ACTA MESOAMERICANA
Volume 22

Laura van Broekhoven, Rogelio Valencia Rivera, Benjamin Vis, Frauke Sachse (eds.)

The Maya and their Neighbours

Internal and External Contacts Through Time

Proceedings of the 10th European Maya Conference
Leiden
December 9–10, 2005

Separata

probably partially a result of the movements of Siyah K'ak' to various parts of the region. According to Adams (1987; 1990: 30, 38), at Río Azul there appeared at that time a new Teotihuacan-influenced subcomplex in ceramics, characterized mainly by cylindrical tripod vessels with apron lids, sometimes covered with stucco and painted. Some of them could be imports, but the majority was probably locally manufactured imitations. In the burials and fills of the buildings there were also found many green obsidian artifacts (Eaton and Farrior 1989; Adams 1999: 217) and mosaic pyrite mirrors (Adams 1999: 217-218). In the residential complex, located near structure C-1 where Tombs 19 and 23 had been found, there were revealed green obsidian artifacts and four burials, including an incomplete, secondary cremation burial, all in a filled room (Eaton and Farrior 1989: 162-172; Adams 1990: 38, 1999: 61-62). Moreover, in Group B-56, a residential complex composed of 4 courtyard groups, there was found a small, multi-tiered *talud-tablero* style altar (Fig. 5), covered with red painted plaster, also dated to phases Tzakol 2/3. It had been erected in the courtyard and accompanied Structure B-56 built at its eastern side (Ellis and Dodt-Ellis 2000: 146-147; Adams 1987: 16-17), which resembles not only the similar structure-altar arrangement in Group 6C-XVI from Tikal, but also that from Teotihuacan itself. Only one *talud-tablero* terrace was preserved from it, as the upper part of the altar had been destroyed in the later part of the Early Classic period by the successive construction (Ellis and Dodt-Ellis 2000: 147; Adams 1987).

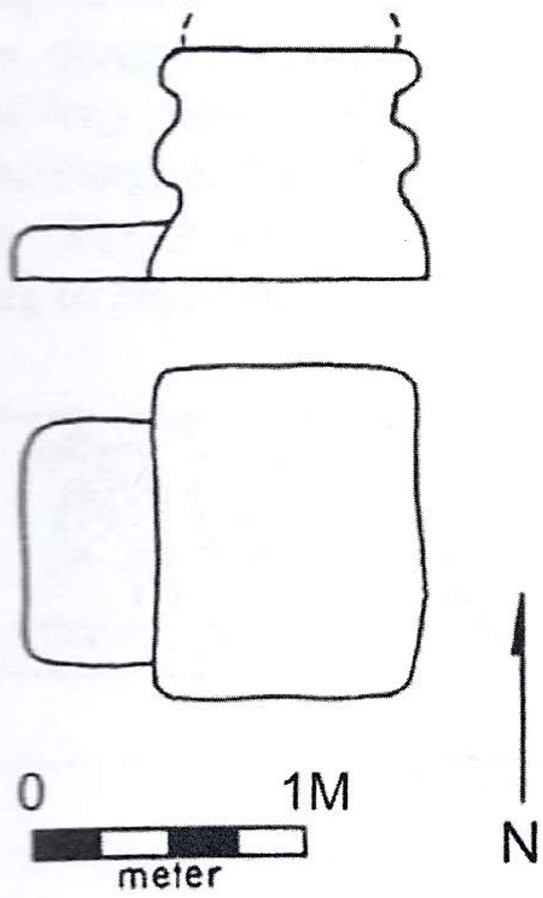


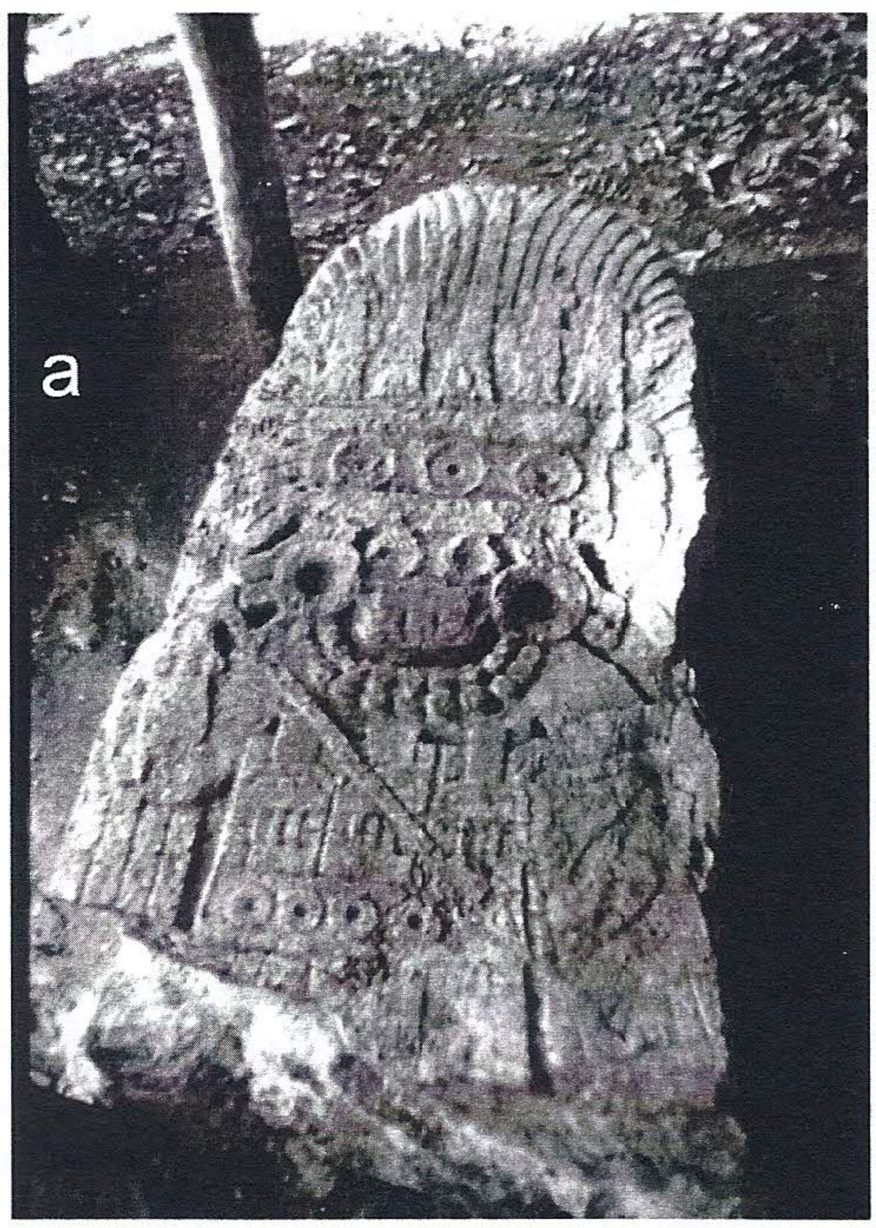
Fig. 5. *Talud-tablero* altar from Río Azul (after Ellis and Dodt-Ellis 2000: fig. 6; corrected by the author).

The research in La Sufricaya also uncovered important finds related to the Teotihuacan-Maya contacts. Apart from the already mentioned name of Siyah K'ak' on Stela 6 (Grube 2003) and some recent epigraphic and iconographic data (i.e. Mural 6, 7 and 9) (Stuart, 2005; Estrada-Belli *et al.* 2006: 580-587), at the site there were found many ceramic sherds with Teotihuacan-style motifs, some green obsidian blades (Estrada-Belli *et al.* 2006: 587) and several very interesting murals, some of which (especially Mural 1 and 3), have the composition that is unusual for the Maya culture (Estrada-Belli 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c). The most interesting part of Mural 1 (Estrada-Belli 2002b: fig. 62) is its separated eastern portion, where five rectangular fields can be seen, each featuring five sitting figures facing left, and whose dress and weapons emphasize the link with the Teotihuacan culture. A similar presentation seems to be that of the person who is twice as large sitting above them and also facing left. In front of it there probably existed another person or persons, which is indicated by the few preserved feathers. The individuals in that field were probably the most important persons in that scene, which seems to present some historical event. This was according to Estrada Belli probably related to a ruler's accession to the throne (Estrada-Belli 2003a). The composition of the painting itself is unique for the murals known not only from the Maya culture, but also from Teotihuacan, where some murals are divided as well, though not into squares but rhombuses, as on the Atetelco murals (cf. Miller 1973: figure 341-343, 335; Wagner 2004). As suggested already by Elizabeth Wagner, the mural from La Sufricaya may depict an event where each participant had his own attributed location, similar to Plaza de los Glifos in Teotihuacan. The characteristic division of the mural suggests also that it could have been copied from some Maya or Teotihuacano codex (Wagner 2004: 4-7). Although there is no evidence of their usage at Teotihuacan, it cannot be ruled out that they were known there.

At the site of Yaxha, situated several dozen kilometers to the southeast of Tikal, the famous Stela 11 (Fig. 6a) represents a frontally depicted figure whose dress, and whose headdress in particular, is related directly to similar representations known from Teotihuacan. The tasseled headdress is very much like

some headdresses from Techinantitla at Teotihuacan (Millon 1988), and the upper part of the scene is almost identical in character with the representation known from Stela 32 from Tikal (Fig. 6b). This may suggest its dating to the same period, i.e. approximately to the reign of Yax Nuun Ayiin I at Tikal. Somewhat to the west of Yaxha, during the research carried out by the Yaxha-Sacnab Historical Ecology Project (Rice and Rice 1980: 444), there was discovered an Early Classic burial of an unsexable juvenile, accompanied with a torso of another person, an adult. Three vessels were laid above the torso, including a slab-footed cylindrical tripod vessel and an annular-based hemispherical Thin Orange bowl, imported from Mexico. In the construction fill above the grave there was found also a fragment of a blade made from green obsidian (Rice and Rice 1980: 444; Rice *et.al.* 1985: 599).

Some interesting finds dated to the beginning of the Tzakol 3 phase have also been made recently in Nakum, a medium sized site located approximately 25 km to the east of Tikal, between Yaxha and La Sufricaya. In the main part of that site, the Acropolis, in the Tzakol 3 phase there had been erected four talud-tablero platforms, enclosing the centrally located Patio 1 (Fig. 7 and 8) (Koszkul and Hermes 2006; Hermes et al. 2006; Koszkul et al. 2006). Moreover, in one of the platforms the Triangulo Project also found eight blades and one projectile point, all of them made of green obsidian. In the fill of another structure, E Sub-2, there was made an offering consisting of two vessels, including a cylindrical tripod vessel, similar in shape to some cylinders from Teotihuacan (Koszkul and Hermes 2006). The investigations of the Nakum Archaeological Project carried out in 2006 in the northeastern corner of Patio 1 suggest that the corners of the talud-tablero platforms were merged, enclosing it completely in between (cf. Koszkul et al. 2007; Koszkul and Hermes 2006). Most likely they supported some other constructions in the past, though despite the intensive investigation of Structure E, these have not yet been found.



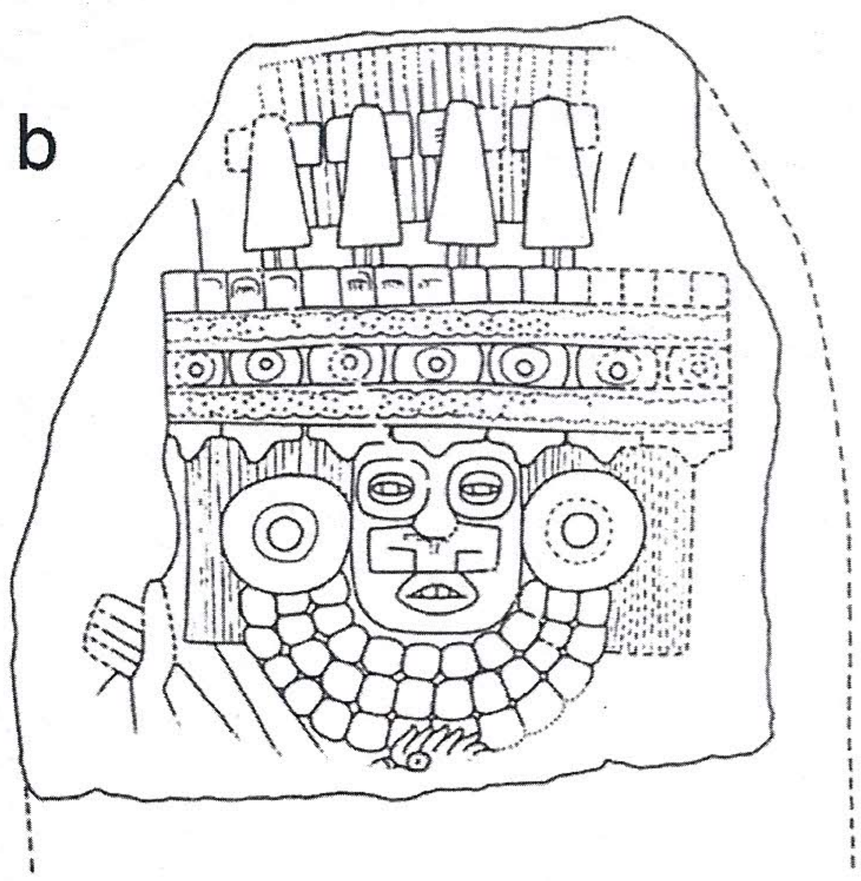


Fig. 6. (a) Stela 11 from Yaxha (photo by W. Koszkul); (b) Stela 32 from Tikal (after Jones and Satterthwaite 1982: fig. 55a).

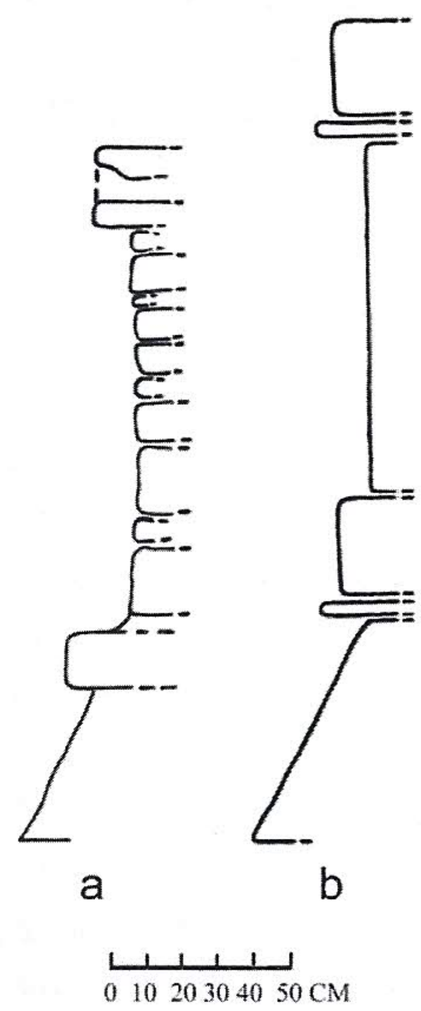


Fig. 7. *Talud-tablero* profiles from (a) Nakum (Structure 14/15 Sub-1) and (b) Teotihuacan (Structure 1J-W). Drawings by W. Koszkul.

Patio 1 from Nakum is thus the only patio found in the Maya area, enclosed completely on four sides by *talud-tablero* style structures, which seems to exhibit the closest analogies with Teotihuacan. The localization of the patio and the platforms in a major part of the site indicates that the people who lived or performed ceremonies there must have been the most important individuals in Nakum. Moreover, the research in Nakum suggests also that the *talud-tablero* platforms had this architectural form only in the facades on the interior sides of the patio, which shows that the essential element was its interior character, and not the external manifestation of the style for people passing by the Acropolis.

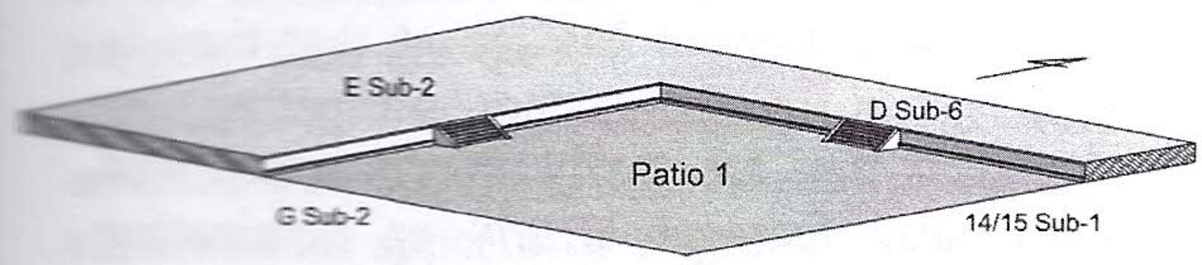


Fig. 8. Reconstruction of Patio 1 from Nakum in Tzakol 3 phase (drawing by A. Witkowska).

Talud-tablero architecture has also been discovered recently by Paulino Morales (2005) in La Quemada Corozal, a small site located to the southwest of Nakum, near the site of El Zapote. The tablero in Structure Sub 4C from that site is somewhat diagonal and it was decorated with the representation of a Maya style figure and the symbol of a mat (Fig. 9). This last element, as well as the location of the building in the central part of the site suggest that its function was probably linked to the activity of its ruler. The character of the facade in the building suggests that *talud-tablero* style was adapted to local Maya architectural forms, such as apron moldings. A similar form of *talud-tablero* was found on the facades of some buildings in Group 6C-XVI at Tikal (cf. Laporte 1985: figure 2, 3, 7), which suggests its dating to the same period, i.e. the end of the

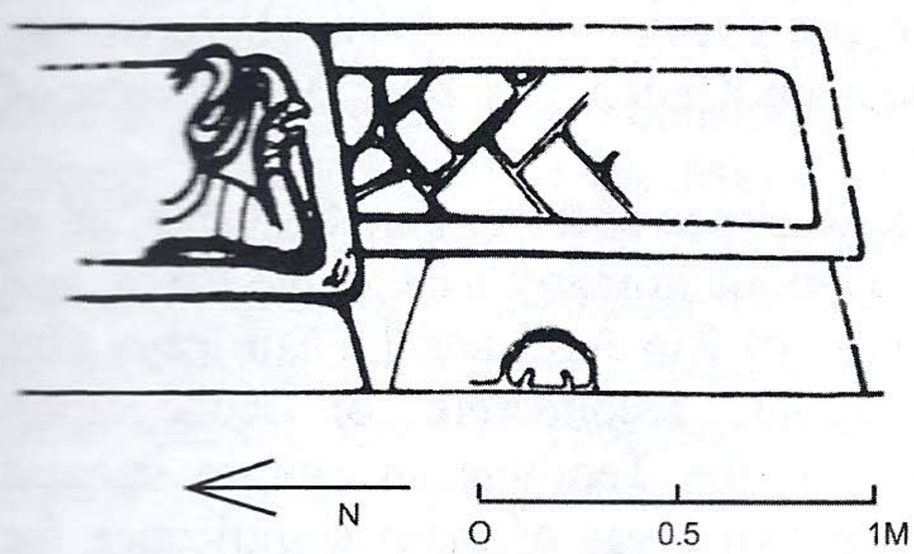


Fig. 9. Structure Sub 4C from La Quemada Corozal (after Morales 2005: fig. 4; corrected by the author).

Manik 2 phase or the Manik 3A phase. The resemblance is probably not accidental and it seems that, similar to the neighboring El Zapote, the site was in the sphere of influence of Tikal at that time.

The intense contacts of Tikal with Central Mexico, visible in the archaeological material of the late Manik 2 and Manik 3A phases seem to vanish in the Manik 3B phase. At the remaining few sites in the Peten the horizon of appearance of these features seems to be short as well. The one preserved and used for the longest time was the *talud-tablero* architecture, which in Nakum and in Mundo Perdido at Tikal was partially in use also in the Late Classic period. At that time there also occurred the revival of evoking Teotihuacan-related traits in the Maya culture in different contexts. (cf. Stuart 2000; Stone 1989)

The research conducted by Ponce de Leon (2003), Moholy Nagy (1999) and other researchers on the Early Classic material culture at Tikal where the most of Teotihuacan-related material was found shows that the actual imports from Central Mexico, or items which could have been such imports are very few in number and are in the minority amongst the local materials. The largest in terms of quantity are Central Mexican green and gray obsidian artifacts, but merely a few vessels, candeleros and figurines (Ponce de Leon 2003). Most of the cylindrical tripod vessels, which often reveal a mixture of Teotihuacan and Maya styles, were manufactured in the Maya region, or even at Tikal itself. The quantities prove that the importation from Central Mexico was very insignificant, but more goods could have moved in the other direction, such as jade or valuable feathers. The latter would be used in Teotihuacan to decorate not only costumes, but also temple roofs, as suggested by their representations on murals, ceramics and models revealed there (i.e. Pasztory 1997: 134, fig. 11.1; Morelos García 1991: 148-150, fig. 4). In the scene on one of the vessels found in the Problematical Deposit 50 at Tikal (Fig. 10), a Maya-style person welcomes strangers while holding feathers in his hand, which can also suggest that they were valued and sought after.

Summary and Conclusions

Considering the finds from Tikal and Uaxactun, dated mostly to the late Manik 2 and Manik 3A phase, it seems that Teotihuacan-

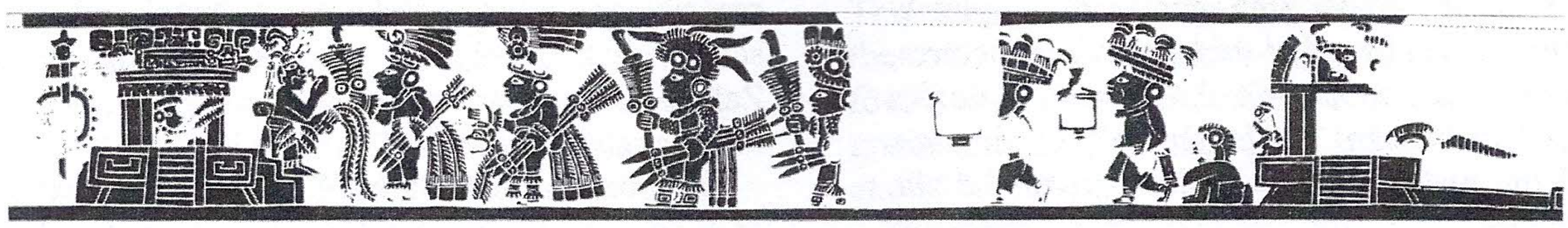


Fig. 10. Scene from the vessel discovered in PD 50 at Tikal (after Greene and Moholy-Nagy 1966: fig. 3).

related traits appeared there in large quantities as a result of the activity of Siyah K'ak' and that they are linked directly to the date 11 Eb and the dynastic shift at Tikal. However, the sources which we currently have at our disposal do not permit us to unambiguously assess the nature of the events as well as the motives and the character of engagement in it of either Central Mexican traits or Teotihuacan itself. It can only be speculated upon while analyzing particular aspects of the Teotihuacan contacts at that time, but at some occasions we will find several dozens of more or less probable answers to questions posed. Was Siyah K'ak' a Maya or a Teotihuacano? Was he a warrior-merchant traveling between the Peten and Central Mexico, who with the passage of time acknowledged both cultures well and used this to his own advantage afterwards, in cooperation with the enigmatic Spearthrower Owl? Taking into consideration the local origin of Yax Nuun Ayiin, that was recently suggested by the isotopic analysis of his remains (Wright 2005), we can speculate that Spearthrower Owl did actually participate personally in the events related to 11 Eb and married a local woman. Their child was Yax Nuun Ayiin, who could have already been born after the aforementioned date at Tikal. This seems improbable, since this would have made him just one year old or so at his accession. However, theoretically it is possible.

It is difficult to determine the nature of the events related to the political changes at Tikal and in the region, but it is easier to evaluate their results. The activity of Siyah K'ak' led to the overthrow of the power at Tikal, installing a new ruler and making many other sites in the Peten dependent. I do not think that he could have done it merely by referring to the Central Mexican iconography. The outcome of the events from that period seems to suggest that this combination of the specific characteristics of that man and his contact with a different Central Mexican approach to warfare led to such significant changes in the Peten. Apart from his ethnic affiliation, he somehow managed to engage the Teotihuacan culture or a group of people under its influence for his purposes. We can only speculate whether they were Teotihuacanos, or just Maya dressed in Mexican costumes and trained appropriately by him. However, the intensification of contacts with Central Mexico at that time is distinct, and in the scenes presenting the "strangers" they are nearly always armed, and occasionally featured clearly as dominating over the Maya (cf. Graham 1986: 143; A. L. Smith 1950: fig. 46). The former were probably more advanced than the Maya from the Peten in terms of war skills, not only with regard to armoring, but maybe in combat methods as well. The scene featuring sitting individuals in Teotihuacan-style costumes on Mural 1 from La Sufricaya can be interpreted in a number of ways, but visually they form a tight unit of warriors supporting the individuals presented above. These various features, among others, could have possibly influenced the adaptation of the Teotihuacan war symbolism and costumes in Early and Late Classic periods. Moreover, even if originally most of the group were the "strangers", upon their arrival or shortly afterwards the new rulers of Tikal definitely gathered new supporters and partners from among the local Maya. Although it cannot be ruled out that his ancestors came from Central Mexico, an example of such an individual seems to be K'uk' Mo', known from the texts from Tikal (Martin and Grube 2000: 32-33) and Uaxactun (Schele and Freidel 1990: 449), who probably later became K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', a ruler of Copan.

The appearance of the name of Siyah K'ak' in the inscriptions in many sites in the Peten, and in the case of Río Azul and La Sufricaya also the material, architecture or iconography referring to the Teotihuacan culture suggest that his activity was of great significance for the further spread of Central Mexican traits in the region. However, the material evidence of

Teotihuacan contacts from the sites in the Peten reveals little about their nature. The rulers of those sites brought under his control, or, which cannot be ruled out in some cases, the newly installed ones from his circle also probably desired to stress their connections with the Teotihuacan culture. The appearance of Teotihuacan-related features in Nakum could have been linked to the situation-appropriate response of its elite, attempting to adapt to the new political and cultural changes in great Tikal, which had subdued most of the region. However, it cannot be excluded that the site could have been also reached by Siyah K'ak'. The discovery of green obsidian in the context of Tzakol 3 ceramics in the fill of one of the *talud-tablero* buildings in Nakum may suggest that the people who conveyed the obsidian to Nakum brought in the new architectural style as well. Furthermore, the simultaneous appearance of green obsidian and *talud-tablero* architecture in Nakum suggests that the spread of this type of architecture was not merely the spread of the style, without the knowledge of its Central Mexican origins and cultural affiliation. Even if those elements were not brought into Nakum by Teotihuacanos themselves, they were definitely considered in correlation, as originating from and representing the same cultural entity. Moreover, the uniqueness of the architecture in Nakum, the murals from La Sufricaya or the multi-tiered *talud-tablero* altar from Río Azul, the equivalents of which have not yet been unearthed at Tikal suggest that these were not mere copies of the model, which could have been imitated from that site. This points to free application of art and architecture in them, and probably also a free use of a manifold ideas incoming from Central Mexico.

As I have already mentioned, the participation of Teotihuacan itself and Teotihuacanos in the appearance of Teotihuacan contacts in the northeastern Peten is not clear. The changes which took place in the Maya culture as a result of these contacts were considerable, and although a clear return to the Maya tradition can be observed already in the second and third generation afterward, a number of Teotihuacan-related features survived through the Late Classic period. Even if Teotihuacan was not actively involved in the contacts with Peten and other Maya regions, its culture greatly influenced some aspects of the Early and Late Classic Maya culture. The evocation of Teotihuacan symbolism, visible in the Late Classic period, was undoubtedly founded and rooted in authentic contacts with the Teotihuacan culture, which took place in the second half of the fourth and at the beginning of the fifth centuries AD.

Notes

1 In his recent article about *talud-tablero* architecture at Tikal Juan Pedro Laporte (2003: 200-203) changes some earlier datings of several *talud-tablero* structures, including the altar-structure Sub-48, 5C-51, 5C-52 and 6C-24 (cf. Laporte 1985: 17-22; Laporte and Fialko 1990: 46, 1995: 65).

References

Adams, Richard E. W.

1987 The Río Azul Archeological Project, 1985 summary. In: *Rio Azul Reports Number 3, the 1985 season*, edited by R. E. W. Adams: 1-27. San Antonio: The University of Texas.

1990 Archaeological Research at the Lowland Maya City of Rio Azul. *Latin American Antiquity* 1(1): 23-41.

1999 *Río Azul: An Ancient Maya City*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Aveni, Anthony F.

1980 *Skywatchers of Ancient Mexico*. Austin and London: University of Texas Press.

2000 Out of Teotihuacan: Origins of the Celestial Canon in Mesoamerica. In: *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs*, edited by David Carrasco, Lindsay Jones & Scott Sessions: 253-268. Colorado: University Press of Colorado.

Ball, Joseph W.

1974 A Teotihuacan-style cache from the Maya lowlands. *Archaeology* 27 (1):2-9.

Braswell, Geoffrey E.

2003a Introduction: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction. In: *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic interaction*, edited by Geoffrey E. Braswell: 1-43, Austin: University of Texas Press.

2003b Understanding Early Classic Interaction between Kaminaljuyu and Central Mexico. In: *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey E. Braswell: 105-142. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Cabrera Castro, Rubén

2000 Teotihuacan Cultural Traditions Transmitted into the Postclassic. In: *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs*, edited by David Carrasco, Lindsay Jones & Scott Sessions: 195-218. Colorado: University Press of Colorado.

Cheek, Charles D.
1977 Excavations at the Palangana and the Acropolis, Kaminaljuyu. In: *Teotihuacan and Kaminaljuyu: A Study in Prehispanic Culture Contact*, edited by William T. Sanders & Joseph W. Michels: 1-204. University Park: Pennsylvania State University.

Coe, William R.
1962 A Summary of Excavation and Research at Tikal, Guatemala: 1956-61. *American Antiquity* 27 (4): 479-507.

Coggins, Clemency
1975 *Painting and Drawing Styles at Tikal: An Historical and Iconographic Reconstruction.* Ph.D. diss., Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University.

Ellis, Bruce W. and Cathy L. Dodt-Ellis
2000 Excavations in B-56 Complex, Río Azul, Peten, Guatemala. In: *Rio Azul Reports, Number Five, The 1987 Season*, edited by Richard E. W. Adams: 145-203. San Antonio: The University of Texas.

Eaton, Jack D. and James S. Farrior
1989 Archaeological Investigations at the C-42 Complex: An Elite Class Residential Complex at Río Azul, Guatemala. In: *Rio Azul Reports Number 4, the 1986 Season*, edited by R. E. W. Adams: 126-174. San Antonio: University of Texas.

Estrada-Belli, Francisco
2001 *Archaeological Investigation at Holmul, Guaemala: Preliminary Report of the 2001 Season*. Electronic document, <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/estrada-belli/holmul/reports/HOLMUL_01_report.pdf>.
2002a Anatomía de una ciudad Maya: Holmul: resultados de nuevas investigaciones arqueológicas en 2000 y 2001. *Mexicon* 24(5): 107-112.
2002b *Archaeological Investigation at Holmul, Peten, Guaemala: Preliminary Results of the Third Season, 2002*. Electronic document, <http://www.famsi.org/reports/01009/Index.html>.
2003a *Archaeological Investigations in the Holmul Region, Petén, Guatemala: Results of the Fourth Season, 2003*. Electronic document, <http://www.famsi.org/reports/02093/Index.html>.
2003b Anatomía de Holmul: su ciudad y territorio. In: *XVI Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Guatemala*, edited by Juan P. Laporte, H. Escobedo & Barbara Arroyo: 265-273. Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.
2003c Nuevos datos sobre el Clásico Temprano en el área de Holmul: el caso de La Suficaya. In: *XVI Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Guatemala*, edited by J. P. Laporte, H. Escobedo & Barbara Arroyo: 275-280. Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.

Estrada-Belli, Francisco, A. Tokovinine, J. Foley, H. Hurst, G. Ware, D. Stuart and N. Grube
2006 Nuevos Hallazgos de Epigrafía y Asentamiento en La Sufricaya, Holmul: Temporada 2005. In: *XIX Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas de Guatemala, 2005*, edited by Juan Pedro Laporte, Bárbara Arroyo & Héctor E. Mejía: 579-588. Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.

Folgar, Guillermo B., Emilio Calderón V. and Vilma Fialko C.
1987 Operación 4: Estructura 5C-52/6C-23. In: *Proyecto Nacional Tikal: reporte arqueológico, Mundo Perdido, zonas de habitación, Volumes 1-10*, edited by Juan Pedro Laporte & Vilma Fialko: 4(01-21). Guatemala: IDAEH.

Graham, Ian
1986 *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Vol. 5, Part 3.* Cambridge (Massachusetts): Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

Greene, Virginia and Hattula Moholy-Nagy
1966 Teotihuacan-Style Vessel from Tikal: A Correction. *American Antiquity* 31 (3): 432-434.

Grube, Nikolai
2003 Monumentos jeroglíficos de Holmul, Petén. In: *XVI Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala, 2002*, edited by Juan Pedro Laporte, Hector Escobedo & Barbara Arroyo: 701-710, Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.

Hermes, Bernard, Wieslaw Koszkul and Zoila Calderón
2006 Los Mayas y la cultura teotihuacana: Descubrimientos de Nakum, Petén. In: *XIX Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueologicas en Guatemala, 2005*, edited by Juan Pedro Laporte, Bárbara Arroyo & Héctor E. Mejía pp. 895-910, Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.

Iglesias Ponce de León, María Josefa
2003 Problematical Deposits and the Problem of Interaction: The Material Culture of Tikal during the Early Classic Period. In: *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey E. Braswell: 167-198. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Jones, Christopher and Linton Satterthwaite
1982 *The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tikal: The Carved Monuments. Tikal Report No. 33, Part A.* Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Kidder, Alfred V.
1947 *The artifacts of Uaxactun, Guatemala.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 576, Washington, D.C.

Kidder, Alfred V., Jesse D. Jennings and Edwin M. Shook
1946 *Excavations at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala.* Publication 501. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Koszkul, Wieslaw and Bernard Hermes
2006 Teotihuacan-related Finds from the Maya Site of Nakum, Peten, Guatemala. In: *Mexicon* 28(6):117-127

Koszkul, Wieslaw, Bernard Hermes and Zoilá Calderón
2006 Preliminary Report on the Discovery of Talud-tablero Architecture, Green Obsidian Artifacts and Cylindrical Tripod Vessel at the Maya Site of Nakum, Peten, Guatemala. In: *Recherches*

Archeologiques de 1999-2003, edited by W. Blajer & J. Poleski: 397-414. Cracow: Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University.

Koszkul, Wieslaw, Jaroslaw Zralka, Bernard Hermes, Simon Martin and Edgar Vinicio García
2007 Proyecto Arqueologico Nakum: Resultados de la temporada 2006. In: *XX Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueologicas en Guatemala, 2006*, edited by Juan Pedro Laporte, Bárbara Arroyo & Héctor E. Mejía. Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología (in press).

Laporte, Juan Pedro
1985 Arquitectura Clásica Temprana de Tikal y el modo talud-tablero. In: *Antropologia e Historia de Guatemala VII, II época*: 1-48, Guatemala.
1987 El "talud-tablero" en Tikal, Peten: nuevos datos. In: *Homenaje a Roman Piña Chan*: 265-316. México: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas.
1989 *Alternativas del Clásico Temprano en la relación Tikal-Teotihuacan: Grupo 6C-XVI, Tikal, Petén, Guatemala*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
2003 Architectural aspects of interaction between Tikal and Teotihuacan during the Early Classic period. In: *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey E. Braswell: 199-216. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Laporte, Juan Pedro and Vilma Fialko (eds.)
1987 *Proyecto Nacional Tikal: reporte arqueológico, Mundo Perdido, zonas de habitación, Volumes 1-10*. Guatemala: IDAEH.

Laporte, Juan Pedro and Vilma Fialko
1990 New Perspectives on Old Problems: Dynastic References for the Early Classic at Tikal. In: *Vision and Revision in Maya Studies*, edited by Flora S. Clancy & Peter D. Harrison: 33-66. Albuquerque.
1995 Un reencuentro con Mundo Perdido, Tikal, Guatemala. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 6 (1): 41-94.

Martin, Simon and Nikolai Grube
2000 *Chronicle of the Maya kings and queens: deciphering the dynasties of the ancient Maya*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Miller, Arthur G.
1973 *The Mural Painting of Teotihuacán*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Millon, Clara
1988 A reexamination of the Teotihuacan tassel headdress insignia. In: *Feathered Serpents and Flowering Trees: Reconstructing the Murals of Teotihuacan*, edited by Kathleen Berrin: 114-134. San Francisco.

Moholy-Nagy, Hattula
1999 Mexican obsidian at Tikal. *Latin American Antiquity* 10: 300-313.

Morales, Paulino
2005 Notas recientes de investigación arqueológica de rescate en sitios cercanos a comunidades al suroeste del Parque Nacional Yaxha-Nakum-Naranjo. In: *XVIII Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala 2004*, edited by Juan Pedro Laporte, Bárbara Arroyo & Héctor E. Mejía: 101-115. Guatemala: Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología.

Morelos García, Noel
1991 Representaciones hipotéticas de templos. In: *Teotihuacan 1980-1982: Nuevas interpretaciones*, edited by Rubén Cabrera Castro, Ignacio Rodríguez García & Noel Morelos García: 145-156. México: INAH

Pasztory, Esther
1997 *Teotihuacan: An Experiment in Living*. Norman and London.

Pendergast, David M.
1971 Evidence of Early Teotihuacan-Lowland Maya Contact at Altun Ha. *American Antiquity* 36 (4): 455-460.

Rice, Don S. and Prudence M. Rice
1980 The northeast Peten revisited. *American Antiquity* 45: 432-445.

Rice, Prudence M., Helen V. Michel, Frank Asaro, and Fred Stross
1985 Provenience analysis of obsidians from the central Peten lakes region, Guatemala. *American Antiquity* 50: 591-604.

Proskouriakoff, Tatiana
1993 *Maya History*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Ricketson, Oliver G., Jr. and Edith Bayles Ricketson
1937 *Uaxactun, Guatemala: Group E - 1926-1931*. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Sahagún, Fray Bernardino
1950-82 *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of the New Spain*. Translated by A. J. O. Anderson & C. E. Dibble. Santa Fe, NM: The School of American Research & the University of Utah.

Schele, Linda and David Freidel
A Forest of Kings: the Untold Story of the Ancient Maya. William Morrow: New York.

Sharer, Robert J.
2003a Founding events and Teotihuacan connections at Copán, Honduras. In: *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, edited by Geoffrey E. Braswell: 143-165. Austin: University of Texas Press.
2003b Tikal and Copan dynastic founding. In: *Tikal: Dynasties, Foreigners, & Affairs of State*, edited by Jeremy A. Sabloff: 319-353. Santa Fe.

Sharer, Robert J, L. P. Traxler, D. W. Sedat, E. Bell, M. Canuto and C. Powell
1999 Early Classic Architecture beneath the Copan Acropolis: A Research Update. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 10: 3-23.

Smith, A. Ledyard
1950 *Uaxactun, Guatemala: excavations of 1931-1937*. Publication 588. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Smith, Robert E.
1955 *Ceramic Sequence at Uaxactun, Guatemala*. Vol. I & II. Middle American Research Institute, Publication 20, New Orleans: Tulane University.

Stone, Andrea
1989 Disconnection, Foreign Insignia, and Political Expansion: Teotihuacan and the Warrior Stelae of Piedras Negras. In: *Mesoamerica After the Decline of Teotihuacan A.D. 700-900*, edited by Richard A. Diehl & Janet Catherine Berlo: 153-172. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Stuart, David
2000 The arrival of strangers: Teotihuacan and Tollan in Classic Maya history. In: *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs*, edited by David Carrasco, Lindsay Jones & Scott Sessions: 465-513. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
2005 *The Teothihuacán Presence in the Maya Lowlands: Reflections on the Newest Historical and Archaeological Evidence*. Paper held at the European Maya Conference Symposium, The Maya and their Neighbours. Internal and External Contacts through Time. Leiden, 2005.

Taube, Karl
2000 The Turquoise Hearth: Fire, Self-Sacrifice, and the Central Mexican Cult of War: In: *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs*, edited by David Carrasco, Lindsay Jones & Scott Sessions: 269-340. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Wagner, Elizabeth
2004 Some Thoughts on the Composition of the Murals 1 and 3 of Structure 1, La Sufricaya, El Petén, Guatemala. In: *Wayeb Notes* no. 10. Electronic document, <http://www.wayeb.org/notes/wayeb_notes0010.pdf>.

Wright, Lori E.
2005 In Search of Yax Nuun Ayiin I: Revisiting the Tikal Project's Burial 10. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 16 (1):89-100.