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**Studies in the Archaeology
of Caracol, Belize**

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majority of the caves thus far encountered. With their technology, just how efficiently could the ancient Maya have negotiated some of the vertical distances? The air circulation problems that have hindered recent exploration efforts would have had similar effects on the ancient Maya, but its ephemeral nature may not have gone unnoticed. A final consideration is the extensive water drainage and silting found in many of these caves. Any cultural evidence that may have once been present could either have washed away or been covered by water-borne silt.

Interestingly, the deposition of layers of calcite over the exposed bone in Skull Cave has preserved these remains very well. This contrasts with recent animal remains encountered in other caves which are deteriorating rapidly due to dampness and exposure. While calcified bone is not uncommon in caves, deposits of this sort seem to be rare. The only parallel case encountered so far is in Pendergast's (1969) excavations at Actun Balam Cave. This cave contains two vertical drops, but only one was explored. It is 4 meters deep and contained a dump of artifacts, animal remains, and ceramics that was over a meter and a half high. While no human remains were encountered, the method of deposition was similar to that reconstructed for Skull Cave.

Whatever its cause, the relative lack of cultural evidence in the caves near Caracol is potentially very interesting. It certainly begs for further research along with a more thorough consideration of the caves that occur in a slightly wider area (such as Eduardo Quiroz and Actun Balam). In the context of the broader archaeological work at Caracol, the primate site for this region, it should also now be possible to better position and understand the earlier cave data from western Belize.

Acknowledgements

Caving is unlike a lot of endeavors and opportunities for research in that it is not, and should never be, a solitary exercise. With safety a paramount consideration the logistics of these operations can be maddening at times. I would like to express my gratitude to Mitch Jones for giving me the incentive to start caving and to Jon Russel and the members of the Tampa Bay Area Grotto of the National Speleological Society for giving me the opportunity to pursue this interest as well as the training to do it safely and responsibly. With regard to the work reported above I would like to thank: Sam Connell who, in spearheading the site survey effort in 1992, was much more enthusiastic about finding caves than exploring them; Curtis Campaign who was more adventurous than I in the exploration of these caves and who helped me out on more than one occasion when I thought I was beyond my limits; Angela Matusik who enjoyed caving more than any of us; and Gene Dixon, without whom the survey of Skull Cave would not only have been impossible, but also far less enjoyable. Finally, I would like to thank Drs. Arlen and Diane Chase for giving me the opportunity to carry out this research and for providing invaluable help in the preparation of this manuscript. Of course, any errors or omissions are entirely my own.

9. Epigraphic Research at Caracol, Belize

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In this article the epigraphy of Caracol is discussed based both on the new hieroglyphic texts uncovered by the Caracol Project during its field seasons between 1988 and 1992 and on a re-examination of already extant monuments at Caracol, Belmopan, and Belize City. The new monuments present a large amount of additional data, which together with the redrawing of previously published monuments, help to solve several questions concerning the dynastic history of Caracol and the impact of its dynasty on the Maya.

Several articles have been published on the dynastic history of Caracol (Beetz 1980; Stone et al. 1985). The first complete overview of monuments from Caracol and their historical information was prepared by Satterthwaite, being completed and published by Beetz after his death (Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981). A summary article, based on Beetz and Satterthwaite (1981) and Houston (1987) has also been published by Valdizon B. (1992).

The ongoing Caracol Archaeological Project has added many new monuments to the corpus of known inscriptions from the site. The monuments and epigraphic discoveries of the first three field seasons at Caracol were summarized by Houston (1987), who had already recognized that a restudy of the monuments drawn and published by Beetz and Satterthwaite (1981) would result in a better understanding of Caracol's epigraphy.

The discussion of the hieroglyphic texts in this article is arranged according to the media on which they are written. Stone monuments are the first focus. The analysis of the monuments is based on their location; monuments that form a coherent group or that are associated with the same structure are discussed together. The monuments have been grouped into five clusters: three new Terminal Classic monuments that were discovered in 1989 and 1990; two new stelae from the top of Structure A2; the monuments from the "B-Plaza" in front of Structure B5; Stela 13, associated with Structure A4; and two new Giant Ahau altars from outlying groups. The new hieroglyphic texts that have been recovered, in conjunction with a restudy of previously published inscriptions, warrant a new preliminary synthesis of the dynastic history of Caracol.

Three New Terminal Classic Inscriptions

During the 1989 and 1990 field seasons, three new hieroglyphic inscriptions were found at Caracol, all dating to the Terminal Classic era. Altar 22 was discovered in an outlying residential area known as the "Plaza of the Two Stelae," directly connected to the B Plaza by means of a causeway. Altar 23 was found in the B Plaza west of Structure B28. Ballcourt Marker 3 was discovered just northwest of the B Group ballcourt. Since these three monuments have already been discussed in great detail elsewhere (Chase et al. 1991), only a brief discussion follows.

The three monuments were erected in the lifetime of K'inich Hok' K'awil, also called "Ruler IX" (Houston 1987:92). Before the three new monuments were found, only Stela 11, erected at 9.18.10.0.0, could safely be attributed to his reign. Ballcourt Marker 3 (Chase et al. 1991:fig. 3) associates K'inich Hok' K'awil with the

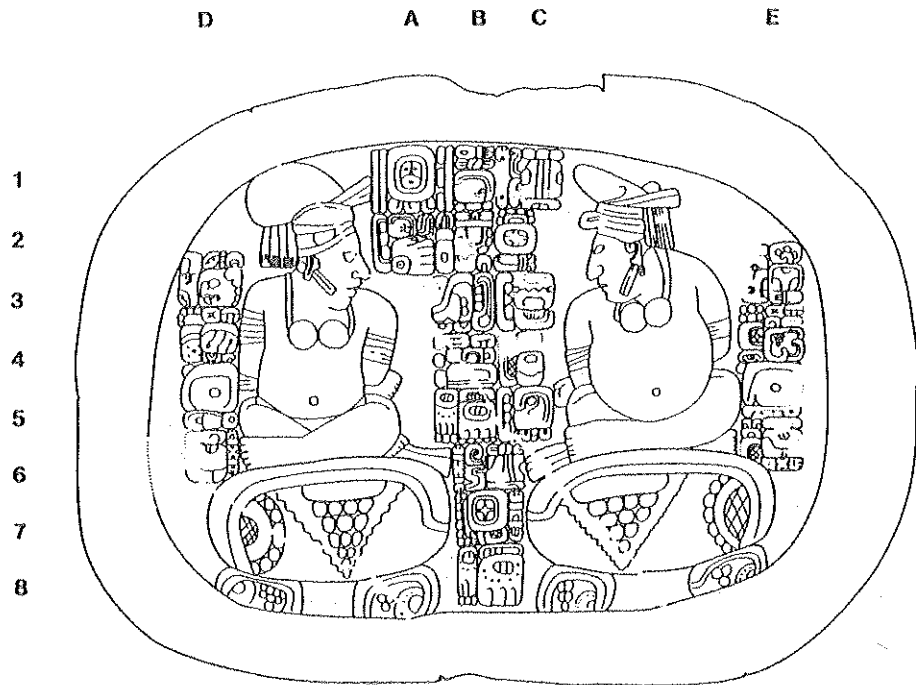


Figure 9.1. New rendering of Caracol Altar 23; maximum diameter = 2.04 meters; maximum thickness = 0.25 meters; relief depth = 1.1 centimeters.

date 9.18.8.3.9, which—except for a possible date from a stucco text—is the first historical date in Caracol since the erection of Stela 21 at 9.13.10.0.0. The text on the Ballcourt Marker refers retrospectively to a very early event in the history of Caracol that took place at 8.14.13.10.4 3 K'an 2 Mak (Jan. 14, 331). The nature of this event is not known. It is possible, however, that it refers to some activity related to the founding of the site or the establishment of its ruling dynasty by an individual called *?-k'ab Chak*. Interestingly, the same verb used here also occurs on the newly discovered Stela 22. Unfortunately, the date of the sentence where it appears on Stela 22 cannot be deciphered. The 9.18.8.3.9 date probably represents when the Ballcourt Marker was carved or placed in the Ballcourt by a subordinate of K'inich Hok' K'awil.

Altar 23 (Figure 9.1) was placed in the B Plaza at the same time that Stela 11 was erected in the A Plaza. Altar 23 commemorates the taking of two royal captives from important sites in the Peten. The text starts with the date 10 Ahaw 8 Sak 9.18.10.0.0 and continues at B3 with the *chukah*, "it was caught" verb, followed by the expression *u bak*, "the captive of," and the names and titles of the captor. Interestingly, the captor is not K'inich Hok' K'awil himself, but another person, who is called a 3 K'atun Ahaw. His name glyph also occurs in the two glyphic captions associated with the names and emblems of the two captives, after the *yete* expression which Stuart has shown to connect the names of captives with their captors. His full name is *tu-mu-ol k'inich*. The name also shows up on Stela 11 at F2 in an obscure passage which probably provides the parentage for K'inich Hok' K'awil (Houston 1987:89). Unfortunately, the critical glyphs that link the name of *tu-mu-ol k'inich* with that of his putative son are too eroded to be certain about a direct ancestry. However, *tu-mu-ol k'inich* is recorded as a 3 K'atun Ahaw and with the Caracol glyph and the *bakab* title on Stela 11.

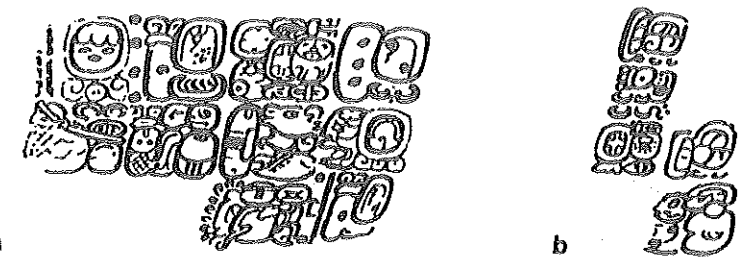


Figure 9.2. Two mentions of Caracol in the inscriptions of Naj Tunich Cave, Peten, Guatemala: a) Group VIa painting, A1-D3 (after Stuart 1981:220); b) Drawing 88, D1-E4 (after a drawing by Andrea Stone).

There are supportive arguments for the identification of *tu-mu-ol k'inich* as the father of, or at least as the predecessor to, K'inich Hok' K'awil. In the cave of Naj Tunich the painted hieroglyphic inscription from Drawing 82 refers to some kind of *but's* (dedication) event. The protagonist of this event is called *tu-mu-yo-ol k'inich* of *k'an-tu-ma-ki* (Figure 9.2a). The last glyph contains the same syllabic signs as the Caracol glyph, except for the prefix *k'u*. The *k'u* sign also is absent in a rare spelling of the Caracol glyph on Caracol Altar 17 (glyph 12), where the *k'an* sign is replaced by the head of a deer. Most likely, then, this glyph is the Caracol glyph, especially since Naj Tunich and Caracol are not very distant and certainly had close relations in the Classic (a fact that finds support in Drawing 88, where the putative Caracol glyph occurs once again; Figure 9.2b). The name of the person associated with the Caracol glyph in the Group VIa painting of Naj Tunich corresponds in all details to the name of the putative father of K'inich Hok' K'awil on Stela 11 (F2). The only difference between the spelling of the name in the Naj Tunich text and on Stela 11 is the *yo* prefix for the T506 sign. The presence of the *yo* prefix, however, can be explained by a new reading of the "maize" main sign T506 as *yol* or *ol*, "center", instead of, or in addition to, *wa* (Grube and Nahm n.d.). In the Naj Tunich spelling the *yo* is only a phonetic complement to the *yol* sign. The date of the Naj Tunich text is 13 Hix 4 Sak which is, as many Naj Tunich dates, an "impossible" date. If the date corresponds to 13 Hix 2 Sak, it could correspond to either 9.14.16.17.14 (27 Aug. 728) or 9.17.9.12.14 (14 Aug. 780). The last date is about a *k'atun* before Stela 11. Thus, the person mentioned in the Naj Tunich text fits well into the dynastic sequence of Caracol as the predecessor to K'inich Hok' K'awil. In Naj Tunich Drawing 82 *tu-mu-yol k'inich*'s name is followed by an *u kahi* agency expression that introduces the name of the subject of the sentence (Martin and Grube n.d.). These nominals are associated with an Ixkun emblem glyph (Martin, personal communication, 1992).

In the Naj Tunich text it is clear that the name of the Caracol person is composed of the four signs *tu-mu-yo-ol*. The presence of the *ol* sign suggests that the Naj Tunich name is nothing else but a phonetic spelling of the same name used by the Caracol rulers K'an I and K'an II. The "antenna" superfix, then, would be a logograph for the *tum* part of the name; *tum ol* can be translated as "thinker" or "prophet" (Nahm, personal communication, 1991).¹ It seems that K'an I, K'an II, Ruler XII, and other important figures in the history of Caracol used the same name and may have regarded themselves as prophets.

The mention of the predecessor as the captor of the prisoners on Altar 23 remains problematic. Except for Altar 21, no other monument from the Southern Lowlands

is known where a king records the names of the captives of his father and does not mention his own success in warfare. It is possible that there was an intended parallel to Altar 21, erected by K'an II to commemorate his father's war against Tikal. It is equally plausible, however, that the name of the captor on Altar 23 is that of a subordinate of K'inich Hok' K'awil who just happens to carry the same *tum-ol* name associated with several rulers of Caracol, one of them coincidentally appearing in the dubious parentage statement on Stela 11.

The captives on Altar 23 are identified both by their names and their emblem glyphs. The left captive is the *ahaw* of a location called *bital*. Houston (personal communication, 1990) realized that the same location is mentioned on Naranjo Stela 22 in a passage recording a war by that site against the *bital* place at 9.13.1.13.14. Obviously *bital* was the name of a location somewhere between Naranjo and Caracol. The other captive, named *?-bu-chak*, is an *ahaw* from the site of Ucanal. Like the *bital* place, Ucanal also was situated in a buffer zone between the politics of Caracol, Tikal, and Naranjo. Some 21 years earlier Ixkun Stela 2 recorded a successful attack and *puluy*, "burning," of Ucanal (Escobedo A. 1991:27-28). It is possible that Ucanal was integrated into the political sphere of Ixkun before the war took place that led to the capture of the Ucanal king displayed on Altar 23.

Caracol Altar 22 (Chase et al. 1991:fig. 7) was found in front of two uncarved stelae at the "Plaza of the Two Stelae." (Chase et al. 1991). The monument dates to 9 Ahaw 18 Mol (9.19.0.0.0), which is ten years after Altar 23. The iconography of the monument repeats that found on the much larger Altar 23. Two bound captives sit on Cauac-thrones, facing each other and the central hieroglyphic column. Two short hieroglyphic captions, now too eroded to read, formerly spelled their names and probably also their location of origin. The central hieroglyphic text contains the Caracol glyph, which by means of an *utiy*, "it came to pass," expression is linked to the date that closes the text. In front of the Caracol glyph are three badly preserved glyph blocks that certainly contained a verb and the name of the Caracol noble who commissioned the monument. The verb probably was the eroded initial glyph of the main column. The second glyph (A1b) is the *bate* glyph, once interpreted as a warrior title, but whose connection to the ballgame now seems firmly established (Grube 1993; Chase et al. 1991:17). The ballgame theme on Altar 22 is directly demonstrated by the ball that appears behind the head of the left prisoner. Numbered balls are an icon widely used in the Maya lowlands in reference to the ballgame. The association of bound prisoners with the ballgame has many parallels with prisoners depicted and named as balls and who were probably rolled down the stairs of a ballcourt, replacing the ball in the ballgame (Schele and Grube 1990). The captives on Altar 22 may have faced the same fate.

One of the unresolved questions concerning the Altar 22 text is the identity of the person named by the glyph preceding the Caracol glyph. The 9.19.0.0.0 date of the monument also occurs on Stela 18 and on Altar 2 from Mountain Cow (Thompson 1931:plate 29). Stela 18 clearly names the same king that appears on Stela 19 and Altars 12 and 13 as the protagonist (see below). The name of the subject of the *butz'* event, which is the verb on the Mountain Cow altar, is clearly different from Caracol Altar 22 and Stela 18. The Mountain Cow altar does not exhibit the Caracol glyph; thus, the person mentioned on that monument could well be a local lord. The name on Caracol Altar 22 also has no parallels in any contemporaneous inscriptions. Provided this is not the result of poor preservation, Altar 22 probably repre-

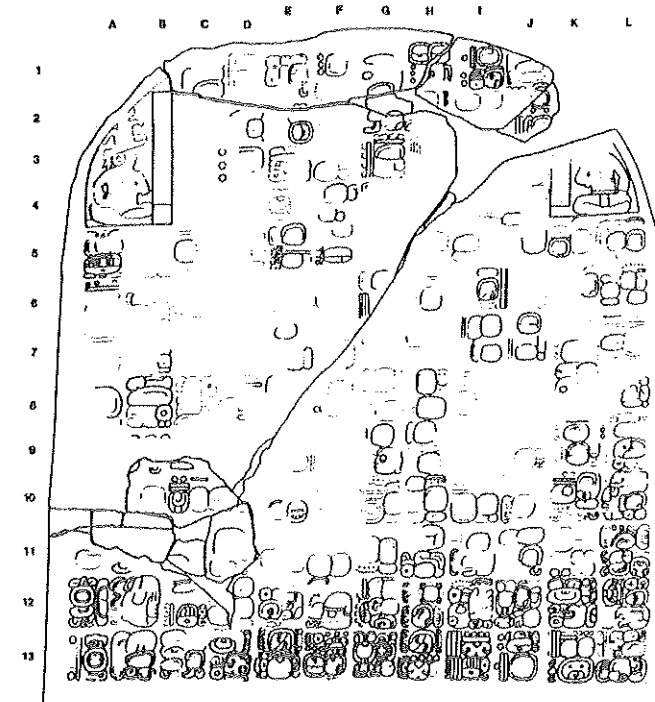


Figure 9.3. Caracol Stela 22; maximum height = 2.12 meters; maximum width = 1.14 meters; relief depth = 0.2 centimeters.

sents the use of regal iconography and the Caracol glyph by a sublord who resided outside the epicenter and who was not the king himself, a situation much like Terminal Classic Copan (Fash 1991:172).

Monuments Associated with Structure A2

Structure A2, located on the west side of the A Plaza, is the second highest pyramid in Caracol. In March 1990 two new stelae were found on the top of Structure A2, on the same level on which Altar 17 was located. "Stela 22" was placed about 1.5 meters west of Altar 17 and clearly was associated with this monument. One of the three pedestals on which Altar 17 rested had collapsed, causing the altar to slide slightly to the east (Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981:99). Excavation beneath Altar 17 revealed yet another partial stela, designated "Stela 23."

Stela 22

Stela 22 is carved from dense limestone and has an incised hieroglyphic inscription on its front; the text is composed of 140 glyph blocks, making it the longest hieroglyphic inscription in Belize (Figure 9.3). Unfortunately, the carving was only faintly incised and, due to natural erosion, more than half the text is illegible. Two small panels in the top left and right corners of the monument contain portraits of seated figures. Both figures sit cross-legged and face the center of the monument. Small hieroglyphic panels, which surely held the name glyphs and titles of the individuals portrayed, are placed in front of the head of each figure. Almost no traces of writing remain on these panels.

The lengthy hieroglyphic inscription of Stela 22 provides important information about the reign of Ruler K'an II. Although many events recorded on Stela 22 are attested to elsewhere in Caracol and on Naranjo's Hieroglyphic Stairway, these events are generally described in more detail on Stela 22. The inscription begins with a complete Initial Series date. Unfortunately, too much of the Long Count is eroded to make the date decipherable. All that is left of the Initial Series is *9.9.7.6/7/8.?, 9th Lord of the Night; the glyphs following remain opaque, although the glyph at A12 resembles the *tz'ap* verb that describes the erection of stelae (Grube 1990a). Houston (personal communication, 1991) suggests that this and the next glyph are instead an early version of the "fire formula" often found in the final parts of a Supplementary Series.² The Initial Series closes with the haab glyph 9 Yaxk'in. With the supposition that the bak'tun and k'atun coefficient place the date in historic time (in the lifetime of K'an II), there is only one possible reading for the date, 9.9.12.6.6 3 Kimi 9 Yaxk'in (July 11, 625). The event associated with the Initial Series date probably is spelled in the glyph block C13.

The next part of the text (C1-D11) is completely eroded and the missing information cannot be reconstructed. Only the very bottom part of the second double column is partly legible. It contains the name of the current king, Lord K'an II, and his pre-accession name *sak ba witzil*, "white first hill" or "white gopher hill" (D13). He uses this particular name until his accession at 9.9.4.16.2. The entire upper part of the E-F double column is eroded and cannot be read. In E12-F12 the readable text continues with the mention of a person whom is also known from the Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway as the agent of the ballgame on the *ox ahal eb*, the "Stairs of the Three Defeats," on 9.9.14.3.5. His death is recorded on Step XIII at 9.9.17.11.14 and he is mentioned as the agent of the *yak'av* verb on Step IV, where he is also associated with the Site Q emblem glyph. In fact, the *ahaw* glyph on Stela 22, F12b, also has a snake sign infixed and a less obvious *ka* superfix. This strongly suggests that the individual was associated with Site Q. He was most likely the predecessor to the king of Site Q who is mentioned on Step VI as the actor of the "Star War" against Naranjo on 9.9.18.16.3. On Stela 22 the earlier Site Q king is associated with an event that had happened at 9.9.9.0.5, as can be reconstructed from the distance number of 10 winal following his nominals. The name of the Site Q individual, a *ta* sign over a "blowing head" with a *ma* suffix, is the same on Stela 22 and the Naranjo Stairway. The title that is between the name and the emblem displays an interesting substitution; it is written *u*-flat hand verb-*k'ak'* in Naranjo and *u(?) -pu-k'ak'* on Stela 22, suggesting an equivalence of the flat-hand verb T713a with the *pu* syllable.

The date 3 Chikchan 3 Keh (9.9.9.10.5) is the last date that can be obtained before the sequence of text is again interrupted by erosion. This date, however, also appears on Stela 3, where the event is the arrival and visit of Bats' Ek', the mother of K'an II, in Caracol. The fact that the 9.9.9.10.5 date is associated once with the ruler of Site Q and once with the arrival of Lord K'an II's mother in Caracol can be taken as tentative evidence that Lady Bats' Ek' was from Site Q and helped to establish the close ties between both cities that culminated in the common conquest of Naranjo. This would also explain why K'an II is called the *yitah*, "sibling," of the king of Site Q on Stela 3 (Schele and Freidel 1990:175).

The text is legible again after G10. The passage begins with the date 9 K'an 2 Sek (9.9.13.4.4), which on Caracol Stela 3 and the Hieroglyphic Stairway from

Naranjo (Step VIII)³ is recorded as the first war by Caracol against Naranjo. Although the verbal expression is too eroded, it is clear from the "Naranjo Rulership Title" (Closs 1984:80) in H11 that the passage on Stela 22 also deals with this war event, an assumption that is supported in the sentence *hubuy u tok' pakal*, "lowered are his flint and his shield," at G12b and H12a following the Naranjo title. The agent of this sentence is introduced by the *u kahi* verb at H12b and is Lord K'an II of Caracol (G13). A distance number relates this event to the next date, 11 K'an 2 Ch'en (9.9.13.8.4). This date is also mentioned on the Hieroglyphic Stairway from Naranjo; on Step VII a distance number leads from 12 Chikchan 18 Zip 9.9.14.3.5, the date of the ballgame, to 9.9.13.8.4, but the Step where this date was expressed as a calendar round statement is missing. The verbal glyphs that follow this date on Caracol Stela 22 are too eroded to provide information about the nature of the associated event.

The legible text continues in the lower rows of columns I and J. A calendar round date is found in I10, but neither the coefficients nor the glyph for the day can be securely read. The *-wa* suffix under the month name argues for either K'an' in or Sek. One of the events associated with this date is the "Fish-in-hand"-verb, recently deciphered as *tzak*, "to conjure". The verb refers to the conjuring of a vision as a result of bloodletting (Grube n.d.). Lord K'an II is named as the subject of the clause at J12. A distance number of 2.19.9.15 connects this clause with another, presumably earlier, date. The context may be a reference to the deceased ancestor who probably was the object of invocation expressed by the *tzak* verb. Although the distance number is clearly readable, the new date is too eroded to permit calculation. The last double column on the stela contains at least two large distance numbers that seem to connect contemporary dates with dates either in the future or in the distant past. Historical time is reached again with a calendar round ? Ahaw 13? Kayab. The verbal expression after the calendar round date at K10b phonetically spells *k'atay*, a verb whose meaning is unclear. It is followed by the head variant of the number "eight" prefixed to a triple Cauac glyph. This same glyph shows up twice on La Rejolla Stela 1 in a context that suggests that it functions as a toponym.

The glyphs before Lord K'an II's name at K12 are of unknown meaning, but show up elsewhere at Caracol. The glyph at L11 is used as a verb on Caracol Ballcourt Marker 3 in a sentence relating to an important event in the very early history of Caracol (Chase et al. 1991). Above it is a glyph that consists of a penis, an *u* pronoun, a *hi* postfix, and a numerical coefficient "four." Except for the numerical coefficient and the *u* pronoun, this glyph is known as part of nominal phrases for God N on ceramics (Eggebrecht and Grube 1992:389). The sign also occurs twice on Stela 6, although with varying coefficients. No relation seems to exist either among these coefficients and the position of the associated individual in the dynasty or with the number of the current k'atun. The name of K'an II in this passage is not followed by the Caracol Emblem Glyph, but rather by his pre-accession title. The sentence ends with a statement of brotherhood at L12. Lord K'an II is called the *y-itah*, "sibling of," *ahaw te*, who himself is *ahaw* of a place whose glyph has flaked off.

The text ends with a distance number leading from an unknown date to 1 Ahaw 8 Kayab (9.10.0.0.0). Two verbs are associated with this date, one is the "seating of the tun" and the other verb phonetically spells *ival k'ah*. The translation for this

last verb could be "finally it is made public" or "finally it is remembered," based on the entries for *k'ah*, "recordar, acordar, convocar, reconocer," or *k'aah*, "publicar o pregonar," in Yucatec (Barrera V. 1980:362-363). The end of the k'atun, then, was the time when history was recorded and written down, both in books and on stone monuments. If the reading for the Initial Series date as 9.9.12.6.6 is correct and if this was the date when the monument was erected on Structure A2, almost eight years had elapsed between the erection of the stone and its carving. This may also explain why the text on Stela 22 is incised rather than carved.

The following chart summarizes the chronology of Stela 22; many details of dating cannot be understood because critical portions of the text are eroded.

A	A5-A13?	*9.9.*12.6.*6(?)	*3 Kimi 9 Yaxk'in (?)
SS	C10-?	?4.17	
B	?		
SS	C12-?	8.?.?	
C	D12	?(9.9.4.16.2)	*10 Ik' 0 Pop
SS	E5-?	8.?.?19	
SS	F8	1.?.?	
D	?	(9.9.9.0.5)	(11 Chikchan 3 Wo)
SS	E13	10.0	
E	F13	(9.9.9.10.5)	3 Chikchan 3 Keh
SS	G8-H8uh	?.?.?	
F	H8lh-G9uh	(9.9.13.1.9)	*6 Muluk *7 Wo
SS	H9uh-H9lh	2.15	
G	G10	(9.9.13.4.4)	9 K'an 2 Sek
SS	I13	4.0	
H	I1	(9.9.13.8.4)	11 K'an 2 Ch'en
SS	J2-?	?	
I	?	?	
SS	I6-?	?10	
J	I8a-I8b	?	? Ahaw ?
SS	J9	?.?.?	
K	I10	?	8 ? ? Sek
SS	I13-J13uh	2.19.9.15	
L	J13lh-K5a	?	11 ? ? Yaxk'in
SS	K7-L7a	?4.?.?	
M	L7b-K8a	?	9 ? ? Xul
SS	K9-L9uh	14.9.8.4	
N	L9lh-K10a	?	? ? 13 K'ayab
SS	K13uh	3.?.?	
O	K13lh-L13uh	(9.10.0.0.0)	1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab

Altar 17

Altar 17, first recorded by Beetz and Satterthwaite (1981:99-100) was restudied and redrawn (Figure 9.4). It is one of Caracol's giant Ahaw altars. In contrast to most of the Early Classic giant Ahaw altars, the central glyph of Altar 17 was framed by twelve cartouches with a hieroglyphic inscription. The lower portion of the monument is broken, resulting in the preservation of only nine glyph cartouches.

The central carving represents the personified day sign "Ahaw;" only the two dots of the prefixed numerical coefficient of 12 are preserved. From this central element, the text continues in the upper left cartouche with the haab date 8 Keh. This chronological information is augmented by the statement "his eleventh k'atun." Thus, the giant Ahaw glyph and the next two cartouches finally confirm Satterthwaite's hypothesis that the giant Ahaw altars of Caracol mark the ending of

Monuments in front of Structure B5

In an attempt to obtain more data about the Late Classic dynastic sequence it was deemed necessary to redraft Stela 19 and Altar 12. Both monuments were once associated with each other and carry hieroglyphic texts relating to the Terminal Classic Period in Caracol. Excavations in front of Structure B5 recovered new fragments of Stela 19, but nothing that could be associated with Altar 12. According to Beetz and Satterthwaite (1981:89), Altar 12 was found on the surface in front of Structure B5, about 4.50 meters north and 1.00 meter east of the *in situ* butt of Stela 19. Altar 12 was broken into several fragments and had been turned upside down. Therefore, it is unlikely that the place where the altar was found represented its original location; it may have once been set somewhere else, especially since no missing pieces of the altar were found despite extensive excavation. However, the common date 9.19.10.0.0 8 Ahaw 8 Xul and the fact that both monuments refer to the same king argue for a former association.

Two other monuments on the B plaza, Stela 18 and Altar 13, also were erected in the Terminal Classic by the same king who erected Stela 19 and Altar 12. Stela 18, redrawn by Houston (in Chase and Chase 1987c:14), carries a long count date of 9.19.0.0.0, only ten years before the last dates of Stela 19 and Altar 12. Altar 13, like Altar 12, was discovered near Stela 19. Beetz and Satterthwaite (1981:93) express doubts about any association between Stela 19 and Altar 13, although, as will be shown below, both monuments mention the same king and share at least one date. Altar 13 has not yet been redrawn; the photographs that are available indicate that it is an important historical document which may provide the accession date and other important biographical details in the life of Ruler XI (Houston 1987:92).

Stela 19

Stela 19 once was the tallest stela at Caracol, with a height of more than 3.50 meters above plaza level. At present, however, the stela is broken into several severely eroded fragments with only its butt still upright. Figure 9.6 is the first drawing to present all existing fragments of this stela.

The front face is the most eroded side of Stela 19. The scene shown, however, is typical for the Late Classic at Caracol and portrays the king with a ceremonial bar in front of a small dwarf figure, a motif which also occurs on Stelae 8, 9 and 11. The text on the front is divided into two fields. The upper text is almost completely effaced. Enough remains to identify at least three calendar round dates. Of these, only the date in G2-H2 can be securely deciphered as 8 Ahaw 8 Xul (9.19.10.0.0); the same date also appears in the upper cartouche of the right side of Stela 19 and on Altar 12. Another calendar round date at A6-B6 could be 1 Ahaw 8 Sek (9.19.9.17.0), another date that also occurs on Altar 12; however, the glyphs are too eroded to confirm this reading. Unfortunately, no noncalendrical glyphs are sufficiently well-preserved in the upper text to be read. The lower text contains a sequence of nominal glyphs which belong to the name of a Caracol king whom Houston (1987:92) has called "Ruler XI". It is this same king who erected Stela 18, Altar 12, and, almost certainly, also commissioned Altar 13. Houston's comment that Ruler XI's name displays a great deal of formal variety is obvious when all his name phrases are compared. The nominal sequence on Stela 19 makes it clear that

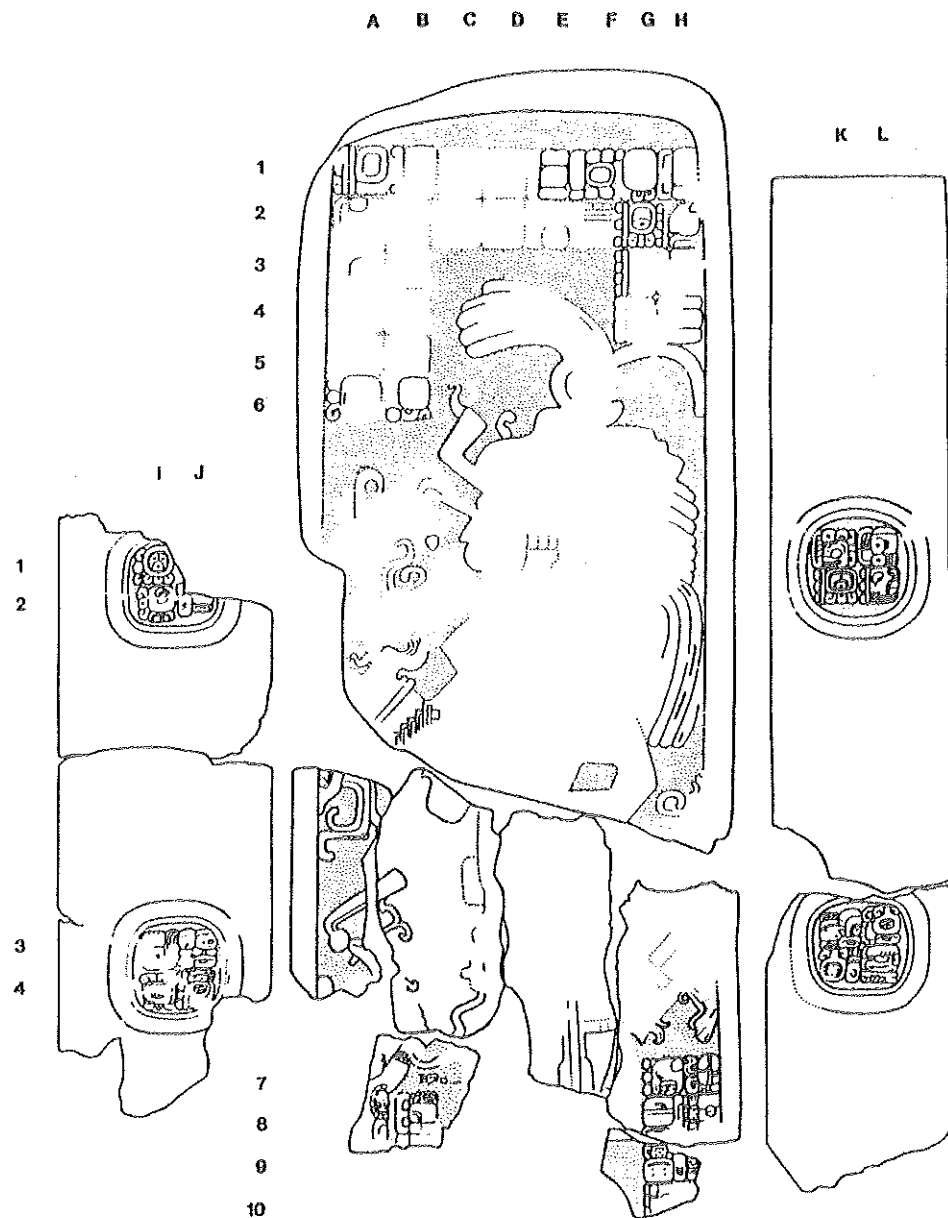


Figure 9.6. Redrawing of Caracol Stela 19.

Ruler XI had many names and that it was sufficient to select only one or two of these glyphs to spell his name. However, in most cases the *mahk'ina* or *k'inich* sign and a phonetic collocation consisting of an undeciphered sign and the syllables *bi* and *li* are present. Stela 18, for example, addresses the king only by this last glyph. Houston, in his discussion of Caracol history, kept the king from Stela 18 apart from Ruler XI because he interpreted the 9.19.9.17.0 date on Altar 12 as his accession date. However, there is no evidence that the event associated with this date on Altar 12 refers to accession. Thus, Houston's Rulers X and XI should be conflated and regarded as one and the same king who apparently was inaugurated some time

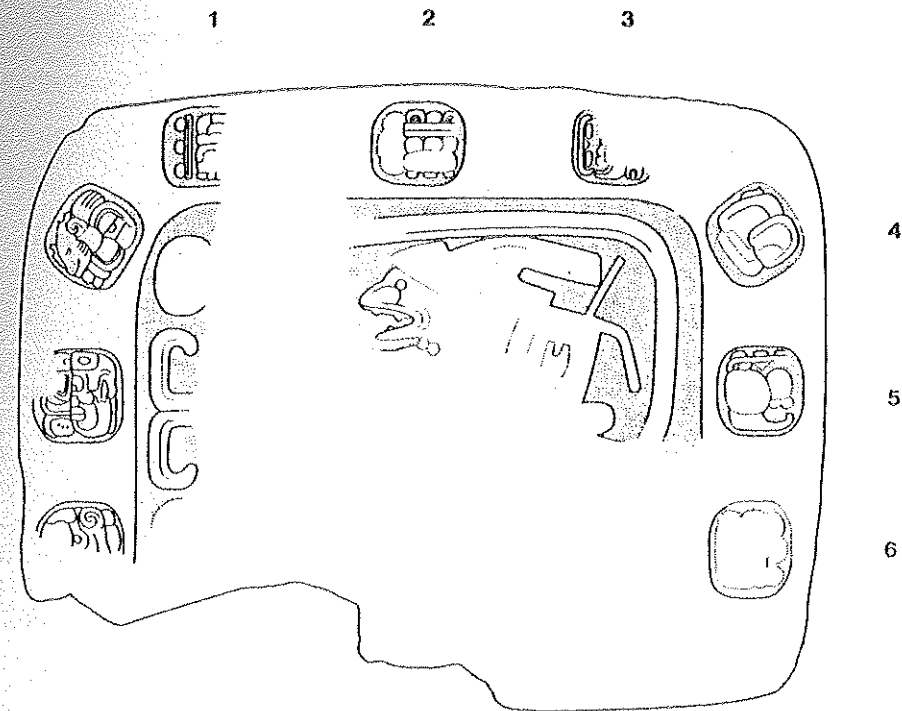


Figure 9.4. Redrawing of Caracol Altar 17.

k'atuns. The date of Altar 17 is 12 Ahaw 8 Keh (9.11.0.0.0), which is one *k'atun* after the final date on Stela 22. Presumably, then, Stela 22 was erected on Structure A2 one *k'atun* before Altar 17 was placed there. The text cartouches on Altar 17 continue with a partially destroyed verb and a glyph containing the *tun* glyph (glyphs 4 and 5). The prefix in front of the *tun* has a vegetational ornament. The two glyphs after the date could therefore refer to the placing or the erection of a stela or, perhaps, Altar 17. The following glyphs are severely eroded or completely gone. However, the last three cartouches survive and provide the name of K'an II with a rare form of the Caracol emblem glyph as the subject of the sentence.

Altar 17 is an elaborate version of the giant Ahaw altars that are found all over Caracol in the Early Classic Period. Altar 17 is not only the most elaborate, but also the last giant Ahaw altar known from Caracol. The tradition of erecting giant Ahaw altars apparently ended with the reign of Lord K'an II.

Stela 23

During the excavations on top of Structure A2, Stela 23 was discovered between the two remaining pedestals of Altar 17; it had been intentionally placed beneath Altar 17, probably when the altar was erected at 9.11.0.0.0. Two fragments of Stela 23 have survived; they represent the top of a large monument (Figure 9.5). Only one side of the monument was carved. The portion of the carving that remains is all-glyphic and it is unknown whether the text was once accompanied by iconography. That only a small portion of the stela was found suggests that the monument already had been broken in the past, possibly as a consequence of warfare or as part of a termination ritual.

A B C D E F G H I J K L

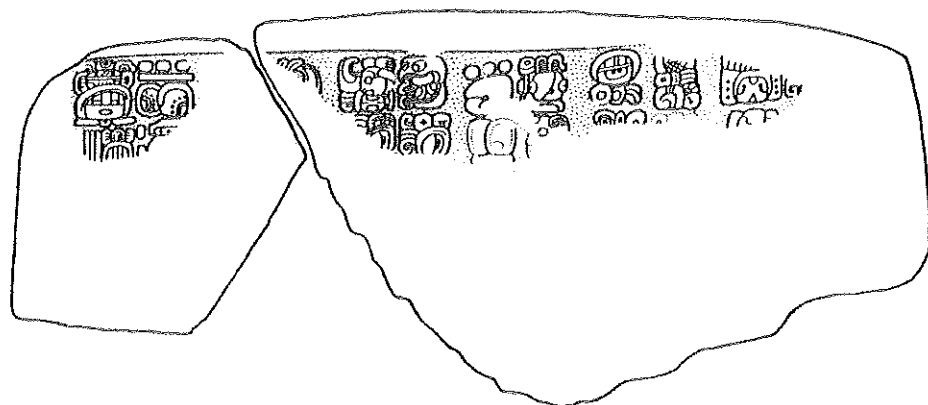


Figure 9.5. Caracol Stela 23; maximum height = 0.31 meters; maximum width = 0.78 meters; thickness = 0.21 meters; relief depth = 0.5 centimeters.

The text starts with four glyph blocks that are part of an Initial Series date. The Initial Series Introductory Glyph contains the *chan*, "sky," sign as the variable element for the month Sek. The bak'tun coefficient is 8, the k'atun coefficient is larger than 15, and 2 of 3 dots survive for the tun⁴ coefficient. Since nothing else from the Initial Series date is preserved, the number of alternatives for the date is too large to be listed here. The style of the inscription makes it likely that the Initial Series date does not correspond to the time when the monument was carved, suggesting that this is a retrospective date, possibly referring to an important event in the early history of Caracol.

Although the inscription must have contained a very long and beautifully carved text, the large gaps that exist between the few preserved glyphs make it hard to understand the syntax and to identify the verbs. The glyph in F2 reads *yahaw te*, "Lord of the Tree". This is part of the nominal phrase for the king called Ruler III by Houston (1987:89) and "Lord Water" or "Lord Muluk" by others. Wherever his nominal appears, it is followed by the "K'inich" title. Since the glyph next to *yahaw te* on Stela 23 is broken, we cannot be sure about the identification of this glyph as the nominal of Yahaw Te, the predecessor and father of K'an II. If Stela 23 was a monument of Yahaw Te, it was probably intentionally broken and buried by Lord K'an II in the context of a dedication ceremony on Structure A2.

The summit of Structure A2 must have been one of the most sacred spaces at Caracol. Structure A2 is the second highest pyramid of Caracol, only superseded by Caana, the dominating structure of the B group. The monuments on Structure A2 were visible from almost the entire epicenter. There are few other spaces in Caracol with so many important monuments in such a small area. Structure A2 probably was erected as a monument for the commemoration of the victory of Caracol over Naranjo, the most important event in the biography of Lord K'an II.

before 9.19.0.0 and after 9.18.10.0.0, the last date associated with K'inich Hok' K'awil.

Another formal, but short, glyphic text is found in front of the small dwarf on the front of Stela 19. This text very likely refers directly to the dwarf and his name. Other, barely visible, incised glyphs also occur on this same part of the monument.

Each side of Stela 19 also had two large glyph cartouches, each containing four glyph blocks. Beetz and Satterthwaite (1981:70) incorrectly reconstructed three glyph cartouches per side. The text in the cartouches on the left side is severely eroded; the top cartouche contains a date for which the Tzolk'in 1 Ahaw is preserved (11); perhaps this is the 1 Ahaw 8 Sek date from Altar 12, although the verb seems to be different. The bottom cartouche of the left side starts with the "east chakte" title, followed by some rather bizarre signs, perhaps nominals or titles. The text in the upper cartouche on the right side probably is the continuation of the left side text. The first glyph has some resemblance to the Site Q emblem (K1), but the Site Q emblem never occurs with a *ya* postfix. The text continues after an *ival ut*, "and then will come to pass," statement with the date 8 Ahaw 8 Xul (9.19.10.0.0). The lower glyph cartouche possibly contains a toponym (K3) and mentions the two Paddler Gods, the Night Paddler and the Day Paddler (Stuart 1984). The last glyph is the glyph *ilah*, "it was seen". This glyph probably says that Ruler XI, the protagonist of Stela 19 was seen or observed by the Paddler Gods, who are represented as floating in clouds over the head of the king in the iconography of Terminal Classic Peten stelae. Another interpretation of this short passage could be that Ruler XI was the subject who saw the Paddler Gods, probably as the result of a visionary rite.

Altar 12

The hieroglyphic inscription on Altar 12 is arranged in three separate sections (Figure 9.7). The longest text is organized in a circular frame around the central image. Two panels are found in the scene, the smaller of them seems to refer to the figure seated on the left, while the other panel may comment on the figure seated on the right. Beetz and Satterthwaite (1981:89-92) noted that it is difficult to establish the starting point of the text, especially since a large fragment from the upper central part of the altar is missing. The preserved part of the rim text begins with a calendar round date of 12 ?? 8 Pax. The verb associated with this date is the T174 *chi-ta-ha* event which also occurs on Naranjo Stela 32, Lintel 3 of Tikal Temple 1, and Calakmul Stela 89.⁵ At least on the Tikal Lintel and Naranjo Stela 32 the event seems to refer to some activity in connection with portable palanquins. On Naranjo Stela 32 (v2-W5) it is clearly stated that Waxaklahun Ubah, the latest king of Naranjo, does the "palankin event" at Ucanal; in the same phrase on Stela 32 is a glyph that reads *pa-pa-ma-li-?-?* (X3-U4). This same glyph is found in the small glyphic caption of the left seated figure on Altar 12. Since the left figure sits on the personified Ucanal toponym (*k'an witznal*, "yellow mountain"), it certainly represents an Ucanal noble, and *pa-pa-ma-li-li* was part of his name. The date of the "palankin event" on Naranjo Stela 32 is 9.19.9.15.0. Since the glyphs after the calendar round date on Caracol Altar 12 also state that the "palankin event" took place at Ucanal, one might wonder whether both Naranjo Stela 32 and Caracol Altar 12 refer to the same event. If this hypothesis is true, the date 12 ? 8 Pax should be very close to the 9.19.9.15.0 date of the Naranjo Stela; perhaps 9.19.9.15 12 Men



Figure 9.7. Redrawing of Caracol Altar 12.

8 Pax. If the same "palankin event" really was recorded both at Naranjo and at Caracol, it once more confirms the important political position of Ucanal as a center of communication between these two polities.

The next four glyph blocks after the Ucanal emblem on Altar 12 introduce the subject of the sentence, a king of Caracol with the name *tu-?-k'inich*. It is possible that this collocation represents another way of writing the *tum-ol* name carried by various Caracol kings. Alternatively, this person may not be a king of Caracol but a high-ranking member of the elite, using the Caracol glyph as a title. Therefore, it is very possible that the person mentioned in the text discussed is not identical with any of the known rulers of Caracol.

A short distance number of a few (possibly two) winal leads to the next event; most of the distance number, except for the statement of "zero k'ins," is missing. The small fragment of a tun glyph that has been placed between the distance number introductory glyph and the winal glyph (Figure 9.7) cannot be reconstructed safely in this position. An alternative position for this fragment is in the missing upper left part of the altar which also has the remains of a distance number. Neither

the published photographs nor Satterthwaite's notes provide any hints as to the original location of this tun fragment.

The next event took place on 12 ? 11 Mol. The event is the decapitation (*ch'ak*) of a person carrying, among other titles, the epithet *k'ul mutul*. Although this glyph resembles the Tikal emblem glyph, recently deciphered as *mutul* by Stuart (n.d.), it may be a different title with no connection to Tikal; one of the most important elements of the emblem, the *ahaw* superfix, is missing and the prefix to this main sign is *k'u-lu*, which probably represents a distinctive Yucatec form instead of the Cholan *ch'ul* "divine". The sequence of titles ends before the glyph *u bak*, "he is the bone of" or "he is the captive of". Another stative construction follows immediately, *u tok' pakal* or "it is the flint shield of," which is a metaphorical expression for war. The name of the Caracol ruler follows. The nominal glyphs look different from the regal name mentioned as the protagonist in the preceding T174 event. After the Caracol glyph and the *bakab* title another distance number, which unfortunately continued on a missing fragment, leads to the large text in the central scene. The central text contains the only dates on Altar 12 that can be deciphered. The first date is reconstructed as 1 Ahaw 8 Sek (9.19.9.17.0) and refers to a verb spelled with the phonetic syllables *k'u-ba-ha*, "to give" or "to deliver" in Yucatec. The verb probably refers to the giving of royal blood, since the individual sitting on the Ucanal toponym holds a bloodletter in his hands. The first two glyphs following the verb may provide additional information about the nature of this event, but are not yet understood. The name of Ruler XI and the Caracol glyph are the last glyphs in this sentence. Interestingly, the penis-title that is often found between Ruler XI's name and the Caracol glyph is replaced by a glyph reading *ts'abal*; this substitution, when understood, may provide a key to understanding the still undeciphered penis-title. The next sentence is introduced by a distance number of one winal. It leads to the calendar round date 9.19.10.0.0 8 Ahaw 8 Xul. This is the occasion on which Ruler XI celebrates a *chok ch'ah* event, the "scattering of droplets" of incense or blood. The *chok ch'ah* phrase is followed by the usual names and titles of Ruler XI.

The small text to the left contains names and titles for the seated figure on the left. The long nominal sequence contains, among others, the widely used "Shield Skull" name. At the end of the caption an *utiy* glyph and an eroded toponym provide information about the location where the bloodletting depicted on the central scene occurred.

The scene on Altar 12 probably depicts Ruler XI seated on a throne which, like the throne under the other individual portrayed, represents a toponym, in this case the triple Cauac or *ox witz*, "three hills," toponym of Caracol. He observes a bloodletting by a noble or king from Ucanal. It seems that this ceremony was so important that it was also recorded in Naranjo. It is probable that the last known king of Naranjo also attended the ceremonies.

Redrawing of Stela 13

One of the monuments that urgently needed to be redrawn was Stela 13 (Figure 9.8). A close inspection of the original monument showed many more details than were available in the published drawings. Stela 13 is one of the monuments discovered in the "stela dump" on the platform south of Structure A4. The stela is broken into two fragments of equal size. The butt still is *in situ*; the top fragment lies close

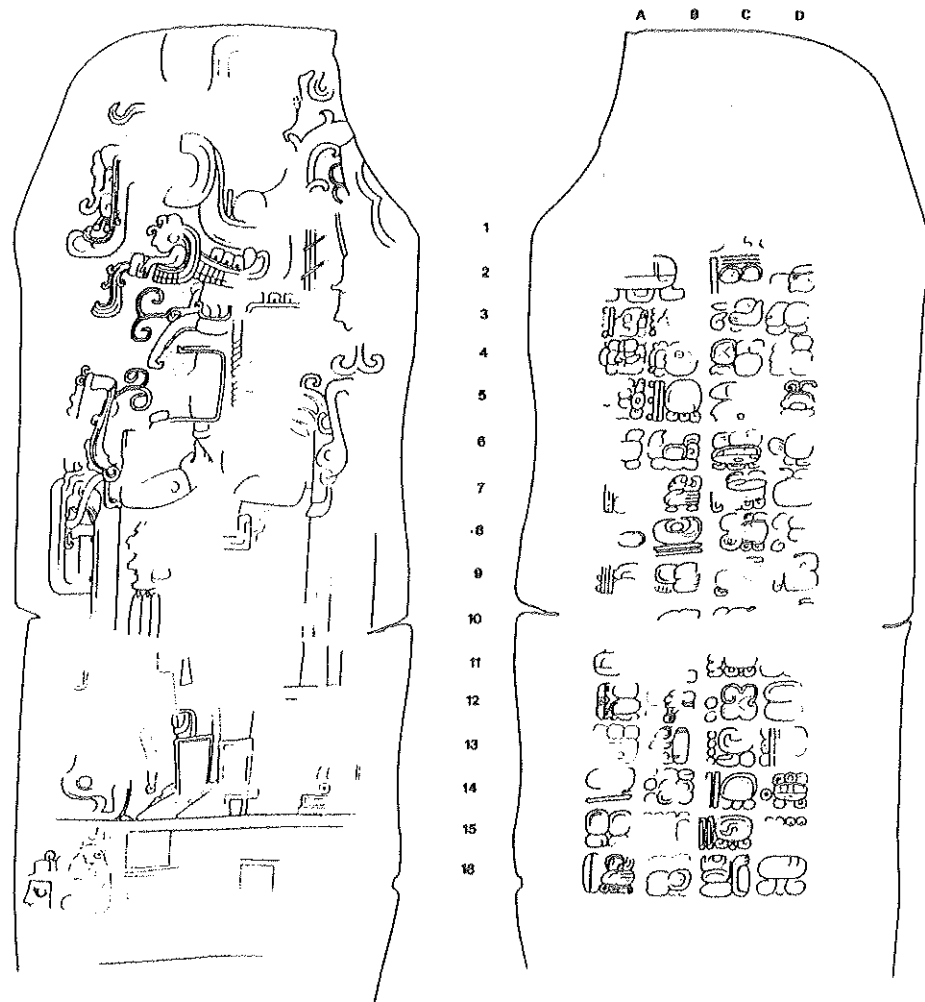


Figure 9.8. Redrawing of Caracol Stela 13.

by the butt. Stela 13 is one of the few Early Classic monuments of Caracol to have been left at its original location by earlier investigators. Both carved sides of the monument were redrawn during 1991 and 1992. The front side of the monument repeats, in many aspects, the characteristic Early Classic iconography of Caracol that is found on Stelae 3, 5, 6 and 16. Stela 13 closely parallels Stela 16, from which it is separated only by one k'atun. The scene portrays a standing royal figure richly dressed in ceremonial attire. The figure is holding a double-headed serpent bar in both hands. His large headdress consists of a large Itzamna-bird-mask. An interesting feature of the mask is the medallion in front of it, from which a jester god emerges and scatters some kind of liquid from a bowl in his hands. This same iconography is found on the front side of Stela 16.

The incised hieroglyphic inscription on the back of the monument begins with an Initial Series date of 9.4.0.0 13 Ahaw 18 Yax. This is followed by the Ninth Lord of the Night (A5-B5), Glyph D with a coefficient of ten or more (A6), Glyph C without a recognizable coefficient but with the "Young Lord" superfix (B6), an almost completely effaced Glyph X (A7), and the information that the current luna-

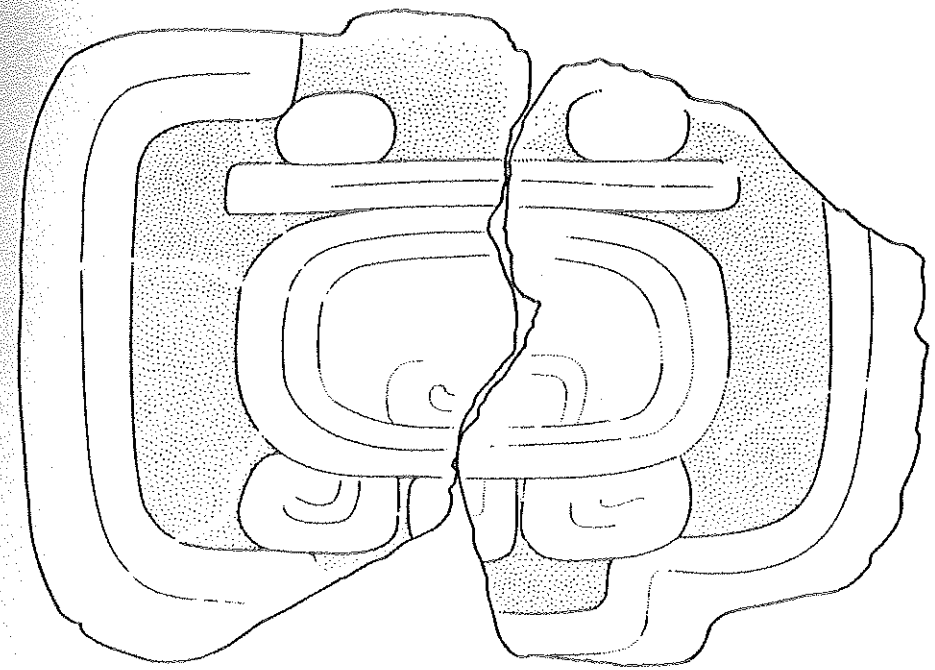


Figure 9.9. Caracol Altar 24 ("El Chaquistero Altar"); maximum diameter = 2.04 meters; maximum thickness = 0.16 meters; relief depth = 1.2 centimeters.

tion had 30 days (B7). The lunar information is in accordance with the standard system which would have yielded a moon age of 12.5 and Glyph C with the number one and a skull as the superfix (presumably Glyph C here is one lunation late and recorded the sixth "Young Lord" lunation, see Schele et al. 1992).

Unfortunately, most of the historical information from Stela 13 is lost due to erosion. In A16 a *tun* setting is recorded. This, too, parallels Stela 16, where after a long text in which the ruler is mentioned, a *tun* setting is recorded. The text continues from B16 to D2 with the names and titles of the subject of the *tun* setting phrase, most likely the current king of Caracol. The *y-al*, "child of," glyph in C3 introduces the name of the subject's mother (D3-C5); this followed by information about the father, introduced by the *u nichil*, "child of (father)," glyph in D5. It is possible that the father's name continued all the way down to C12-D12 where we find the *ox witz*, "three hills," Caracol toponym paired with the impinged bone locative. Only two glyphs occur before the toponym, one having a double-S or tail prefix. A similar sign occurs only in one other text at Caracol, on Stela 4 after the *u kahi* agency expression that introduces subjects of sentences (zDz2 in Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981:fig. 5b). Although the parallelism of one single sign might be weak evidence, the style of Stela 4 is earlier than that of Stela 13; it is possible that Stela 4 was the monument of the father of the king who erected Stela 13. A long distance number of 1.10.17.4 leads back from the 9.4.0.0 date to 10 Kib 4 Pop (9.2.9.0.16). The meaning of this date remains unknown as long as the accompanying verb cannot be read.

Stela 13 is of great interest because it is the second oldest stela in Caracol (after Stela 20). Stela 13 confirms the existence of an active royal dynasty at Caracol that

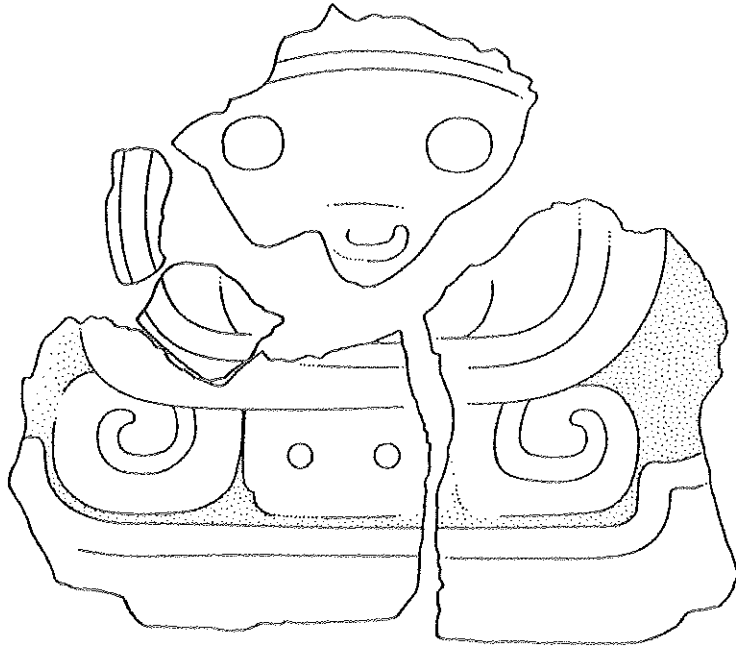


Figure 9.10. Caballo Altar 1; maximum diameter = 1.33 meters; thickness = 0.22 meters; relief depth = 0.7 centimeters.

recorded its history at the end of the fifth century. Furthermore, Stela 13 names the Caracol king who was in office before K'an I acceded in 9.4.16.13.3.

Giant Ahaw Altars from the Caracol Region

At the beginning of the 1991 field season two Giant Ahaw altars were discovered. Altar 24 (Figure 9.9) was found in an isolated plaza group 5 kilometers northwest of the epicenter. This group, named "El Chaquistero," had been recently looted; fortunately, Altar 24 was too heavy to be carried off by the looters. Altar 24 was found lying face up in front of the second highest structure of the group, but was broken into two fragments of almost equal size. The monument is sculpted with the glyph 7 Ahaw, which commemorates the last day of the k'atun ending on 9.7.0.0.0. The design of Altar 24 is in the style of Caracol.

Another Giant Ahaw altar was discovered in a site about one hour distant from a chiclero camp called "Caballo," some 11 kilometers north of Caracol. The site called "Caballo" is fairly large with a still intact reservoir, an acropolis group, and a ballcourt. Caballo Altar 1 (Figure 9.10) was found broken into many pieces on the main plaza between the highest pyramid and the aguada. Unfortunately, the coefficient to the Ahaw sign could not be found. Thus, no date can be given for this Giant Ahaw altar.

The importance of these two discoveries lies in the fact that Giant Ahaw altars are characteristic of Caracol elite activities in the Early Classic. Until recently, this type of Giant Ahaw altar was not known from outside the epicenter of Caracol.⁶ The new Giant Ahaw altars suggest that members of the Caracol elite were living far outside the epicenter. Caracol Altar 24 records the k'atun ending of 9.7.0.0.0. This was the first k'atun ending after the successful war event against the ruling

lineage of Tikal in 9.6.8.4.2. The right to erect a Giant Ahaw altar could be interpreted as part of the wealth that was redistributed among subordinate lords as recompense for their participation in warfare.

Monument Fragments

A number of monument fragments have come to light in the course of the Caracol Archaeological Project. As some of them contain hieroglyphs and others might later turn out to be parts of known monuments, these are included here. The fragments have been labeled "MF" for Monument Fragment and given sequential numbers. The fragments are described and illustrated in Appendix 1 and Figure 9.14. The fragments were discovered at various locations throughout the epicenter and core of Caracol. No concentration of fragments at a specific locale could be discerned. There is no obvious evidence of intentional breakage of monuments or of the reburial of monument fragments at sacred locations. However, the large distribution of small fragments over the site area may indicate that many of the fragments were carried around for ritual purposes.

Texts Painted on Stucco

During the 1992 field season two tombs were excavated in association with Structure A34. One of these tombs (Figure 10.4) exhibits a capstone that bore traces of a painted hieroglyphic text. The glyphs are painted in faint black pigment on red specular hematite and are poorly preserved, probably due to saturation with moisture. The text was painted before the capstone was put in place; the red hematite background continues under the vault stones on which the capstone rests. The irregular size of the lines and the extreme cursiveness of the glyphs suggests that the text was hurriedly executed. This haste is also suggested in the spacing and arrangement of the glyph blocks.

The text begins with a problematic calendar round date. While the day sign can easily be identified as 6 Eb, the month and its coefficient are less clear. The month Xul represents the best choice for the animal head, although Muwan could be an alternative. Only a fragmentary bar is left of the coefficient. The bar is too close to the day sign to provide space for additional dots. Furthermore, the day sign Eb requires month coefficients that are divisible by five. However, there is enough space between the fragmentary bar and the month glyph to allow at least one more bar, if not two. The fragmentary bar is so far away from the month sign that the presence of one or two additional bars is very likely. Given the above parameters, the best choices for the calendar round are 6 Eb 10 Xul or 6 Eb 15 Xul. Taking into account that the tomb contained early Late Classic ceramics (Figure 13.2) but was reopened and reused later (D. Chase, this volume), the following long count positions seem to be possible: 6 Eb 10 Xul at 9.7.8.12.12, 9.10.1.7.12, or 9.12.14.2.12; or, alternatively, 6 Eb 15 Xul at 9.7.3.11.12, 9.9.16.6.12, or 9.12.9.1.12.

The text continues after the date with the "eye" glyph, translating as *y-il*, "he sees" or "he observes" (Stuart 1987:26). Presumably, the subject was named in the following glyph that now is completely lost. Another verb is written under the "eye" glyph. This is the *mak-ah* verb that was identified by Houston (1987:96) as derived from the root *mak*, "to cover or close," with the *ha* sign added to spell the conventional *-ah* passive marker. The remaining glyphs are too poorly preserved to

warrant any comments. Presumably this short text talks about the covering of the vault with this capstone and the fact that this ceremony was witnessed by somebody, perhaps one of the Caracol rulers. Given the contextual parameters for the associated tomb, it is likely that one of the two earlier dates was represented (A. Chase, this volume).

Another major tomb was found in Structure B20 during the 1993 field season (Figure 10.3); the east wall of this chamber exhibited a painted text. The glyphs of this text are painted in faint black lines on red stucco and are framed by two bands of darker red pigment. This text was also executed in great hurry; the size of the glyphs varies and the overall arrangement is very irregular. Enough of the glyphs remains to read the long count date 9.5.3.1.3 9 Ak'bal 1 Xul (Aug. 10, 537). Most likely, this date represents the death date of the person in the tomb. The great number of ceramic vessels (Figure 13.1), the jadeite earflares, and other precious items suggests that the individual was a member of the royal family, if not one of the kings of Caracol; the presence of 14 stone spindle whorls and bloodletting implements in the area of the mouth suggest that the badly decayed bones may be those of a woman (Chase and Chase 1993b:49). Should this be the case, the woman could have been the wife of K'an I, whose reign began about seven years before and who died sometime before 9.5.19.1.2, when his son Yahaw Te K'inich became his successor. Yahaw Te K'inich recorded the name of his mother both on Altar 21 (I2-I3) and on Stela 1 (G1-H1); the name cannot be deciphered. However, it is obvious that this woman, as the mother of the heir to the throne, was the most important female at Caracol during that time.

Hieroglyphic Stucco

Stucco was one of the most important artistic media at Caracol. An enormous quantity of glyphic and non-glyphic stucco fragments has come to light during the various field seasons. Most of the stucco has been found in association with Caana, the largest structure in Caracol. Isolated stucco fragments have also been recovered from Structure A3, the South Acropolis, and the "Barrio" group. The glyphic stucco is focused on here; non-glyphic stucco will be the subject of an independent study. In recording and analyzing the glyphic stucco, epigraphers and archaeologists are confronted with the problem that virtually all of the glyphic fragments are out of context. Rarely are glyphic fragments found in their original location, most having fallen from facades in antiquity. Although the locations have been meticulously recorded, these glyphic fragments usually cannot be refitted in their original order as many of the pieces are missing or partial and the remaining stucco fragments are usually in a highly friable condition. Often, fragments of glyphs and even fragmented single signs, that do not produce a readable text, must be dealt with. All existing fragments of glyphic stucco are documented in Appendix 2 and Figures 9.15 through 9.19. The entries are arranged according to the locations where the glyphic stucco was found. The vast majority of glyphic stucco is associated with Caana, many pieces coming from the alley or behind the range building half-way up Caana. An equal amount of stucco derives from the summit of Caana, primarily in association with Structures B18 and B19. Apparently, stucco glyphs from this area belong to distinct texts, as they vary considerably in size; and some texts were framed by circular medallions.

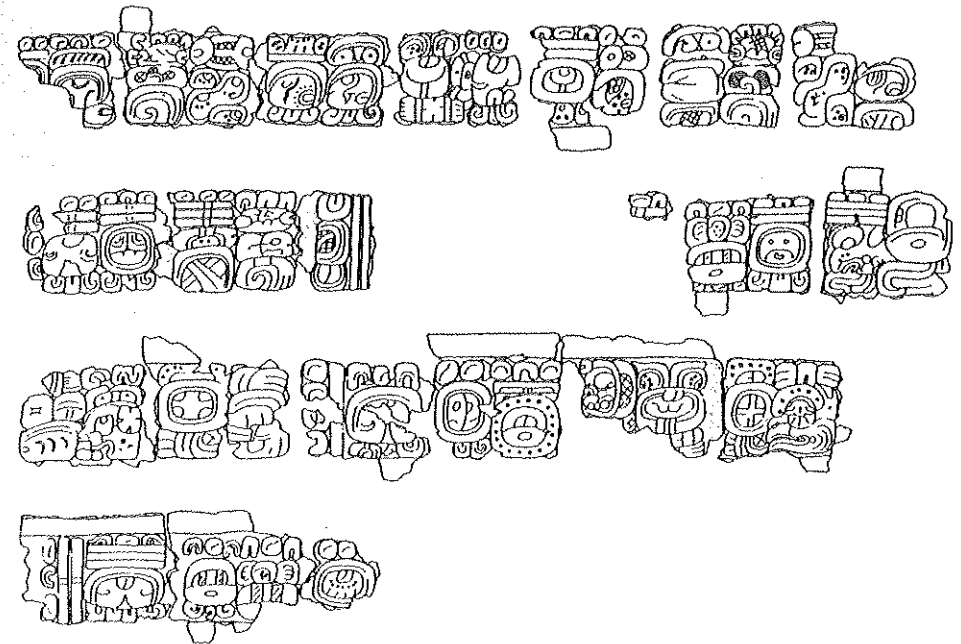


Figure 9.11. The stucco text from beneath Structure B16.

Among the stucco uncovered on the first level of Caana are two fragmentary dates. One combines a fragmentary long count 9.16.???.2 with the Tzolk'in 12 Ik' (C17P/26-4 to C17P/31-5). The other date, found in the same suboperation, is a complete calendar round 7 Lamat 6 Pax. If the date falls into the same "era" as the other one, the best choice would be 9.15.7.7.8 7 Lamat 6 Pax. Since final confirmation is lacking, it is better to regard this placement as tentative; in the same suboperation other glyphic fragments exist that must have been part of the chronological skeleton of the inscription. In every case, however, key elements of the dates are missing, so that the chronology cannot be reconstructed. The importance of the 9.16.???.2 date is that it fills the long gap between the date of Stela 21 (9.13.10.0.0) and Ballcourt Marker 3 (9.18.8.3.9). During this time Caracol's record was long believed to have fallen silent because of the rise of Tikal and Naranjo to power. It is very possible that Caracol was not affected by the activities of its Peten counterparts and that a royal dynasty, whose monuments simply have not yet been found, continued to reside in Caracol.

In striking contrast to the condition of most glyphic stucco is the stucco text that was found on a buried outer facade of Structure B16 (Figure 9.11). This find represents the first sequential and well-preserved stucco text in Caracol and gives an impression of the quality and quantity of lost epigraphic information. This text has great relevance to the dynastic history of the Caracol polity. The 43 preserved glyph blocks from the buried Structure B16 facade are part of a much longer hieroglyphic text. The preserved text begins with the calendar round date 9 K'an 2 Sek (9.9.13.4.4.), which also occurs on Stelae 3 and 22 and the Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway as the date of a war against Naranjo. Here, the verb following the date is the *hubuy*, "it was destroyed." The next two glyphs replace the Naranjo emblem glyph main sign found in the same context on Stela 3. The first of the two glyphs is the *ko* sign superfixed to a bent Cauac sign. This same location is mentioned on

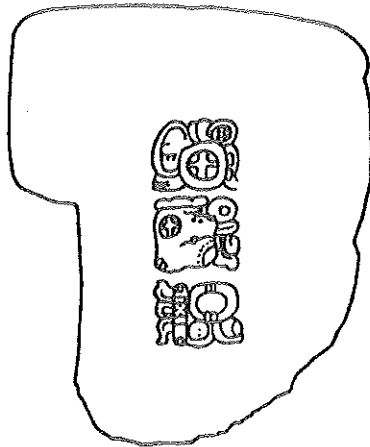


Figure 9.12. The axe mace-head found in debris behind Structure B15.

Naranjo Altar 1 as the place where the bones of an important person were placed in a cache by Lord Double Comb of Naranjo.⁷ The *u kahiy* agency expression and the name of K'an II close the first preserved sentence, which is linked by a distance number of 80 k'in to the next *hubuy* war event on 11 K'an 2 Ch'en (9.9.13.8.4) against the same *ko-bent-Cauac* location. The stucco text continues with a third *hubuy* event on 12 Chikchan 18 Sip (9.9.14.3.5), this time against a location whose toponym begins with the syllabic sign *tza*. Most likely, this is the same toponym as the one associated with this event on Caracol Stela 3 (D19).

A large and only partially preserved distance number of 1.11.(10.15) connects the cluster of war events with the accession of K'an II's successor on 12 Ahaw 18 Xul (9.11.5.14.0). The name glyph of the successor, who corresponds to Ruler VI in Houston's (1987:92) list, is also found on La Rejolla Stela 3 associated with events taking place between 9.11.9.16.2 and 9.12.0.0.0. The date of the accession of Ruler VI is a few days before the death of K'an II, which, according to the stucco text, took place on 2 Muluk 7 Mol (9.11.5.15.9). The explanation for the accession of Ruler VI before the death of K'an II is probably that K'an II was already very old and ill and felt that he would soon die; he may have allowed his successor to be inaugurated while he still was alive. Yet one more date is preserved on the stucco text, 3 Imix 9 Pop (9.12.7.14.1), but the glyphs following this date have not yet been recovered, so the nature of the associated event is unknown.

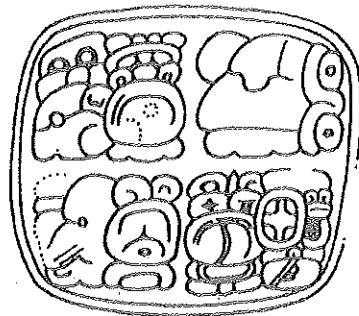


Figure 9.13. The parentage of K'an II according to Step III of the Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway (text redrawn by Grube after Graham 1978:108).

Texts on Vessels and Portable Artifacts

Houston (1987:97) has already lamented Caracol's small collection of texts on ceramics. In contrast to other sites of the same importance, the nobility of Caracol only very occasionally recorded ownership on their pottery. Fortunately, one more text can now be added to this collection. A partial vessel from one of the Structure A34 tombs is inscribed with a painted Primary Standard Sequence (Figure 13.2e). It is very unusual that the *y-uch'ib*, "the drinking vessel of," glyph is missing in this dedication text, perhaps because the artist who was painting the text was only semi-literate or because he forgot the glyph in the process of copying it.

One other artifact with a glyphic text should be noted. A well-preserved short hieroglyphic inscription with the pre-accession name of Lord K'an II, his more common "post-accession" name, and the Caracol glyph was discovered on an axe mace-head found in debris in the west alleyway on the first level of Caana (Figure 9.12).

Preliminary Summary of the Dynastic History of Caracol

The beginnings of Caracol's dynastic history are not yet well known. The few known Bak'tun 8 dates are back-references on Classic monuments. The 8.14. date on Ballcourt Marker 3 could well represent a "founding event"—either for Caracol as a city or for the current Caracol dynasty; but, unfortunately, the verb has not yet been deciphered.

The earliest contemporaneous monument is Stela 20 with a broken, but reconstructible, Long Count of 9.2.12.12.3. Stela 13 was erected some 28 years after Stela 20, but refers back to 9.2.9.0.16, a date associated in some way with the father of the king portrayed on its front side. The name of the father includes a sign that also appears in nominal position on Stela 4. Since Stela 4 and Stela 20 stylistically predate Stela 13, both might well be monuments erected by the father of the Stela 13 king.

The Stela 13 king preceded Lord K'an I, who, according to Stela 15, acceded to the throne of Caracol in 9.4.16.13.3. Stela 16, as Houston has shown, is a monument that was erected at the same locus as Stela 13 by K'an I, probably in order to honor his father. The text on Stela 16 mentions Lord K'an I as well as another personage (possibly a sublord) who was somehow involved in the erection of Stela 16. Stela 16 also talks about the parentage of K'an I. The name of K'an I's mother was written on the bottom of the monument (A19-B19). The name of the father probably occurred in the broken passage of the right double column. An interesting detail of the Stela 16 text is the mention of two other emblems, or to be more precise, toponymic titles. The first is based on the *witz*, "hill," sign, which here is combined with the same prefix that also precedes the *witz* sign in variants of the Xultun emblem glyph (Houston 1986:fig. 9); Martin (n.d.a) has argued that the toponymic title employed in the painted texts of the Naj Tunich cave is very similar, if not identical. In any case, this glyph also shows up in exactly the same form on the almost contemporary Stela 17 from Tikal. The second toponymic title refers to a king of the Copan polity. While I have identified the nominals of the Copan king on Stela 16 as those of the seventh ruler, or "Waterlily Jaguar," Stuart (1992:174) has argued that the glyphic name refers to the eighth or even the ninth ruler of Copan. These two references to foreign polities are of potential importance for working out Caracol's foreign relations before the Tikal war.

Lord K'an I also declares his parentage on Stela 15 in the passage immediately after the 9.4.16.13.3 event that most likely refers to his accession. A *y-al*, "child of mother," glyph can be identified at E3 between the name of K'an I and a female head. The published drawing of Stela, unfortunately, does not show enough detail and urgently needs to be redrawn; photographs display much more detail than the existing drawing. For example, the text seems to make reference to a *ch'ak*, "beheading," event (C12) against a person from a place whose emblem glyph was written in E12. The Tikal emblem glyph occurs in C13; this is the first mention of

Tikal at Caracol. It seems that the relations between Tikal and Caracol before the star war were much more amicable than after this war. On Stela 6 and Altar 21 the accession of Yahaw Te takes place *u kah*, "through the action of," an individual associated with the Tikal emblem glyph. This individual could be "Double Bird," the current king of Tikal. His nominal phrase on Tikal Stela 17 is much longer than just the "Double Bird" part of it. Therefore, it is possible that one of Double Bird's names is recorded on Stela 6 and Altar 21. The available data suggest that Yahaw Te (and probably other Caracol kings before him) acceded under the aegis of Tikal. This would accord with Tikal's position as the leading political power in the Peten for most of the Early Classic. Stela 6, Stela 14, and Altar 21 all mention the accession of Yahaw Te K'inich on 9.5.19.1.2. According to explicit statements of parentage on Altar 21 and Stela 1, we know that he was the son of K'an I and a female with the sign for "twenty" in her name. She may be the occupant of the tomb under Structure B20.

Although Yahaw Te K'inich acceded to the throne under the aegis of a Tikal king, at some time during his reign he completely changed his political association and led the first "star war" in Maya history (Houston 1991; Nahm 1993) against his former patron. For some reason, Yahaw Te K'inich makes no mention of his military fortune on any of his monuments. A reexamination of the passage on Altar 21 recording the war sheds some doubt on the agency of the war event⁸. Although Yahaw Te K'inich was the ruling king of Caracol at that time, there is no text that clearly connects Yahaw Te K'inich to this war event. Glyph blocks Q4-R4 on Altar 21 should name the agent of the war since they follow the *u kahiy* agency expression. Unfortunately, both blocks are heavily eroded. The remaining outlines, however, cannot have been filled with the name glyph of Yahaw Te K'inich nor with the Caracol glyph, as becomes obvious when one compares them with Yahaw Te's name in L3-K4. Thus, contrary to many previous interpretations, Yahaw Te K'inich cannot be credited with the conquest of Tikal. The name of the real victor will forever remain unknown because of damage to the relevant glyphs. Given, however, the fact that Site Q is already clearly mentioned on Altar 21 (U2a), that there are strong ties between Site Q and Caracol during this time, and that Site Q is also credited with the later Star War against Naranjo, Site Q seems to be a good candidate.

When the star war was fought against Tikal, it was preceded by the "axe," or decapitation event against the Caracol emblem glyph by a member of the Tikal nobility at 9.6.2.1.11, or about six years before the star war (much like the "axe" event against Palenque by Pomona at 9.8.17.15.14; see Looper and Schele 1991). Before this event took place, relations between the two polities were peaceful or at least neutral. Tikal, by then, controlled a large part of the Peten (Schele et al. 1992). Tikal's dominance of such a large geographical area probably resulted in internal political instability, so that it became an easy target for Site Q and its allies, among them Caracol (Martin n.d.).

Yahaw Te K'inich was succeeded in office by Ruler IV. Ruler IV erected three stelae (Stela 5, 6 and 7) in front of Structure A13. Of great interest is the text on the sides of Stela 6 where his accession is linked to the date 9.8.5.16.12. Houston (personal communication, 1991) mentions that the accession phrase includes a statement that Ruler IV received (?) the *ahaw hun*, the royal headband with the head of the jester god and a personified mirror (?), *ti yunen*, "from his father". The deci-

pherment of this last glyph is beyond doubt; however, no glyphs follow. If this interpretation is true, then Yahaw Te K'inich would have been the father of Ruler IV.

Ruler IV preceded K'an II, who acceded to the throne at 9.9.4.16.2. For a long time the parentage of K'an II remained enigmatic (see Stone et al. 1985:271-274 and Houston 1987:91). Houston pointed out that the most likely possibility was to view Yahaw Te K'inich and "Lady Batz' Ek'" as the parents of Lord K'an II, even though there are no texts in Caracol that provide a clear parentage statement. In 1991, however, Martin was able to identify a parentage statement on Step III of the Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway that includes the name of Lady Batz' Ek' as the mother and that of Yahaw Te K'inich as the father (Figure 9.13). While the name of the child is not clearly stated, it is obvious that K'an II is meant, since he is the protagonist of the entire hieroglyphic stairway. Naranjo Panel 1 also mentions the names of K'an II, Lady Batz' Ek', and Yahaw Te K'inich. The glyphs in between the names are still obscure, but it can be speculated that they also spell out parental relations, perhaps couched in a very metaphorical language.

Both Ruler IV and K'an II were sons of Yahaw Te K'inich. However, they can not possibly be children of the same mother. Lady Batz' Ek' was born on 9.6.12.4.16. Ruler IV's birthdate is 9.7.2.0.3, nine and a half years later. This situation can only be explained if Yahaw Te K'inich had more than one wife and if Ruler IV had a different mother than K'an II. The identification of a half-brother relation between Ruler IV and K'an II could explain why K'an II never talks about Ruler IV in his texts. On Altar 21, for example, he relates himself to his father and glorifies his father's military defeat of Tikal (Houston 1991; Gutierrez 1993). In the entire text of Altar 21 that covers more than eighty years of history only Yahaw Te K'inich and K'an II are mentioned.

While K'an II never does refer to his half-brother, he pays considerable attention to his mother. Lady Batz' Ek', K'an II's mother probably was not from a local lineage. The recent identification of the *hul-iy*, "arrival," verb in the long text of Stela 3 leads to the conclusion that she was a foreigner and arrived at Caracol in 9.7.10.16.8. Her position at Caracol is not unlike that of Lady Six Sky, who arrives at Naranjo to reconsolidate the local dynasty after a long hiatus. Stela 3 also refers to the arrival of Lady Batz' Ek' at *ox witz ha*, the Caracol toponym, on 9.9.9.10.5; the reason why there is a second stated arrival has yet to be explained. On Stela 3 Lady Batz' Ek' is associated with the title *k'ul yax ahaw*, "divine lord of Yax" or "divine first lord," several times. Outside Caracol this title is extremely rare and only occurs on Calakmul Stela 52 (B16) and Morales Stela 2 (E3; Pavon A. 1945:fig. 4). There is accumulating evidence that, as was first suggested by Marcus (1976), Site Q can be equated with Calakmul (Stuart and Houston n.d.; Schele and Freidel 1990:456-457; Martin n.d.). This would help explain why Lady Batz' Ek' carries a title that is found in Calakmul. The use of this title at Morales is in accordance with the interpretation of Morales as another ally of Site Q.⁹ If the identification of Site Q with Calakmul proves to be correct and if the K'ul Yax Ahaw title indeed has some local associations with Calakmul, then we can go further with our interpretation and suggest that Lady Batz' Ek' may have been a member of the royal dynasty of Site Q. She probably married into the Caracol dynasty in order to confirm the ties between Caracol and Site Q after the Tikal war.

A Site Q origin for Lady Batz' Ek' could also explain why she is mentioned so often in the inscriptions at Caracol and Naranjo as well as why K'an II devotes so much attention to his mother on the back of Stela 3. Since Lady Batz' Ek' clearly is the most important female in the hieroglyphic record of Caracol, the Structure B19-2nd tomb which contained the remains of an important adult female (Chase and Chase 1987a:26) might have been hers. The hieroglyphic text on the north wall of the tomb produced a long count date of 9.10.1.12.11.¹⁰ By this time Lady Batz' Ek' would have been about 69 years of age. This interpretation is problematic since the osteological evidence indicates that the female was not older than in her late forties; however, there is also evidence that the adult female was bundled and placed in the tomb after her actual death (D. Chase, personal communication, 1989). Perhaps the painted date could correspond to the final closure of the tomb chamber.

K'an II became the most important king of Caracol. His success and power certainly were based, to some degree, on his close association with Site Q. The connections to Site Q established by his father grew so strong that K'an II was called a *y-itah* or "companion of" the king of Site Q. And all of the major war events took place in connection with members of the site Q dynasty.

K'an II not only was a successful warrior (he defeated Naranjo and several places in its vicinity), but also undertook a major building program. Under his patronage the epicenter of Caracol was completely reshaped and the density of settlement at Caracol reached its peak. This was Caracol's "golden time." No other Caracol ruler had so many monuments erected for their own glorification. K'an II also erected monuments at the small site of La Rejolla (Guatemala), which is situated on the top of the highest hill overlooking the connection between Caracol and the Chiquibul River.

On 9.11.5.14.0, 29 days before his death, K'an II witnessed the accession of his successor. K'an II's death occurred on 9.11.5.15.9, when he was 59 years old. He must have foreseen his death in order to allow the accession of his successor while he was still alive. The successor, or Ruler VI following Houston (1987:92), had no known monuments of his own erected in Caracol. The only monument from his reign is La Rejolla Stela 3 at 9.12.0.0.0. The reason why he did not erect stone monuments at Caracol is not known. And speculations about internal dynastic struggle would be premature. The stucco text from Structure B16 is evidence that the nobility in Caracol were well aware of his claim to power. However, Ruler VI disappears and, for whatever reasons, a kind of hiatus follows, only interrupted by the erection of Stela 21 near Structure A4 on 9.13.10.0.0. Stela 21 provides evidence for ongoing militaristic activities. The glyphic titles of the captive shown kneeling before the ruler might contain the head variant of the Tikal emblem glyph. If this identification is correct, it means that Caracol took a captive of *ahaw* status from Tikal only a few years after Tikal began to flourish again and after Jaguar Paw of Site Q had been taken captive.¹¹ Unfortunately, further information on this event is lacking; with the exception of the long count date all other glyphs are either broken or flaked off and even the name of the current ruler is unknown.

The hiatus which follows the erection of Stela 21 continues until the beginning of the Terminal Classic Period. Interestingly, it coincides with Tikal's rise to power under its Rulers A and B (cf. Chase 1991). Our impression of this hiatus, however, might be biased by the fact that the pertinent monuments of this time just have not been found. That dynastic activities continued is supported by information con-

tained in the stucco texts from Caana. The stucco date of 9.16.?.?.2 12 Ik' from the first level of Caana proves beyond doubt that something important occurred at Caracol that was of concern to the elite. It is very unfortunate, though, that most of the stucco that could have provided the missing history for the time between Stela 21 and Ballcourt Marker 3 is in such a fragmentary condition.

The tradition of erecting monuments at Caracol begins again with the monuments commissioned by K'inich Hok' K'awil, Houston's Ruler IX. The markers from the B group ballcourt, Stela 11, and Altar 23 were all erected close to or at the half-k'atun ending 9.18.10.0.0. No information about this ruler's birth, accession, or death date, however, exist. An odd passage on Stela 11 seems to refer to the parentage of K'inich Hok' K'awil (Houston 1987:92). However, the passage is not very clear. Where one would expect the father's name, once again there is the same *tum-ol* name that was employed by several individuals during Caracol's history. Besides the text on Stela 11, this same person is probably mentioned on Altar 23 and in the Naj Tunich cave.

K'inich Hok' K'awil's successor erected Stela 18, Stela 19, Altar 12, and Altar 13 in the B plaza and probably also Stela 8 in the A plaza. He has an extraordinary long nominal sequence. On most monuments only one or two glyphs are cited from this sequence, making it extremely hard to identify them as part of the same name. This problem caused Houston to see two individuals, Ruler X and XI, where in fact only one exists; this single individual is referred to here as Ruler X. His first monument is Stela 18 (9.19.0.0.0). The last date associated with his reign is 10.0.0.0.0 date on Altar 13.¹² Perhaps the redrawing of Altar 13 in the near future will help to shed more light on the later history of Caracol.

One last ruler left his traces on the monuments of Caracol. This is Houston's Ruler XII, whose name first appears on Hatzcab Ceel Altar 1, dating to 10.0.5.0.0, and then on Altar 10 and Stela 17. Stela 17 and Altar 10 were found by Satterthwaite in an outlying group to the southeast of the epicenter. The name employed by Ruler XII again is the *tu-mu ol* name of previous kings, with the only difference being that on the Hatzcab Ceel altar the antenna superfix occurs with a *na* phonetic complement. The scene on Stela 17 shows two persons in conversation. Although the small glyphic captions between the persons cannot be deciphered by means of the published photographs and drawings, the main text above these individuals provides some clues as to their identification. One of the individuals is Ruler XII. There is no second name in the text, but the Sacul emblem glyph and the "Three Winik Bird" title may identify the other person as coming from the site Sacul, only a day's walk west of Caracol (Mayer 1990:1). There are no contemporary dates on Sacul monuments, but there is ceramic evidence that Sacul continued to be a major center in the Terminal Classic (Escobedo A. 1991:49-50). It is interesting to note that Caracol mentions Sacul and Ucanal in its Terminal Classic texts, but is, in turn, never mentioned by either of these sites. While Ucanal seems to have been under the direct dominion of Caracol for some time following the capture of its *ahaw* (as represented on Altar 23), no such evidence exists for Sacul.

The final days of Caracol are recorded on Stela 10, a monument that still resists decipherment. Besides various—abbreviated—dates, its texts mention house dedications and other ritual activities. The date 10.1.10.0.0, written only as an "ahaw-K'atun," marks the final event in the history of the Caracol dynasty.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. Nahm has related the glyphic spelling of *tu-mu ol* to the Yucatec expression *tuntum ollah*, "tentar o imaginar o fabricar, tentar or probar, planer en mente, imaginar considerando, fabricar o trazer en la mente, adivinar" (Barrera V. 1980:821). The same root is used on Dresden 4c as a verb referring to the making of prophecies. The translation of this prominent Caracol name as "thinker" and, by extension, "prophet," is a very good suggestion. The same name is carried by one of the early kings of Quirigua (Stela C, west side, B6-A7).

2. Examples of this still undeciphered formula occur on Nimli Punit Stela 15, Itzan Stela 17, Motul de San Jose Stela 3, Ixkun Stela 2, Yaxchilan Lintel 29, Naranjo Stelae 8 and 14, Piedras Negras Stela 35, and Caracol Stela 21. If these glyphs from Stela 22 really are such a "fire formula," they would represent the earliest example.

3. The identification of the war date on the Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway was made by Simon Martin (n.d.a), who inspected the steps of the stairway in the British Museum.

4. The glyph for the *tun* period is not written with the *tun* sign, but rather with another collocation of which only the superfix, a form of the *yax* sign, is preserved. Although this glyph is unique, it seems clear from the context that it has to be the required *tun* glyph.

5. Since the *chi* suffix is not present in all examples of this verb, it most likely functions as a phonetic complement.

6. Giant Ahaw altars occur more often at Caracol than at any other Maya site. However, there are examples of giant Ahaw altars—usually with a circular hieroglyphic text framing the Ahaw glyph in the center—from Tonina, Altar de Sacrificios, Quirigua, and Tikal, which erected a giant Ahaw altar after the conquest by Caracol (Schele and Freidel 1990:204-205).

7. This idea was first mentioned to me by Stephen Houston in a letter dated November 17, 1988.

8. In a conversation with Simon Martin on February 2, 1993, I learned that he shares this doubt about the agency of the Tikal war. He suspects for various reasons that Site Q was the leading party in the war against Tikal, and that the situation at Caracol was similar to the situation at Dos Pilas, where there was a celebration of a victory over Tikal which was only possible due to an alliance with Site Q.

9. Note the presence of the Site Q emblem on Morales Stela 4 (C10).

10. Although parts of the long count have flaked off the wall (especially the k'in position and the day name), a restudy of the date by the author has shown that the winal coefficient is 12 and that the Tzolk'in coefficient is 1.

11. The identification of the Tikal emblem on Stela 21 is still tentative and was made by Simon Martin and myself in April 1993.

12. The 10.0.0.0.0 date on Altar 13 seems to be a future date. The glyph after the 7 Ahaw 18 Sip calendar round—although badly eroded—appears to combine the syllabic signs *u-to-mo* to spell the future participle *utom*, "it will come to pass."

Table 9.1: Revised List of Dates of the Caracol Dynasty

BCM 3	?	(8.14.13.10.4)	(3 K'an 2 Mak)	331 I 14
St. 23	A1-7	8>15.3.2.7		
St. 13	C15-D15	(9.2.9.0.16)	10 Kib 4 (Pop)	484 IV 12
St. 20	A1-A5	(9.2.12.12.3)	(4 Ak'bal 16 Sak)	487 XI 10
Alt. 4	A1	(9.3.0.0.0)	2 Ahaw (18 Muwan)	495 I 29
St. 13	A1-A9	9.4.0.0.0	13 Ahaw 18 Yax	514 X 16
Alt. 2	A1	(9.4.0.0.0)	13 Ahaw (18 Yax)	514 X 16
St. 15	A1-A3	(9.4.16.13.3)	4 Ak'bal 16 Pop	531 IV 13
St. 16	A1-B8	9.5.0.0.0	11 Ahaw *18 Sek	534 VII 13
Alt. 3	A1	(9.5.0.0.0)	11 Ahaw (18 Sek)	534 VII 13
Alt. 14	A1	?(9.5.0.0.0)	11 Ahaw (18 Sek)	534 VII 13
B 20 Tomb	A1-A7?	9.5.3.1.3	9 Ak'bal 1 Xul	537 VII 10
St. 6	A1-A3	9.5.19.1.2	9 Ik' 5 Wo	553 IV 16
St. 14	F1-E2	(9.5.19.1.2)	9 *Ik' 5 Wo	553 IV 16
Alt. 21	K2b-L2a	(9.5.19.1.2)	9 Ik' 5 Wo	553 IV 16
St. 6	A7-B7a	(9.6.0.0.0)	9 Ahaw 3 Wayeb	554 III 20
Alt. 5	A1	(9.6.0.0.0)	9 Ahaw (3 Wayeb)	554 III 20
Alt. 21	N3-M4	(9.6.0.0.0)	9 Ahaw 3 Wayeb	554 III 20
Alt. 21	P1	(9.6.2.1.11)	6 Chuwen 19 Pop	556 IV 9
Alt. 21	Q2b-R2a	(9.6.8.4.2)	7 Ik' 0 Sip	562 IV 29
St. 3	A1-A8a	9.6.12.4.16	5 Kib 14 Wo	566 IV 22
Alt. 21	W2b-X2a	(9.6.17.17.0)	8 Ahaw 13 Mak	571 XI 26
Alt. 21	X3-W4	(9.6.18.2.19)	9 Kawak 12 K'ayab	572 II 13
St. 3	B11b-A12a	(9.6.18.12.0)	8 Ahaw 8 Mol	572 VIII 12
St. 6	C7	(9.7.0.0.0)	7 Ahaw 3 K'ank'in	573 XII 5
Alt. 6	A1	(9.7.0.0.0)	7 Ahaw (3 K'ank'in)	573 XII 5
Alt. 16	A1	(9.7.0.0.0)	7 Ahaw (18 Sip)	573 XII 5
Alt. 21	A'1b-B'1b	(9.7.0.0.0)	7 Ahaw 3 K'ank'in	573 XII 5
Alt. 24	A1	(9.7.0.0.0)	7 Ahaw (3 K'ank'in)	573 XII 5
St. 5	C24	(9.7.2.0.3)	2 Ak'bal 16 Mak	575 XI 28
B20 Tomb	A1-A6	?(9.7.23.12.15)	3 Men (18 Yaxk'in)	577 VIII 1
St. 3	A14b-B14a	(9.7.10.16.8)	9 Lamat 16 Ch'en	584 IX 6
REJ St. 1	G1-G8	*9.*7.*14.10.1	9 Imix 9 Wo	588 IV 11
St. 3	A17a-A17b	(9.7.14.10.8)	3 Lamat 16 Wo	588 IV 18
Alt. 21	A1-7	9.7.14.10.*8	(3 Lamat 16 Wo)	588 IV 18
NAR P. 1	A1-B1	(9.7.14.10.8)	3 Lamat 16 Wo	588 IV 18
St. 3	A19b-B19a	(9.7.19.13.12)	8 Eb 15 Sotz'	593 V 26
St. 1	A1-D1	9.8.0.0.0	5 Ahaw 3 Ch'en	593 VIII 22
St. 6	C8	(9.8.0.0.0)	5 Ahaw 3 Ch'en	593 VIII 22
Alt. 1	A1	(9.8.0.0.0)	5 Ahaw (3 Ch'en)	593 VIII 22
Alt. 18	A1	(9.8.0.0.0)	5 Ahaw (3 Ch'en)	593 VIII 22
Alt. 21	E'1a	(9.8.0.0.0)	5 Ahaw 3 Ch'en	593 VIII 22
St. 5	?	(9.8.5.16.12)	5 Eb 5 Xul	599 VI 24
St. 6	A14-B14	(9.8.5.16.12)	5 Eb 5 Xul	599 VI 24
St. 6	C17-A18	(9.8.10.0.0)	4 Ahaw 13 Xul	603 VII 1
St. 5	C23	(9.9.0.0.0)	3 Ahaw 3 Sotz'	613 V 9
Alt. 11	A1	(9.9.0.0.0)	3 Ahaw (3 Sotz')	613 V 9
Alt. 15	A1	(9.9.0.0.0)	3 Ahaw (3 Sotz')	613 V 9
St. 5	D25	(9.9.0.4.0)	5 Ahaw 3 Mol	613 VII 28
L3 Tomb	A1-D2	*9.*9.*16.17	2 Kaban 15 Wo	614 IV 11
St. 3	C3a-C3b	(9.9.4.16.2)	10 Ik' 0 Pop	618 III 6
St. 3	D7a-D7b	(9.9.5.13.8)	4 Lamat 6 Pax	619 I 6
St. 22	?	(9.9.9.0.5)	(11 Chikchan 3 Wo)	622 III 28
St. 3	D10b-C11	(9.9.9.10.5)	3 Chikchan 3 Keh	622 X 14
St. 22	F13	(9.9.9.10.5)	3 Chikchan 3 Keh	622 X 14
St. 3	C15a-C15b	(9.9.10.0.0)	3 Ahaw 13 Pop	623 III 18
St. 22	A5-A13	*9.*12.6.*6	*3 K'ani 9 Yaxk'in	625 VII 11
St. 3	C17a-C17b	(9.9.13.4.4)	9 K'an 2 Sek	626 V 25
St. 22	G10	(9.9.13.4.4)	9 K'an 2 Sek	626 V 25
B16 Stucco	A1-A2	(9.9.13.4.4)	9 K'an 2 Sek	626 V 25
NAR HS	R1-Q2?	(9.9.13.4.4)	9 K'an *2 Sek	626 V 25
St. 22	I1	(9.9.13.8.4)	11 K'an 2 Ch'en	626 VIII 13
NAR HS	?	(9.9.13.8.4)	11 K'an 2 Ch'en	626 VIII 13
B16 Stucco	A9-A10	(9.9.13.8.4)	11 K'an 2 Ch'en	626 VIII 13
St. 3	C19a-C19b	(9.9.14.3.5)	12 Chikchan 18 Sip	627 V 1
B16 Stucco	A16-A17	(9.9.14.3.5)	12 Chikchan 18 Sip	627 V 1
NAR HS	P1	(9.9.14.3.5)	12 Chikchan 18 Sip	627 V 1
NAR HS	A'1b-B'1a	(9.9.17.11.14)	13 Ix 12 Zac	630 X 1
St. 3	F2-F3	(9.9.18.16.3)	7 Ak'bal 16 Muwan	631 XII 24
NAR HS	M1b-N1a	(9.9.18.16.3)	7 Ak'bal 16 Muwan	631 XII 24
St. 3	E7a-E7b	(9.10.0.0.0)	1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab	633 I 24
St. 22	K131b-L131b	(9.10.0.0.0)	1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab	633 I 24
Alt. 19	A1	(9.10.0.0.0)	1 Ahaw (8 K'ayab)	633 I 24
Alt. 21	G'1	?(9.10.0.0.0)	*1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab	633 I 24
NAR P.1	G2-H2	(9.10.0.0.0)	1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab	633 I 24
NAR HS	N3	(9.10.0.0.0)	1 Ahaw 8 K'ayab	633 I 24

Table 9.1: Revised List of Dates (continued)

B19 Tomb	A1-?	9.10. 1.12.*11	1 (Chuwen 9 Sak)	634 IX 27
NAR HS.	A1	(9.10. 3. 2.12)	2 Eb 0 Pop	636 III 1
St. 3	F9a-b, uh	(9.10. 4. 7. 0)	8 Ahaw 3 Sek	637 V 26
NAR HS.	V1	(9.10. 4.16. 2)	8 Ik' 5 K'an	637 XI 21
NAR HS.	II-?	9.10.10. 0. 0	13 Ahaw (18 K'an'kin)	642 XII 3
Alt. 7	A1	(9.11. 0. 0. 0)	12 Ahaw (8 Keh)	652 X 11
Alt. 17	A1-B1	(9.11.0. 0. 0)	12 Ahaw 8 Keh	652 X 11
B18 Stucco	A25-A26	(9.11. 5.14. 0)	12 Ahaw 18 Xul	658 VI 22
B18 Stucco	A33-A34	(9.11. 5.15. 9)	2 Muluk 7 Mol	658 VII 21
Caana Stucco	A1-B1	(9.11. 9.16. 2)	12 Ik' *0 Mol	662 VII 13
REJ 3	A1-?	9.11. 9.*16.2	(12 Ik' 0 Mol)	662 VII 13
REJ 3	?	(9.11.19.11. 0)	(13 Ahaw 13 Kumk'u)	672 II 9
REJ 3	B5	(9.11.19.13. 0)	1 Ahaw *8 Wo	672 III 20
REJ 3	A7-B7a	(9.12. 0. 0. 0)	10 Ahaw 8 Yaxk'in	672 VI 28
B18 Stucco	A42-A43	(9.12. 7.14. 1)	3 Imux (9 Pop)	680 II 28
A3 Tomb	A1-B1	?(9.13.3.15.16)	13 Kib *9 K'ayab	696 I 10
St. 21	A1-A2	9.13.10.*0. 0	7 Ahaw 3 Kumk'u	702 I 22
Caana Stucco		9.16.?2.2	12 Ik?	
BCM 3	C3-D3	(9.18. 8. 3. 9)	9 Muluk 7 Muwan	798 XI 3
St. 11	A1-B4	9.18.*10.0. 0	10 Ahaw 8 Sak	800 VIII 15
Alt. 23	A1-B1	(9.18.)10.0. 0	10 Ahaw 8 Sak	800 VIII 15
St. 8	A1-?	79.18. ? . ? . ?		
St. 18	A1-B1	(9.19.0. 0. 0)	9 Ahaw 18 Mol	810 VI 24
Alt. 22	A6-A7	(9.19. 0. 0. 0)	9 Ahaw 18 Mol	810 VI 24
MCW 2	A1-D4	9.19. 0. 0. 0	9 Ahaw 18 Mol	810 VI 24
Alt. 12	A1-A2	?(9.19.9. 9.15)	12 Men 8 Pax	819 XI 19
MCW 1	C1-D1	?(9.19.9.10. 6)	10 Kimi 19 Pax	819 XI 30
Alt. 12	C2-D1	(9.19. 9.17. 0)	1 Ahaw 8 Sek	820 IV 12
St. 19	zC2-zD2	(9.19.10. 0. 0)	8 Ahaw 8 Xul	820 V 2
Alt. 12	II-II2	(9.19.)10.0. 0	8 Ahaw 8 Xul	820 V 2
Alt. 13	C2-C3	(9.19.10. 0. 0)	8 Ahaw (8 Xul)	820 V 2
Alt. 13	II-II	(10.0. 0. 0. 0)	7 Ahaw 18 Sip	830 III 20
MCW 1	A1-A2St.	(10.0. 5. 0. 0)	13 Ahaw 13 Wo	835 II 13
St. 17	B1-C1	(10.0.19. 6.14)	13 Ix 17 Sek	849 IV 14
Alt. 10	A1-B1	(10.0.19. 6.14)	13 Ix 17 Sek	849 IV 14
St. 17	B5	(10.1. 0. 0. 0)	5 Ahaw 3 K'ayab	849 XI 26
St. 10	D7	?(10.1.10.0. 0)	*4 Ahaw (13 K'an'kin)	859 X 5

Appendix 1: Monument Fragments with Text or Iconography

MF 1. A piece of compact dark slate from an unknown location, now housed in the University Museum, Pennsylvania. Incised glyph is an early form of the Caracol emblem glyph. Figure 9.14c (Drawing by Stephen Houston).

MF 2. (C1H/13-1). Thin flake of compact dark slate, found in debris of Structure B20. Fragment is from a hieroglyphic text. The one preserved glyph can be recognized as the verb *huli* "he arrived at". Max. Dim. 8.3 cm. Figure 9.14b.

MF 3. (C80/1-4). Thin flake of compact dark slate, found in the humus layer on the east side of Structure A7. Part of a hieroglyphic inscription. The preserved text contains the name of K'an I or K'an II, followed by the Caracol emblem glyph. In the second line another Caracol emblem can be identified. If the text would have been read in double column format, the Caracol emblem in the bottom row would follow the emblem that clearly is associated with the K'an I or K'an II name in the top row. It is much more likely, therefore, that the text was read in single rows, so that additional glyphs would have been placed between the two emblems. The only known monument written in such a manner is Stela 15, a slate stela that records the accession of K'an I (Houston 1987:88). MF 3, then, likely was part of the heavily broken Stela 15. Max. Dim. 9.6 cm. Figure 9.14f.

MF 4. (C8A/5-3b). Thin flake of a slate monument, found among material left by Anderson and Satterthwaite in the upper tomb in front of Structure A6. Max. Dim. 9.3 cm. Figure 9.14j.

MF 5. (C78C/4-18). Thin slate fragment found in the courtyard west of Structure B19. The fragment is from a glyph text. The preserved text contains a calendar round date ? Ahaw 8 (or 13) ?, a verb (*ch'am k'awi*) that is used in Quirigua and elsewhere to record accession, and probably the beginning of a nominal phrase. This text apparently was arranged in double column format, so that the verb would follow the calendar round date. Max. Dim. 12.3 cm. Figure 9.14g.

MF 6. (C16C/2-3). Thin irregularly shaped fragment of compact slate. Max. Dim. 6.4 cm. Figure 9.14a.

MF 7. (C78B/2-12). Thin slate fragment found in debris on the north face of Structure B18. Max. Dim. 7.1 cm. Figure 9.14n.

MF 8. (C8A/5-3a). Thin flake of a slate monument, from the material left by Anderson and Satterthwaite in the upper tomb in front of Structure A6. Max. Dim. 13.1 cm. Figure 9.14k.

MF 9. (C50B/1-1). Carved piece of a compact slate monument, possibly part of Stela 4. The fragment shows part of a hieroglyphic text of which only the lower left glyph can be identified as the name of one of Stuart's (1988:190) "Paddler Gods", the so-called "Night Paddler". Recovered from the "Tiger" group, 1 kilometer from epicenter. Max. Dim. 27.3 cm. Figure 9.14e.

MF 10. (C18S/16-1). Carved piece of compact limestone from a stela edge; one side carved with high relief against a plain background. The carving shows part of a cartouche not unlike the cartouches on the sides of Stela 19. The lower part of a day sign cartouche can be recognized within the round cartouche. Found in debris in front of Structure B5. Max. Dim. 18.8 cm. Figure 9.14a.

MF 11. (C71E/28-1). Carved piece of very compact, heavy limestone found on top of Structure A2. The carved side shows an eroded hieroglyphic text. Max. Dim. 8.3 cm. Figure 9.14m.

MF 12. (C71E/2-1a). Irregularly shaped limestone fragment with one side carved. Probably part of Stela 23. Found on the north portion of the summit of Structure A2. Max. Dim. 6.8 cm. Figure 9.14d.

MF 13. (C8C/1-4a). Fragment of a slate stela, probably from "Stone Group 46" (see Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981: 25). Max. Dim. 8.5 cm. Figure 9.14p (Drawing by Stephen Houston).

MF 14. (C8C/1-4b). Fragment of a slate stela, probably from "Stone Group 46" (see Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981: 25). Max. Dim. 5.7 cm. Figure 9.14q (Drawing by Stephen Houston).

MF 15. (C1C/11-1). Fragment of a slate stela from plaza fill in front of Structure B20. Fragment is apparently polished or reworked on its back. Carved side shows bar-and-dot number "8" or "13". Max. Dim. 12.1 cm. Figure 9.14h.

MF 16. (C18N/10-4). Fine limestone fragment, perhaps part of a stela. The design seems to be of a cartouche much like those on the sides of Stela 19. The fragment was found in the debris in front of Str. B5, not far from Stela 19. Max. Dim. 40.1 cm, Max. Thickness 9.5 cm. Figure 9.14l.

MF 17. Slate fragment from an undesignated monument at The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Published in Houston 1987:fig. 70c.

MF 18. (C2B/1-3). Limestone fragment from an undesignated monument. Recovered from the area of the Project camp. Figure 9.14i.

MF 19. Carved slate fragment from Stone Group 46. (Reconstructed Fragment 1). Now stored at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Published in Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981:fig. 27a.

MF 20. Carved slate fragment from Stone Group 46/50 (Reconstructed Fragment 2). Now stored at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Published in Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981: Figure 27b.

MF 21. Slate fragment, most likely from Stela 4. Now stored at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Carving shows fragmented hieroglyphs, among them the glyph VI.?.60:528:142 "six colour month" (Chen, Sak, Yax or Keh). Published in Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981:fig. 27c.

MF 22. Carved slate fragment from Stone Group 46 (Reconstructed Fragment 3). Front and back side carved. Front shows standing ruler with ceremonial bar, back shows fragmented hieroglyphic inscription. Now stored at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Published in Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981:fig. 27d and e.

Appendix 2: The Hieroglyphic Stucco of Caracol

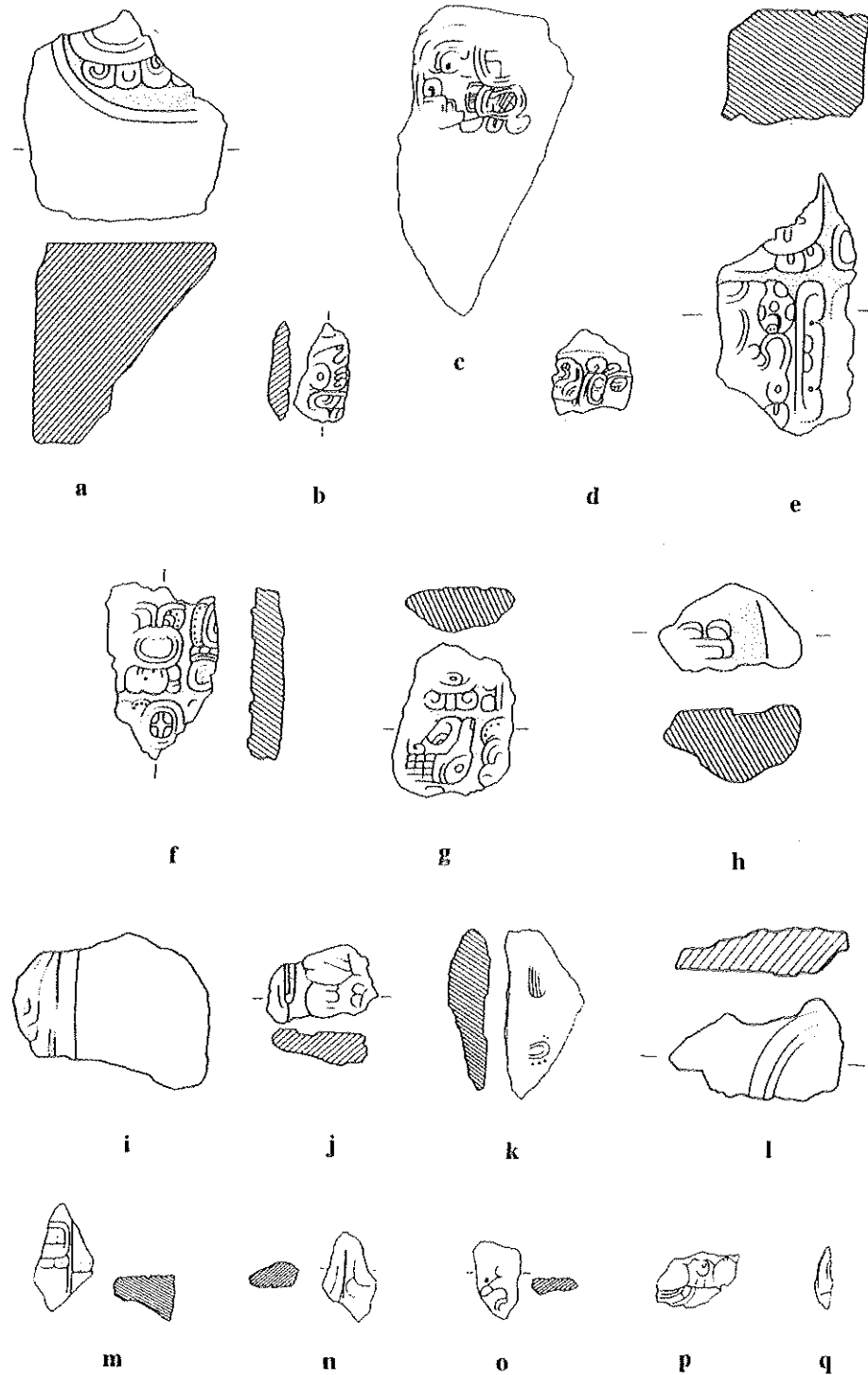


Figure 9.14. Monument fragments from Caracol.

Stucco from the middle range building at Caana

C17P/3-31	11.4 x 12.6 x 3.4	(Figure 9.15a).	T82 <i>fi</i>
C17P/3-32	14.0 x 13.2 x 3.1	(Figure 9.15b).	T529 <i>witz</i> "hill"
C17P/3-35	10.7 x 13.2 x 4.2	(Figure 9.15c).	T819 <i>il</i> "to see"
C17P/3-36	6.9 x 10.0 x 4.0	(Figure 9.15d).	T23 <i>na</i>
C17P/3-38	9.4 x 14.6 x 4.6	(Figure 9.15e).	T501 <i>ba</i>
C17P/3-43	12.0 x 11.5 x 4.0	(Figure 9.15f).	T168 <i>ahav</i> "Lord"
C17P/3-45	8.0 x 7.5 x 4.2	(Figure 9.15g).	
C17P/3-46	9.2 x 12.9 x 3.6	(Figure 9.15h).	
C17P/3-47	14.1 x 9.6 x 3.7	(Figure 9.15i).	
C17P/3-48	7.5 x 11.0 x 3.8	(Figure 9.15j).	
C17P/3-49	9.2 x 8.2 x 2.9	(Figure 9.15k).	
C17P/3-51	13.5 x 10.0 x 3.7	(Figure 9.15l).	
C17P/3-53	6.1 x 5.3 x 2.6	(Figure 9.15m).	T74 <i>ma</i>
C17P/3-56	9.0 x 10.5 x 4.1	(Figure 9.15n).	
C17P/3-57 (a-b)	7.8 x 12.9 x 3.7	(Figure 9.15o).	
C17P/3-58/3-70	13.5 x 12.0 x 3.3	(Figure 9.15p).	T561 <i>chan</i> "sky"
C17P/3-60a	7.0 x 5.6 x 4.0	(Figure 9.15q).	
C17P/3-63/3-59	18.5 x 11.0 x 5.0	(Figure 9.15r).	Day sign cartouche
C17P/3-67	7.2 x 9.3 x 3.8	(Figure 9.15s).	
C17P/3-69	7.3 x 8.0 x 3.4	(Figure 9.15t).	
C17P/3-73	10.4 x 14.8 x 4.1	(Figure 9.15u).	T568? <i>hul?</i>
C17P/3-74	19.1 x 22.2 x 4.3	(Figure 9.15v).	T67.10301 (a name?)
C17P/9-17a	11.0 x 7.0 x 3.7	(Figure 9.15w).	
C17P/9-17b	9.5 x 20.7 x 3.7	(Figure 9.15x).	T116 <i>ni</i>
C17P/9-18a	16.5 x 17.0 x 3.2	(Figure 9.15y).	T756 <i>sotz</i> "bat"
C17P/9-18b	10.0 x 9.4 x 3.0	(Figure 9.15z).	T116 <i>ni</i>
C17P/9-19	12.9 x 9.2 x 4.4	(Figure 9.15aa).	
C17P/9-21a	12.1 x 9.3 x 4.0	(Figure 9.15bb).	
C17P/9-24	14.0 x 6.0 x 4.0	(Figure 9.15cc).	
C17P/9-27	8.2 x 7.8 x 3.8	(Figure 9.15dd).	T74 <i>ma</i>
C17P/9-28	9.9 x 6.7 x 3.3	(Figure 9.15ee).	T61 <i>yn</i>
C17P/9-29	12.1 x 8.3 x 3.9	(Figure 9.15ff).	
C17P/9-30	18.0 x 24.8 x 3.9	(Figure 9.15gg).	T122.? (a name?)
C17P/9-31	11.3 x 6.7 x 3.8	(Figure 9.15hh).	
C17P/9-39	20.2 x 16.0 x 3.6	(Figure 9.15ii).	T506:125 "Day Sign K'an"
C17P/9-35	6.7 x 6.5 x 3.7	(Figure 9.15jj).	T92 <i>tu</i>
C17P/9-40	19.2 x 24.2 x 4.4	(Figure 9.15kk).	TVIII.548 <i>waxak hab</i> "eight years"
C17P/12-33	9.4 x 21.5 x 4.3	(Figure 9.15ll).	T24 <i>li</i>
C17P/12-34	13.0 x 10.2 x 3.7	(Figure 9.15mm).	T561 <i>chan</i> "sky"
C17P/12-37	9.2 x 7.0 x 3.1	(Figure 9.15nn).	
C17P/12-41	11.5 x 8.0 x 3.1	(Figure 9.15oo).	
C17P/12-42a	7.0 x 8.8 x 1.9	(Figure 9.15pp).	
C17P/12-42b	9.4 x 5.3 x 3.3	(Figure 9.15qq).	
C17P/12-43a	7.5 x 6.8 x 4.1	(Figure 9.15rr).	
C17P/12-93b	5.0 x 6.4 x 3.2	(Figure 9.15ss).	
C17P/13-42 (a-b)	18.5 x 17.0 x 4.8	(Figure 9.15tt).	T168:733v. ? <i>ahaw</i> "Lord of?"
C17P/17-18	16.5 x 7.5 x 3.8	(Figure 9.15un).	T25 <i>ka</i>
C17P/17-21	8.3 x 14.5 x 3.1	(Figure 9.15vv).	T506 <i>ol</i>
C17P/17-24	9.2 x 12.7 x 3.6	(Figure 9.15ww).	
C17P/23-1	14.0 x 11.2 x 3.4	(Figure 9.15xx).	<i>xo</i>
C17P/23-2	15.5 x 13.5 x 4.5	(Figure 9.15yy).	T502 <i>ma</i>
C17P/23-3	13.7 x 12.0 x 3.7	(Figure 9.16a).	T522 <i>hun</i> "headband"
C17P/23-6	13.0 x 6.5 x 4.3	(Figure 9.16b).	T17 <i>yi</i>
C17P/23-7	12.2 x 7.9 x 3.7	(Figure 9.16c).	T281 <i>k'an</i> "yellow"
C17P/23-8 (a-d)	23.1 x 22.8 x 4.1	(Figure 9.16d).	T45.1016_17 <i>hu...</i> "dedication"
C17P/23-9 (a-b)	16.2 x 9.4 x 4.0	(Figure 9.16e).	T220 <i>ye</i>
C17P/23-9d	17.2 x 12.4 x 4.0	(Figure 9.16e).	T7:580v ?-r'e
C17P/23-10a	18.0 x 22.7 x 4.0	(Figure 9.16g).	T534.181 <i>la-ha</i>
C17P/23-10b	8.0 x 20.0 x 4.4	(Figure 9.16g).	
C17P/23-11	7.3 x 20.5 x 4.6	(Figure 9.16i).	
C17P/23-12	12.8 x 9.2 x 3.6	(Figure 9.16j).	T281 <i>k'an</i> "yellow"
C17P/23-13	17.2 x 15.3 x 5.3	(Figure 9.16h).	T25.? <i>ka?</i>
C17P/23-14	12.0 x 6.2 x 5.0	(Figure 9.16i).	
C17P/23-17	12.0 x 12.0 x 5.4	(Figure 9.16j).	
C17P/23-19 (a-b)	21.6 x 26.6 x 5.0	(Figure 9.16k).	T501.25:501 <i>ba-ka-ba</i> "first of the world"
C17P/23-32	15.8 x 22.5 x 4.5	(Figure 9.16l).	T1.526:126 <i>u kah?ya</i> "by the action of"
C17P/23-44	16.0 x 12.0 x 3.5	(Figure 9.16m).	T510 "Lamat" (day sign)
C17P/23-45	8.7 x 5.7 x 2.9	(Figure 9.16n).	T130 <i>wa</i>
C17P/24-10 (a-b)	21.6 x 16.2 x 3.4	(Figure 9.16o).	T74?:57 <i>ma?-si</i>
C17P/26-1	13.6 x 16.2 x 4.5	(Figure 9.16p).	T740 <i>hu</i>
C17P/26-2	11.6 x 12.0 x 4.4	(Figure 9.16q).	T44 <i>to</i>
C17P/26-3	14.2 x 10.2 x 5.2	(Figure 9.16r).	T181 <i>ha</i>
C17P/26-4	20.2 x 14.4 x 4.1	(Figure 9.16s).	T544:116 <i>k'in-ut</i> "sun, day"
C17P/26-5	6.2 x 16.2 x 4.4	(Figure 9.16t).	T130 <i>wa</i>
C17P/28-3	13.0 x 29.8 x 3.9	(Figure 9.16u).	TVIIX.548 <i>waklum hab</i> "sixteen years"
C17P/28-4	21.6 x 18.2 x 4.3	(Figure 9.16v).	TIX.528 <i>bolon pi?</i> "uno bak'tun?"
C17P/28-5	17.7 x 11.0 x 5.2	(Figure 9.16w).	T102 <i>ki</i>
C17P/28-11	11.2 x 12.0 x 3.9	(Figure 9.16x).	T501 <i>ba</i>
C17P/31-1	11.5 x 9.3 x 3.5	(Figure 9.16y).	T548 <i>hab</i> "year"
C17P/31-3	11.8 x 25.7 x 3.5	(Figure 9.16z).	number T521 ?-winik "12/13 months"

C17P/31-4	16.5 x 13.2 x 3.8	(Figure 9.16aa).	T544:116 k'in-ni "sun, day"
C17P/31-5	18.2 x 21.2 x 3.8	(Figure 9.16bb).	TXII.503:125 lahka ik' "twelve lk"
C17P/32-1	9.0 x 8.7 x 4.2	(Figure 9.16cc).	T102 ki
C17P/33-1	8.2 x 14.4 x 5.0	(Figure 9.16dd).	T168 ahaw "Lord"
C17P/33-24	8.3 x 9.3 x 4.1	(Figure 9.16ee).	TXI buhuk "eleven"
C17P/33-26	9.0 x 5.6 x 3.2	(Figure 9.16ff).	T25 ka
C17P/34-6	18.2 x 10.0 x 4.1	(Figure 9.16gg).	
C17P/34-7	13.6 x 10.2 x 3.6	(Figure 9.16hh).	T544 k'in "day, sun"
C17P/34-8	18.5 x 14.2 x 4.0	(Figure 9.16ii).	T121.99 ?-o
C17P/34-9	14.0 x 14.0 x 3.7	(Figure 9.16jj).	
C17P/34-10	16.6 x 9.2 x 4.5	(Figure 9.16kk).	T604? k'u?
C17K/3-2	10.2 x 6.5 x 4.7	(Figure 9.16ll).	T61 yu
C17K/14-2	16.1 x 8.3 x 4.7	(Figure 9.16mm).	T679 i
C17K/14-3	6.8 x 6.3 x 3.7	(Figure 9.16nn).	
C17K/14-6	7.1 x 13.1 x 5.1	(Figure 9.16oo).	T116 ni
C17K/14-10	6.9 x 6.4 x 3.8	(Figure 9.16pp).	T89 nu
C17K/14-52	10.3 x 8.6 x 2.4	(Figure 9.16qq).	
C17K/14-55	9.6 x 10.0 x 4.1	(Figure 9.16rr).	T580 lo
C17Q/3-1	8.5 x 13.6 x 5.0	(Figure 9.16ss).	T819:12 il-ah "it was seen"
C17Q/4-19	8.2 x 5.8 x 3.6	(Figure 9.16tt).	
C17Q/7-16	14.1 x 7.5 x 4.0	(Figure 9.16uu).	T544 k'in "day, sun"
C17Q/7-17	11.0 x 13.5 x 4.3	(Figure 9.16vv).	
C17Q/7-18	13.4 x 15.2 x 3.7	(Figure 9.17a).	T501 ba
C17Q/8-17	9.8 x 9.0 x 3.6	(Figure 9.17b).	T580 lo
C17Q/8-18	10.2 x 12.8 x 3.4	(Figure 9.17c).	T513 u
C17Q/8-19	11.1 x 9.5 x 3.0	(Figure 9.17d).	
C17Q/8-20	15.4 x 10.6 x 4.2	(Figure 9.17e).	T510 Day Sign Lamat
C17Q/8-21	9.1 x 10.1 x 3.6	(Figure 9.17f).	
C17Q/8-22	11.5 x 9.8 x 3.4	(Figure 9.17g).	T548 hab "year"
C17Q/8-23	17.2 x 9.0 x 4.0	(Figure 9.17h).	TXVI waklahum "sixteen"
C17Q/8-24	18.2 x 12.8 x 4.1	(Figure 9.17i).	TXVI? waklahum "sixteen"
C17Q/8-28	11.5 x 9.4 x 4.0	(Figure 9.17j).	T501 ba
C17Q/12-9	16.1 x 9.8 x 4.0	(Figure 9.17k).	
C17Q/12-10	10.4 x 14.5 x 3.7	(Figure 9.17l).	T545
C17Q/12-12	10.0 x 8.4 x 3.3	(Figure 9.17m).	T190 ch'ak "to decapitate"
C17Q/12-13	5.1 x 6.5 x 4.2	(Figure 9.17n).	
C17Q/12-14	4.8 x 5.7 x 2.5	(Figure 9.17o).	
C17Q/12-15	6.6 x 5.3 x 3.4	(Figure 9.17p).	
C17Q/14-4	19.4 x 7.6 x 4.4	(Figure 9.17q).	T181 ha
C17Q/14-5	9.8 x 10.8 x 3.4	(Figure 9.17r).	T819 il "to see"
C17Q/14-6	8.7 x 9.3 x 3.2	(Figure 9.17s).	T168 ahaw
C17Q/14-7	5.8 x 3.9 x 3.3	(Figure 9.17t).	
C17Q/14-9	11.7 x 11.7 x 3.7	(Figure 9.17u).	
C17Q/17-19	15.5 x 22.6 x 4.0	(Figure 9.17v).	T544:116.671 k'in-ni-ehi "sun face"
C17Q/17-20	5.5 x 12.8 x 3.5	(Figure 9.17w).	
C17Q/17-25	15.1 x 11.5 x 2.7	(Figure 9.17x).	T25:501 ka-ba "earth"
C17Q/17-26	7.1 x 8.5 x 2.9	(Figure 9.17y).	T281 k'om "yellow"
C17Q/19-10	8.5 x 7.6 x 3.5	(Figure 9.17z).	T74 ma
C17Q/24-3	7.0 x 11.8 x 3.5	(Figure 9.17aa).	T168 ahaw "lord"
C17Q/24-4	5.3 x 6.2 x 2.7	(Figure 9.17bb).	
C17Q/24-5	7.3 x 14.5 x 4.6	(Figure 9.17cc).	T23 na
C17Q/24-7	16.8 x 12.6 x 3.7	(Figure 9.17dd).	T606:23 tun-na "in the midst of"
C17Q/24-8.2	16.2 x 22.0 x 4.0	(Figure 9.17ee).	T513:59.126 u-it-ya "it came to pass"
C17Q/24-9	7.5 x 6.7 x 2.9	(Figure 9.17ff).	
C17Q/24-11	11.5 x 14.5 x 3.6	(Figure 9.17gg).	
C17Q/24-12	12.8 x 8.5 x 4.3	(Figure 9.17hh).	T819 il "to see"
C17Q/24-14	10.0 x 9.8 x 3.4	(Figure 9.17ii).	T710 chok "to throw"
C17Q/24-16	6.5 x 8.0 x 2.4	(Figure 9.17jj).	
C17Q/24-17	10.5 x 9.2 x 2.8	(Figure 9.17kk).	
C17Q/24-18	11.5 x 6.3 x 4.3	(Figure 9.17ll).	
C17Q/24-20	16.5 x 9.0 x 4.8	(Figure 9.17mm).	
C17Q/24-21	12.5 x 9.8 x 4.2	(Figure 9.17nn).	
C17Q/25-1	7.1 x 9.2 x 3.2	(Figure 9.17oo).	
C17Q/25-2	7.2 x 13.9 x 3.1	(Figure 9.17pp).	
C17Q/25-3	6.7 x 8.1 x 2.4	(Figure 9.17qq).	
C17Q/25-4	12.0 x 13.0 x 3.1	(Figure 9.17rr).	T526 kab "land, earth"
C17Q/25-5	8.4 x 16.0 x 2.6	(Figure 9.17ss).	T1 u
C17Q/25-6	8.6 x 14.7 x 2.9	(Figure 9.17tt).	T568 huf? "perforate"
C17Q/25-7	8.5 x 13.3 x 3.1	(Figure 9.17uu).	T82 li
C17Q/25-8	7.2 x 7.8 x 3.1	(Figure 9.17vv).	
C17Q/25-9	12.7 x 13.0 x 3.5	(Figure 9.18a).	
C17Q/25-11	17.8 x 18.5 x 2.9	(Figure 9.18b).	TVII.2:606 wuk ... tau "seven ... place"
C17Q/25-14	8.6 x 10.6 x 2.6	(Figure 9.18c).	T630 sa
C17Q/25-15	17.7 x 25.0 x 3.5	(Figure 9.18d).	T229.168:544.116 ahaw k'in "Sun Lord"
C17Q/31-1	16.0 x 14.1 x 3.8	(Figure 9.18e).	T561:23 chan "sky"
C17Q/31-1	8.2 x 8.5 x 3.6	(Figure 9.18f).	T521 winuk "month"
C17Q/31-2	18.8 x 17.4 x 3.4	(Figure 9.18g).	T548 hab "year"
C17Q/31-3	17.5 x 21.6 x 2.7	(Figure 9.18h).	T124:28:548 "Initial Series Introductory Glyph"
C17Q/31-4	11.2 x 10.9 x 2.8	(Figure 9.18i).	T548 hab "year"
C17Q/31-6	17.6 x 15.6 x 2.8	(Figure 9.18j).	TVII.28:548 wuk k'atun "seven k'atun"
C17Q/31-6	11.6 x 9.2 x 4.5	(Figure 9.18k).	
C17Q/31-9	5.4 x 5.3 x 2.9	(Figure 9.18l).	
C17Q/31-11a,b	8.5 x 14.5 x 4.1	(Figure 9.18m).	
C17Q/31-12	4.3 x 7.7 x 2.8	(Figure 9.18n).	
C17Q/31-19	4.6 x 3.2 x 3.0	(Figure 9.18o).	

C17Q/32-1	8.0 x 7.2 x 2.5	(Figure 9.18p).	T93 ch'a
C17Q/33-1	17.9 x 11.1 x 3.0	(Figure 9.18q).	T544:116 k'in-ni "day, sun"
C17Q/33-2,3	19.4 x 12.0 x 3.0	(Figure 9.18s).	TV.521 ho winuk "five months"
C17Q/33-3	11.9 x 3.6 x 2.8	(Figure 9.18t).	
C17Q/34-1	17.7 x 9.4 x 4.1	(Figure 9.18u).	pu
C17Q/34-2	9.0 x 12.2 x 3.6	(Figure 9.18v).	T683a k'al "twenty"
C17Q/34-3	14.8 x 8.9 x 3.4	(Figure 9.18w).	TXI.?:130 buhuk "Day Sign" "eleven ?"
C17Q/34-5	13.0 x 11.7 x 3.0	(Figure 9.18x).	T527 "Day Sign Etz'nab"
C17Q/34-6	17.8 x 7.5 x 2.4	(Figure 9.18y).	T679 i(wal)
C17Q/34-10	17.3 x 10.5 x 3.4	(Figure 9.18z).	T582 mo
C17Q/34-19	13.2 x 10.0 x 3.4	(Figure 9.18aa).	TXVIII waklaklata "eighteen"
C17Q/34-19	8.3 x 7.5 x 3.4	(Figure 9.18ab).	
Stucco found in association with the summit of Caana			
C16G/2-8	8.2 x 10.2 x 2.4	(Figure 9.18aa).	
C16H/5-1	16.6 x 15.2 x 3.4	(Figure 9.18bb).	
C16H/10-9	6.0 x 4.2 x 2.0	(Figure 9.18cc).	T529 witz "hill"
C16H/10-10	6.1 x 5.3 x 2.2	(Figure 9.18dd).	
C16H/10-11	6.3 x 11.8 x 2.2	(Figure 9.18ee).	T743 a
C16H/10-12 (a-b)	7.2 x 7.5 x 2.1	(Figure 9.18ff).	T561?:23 chan?-na "sky"
C16I/3-1	5.3 x 13.9 x 4.5	(Figure 9.18gg).	
C16K/5-4a	16.1 x 14.7 x 3.9	(Figure 9.18hh).	T544:116 k'in-ni "day, sun"
C16L/15-5	15.8 x 11.2 x 2.5	(Figure 9.18ii).	T570 bak "bone"
C4B/33-4a	7.1 x 9.5 x 3.0	(Figure 9.18jj).	T504 ak'ab "night"
C4B/34-1a	12.1 x 7.1 x 6.7	(Figure 9.18kk).	
C4B/34-1b	6.4 x 5.9 x 1.8	(Figure 9.18ll).	
C4B/34-3	10.3 x 5.1 x 2.9	(Figure 9.18mm).	
C4B/34-4	12.6 x 12.2 x 6.5	(Figure 9.18nn).	
C4B/35-2	T6.1 x 7.2 x 2.2	(Figure 9.18oo).	T519
C4B/35-2	5.3 x 10.1 x 4.1	(Figure 9.18pp).	
C4B/35-2	8.6 x 9.3 x 2.8	(Figure 9.18qq).	
C4B/35-2	4.0 x 5.6 x 2.0	(Figure 9.18rr).	
C4B/37-1	18.3 x 12.0 x 3.5	(Figure 9.18ss).	T220.?:580v - ?-586 ye-?-i'e ?-pa.
C4B/37-1	12.9 x 13.3 x 4.9	(Figure 9.18tt).	T586:586.74:1182 pa-pa-ma-li-li, name of person associated with the Ucanal toponym on Altar 12.
C4B/37-3	8.9 x 8.4 x 2.0	(Figure 9.18uu).	VII:T548.513:59:126 wuk hab uhtiy "seven years have passed since it came to pass", part of a DN.
C4B/37-4	7.3 x 6.2 x 2.8	(Figure 9.18vv).	T11.573: ? u tz'ak "it turned over to", part of DNIG.
C4B/37-5	9.7 x 8.6 x 3.3	(Figure 9.19a).	IX:T501:544. Title common in Peten texts.
C4B/37-6	4.6 x 7.7 x 2.2	(Figure 9.19b).	T183.
C4B/37-7	6.1 x 7.6 x 2.8	(Figure 9.19c).	T599 kuu "locative".
C4B/37-8	9.6 x 7.5 x 3.9	(Figure 9.19d).	T819:12.181 ilah "it was seen".
C4B/37-9	9.4 x 11.1 x 2.1	(Figure 9.19e).	T501:544:116.
C4B/37-11	5.5 x 5.6 x 2.7	(Figure 9.19f).	T183.
C4B/37-12	4.8 x 7.1 x 3.0	(Figure 9.19g).	
C4B/41-1	9.9 x 14.8 x 2.9	(Figure 9.19h).	T501 ba.
C4B/42-1	15.9 x 17.6 x 7.1	(Figure 9.19i).	T82 li
C4B/43-1	8.6 x 7.1 x 3.1	(Figure 9.19j).	T580 lo.
C4B/43-3	11.0 x 8.9 x 3.7	(Figure 9.19k).	T819 il "to see".
C4B/45-1	8.9 x 11.5 x 3.6	(Figure 9.19l).	V.T109:590 ho chak cho.
C4B/45-2	6.0 x 4.9 x 2.4	(Figure 9.19m).	T586 pa.
C4B/45-3	6.4 x 8.7 x 1.6	(Figure 9.19n).	T520 cha.
C4B/45-4	11.1 x 11.6 x 2.7	(Figure 9.19o).	T59.200:507 it pitz "for playing ball".
C4B/45-5	9.0 x 11.1 x 4.7	(Figure 9.19p).	ahaw "lord" head variant.
C4B/45-6	20.7 x 10.7 x 3.5	(Figure 9.19q).	IX:T259:501 boton kab "nine earth" (?).
C4B/45-7	17.0 x 13.6 x 6.1	(Figure 9.19r).	T533.102 nik-ki "flower".
C4B/45-8	23.4 x 14.9 x 2.6	(Figure 9.19s).	Date 12 lk' Sealing of Yask'in (9.11.9.162: Houston 1987:92).
C4B/45-9	5.9 x 8.2 x 2.3	(Figure 9.19t).	T607 ho.
C4B/45-10	4.7 x 4.6 x 2.6	(Figure 9.19u).	
C4B/45-12	4.7 x 3.5 x 1.7	(Figure 9.19v).	
C4B/45-13	3.8 x 6.1 x 2.9	(Figure 9.19w).	
C4B/45-15	26.7 x 18.3 x 9.0	(Figure 9.19x).	T713
C20A/1-2	9.9 x 7.8 x 4.4	(Figure 9.19y).	T757?:2A bah?-il
C20A/1-2	10.1 x 11.5 x 3.6	(Figure 9.19z).	
C20A/1-3a	10.4 x 9.5 x 3.5	(Figure 9.19aa).	T181 ha.
C20A/1-3b	6.5 x 10.1 x 4.6	(Figure 9.19bb).	
C20A/1-3c	11.5 x 10.4 x 3.6	(Figure 9.19cc).	T115 yo.
C20A/1-3d	9.0 x 6.6 x 2.4	(Figure 9.19dd).	
C20A/1-3e	9.3 x 6.0 x 3.0	(Figure 9.19ee).	T580 lo.
C20A/1-3f	8.9 x 10.0 x 2.4	(Figure 9.19ff).	Shell diadem. Probably not glyptic.
C20A/1-3f	6.8 x 7.2 x 2.5	(Figure 9.19gg).	T109 chak "red".
C20A/1-3ni	6.7 x 9.4 x 4.2	(Figure 9.19hh).	
C20A/1-3n	16.5 x 10.0 x 2.5	(Figure 9.19ii).	T585 bt.
C20A/1-3o	9.1 x 10.0 x 4.6	(Figure 9.19jj).	
C20A/1-3p	7.1 x 5.9 x 2.7	(Figure 9.19kk).	
C20A/3-1a	2.3 x 5.0 x 2.9	(Figure 9.19ll).	
C20A/3-1c	10.1 x 10.2 x 3.5	(Figure 9.19mm).	T25 ka.
C20B/1-3a	10.4 x 6.9 x 3.6	(Figure 9.19nn).	T819 il "to see".
C20B/1-3b	12.9 x 13.9 x 4.2	(Figure 9.19oo).	T573 tz'ak "succession".
C78B/4-26	13.0 x 11.9 x 4.1	(Figure 9.19pp).	VLT109 wak chak "six red"
Stucco found in association with Structure A3 (Operation C12A)			
C12A/1-1	9.9 x 6.4 x 3.3	(Figure 9.19qq).	T1 u.
Stucco found in association with the South Acropolis			
C88B/6	no measurements taken	(Figure 9.19rn).	Head of God chak

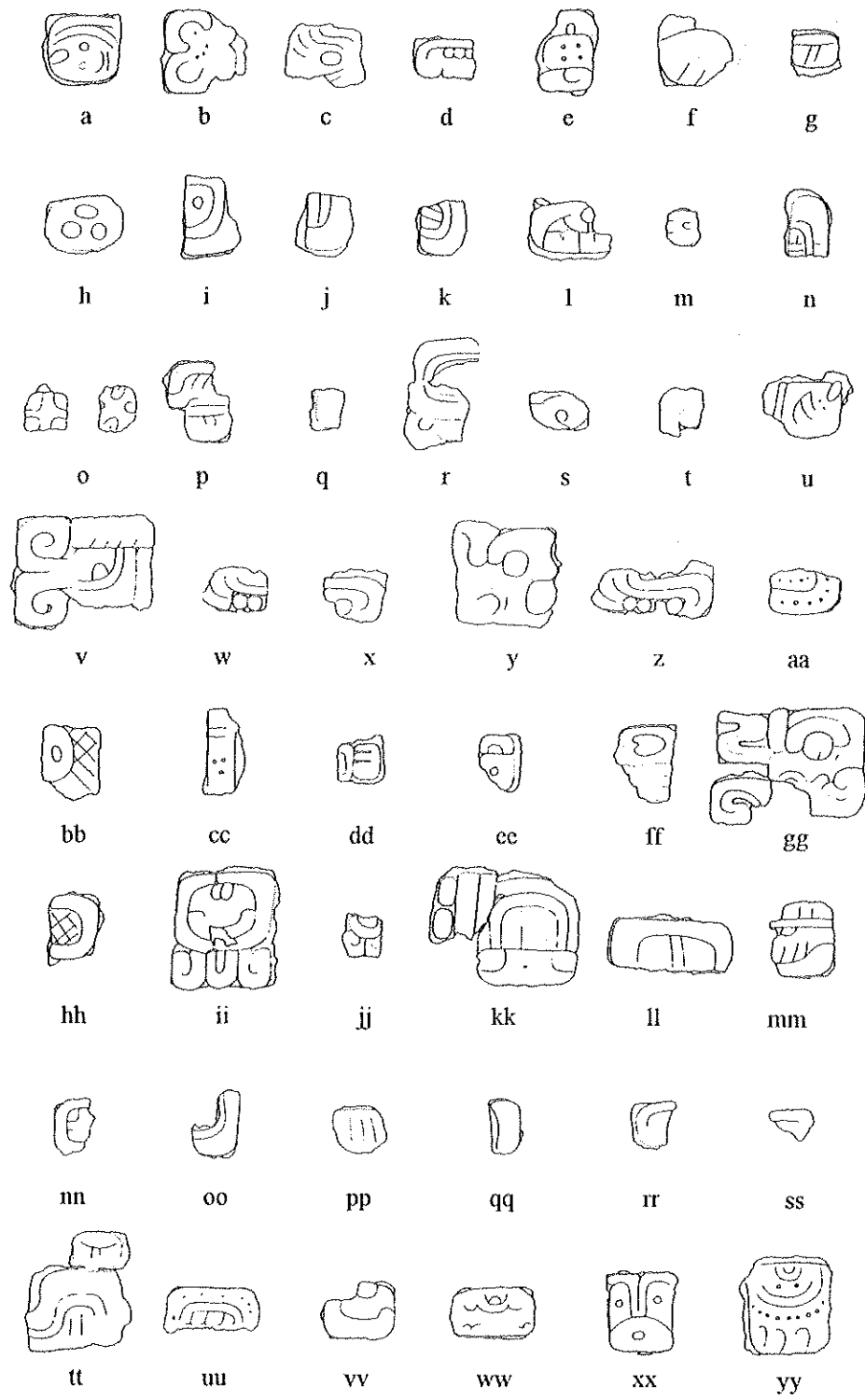


Figure 9.15. Hieroglyphic stucco from Caracol.

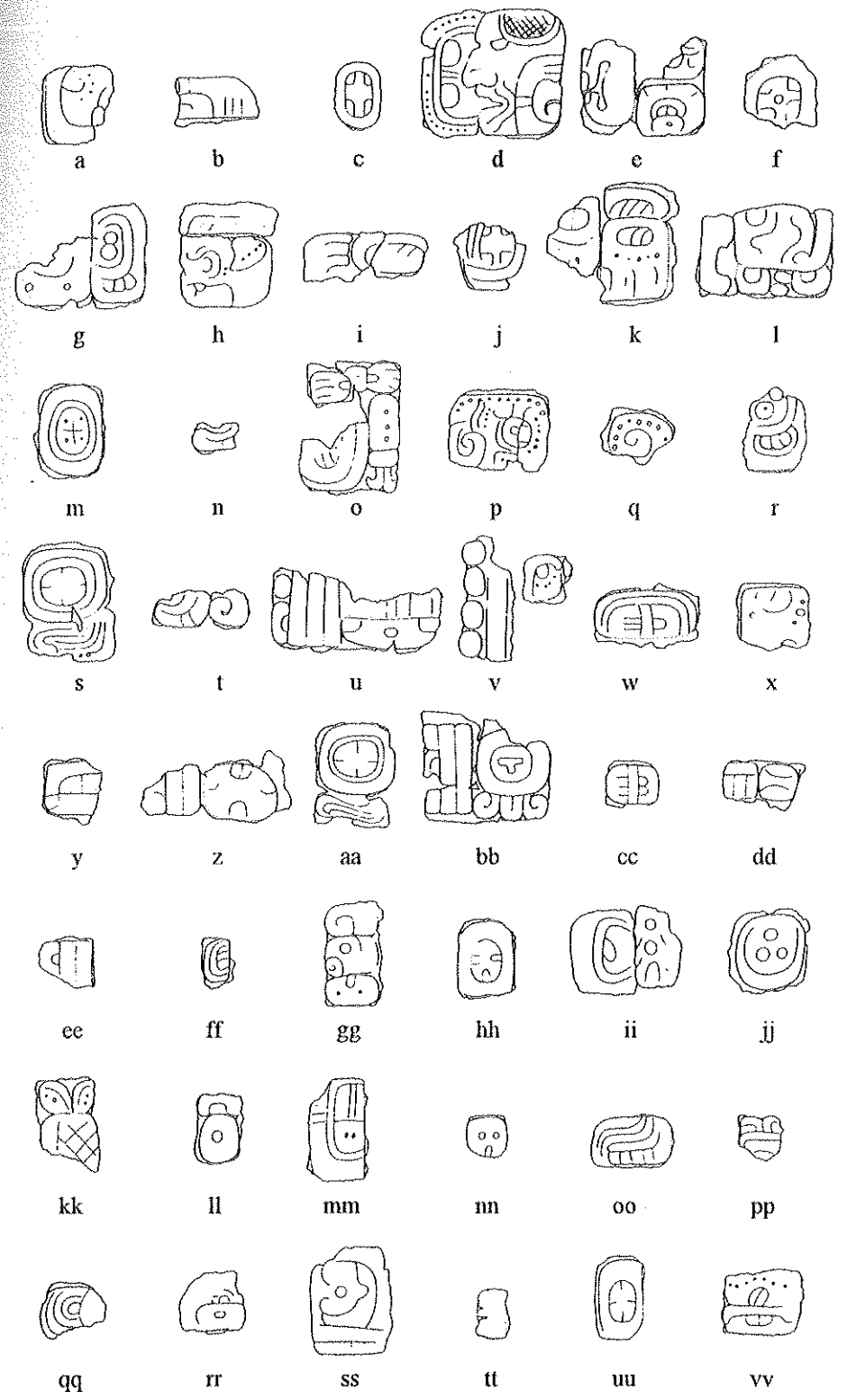


Figure 9.16. Hieroglyphic stucco from Caracol.

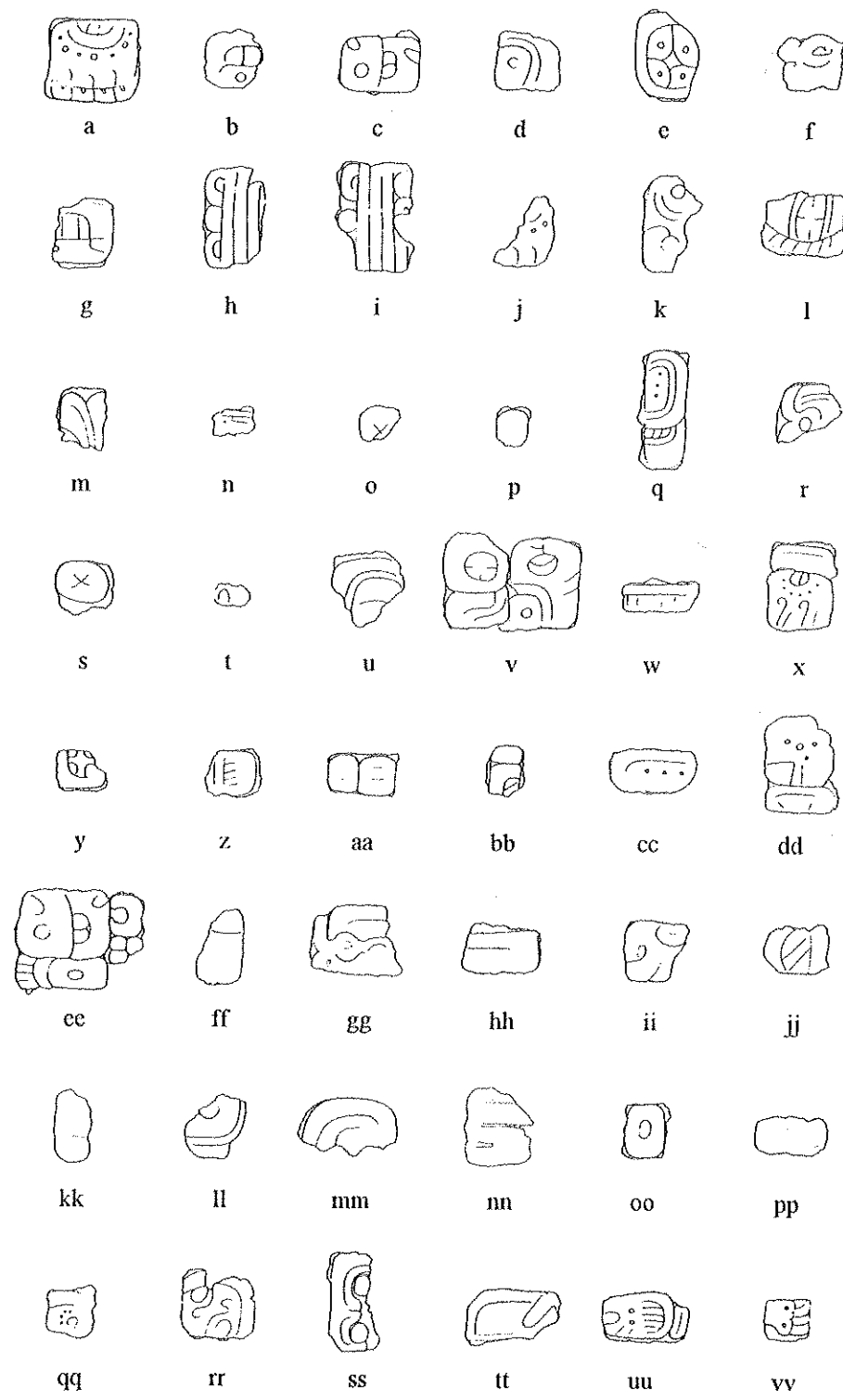


Figure 9.17. Hieroglyphic stucco from Caracol.

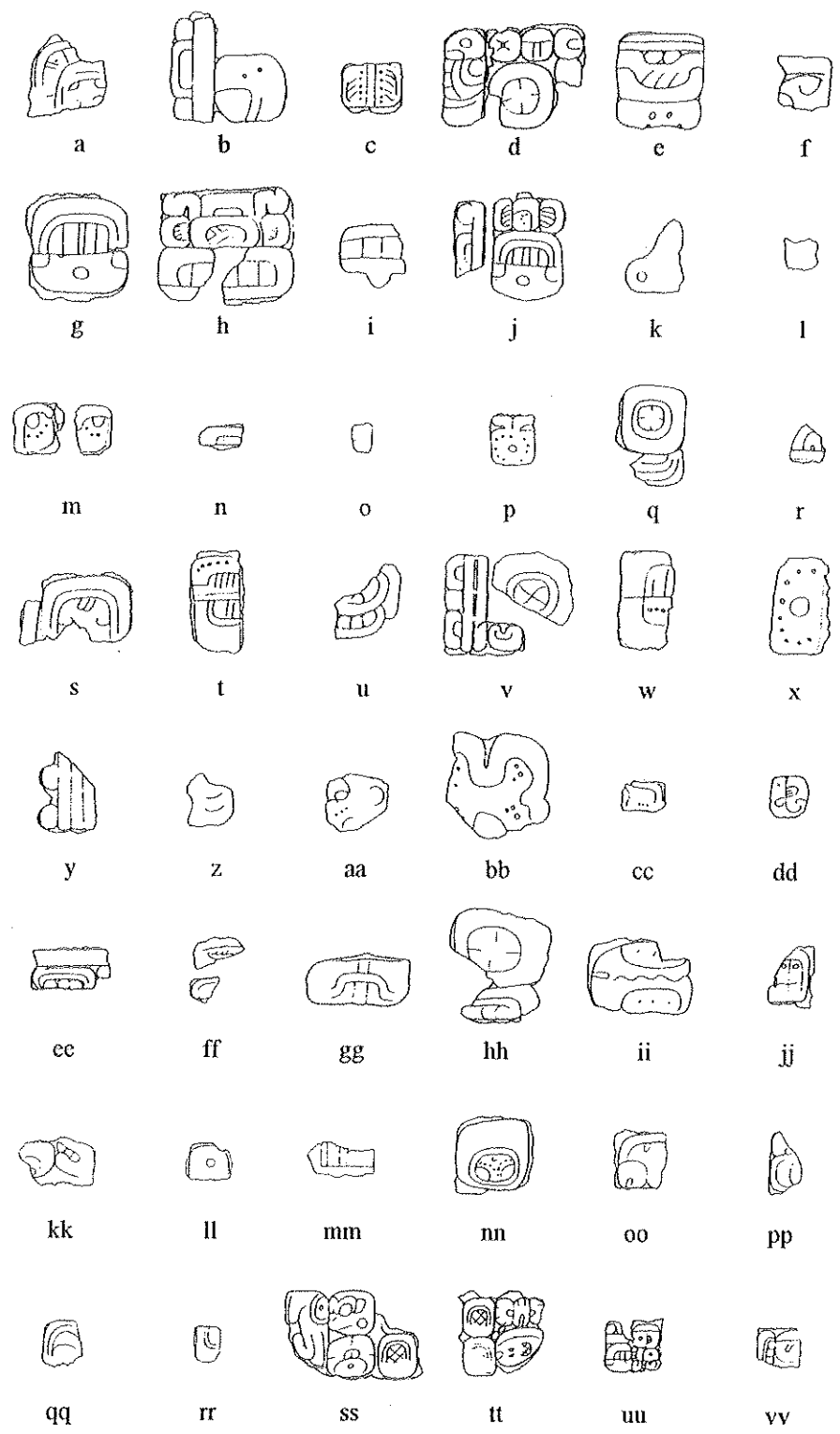


Figure 9.18. Hieroglyphic stucco from Caracol.

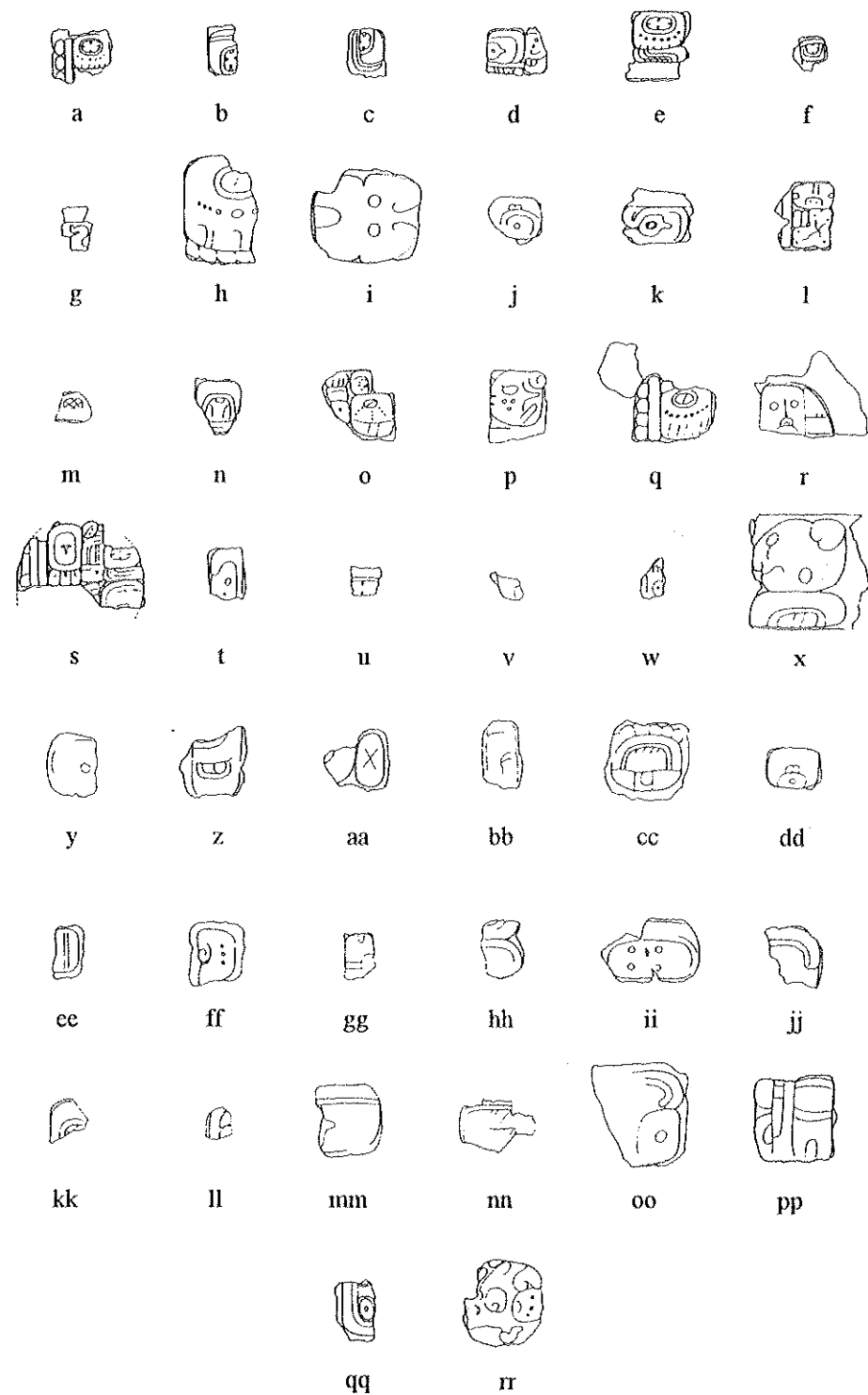


Figure 9.19. Hieroglyphic Stucco from Caracol.

10. Human Osteology, Pathology, and Demography as Represented in the Burials of Caracol, Belize

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The sample of skeletal remains thus far recovered from Caracol consists of over 340 individuals from 171 interments.¹ These remains were uncovered during all 10 field seasons undertaken by the Caracol Project and were found in a variety of contexts throughout the site. Interments derive from simple burials, cists, crypts, and tombs; human remains were also recovered from other contexts, however, including debris associated with living areas. The Caracol interments range in date from A.D. 0 to 1050.

Analysis of the Caracol skeletal remains is still ongoing. At this point, however, it is clear that there are certain phenomena that were characteristic of Classic era Caracol: the large number of multiple-individual interments, the high frequency of tombs, the large proportion of individuals with dental modification/decoration, and the focus on interments in eastern constructions within each residential group. These and other aspects of the skeletal/burial analysis have substantial implications for any interpretation of the archaeology of Caracol, but also are critical in any consideration of variation in Lowland Maya burial practices.

The Caracol Skeletal Sample

Over the last decade, Caracol Archaeological Project investigations have been undertaken in a large number of widely dispersed locations at the site. Interments have been recovered in all programs of excavation with the exception of the terrace subprograms. Work in the epicenter of Caracol has encountered interments in most major "public" architectural complexes (A Group; B Group; and Caana) as well in presumably residential areas (Central Acropolis; South Acropolis). Many, but not all, of the epicentral interments were in tombs; some of these chambers actually contained painted hieroglyphic texts on walls or capstones that provide additional information relevant to their dating and the status of individuals inside the chambers.

Settlement studies undertaken in the Caracol core also produced skeletal remains in large numbers. This sample was derived from trenches and test-pits as well as from opportunistic samples drawn from collapsed and open, but untouched, tombs. The majority of interments in the settlement areas were found in association with eastern constructions within residential plaza groups. This sample also includes a full spectrum of graves—from simple burials to elaborate chambers.

In addition to those interments excavated by the project, substantial effort was made to recover information from looted contexts throughout Caracol; however, given their disturbed nature, these samples are substantially less complete in terms of the data yielded. Skeletal material recovered from looted areas is presented with the other remains from Caracol in Table 10.1; they can be distinguished by a single asterisk following the lot number.

Preservation of skeletal material from Caracol is, on the whole, extremely poor. In many cases the only remains that are identifiable are the teeth; and even these