay 1889-1902, IV:Pl. 76.

"lady" (señora) is *isoq* (*ixoc* in the spelling which they usually use in Guatemala). In Tojolabal it is *ixuk* (*ixuc*). In Chol and Chorti it is *isik* (*ixic*). Perhaps the *xoc* waist motif was a rebus for "waist", "Señora", or "Señora's waist"; at any rate it seems to be a good indication for pairing stelae by sex. The semantic component, if any, added by the shell to this image cannot be discerned with our limited knowledge of Maya ethno-conchology, but it should be noted that the same shell, identifiable by its unique hinge, occurs as an ear piece in Berlin's G1 of the Palenque Triad (T1011).

Although its meaning is a total mystery, the bow-and-serpent object held by the woman deserves comment in regard to its distribution. On at least four stelae (Piedras Negras St. 4, Copan St. H, Machaquila St. 2, Dos Pilas St. 1) and one lintel (Tikal Temple 1, Lintel 3) the object appears in the headdresses of the principal figures. It is easily recognizable by the upturned snout, the crossed-bands in the area of the serpent's mouth, and the bow with ribbons; when not held to the shaft of the serpent, the ribbons hang freely. Though this motif occurs with some frequency in headgear, the two stelae considered here (St. I and II) and Calakmul St. 9 appear to be the only examples where the object is held by the principal figure.

Now I will turn to the epigraphic data available on St. I. Below the glyphs are designated by numbers according to Thompson (1962). Following the glyph classification a chronological summary is presented. Fig. 4 is designed to facilitate identification of incised glyphs.

A number of glyphs of historical subject matter deserve special comment. At B3-B4 a three glyph phrase occurs of the form: verb – personal name – emblem glyph. The glyph at B3 is prominent before names at Quirigua (Kelley 1962: 326). It also occurs, among other places, at G9 on the panel of the Temple of the Foliated Cross at Palenque, which was dedicated on the same date as St. I (9.13.0.0.0). Thompson catalogues this glyph as a unitary sign (1030e), but the element resting in the hand is variable, hence the grapheme is a compound. Its constituent signs are a hand pointing left with an extended thumb (T670) and the stylized smoking mirror of God K (T1030d, cf. Thompson 1950: fig. 30, 55-59). Kelley (*ibid.*,

326, fig. 3) reads it "birth". Knorozov (1955: Table 1, 15; 1967:98) reads the hand constituent sign as *tz'a* (Yuc.), to give. M.D. Coe (personal communication) has suggested that the glyph might mean "offering of, or to God K".

The following glyph may be identified with reservations as a stylized jaguar paw with a number of affixes. The presence of cross-hatched spots and the pad-like shape of the cartouche argue against either T501, T502, or T556. But if one compares St. I, A4, with Tikal St. 26, A7 (cf. Tikal St. 31, D8 and H18 for same individual), a full figure jaguar showing a paw with claws retracted, the resemblance is somewhat convincing. In B4 appears the emblem glyph Marcus has identified tentatively as Calakmul (cf. fig. 1). The "fish" (T203) substitutes for the "fish fin" (T25) in B4; these two affixes are also interchangeable in the Initial Series Introductory Glyph.

This same two glyph phrase (jaguar paw+Calakmul emblem) occurs in at least two other Maya inscriptions, suggesting considerable importance for the individual mentioned. The first of these is at Tikal, on Lintel 3 of Temple I at A5-B5 (W.R. Coe, et. al. 1961: Fig. 15), which

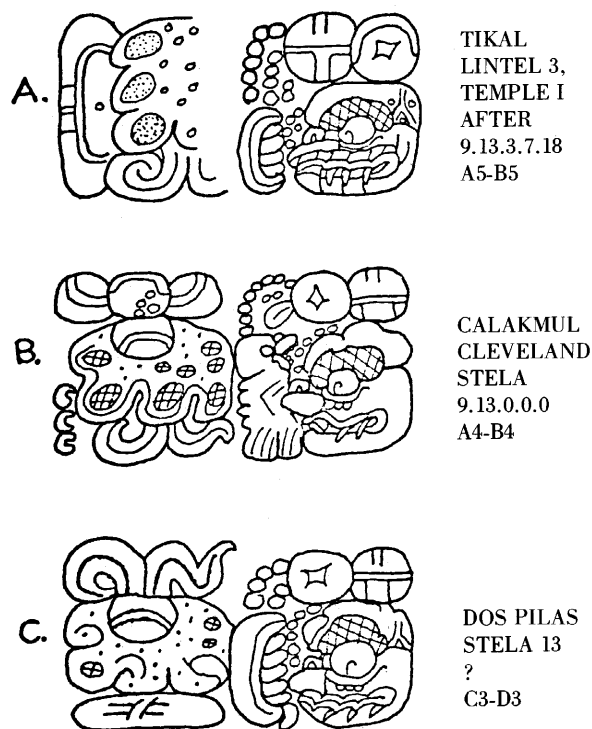


Fig. 5. Three records of an individual, "Jaguar-Paw-Smoke", with an Emblem Glyph believed to refer to Calakmul, Campeche.

was probably dedicated shortly after 9.13.3.7.18 (696 A.D.), putting it in chronological accord with St. I. The second instance can be found at Dos Pilas on St. 13 at C3-D3 (Navarrete e Muñoz 1963: Fig. 32), the date of which is uncertain. The three examples of this name + emblem expression are drawn together in fig. 5. Examination shows that the significant affix of the jaguar paw sign is T122. This is one of the few cases where a single individual is mentioned in three texts from as many sites, pointing to strong connections between them at this time (and perhaps Naranjo also, cf. Berlin 1968b:19).

An event glyph + nominal phrase probably occurs also on St. I at D4-F2. The glyph at D4 occurs after dates at Copan, Quirigua (cf. Thompson 1950: fig. 11, 37-41), and Naranjo, but the meaning of this phrase remains in doubt.

Strong evidence exists for assigning a glyphic name to the figure on St. I. On the basis of the ankle-length skirt and the cape one might venture a guess that the figure was a woman (cf. Proskouriakoff 1961:96). It has been mentioned that the *xoc* waist motif seems to be confined to woman figures. But here the glyphs constitute the proof. Two glyphs that appear in her headdress seem likely candidates for nominal glyphs (or names and titles). In G2-H2 we see the two headdress glyphs condensed into an equivalent expression. The following shared constituent signs can be recognized: female head (T1000), hatched dot in shell cartouche (T586?), hand facing right (T713), affix T24, fish (T203), and snake or serpent (*can*, T764). This seems to confirm Berlin's hypothesis: "Apparently it was a practice at times to incorporate elements of their glyphic names into their headdresses" (1968:143). Readings have been suggested in the literature for all of the above constituent signs; not all are widely accepted, and it would be beyond the scope of the present paper to evaluate them properly. Suffice it to say that the last two signs listed (T203 and T764) are variable signs in the emblem glyph proposed for Calakmul that occurs in B4. The question whether emblem glyphs refer to places or lineages has not been resolved; my feeling based on 16th Century place names (Roys 1935, 1957; Carrasco 1964) is that these are not mutually exclusive answers. We cannot hesitate, then, to assign the woman on St. I to the royal line at Calakmul, though it must remain

problematic whether the glyph in G2 is a patronym, a toponym, or both. It may be significant that missionaries who penetrated N. Peten in the 16th Century found *Can* as a common patronymic (Roys 1940:36).

The glyph in G3 suggests itself as a title for the woman whose name we just isolated. Its constituent signs are a female head (T1000) with infixed hand-holding-axe (T361) and the *te* (T87) suffix. Considerable comment exists in the literature on the axe sign (T190) in its various combinations. Knorozov convincingly showed that by itself T190 has the morphemic value *BAAT* (Yuc.), axe, based on firm readings in the codices (Knorozov 1955, 1967). In the Madrid (97a, 97b-98b, and cf. Dresden 36a, 44b, 45a) the axe sign occurs in the glyph T190.25.181 in the legend above deities chopping; in his later work Knorozov read the glyph (*baat*)-*ka*-*ha* (Old Yucatec, *baat*-*kah*) he chops, though sometimes he reads the affixes in a different order, yielding slightly different values. These readings suggest that T333 is actually the compound T190.25. The axe sign also occurs held in a hand which is infixed into a monster head, almost always accompanied by the affix *te* (T87). This is T1030/-*n*. Berlin (1951:52-53) first noticed its chronological uses, and suggested a value *Batab*, cacique (1958:113-114); Knorozov (1967:105) reads 1030/-*n* as (*baat*)-*te*, headman, comparing it to Yucatec *Batab*. When it occurs with a coefficient and the Katun superfix (T28), or following a Katun glyph with coefficient (none reported greater than six), then it has been suggested that the glyph serves a chronological function analogous to the "Ben-Ich" Katun, though the mechanics of the former are still unclear (Satterwaite 1961:60-62). The Maya notion of a "Batab" Katun may have extended beyond the set of "isolated" Katun markings, for on Machaquila St. 13 a giant personified Ahau brandishes an axe, in a context that undoubtedly means "Katun 6 Ahau" of the ordinary Short Count. A chronological function seems to cover many instances of T1030/-*n* in the inscriptions, but there are non-chronological passages where T1030/-*n* may simply designate an office holder, like *Batab*. Authoritative figures at Palenque (House D Pier b, Dumbarton Oaks Tablet) hold axes, and stelae as early as Tikal St. 2 exhibit similar themes. To distinguish the non-chronological from the

chronological uses of T1030/-n, we need a passage where the two uses can be clearly contrasted. Two examples from Tikal are available. On Tikal St. 21 and St. 22 the principal figures perform the

familiar "hand scattering" gesture. The inscriptions contain perfectly parallel passages which can be summarized as follows:

TABLE I:					
Text:			Interpretation:		
St.21		St.22			
1)	(A1-B1)	(9.15.5.0.0	A1-B1	(9.17.0.0.0)	Dedicatory Date
		10 Ahau 8 Ch'en		13 Ahau 18 Cumku	
2)	Intervening Glyphs				
3)	A7	Tikal Emblem	A8	Tikal Emblem	Emblem
4)	B7	4 Katuns	B8	4 Katuns	4 "Batab" Katuns
5)	A8	1030n	A9	1030n	
6)	B8-A9	1.11.12	B9-A10	2.1.16	Secondary Series (-)
7)	B9-A10	(9.15.3.6.8)	B10-A11	(9.16.17.16.4)	Non-Round Date
		3 Lamat 6 Pax		11 Kan 12 Kayab	
8)	B10	644.181	B11	644.181?	Ascension of (to)
9)	A11	59.1030n	A12	59.1030n:?	"Batab"
10)	B11	710.93	B12	710.93	Hand Scattering

STELA II:					
Glyphs:			Comment:		
A1	668:1000??		Superfix badly eroded.		
B1	?		Badly eroded.		
A2	1030				
B2	764?? or 750??				
A3	?:757		Kan infix possible.		
B3	III.168:28:548		"3 Ben-Ich Katuns". See text.		
A4	203??:?:751		Prefix 203 very uncertain. Head appears to be jaguar. Name.		
B4	35 or 40?:1000				
A5	131?:27: 1000		Female name?		
B5	1:68:586b:131? or 130?		Event glyph?		
A6-B6	21:8 Ahau/8 Uo		8 Ahau 8 Uo (9.13.0.0.0) It is possible that superfix 21 is read <i>MUC</i> , (morphemic) for the Yucatec numerical classifier used in date (cf. Thompson 1970: 329). <i>Dedicatory date</i> . <i>K'in[n]</i> .		
A7	244:116				
B7	203.animal head:747.		Name? See text.		
A8	518?:?:?:23				
B8	?				
CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY:					
<i>D.D.</i>	A6-B		(9.13.0.0.0) 8 Ahau 8 Uo – 692 A.D.		

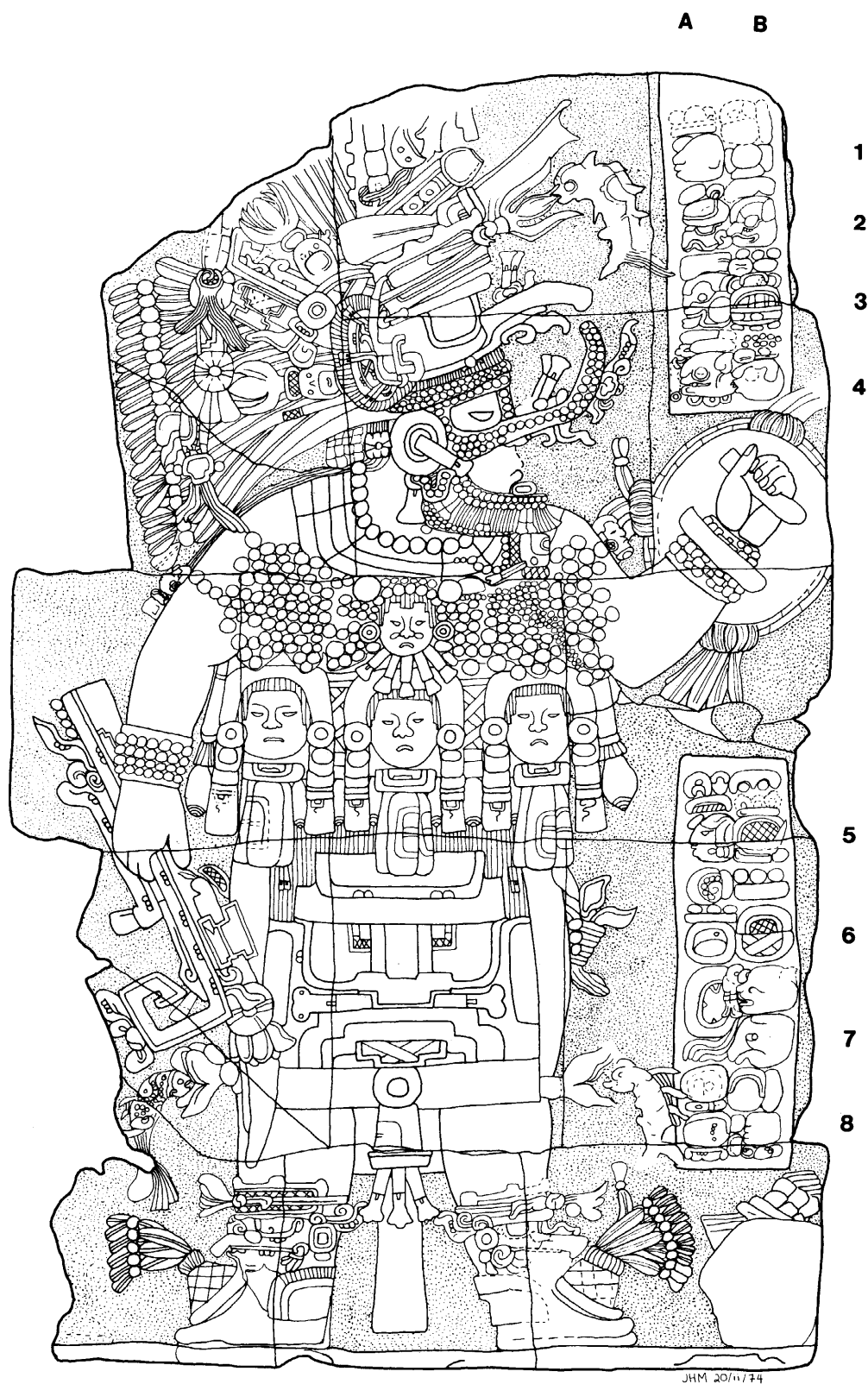


Fig. 6. STELA II, Kimbell Art Museum Stela.

Berlin (1968:144-147) first noted the use of T644, which appears in *Table I* (8), as an ascension glyph, and at Palenque this surmise has been verified. Berlin (1968:143) also discusses the "hand scattering" glyph (*Table I* (10)).

Table I, drawing from St. 21 and St. 22 from Tikal, demonstrates two contrastive uses of the "Batab" (T1030*l-n*) sign. In *Table I* (4)-(5) it is used with a Katun expression (chronological) and in (8)-(9) it is used with an ascension phrase (non-chronological) connected with a non-round date. The "hand scattering" glyph connects the passages to the principal figures on the stelae.

In its chronological and non-chronological uses the "Batab" sign parallels the uses of the "Ben-Ich" sign, which is discussed in connection with the glyphic data on St. II. In their chronological functions they designate "isolated" Katun markings (i.e., Katuns not directly connected with the Long Count), and in their non-chronological functions they seem to be used as titles and honorifics. While Lounsbury (1972) has persuasively demonstrated the reading and sense of "Ben-Ich", "Batab" presents problems. Except for the presence of *te* (T87) with T1030*l-n* (and allographs), I would read the latter *Batab*; as it stands, I will call the office that T1030*l-n* stands for "Batab", in quotes, until its precise reading is determined. Returning finally to St. I, I would identify G3 (T1000 [361]:87) without hesitation as an allograph for T1030*l-n*, differing only in the dimension of sex, and interpret G3 and "Female Batab". Nor is this the only case of a female "Batab", for on Yaxchilan L.24 of Structure 23 another female "Batab" (T1000.1030*l*) is mentioned two or three times and similar designations occur on Lintels 32 and 53.

STELA II: THE FORT WORTH STELA

We now turn to the other member of the proposed stelae pair. A drawing of the stela is presented here for the first time (fig. 6). A photograph and a non-technical appraisal of the piece have been published (Kimbell Art Museum 1972: 322-324). The limestone stela measures 273 cm. in height and 174 cm. in width (N.B. mistake in conversation in Kimbell Art Museum 1972: 322). Most of the bottom register was abandoned at removal; the left side of the stela is missing portions at the top and bottom; nothing is known about the sides and

back. I have not had the opportunity to check my drawing against the original; but the photograph I drew it from was quite good.

Stylistically, St. II is perfectly congruent with St. I. The figure is portrayed frontally with head facing right. He holds up a shield in his left hand, and his right hand grips the bow-and-serpent object down to his side. This positioning is so dramatically opposed to that of St. I that coincidence is inconceivable. Like the female on St. I, the male on St. II is massive and static. His huge thighs and shoulders are reminiscent of figures at Yaxchilan. While the figure on St. I faces a dwarf, the figure on St. II faces a bundle, unfortunately eroded. However, it must have been something like the bundle on La Florida St. 9 (Graham 1970: fig. 9b). It seems appropriate for Stelae I and II to have stood side by side with St. I on the right, or to have been opposite each other across a plaza. The possibility must also be considered, though I think it less likely, that the two stelae were part of the same stone, which was sawed down the center. The two are almost exactly the same size (St. I 274x182 cm.; St. II 273x174 cm.), although the apparently natural breaks across the bottom third of both monuments do not seem to fit. However they once stood, they are a perfect stylistic match. In fact, the rendering of the hands and of the ornament heads suggests the same sculptor.

Iconographically, St. II continues some motifs mentioned in connection with St. I, and it adds new ones appropriate to the differences between the two stelae. Prominent among the similarities is the bow-and-serpent motif, held by both figures discussed at length above. It should be added here that this motif occurs in the headdress of the St. II figure amid a profusion of fish and waterlilies. This brings us to a second common theme — fish symbolism. On St. II there are no less than six fish, although three in the headdress show only the tail portions. *Oliva* shells adorn the figure's midriff. Among the motifs not found on St. I, one notices on St. II long-lipped heads at the figure's ankles and a matching one in his headdress that resemble T1031b. This head is characterized by a U-shaped forehead design with knobby perimeter. It appears to be tied up by a rope or vine. Michael Coe recently showed me a drawing of a pot where this head was depicted; from this drawing it was clear that the distinctive headpiece was a turtle

shell, often the trademark of the Maya God N. Finally, one might contrast the iconography of the waist ornamentation on the two stelae and attribute the differences to the sexual dimension.

Turning to the epigraphic data, the glyphs of St. II are catalogued according to the Thompson system. After this the chronology is summarized.

Unfortunately, St. II proves less amenable to interpretation than St. I. The inscription contains many head glyphs and a number of these are just eroded enough to obscure distinctive features. While the chronology is relatively simple to determine, I cannot be sure which glyphs if any refer to the figure on the stela by name.

In B3, following the "Jog" (T757), a "three Ben-Ich Katun" expression occurs. "Ben-Ich" Katuns form the second known subset of the set of so-called "isolated" Katun markings; the chronological use of the "Batab" glyph in "Batab" Katuns, constitutes the other subset. Whereas the mechanics of the "Batab" Katun notation are unclear, the "Ben-Ich" Katun is almost certainly related to the age of some actor, generally designated by the following glyphs (cf. Proskouriakoff 1963: 153; Lounsbury 1972: 69). The glyphs at A4-B4 could very well be names, however nothing but their position supports this. If one could be sure that A4 was a jaguar head, and erosion prohibits certainty, it might be possible to connect it with jaguar glyphs incised on St. I (e3, h2, and i2). Again, were it possible that A4 contained prefix T203 (fish nibbling), it could be related to B7 and probably to the figure due to iconography. On the other hand, if the actor's name were given *before* the "Ben-Ich" Katun expression then one could connect A3 with F1 on St. I, where "Jog" could very well be part of a name phrase following the date in C4-D4. Ideally one could turn to the Calakmul inscriptions, search for a ruler who would be in the third score of his life at 9.13.0.0.0, and resolve the controversy. But this is impossible because our record of these monuments is so poor.

Having analyzed the individual monuments in some detail, it is now possible to summarize arguments in favor of the two hypotheses presented at the beginning of the paper, viz., 1) that these two

monuments once stood together as a pair, and 2) that they come from Calakmul.

The Maya practice of erecting stelae paired by sex has been documented for Naranjo by Proskouriakoff (1960:464), and the custom is known from other sites. If St. I and St. II are to be regarded as a pair, one would expect correspondences in the style of the two monuments, in their iconography, and in their inscriptions.

Excluding their bottom registers, the stelae are almost exactly the same size. We have seen that the style and positioning of the figures and the objects they hold are perfectly complementary, so much so that one sculptor may well have carved both stelae.

The iconographic evidence reveals a similar fit between the monuments. Based on four known cases and no known exceptions, the *xoc* waist motif worn by the figure on St. I indicates a female stela to be paired with a male stela. St. II, a male monument, reinforces the fish symbolism. Taken by itself fish symbolism could not be used to prove connections between monuments since it is a theme of fairly wide distribution. The bow-and-serpent motif, in contrast, has an exceedingly narrow distribution, particularly as an object held in the hand. The only other example known to me besides St. I and II is Calakmul St. 28, a fact which must be considered among arguments concerning provenance.

Finally, it was shown that the two stelae were dedicated on the same day. Incidentally, unlike at some other Katun endings, only six centers (excluding the site of origin of St. I and II) dedicated inscriptions at 9.13.0.0.0. These are Tikal (St. 30 and Alt. 14), Aguateca (St. 5), Tzendales (St. 1), Palenque (Tablet of the Temple of the Foliated Cross)⁴, Pomona (Tablero Rojizo and Lapidaria Jeroglífica 2), and Piedras Negras (St. 8). Therefore, with no apparent contradictory evidence, I would without hesitation advocate regarding St. I and St. II as a pair. But where are they from?

The emblem glyph that appears on St. I, B4, also occurs on monuments at Copan, Seibal, Tikal, and Dos Pilas. Its variable signs are the fish (T203) or fish fin (T25) and the variant of

4 Possibly Etzna St. 19 was also dedicated at 9.13.0.0.0; this reading is uncertain.

T764 with a tiny line of dots above its nose. The emblem glyph is not a known example for any of the four sites mentioned above. It does seem to occur, however, on Calakmul St. 89, D3 (Ruppert and Denison 1943: pl. 53c); the fish fin, the T764 variant, and the "Ben-Ich" superfix are all visible in unpublished Carnegie photographs. With Marcus' hypothesis and this new piece of information what other data support the Calakmul identification?

A great number of Ornate Phase monuments were erected at Calakmul. One could compare St. I and II stylistically to St. 54 (female) and St. 55 (male) in terms of size, composition, placement of incised glyphs, and other criteria.

Iconographic motifs isolated on St. I and II that were considered to be important can all be found at Calakmul. The *xoc* waist motif occurs on St. 54, the dwarf on St. 89, the bow-and-serpent motif on St. 9, fish nibbling at flowers on St. 54, etc.

If St. I and St. II were acknowledged to come from Calakmul an unusual gap in the chronological record would be filled at this site. According to Denison's and Morley's reading of dates, there were four stelae erected at Calakmul on 9.12.0.0.0 (St. 9, 13, 32, 75), three at 9.14.0.0.0 (71, 72, 73), five at 9.15.0.0.0 (48, 52, 53, 54, 55), one on 9.16.0.0.0 (62), two at 9.17.0.0.0 (57, 58), one at 9.18.0.0.0 (80), and two at 9.19.0.0.0 (15, 16). It seems unlikely that none were erected to commemorate the 9.13.0.0.0⁵ Katun anniversary, particularly when five stelae were dedicated on 9.13.10.0.0 (23, 24, 38, 40, 41). Of course the small number of inscriptions dedicated at 9.13.0.0.0 in the Maya area, as mentioned above, and the possibility of loss, theft, and erosion all weaken this particular argument. At the same time, however, it cannot be said that because the Carnegie team missed St. I and II they weren't there.

Lacking better alternatives at this moment, I would accept Marcus' identification of the fourth unknown emblem glyph at Copan as Calakmul. However, the very reason that prohibits marshaling more evidence in favor of Marcus' hypothesis also argues against accepting it finally, viz., there are almost no data from Calakmul available for study.

In conclusion, arguments in favor of pairing St. I and St. II and data supporting the assignment of their provenance to Calakmul should be evaluated separately. If one accepts both hypotheses, how does this effect the quadripartite empire theory? This is a matter of opinion. Understanding why the Maya grouped the four ceremonial centers of Copan, Palenque, Tikal, and Calakmul is a compelling question. My inclination, rather than turning to locational analysis, is to study more carefully the adjectives the Maya used to describe these centers.

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5 Morley assigned a date of 9.13.0.0.0?? to St. 79 from Calakmul, but only with two queries (cf. Ruppert and Denison 1943:119). No photograph exists suitable to check this reading.

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