ANCIENT MAYA POLITICS

The Classic Maya have long presented scholars with vexing problems. One of the longest running and most contested of these, and the source of deeply polarized interpretations, has been their political organization. Using recently deciphered inscriptions and fresh archaeological finds, Simon Martin argues that this particular debate can be laid to rest. He offers a comprehensive re-analysis of the issue in an effort to answer a simple question: how did a multitude of small kingdoms survive for some 600 years without being subsumed within larger states or empires? Using previously unexploited comparative and theoretical approaches, Martin suggests mechanisms that maintained a "dynamic equilibrium" within a system best understood not as an array of individual polities but an interactive whole. With its rebirth as text-backed historical archaeology, Maya studies has entered a new phase, one capable of building a political anthropology as robust as any other we have for the ancient world.

SIMON MARTIN is Associate Curator and Keeper at the Penn Museum and Adjunct Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. He was the 2019–2020 Jay I. Kislak Chair for the Study of the History and Cultures of the Early Americas at the Library of Congress. He is the co-author of *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens* (2000) and *Courtly Art of the Ancient Maya* (2004).

ANCIENT MAYA POLITICS

A POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE CLASSIC PERIOD 150–900 CE

SIMON MARTIN

University of Pennsylvania Museum and Department of Anthropology



Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48388-9 — Ancient Maya Politics Simon Martin Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108483889 DOI: 10.1017/9781108676694

© Cambridge University Press 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

- NAMES: Martin, Simon, 1961- author.
- TITLE: Ancient Maya Politics : A Political Anthropology of the Classic Period, 150-900 CE / Simon Martin.
- DESCRIPTION: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
- IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2019036962 (print) | LCCN 2019036963 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108483889 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108705233 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108676694 (epub)
- SUBJECTS: LCSH: Mayas–Politics and government. | Inscriptions, Mayan. | Mayas–Antiquities. | Archaeology and history–Mexico. | Archaeology and history–Central America.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC F1435.3.P7 M373 2020 (print) | LCC F1435.3.P7 (ebook) | DDC 972.81/016-dc23

- LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019036962
- LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019036963

ISBN 978-1-108-48388-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48388-9 — Ancient Maya Politics Simon Martin Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

> In memory of Diane Martin 1932–2015

CONTENTS

| List of Illustrations | page ix |
|--|---------|
| List of Maps | XV |
| List of Tables | XV |
| List of Case Studies | xvii |
| Preface | xix |
| 1 INTRODUCTION: THE QUESTIONS | Ι |
| PART I AGENDAS IN CLASSIC MAYA POLITICS | 13 |
| 2 MODELLING THE MAYA | 15 |
| 3 ON ARCHAEOPOLITICS | 36 |
| 4 WORLDS IN WORDS | 48 |
| PART II EPIGRAPHIC DATA ON CLASSIC MAYA POLITICS | |
| 5 IDENTITY | 67 |
| 6 CONSTITUTION | 102 |
| 7 TRANSCENDENCE | I 4 3 |
| 8 MATRIMONY | 173 |
| 9 CONFLICT | 196 |
| 10 HIERARCHY | 237 |
| 11 CODA | 277 |
| PART III A POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY FOR THE CLASSIC MAYA | 301 |
| 12 CLASSIC MAYA NETWORKS | 303 |

vii

viii Contents

| 13 DEFINING CLASSIC MAYA POLITICAL CULTURE | 320 |
|---|-----|
| 14 HEGEMONY IN PRACTICE AND THEORY | 356 |
| 15 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: A SOCIETY OF KINGS | 383 |
| Appendix | 395 |
| Notes | 399 |
| References | 427 |
| Index | 489 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

All images in this volume are by the author, unless otherwise stated in the in-text captions.

| Ι | A palace interior with a ruler of Motul de San José and his | |
|----|---|---------|
| | | page 68 |
| 2 | The <i>ajaw</i> title: (a) graphic form; (b) portrait of the deity <i>juun ajaw</i> , | |
| | "One Lord"; (c) vulture form; (d) day-sign form in the spelling | |
| | k'uhul ajaw, "Holy Lord"; (e) with the <i>ix</i> female prefix as <i>ix</i> | |
| | kaanul ajaw, "Lady Snake[-Place] Lord"; (f) with the "young" | |
| | prefix ch'ok yokib ajaw, "Young Piedras Negras Lord". | 70 |
| 3 | Emblem glyphs with the k'uhul, "holy" prefix: (a) the superimposed | |
| | form obscuring most of the K'UH logogram; (b) the separated-out | |
| | form showing the whole K'UH logogram. | 71 |
| 4 | Dynastic consciousness expressed in counts of kings or "successor" | |
| | titles: (a) Spelling of baluun ta tz'akbu ajaw, "Many in Sequence lord" | on |
| | Palenque Palace Tablet (V1); (b) uchawinik tz'akbuil mutul ajaw, "22nd | |
| | Sequence of the Tikal lord" on a plate from Tikal Burial 195 (G-I); | |
| | (c) chanlajuun utal wak chan tajal chahk chak tok ich'aak, "the Fourteenth | |
| | (lord) is Chak Tok Ich'aak I" on K4679. | 76 |
| 5 | The <i>kaloomte</i> ' title: (a) graphic form; (b) portrait form; (c) syllabic | |
| 5 | spelling; (d) axe-in-hand form; (e) female form with <i>ix</i> prefix. | 78 |
| 6 | Kaloomte' in its cardinal direction forms: West (chik'in/ochk'in kaloomte' | - |
| 0 | North (xaman kaloomte'); East (elk'in kaloomte'); South (nohol kaloomte'). | , |
| - | Senior and junior kings on Ucanal Stela 4 celebrate the 10.1.0.0.0 | . 00 |
| 7 | period ending in 849 CE. | 82 |
| 0 | The <i>baahkab</i> title: (a) Syllabic spelling; (b) northern form | 02 |
| 8 | | |
| | including the logogram KAB ; (c) female form with <i>ix</i> prefix; | |
| | (d) youth form with <i>ch'ok</i> prefix and a BAAH logogram; (e) "holy" | 0 |
| | form with <i>k'uhul</i> prefix. | 84 |
| 9 | Noble titles: (a) sajal; (b) ajk'uhuun; (c) ti'sakhuun; (d) yajawk'ahk'; | |
| | (e) lakam; (f) baahtz'am; (g) Banded Bird. | 87 |
| 10 | Nobles as ritual performers: (a) An <i>ajk'uhuun</i> shown commemorating | |
| | the 9.9.0.0.0 period ending of 613 on Tonina Monument 173; | |
| | (b) A noble who is both a sajal and a ti'sakhuun shown in the guise | |
| | of a year-bearer holding a <i>tzolk'in</i> day-sign. Pomona Panel 1. | 90 |
| II | Three emblem glyphs using the same "bone" referent read <i>baakal</i> : | |
| | (a) Palenque; (b) Tortuguero; (c) Comalcalco. | 96 |
| | | |

X LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| 12 | A relief panel that describes the seating of Aj Sak Teles into <i>sajal</i> -ship in 743. Kuna-Lacanha Panel. | 98 |
|-----|---|-----|
| 13 | Inscribed stone censer stand from Palenque Group J bearing a | 90 |
| U | portrait of Baahis Chih. | 100 |
| 14 | Accession ceremonies plotted according to the proleptic Gregorian | |
| | Calendar (revised GMT correlation). | 112 |
| 15 | A "like-in-kind" accession from the Palenque Temple XIX | |
| | Platform: (a) K'inich Ahkal Mo' Nahb III impersonates the local | |
| | patron deity GI at his inauguration in 721 CE; (b) the seating of GI | |
| - (| into lordship under the auspices of God D in 3309 BCE. | 114 |
| 16 | Sponsored accession scenes involving kings of Bonampak/Lacanha and their overlords from Yaxchilan: (a) Bonampak Panel 4; | |
| | (b) Bonampak Panel 5. | 116 |
| 17 | Place-name formulae: (a) <i>uhtiiy yaxa'</i> , "it happened at Yaxha"; | 110 |
| 1/ | (b) <i>ukab(u)ch'een</i> , "earth (and) cave of"; (c) <i>yax mutul chan ch'een</i> , | |
| | "Tikal sky (and) cave"; (d) <i>yax mutul chan ch'een</i> , "Tikal sky (and) | |
| | cave" in the form of a toponymic pedestal. | 119 |
| 18 | Two locations associated with the origins of Classic Maya political | |
| | culture: (a) Fragmentary passage with a now-missing event involving | |
| | the kaloomte' Foliated Jaguar that took place at Moon Zero Bird | |
| | and Maguey Metate. Tikal Stela 31; (b) The completion of the | |
| | 8.6.0.0.0 period ending of 159 CE at Maguey Metate, as supervised | |
| | by Foliated Ajaw. Copan Stela I. | 121 |
| 19 | Portrait of Sihyaj K'ahk' in typical Teotihuacano garb on a | |
| | Late Classic polychrome vessel. | 123 |
| 20 | Altar Q and the founding of the Copan dynasty: (a) Front of the | |
| | monument where the dynastic founder K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' | |
| | faces the sixteenth king Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat; (b) Yax K'uk' | |
| | Mo' takes power at Wiinte'naah in 426; (c) He "arrives at Copan" in 427. | 124 |
| 21 | Panel describing the <i>machaj k'awiilil</i> , "negation of power" at <i>kaanul</i> | 124 |
| 21 | (Dzibanche) and the <i>paahtal k'awiil(il)</i> , "formation of power" at | |
| | <i>uxte'tuun</i> (Calakmul) on Xunantunich Panel 4. | 129 |
| 22 | Selected phrases using the term kaj, "to settle, inhabit": (a) kajaayi tahn | |
| | ch'een ? tuun, Piedras Negras Throne 1; (b) kajaayi lakamha', | |
| | Palenque Panel XVII; (c) kajaayi kaanul, La Corona Element 33. | 131 |
| 23 | The future kings K'inich Ahkal Mo' Nahb III and K'inich Janaab | |
| | Pakal II flank their grandfather K'inich Janaab Pakal I. Detail of | |
| | Palenque Temple XXI Platform. | 133 |
| 24 | Itzam K'an Ahk IV of Piedras Negras addresses Yopaat Bahlam II | |
| | of Yaxchilan and attending nobles on their visit to Piedras Negras | |
| | in 749. Piedras Negras Panel 3. | 135 |
| 25 | The Snake emblem glyph <i>k'uhul kaanul ajaw</i> : (a) Calakmul | _ |
| 26 | Element 39; (b) Dzibanche Monument 13; (c) El Resbalon Block BX25. | 137 |
| 26 | A captive taken by Yuknoom Ch'een I. Monument 5 from | 128 |
| | the Dzibanche Captive Stairway. | 138 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| 27 | Codex-style vase listing nineteen successive kings of | |
|-----|--|-------|
| 28 | the Kaanul dynasty, K6751. | 140 |
| 28 | The day 9 Ajaw in the <i>tzolk'in</i> calendar, showing the sign for <i>ajaw</i> , "lord" replaced by a portrait of the monument's commissioning | |
| | king. Unprovenanced altar from the Itsimte area in the Museo | |
| | Nacional de Antropología, Guatemala City. | 148 |
| 20 | A fragment of Altar de los Reyes Altar 3, showing four of the | 140 |
| 29 | 13 emblem glyphs that originally ringed this monument. From the left: | |
| | Calakmul, Tikal, Palenque, and probably Altun Ha. | T 4 8 |
| 20 | The presentation of an effigy of K'awiil, the embodiment of | 148 |
| 30 | lightning and a key expression of royal power. Palenque Temple | |
| | XIV Panel. | 162 |
| 21 | Palenque's Temple of the Sun, one of three temples that make up | 153 |
| 31 | the Group of the Cross, which was dedicated to the local patron | |
| | deity GIII in 692. | 156 |
| 22 | The presentation of a <i>took'pakal</i> , "flint (and) shield" war icon. | 130 |
| 32 | Palenque Palace Tablet. | 167 |
| 2.2 | Yaxchilan's Shield Jaguar III, armed with spear and shield and | 157 |
| 33 | wearing the mask of the Teotihuacan storm god, is "conjured" | |
| | in the form of the city's principal patron deity by his wife Ix | |
| | K'abal Xook. Yaxchilan Lintel 25. | 158 |
| 24 | The Teotihuacan war serpent Waxaklajuun Ubaah Kaan as | 130 |
| 34 | invoked by the Classic Maya: (a) Worn as a costume on Bonampak | |
| | Stela 3; (b) A "conjuring" of this deity described on Copan Stela I. | 160 |
| 25 | The Tikal-specific version of the Maize God featuring its jaguar patron | 100 |
| 35 | in the backrack and a caption that describes his "ascending" at Mutul. K503. | 165 |
| 36 | Yihk'in Chan K'awiil of Tikal seated within a captured palanquin | 105 |
| 30 | featuring a giant effigy of the Naranjo war patron. Tikal Temple 4 | |
| | Lintel 2. | 169 |
| 27 | The Hummingbird-Jaguar God war patron of Naranjo: | 109 |
| 37 | (a) Hieroglyph for the hummingbird palanquin from Tikal | |
| | Temple 4 Lintel 2; (b) Graffito in Tikal Structure 5D-65 Room 9; | |
| | (c) The Naranjo war palanquin pictured on the vessel K7716. | 170 |
| 28 | The Naranjo queen regent Ix Wak Jalam Chan tramples an | 170 |
| 38 | enemy underfoot in 702. Naranjo Stela 24. | 177 |
| 39 | Bird Jaguar IV and his spouse Ix Mut Bahlam of Zapote Bobal | 177 |
| 39 | both engage in ritual bloodletting, she from her tongue and he | |
| | from his penis. Yaxchilan Lintel 17. | 170 |
| 10 | A direct reference to polygyny: <i>yotoot ux yatan sajal</i> , "House of the three | 179 |
| 40 | wives of (the) <i>sajal</i> ". Unprovenanced column in the Hecelchakan Museum. | 181 |
| 4.1 | A monument commemorating the "arrival" of three separate | 101 |
| 41 | | |
| | Kaanul princesses at La Corona. The figure portrayed to the right is the first bride in 520, borne on a palanquin depicting the | |
| | Teotihuacan war serpent. To the left a local queen stands within | |
| | a temple or pavilion as she celebrates the period ending ceremony | |
| | of 731. La Corona Panel 6. | 186 |
| | 01 / J1. La COTOIId I dilCI 0. | 100 |

xii LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| 42 | A partial family tree for the Yaxchilan dynasty traced through the reigns of six Late Classic kings: (1) Bird Jaguar III (629–669+); (2) Shield Jaguar III (681–742); (3) Yopaat Bahlam II (749); (4) Bird Jaguar IV (752–768); (5) Shield Jaguar IV (769–800+); (6) K'inich Tatbu | |
|------------|--|-------|
| | Joloom IV (808). | 190 |
| 43 | Bearing a K'awiil sceptre, Bird Jaguar IV appears with his wife Ix Chak Joloom. She holds a bundle that in this context probably | |
| | contains sacred paraphernalia. Yaxchilan Lintel 1. | 193 |
| 44 | The battle scene covering three walls of Bonampak | 195 |
| 77 | Structure 1, Room 2. | 198 |
| 45 | Double-wall systems in the northern lowlands: (a) Mural showing | - |
| | an assault with flaming darts against the core of a site featuring two | |
| | temples. Las Monjas, Room 22, Chichen Itza; (b) Map of the core | |
| | area of Ek Balam. | 202 |
| 46 | Six verbs that describe types of warfare: (a) <i>chuhkaj</i> , "seized"; | |
| | (b) Star war "?"; (c) <i>ch'ak</i> , "to damage, attack"; (d) <i>jubuuyi</i> , "downed"; | |
| | (e) <i>puluuyi</i> , "burned"; (f) <i>och uch'een</i> , "enters the domain/settlement of". | 204 |
| 47 | A noble called Aj Chak Maax presents three captives to his overlord, | |
| | Shield Jaguar IV of Yaxchilan in 783. Unprovenanced panel now in the Kimbell Museum of Art, Fort Worth. | 206 |
| 48 | Female captive on an unprovenanced conch shell. K4499. | 200 |
| 49 49 | K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Chahk and the <i>ochch'een</i> , "domain/settlement- | 207 |
| 12 | entering" of "Yopmootz" on Naranjo Stela 21: (a) Front face; | |
| | (b) Detail of the caption reading <i>ubaah ti ochch'een yopmootz(?)</i> , | |
| | "His image in (the act of) ch'een-entering Yopmootz". | 214 |
| 50 | Records of warfare arranged according to K'atun eras and divided | |
| | into five thematic types: (a) The full sample; (b) The sample minus | |
| | three monuments (Naranjo Stela 22, Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic | |
| | Stairway 5, and Naranjo Stela 12). | 218 |
| 51 | Warfare charted in a circular plot representing the Venusian | |
| | 584-day year according to the GMT correlation: (a) Star war events; (b) All war events. | 220 |
| 62 | Warfare records plotted across the proleptic Gregorian | 220 |
| 52 | Calendar (GMT correlation): (a) The <i>chuk</i> verb; (b) The star war | |
| | verb; (c) The <i>ch'ak</i> verb; (d) The <i>jub</i> verb; (e) The <i>pul</i> verb; | |
| | (f) A plot that combines star war, <i>ch'ak</i> , <i>jub</i> , and <i>pul</i> . | 223 |
| 53 | Combined chart showing all five warfare verbs together | |
| | with a plot representing annual rainfall in the southern Maya lowlands. | 224 |
| 54 | Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2 West. | 234 |
| 55 | Key terms defining hierarchical relations between clients and | |
| | their patrons: (a) ukabjiiy, "he/she supervised it"; (b) yichonal, | |
| | "before, in the sight of"; (c) <i>yichonal</i> , using the prospective logogram | |
| | for ICHON ; (d) <i>yila</i> ', "he/she witnesses"; (e) <i>yajaw</i> , "the lord of"; | 2.5.0 |
| <i>c</i> 6 | (f) <i>yajaw</i> , "the lord of". "Spearthrower Owl" or Jatz'oom Kuy, a name associated with | 238 |
| 56 | Teotihuacan: (a) Central motif on the Tikal Marcador; | |
| | (b) Stucco-covered tripod vessel in Teotihuacan-style naming | |
| | | |

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48388-9 — Ancient Maya Politics Simon Martin Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| | Jatz'oom Kuy as a <i>kaloomte'</i> . K7528; (c) Section of the text on K7528 in which a Maya ruler states that he is the <i>yajaw</i> , | |
|----|---|-----|
| 67 | "vassal" of Jatz'oom Kuy. The king of Piedras Negras and his heir preside over young | 242 |
| 57 | lords from Yaxchilan, Bonampak, and Lacanha in 510 CE. | |
| | Piedras Negras Panel 2. | 244 |
| 58 | The Naranjo ruler Aj Numsaaj Chan K'inich impersonates Juun | |
| | Ajaw, one of the mythical Hero Twins, in his role as ballplayer. | |
| | The accompanying text names the king's four successive overlords from the Kaanul kingdom. Naranjo Stela 47. | 246 |
| 59 | The <i>k'alhuun</i> headband ceremony of K'an II of Caracol in 619, | 240 |
| 57 | as supervised by Yuknoom Ti' Chan of the Kaanul kingdom. | |
| | Caracol Stela 3. | 249 |
| 60 | Muwaan Jol with two captives on the front of Moral-Reforma | |
| | Stela 4. | 251 |
| 61 | Two supervised accessions of Muwaan Jol recorded on the $1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 $ | |
| | back of Moral-Reforma Stela 4: (a) "Second" headband ceremony overseen by Yuknoom Ch'een II in 662; (b) "Third" headband | |
| | ceremony overseen by K'inich Kaan Bahlam II in 690. | 252 |
| 62 | The king of Bonampak/Lacanha describes himself as a <i>yajaw</i> or | 252 |
| | "the lord of" the Tonina king K'inich Baaknal Chahk on an | |
| | unprovenanced column: (a) Photograph (Column with Hieroglyphs, | |
| | 715; Maya, Mexico; limestone with pigment; 22 7/16 \times 9 1/16 inches); | |
| | (b) A "roll-out" drawing of the text. | 255 |
| 63 | Wat'ul K'atel celebrates the period ending 10.1.0.0.0 in | |
| | 849. Ceibal Stela 10. | 261 |
| 64 | East side of House C, Palenque Palace: (a) View across the East Court, with the hieroglyphic stairway flanked by portrait balustrades; | |
| | (b) Prisoner sculptures identified by their headdresses and intervening | |
| | captions carved into the platform façade. | 264 |
| 65 | West side of House C, Palenque Palace: (a) View across the | |
| - | West Court; (b) Close-up of the gaps in the platform façade | |
| | with inscribed captions naming lords of Santa Elena. | 267 |
| 66 | The captive K'awiil Mo' who was seized at Tonina's battle | |
| | with Palenque in 692: (a) As depicted on Tonina Monument 172; | |
| | (b) His name as a disarticulated stucco hieroglyph; (c) An alternative | |
| 6- | spelling of his name on Tonina Monument 27. | 270 |
| 67 | K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Chahk records his patronage over the Ucanal and Yopmootz polities on Naranjo Stela 2: (a) Front face; | |
| | (b) Probable accession of an Ucanal king under the supervision of | |
| | the Naranjo king in 712; (c) Accession of the Yopmootz king as a | |
| | vassal in 713. | 274 |
| 68 | Chart showing the total number of monument commissions by | |
| | K'atun (twenty Maya-year) periods, divided into the southern | |
| | lowlands (dark grey, $n = 856$) and northern lowlands (light grey, | ~ |
| | n = 151). | 280 |

xiv LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| 69 | Chart showing the final monument dedications after 800 CE at | |
|-----|--|-------|
| | seventy Classic Maya sites in all regions (in black). A second set | |
| | (in grey) consists of the terminal dates found at thirty-one | |
| | long-established cities in the southern lowlands exclusively. | 281 |
| 70 | The South Acropolis at Nakum is the largest known | |
| | redevelopment project conducted in the ninth century southern | |
| | lowlands. To the right, just outside this view, stands the circular | |
| | platform Structure 12. | 287 |
| 71 | The final decades of monument production at Ceibal show | |
| , | a Gulf Coast and Central Mexican aesthetic much removed from | |
| | the Classic Maya canon. | |
| | Ceibal Stela 18 from 889. | 289 |
| 72 | Jimbal Stela I shows the last Mutul-titled ruler at the 10.2.10.0.0 | |
| / = | period ending ceremony of 879. Note the square day-names halfway | |
| | down the adjacent text. | 291 |
| 73 | Anomalous names of the ninth century: (a) Combination of square | -) - |
| /3 | day-names with the syllabographic string pe?-to-lo and <i>ochk'in kaloomte'</i> | |
| | in the rim text of K6437; (b) Caption to the captive on Tikal Stela 11 | |
| | with the pe?-to-lo name; (c) a Pabellon vessel with lords identified by | |
| | square day-names from Uaxactun Burial A41; (d) Text on Jimbal | |
| | Stela 1 that identifies a <i>ti'huun</i> noble with a square day-name. | 292 |
| 74 | Bearer using a tumpline depicted in the Chiik Nahb murals of Calakmul. | 305 |
| 74 | Diagram showing recorded political interactions during | 303 |
| 75 | the Classic Period. | 208 |
| -6 | | 308 |
| 76 | Political interactions arranged by polity. The foreign references to | |
| | each polity are shown in black, while home references to other | |
| | polities are shown in grey. | 310 |
| 77 | Histogram showing the distribution of recorded political interactions | |
| | through time, with those of the Kaanul kingdom highlighted in black. | |
| | This is overlaid by a plot representing the number of southern | |
| -0 | lowland sites dedicating monuments. | 311 |
| 78 | An <i>ebeet</i> messenger in the service of Yuknoom Yich'aak K'ahk' | |
| | of Calakmul delivers a gift or bundle of tribute to a Tikal lord on the | (|
| | vessel K5453. | 336 |
| 79 | View of the murals painted on the southeast corner of Structure | |
| | Sub 1-4, the focal building of the Chiik Nahb market complex at | |
| | Calakmul. | 342 |
| 80 | Scene from the northeast corner of Chiik Nahb Structure | |
| | Sub 1-4 at Calakmul, featuring an <i>aj atz'aam</i> or "salt person". | 343 |
| 81 | Map of central Calakmul with its expansive court-style | |
| | architecture highlighted in black. The surrounding settlement is | |
| | dispersed over some 30 km ² . | 349 |
| 82 | Structure XXI, a multi-level building in the West Acropolis | |
| | of Calakmul, under excavation (note the worker at top left for scale). | 350 |
| 83 | Adam Watson's model of political hegemony. | 373 |
| App | endix: An Inventory of Emblem Glyphs | 395 |

MAPS

| Ι | Principal sites in the Maya area, which is today divided | |
|---|---|--------|
| | between Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and El Salvador. | page 2 |
| 2 | Central southern lowlands or Peten. | 6 |
| 3 | Southern and Petexbatun regions. | 7 |
| 4 | Western, Usumacinta, and Lacandon regions. | 7 |
| 5 | Contrasting models of Classic Maya political organisation: | |
| | (a) The Regional State; (b) The Peer Polity/Weak State. | 28 |
| 6 | Major vanua and matanitū in nineteenth century Fiji. | 357 |
| 7 | Major clan names and túatha in Early Medieval Ireland. | 359 |
| 8 | Major dynastic groupings in Early Medieval India. | 361 |
| 9 | Major <i>poleis</i> in Classical Greece. | 363 |

TABLES

| I | Timeline. | page 99 |
|---|-----------|---------|
| 2 | Timeline. | IOI |
| 3 | Timeline. | 172 |
| 4 | Timeline. | 187 |
| 5 | Timeline. | 235 |
| 6 | Timeline. | 269 |
| 7 | Timeline. | 272 |
| 8 | Timeline. | 275 |

CASE STUDIES

| Case Study 1: Bones in the West | page 95 |
|---|---------|
| Case Study 2: The Rise of a Sajal at Bonampak/Lacanha | 97 |
| Case Study 3: Ranking the Nobility | 99 |
| Case Study 4: Fraternal Succession at Palenque | 132 |
| Case Study 5: Erasing the Past in the Yaxchilan "Interregnum" | 134 |
| Case Study 6: On the Trail of the Serpent Kings | 136 |
| Case Study 7: Patron Maize Dancers | 164 |
| Case Study 8: Giant Effigies at Tikal | 166 |
| Case Study 9: Snake Ladies at La Corona | 185 |
| Case Study 10: Marriage Strategies at Yaxchilan | 190 |
| Case Study 11: War and Exile on the Stairways of Dos Pilas | 233 |
| Case Study 12: The Contest for Eastern Tabasco, 659–692 CE | 262 |
| Case Study 13: Tonina's Campaigns in the Lacandon, 692–702 CE | 269 |
| Case Study 14: Naranjo's Patronage over Defeated Polities, 698-713 CE | 273 |

xvii

PREFACE

In 1971 the doyen of Mayanists J. Eric S. Thompson asked why, if the key to deciphering Maya hieroglyphs had truly been found, had the trickle of initial readings not swollen into a river – instead drying up completely? That key was real enough, but the script proved decidedly jealous of its secrets. Yuri Knorozov's discovery of some core phonetic principles, first published in 1952, was not enough to fully unlock what is widely acknowledged to be the world's most complex writing system. It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that a new generation of epigraphers followed up on those initial clues and the flow of readings was resumed. Only now could the underlying structure of the script be properly discerned and the language it encoded made clear – restoring sounds to the signs, and thereby meanings to the monuments.

This book follows directly from that unravelling and the information that has flowed from it. The decipherment is still on-going and year-by-year fresh interpretations of the inscriptions allow us to read the words of an ancient people – ancestors to the millions of Maya people who inhabit the same lands today. What these texts have to say provides unique access to what was thought and done in this part of the world 2,000 or more years ago, offering the kind of data that Mayanists of yesteryear could but have dreamed of. The profound transformation that this has wrought has turned Maya studies into a historical archaeology, one as rich and robust as many more well-established ones across the globe.

It was the political organisation of the Classic Period that first drew me into Maya research and has been at the core of my interests ever since. This book represents the fullest statement of my views yet on this long-contested topic, but its aspirations go beyond that. It seeks to tackle critical questions that have long puzzled me and to explore the theoretical issues any answers to them must provoke. It is clearly not enough to produce a narrative of events, we must seek to comprehend the inner mechanisms and structures of their society. If Maya studies is to reach its full potential it will need to show how the material and textual can be harnessed and shown to work synergistically to do this. The emphasis of this book accordingly falls not on the minutiae of the decipherment but on the understandings it makes possible. Those wanting to know the full justifications behind individual readings will need to chase the

xix

XX PREFACE

relevant citations. It is addressed to the Mayanist community as a whole – scholars, students, and aficionados alike – but has the greater ambition of communicating the advances in our field to a broader audience of anthropologists, historians, political scientists, and anyone interested in comparative sociopolitics worldwide.

I have been very fortunate to be encouraged and enabled by a variety of fine scholars and good friends over the past thirty years. It was a chance encounter during a mud-splattered trip through northern Guatemala in 1990 that Anthony Aveni first urged me to pursue a professional life in Maya research. The Maya Meetings at the University of Texas at Austin would soon become an annual fixture in my calendar, where Linda Schele and David Freidel proved enormously supportive of my early efforts. Ramón Carrasco graciously accepted the petition of a little-known epigrapher to join his archaeological project at Calakmul in 1994, an engagement with this crucial site that continued for more than two decades.

My fellowship at the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library in 1996–1997 was a transformative experience that gave me the time and study materials to begin writing *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens*. Jeffrey Quilter, as Director of Precolumbian Studies, was a splendid ringmaster of that rich and enjoyable year. That book took me a further two years to complete and was the product of frequent dialogues, sometimes daily correspondence, with my thencollaborator Nikolai Grube. In 2003 I took up an appointment at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, leaving my original career in design behind me. Here appreciation must go to not only the Director of the time, Jeremy Sabloff, but to the late Bob Sharer and Chris Jones – who proved to be ideal colleagues. I am grateful to have received strong support from former Director Richard Leventhal and current Director Julian Siggers, at an institution where I have been honoured to follow in a long and storied history of Maya research. In regard to this particular volume, I want to thank the Museum for its financial support and the role Steve Tinney as Deputy Director played in that.

Back in London I was very fortunate to have Elizabeth Graham and David Wengrow as the supervisors of my belated doctorate at University College London, for which Norman Hammond and Stephen Houston diligently served as external examiners. That study laid the groundwork for many of the thoughts and arguments set out in greater detail here.

Mary Miller has been a mentor and friend for over twenty-five years. The invitation to join her in developing the exhibition and writing the accompanying catalogue for *Courtly Art of the Ancient Maya* at the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, in 2004, was only one of several key interventions she has made in my career, all of which I am profoundly grateful for.

Special thanks are also reserved for my epigraphic colleagues and friends Stephen Houston, David Stuart, and Marc Zender. Their insights into the

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48388-9 — Ancient Maya Politics Simon Martin Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

PREFACE

script and various gifts in anthropology, archaeology, iconography, and linguistics have been freely shared over the years and inspired me to ever improve my own work.

In reference to this book more directly, Joel Skidmore, a learned and muchappreciated friend, read all the chapters and offered sage advice and improvements. My colleague and friend at the Museum, Naomi Miller, kindly took on similar duties, offering valuable critiques and suggestions. Others who have offered helpful information or comments, or else provided drawings or photographs are: Bárbara Arroyo, Anthony Aveni, Joanne Baron, Dmitri Beliaev, George Bey, Anna Blume, Marcello Canuto, Nicholas Carter, Albert Davletshin, Kai Delvendahl, Nick Dunning, Barbara Fash (at the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions), Antonia Foias, Charles Golden, Praveena Gullapalli, Christina Halperin, Christophe Helmke, Julie Hoggarth, Stephen Houston, Bart Jaski, Eva Jobbova, John Justeson, Terry Kaufman, Mary Kate Kelly, Emad Khazraee, Matthew Looper (at the Maya Hieroglyphic Database Project), Karl Herbert Mayer, Patricia McAnany, Cameron McNeil, Mary Miller, Megan O'Neil, David Pendergast, Jorge Pérez de Lara (who took the stunning cover image), Dorie Reents-Budet, Franco Rossi, Alexandr Safronov, David Schele, Ivan Šprajc, David Stuart, Matthew Todd, Alexandre Tokovinine, Kenichiro Tsukamoto, Mark Van Stone, Verónica Vázquez, Andrew Weeks, Marc Zender, and Jarek Źrałka, as well as the rights departments at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and the Saint Louis Art Museum. At this point a particular mention must be made of Justin Kerr, a friend whose generous sharing of his unique roll-out vase images has hugely assisted not only my research but that of many others in our field. I am fortunate that three of his peerless photographs of Maya monuments grace this book.

David Stuart and an anonymous reviewer gave excellent feedback on the manuscript and I warmly thank them for their recommendations. Likewise, I am very appreciative to Beatrice Rehl and everyone at Cambridge University Press for their professionalism and attention to detail in bringing this book to fruition. Last, but by no means least, I thank my partner Frauke Sachse, who has helped in a great many ways and endured the entire length of this process, contributing valuable critiques and much encouragement.

This book is dedicated to my late mother, but I also want to honour the memories of four renowned and much-missed Mayanist colleagues: Robert Sharer (1940–2012), Christopher Jones (1937–2015), Erik Boot (1963–2016), and Alfonso Lacadena (1964–2018).

xxi