

CONTENTS

<i>List of Maps</i>	ix
<i>Foreword</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii

PART I.

PASKAB: THE WORLD REVEALED

1. Rupture	3
2. Reading	27
3. Dawning	53

PART II.

KABCH'EN: THE EARTH AND CAVES

4. Dynasties	97
5. Arrivals	129
6. Expansions	153

PART III.

CHANTE'CHAN: THE FOUR HEAVENS

7. East	181
8. West	211
9. South	239
10. North	265

PART IV.

LOK'OY: THE LEAVING

11. Abandonments	293
12. Revivals	331
13. Rises and Falls	353

viii CONTENTS

<i>Appendix A. Family Relations</i>	363
<i>Appendix B. Selected Timeline</i>	369
<i>Appendix C. Maya Timekeeping</i>	381
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	387
<i>Notes</i>	389
<i>Bibliography</i>	415
<i>Index</i>	437

Color illustration section follows page 330

CHAPTER I

Rupture

THE PEOPLE OF Baxwitz rapidly fled their city, never to return. A few remained here and there, determined to maintain a life among the emptied palaces, courtyards, and pyramids, but the elements soon took their toll, and nature began to reinhabit nearly every space of the city. Where once the din of music and voices echoed among the temples, there was only silence, replaced now and then by the chatter of parrots and the distant roars of howler monkeys. With the passing of many years, the main plaza began to be covered by shrubs and trees, growing amid the stone monuments that stood alone, bearing portraits of a long line of rulers. One of those large carved stones was newer than the others, erected not long before the end, showing a young king standing in full regalia, cradling the images of his patron gods (Figure 1.1). A date, inscribed on the stone's side, corresponded to our year 889. Within a few years, the great city of Baxwitz, once inhabited by kings, queens, merchants, and the images of deities, would be no more, covered in dense forest, with no one present to look upon the lonely king or to read of his triumphs.

Baxwitz, or “Hammerstone Hill,” was the ancient name of a very old place we know today as Xultun, a large ancient city located in the remote forests of northern Guatemala. Its ruins and monuments were first seen



FIGURE 1.1. Stela 10 from Xultun, Guatemala. Dating to 889 and one of the latest carved portraits of a king from the Classic period, shortly before the city's abandonment. The current location of the stela is unknown. Composite photograph by Eric von Euw, courtesy Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

RUPTURE 5

by archaeologists just over a century ago, in 1920, when the site was given the name Xultun (“End Stone”) because of the very late monument mentioned, Stela 10, one of the very last we know from anywhere in the central Maya region. The city’s original name was long lost until only a few years ago, when hieroglyphs on a painted vase revealed its name for the first time.¹ Today, wandering through its massive tree-covered pyramids and empty plazas is an eerie, even jarring experience of a “lost city,” for it can’t help but raise disquieting questions about our world. After all, our modern sense of place and community presumes a constancy of growth and expansion. The abandonment of a city or of many cities in a short time span is difficult to comprehend, on the face of it. But the Maya *did* leave many of their settlements and royal centers, and not just in the ninth century. Why? What could compel a group, community, or urban population that had adapted and thrived for centuries to reach a stopping point? If Maya archaeologists have learned anything after a century of pondering such questions, it is that the questions themselves often need to be carefully framed and considered, for it is obvious that the Maya didn’t just disappear, as is so often lazily claimed. The five million speakers of Mayan languages who live today are obvious testament to this simple fact. Rather, it seems that the populations who had lived in and around Baxwitz and many other cities saw good reason to move away, seeking new places to live and new patterns of life. Through abandonment, as we will see, the Maya were trying to adapt to a rapidly changing world.

The crisis that confronted Baxwitz in the ninth century also played out in cities throughout the Maya region, many of which were also abandoned. (A few managed to change and even thrive.) It was not the “collapse” of a people, but the endgame of an old elite social system and of a political culture that drove it in previous centuries, during the Classic period (150–900 CE). Whatever problems and tensions led up to it had probably festered for decades, reaching a confluence of tipping points. What came after, alongside empty cities and displaced people, was a radical readjustment of an old social and political order. The long course of Maya civilization, as we will see, was full of similar convulsions and readjustments both large and small, from its earliest beginnings.

6 CHAPTER I

Once the city was abandoned, Baxwitz's royal history was largely forgotten, as were the chronicles of nearly all the ruling families of the Classic period. This is what I call the great "Rupture" of Maya historical knowledge—a profound break in the consciousness of the ancient past that occurred in various stages, brought on initially and most strongly when the institutions of Maya courtly life dissolved. The ninth-century landscape around Baxwitz was unstable, beset by violence, foreign meddling, and a constant movement of royal courts. New communities were eventually founded elsewhere, yet, as we will see, the refashioned societies that emerged circa 1100 or 1200 were very different from those of before, with new ruling lineages who felt little connection to the fragile legacies from the Classic era. Evidence suggests that after abandonment, the memories of Baxwitz and other royal courts were not maintained, much like the decaying cities themselves. The old glories of the kings and queens of the past apparently held little relevance for the newly founded Maya communities. I suspect that few if any of the old archives from Baxwitz even survived for long, if the later indigenous histories we know from Yucatán are anything to go on. This "Postclassic" era represented an important stage within the larger Maya story, but many of the Classic kingdoms were by this time ignored or forgotten, probably well before the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century.

The most jarring crisis of all came with the Spanish invaders. Although the process of conquest took far longer and was more protracted in Yucatán and in Guatemala than in New Spain (central Mexico, essentially), much of the indigenous nobility was eventually erased or nearly so.² Hundreds of texts were lost, either through the active destruction by Spanish authorities or by the fragility of the materials on which they were written. Much of the loss came about through a long and concerted effort by Spanish authorities and landowners to exploit and "reduce" Maya communities and by the Catholic church to dismantle "idolatrous" beliefs. Maya communities struggled to exert both their independence and identities, always under immense pressure. It is a process that we can even trace up to the present day. Within decades, indigenous communities in Yucatán suffered large population declines, whether through disease or through mass flight to less populated regions to the south.³

RUPTURE 7

Centuries of colonial rule took a heavy toll, wrenching Maya peoples away from what sense of history and rootedness they had left. A few documents were carefully copied from the old hieroglyphic books, but by the seventeenth century, few could read any ancient writings that might have been preserved in village archives, as the Spanish continued to establish their colonial hegemony. A sense of deeper history, so carefully maintained and recorded by the Maya over the earlier centuries, had disappeared. Seldom if ever in human experience has a civilization's past been so utterly wiped clean. The Rupture took hold.

"¿QUIÉN SABE?"

The first people to explore the ruins of the ancient cities were the Maya themselves, many no doubt the direct descendants of those who had built them centuries earlier. During the Postclassic era and into historical times, Maya would sometimes revisit the empty ancestral spaces, leaving offerings of incense. Later, in the colonial era, they wandered among the tree-covered pyramids and palaces, passing inscribed monuments covered in moss, often while hunting or tending to their nearby fields. The "old houses" were very old indeed, and some came to believe they were built by giants or gods of an earlier creation. The purely descriptive names they gave to some of these ancient places, with a few notable exceptions, point to this pervasive historical detachment: *Labna*, "Fallen Houses"; *Calakmul*, "Two Adjacent Mounds"; and *Tulum*, "The Wall." Near the town of Palenque, in the province of Chiapas, the local Maya paid regular visits to an especially impressive set of overgrown structures that included a palace, still well preserved next to a small cascading river (a wonderful watering spot then, just as it is today). They gave these the name *yototlum*, "houses of earth" (spelled in later sources as *Otolum*), yet were unaware that centuries before this was once the seat of a great kingdom ruled by the Bakel dynasty. Wandering their half-collapsed hallways and courtyards, the occasional hunter or other visitor would have easily sensed the continuing majesty of these remains, but maybe also with a hint

8 CHAPTER I

of fear and unease. They were powerful and magical places, even in a state of long decay.

The foreign explorers who eventually visited the ruins—the priests, the soldiers, or an occasional antiquarian—were also left with a profound state of wonder. For all who gazed upon them, the tree-covered buildings seemed lost in time, with no one able to explain their presence or account for their existence. John Lloyd Stephens, the most famous nineteenth-century explorer of Maya ruins, was struck by this lack of historical knowledge even among the Indigenous people he encountered in his travels in 1839, concluding that it came from decades of Spanish oppression: “It is not strange that the present inhabitants, nine generations removed, without any written language, borne down by three centuries servitude, and toiling daily for a scanty subsistence, are alike ignorant and indifferent concerning the history of their ancestors, and the great cities lying in ruins under their eyes.”⁴ Here Stephens may well have overlooked a guarded sense of ancestral history among the Maya of his day, kept hidden from view, but his overall point rings true.⁵ He and others could only tell that the ruins of the ancient city were very old, older than the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century.

This was also an era of intense curiosity about ancient Egypt, which serves as a rough parallel to the questions Stephens and other early travelers asked in their travels through Mexico and Guatemala. Before the initial decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs by Jean François Champollion in 1820s, antiquarians had no detailed sense of Egyptian history and civilization, either. But there was one key difference. As mysterious as it was, ancient Egypt was still seen to be *Egyptian*, linked in some way to the detailed accounts of pharaohs of the Old Testament. By contrast, nearly all the ruined temples and palaces of Central America had long been stripped of any cultural or historical identity whatsoever. They were not even seen as “Maya” until only a little more than century ago, when some, including Stephens himself, made the bold suggestion that they had been built by the ancestors of the Indigenous communities who lived among them. In many ways, his experiences offer a good entry point in our own intellectual journey to find and reconstruct Maya history on a deeper timeline.

A prolific traveler and writer, Stephens had long been interested in ruins and ancient remains, and he had already published popular accounts of his travels in Egypt and Greece. The persistent stories of “lost cities” closer to home intrigued him. Vague reports referred to one place named Copan, located in the interior not far from where he landed. Another account of a “lost city” near a village named Palenque had been published in 1822, just a couple of decades before Stephens’s journey (and the very same year of Champollion’s decipherment).⁶ Written decades earlier by Captain Antonio del Río, in 1787, it described stone palaces, large temples with rooms, and beautiful sculpted reliefs where “we seem to view the idolatry of the Phoenicians, the Greeks, and the Romans most strongly portrayed.” News about Palenque’s ruins had even gradually trickled into American newspapers in the years leading up to Stephens’s trip, telling of “gigantic ruins of a race now vanished.”⁷ One 1833 report in *The Knickerbocker*, a prominent New York literary journal, was especially fanciful:

It is now some four or five years, since a brief article went the rounds of the papers, stating that the ruins of an extensive city had been discovered in the interior of Mexico, which had been surrounded with a wall of vast circumference, and of regular hewn stone masonry. In the precincts of this American Babylon in ruins, were towers, temples, columns, arches, and massive fallen fragments of every form and size of dwellings, streets choked up with rubbish, and all the memorials of a city of great former populousness and splendor, of an architecture more resembling Greek and Roman remains, than those of the Incas, or Mexican princes.⁸

By this account, the ruins were far too impressive and elaborate to be the works of Indigenous people, hinting at a supposed European origin.

Stephens was levelheaded and skeptical of such outlandish claims and eager to see the ruins for himself. In 1839, he set sail to Central America from New York, in the company of his friend, the artist Frederick Catherwood. Stephens’s recent appointment as a U.S. diplomat gave him a degree of cover and clout to travel freely in Guatemala, Chiapas,

10 CHAPTER I

and Yucatán, areas still embroiled in varying states of civil war and rebellion—the lasting effects of Mexico’s recent independence from Spain. Their travels in 1839 to 1840 took the two men across a rugged landscape of contrasts, from the dense jungles of Copan, through the high mountains of Guatemala, and eventually into the flat, scrub forest of northern Yucatán. This is what we loosely call the Maya area nowadays, and Stephens was struck by the similarities he saw at each ancient site they encountered. By the end of their long initial journey, he noted how the stone structures of Northern Yucatán resembled those far to the south and the also that the “hieroglyphics sculpted on stone...beyond all question, bore the same type with those at Copan and Palenque.”⁹

The first place on their itinerary was Copan, and Stephens wasn’t prepared for the grandeur of its pyramids and sculptures. Stone monuments still stood in the dense forest, looking much as they did when first carved. The surrounding pyramids and courtyards were almost all collapsed and overgrown. Nothing had prepared him for a lost city built by a people completely unknown to history. “The tone which pervades the ruins is that of deep solemnity,” Stephens wrote.¹⁰ The age of the ruins and the identity of their builders were complete mysteries: “America, say historians, was peopled by savages; but savages never reared these structures, savages never carved these stones. We asked the Indians who made them, and the dull answer was ‘quién sabe?’, ‘who knows?’”¹¹ He and Catherwood were intrigued by the many hieroglyphs they saw carved on the stelae, and they surmised that these held Copan’s story, long lost: “One thing I believe, that its history is graven upon its monuments. No Champollion has yet brought to them the energy of his enquiring mind. Who shall read them?”¹²

After surveying Copan, they forged onward through the Maya world, passing through the mountains of Guatemala and eventually reaching Chiapas, in today’s southern Mexico. There they made the arduous descent of the Sierra Madre, determined to reach the ruins at Palenque. Upon seeing its magnificent buildings, many still standing (Figure 1.2), Stephens couldn’t refrain from reflecting on the utter mystery that surrounded the surreal, tree-covered ruins: “In the romance of the world’s history nothing ever impressed me more forcibly than the

RUPTURE II

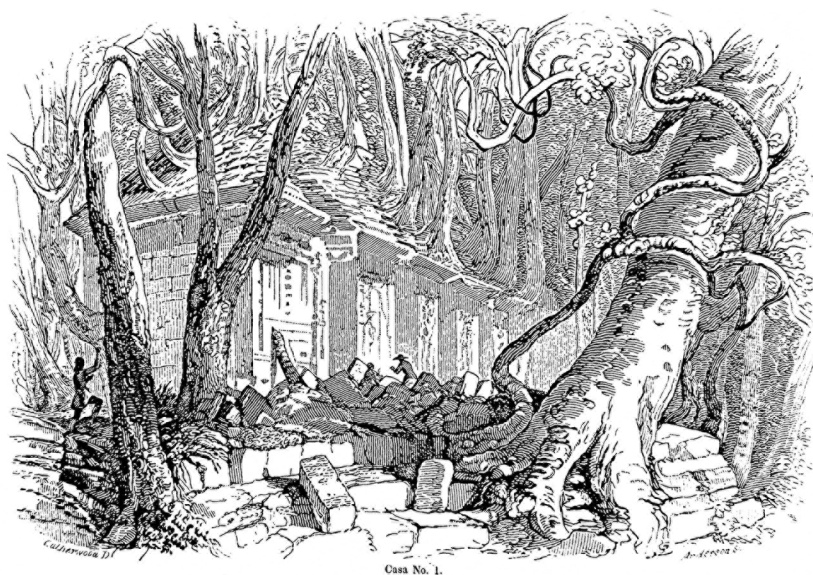


FIGURE 1.2. Engraving from 1840 by Frederick Catherwood of “Casa no. 1” at Palenque, today known as the Temple of the Inscriptions.

spectacle of this once great and lovely city, overturned, desolate, and lost; discovered by accident, overgrown with trees for miles around, and without even a name to distinguish it.”¹³ Like Copan, Palenque was also a complete blank slate. The ignorance regarding the ruins’ builders mirrored a pervasive attitude in North America during Stephens’s era, when the deeper Indigenous past of North America was still invisible or else simply ignored. It is no coincidence that the 1830s and ’40s, when his books were published, were among the most active years in the forced exterminations of Native Americans in the young United States. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the formation of Manifest Destiny, a term coined in 1845, expressed an erasure of “Indian” identity and culture, asserting their status as utterly detached from history or place. The newer nation-states of Mexico and Guatemala attempted to assert liberal-minded policies of indigenous assimilation, but demographics stymied any actual plans of action. Outside centralized capitals—Mexico City, Mérida, or Guatemala City—rural areas were isolated and mostly

populated by Indigenous communities. When not advocating for their exploitation as indentured labor, systems of governance mostly ignored *los indios* in the hinterlands, including many peoples throughout the region. They were simply seen by outsiders as a people without history.

THE MAYA WORLD

Stephens never used the word “Maya” to describe the culture that built the mysterious ruins. In his day, the term was used only to refer to the native language spoken in Yucatán, and its meaning changed and expanded over the ensuing decades. Accounts from the sixteenth century strongly suggest that “Maya” was originally a geographical term, roughly corresponding to the northern part of Yucatán. As one key source of the time put it, “Maya” was “the proper name of this land (Yucatán).” I suspect there may even be a few ancient hieroglyphs from the Classic period spelling this same place name, written as a combination of the words *may*, “young deer,” and *ha’*, “water” (Figure 1.3).¹⁴ The people of the region were *ah maya*, “one who is from Maya.” In the centuries before the Spanish invasion, the large, fortified capital of this northern region was Mayapan, the “Wall (Fortress) of Maya.” During the turmoil of the colonial era, Spanish speakers began to use “Maya” in a broader sense, as a collective term for native inhabitants and for the language they spoke, known today as Yucatec (originally *maya t’an*, “the language of Maya”). In



FIGURE 1.3. Possible hieroglyph of the regional place name *Maya’* (**MAY-HA’**). Drawing by the author.

all these cases, Maya still referred to the place, people, and language of the northern regions, never to regions to the south or to the speakers of closely related languages. All of this changed in the nineteenth century. As scholars began to study the “Maya language” of Yucatán, they saw that it was clearly related to those spoken in highland Guatemala and Chiapas. Classed together, they all came to be known collectively as the “Maya-Quiche stock” and eventually as “Mayan languages.” Archaeology began to come

of age in the late nineteenth century, too, and the related peoples of the ancient landscape quickly fell under the same “Maya” label, even at distant sites such as Palenque and Copan, whose local Indigenous inhabitants had never even heard the term. Noting in 1895 that the ancient inscriptions from Copan, Palenque, and Chichen Itza were the same, J. T. Goodman was among the first to apply the word “Maya” in a collective sense to all the ancient monuments, employing, as he put it, “a broad racial appellation.”¹⁵

Out of necessity, archaeologists soon adopted the broader cultural label, and by the early twentieth century, “Maya” was used to refer to the ancient civilization in a larger sense. This also solidified the once radical idea that the ancient ruins were built by the ancestors of the region’s Indigenous inhabitants. Still, the name reflects the inescapable bias toward the region and people of Yucatán, the place once called Maya in the early days of research. It was there, as Stephens saw, that the ties between history and ancient remains were most evident, where the language was most strongly documented. As a result, all related languages have long been grouped together as the “Mayan” family. In only recent years, many speakers of Mayan languages both in and outside Yucatán have adopted this collective sense of identity, identifying themselves too as “Maya.”

The Maya region is a large and varied landscape surrounded by seas and mountains. It encompasses the Yucatán Peninsula and areas south, crossing the borders of what is today eastern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and parts of Honduras and El Salvador. It forms the easternmost part of a broad cultural area known as Mesoamerica, home to several different but related peoples and civilizations, the names of which may be familiar—Olmec, Zapotec, Mixtec, Huastec, Aztec, and so on. The Maya closely interacted with many of these diverse groups over the course of time, and together they forged several common Mesoamerican traditions, ideas, and lifeways. Some of these distinctive aspects of culture resonate to the present day, given the central role Indigenous life still plays throughout the region. The traditional foodways of Mesoamerica, for example, form the basis of Mexican cuisine and the language we use to refer to it. (“Cacao,” “avocado,” “tomato,” “chili,” and “tamale” are all Indigenous Mesoamerican words.) The great variety of ethnicities and

14 CHAPTER I

languages all relied on maize-based agriculture, which helped give rise to very old, shared ideas about cosmology, religion, and the understandings about the ways of the world. The earliest Mesoamerican art style, often called “Olmec,” developed quickly after 1200 BCE and spread throughout the region from what is now west Mexico to Honduras, reflecting a new and influential religious ideology. The maize god, revealingly, was a central theme in its early iconography. Out of this early understanding of the cosmos also emerged a calendar system, a divination cycle of 260 days, shared by all later Mesoamerican peoples, including the Maya and the Aztecs. Remarkably, in some remote communities of Mexico and Guatemala, this same calendar survived the onslaught of the Spanish invasion and is still being used.

The Maya of northern Yucatán were probably the first Mesoamericans who Europeans ever saw. They were astounded at the richness of the area on their first encounter with it in 1517 (and probably during slightly earlier voyages from Cuba and the Caribbean, now lost to history). In his gripping first-person memoir, the soldier Bernal Díaz de Castillo, who participated in several of these early expeditions along the coast, expressed the surprise he and his companions felt at seeing large towns with masonry buildings and painted temples. The Maya were also highly organized in their fierce resistance to the strange newcomers. Near the town of Champoton, on the west coast of the peninsula, Díaz de Castillo recounted a battle where the Maya forces “killed over fifty six of our soldiers and wounded all of the rest.”¹⁶ It was in another coastal settlement where the same expedition, under the leadership of Juan de Grijalva, received news of very rich kingdoms far to the west called *Colhua* and *México*, places that would later be revealed to be the centers of Aztec civilization. Back in Cuba, Hernán Cortés heard of tales from the survivors of Grijalva’s wounded expedition and quickly started to make plans of his own. Cortés later encountered belligerent Maya armies in 1519 during his brazen journey westward. He quickly opted to bypass many of them as he made his way along the coast and into the interior of Mexico. These resistance efforts were a taste of things to come, and Yucatán remained an unconquered land for many more decades.

The people who Cortés and Díaz de Castillo encountered on the northern coast were speakers of the language we call Yucatec. The

RUPTURE 15

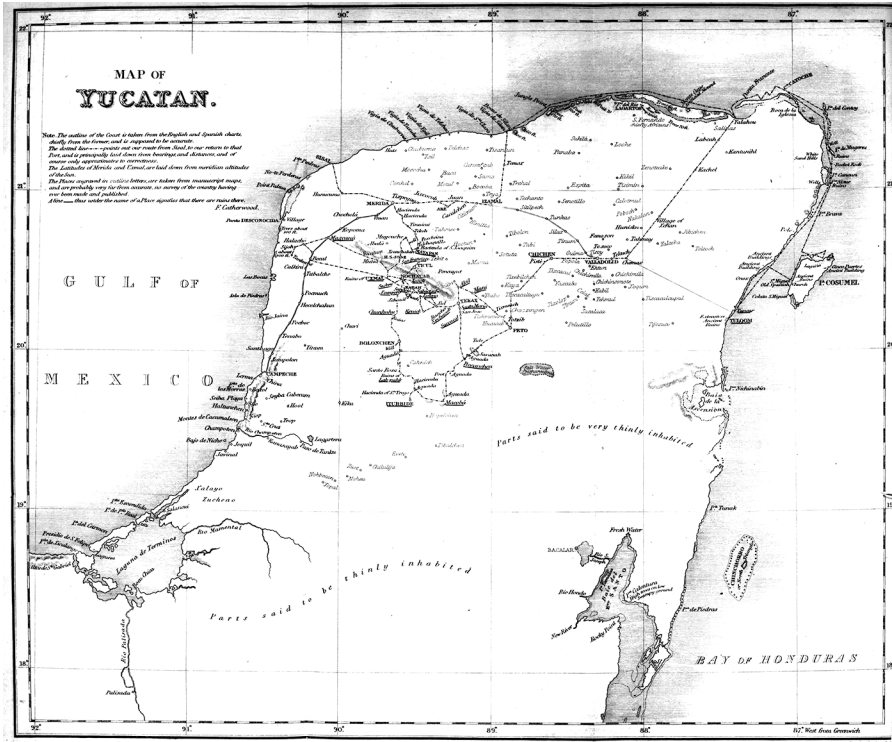


FIGURE 1.4. Map of Yucatán by John Lloyd Stephens, 1843, with “parts said to be thinly inhabited.”

southern lowlands, where most of our ancient history plays out, was home to other Mayan languages, including another large linguistic subgroup called Ch’olan, with several varieties. If we imagine a bifurcation of the entire peninsula into northern and southern zones, very roughly where the northernmost border of Guatemala now runs east-west, Yucatecan speakers generally occupied areas to its north, and Ch’olan speakers to its south (see Figure 1.4). As recent research has shown, the sounds and grammatical structure encoded in the ancient hieroglyphic inscriptions are clearly Ch’olan and closely related to a now-extinct language called Ch’olti’, which was once spoken along most of the southern edge of the lowlands. Its closest living relative, the Ch’orti’ language, is spoken today in the eastern highlands of Guatemala by roughly 20,000 people and highly endangered. The ancient language we read in the glyphs we call “Classic Mayan,” with its own grammatical rules and

16 CHAPTER I

phonological features.¹⁷ I find it remarkable and heartening that many of the words we read in the ancient inscriptions can still be heard today, spoken in the towns, villages, and cities throughout Mexico, Belize, and Guatemala.¹⁸

THE FIRST BRIDGE

By 1841, after visiting Copan, Palenque, and scores of other ancient sites, Stephens was convinced that the ruins must be the handiwork of the ancestors of the region's present-day inhabitants, the Maya. This was not the prevailing idea among U.S. and European antiquarians at the time, as we have seen. Stephens had good intuition about archaeology, however, and to bolster his suspicions, he also sought out as much historical context as he could, especially in northwest Yucatán, where Maya populations were large and old documents were still found here and there, giving hints of a deeper Indigenous past. He heard of one erudite historian living in the capital, Mérida, named Juan Pío Pérez, "the best Maya scholar in Yucatán, and ... distinguished in the same degree for the investigation and study of all matters tending to elucidate the history of the ancient Indians."¹⁹ Stephens tracked Pío Pérez down and quickly befriended him. Together they pored over many old colonial documents written in the Mayan language, which Pío Pérez had carefully collected and transcribed. For Stephens, the old writings were a revelation.

Juan Pío Pérez stands out for me as the singular hero of nineteenth-century Maya research. He was responsible for strengthening what tenuous threads existed between ancient and post-invasion Maya history. Born in 1798 in Mérida, he grew up speaking the Yucatec Mayan language, heard everywhere in those days on the quiet streets and in refined households of the city. As a young man, he acquired a passion for politics, in an era of fervent revolution and nationalism. Soon he was active in promoting the independence of Yucatán from Mexico, and he strove to create a separate political and cultural identity for the region, rooted in part in local Maya culture and history and in the study of the ancient sites. Pío Pérez pursued his main interest in history and

language by seeking out the old manuscripts and documents kept in the archives of various small towns, many already centuries old and in deteriorating condition. Many of these were written in Yucatec, and they included medicinal guides, books of history and prophecy, and chronicles that revealed ancient modes of time and timekeeping. Some even had faint traces of old hieroglyphic writing, copied and recopied over generations. Pío Pérez carefully copied what he could of these precious records, and by the end of the 1830s, he had made concordances among many of them, realizing that many of the native histories derived from a common source, an older record of Yucatec Maya history long lost (Figure 1.5). These diverse manuscripts, some copied from an earlier prototype, would collectively come to be known as *The Books of Chilam Balam*, named for an obscure native prophet (a *chilam*) and historian who may have lived in the sixteenth century. In these eclectic documents, Indigenous scribes, well trained in alphabetic writing, had also recorded much of what they could about the old ways and about esoteric knowledge while also adapting to a new and fraught world of Spanish domination. The books thus reveal a world of changing Maya identity, of communities that by the eighteenth century were living and negotiating between two worlds.²⁰

In the same years after the conquest, many Spanish friars had begun to write down other accounts of native history, as well as documents on the language and “idolatry” of the people. Some newly arrived priests were fascinated by the esoterica of Maya culture and religion of that time and preserved many aspects of language in dictionaries and other writings. Pío Pérez eagerly collected some of these sources, and these are the documents Stephens saw on his visit to Mérida, leaving him excited and intrigued. They revealed not only an Indigenous Maya history but also the sense of a deeper past that seemed to vaguely connect to the ruins he visited and carefully documented, including the great city of Uxmal.

Progress in these fledgling years of research was far slower than it could have been due to a series of unfortunate setbacks. Stephens died of malaria in Panama in 1852 at only forty-eight years old. Two years later, Catherwood perished at sea in the horrific S.S. *Arctic* disaster at age fifty-five.²¹ And in 1859, Pío Pérez died, never having published the

18 CHAPTER I

Tuhabil de 1322 años ca/culhi maxac ahau lae 7 canac.			
Dl: 18 =			
Tuhabil 1416	ca/culhi nac ahau lae	5 canac	= ① = 6.
Tuhabil 1440	ca/culhi can ahau	3 oxil canac	② = 4
Tuhabil 1464	ca/culhi cabil ahau	5 canac	③ = 2 =
Tuhabil 1488	ca/culhi oxlahun ahau	12 canac	④ = 13
Tuhabil 1512	ca/culhi boluc ahau	10 lahun canac	⑤ = 11
Tuhabil 1536	ca/culhi bolon ahau	8 maxac canac	⑥ = 9
Tuhabil 1560	ca/culhi umc ahau	6 umc canac	⑦ = 7
Tuhabil 1584	ca/culhi lo ahau	4 canil canac	⑧ = 5
Tuhabil 1608	ca/culhi ox ahau	2 cabil canac	⑨ = 3
Tuhabil 1632	ca/culhi hum ahau	13 oxlahun canac	⑩ = 1
Tuhabil 1656	ca/culhi lahuc ahau	11 canac	⑪ = 12.
Tuhabil 1680	ca/culhi lahun ahau	9 bolon canac	⑫ = 10
Tuhabil 1704	ca/culhi maxac ahau	7 umc canac	⑬ = 8
Tuhabil 1728	ca/culhi nac ahau	5 hoil canac	⑭ = 6
Tuhabil 1752	ca/culhi can ahau	3 Oxil canac	⑮ = 4
* Tuhabil 1776	ca/culhi cabil ahau	5 canac	⑯ = 2 =
* Tuhabil 1800	ca/culhi oxlahun ahau	12 canac	⑰ = 12.
Seritun ahau hatun en binel w cuchi tu nungpel haab lai n chun tu cuch melilae oxlahun fua haab n binel: ca 2000 n cuchi habilae tu ha- bil de 1776 n 2000 uale: heithau yetel w bel ta yahanil lae; lai than yam ichil n cuchi habil lae tumene lob ah bobatob (Xilambalam lae). Uuicil abnal w hes koston nucten n yail nai tu chichenytsal lae nac chu nac mal ti nobol n yahes n nec zaxtanba: ahi bacoco l n michi ci- cimen n nichit n yahanil w balic n 22 cil; tu than simicil n than tu ku			

FIGURE 1.5. The last Maya hieroglyphs. Page 79v from the *Codex Pérez*, an 1877 copy of a Maya history of Yucatán. The hieroglyphs at right designate a sequence of twenty-year k'atun periods (6 Ahau, 4 Ahau, etc.). Courtesy of Princeton University Library.

bulk of his own scholarship. So passed a traumatic seven years for the nascent field of Maya studies. Still, the connected legacies of these three friends—a New York lawyer, an English artist, and a Yucatecan historian and intellectual—established a range of new disciplines in the Maya world: archaeology, exploration, linguistics, and historiography. They made it clear for all that the Maya had indeed built the ruins at some point in the remote past. And it is impossible to overstate Pío Pérez's contribution in presenting a rudimentary working knowledge of the ancient calendar, at least as it existed in Yucatán after the invasion. In short, the three laid the firm foundations for all serious study of the

ancient Maya and their history. Their collective efforts linked an ancient civilization to a modern people and therefore represent a first stage in bridging the massive gap of knowledge between the present and the past. In a real sense, Maya archaeology was born out of their meeting in Mérida in 1841.

Pío Pérez and Stephens did not live long enough to see the revelation of the most important early source of all, a sixteenth-century compendium of history and cultural facts known as the *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, ascribed to an early Franciscan bishop of Yucatán, Diego de Landa. First composed around 1566, it survived only as an incomplete and somewhat mangled copy that was found in Madrid in 1862 and published soon thereafter.²² Landa's *Relación* is full of information about the Maya culture of Yucatán at the time of the invasion, including a lengthy summary of its Indigenous history, with mentions of rulers and lineages who were said to have dwelled in the old cities of Uxmal and Chichen Itza. Unlike later generations, Landa and many of his contemporaries on the ground in Yucatán could easily acknowledge the historical and cultural connection between the native people and the ancient sites. If only later chroniclers and historians had known of Landa's book and of his direct assertions that the buildings of Uxmal and elsewhere "were built by a race of Indians," then the ignorance that worked to cement the Rupture in historical awareness would surely have been less pronounced. Still, it is significant that even for Landa, the origins of the much older, massive ruins at Izamal and still visible in Mérida remained truly mysterious, "so old," as Landa states, "that there is no memory of their founders." Today we know that Izamal's pyramids date to the Late Preclassic and Early Classic periods, constructed nearly fifteen centuries before Landa wrote these words. Even at the time of the conquest, breaks with the deeper layers of the Maya past were evident.²³

A gap existed in geography as well. At the time of Stephens's journeys, large areas to the south of Yucatán and Campeche remained in dense forest and were "said to be thinly inhabited," as he noted in his own map of 1843 (see Figure 1.4). Only the regions around Mérida and Campeche are shown as densely populated. Earlier maps similarly depict the interior of the Yucatán Peninsula as empty terrain, *despoblado* ("depopulated"), or

else represent the lower peninsula as strangely compressed and reduced in area. The skewed emptiness of interior Yucatán and northern Guatemala reflects the ignorance among the cartographers of those times, but I suspect it also points to an important underlying truth: that, over the centuries, the region had experienced a vast demographic displacement. This was probably the result of a protracted series of changes, beginning with the political collapses of the ninth century, followed by social and political reshufflings of the Postclassic period and then in turn by two and a half centuries of Spanish rule. By 1600 or 1700, the only inhabitants of the forested interior lived in small villages or in scattered fortified hamlets, clustered near the few rivers and lakes. These Maya were intentionally far from colonial or Mexican control, and they were ready to pick up and move farther into the *selva* at a moment's notice.²⁴

Less than a thousand years earlier, this sparsely inhabited region had been the population center of the Maya world, replete with cities, towns, hamlets, agricultural fields, and roadways. The very middle of the Yucatán peninsula, what we call the Peten region, was once home to scores of ancient kingdoms and regal courts, including many that feature prominently throughout our newly reconstructed narratives of dynastic history. Stephens, Catherwood, and other explorers of the mid-1800s had naturally focused their attention on the more populated zones of the Maya area, in what is now Honduras, Chiapas, and northern Yucatán, completely unaware of many ancient cities that remained still out of reach within the expansive forest, where water was often scarce. They had heard rumors of other lost cities, but their limited time and exhaustion after two long years of arduous travel made further exploration impractical (not to mention the already overwhelming amount new information they had in hand). It is remarkable to think that these men who laid the foundations for Maya archaeology never even knew the existence of many places that proved to be key players in the narrative arc of Maya history—sites such as Tikal, Calakmul, Dzibanche, Naranjo, Caracol, and El Mirador. These would be found and explored years later in the nearly unpopulated areas of the Peten. If nothing else, this stark contrast in the history of population settlement within the Maya area points to the long-term movement of people in the deeper past.

It would be natural to ascribe this depopulation of the ancient Maya heartland to the brutalities that defined the colonial era. After all, diseases such as smallpox wiped out whole communities in the centuries immediately following the conquest of central Mexico, Yucatán, and Guatemala. But the profound effect of epidemic disease was never the whole story. In fact, big changes had already occurred in the Maya landscape long before Spanish ships ever appeared on the eastern horizon. Archaeological surveys demonstrate that the Peten region and the adjacent central areas of the peninsula experienced drastic demographic losses at the end of the Classic period, some six centuries earlier. As disruptive as the colonial experience was, Maya demography was never very stable to begin with, and people had been on the move a very long time, leaving large areas of the region far emptier than they once were. The historian Nancy Farriss, writing about the high degree of mobility of people in the colonial era, noted how “the lowland Maya seem to have been uncommonly restless for a people described as sedentary.” As we will see, I suspect that this is not just a pattern of the later colonial era but a broader trend in Maya demography. It might even be seen as a strategy of adaptation that goes back thousands of years. In this scenario, settlements and even cities were not very permanent solutions to human life, resource exploitation, or political power.²⁵ The movements around 800 or 900 CE were instrumental in forming the Rupture of history I describe. In moving away, many Maya after the Classic period also lost core aspects of elite historical memory, putting some distance between themselves and an ancient history that, after a few generations, apparently held little relevance.

In this way, we see how “the Rupture” in history was made up of numerous smaller rifts and losses of knowledge, spread out over many centuries. The collapse and abandonment of many Late Preclassic cities around 100 CE were surely a significant disruption. So also was the break at the end of the Classic period a thousand years later, setting in motion a more systemic “collapse” of history. The Postclassic world that emerged after 900 CE had its own complex dynamics, emphasizing a new wave of foreign elites and their different symbols of royal power. Even though more recent, the history of people and events from 900 to 1500 is far

less visible to us than what came before, known only from fragmented histories written after the conquest.

Did people of that time retain memories of the previous Classic world or keep written records of that ancient history? It is difficult to know, especially since the hieroglyphic books that contained history were tossed or else actively sought out and destroyed (see Plate 2). Historical books were seen in the years following the invasion, as Spanish chroniclers make clear. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar stated that “in these (books) they painted in colors the count of their years, the wars, the epidemics, hurricanes, inundations, famines and other events.” A few Spanish friars in Yucatán even learned the ancient hieroglyphs. One *oidor* (judge) in Yucatán named Tomás López Medel noted: “A kind of letters of characters which the inhabitants of this province (of Yucatán) use were taught to me. They draw in arabesques and by means of them they set down their affairs and their histories.”²⁶ Bishop Landa wrote his now-famous description of old books he found in 1562, during his inquisition at the newly founded Franciscan mission at the town of Mani, the seat of the Maya rulers who had allied themselves with the new foreigners in the recent conquest of Yucatán: “These people also make use of certain characters or letters, with which they wrote in their books their ancient matters and their sciences, and by these and by drawings and by certain signs in these drawings they understood their affairs and made others understand and taught them. We found a large number of these books in these characters and, as they contained nothing in which there was not to be seen superstition and lies of the devil, we burned them all, which they regretted to an amazing degree and which caused them great affliction.”²⁷ Landa’s characterization of old books used in science and in teaching is enticing, giving a valuable hint of what once existed. His account is also horrific in its dismissive, matter-of-fact statement of their quick destruction. Were these books of truly ancient history? All we can say for certain is that the narratives of the Maya past that survived the early colonial era go back only so far. To my eye, they say nothing of the glories of the Classic period.

Much later in the colonial era, this break in historical knowledge led to more cultural isolation and exploitation for the Maya. The disconnec-

RUPTURE 23

tion from ancient, historical narratives served the interests of Enlightenment politicians and intellectuals who strove to erase or assimilate Indigenous language and culture in all its aspects, even centuries after the invasion. It is not difficult to connect several modern misconceptions to these old tropes, including the widespread popular idea that ancient ruins must have been built with the aid of outsiders and not by ambitious and creative people. Even prominent scholars in the early days of Maya research, such as Sir J. Eric S. Thompson, referred to the ancient Maya as “a strange people which unaccountably had disappeared from the stage of history.”²⁸ It is little wonder then that the Maya came to be constantly exoticized and made remote, a quintessentially “mysterious” and unknowable people of the ancient world. This idea has been reinforced time and time again in books, films, and other popular media, up to the present day.

ARCHAEOLOGY BEGINS

Maya archaeology emerged in the later decades of the nineteenth century, picking up where Pío Pérez and Stephens left off. Those early years were concerned mostly with a basic, straightforward question: Just how old were the ruins at Copan, Palenque, and Chichen Itza, if they were indeed Maya in origin? One early explorer who helped answer this was Alfred Maudslay, an Englishman who was intent on documenting the pyramids and sculptures seen by Stephens and Catherwood. Maudslay came to his task in the 1880s with an exciting new technology—the glass plate camera—as well as a knowledge of how to make molds of ancient sculptures. These he used to make plaster casts back in England (an early kind of “3D printing”). During several expeditions, he undertook careful, scientific surveys and records of everything he saw (Figure 1.6). Still, he wondered why many of the ancient cities were utterly absent from the early written histories that the Spanish had made of the same region. The implication is that they must have already been long abandoned, unknown to the various Spanish missionaries and soldiers (including Cortés himself) who traveled nearby. As Maudslay logically concluded,

24 CHAPTER 1



FIGURE 1.6. A view of Tikal's Central Plaza in 1882, by Alfred P. Maudslay.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

“Although it is not yet possible to trace the various stages which must have marked the evolution of the art which culminated in Copan and Palenque, it is not difficult to show that a great gap exists between the remains of those centres of ancient culture and the ruins of towns known to have been inhabited at the time of the Spanish invasion.” Maudslay made the simple but important observation that Palenque, Copan, and other great ruins were already old, lost to history even by the sixteenth century. While recognizing the sites as belonging to a broader Maya tradition, Maudslay had started to get a sense of the Rupture I have described—the marked distance and loss between the Classic period and the Spanish arrival.²⁹

It was in the decades before the decipherment that various writers filled the historical void by crafting at times bizarre, even cringe-worthy narratives about Maya civilization. One idea that took hold in those years was that the ancient monuments were only records of arcane calendrics

and astronomy and bore no written history at all. Even Maudslay, writing in 1899, remarked on the quantity of calendrical records in the texts of Palenque and Copan, suggesting that “it was more than doubtful if the inscriptions when fully deciphered will yield us much direct information of a historical nature.” This opinion, so wrongheaded in retrospect, was influential and held firm within Maya studies for decades. In 1940, the most prominent Maya archaeologist of the day, Sylvanus Morley, asserted that “the ancient Maya indubitably recorded their history but not in the stone inscriptions.”³⁰ To him the ancient texts “deal exclusively with the counting of time in one way or another.”³¹ At the end of his remarkable career as a field archaeologist and promoter of Maya studies, Morley penned a book called *The Ancient Maya*, one of the very first general works on the civilization and one that vividly bridged the ancient sites and the modern people—in my view, the work’s most important legacy. Of course, Morley has absolutely no inkling of the historical narratives we will be looking at throughout this book.

Nor did the great Mayanist scholar J. Eric S. Thompson, who trained as an archaeologist and developed an intense interest in hieroglyphs. In 1954, he produced his landmark work, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization*, one of the first wide-ranging narratives on the subject.³² In the years leading up to Thompson’s book, discoveries of “lost” Maya cities in the dense jungles of the region had captured the popular imagination, and *Rise and Fall* provided one of the few accessible treatments of an exciting and quickly changing subject. In fact, his *Rise and Fall* appeared at a truly pivotal time in Maya studies, at a transition from one conceptual paradigm to another. Before the early 1950s, the ancient Maya were very much romanticized as a culture, idealized by Thompson and other writers as quintessential noble savages living in remote cities in the jungle. Their impersonal rulers and priests were thought to have been more interested in esoteric knowledge than the concerns of the real world. The common people were largely ignored due to their relative inconspicuousness among the towering temple-pyramids and palaces of ruins such as Tikal and Copan. They were a culture that eked out a fragile existence in the unforgiving rainforest, building cities and refined monuments, but who would disappear into oblivion.

Thompson seemed even more adamant is his view of the Maya as a peaceful people, bent toward intellectual pursuits and unconcerned with their own history. Much like his friend Morley, he flatly denied any presence of written history: “These texts, to the best of our knowledge, contain no glorification of ruler or recital of conquest, such as are customary on the monuments of other peoples. Instead, they are an impersonal record of steps in the search for the truth, as the Maya saw it, that is the whole philosophy of time with its interlocking cycles of divine influences.”³³ Thompson and some of his contemporaries were wrong in such characterizations, yet they still exerted a profound influence and helped give rise to a popular myth that Maya elites (and, by extension, the culture overall) were somehow different or exotic. The ancient Maya soon became characterized as odd stargazers, obsessed with the mechanics of time’s passage, with little interest or engagement in worldly affairs. Based on these preconceptions, the supposed disappearance of the ancient Maya seemed fitting, in a way, seen as a sign of some inability to adapt in the face of external pressures or as an indication of their essential otherness. At least by the early twentieth century, the ancient inhabitants of Copan and Palenque were finally recognized by all as ancestors of the living Maya. Still, despite Morley’s and Thompson’s brilliant contributions and scholarly erudition, they dismissed the very existence of an ancient history for the Maya, and in this regard their outlook was not too far removed from the “blank slate” that confronted the first explorers of the Maya world a century earlier. The Rupture remained. Still, there were indications of great changes on the horizon. In one ironic twist, Thompson published his *Rise and Fall* in 1954, just when a revolution was brewing in our awareness of the ancient Maya, brought on eventually by the decipherment of the hieroglyphs.³⁴ The Rupture was being mended at long last.

INDEX

- abandonments: collapse and, 299; cycles of, 357; last dates and, 298
- El Achiotal, 81
- agricultural terracing, 116
- Aguada Fénix, 65–66, 68, 92
- Aguateca, 189, 294–95, 300
- Ahkul Mo'nahb, 218
- ajaw (term), 123
- ajaw role, 309
- ajaws, 83, 84–85, 99, 109–10, 119
- Ajbahlamt'ul, 155
- Ajchakmax, 304
- Ajen Yohlmat, 219–20
- ajk'in (calendar priest), 124–25
- Ajk'uhun (title), 309
- Ajnumsaj (Chank'inich), 165–66, 171–72, 305
- Ajpach'wal, 252
- Ajpakaltahn, 312, 315
- ajtz'ihb (scribe, painter), 124–25
- Ake, 81
- allography, 43
- Altar 13 (Caracol), 323
- Altar Q (Copan), 242–44
- altepétl, 116
- ancestor worship, 87
- ancestry symbols, 145–46
- Ancient Maya, The* (Morley), 25
- ani glyph, 295
- Animal Skull, 169–70, 185, 403–4n23
- archaeology: epigraphy and, 126–27; historical archaeology, 127; science of, 55
- Archaic Greece, 27
- Archaic populations, 56–60
- architectural settings, 47
- architectural style, 277, 280
- Armijo, Ricardo, 411n16
- Arroyo de Piedra, 102
- art: Olmec, 63–64; origins of, 267; use of stone in, 58
- Art Deco style, 280
- art market, looting and, 49–50
- artisans, 124–25
- astronomy, 68, 70
- Avendaño, Andrés de, 350
- Avendaño y Loyola, 114
- Avenue of the Dead, 241
- Awe, Jaime, 174, 176
- Aztecs, 94, 116, 361
- Bajlaj Chank'awil: death of, 203; depictions of, 188; dynastic system and, 319; rule of, 186–87, 189, 191–95, 324; Yuknom Yich'ahkk'ahk' and, 201
- Bajlajchank'awil, 324
- bajos, 73, 77, 92, 310
- Baking Pot, 50, 321
- bak'tun (period), 71, 88, 143, 246, 263, 317–18, 358, 383–85
- Balam Acab, 360
- Balam Quitze, 360
- Balamnal, 77
- ballcourts, 253, 269, 281, 284
- Bambonal, 54
- Barrientos, Tomás, xiii
- Barthel, Thomas, 402n5
- Baxwitz (Xultun): abandonment of, 3, 4, 301; history of, 6; looting of, 50; Stela 10 (monument), 3–5. *See also* Xultun
- Beliaev, Dmitri, 135
- Berlin, Heinrich, 37–38, 109
- bloodletting, 120
- Bonampak, 302
- Books of Chilam Balam, The*, 17, 266, 285, 317, 341–42, 357

438 INDEX

- Brasseur de Bourbourg, Charles Étienne, 28
 Brinton, Daniel, 30–31, 33
 Buenavista, 92
 Burial 48 (Tikal), 106
 Burial 85 (Tikal), 105–6
 Burial 195 (Tikal), 169–70
 Butz’aj Sakchihk, 218
 Byers, Douglas, 389n5
- cacao, 133
 Cacaxtla, 296
 calabash gourds, 394–95n11
 Calakmul (Uxte’tun): buildings in, 85, 86;
 ceramics from, 81; history of, 169–70, 174;
 Kanul dynasty at, xv; looting of, 157–58;
 marketplace and mural paintings at, 184,
 404n6; power of, 99; snake emblem,
 158–59; Structure 1, 205, 275
 Calendar Round (260 days), 48
 Calendar Stone (Tenochtitlan), 339. *See also*
 Sun Stone (Tenochtitlan)
 calendar systems: Calendar Round, 48;
 chronology and, 31–32; E Groups and,
 68; false narratives about, 24–25; Grand
 Long Count, 384–85; Long Count
 calendar, 31, 47, 48, 71, 122, 383–85; Lunar
 Calendar, 48; maize-based agriculture and,
 14; Mamom period and, 73; mechanics of,
 31; overview, 381–86; Pfo Pérez and, 18;
 365-day solar year, 120, 122; 260-day
 calendar, 71, 94, 381–82; 260-day interval,
 120, 123; tzolk’in, 45
 Campeche: buildings in, 157, 277; geography
 of, 19–20
 Cancuen, 306–7
 Canuto, Marcello, xiii
 Caracol: agricultural terracing at, 116; Altar
 13, 323; political role of, 245; population
 of, 308–9; rulers of, 167–73; staircase
 from, 174–75, 197–98, 404n26; Ucanal
 and, 305–6
 Carnegie Institution of Washington, 391n29
 Casa Colorada (Chichen Itza), 287
 Castillo (Chichen Itza), 333
- Catherwood, Frederick, xi, 9
 Catholic church, idolatrous beliefs and, 6
 cattail hieroglyph, 360–61
 Cehpech pottery, 335
 Ceibal, 67, 186, 322, 325–26
 celts, 64
 cenotes, 3; at Chichen Itza, 266, 286, 332–33,
 338; description of, 67; distribution of,
 395n21; Hoyo Negro (Black Hole), 393n3.
 See also sinkholes
 ceramics: Cehpech, 335; codex style, 80
 396n37; Copador, 248; Dynastic Vases,
 108–9, 125, 399n13; Initial Series Group,
 335; inscriptions on, 41; Komkom Vase,
 50–51 Maya Barrio, 401n5; Olmec,
 63–64; Palenque, 218; Pre-Mamom era,
 61; refinement of, 101; Sotuta, 335; vases,
 108–9, 125; writing system and, 48–49
 ceremonial spaces and plazas: E Groups,
 67–69; records of, 70
 Cháak, 314–15. *See also* Chahk (storm deity)
 Chablé, Juan, 36, 211–12
 ch’acháak (ceremony), 314–15
 Chahk (storm deity), 64; appearance of,
 58; depictions of, 59, 84–86, 182–83, 281;
 power of, 119–20
 Chahknaah, 191
 Chakjutuw Kanek’, 273–74
 Chaksutz’, 236, 303
 Chaktokich’ahk, 107, 131, 134–36, 139, 145
 Chaktokich’ahk II, 154–55, 169
 Champollion, Jean François, 8
 Champoton, 14
 Chan, Roman Piña, 409–10n14
 chante’chan (“four heavens”), xix
 Chase, Arlen and Diane, 308–9
 Chatahn, 80–81, 114, 397n38
 Chelew Chank’inich, 302–4
 Chenes style buildings, 277, 280
 Chenhalo’, 317
 chert, uses of, 58
 Chicago World’s Fair, 391n29
 Chichen Itza: art, 337; Castillo, 333; cenote
 at, 67, 266, 286, 332–33, 338; cosmological

INDEX 439

- symbols, 338; end of, 341; Great Ballcourt, 332–33, 335, 337; history of, 19, 267, 285–90, 332–40; militarism and, 337–38; name of, 286; phenomenon of, 327–28; Temple of the Warriors, 333–34, 337
- Chihcha, 103, 398n6
- Chilam Balam of Tizimin, The*, 347
- Chochkitam, 167
- chol (cornfield), 69. *See also* kol (term); milpa (cornfield)
- Ch'olan language, 15, 43–44, 60, 300–301
- Chontal language, 322, 336
- Ch'orti' language, 15
- Ch'orti' Maya, 120
- chronology, 31–32
- chuhkaj (capture glyph), 392n13
- ch'ul o'ow (title), 317
- cinnabar, 311
- cities, definition of, 55
- Ciudadela (Teotihuacan), 145, 241
- Cival, 67–68, 73–75
- civilizations, beginnings of, 55–56
- Classic Mayan language, xxi, 12, 15–16, 44
- Classic period (150–900 CE): beginning of, 97–98; emergence of dynasties during, 98–101; hieroglyphic script use during, 45; last dates of, 298, 332; political culture of, 5–6; population decline in, 21
- climate change, 311–14
- closed system, 117
- Coba, 168, 267–73, 298, 314–15; cenote at, 332; stela at, 42
- Cocom, 345
- Codex Pérez*, 18, 390n20
- codex style, 80, 397n37
- col, 69
- collapse: aftermath of, 299; cycles of, 356; phenomenon of, 293–97; population and, 308–10
- colonial era: historical detachment and, 7–8; resistance and, 30
- Comalcalco, 311–13, 337
- communities: E Groups and, 69; organization of, 61–62
- Complex M, 201
- consonant-vowel (CV) syllable, 33
- Copan: abandonment of, 298–99; Altar Q, 242–44; artworks from, 360–61; ballcourt, 253; Copador pottery, 248; description of, 240; epigraphy and, 126; Hieroglyph Stairway, 47, 250, 253, 257–58; history of, 117, 239–41; Ilopango volcano and, 246–47; influence of Teotihuacan, 133, 150–51; inscriptions from, 103; Maudslay's observations on, 24–25; power of, 248; Stela 11, 358–59; Stela 63, 245; Stela A, 251; Stephens's exploration of, xi, 9–10; Temple 16, 242, 358; Temple 18, 260, 262, 265, 299; W'intenah, 242
- La Corona: altar, 161–62; inscriptions from, 173; looting of, xiv–xvi, 49–50; monuments of, xiii
- Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* (Graham), 393n15
- Cortés, Hernán, 14, 340, 349
- cosmology, 118
- cosmos, 181
- Cuello, 61
- cura, 353–54
- dance, xv–xvi
- Danta complex, 76
- decipherment: author's experience with, 42–43; challenges of, 42; process of, 28; thrill of, 27
- deep time, 118
- deforestation, 92
- deities: associated with rulership, 119; depictions of, 84; K'awil (deity), 83, 119–21
- Del Río, Antonio, 9
- El Delirio, 50
- Diamond, Jared, 410n2
- Díaz de Castillo, Bernal, 14
- directional labels, 182
- diseases, smallpox, 21
- divine kingship, 315–18
- diviners, 124

440 INDEX

- DNA analysis, 60
- Dos Pilas, 126–27, 185–89, 191, 299–300
- Doyle, James, 69
- Dresden Codex*, 2, 31, 33, 40, 50, 88, 384
- drought, 310–12, 329. *See also* water
- dynastic affairs, writing system and, 47–48
- Dynastic Vases, 108–9, 125, 399n13
- dynasties: ancient name for, 243; Bakel
 dynasty, 89–90, 109, 114, 211, 217–18;
 closed system, 117; comparison of, 102;
 connections to kabch'ens, 110; emer-
 gence of, 98–101; end of, 318–21, 328–30;
 family trees, 363–68; Kanul dynasty, 103,
 107–9, 114, 142, 159–64, 169–70, 173–77,
 185–86, 308, 344, 363–68; membership
 in, 114; Mutul dynasty, 105, 109, 114, 141
 153, 160, 185–86, 363–68; myth and, 102;
 number of, 108; Pa'chan dynasty, 109–13,
 150; proper names of, 109; Yahkk'in
 dynasty, 306; Yokib dynasty, 48, 113. *See also* rulers
- Dzibanche (Kanul), 103, 116, 156–59, 402n4,
 403n10
- Dzibilchaltun, 268, 273
- Dzilam, 81
- eagle figure, 84
- East Kalomte,' elk'in kalomte' title, 182
- eastern region, 180
- Edzna, 67, 266, 277
- E Groups: Aguada Fénix, 66; description
 of, 66; examples of, 66–67; function of,
 67–69; Mundo Perdido, 106; Nixtun
 Ch'ich,' 74; orientations of, 120; paskab
 events and, 70; sacred time and, 122; San
 Bartolo, 68–69; Tikal, 135; Uaxactun, 68
- Egypt: curiosity about, 8; hieroglyphs, 8, 27
 (Yax) Ehbok, 399n8, 399n10
- 8 Ahau, 357–58
- Ek Balam, 267, 273–75, 298, 332
- Elizabeth II, 391n34
- elk'in kalomte' (East Kalomte'), 182
- emblem glyphs, 109–10, 113–14
- Entrada event, 131, 135–36, 138–39, 148, 307
- epigraphy, 126–27
- Estrada-Belli, Francisco, 143
- false narratives, 24–25
- family trees, 363–68
- famine, 310
- Farriss, Nancy, 21
- Feathered Serpent Pyramid, 132
- fish-trapping, 394n4
- Flores, 340, 345
- Foliated Ahau, 103–4, 159. *See also*
 Uxyophun
- foraging, 60
- Förstemann, Ernst, 31
- 4 Ahau, 205
- Frederick Catherwood, 11
- Freidel, David, 69, 91
- Fuensalida, Bartolomé de, 349–50
- Garrison, Tom, 404n25
- Gaspar Antonio Chi, 30
- geopolitics, 182
- glass plate camera, 23
- Goodman, Joseph T., 13, 385–86
- gourds, 394–95n11
- government of Mexico, 391n29
- Graham, Ian, 41, 157, 393n15
- Grand Long Count, 384–85
- Great Ballcourt (Chichen Itza), 332, 335, 337
- Greece, 27
- Grijalva, Juan de, 14
- ground-opening events, 70
- Guatemala, indigenous assimilation policies
 of, 11
- Guiteras-Holmes, Calixta, 317
- haab (term), 120–21. *See also* tun (period)
- Hansen, Richard, 395–96n34
- Hauberg Stela, 99, 100
- “He of Twenty Prisoners” and “He of
 Sixteen Prisoners” glyphs, 302
- Herrera, Antonia de, 286
- Hiatus, 153–54
- Hieroglyph Stairway, 47, 250, 253, 257–58

INDEX 441

- hieroglyphs: ani, 295; *Codex Pérez*, 18;
 Egyptian, 8, 27; study of, 125–27
 high culture, 65
Historia de la Conquista de el Itza
 (Soto-Mayor), 351
 historical archaeology, 127
 historical detachment, 7–8, 21
 history: nature of, 361–62; revelations of,
 354–56; sources, 362; temporal destiny
 and, 317–18
 Hixwitz (Jaguar Hill), 191, 225
 Hogarth, Julie, 50
 Holmul, 166
 holy lords, 317
 honorific titles: ajaw role and, 99; ancestor
 worship and, 87–88; elk'in kalomte' (East
 Kalomte'), 182; “He of Twenty Prisoners”
 and “He of Sixteen Prisoners,” 182, 302;
 kalomte', 137, 182–83; K'inich, 397n41;
 k'uhul chatahn winik, 397n38; k'uhulajaw
 (“holy lord”), 315–18, 397n38, 398n2; k'uhul
 winik (“holy man”), 397n38; kul uinic,
 397n38; nohol kalomte' (South Kalomte'),
 182; ochk'in kalomte' (West Kalomte'), 182;
 Sakchuwen (“White Artisan”), 403n13;
 xaman kalomte' (North Kalomte'), 182;
 xaman k'awil, 272
 Hormiguero, 276
 Houston, Stephen, 43, 126–27, 144, 158
 Hoyo Negro (Black Hole), 393n3
 Huastec civilization, 13
 hyper-coherence, 411n22

 Ichkabal, 156, 159
 Iglesia pyramid (Coba), 268
 Ik'a, 114
 Ik'a' (“Windy Waters”), 74, 341
 ikatz, 310
 Ik'mihin, 102
 ilhuihl (term), 396n29
 Ilopango volcano, 246–47
 Indian Removal Act (1830), 11
 Indigenous identity and culture, erasure of,
 11–12, 19, 22–23
 Initial Series Group ceramics, 335
 Inomata, Takeshi, 65, 67, 68, 71
 Iqui Balam, 360
 Itza lineage, 74, 335, 340–44
 Itzamk'anahk, 228
 itz'ats (scribes and sculptors), 124–25,
 400n28
 ix (feminine prefix), 110
 Ixlu, 324
 Izamal (Itzamnil): ancestor worship and,
 87; history of, 19, 81–82, 266; importance
 of, 390n23; pyramid at, 269
 Izapa, 94

 jade, 64, 125, 133
 Janabpakal, 219–20
 Janabyok K'inich, 277
 Jasaw Chank'awil: biography of, 105, 192,
 194, 199, 201; defeat of Yich'ahkk'ahk',
 203; Lady Tunkaywak and, 406n19; war
 memorial and burial place of, 202, 204
 jewelry, 64
 Jimbal, 298
 Jones, Christopher, 406n19
 Jun Ajaw, 106, 119, 399n7
 Jun Ixim (Maize God), 62, 265–66, 358
 Junixim K'awil, 325
 Junpiktok' (“Eight Thousand Knives”), 269,
 275
 Junyehwinik (“One-Toothed Person”), 231

 kab (term), 400n19
 Kabah, 281, 287
 kabch'en (term), xix, 102, 115
 kabch'ens: communities of, 115–16;
 connections to dynasties, 110; cosmology
 and, 118
 kah, 116
 kah (term), 400n19
 k'ah (word), 46
 K'ahk' Ubalaw Chanchahk, 197
 Kahkaj Bahlam, 111
 K'ahk'bablaj Chanchahk, 281–82
 K'ahk'hoplaj Chank'awil, 255–57

442 INDEX

- K'ahk'ti'ch'ich,' 167–68
 K'ahk'tiliw Chanchahk, 102, 198, 201, 305
 K'ahk'tiliw Chanyopat, 200, 252–54
 K'ahk'upakal K'inich, 288
 K'ahk'uti'chan ("Fire Is the Mouth of the Snake"), 247
 K'ahk'uti'ch'ich,' 169
 K'ahk'uti'witz' K'awil, 247–49, 256
 K'ahk'yipyaj, 256
 Kajawah,' 288, 289
 kalomte,' 137, 182–83
 Kaminaljuyu, 45, 94, 132–33
 Kanek' ("Sky-Star"), 325, 340, 349
 K'ankitam, 146
 Kanpet, 325
 Kanul dynasty: arrangement of, 114;
 discovery of, 156; family tree, 363–68;
 founding of, 103; history of, 108, 159–63,
 169–70; Lady Nahek,' 162–63; legacy of,
 344; militarism and, 308; name of, 161;
 rivalry with Mutul dynasty, 160, 185–86;
 rulers of, 109, 173–77; Sihyajk'ahk'
 and, 142; Stairway of the Captives, 158,
 161–62
 K'anwitznal, 199, 322
 Kaqchiquel Maya, 360–61
 k'atun (period), 18, 68, 103, 111, 130, 134, 155,
 192, 194, 201, 203, 205, 217, 219, 228, 231,
 275, 307, 317, 325, 347, 348, 349, 357
 k'awil (axe of Chahk), 58
 K'awil (deity), 83, 119–21, 279
 K'awil Chank'inich, 300
 K'awil Tok,' 252, 275
 Kejache, 390n24
 Kerr, Justin, 41, 393n16
 K'iche' Maya, 360–61
 k'in (term), 395n29
 kingdoms, arrangement of, 182
 kingship, 315–18
 K'inich (term), 397n41
 K'inich Ahkul Mo'nahb, 234–36
 K'inich Ajaw (sun god), 87
 K'inich Bahlam, 144, 194
 K'inich Baknal Chahk, 233
 K'inich Balam, 137
 K'inich Janabpakal (Pakal): birth of, 168,
 220; death of, 223–25, 231; depictions of,
 212, 221; early years of, 213; honorific title
 of, 221; Nunujolchahk and, 190; rule of,
 221–25; Temple of the Inscriptions and,
 35; tomb of, 36–38, 212, 358
 K'inich Junpiktok,' 288
 K'inich K'ak'mo, 87
 K'inich Kan Joy Kitam, 222–23, 233–34
 K'inich Kanbahlam, 89, 218, 222–23, 230–33, 286
 K'inich Lakamtun, 310
 K'inichlakamtun, 305–6, 321
 K'inich Pa'witz, 189, 300
 K'inich Tatab Jol, 111, 216
 K'inich Tatbujol, 303–4
 K'inich Yatahk, 304
 K'inich Yaxk'uk'mo,' xiv, 151, 241–47
 257, 317, 359
 Kinichna, 156
 Kiuc, 280
Knickerbocker, The, (literary journal), 9
 Knorosov, Yuri, 32–34, 40
 "Knot-Eye Jaguar," 216
 Kokaj K'awil, 204
 Kokajk'awil, 305
 Kokaj Muut (deity), 119
 Kokwitz, 253
 kol (term), 396n28
 Komkom Vase, 50–51, 321
 Kowalski, Jeff, 409n11
 Kroeber, Alice, 27
 k'uhul chatahn winik, 80, 397n38
 k'uhulajaw ("holy lord"), 99, 110, 122, 315–18,
 397n38, 398n2
 k'uhulwinik ("holy man"), 396n38
 K'uk'bahlam (Quetzal Jaguar), 217–18
 K'uk'ulkan, 289, 338
 kul uinic, 396n38
 K'uxaj, 172, 174
 Labna, 287
 Lacandon, 390n24
 Lady Ch'akch'en, 271–72

INDEX 443

- Lady K'abalxok, 227–29
- Lady K'abel, 157, 163, 192–93
- Lady Nahek, 162–63
- Lady Sak'uk' (White Quetzal), 220–21
- Lady Tunkaywak, 406n19
- Lady Tz'akab Ajaw, 222–23
- Lady Tz'ihbwiniik, xv
- Lady Tz'ihbwinkil, 192
- Lady Uhchanlem, 226, 228
- Lady Unen Bahlam, 131
- Lady Unenbahlam, 107
- Lady Wakjalam Chanlem, 163, 195–99, 206, 272, 305, 405–6n16
- Lady Yohliknal, 219
- Lady Yopk'in, 155
- LaFarge II, Oliver, 389n5
- Lakamha, 211, 218. *See also* Palenque
- lakamtun (stela), 123–24
- Lake Peten Itzá, 73–74, 340, 348
- Lake Petexbatun, 102, 189, 300
- Lamnah Chahk, 187
- Lamnah K'awil, 187
- land use, 116–17
- Landa, Diego de: description of old books, 22; observations of, 285–86, 344, 347, 355; *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, 19, 28–29, 31, 340, 345
- languages: of Archaic populations, 60; art and writing and, 267; Ch'olan, 15, 43–44, 60, 160–61, 300–301; Chontal, 322–23, 336; Ch'orti, 15; of current populations, 295; Maya, xxi, 12, 15–16, 44; Yucatec, 14–15, 60, 160–61
- libraries, 50, 88
- LiDAR surveys, 65, 144, 395n17
- lightning, 394n6
- limestone, 58–59, 394n8
- Linear B script, 27
- Lintel 11 (Yaxchilan), 112
- Lintel 25 (Yaxchilan), 150
- lintels, 111–12, 150, 226
- Lizana, Bernardo de, 269
- Loltun Cave, 267, 408–9n1
- Long Count calendar, 31, 47, 48, 71, 122, 383–85
- looting: art market and, 49–50; of Baxwitz (Xultun), 50; of Calakmul, 157–58; of La Corona, xiv–xvi, 49–50; at La Sufricaya, 143
- lost cities, stories of, 9, 354–55
- Lounsbury, Floyd, 41, 43, 233
- Lunar Calendar, 48
- Macaw Star, 186, 405n7
- Mahucutah, 360
- maize: calendar system and, 14; connection to sakhuun, 106; cultivation of, 57, 69, 394n9, 394n10; diet and, 60–61; Jun Ixi'm (Maize God), 62, 63; Olmec art and, 64; Popol Vuh, 63; religion and cosmology and, 63; sacred kingship and, 122
- Maize God: depictions of, 83–86; theme of, 64; Wukha'nal and, 338. *See also* Jun Ixim (Maize God)
- mam, 88
- Mamom period: ceramics and, 60; constructions during, 73
- Manifest Destiny, 11
- Marcador, The (Tikal), 138–39
- Marcus, Joyce, 157
- Martin, Simon, 109, 176, 322, 324
- Martin-Skidmore calendar correlation, 369
- Mathews, Peter, 41, 43
- Maudslay, Alfred, 23–25
- Maya (region): demography of, 20–21; geology of, 57; historical detachment and, 21; overview, 2, 13
- Maya (term), use of, 12–13
- Maya Barrio, 401n5
- Mayab, 390n14
- Mayahak Cab Pek, 59–60
- Mayapan, 342–46
- Mazareigos, Chinchilla, 411n20
- Mazatecos, 390n24
- Medel, Tomás López, 22
- mercury, 311
- Mérida (T'ho), 273
- Mesoamerica, 13–14
- Mexico, indigenous assimilation policies of, 11
- militarism, 132, 307–8

444 INDEX

- milpa (cornfield), 69. *See also* chol
(cornfield); kol (term)
- El Mirador: artworks from, 92; bajos, 77;
causeway network of, 77–78; ceramics
from, 81; Danta complex, 76; historical
context of, 75, 79–80; location of, 73;
population decline in, 92; reoccupation
of, 80; rulers within, 79; size of, 75–76,
78–79; El Tigre temple complex, 76;
triadic temples, 77
- Mixtec civilization, 13
- mobility of Maya courts, 320
- Las Monjas (Chichen Itza), 287
- Montejo, Francisco de, 347
- Morley, Sylvanus, 25–26, 54, 68, 106, 389n1
- mosaic stonework, 281–82
- movement, 360
- Mundo Perdido (Tikal), 106, 144
- mural paintings: Bonampak, 302–3; Calakmul
(Uxte'tun), 184, 404n6; San Bartolo, 85, 143
- Mutul dynasty: arrangement of, 114; emblem
glyphs, 105, 109; family tree, 363–68;
Hiatus and, 153; name of, 105; rivalry with
Kanul dynasty, 160, 185–86; Spearthrower
Owl and, 140–41. *See also* Dos Pilas; Tikal
myth, dynasties and, 102
- Nahuatl (Xihuitl), 343
- Nakbe: ceramics from, 81; location of, 77, 79;
population decline in, 92; reoccupation
of, 80; ruins at, 72–73
- Nakum, 301, 322, 324, 336
- Nalda, Enrique, 158, 402n4
- names, spelling of, xxi
- Napot Xiu, 385–86
- Naranjo (Sa'al): defeat of, 186; history of,
107, 164–67, 169; inscriptions from, 102;
Lady Wakjalam Chanlem's arrival at,
195, 197; power of, 99, 305; staircase from
Caracol, 197–98
- Native Americans, exterminations of, 11
- Natz' Chanahk, 165
- Navarro-Farr, Olivia, 143
- nixtamalization, 58–59
- Nixtun Ch'ich,' 73–75, 350, 396n32
- Nohoch Mul Group ("Big Mound"), 271
- nohol kalomte' (South Kalomte'), 182
- nomadic communities, 61
- North Acropolis (Tikal), 105, 129–30
- North Kalomte', xaman kalomte' title, 182
- northern region, 264
- Numul Ahnchahk, xiv
- Nunnery Quadrangle (Uxmal), 281–82, 284
- Nunujolchahk, 187, 189–92, 194, 222, 319
- nutrition, 58–59
- Oaxaca, 296
- ochk'in kalomte' (West Kalomte'), 182
- Olmec civilization: art and, 63–64;
development of, 64–65; iconography
of, 106; San Lorenzo, 64
- Olom, 323–24, 336
- Orbita, Juan de, 349–50
- Osario temple, 412n3
- Oxkintok, 268, 271, 273, 278, 409n6
- Pa'chan (Yaxchilan, El Zotz), 110
- Pa'chan dynasty, 109–13, 150
- Pakbul (Pomona), 70
- Palenque: Bakel, 89; ceramics from, 218;
description of, 211; history of, 218–25;
last dates at, 298, 312–13; Maudslay's
observations on, 24–25; Nunujolchahk's
arrival at, 190, 222; Pakal's tomb at,
223–25, 231; Palenque Triad, 230–31; Sky
Witness and, 168; Stephens's exploration
of, 10–11, 35; structures in, 7, 9; Temple
of the Cross, 230–31, 233; Temple of the
Foliated Cross, 230–31; Temple of the
Inscriptions, 11, 34–36, 219; Temple of the
Sun, 231; Temple XVII, 218; Temples XIX
and XXI, 234
- Panama-California Exposition, 391n29
- Papmalil, 322–25, 327, 336
- Paris Codex*, 345
- paskab (term), xviii, 70
- paskab events, 70
- pat tun ("stone-building"), 398n5

INDEX 445

- period endings, 107
 El Peru-Waka, 50, 137, 143–44, 157
 Peten region, 20–21, 183
 Petexbatun emblem, 398n3. *See also* Mutul dynasty
 Petexbatun region, 186
 Piedras Negras: dates recorded at, 39; last dates at, 298; “Series” rulers at, 108; Stela 36, 48–49, 384; Yatahk and, 215
 Piedras Negras (Yokib), history of, 213–16
 Pío Pérez, Juan, 16–18, 341
 Pipa, 222. *See also* Pomona
 place names: origins of, 267; recording of, 158
 place-making, 74
 plaster and plaster/stucco artworks:
 discovery of, 73; preservation of, 85
 plaster casts, 23
 Plaza of the Columns, 133–34
 plazas, 396n29
 Pol Box, 103, 156, 159
 political geography, 182
 Pomona, 70, 222. *See also* Pakbul (Pomona)
 Ponce, Jocelyne, xiii
 Po’ kingdom (Tonina), 217, 233
Popol Vuh, 63, 360
 population, 308–10
 Postclassic era (after 1000 CE): differences from Classic period, 6; dynamics of, 21–22; extant books from, 45, 50
 Poxila, 67, 81
 Preclassic era: ceramics from, 91; communities of, 72, 90–91; description of, 53–54; iconography of, 84; influence of, 93–94; monuments of, 70–71; population decline in, 21, 91–94; as a pre-dynastic era, 84, 91
 predestination, 117
 Pre-Mamom people, 60–61
 Principal Bird Deity, 83, 119
 pronunciation, xxi
 Proskouriakoff, Tatiana: collapse and, 346; Entrada event and, 135–36; observations of, 298; Piedras Negras, 108; Piedras Negras and, 39, 129, 213; research of, 392n12, 392n14
 Pugh, Timothy, 395n32
 Pulil, 191
 Pusilha, Belize, 103
 Putun Maya, 336, 412n5
 Puuc region, 278–85
 Pyramid of the Moon (Teotihuacan), 131, 133
 Pyramid of the Sun (Teotihuacan), 131, 133, 151
 Quetzalcoatl, 338–39
 Quetzalcoatl (“Feathered Snake”), 284, 289
 Quirigua: description of, 240; fire-drilling at, 253–57; history of, 239–41; last dates at, 298; Stela F, 255
 rain, 310–12, 314–15
 La Reina Roja (Red Queen), 223
Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán (Landa), 19, 28–29, 340, 345, 347
 El Resbalón, 142, 156
 reservoirs, 311
 residential buildings, physical evidence of, 61
 Rice, Prudence, 396n32
 Ringle, William, 284
 Rio Azul, 408n5
 Rio Bec, 276–77
Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization, The (Thompson), 25–26
 ritual spaces: E Groups, 67–69; records of, 70
 rituals, 120
 roadways, 269–70
 Robinson, Andrew, 27
 Ruler 2 (Bakel dynasty at Palenque), 218, 393n21
 rulers: creation acts and, 85; mentions of, 88, 90. *See also* dynasties
 Rupture, xviii–xix, 6
 Ruz Lhuillier, Alberto, 35–36, 211–12
 Saajal role, 309
 sacbes, 269
 Sacpeten, 324
 sacred warfare, 316

446 INDEX

- Safranov, Alexander, 135
 Sakchuwen ("White Artisan"), 403n13
 Sakhixmut ("White Jaguar Bird"), 88–89
 sakhuun, 106
 Sakmas (ruler of La Corona), xv
 Saknikte', 162–63, 192
 Saktz'i' (White Dog), 302–3
 San Bartolo: E Groups, 68–69; hieroglyphs
 from, 45; population decline in, 92;
 pyramid of, 85; successor to, 327; wall
 paintings at, 82–85
 San Lorenzo, 64
 Sánchez de Aguilar, Pedro, 22
 Santa Elena, 190
 Santa Rosa Xtampak, 67, 266, 277–79
 Saturno, William, 396n40
 Sayil, 280
 Schele, Linda, 41, 43, 91
 scribes, 124–25
 Scroll Serpent, 108–9, 171, 190, 213, 220
 sculptors, 124–25
 sculpture, 63–64
 serpent masks, 280–83
 Sharer, Robert, 244
 Shield Jaguar, 113, 150, 226–29, 399–400n16
 Shield K'awil, 410n10
 Shook, Ed, 130, 399n8
 Sihyaj Chank'awil, 144–46, 277
 Sihyajk'ahk', 136–43, 160, 165, 183. *See also*
 Entrada event
 sinkholes, 74. *See also* cenotes
 Site Q, xiv–xv, 49–50, 158
 Sky Witness, 168–69, 171, 185, 190, 213, 271,
 403n21
 Skyraiser, 109
 smallpox, 21
 snake emblem, 157–59. *See also* Kanul
 dynasty; Site Q
 Snake Kingdom. *See* Dzibanche (Kanul)
 Soto-Mayor, Villagutierre, 351
 Sotuta pottery, 335
 South Kalomte', nohol kalomte' title, 182
 southern region, 238
 Soviet School, 392n7
 Spanish: accounts of Maya culture, 17; arrival
 of, 6; historical detachment and, 8
 Sparks, Garry, 361
 Spearthrower Owl, 134, 139–46, 151–52, 183, 241
 spelling of names and words, xxi
 Square-nosed Serpent, 398n4
 squatters, 294
 S.S. Arctic, 390n21
 Stairway of the Captives (Dzibanche), 158,
 161–62
 Stanton, Travis, 69
 Stela 1 (Mayapan), 345
 Stela 5 (Uaxactun), 141
 Stela 9 (Uaxactun), 106–7
 Stela 10 (Xultun), 3–5
 Stela 11 (Ceibal), 325
 Stela 11 (Copan), 358–59
 Stela 29 (Tikal), 106, 324
 Stela 31 (Tikal), 129–31, 134, 137, 140, 145–46
 Stela 36 (Piedras Negras), 48–49, 384
 Stela 63 (Copan), 245
 Stela F (Quirigua), 255
 stelae, function of, 122–23, 345
 Stephens, John Lloyd: *The Books of Chilam*
 Balam and, 341–42; death of, 17;
 explorations in Yucatán, 9–10, 353–54;
 observations of, xi, 7, 10, 13, 242–43; Pío
 Pérez and, 16–17; research of, 9; Temple
 of the Inscriptions and, 35
 stingray spine, 311–12
 stone, 58–59
 Street of the Dead (Teotihuacan), 131
 strontium analysis, 244
 Structure 1 (Calakmul), 205, 275
 La Sufricaya, 137, 142–43
 Sugiyama, Nawa, 133
 Sun Stone (Tenochtitlan), 339
 Tabasco, 92, 313
 Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (Palenque), 312
 Taitza', 340
 Taj Chanahk, 306
 Tajom Uk'abtun, 214
 Takalik Abaj, 45, 94

INDEX 447

- Tamarindito, 186, 189
Taube, Karl, 43
Tayasal, 340–41, 345, 348–50
Tayel Chank'inich, 341
teeth, 244
Temple 16 (Copan), 242, 358
Temple 18 (Copan), 260, 262, 265, 299
Temple I (Tikal), 202, 204
Temple III (Tikal), 324
Temple IV (Tikal), 207–8
Temple of Kukukan (Chichen Itza), 19, 335
Temple of the Cross (Palenque), 89, 230–31, 233
Temple of the Foliated Cross (Palenque), 230–31
Temple of the Inscriptions (Palenque), 34–36, 211–12, 219, 223–25
Temple of the Sun (Palenque), 231
Temple of the Warriors (Chichen Itza), 333–34, 337
Temple VI (Tikal), 205
Temple XVII (Palenque), 218
Temples XIX and XXI (Palenque), 234
temporal destiny, 317–18
Teotihuacan: cattail hieroglyph, 360–61; Ciudadela, 145; collapse of, 296, 401n16; description of, 131–32; Feathered Serpent Pyramid, 132; historical context of, 98; history of, 132–34, 139–40, 216; iconography, 339; influence of, 132–33, 148–52, 243–44; militarism and, 132, 134–35, 145; mural paintings, 338; Plaza of the Columns, 133–34; Pyramid of the Moon, 131, 133; Pyramid of the Sun, 131, 133, 151; rulers of, 134, 139, 144; size of, 76–77; Spearthrower Owl, 134; Street of the Dead, 131; Sun Stone, 339
Terminal Classic era, 322, 324, 326
thirteen (number), 114
Thomas, Cyrus, 392n5
Thompson, Edward H., 409–10n14
Thompson, J. Eric S., 23, 25–26, 34, 39–40, 336, 346
365-day solar year, 120, 122
Ticul, 353–54
El Tigre temple complex (El Mirador), 76
Tikal: artworks from, 88, 360; Burial 48, 106; Burial 85, 105–6; Burial 195, 169–70; Central Plaza, 24; ceramics from, 133, 146–47; Chaktokich'ahk, 134–36, 139, 145; Complex M, 201; E Groups, 135; Entrada event, 131, 135–36, 138, 148; foreigners in, 323; Hiatus and, 153–54; history of, 155, 167–70; influence of Teotihuacan, 133, 148; last dates at, 298, 324–25; LiDAR surveys, 144; militarism and, 307; Mundo Perdido, 106; North Acropolis, 105, 129–30; power of, 101; rulers of, 145–46, 183; Stela 29, 106, 324; Stela 31, 129–31, 134, 137, 140, 145–46; Temple I, 202, 204; Temple III, 324; Temple IV, 207–8; Temple VI, 205; transition into the Classic period, 92
Tilom, 236
timekeeping, 46, 357, 381–86. *See also* calendar systems
timeline, 369–79
Tintal, 77, 79, 80
Ti'sakhun (title), 309
Tiwohl Chanmat, 222–23
Tok' K'awil, 204–7, 254
tok' pakal, 316
Toktahn, 217
Tollan, 339
Toltecs, 335–36, 340, 361
Tonina: history of, 331; last dates at, 298, 301, 328, 331; Po' kingdom and, 217; rulers of, 233
Tozzer, Alfred, 34, 335
trade networks, 239–40
Triadan, Daniela, 65, 67
triadic temples, 77
Tsukamoto, Kenichiro, 252
Tula, 336, 339
Tulan, 360
T'ulchihk, 236
Tumyohl K'inich, 171–72, 174, 197, 306
tun (period), 58. *See also* stone
Tunk'abhix (Copan king), 247
Tunk'abhix (Kanul king), 162, 164–65

448 INDEX

- “Turtle Mountain” (Kokwitz), 253
 Tutil, 156, 160
 260-day interval, 71, 94, 120, 123, 381–82
 Tzab Chanyopat, 166
 tzak k’awil ritual, 120
 Tz’akab Ti, 135
 Tziminchaak (“Tapir of Thunder”), 349
 tzol (word), 46
 tzolan beeh (term), 46
 tzolhaab (term), 46
 tzolk’in (cholq’ij), 45, 381
 tzompantli, 337
- Uaxactun: E Groups, 68; history of, 141–42, 336; militarism and, 307; name of, 54; power of, 99, 101, 106; rulers of, 135, 323; Stela 5, 141; Stela 9, 106–7; Tikal and, 130; transition into the Classic period, 92
 Uaxaklajun Ubahchan, 175
 Ucanal, 198–99, 305, 322, 324, 336
 uchben maakoob’ (“ancient people”), 354
 uinal, 383
 Ukha’nal (“Seven Waters Place”), 262. *See also* Wukha’nal
 Ukit Tok, 408n14
 Ukitkanlek, 273–74
 Ukohkanchan (“Snake’s Spine”), 89–90
 Uk’uw Chanchahk, 273
 Unen K’awil (“Infant K’awil”), 231
 United Fruit Company, 391n29
 urbanism, 55, 116
 Usumacinta River, 302
 Uukha’nal (“Place of the Seven Waters”), 265–66
 Uxmal: buildings in, 279–80, 344; documentation of, 17; growth of, 284–85, 332; history of, 19, 267; last dates at, 301; mosaic stonework, 281; power of, 281–83; Stephens’s exploration of, 279–80
 Uxul, 81
 Uxwitik (Copan). *See* Copan
 Uxwitztza, 167
- Uxyophun, 103–4, 156, 159, 399n7. *See also* Foliated Ahau
 vases, 108–9, 125, 399n13
 Velazquez, Erik, 158
 Ventris, Michael, 27
 volcanic eruptions, 246–47
- Wamaw K’awil, 254
 water: availability of, 67, 73; cenotes and, 67; drought, 310, 329; importance of, 92; representations of, 58–59; reservoirs, 311
 Water Serpent, 58–59, 281–82, 338, 394n6
 Wat’ulk’atel, 325, 336
 Waxaklajun Ubahchan, 176
 Waxaklajun Ubahk’awil (“Eighteen Are the Bodies of K’awil”), 249–53
 West Kalomte, 182, 212
 western region, 210
 Whorf, Benjamin Lee, 33–34
 Willey, Gordon, 154
 W’inte’nah, 242
 winte’nah, 151, 166
 witz, 86
 words, spelling of, xxi
 World War I and World War II, 32, 54, 391–92n4
 Wright, Frank Lloyd, 280
 writing system: in architectural settings, 47; ceramics and, 48–49; historical records and, 46–48; origins of, 44–46, 267
 Wukha’nal, 338. *See also* Ukha’nal (“Seven Waters Place”)
- xaman kalomte’ (North Kalomte’), 182
 xaman k’awil, 272
 Xiu, 343, 345
 Xochicalco, 296
 Xocnaceh, 67, 81
 Xokmo’chahk, 48, 384, 393n21
 Xpuhil, 276
 Xubchahk, 305–6, 319
 Xukpi, 151
 Xultun, 327. *See also* Baxwitz (Xultun)

INDEX 449

- Xunantunich, 174–75, 198
- Yahkk'in dynasty, 306
- Yajaw Chanmuwan, 302
- Yajawk'ahk' (title), 289, 338
- Yajawte' K'inich, 167, 171–72
- Yatahk, 214
- Yax Ehbok, 105–6, 167–68, 399n8, 399n10
- Yax Xukub Jol, 111
- Yaxchilan (Pa'chan): description of, 216–17; historical texts from, 40; history of, 110–13, 155, 303–5; last dates at, 298; Lintel 11, 112; Lintel 25, 150; military campaigns of, 190; Nunujolchahk and, 191
- Yaxha, 190, 206, 305–6, 321
- Yaxhom, 67
- Yaxk'amlay, 259
- Yaxkokajmut, 83
- Yaxmayuy Chanchahk, 206
- Yaxmutul (Tikal), 105
- Yaxnohcah, 67
- Yaxnunayin, 140–41, 146, 165
- Yaxpasaj Chanyopat: biography of, 358; death of, 117; last dates of, 317–18; rule of, 257, 259–62; tomb of, 299
- Yaxun Bahlam, 110–11, 113, 236, 303
- Yaxun Bahlam III, 225–26
- Yaxun Bahlam IV, 228
- Yaxuna, 67
- Yaxunah, 268
- Yaxxukubjol, 111
- Yik'in Chank'awil, 105, 205–7
- Yokib (Piedras Negras). *See* Piedras Negras
- Yokib dynasty, 48, 113
- Yokop, 168, 271–72
- Yopat Bahlam, 80, 111, 113, 228, 230
- Yopat K'inich, 245–46
- Yucatán: geography of, 19–20; geology of, 57–58; map of, 15; Peten region, 20–21, 183; population decline in, 6, 20–21; use of term, 267
- Yucatec language, 14–15, 60, 160
- Yuknom Head, 172
- Yuknom Uti'chan, 171
- Yuknom Yich'ahkk'ahk', xiv, 194, 198, 201–3, 406n17, 406n19
- Yuknomch'en (king), xv, 162, 184, 186, 194
- Yuknomch'en II: biography of, 176–77; Cancuen and, 306; death of, 199; rule of, 187, 189, 191, 194
- Yuknoom Head, 176
- Zapote Bobal, 191, 405n11
- Zapotec civilization, 13
- Zender, Marc, 411n16
- El Zotz, 113, 226