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Uaxactun Emblem Glyph: the evolution of the Classic Maya royal title

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Abstract. The research of Uaxactun monuments (Peten, Guatemala) in 2000s made it possible to reconstruct the dynastic history of this Classic Maya political center (300–900). The study of inscriptions is complicated by the poor preservation of stone monuments, therefore, digital methods currently help in the analysis of monuments (photogrammetry, 3D modeling). This allowed us to determine also the royal title of the local dynasty and the main stages of its evolution. The analysis of the inscriptions identified about 20 examples of Uaxactun Emblem Glyph (a marker of the independent Maya polity) and related toponyms. It can be concluded that in the Early Classic after 300 AD Uaxactun lords used the traditional Emblem Glyph “king of K’anwitz”, which toponym K’anwitz (“Flat hill”) possibly was associated with the Group A of the site — the early ceremonial center located on a top of the high hill. Then, after 378, the usual Emblem Glyph disappears from inscriptions, what was caused by the Uaxactun subordination to the Teotihuacan power. Then until the early 6th cent. the dynasty began to be associated with another toponym K’an...kok (complete reading is unclear), which meant the neighboring architectural complex — Group B. After the Uaxactun hiatus period in the 6th–7th cent. the dynasty was revived again around 700 and its kings used the new title “king of K’an...kok”, adding the royal title *’ajaw* to the Early Classic toponym. Finally at the last stage of the city’s history after 800, during the collapse of the Classic Maya political system, the kings of Uaxactun added the title *k’uhul* (“sacred”) to their Emblem Glyph, equating themselves with the most authoritative dynasties of the Classic epoch.

Keywords: Maya, Uaxactun, hieroglyphic writing, monuments, epigraphy, royal title, toponym

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«Эмблемный иероглиф» Вашактуна: эволюция царского титула классического периода

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Аннотация. Исследования корпуса монументов Вашактуна (Петен, Гватемала) в начале XXI в. позволили достаточно подробно реконструировать династическую историю этого политического центра древних майя классического периода (III–IX вв.). Изучение надписей осложняется плохой сохранностью царских монументов, для чего в настоящее время применяются цифровые методы фиксации памятников (фотограмметрия, 3D-моделирование). Благодаря этому удалось определить основную титулатуру местной династии и этапы ее изменения. На основании почти двух десятков примеров записи т.н. «эмблемного иероглифа» (маркера самостоятельного царства майя) и связанных с ним топонимов можно заключить, что в Ранний классический период после 300 г. цари Вашактуна использовали традиционный «эмблемный иероглиф» «царь К'анвица», в котором топоним К'анвиц («Плоский холм») был связан с Группой А — церемониальным центром города, расположенным на вершине высокого холма. Затем после 378 г. «эмблемный иероглиф» исчезает из надписей, что было связано с подчинением города власти Теотиуакана, а к началу VI в. династия стала ассоциироваться с другим топонимом К'ан...кок, под которым подразумевался соседний архитектурный комплекс — Группа В. После периода упадка царства VI–VII вв. династия снова возрождается около 700 г., а ее цари используют новый титул «царь К'ан...кока», добавив к раннеклассическому топониму царский титул 'ajaw. А на последнем этапе существования города в IX в. в период распада политической системы майя цари Вашактуна наконец добавляют к своей «эмблемному иероглифу» титул k'uhul («священный»), приравняв себя к наиболее почитаемым династиям классической эпохи.

Ключевые слова: майя, Вашактун, иероглифическая письменность, монументы, эпиграфика, царская титулатура, топоним

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Introduction

The archaeological site of Uaxactun, located in the northern part of the department of Peten (Guatemala) on the territory of the Maya Nature Reserve, was one of the important ancient Maya political centers in the 1st mil. AD, formed a large segmentary state polity [1. P. 125–126]. Thanks to a series of archaeological projects realized during the last century: by Carnegie Institute in the 1920s–30s, the Institute of Archaeology, Ethnology of the History of Guatemala (IDAEH) in the 1980s and the Comenius University (Bratislava, Slovakia) from 2009 to the

present, it became possible to identify the main stages of the city's development, to research the central architectural groups and collect a corpus of epigraphic monuments of the Classic period (300–900) [2. P. 15–23; 3. P. 2–15]. The research of Russian epigraphers Dmitri Belyaev and Alexander Safronov in the Project by redocumentation of the corpus of Uaxactun monuments, conducted over the last 10 years (since 2014), made it possible to reconstruct the dynastic list order, recover the most important events in the history of Uaxactun and determine its role in the system of political relations in the Central Maya Lowlands region [4]. Nevertheless, a number of aspects of the city's history still remain unexplored despite regular new finds of the archaeological project, and one of such unresolved problems is the definition of the form and meaning of Uaxactun royal title.

The site of Uaxactun was discovered in May 1916 by members of the 2nd Central American expedition, organized by Carnegie Institution. The head of the expedition the American archaeologist Sylvanus Morley identified Stela 9 among the monuments found at the site, where he calculated the earliest date by Long Count of those known at that time — 8.14.10.13.16, corresponding to April 11, 328, while he also “antiquated” the monument and it was dated to the 50 AD [5. P. 134, 150–160]. Thanks to this find, the site got its name — Uaxactun, which was combined of two Mayan words: *uaxac* — “eight” (according to the 8th Baktun (400-year cycle)) and *tun* — “stone” (stela). It means the modern name of the archaeological site has no connections to its ancient toponymy. Morley also made an assumption about the exceptional importance of Uaxactun for the early Maya history, by his point of view it was the earliest and main political and ceremonial center of the Classic Maya society. That idea provided the basis for the formulation of the Morley's “theocratic” concept, that suggested the Maya had a political unity, kind of confederation of ceremonial centers in the 1st mil. AD, called the “Ancient kingdom”, and Uaxactun was the principal center of that unity [5. P. 247–250; 6. P. 160].

Further archaeological research in the Maya area has shown the fallacy of this point of view. In particular, the excavations in Uaxactun, realized in 1980s and 2000s made it possible to determine that the earliest stage of the formation of a local political center should be dated to the 4th–3rd cent. BC and it accompanied by the construction of the first monumental complexes [3. P. 6–7]. The retrospective epigraphic sources attribute the origin of the dynasty to the founder by the name Wak Kab Ajaw at the same time [4. P. 519]. However, the first monuments with inscriptions dedicated to the lords of Uaxactun are recorded in the Proto-Classic epoch (100–250 AD), which indicates the active politogenesis and the formation of the early state polity [1. P. 121–125]. Numerous and well-dated royal inscriptions appear only after 300 AD when the Uaxactun dynasty was revived after the crisis of the late 2nd–3rd cent. AD. The inscriptions of that period began to include the specific royal title — the s.c. Emblem Glyph and related toponyms, which are the most important indicator of the independent Maya polity of the early state type in the Classic period.

The problem of Uaxactun Emblem Glyph identification

Initially the Emblem Glyph was highlighted in Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions in 1958 by the Mexican researcher Heinrich Berlin, who drew attention to the use of a special hieroglyphic blocks at the end of a royal nominal phrases, identical in they form, but having a unique Main sign for different cities. Berlin has identified eight Emblem Glyphs associated with the largest archaeological sites of the Maya region: Tikal, Naranjo, Yaxchilan, Piedras Negras, Palenque, Copan, Quirigua and Seibal [7. P. 112–119]. However, he could not determine the exact meaning of the Emblem Glyph, a number of hypotheses suggested it could be a special royal title, toponym, name of the patron deity of the city etc. For the first time this hieroglyphic block was read by David Stuart in 1985 on the example of the Yaxha royal title, who determined the title consisted of three elements: the *k'uhul* prefix — “sacred”, the *'ajaw* title — “king” (hereafter transcription and translation from the language of Classic Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions (HM)) and the Main sign inscribed in the **'AJAW** logogram, which is a toponym — the place name of the political center of the kingdom [8; 9. P. 3–7]. Currently, more than one hundred unique Emblem Glyphs have been identified in the Maya area [10. P. 69–75, 395–398].

The Emblem Glyph of Uaxactun was identified in the 1980s by Peter Mathews in the inscription on Uaxactun Stela 2, dating to 751, who recognized a similar block in the last position of the text, but unfortunately the context of the inscription was not clear at that time [11. P. 45; 2. P. 23, 84–85]. The royal title was originally read as *Siyajchan 'ajaw* — “king of Siyahchan” (“Giving birth sky”), but later the reading was revised by the British specialist Simon Martin, who suggested new reading of the toponym in the title as **PA'-CHAN**, *Pa'chan* — “Split sky” [12]. In 2008, Stephen Houston, based on the analysis of inscriptions from El Zotz (the Early Classic Maya political center in 26 km southwest from Uaxactun), determined the title *Pa'chan 'ajaw* was the Emblem Glyph of El Zotz [13. P. 9–10]. In addition, a detailed analysis of the inscription on the right side of Stela 2 from Uaxactun showed that it does not contain an Emblem Glyph, but a toponym in the phrase *tab'aay Pa'cha (n) nal* — “climbed/step up to the place of Pa'chan” (Fig.1), which indicates the royal visit of Uaxactun king to El Zotz in the middle 8th cent. [1. P. 116–117]. Traditionally it expresses the dependent position of the arrival relative to the place of arriving [13. P. 10].

Nevertheless, the analysis of the text on Stela 2 revealed a possible Emblem Glyph of the local dynasty. The text indicates on the date 9.16.0.0.0, 4 Ajaw 13 Kase'w (corresponding to May 9, 751) the Uaxactun king performed the dedicatory ceremony of the monument at the end of Katun (20-years period). Further, after the predicate *'uhtiy k'altuun* (“it's happened the presentation of the stela”) the order of the blocks is violated, because the king's name or title was replaced by Tzolkin day sign — 5 Kaan, corresponding to the next recorded date, which usually opens a new phrase after the royal title. In this case, the title of the king and the Tzolkin date were reversed, possibly as a result of the sculptor's mistake (UAX:St.2, B7–A8). The

form of the royal title is identical to typical Emblem Glyph and includes two similar logograms: **K'AN-na-"K'AN"-AJAW**, *K'an... 'ajaw* — “king of K'an...?” (Fig.2). The presence of this title in the inscriptions of Uaxactun was indicated by Houston, who also noted the second logogram “**K'AN**” is supplemented by the syllabic sign **-ko** in the texts on Stelae 12 and 14, which conveys either phonetic complement or a specific suffix [13, P. 10]. The results of the Project by redocumentation of the corpus of Uaxactun monuments made it possible to identify other examples of using the same title by the local dynasty on the monuments between 4th–9th cent.

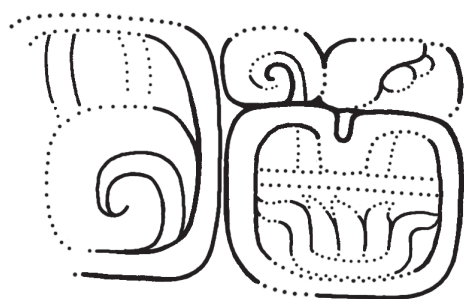


Figure 1. Uaxactun, Stela 2, blocks A9–B9
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

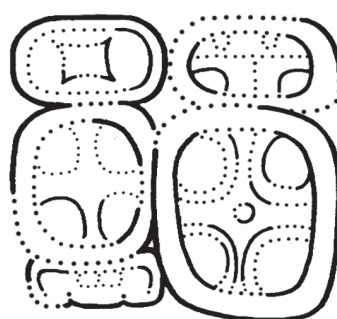


Figure 2. Uaxactun, Stela 2, block A8
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

“Double K'an” royal title

The best preserved examples of s.c. “Double K'an” title were identified on few Late Classic monuments of the 700–900. Stela 14, dated 702, found in a strongly damaged and fragmented condition, is dedicated to the restoration of the dynasty in Uaxactun at the end of the 7th cent., in which the Tikal dynasty (Mutul kingdom) played a significant role [14. P. 100]. On the lower fragment of the left side of the stela the protagonist title has been preserved, where the first block reads as: **K'AN-na-"K'AN"-ko**, *K'an...ok* — “Yellow/flat ...?” (UAX:St.14, Cp2) (Fig.3), but the title *'ajaw* is not used. Perhaps in this example there is a toponym — the place of origin of the king, since the names of his mother and father are mentioned further, in which case the final *-ok* could have a function of a locative or toponymic suffix. This version is confirmed by a text on Stela 7, dated 810 [14. P. 98] and dedicated to the king K'ak' Hoplaj Chan Yopaat. The inscription on the right side opens with the date of the king's birth and after the damaged name block a similar toponym: **K'AN-na-"K'AN"-ko** was written without *'ajaw* title. (UAX:St.7, Cp3) (Fig.4). At the same time, on the left side of the monument there is a description of dedicatory ritual to the end of the 20-years cycle, performed by K'ak' Hoplaj Chan Yopaat and in that case his title has an Emblem Glyph of typical form: **K'AN-na-"K'AN"-AJAW-wa**, *K'an...ok 'ajaw* — “king of K'an...ok” (UAX:St.7, Ap13) (Fig.5). It should be noted that in the inscription of Stela 2, discussed above,

the king of middle 8th cent. also used the same structure Emblem Glyph. It means the toponym *K'an...ok* was used in the inscriptions of Uaxactun kings in about 700–800 both independently for designating the place of origin of the protagonist and as part of the Emblem Glyph.

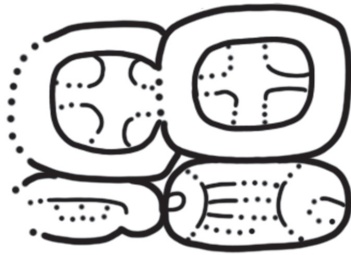


Figure 3. Uaxactun, Stela 14, block Cp2
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

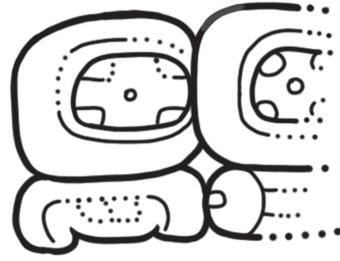


Figure 4. Uaxactun, Stela 7, block Cp3
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

The meaning of this toponym is not completely clear. A thorough analysis of the examples shows that two seemingly identical **K'AN** logograms differ in details and represent two different signs. The reading of the first logogram as *K'an* is undoubtedly in the presence of **K'AN-na** substitution, but the second logogram phonetic value is quite problematic. Late Classic Tepeu 3 type tripod vessel from burial A43, discovered by the archaeological project of the Carnegie Institute [15. P. 95] represents the Primary Standard Sequence inscription with the title of the owner, which has a reading as: **K'AN-na...-ko-ko 'a-'AJAW-wa**, *K'an...kok 'ajaw* — “king of Kan...kok” (UAX: Ves.A-43-5, L–M) (Fig.6). Unfortunately, any photos of the vessel have not been published and the quality of the drawing of the inscription does not give the possibility to determine the third sign of the hieroglyphic block. Nevertheless, it allows us to conclude the second part of the toponym (s.c. “**K'AN**”) should have the reading ...**KOK** (with CVCVC form for logogram), in this case, the combination “**K'AN**”-**ko** presents the syllabic **-ko** as phonetic substitution not a suffix, since it is not always used. The meaning of the logogram ...**KOK** is unclear but most likely could be some rare locative (nature object), the quality of which is betrayed by the adjective *k'an* — “yellow/flat”.



Figure 5. Uaxactun, Stela 7, block Ap13
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.



Figure 6. Uaxactun, ceramic vessel A-43-5, blocks L–M
Source: Drawing by R. Smith [15. Fig 80h].

Further, the Terminal Classic (830–900) inscriptions on Uaxactun monuments show some examples of *k'uhul* (“sacred”) prefix, added to the Emblem Glyph of Uaxactun kings. The title of king Jasaw Chan Kawiil on the Stela 12 (the last monument in the city’s history), dated 889 [14. P. 99] has the following reading: **K’UH-K’AN-na-...KOK-'AJAW**, *k'uhul K'an...kok 'ajaw* — “sacred king of Kan...kok” (UAX:St.12, B3) (Fig.7). Same as the miscellaneous hieroglyphic block from Uaxactun, discovered in the 1980s by IDAЕН archaeological project, which should be the fragment of the destroyed monument, represents only Emblem Glyph: **K’UH-K’AN-na-...KOK-ko-'AJAW**, *k'uhul K'an...kok 'ajaw* [16. P. 167–168] (Fig.8). It is noteworthy two examples of the same titles in different variants **...KOK/...KOK-ko** confirms the idea of using the syllable **-ko** as a phonetic complement.

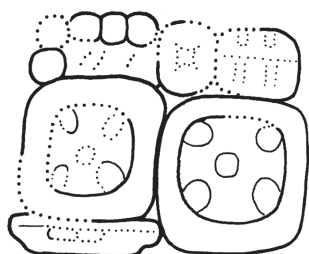


Figure 7. Uaxactun, Stela 12, block B3
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

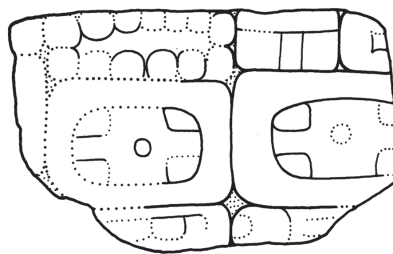


Figure 8. Miscellaneous hieroglyphic block 1
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

K'uhul 'ajaw title (“sacred king”) was intended to denote the important Maya kings belonging to ancient dynasties with significant authority in the system of political relations of the Classic Maya, thus separating themselves from inessential rulers and other persons of royal lineages who could use simple *'ajaw* title [10. P. 71–72]. That component of the royal title became widely used in inscriptions since 600, although the earliest examples belong to the middle 5th cent. The kings of Uaxactun had never added before the *k'uhul* prefix to their Emblem Glyph despite the ancient origin of the dynasty, which dates back to the beginning of the Late Formative period. The appearance of this title rather indicates the crisis of the system of Classic Maya political relations, when the Uaxactun kings became dependent on certain “Western overlords” (*'ochk'in k'alo'mte'*) some kind of foreigners from the Central Mesoamerica, who came to the Maya region in the Terminal Classic epoch [10. P. 287–294]. Probably, the last kings of Uaxactun began to call themselves “sacred kings” with the sanction of the foreign lords of Peten.

Early Classic royal title and toponym of Uaxactun

The tradition of using the “Double K'an” title goes back to the Early Classic period and it was first mentioned on monuments of the late 4th cent. AD — the era of the s.c. “Entrada”, when the Maya lowlands region was invaded

in 378 by the Central Mexican power of Teotihuacan [17. P. 29–31]. The inscriptions on Stelae 4 and 5 erected in Group B of Uaxactun, were dedicated to the ruler known as “Sunraiser” (the exact reading of the name is unclear) and the celebration of 20-years ending in 396, and he used a completely unusual examples of the toponym in his royal titles [4. P. 519–520]. The inscription on the reverse side of a Stela 4 has a recording of the place name, associated with the “Sunraiser”: **CH'ICH'-TUUN NAAH-...-TI' K'AN-...KOK**, *Ch'ich'tuun Naah...Ti' K'an...kok* — “Bloodstone First ... edge Yellow/Flat...?” (UAX:St.4, Ap10–Bp10) (Fig.9). And the front side of Stela 5, set also in 396, has a similar toponym is written in reverse order: **K'AN-...KOK NAAH-...-TI' CH'ICH'-TUUN**, *K'an...kok Naah...Ti' Ch'ich'tuun* (UAX:St.5, A1–3) (Fig.10). However, it placed next to the image of K'inich Mo, who was the teotihuacan warlord handed “Sunraiser” the sanction for power, apparently as a reference to his presence in this place [18. P. 42–46, 48–49]. Undoubtedly, the “Double K'an” title is used in the examples on Stelae 4 and 5 as part of a complex toponym but not an Emblem Glyph, which marks the place of the “Sunraiser” power. It should be noted, the royal residence and the ceremonial center of the city was removed after 378 from Group E in 1 km west to Group B, where “Sunraiser” erected several monuments and build the palace complex B-XIII, decorated with wall paintings image the courtly life [19]. Apparently, the architectural complex of Group B on the top of the hill is meant by the toponym *Ch'ich'tuun Naah...ti' K'an...kok*, in which the element *K'an...kok* could marks the hill in the northwestern part of the Uaxactun, therefore, the royal dynasty begins to associate itself with this toponym since late 4th cent.

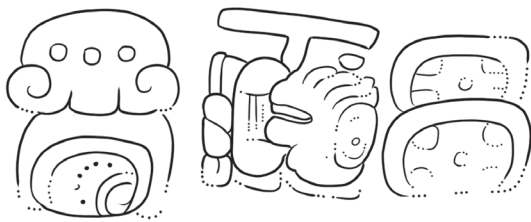


Figure 9. Uaxactun, Stela 4, blocks Ap10–Bp10
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

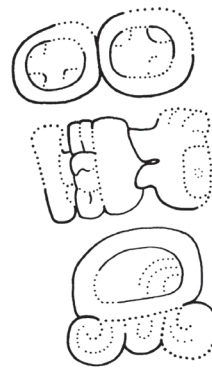


Figure 10. Uaxactun, Stela 5, blocks A1–A3
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

Another example of the same toponym is recorded on Stela 16, probably set by the next king Xukub Chan Ak in 406 in Group D in the eastern side of the city, where the royal residence was removed after the death of the “Sunraiser” around 402 [20. P. 430]. Despite the severe damages of the

inscription the contours of the final block are very similar to the toponym: **K'AN- [na]-...KOK- [ko]**, *K'an...kok* (UAX:St.16, B8) (Fig.11), which probably is used as an indication of the place of power. The “Double K’an” toponym is written also in a similar context on Stela 3, erected in Group B and dated to 507 [14. P. 97]. The last event mentioned in the text, recorded under the date 9.3.3.4.13, 5 Been 11 K’anjalaw (corresponding to April 18, 498) reports about a certain royal ritual: **CH'AM-...? KOKAAJ?-WITZ-WINKIL K'AN-...KOK-TAHN-CH'EE'N**, *ch'am ... Kokaaj? Witz Winkil K'an...kok tahnch'ee'n* — “there is happened a taking of ...? by Kokaaj Witz Winkil in the city of K’an...kok” (UAX:St.3, C9–D9) (Fig.12). Since this is the first known date in the history of Kokaaj Witz Winkil rulership, then apparently it should be his accession to the power and the associated ritual of taking the royal regalia. But the inscription notes that it happened in the place of *K'an...kok*, which is indicated by the term *tahnch'ee'n* — “center of the land/country” (means “city”). Thus, there is no doubt the “Double K’an” title is a toponym associated with the place of power of Uaxactun kings about 400–500, which means the Group B.



Figure 11. Uaxactun, Stela 16, block B8

Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

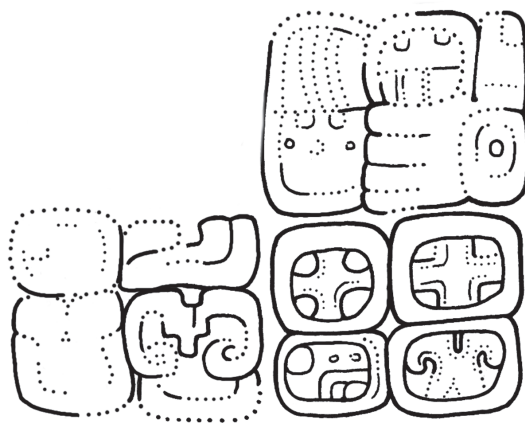


Figure 12. Uaxactun, Stela 3, blocks C9–D9

Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

However, the question remains why the lords of Uaxactun of the late fase of Early Classic period did not use the usual Emblem Glyph with the *'ajaw* title. This is quite strange, given the fact the wall paintings from Structure B-XIII represents the figure of “Sunraiser” receives the regalia of power from the hands of the K’inich Mo’ and his caption includes a usual royal title: **...-...-'AJAW**, ... *'ajaw* — “king of ...?” (UAX:B-XIII, M1, C10) [18. P. 42–43, 48–49] (Fig.13). Unfortunately, at the time of the murals discovery the most part of this hieroglyphic block was lost and now it is impossible to identify its

complete reading, however, the fact of the normal Emblem Glyph recording is beyond doubt. It can be assumed the refusal to use the standard Emblem Glyph in Uaxactun inscriptions after 378 was due to the peculiarities of the power received from the Teotihuacan overlords. Perhaps the “Sunraiser” himself was not the direct successor of the pre-Teotihuacan royal lineage or his relocation of the dynastic residential core to Group B can be considered as a rejection of following the early dynastic tradition of Uaxactun.

The usual Emblem Glyph appears only once in the inscription on the ball-court marker from El Chival (Buena Vista) dates about middle 5th cent. Most likely, it was originally set in Uaxactun, but later in the Terminal Classic it was removed to one of the local centers close to the city. The monument presumably was dedicated to the Baktun ending (400-years period): 9.0.0.0.0 (December 11, 435), it was produced by Unen Balam Nohol Winkil, who is called “the 28th successor (In the dynasty)” (*'u-28-tzakbuul*) and his title includes the Emblem Glyph: ...-...-'AJAW, *'ajaw* — “the king ...?” [21] (Fig.14). Unfortunately, the Main sign of the Emblem Glyph is much damaged, so it is impossible to determine the exact reading of the toponym, however, the option of “Double K'an” block mention is not excluded.



Figure 13. Uaxactun, Palace B-XIII mural, block C10
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

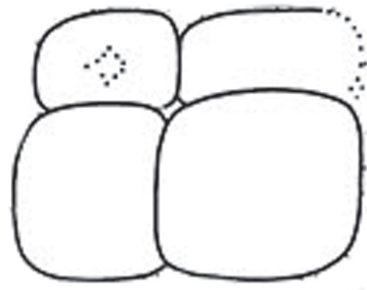


Figure 14. Uaxactun, Ball-court marker, block D9
Source: Drawing by A. Tokovinine.

A detailed analysis of the Early Classic inscriptions of Uaxactun revealed examples of a different title than “Double K'an” toponym on pre-teotihuacan monuments. There are three stelae were definitely erected in Uaxactun before 378: 9, 18 and 19, as well as, possibly, Stela 20, while they were generally placed in Group E. This complex is locate in the eastern part of the city, which was a ceremonial center and the royal residence of Uaxactun dynasty between 300–378 AD [2. P. 20–21]. Except Stela 9 was discovered in Group A in the western part of the city, however, close to buildings constructed in Terminal Classic, so it is possible the monument was replaced by the latest rulers of Uaxactun from Group E [14. P. 99]. As already noted above, Stela 9 is the earliest dated monument of Uaxactun, the text on the reverse begins with the date: 8.14.5.12.16, 9 Kib 14 K'anasiy (corresponds to April 19, 323), when the crowning of the new king ...-...-Balam took place (the name is not completely

readable). The final passage of the text closes with the phrase: **'u-ti K'AN?-WITZ/TUUN? CHAN-CH'EE'N**, *'uhti K'anwitz/K'antuun chanch'ee'n* — “it happened in the city K'anwitz/K'antuun” (UAX:St.9, B10–B11) (Fig.15). Noteworthy is the use of a different place name as a location of the royal event in the early 4th cent., which also contains the **K'AN** logogram. At the same time, the second logogram is not very clearly identified it has elements characteristic for two similar signs: **WITZ**, *witz* — “mountain, hill” and **TUUN**, *tuun* — “stone, rock”, but both terms can be a locative parts in toponym. Next position after the toponym has a double-root noun *chanch'ee'n* (*chan* — “sky”, *ch'ee'n* — “land, country”) with the meaning as “city” and it’s analogous to *tahnch'ee'n* combination.

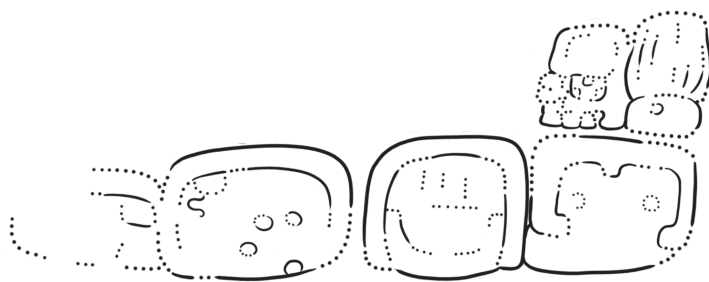


Figure 15. Uaxactun, Stela 9, block B10–B11

Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

The same toponym mention on Stelae 18 and 19 — two anniversary monuments erected in Group E by the king Tz'akbu Ushij I in 357 and dedicated to the Katun ending (8.16.0.0.0) [22. P. 155]. The hieroglyphic block of the toponym on Stela 18, written after the name of the king, is partially damage but the reading is clearly defined along its contour: **K'AN-WITZ**, *K'anwitz* — “Flat/yellow hill” (UAX:St.18, B8), which confirms the alleged reading on Stela 9. The position of *K'anwitz* toponym after the king’s name indicates its function as a title rather than the place of the event, so it could be part of Emblem Glyph. Next hieroglyphic block written after *K'anwitz* is almost completely lost, but its contour is very similar to the full version of the logographic sign **'AJAW**, *'ajaw* — “king” (Fig.16). This assumption is confirmed by the structure of the text on Stela 19, which was erected on the same date — 8.16.0.0.0. [22. P. 155], and it also include the Emblem Glyph of Tz'akbu Ushij I, who conducted the ritual of presenting the monument (UAX:St.19, B7–A8). Next two blocks after king’s name are largely damaged, however, according to their contours it’s possible to determine the reading: **[K'AN]-WITZ 'AJAW-** [wa], *K'anwitz 'ajaw* — “king of K'anwitz” (UAX:St.19, B8) (Fig.17). This is similar to the position of the toponym in the inscription on Stela 18, that is, in both cases it should be a title not an indication of the place of the event. But at the end

of the text on the Stela 19 there is another reference to the main event — the end of the 16th Katun (*tzutz waklaju'un winaakhaa'b*) with the mention of the event's place, which has the same character as a toponym on Stela 9: ... **CH'EE'N-na K'AN WITZ**, ... *ch'ee'n K'anwitz* — “in the land of K'anwitz” (UAX:St.19, A11–B11) (Fig.18).



Figure 16. Stela 18, blocks B7–A8
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

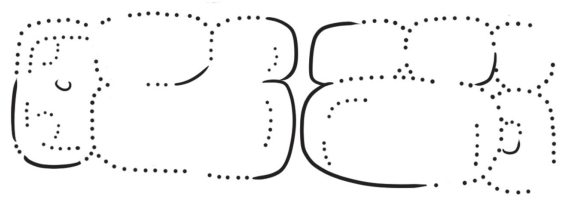


Figure 17. Stela 19, block B8
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

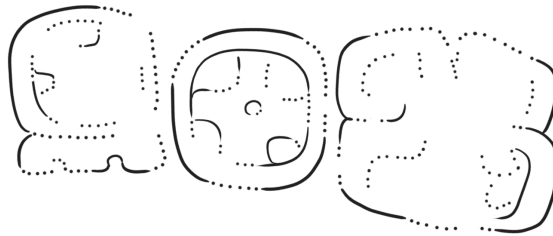


Figure 18. Uaxactun, Stela 19, blocks A11–B11
Source: Drawing by A. Safronov.

Thus, there is no doubt Uaxactun kings used the Emblem Glyph “king of K'anwitz” until 378, whose toponym is associated with the ancient ceremonial center of the city. Perhaps it was the Group E complex, although there is reason to believe such a place name could be Group A, located on the top of the hill in the western part of the city south of Group B (the highest point in Uaxactun). Another ceremonial center began to be constructed there after 300 AD — Structure A-5, which was apparently associated with the place of the ancestors, since members of the royal lineage began to be buried there [2. P. 21–23] and rituals related to the royal power could be performed on that complex.

Resumen

The results of the analysis of the Uaxactun kings titles mentions on the Classic monuments revealed the following picture of the evolution of the main royal title from the 300 to 900. In the early 4th cent. since the restoration of the

dynasty after the crisis of the Proto-Classic epoch (100–250 AD), the rulers of Uaxactun have been using the typical Emblem Glyph *K'anwitz 'ajaw* — “king of K'anwitz”, whose toponym was associated with one of the Early Classic architectural groups of the city (probably Group A). After 378, when the “Teotihuacan invasion” of the Maya Lowlands took place, the king of Uaxactun s.c “Sunraiser” received permission to rule from the Central Mexican overlords and he removed his residence with the main ceremonial center of the city (from K'anwitz) to Group B, associated with the toponym *Kan...kok*. Since that period this toponym was designated as the place of the main ritual activity of the kings. At the same time the early Emblem Glyph practically disappears from the royal inscriptions of the 5th–6th cent., which may have been due to the peculiarities of the powers received from Teotihuacan (for example, the rejection of the ancient dynastic ceremonial tradition). In this case, the mention of the Emblem Glyph in the title of Unen Balam Nohol Winkil around 435, which shape is very similar to *K'anwitz 'ajaw* block, can be explained by an attempt to restore the Maya dynastic traditions of the pre-teotihuacan time. In particular, the rule of Unen Balam Nohol Winkil and his father Xukub Chan Ak is associated with the relocation of the royal residence from Group B to Group D in the eastern part of the city (near Group E) after 406.

Nevertheless, the association of the lords of Uaxactun with *K'an...kok* toponym became the quite strong to the beginning of 6th cent., therefore, the new restoration of the dynasty around 670–690 after a long hiatus period was accompanied by the use of the same toponym. It is noteworthy that the kings of the early 8th cent. erected monuments (Stelae 14, 21, 1, 2) in Group B associated with the “Double K'an” toponym. However, unlike they predecessors of the Early Classic period, the Late Classic kings add the traditional royal title to this toponym: *K'an...kok 'ajaw* — “king of K'an...kok”, which could be due to the loss of the original reasons of *K'an...kok* using without *'ajaw* title. Later in the Terminal Classic probably from the period of K'ak' Hoplaj Chan Yopaat rulership about 830 the last kings of Uaxactun began to include the *k'uhul* prefix to their Emblem Glyph never used before. It could be related to the general crisis of the Classic Maya culture and the system of the political relations abandon. Thus, at the end of the 9th cent. on the last stage of Uaxactun polity the royal title was presented in the format *k'uhul K'an...kok 'ajaw* — “sacred king K'an...kok”.

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