

***Ah Ts'ib*: Scribal Hands and Sculpture Workshops at Yaxchilán**

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In an ancient Maya ceremonial center, the production of monumental sculpture must have been a process of collaboration between a ruler, and his advisors, scribes, artists, designers, and sculptors. Until recently, the identities of any of these individuals, and the creative interaction among them, were considered to be hopelessly lost. The first evidence cited for the recognition of individual artists among the Maya was Stuart's (1986) discovery of their signatures on some Late Classic pots and monuments. The vast majority of hieroglyphic inscriptions, monuments, and pottery paintings are not signed, however, and this paper develops a method for determining authorship based on handwriting analysis in glyphic texts and stylistic analysis in imagery. This portion of the method closely parallels the work published by Kerr and Kerr (1988) on individual hands in vase painting. This paper further proposes that at least at Yaxchilán, some artists were also literate scribes, and that they collaborated in workshops, several of them working on the same sculptures.

Among the Maya, basic iconography and important aspects of style were fixed by 9.0.0.0 and persisted until the collapse of the Central Lowland cities. Within the canons of art, however, both fashion and art styles changed and, despite the conservatism of imagery, creativity and innovation flourished within strict formal boundaries. The creative process involved the intimate knowl-

edge and exploration of rules of form and syntax in art and language, rather than the expression of an individual's thoughts and views. In Maya monumental art, even the figure of a ruler seldom reveals his individuality. The primary goal of the collaboration between ruler and artists was to display the ruler not as a personality but as a paragon of local and pan-Maya ritual behavior. Just as the personality of the ruler was subjugated to tradition in art, cyclical history, and ritual, so the personalities and hands of the designers, drawers or artists, and sculptors were subjugated to the aesthetic unity of a series of monuments and to the message that those monuments were intended to convey to the populace.

Working in a Maya workshop under the commission of the ruler was probably somewhat like writing an English sonnet. In such poetry, strict parameters regarding meter, rhyme, and length must be observed, and the creative challenge is to demonstrate intelligence and sensitivity while masterfully observing the formal requirements. In a workshop of Maya sculpture, the subject matter had to conform to local tradition; elements of style such as viewpoint of the figures, gesture, depth of relief, and the treatment of faces had to be recognizable as local art, and the artists had to have observed the specific regalia worn by rulers. Subject matter and style were bound by tradition, but no amount of practice under the master of a

workshop of writing, painting, or sculpture could eliminate the indications of individual manual dexterity or aesthetics.

The ancient city of Yaxchilán surpassed most Maya cities in the sheer number, beauty, and variety of its stone monuments. Its 125 carved limestone monuments, most of which are securely dated, form an unusually fertile ground for the analysis of artists's styles, so much so that several authors have preceded me in making such studies. Marvin Cohodas completed a master's thesis on the topic and presented a paper at the 42nd International Congress of Americanists identifying two schools and one individual artist, whom he called the Master of Structure 13 (Cohodas 1976). Cohodas argued that Yaxchilán sculpture from the Late Classic can be classified into two "schools" — each of which emphasized a distinct aspect of the subject matter: the Narrative School and the Symbolic School. I concur with his identification of the Master of Structure 13 but differ with his division of most of the sculptures into the work of two schools; I find the situation much more complex. In another paper on Yaxchilán artists,

Mary Ellen Miller (1985) focused on identifying additional sculptures by the artist she thought was responsible for the well-known lintels of Structure 23. Miller made an assumption that a single hand was responsible for these famous lintels, and I offer evidence to the contrary.

Both these authors considered only the figural portion of the monuments in their analyses, ignoring the style of the hieroglyphic texts. I looked at the template figures and found too little evidence for proposing the hands of artists. Only when I began to examine glyphic handwriting, which is much less homogenous than the figures, was I able to identify scribes through scrutiny of traits such as slant, control of margins, general shape of glyphs, quality of line, kinds of outlines, handling of three-quarter view, surface treatment such as crosshatching and dotting, and characteristic spelling. Many of these diagnostic characteristics appear in the design and detail of figures as well. To become familiar with the hands of the artists at Yaxchilán, I studied all the known monuments, either the object itself or from photographs. Although many of the same traits are apparent



Fig. 1. Lintel 44. From Graham (1979).



Fig. 2. Lintel 45.
From Graham (1979).

in drawings, such aspects as roundness of edges and quality of the line cannot be studied through drawings.

The results of this study indicate that during the Late Classic period (A.D. 650-800), Yaxchilán rulers employed a large group of scribes, artists, and sculptors, most of whom worked in collaborative workshops. The analysis provides initial insights into some questions such as, what was the working relationship among contemporary artists? Is there evidence for workshops? Were scribes also the artists or designers of the monuments? Were the artists also the sculptors or were the sculptors illiterate craftsmen? What was the process of creating a monument? And finally, what are the specific details with which we can distinguish the hand of a Yaxchilán artist? In the course of this paper, I will offer tentative answers to all these questions, based on case studies of two sculpture ensembles commissioned during the reign of Shield Jaguar the Great.



Fig. 3. Lintel 46. From Graham (1979).

Case 1: The Structure 44 Lintels: Scribes who were also Artists

Lintels 44, 45, and 46 are still *in situ* over the three doorways of Structure 44 (see figs. 1, 2, and 3). Each lintel is carved with a scene of a king, named Shield Jaguar, conquering a different captive. Large portions of the glyphs and images are missing, but enough remains to see that the figures are quite similar in size, gesture, composition, costume, and depth of relief. At first glance, these figures appear to have been designed by the same artist and carved by the same sculptor. The glyphic texts on the three lintels, however, each appear to have been drawn by a different scribe. Once the handwriting of each scribe becomes familiar, transposition of his treatment of forms to the figural part of the lintel can be seen.

Determining the hand responsible for glyphic passages requires scrutiny of both glyphic form and phonetic spelling. Lintel 46's glyph blocks are fairly uniform in size. The exterior shapes are fluid but regular. Little empty space exists within

each glyph block. The artist tends to use double outlines and crosshatching, adding elegance to the forms. The text on Lintel 45, in comparison, is characterized by wildly-shaped glyphs. The outlines of the glyph blocks are irregular. Unoccupied space is incorporated into the glyph blocks. The scribe does not use double lines with as great frequency as the Lintel 46 scribe.

Despite damage to the Lintel 45 text, some specific syllables and words are common to it and Lintel 46 and can be compared. The *u*'s (T1) on Lintel 46 are very similar to those on the left text of Stela 12: the bracket forms the center projecting element in a continuous line, and the ovals are delicately small and are modeled to be quite separate from the bracket. In contrast, the T1s of Lintel 45 (at A2 and C6) almost look like half of a *k'in* sign. Comparing the skull variant *u* on both lintels, the one on Lintel 46 (at G7) has two holes in his cranium, a ridge at the nostril, teeth, and a single crosshatched suffix. The Lintel 45 skull (at C5) is summarily sketched in comparison. Each lintel



Fig. 4. Lintel 46, detail. From Graham (1979).



Fig. 5. Lintel 24. From Graham and von Euw (1977).



Fig. 6. Lintel 25. From Graham and von Euw (1977).

has a *k'a* "remembering" statement as well (at F8 on Lintel 46 and at C6 on Lintel 45). Indicative of a separate hand is the treatment of the smoke above the fist. The two statements are designed with substitutable variables, which perhaps indicates that the composition of words on the trio of lintels was orchestrated by an overseer who made sure that statements were not repetitive. Again, specific differences in glyph form, composition, and "spelling" indicate that the glyphs were drawn by two separate hands. Without laboring over the details, the Lintel 44 text appears to have been drawn by a third hand. But which scribe, if either, was responsible for the drawing of the figures?

This is a much more difficult problem. If hands and faces are present in the glyphs and survive on the figures, then the glyphic and figural elements can be compared. We are not that lucky in this case. The only specific element on Lintel 46 that is common to glyphs and figures is the knot at G8 and the many knots in the clothing. Comparing the glyphic knot to the knot on Shield

Jaguar's sandals, they are almost identical (see fig. 4). The loops of cloth on Shield Jaguar's garments are often elaborated with double lines as are the borders of his sandals. Double lines are characteristic of the style of the Lintel 46 scribe, as is the practice of adding lines to the end of a lock of hair or feathers, as at G4 on the end of the shield and on the segment of bangs looped through the jade bead on the head of the figure. It seems very likely that the primary artist and the scribe of Lintel 46 is the same individual, whom I will call the Elegant Knot and Textile Artist.

The figure of Shield Jaguar on Lintel 45 is more dynamic than that on Lintel 46, just as the writing is. The cloth sashes on Lintel 46 do not indicate movement of the figure; instead, they cling to the body. In contrast, the loincloth on Lintel 45 flies out the back, the sash from his spear moves toward his body as if he is stepping forward, and the knotted loops of cloth at his waist project naturally. The treatment of the knots on Lintel 45 is looser than on Lintel 46. The Lintel 45 artist



Fig. 7. Lintel 26. Photograph by Lee Clockman.

indicates strands of hair throughout the length of each section of hair, whereas the Lintel 46 artist, on at least three occasions, indicates strands only at the end of the hair section. Therefore, despite the fact that on Lintels 45 and 46 the figures are similarly proportioned, the gestures are very similar, the subject matter is nearly identical, and the figures on both lintels are well observed, they were not drawn by a single individual. The work of the same three literate artists can also be seen on the next set of lintels carved at Yaxchilán. The Structure 44 lintels were completed on 9.14.5.0.0, and the Structure 23 lintels twenty years later, on 9.14.15.0.0.

Case 2: The Structure 23 Lintels: A Workshop Production

The lintels of Structure 23 (figs. 5, 6, 7) are widely considered to be among the finest of Maya stone sculptures. They share an overall coherence of design. The figures stand out sharply from a

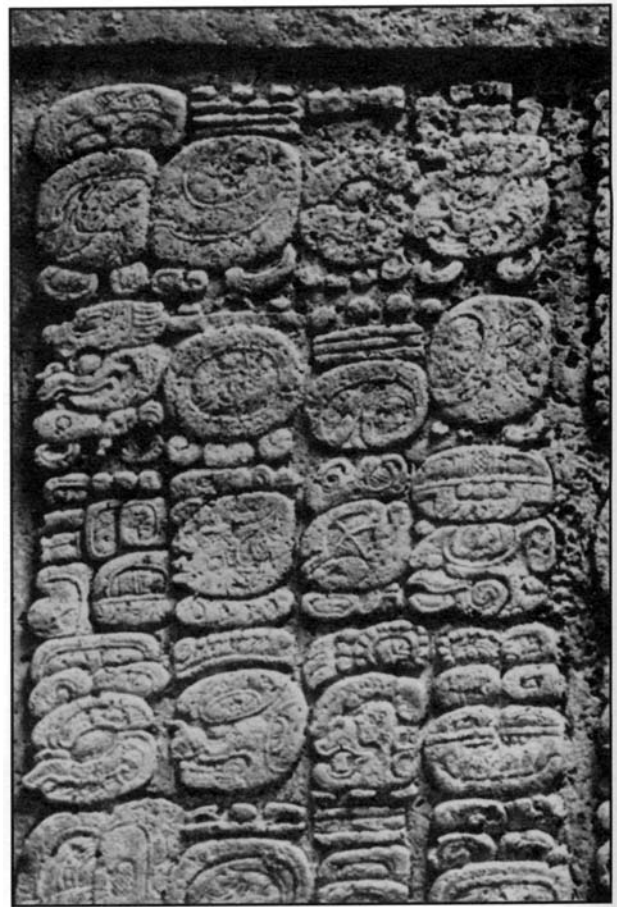


Fig. 8. Lintel 23, underside detail. Photograph by the author.

background that has been deeply cut away. This results in a clarity of image unusual in Maya art. Clarity is enhanced through the elimination of extraneous detail. Although the figures are richly dressed, they lack the usual sprays of feathers that obscure the outline of figures and regalia on most monuments. Those items of regalia that are portrayed are depicted with complete accuracy and in fine detail. The items are drawn after careful observation of a real object, unlike plenty of other Maya art (for example, on Yaxchilán Lintel 5), where the items depicted are poorly observed by the artist and therefore are confusing and obscure to the viewer. Elements of the composition are further distinguishable from each other by being placed on slightly different planes of the stone. The poses and composition of the figures are complex and unusual, and the diagonals created through the depiction of forms and the suggestion of gaze and gesture draw the eye of the viewer through the composition. Also, the depiction of hands and



Fig. 9. Structure 44, Step IV. From Graham (1982).

faces is done with great delicacy of line. The use of double outline and fine crosshatching contributes to the beauty of the sculptures and unifies the images on the three lintels.

Such unifying decorative techniques may have been employed to add coherence to the work of a team of two or three artists. Whereas Miller (1985) assumed that a single artist was responsible for the figures and glyphs on the three lintels, there are many discrepancies in the handling of the design and relief that indicate the participation of several masters. Look closely at the folds of Lady Xoc's gowns as they billow out

at the groundlines of Lintels 24 and 25 (figs. 5, 6). Although they are executed in very low relief, the folds of the Lintel 24 gown seem to incorporate air. They cascade fluidly around her form. The Lintel 25 drapery is formed of stiff, precise shapes that do not resemble flowing cloth. Could these garments have been designed by the same individual? Compare the borders of the fabric on the gowns on Lintels 24 and 26 (figs. 5, 7), which are incredibly delicate, as are the textile designs, to the Lintel 25 borders and fabric design, which are coarser. On Lintels 24 and 26, the artist has succeeded in indicating depth of field by showing the inner and outer edges of the garment as it drapes around Lady Xoc's arm. Opportunity for this realistically-observed detail exists on Lintel 25 (fig. 6), but it was not employed.

Another indication of the existence of more than one artist in the design of the lintels is the subtle difference in the treatment of hands. The Lintel 25 hands exist in more of a two-dimensional format than those of Lintel 24, where hands grasp the rope and spear with carefully observed naturalism. So we have the artist who did the stiff designs on Lintel 25 and the one who is responsible for the fluid shapes and detailed textiles on Lintels 24 and 26.

It seems that one individual was responsible for the bold, still glyphs and surface details of the figures on Lintel 25, and that he was distinct from any artist seen yet on Structures 44 or 23. The thick-tipped, long-nailed fingers of Lintel 25's figures also appear prominently in its glyphs, at B1 on the underside and M1 on the front edge (figs. 6, 10). Treatment of hands in the glyphs on Lintels 24 and 26 is quite distinct. In general, handwriting of the Lintel 25 text is easily distinguishable from the texts on Lintels 24 and 26, for example, in the size and shape of the glyphs. The Lintel 25 glyphs are larger with respect to the lintel than those of the other two lintels. The Lintel 25 glyphs are bold and regular in shape, expanding to the corners of a now-invisible cartouche. Compare this to the more erratic exterior shapes of the glyphs of Lintels 24 and 26. Other than on the underside and front edge of this lintel, I have not been able to identify another Yaxchilán monument with this particular style of handwriting. If the Lintel 25 artist/scribe suggested reusing the Early Classic Maya "Vision Serpent" (Schele and Miller 1986)

as an accession image at Yaxchilán, his iconographic contribution became one of the hallmarks of Late Classic Yaxchilán monumental art and of the workshop in which he and the Elegant Knot Artist collaborated.

The hand of another scribe can be seen in Structure 44 on Step IV, and in Structure 23 on Lintel 23, and the front edge of Lintel 26. This scribe's lines and the shapes of his glyphs are exuberant. For example, look at the animated *ahaw* glyph on Lintel 23 (F2), and the lively treatment of leaves and smoke (Lintel 26 [H2], Lintel 23 [C1]). This scribe usually uses a superfix on "captor" glyphs consisting of a curl element and an elongated, leaflike oval. The "captor" glyphs on Lintel 23 and Step IV (figs. 8, 9) are almost identical. He likes to curve affixes such as numerals and *ah* superfixes, unlike any of the other Yaxchilán scribes (see Lintel 23 [N2a, M4b]; Lintel 26, front edge, where the entire cartouches are curved; Lintel 44 [E1]). The ends of the feather "tail" on the shield in Shield Jaguar's name is invariably fanned out by this scribe. He enjoys such details as adding semicircles to dress up the interior of his numerals and occasionally uses double outlines. I call him the Exuberant Scribe.

As a final bit of evidence in the argument that the glyphs on the Structure 23 lintels are drawn by different hands, compare the treatment of the turtle shell in the month glyph, Mac, on Lintels 25 (A1) and 24 (R1) (figs. 6, 5). The lines in the bottom of the turtle shell on Lintel 25 are very similar in quality to those on Lady Xoc's dress border on the same lintel, just as the hands in the glyphs and figures are quite similar on this lintel. Therefore, there is evidence for one artist/scribe who uses bold forms, some double outlines, and who tends to present straight frontal and profile forms, whom I call the Lintel 25 artist.

There is evidence for another artist/scribe who commands finer control of his lines, is the premier at textile portrayals, loves to display his skill at drawing knots, and adds lines only to the ends of hair or other strands. This Elegant Knot and Textile Artist did much of the surface detail of the figures on Lintels 24, 26, and 46. I have also identified the more Exuberant Scribe of Lintels 23, 26 front edge, and Step IV. Both the Lintel 45 or 24 scribes are capable of showing some three-dimensional volume in their glyphs. Notice how the *ahaw* glyph is infixed into the forehead of Ah Ahawal on Lintel 24 at F2 (fig. 5) and on Lintel 45 at C1 (fig. 2). Perhaps the scribe(s) with this three-dimensional, three-quarter view aptitude conceived the notion of the high relief on the Structure 23 lintels and was responsible for the three-quarter view hands on Lintel 24.

A team of at least three individuals, consisting of the Exuberant Scribe, the Elegant Knot and Textile Artist, and the Lintel 25 artist, worked on the design of the Structure 23 lintels. The close relation between the glyphs and figures on Lintels 46 and 25 suggests that these artists were also scribes, and that each worked on both text and figures. Furthermore, it appears that both labored over the sketches for the lintels, and the final design includes contributions of both artist/scribes. The identification of these three individuals does not resolve the problem of whether they were sculptors as well as designers, artists, and scribes.

The problem of whether the Elegant Knot Artist, the Lintel 25 Artist, and the Exuberant Scribe also carved the Structure 23 lintels may be impossible to resolve. What variation in sculptural style in the lintels can be discerned? Clearly, the cutting away of the background had to be the first stage of carving. Faced with flat shapes of stone



Fig. 10. Lintel 25. From Graham and von Euw (1977).

corresponding to the outline of the present figures and glyphs bands, the sculptor then had to create the most aesthetically pleasing and exact rendition of the drawn design that he could. There seems to be a less than uniform approach to shaping the projecting areas. The Lintel 26 background plane is 4.3 cm deep, but the depth of modeling within the figures is no greater than 1.1 cm. There is very little overlapping in the design. Shield Jaguar's and Lady Xoc's arms overlap their bodies, but this overlapping is enhanced by a change of less than half a centimeter in the plane of relief. Successive levels of relief are much more complex on Lintel 25 than Lintel 26, yet none of the individual forms are modeled in high relief. Only on Lintel 24 are the hands and arms of the figures portrayed, with a degree of three-dimensionality. The quality of the relief in the three lintels is not consistent. The sculptor of Lintel 26 had plenty of stone to model the figures in higher relief, but he didn't do so. I think that the Exuberant and Elegant Knot artists, who designed Lintel 24, had seen Piedras Negras monuments, such as Stela 8, which is contemporary with the Structure 23 lintels, or earlier ones like Stela 6 (9.12.15.0.0), on which the heads were modeled in high relief, and were challenged to create designs that would give this effect of naturalism. I think that they were also sculptors or interacted with the sculptors, because the sections of the Lintel 24 design which would have been fragile if carved in high relief out of this soft limestone, such as Lady Xoc's right hand and the shaft of Shield Jaguar's torch, are carefully supported by an adjoining element.

Working with stone is a process that requires a skill distinct from literacy, writing, drawing, and designing political art. There is no reason to think that the scribes, artists, and designers were necessarily also sculptors. The designers control the content of the monument, and the sculpting, even of glyphs, can be done by someone who does not understand the symbol system or how to read and write.

The Probable Discovery of Artists's Nominal Phrases and Implications for the Identities of the Artists of Structures 44 and 23

Recent epigraphic research has added a new twist to the knotty problem of the authorship of these lintels. A year after Miller (1985) presented

her view that the Structure 23 lintels were carved by a single artist, Stuart (1986) proposed that the incised texts on each lintel beginning with a knot and bat glyph are the names of the sculptors of the lintels. Of 125 known monuments at Yaxchilán, these incised phrases exist on five monuments: Lintels 24, 25, 26, 45, and 46, the same monuments which I attribute to the workshop that includes the Elegant Knot artist, Lintel 25 artist, and Exuberant Artist, and which Miller attributed to a single artist. The fact that the so-called *lu*-bat phrases are on these monuments only suggests that a new social status was adopted by these talented individuals. All five of the phrases are somewhat different. Two common elements are the *lu*-bat and GI glyph, which must be a title for the sculptors, artists, or patrons whose names follow. Two of the phrases, those on Lintels 46 and 24, share an additional glyph, a "shell-fist" title, perhaps a reference to the same individual. If these phrases refer to the artists, then the artist named with the shell-fist title is my Elegant Knot Artist.

There are some problems with the paraphrase of the *lu*-bat glyph as "to sculpt." If the glyph initiates a sculptor's name phrase (as opposed to a drawer's or painter's), which Stuart (1987) has documented convincingly as being *u ts'ib*, does that mean the stonecarver signed the monument but the drawer did not? Does it mean that they are one and the same? What about the monuments such as Piedras Negras Stela 12 or the Cleveland Stela, which have as many as twelve separate *lu*-bat phrases? Did twelve individuals design and sculpt the monument?

Returning to the Yaxchilán Structure 23 problem, the Structure 23 phrases are all preceded by a "God N" "dedication" phrase (Schele 1987: 133). The phrases may read, "Its dedication, the sculpting by so-and-so." On Lintel 25, Lady Xoc is named after a *lu*-bat phrase (fig. 10). Elsewhere I have demonstrated her importance in assisting with astronomically-related ceremonies (Tate 1987), but does this mean that she was also an artist or sculptor? Linda Schele suggested that the "house" glyph following the *lu*-bat phrase indicates that Lady Xoc was the patron instead of the sculptor of the lintel, and that the text recorded the dedication of the stucco sculpture on Structure 23. If the *lu*-bat phrases all refer to the dedication of a carving, it is possible that all the phrases

name patrons rather than sculptors. Until there is a secure phonetic reading for the glyph, judgment should be reserved.

If we accept for the sake of argument that the phrases do name sculptors, then what did those individuals tell us about the identities of the artists of Structures 44 and 23? The handwriting of the phrases is quite different in each example, but in each case the incised phrase is written in a similar style as the main text. That would mean that a different sculptor/scribe wrote and carved each of the hieroglyphic texts on the five lintels. Now, who designed the figural portions? As I have suggested, there existed a workshop of five literate artists who collaborated with the patron (Shield Jaguar and perhaps Lady Xoc) to design historical-political monuments in an innovative, gestural style, who also cooperated in carving the stones. I have identified the hands of three of these artists, and the existence of two more seems certain. At Late Classic Yaxchilán, drawing the king's face must have been very carefully controlled, for all faces are very similar. The Elegant Knot artist did the hair and textiles on Lintels 46, 24, and 26, and the compositions on Lintels 46 and 26, and also on Stela 20. His compositions tend to consist of two vertical figures with few horizontals or diagonals connecting the void between them. Exuberant Artist did Lintel 45, Structure 44 Step IV, Lintel 23, and the compositions of Lintels 44, 24, and 25. Lintel 25 artist did the surface detail of that lintel and its glyphs. If these were collaborations, who signed the work? Perhaps the one who carved the glyphs.

Because they were educated, talented, and in contact with the king, the artists must have been of high social standing. One of them, the Lintel 46 (Elegant Knot) artist, carries the title *ahaw*, suggesting that he was of royal status, and all the artists had a GI title, so all must have been of relatively high status. In addition to the two to six artists who worked on the lintels of Structures 44 and 23, there were several other artists working at Yaxchilán under the reign of Shield Jaguar. During his sixty-eight year reign, he also erected six stelae, six carved steps (one carved by the Exuberant Artist), and another single lintel (56). In my estimation, at least four other hands can be seen on those monuments. This means that there

were at least ten artists, scribes and/or sculptors in the service of Shield Jaguar, some of whom formed a collaborative workshop that produced sculpture between 9.14.5.0.0 (Structure 44 lintels) and 9.16.1.0.0 (the erection of Stela 11).

Conclusions

With the initiation of the reign of Bird Jaguar IV, Shield Jaguar's son, in 9.16.1.0.0, two new workshops were in operation at Yaxchilán, one identified by Marvin Cohodas as the Master of Structure 13, and another which was responsible for the lintels of Structure 33. The Elegant Knot and Exuberant Artists' workshop trained a generation of artists who were probably responsible for the lintels of Structure 21, Lintels 41 and 43 of Structure 42, and perhaps Stela 1. Bird Jaguar IV commissioned about twenty-three lintels, a wall panel, ballcourt markers, sixteen carved steps, four or five stelae, two stone thrones, numerous altars, interior and exterior stucco decoration, large mural programs, plus at least thirteen buildings, all in a period of about twenty years. In the service of these three workshops and their offshoots were no fewer than twelve scribes. My guess as to the number of designers, sculptors, and related stone workers who would have been employed during Bird Jaguar's reign is about fifty persons. Further refinements on this analysis will likely produce slightly different conclusions, but I hope this analysis has illuminated the creative process, the existence of collaborative workshops, and the accomplishment of creative design within strict local parameters of message and form.

Characteristics of Some of Yaxchilán's Other Scribes

Scribe G: Shield Jaguar commissioned the earliest known extensive hieroglyphic staircase around 9.14.10.0.0. It consists of six steps, five of them carved on both treads and risers. The one carved only on the tread differs from the others in that it has no image of a kneeling captive. That one, Step IV, was clearly an early work of the Exuberant Artist (C). Four of the other five texts are the work of a single scribe, who often composed in blocks of four glyphs, whose glyphs are broader than tall, and who never fouled up the arithmetic. Compare the T1 *u* on Steps I and V, as well as the "captor" glyphs.

Scribe I: The glyphs of Stela 18, Stela 11 bottom, the Structure 24 lintels, and Lintel 25 share enough characteristics to be considered as the work of a single scribe. The erection of these monuments spans twenty-five years. Four of the monuments are lintels carved only on the front edges and two are stela texts. Scribe I made somewhat squat glyphs with a firm line. He did not use double outlines. His "captor" glyphs have no subfixes and no separate nostrils, just a little hole in a short, beaklike nose. The superfixes have one curl and one egg. His "Lady" glyphs have blunt faces, and he often includes an earplug assemblage. The hair on the "Lady" glyphs is not crosshatched but consists of some wiggly lines over the ear. He never drew in an eyebrow. His "Jaguar" glyphs have a single fan in the corner of the mouth, and the eyes are done expressively with three lines. The ear is shell-like. His *u* prefixes are strongly rendered with a bracket, the two round dots, and a separately-drawn, pointed, center element. He liked to set many glyphs on a subfix of T23 or series of circles. He used more geometric than fancy variants.

Scribe N: Two of the Structure 33 lintels seem to have been written by someone from outside Yaxchilán. His *u*'s are out of this world! Notice the prefixes for the "captor of Jewelled Skull" glyphs on Lintels 1 and 3. No Yaxchilán scribe ever wrote like that before. His jaguars look froggy. His human faces have very slanted eyes. His skulls are unconvincing. This guy had such terrible writing, so ill-observed, that he must have bought his way into the court at Yaxchilán with goods or foreign power.

Scribe P: The handwriting on Lintel 2 is more acceptable but still strange. The writing on Lintel 42 has a loose quality, and it uses the strange T1 prefix introduced by Scribe N. Scribes N, P, and maybe some others formed a workshop, and their influence is seen on Structure 21's glyphs and later on Structure 20's glyphs.

Table 1: Tentative Identification of Scribes and Artists Working under Shield Jaguar I and Bird Jaguar IV

Ded. Date	Monument	Scribe	Artist
9.12.10.0.0	Stela 19		
9.13.10.0.0	Stela 20	D?	D?
9.14.15.0.0	Str. 44 Lintel 44	C (Exuberant)	C & D
	45	C	C & D
	46	D (Elegant Knot)	C & D
	Step IV	C	
9.14.15.0.0	Str. 23 Lintel 23	C	
	24	E	C & D
	25	I	I & D
	26	F	C, more D
9.15.0.0.0	Stela 15	B?	
9.15.0.0.0	Steps I, II, V, VI	G	
9.15.0.0.0	Step III		
9.15.0.0.0	Stela 18	I	I
9.15.6.13.1	Lintel 56	I	
9.15.10.0.0	Stela 16	B?	
9.16.1.0.0	Stela 12 side a	D	
	side b	H	
	Stela 11 acc. text	I	
	solstice scene	I	
	1 Imix 19 Xul	D	
	GI scene		C & D
9.16.1.0.9	Lintel 21		
9.16.5.0.0	Str 24 lintels	I	
	Str 21 lintels	L and ?	Trained in C & D shop
	Str 1 lintels	M	M's shop
	Str 42 and 41	?	Trained in C & D shop
	42	O	
	43	?	Trained in C & D shop
9.16.6.0.0	Str 33 Lintels 1, 3	N	N's shop
		P	N's shop
9.16.10.0.0	Str 13 lintels	M	M's shop
9.16.10.0.0	Stela 1	I	I

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