



THE MORLEY-SHOOK MAP OF THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON CENTRAL AMERICAN EXPEDITIONS, 1914–1934

by
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Morley, the CIW, and The Inscriptions of Peten

When Sylvanus Griswold Morley convinced the Carnegie Institution of Washington (CIW) to enter the field of Maya archaeology in 1914, he unknowingly set the course of Maya studies for the next fifty years. The legacy of the CIW has been discussed and debated extensively (Kluckhohn 1940; Rice and Ward 2021; Weeks and Hill 2006), but it cannot be disputed that the organization dominated Maya archaeology throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The CIW undertook four major archaeological field projects: 1) excavation and restoration of Chichén Itzá, Yucatán; 2) excavations at Tayasal on Lake Petén Itzá; 3) excavation and restoration of Uaxactún, Petén; and 4) excavation of the Late Postclassic site of Mayapán, Yucatán. In addition, the institution underwrote a multi-decade fifth major project: publication of two monumental works by Morley, *The Inscriptions at Copan* (1920) and *The Inscriptions of Peten* (1937-1938).¹

Here, we present a digital version of an important map in *The Inscriptions of Peten*—the “Map of the Department of Peten, Guatemala, and adjacent regions, showing routes of the Central American Expeditions of the Carnegie Institution of Washington” (Morley 1937-1938:5:Pl. 179), hereafter, the Map. Both *The Inscriptions of Peten* and *The Inscriptions at Copan* are available online at the Hathitrust Digital Library, having been donated to the public domain by the CIW. Unfortunately, the Hathitrust publications lack the numerous foldout maps, the size of which prohibited their being scanned. Our presentation of this Map is meant to supplement publication of Morley’s archaeological field diaries, the first volume of which, covering the years 1914–1916, has just appeared (Rice and Ward 2021).

Morley’s inscriptions project came about via the back door. In 1913 he proposed that the CIW enter the Maya arena with an extensive project for the excavation and restoration of Chichén Itzá (Weeks and Hill 2006:27-40),² a plan that was ultimately selected from among

¹ Morley intended to write a third study covering the inscriptions in Chiapas, Yucatán, and Quintana Roo, but this project never came to fruition—indeed, there is no record of it having ever been started. It is referenced in the CIW *Yearbook* for 1930 (Weeks and Hill 2006:94-95).

² Throughout, we cite John Weeks and Jane Hill’s *The Carnegie Maya* (2006), which reproduces most reports contained in the Institution’s annual *Yearbooks* in a single volume.

several competitors and approved. Unfortunately, work on this project was postponed some ten years until 1924, a casualty first of the Mexican Revolution and Civil War, and then World War I. Hoping the delay would be brief, the quick-thinking Morley came up with a “Plan B” to bridge what he hoped would be a short-term gap until the primary objective could get underway: He proposed that the CIW sponsor expeditions to the unexplored or under-explored southern Maya lowlands to record as many Maya hieroglyphs as possible. His proposal did not come from out of the blue: epigraphy (the study of inscriptions) had been Morley’s focus during much of his early career. Even before joining the CIW, he had prepared his influential *An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyphics* (1915), which the CIW published as Bulletin 57.

Robert Woodward, president of the CIW, agreed to this alternative and in early 1915 Morley set out on the first of the many CIW expeditions, itineraries of which are detailed on the Map. Like Ian Graham after him, Morley trekked on muleback through the tropical forests of Petén, following the rough trails of *chicleros* who tapped certain trees for their *chicle* sap, the main ingredient in chewing gum. Perhaps taking a slight jab at Morley, Graham (2010:249-250) commented that he took the easy way out in his explorations by sticking to well-followed *chiclero* trails rather than forging into the virgin forest in search of new sites and inscriptions. A reading of Morley’s daily diaries, however, belies this observation, as his party often got lost, and he nearly died on more than one occasion.

Morley spent more than a decade on the glyph-quest that resulted in his two major epigraphic publications, but in retrospect his approach, though of lasting importance, was deeply flawed. He was probably the world’s foremost student of Maya epigraphy in the first half of the twentieth century, but only a limited number of glyphs had been deciphered then, specifically those recording time’s passage in the Maya’s complex calendars. Because Morley could not understand non-calendrical hieroglyphs, he did not draw or photograph them. If he came across a stela with 100 glyphs, he would only record the twenty or so that dealt with the Maya calendar. Apparently, he never considered the value of recording these additional inscriptions with the idea that one day they might be readable or even that their publication might actually aid in the decipherment of the entire written language of the Maya.

Morley’s limited aim was to locate as many major Maya sites as possible and place them chronologically in the grand scheme of Maya history—more where and when rather than who, what, why, and how. At the time, this approach served him well and, in the context of early twentieth-century Maya studies—what Gordon Willey and Jeremy Sabloff (1974) called the “Classificatory-Historical Period” (1974)—one could argue it was both appropriate (or at least understandable) and successful: future generations of scholars have built upon the foundational work of these early years. Morley’s collection and study of calendrical inscriptions, though limited in scope, is still the most thorough coverage to date and, with minor exceptions, reliable.

The sheer size of *The Inscriptions of Peten* is impressive: six volumes (Volume 5 is in two parts—plates and maps), containing 2,065 pages, 187 plates, 57 maps (Coe 1992:129)³, 146 tables, and 161 line drawings. Michael Coe (1992:129) dubbed it “The Fat Boy” and Alfred Kidder and others on the CIW staff referred to the five-volume study as “Morley’s Quintuplets” (Kidder 1959). It is rare to find a recent epigraphy-focused publication that does not cite this work. But

³ Coe counts only 39 maps, but the total in Volume V part 2 is actually 57.

its flaws extend to the poor quality of the photography when compared to images published earlier by both Alfred P. Maudslay (1889–1902) and Teobert Maler (1901, 1903, 1908a, 1908b, 1911).⁴ The photographs Morley presents on his published plates are of little use to modern scholars, and the quality of his actual drawings pale in comparison to those currently created. His analysis of each dated inscription, however, remains unparalleled.

Kidder tells an interesting anecdote about the delivery of *The Inscriptions of Peten* to the CIW. Morley seems to have had an aversion to carbon copies of his manuscripts, meaning that his working copy was the only one that existed before publication. When Morley alerted the CIW that the only copy of the massive manuscript was about to be shipped from distant Chichén Itzá, across the Gulf of Mexico on a steamer, and delivered to the editors in Washington, D.C. via train, CIW then-President Merriam wired Morley telling him that if the “manuscript was lost, he might as well sink along with it,” and that he was to immediately microfilm every one of the thousands of pages upon arrival in New Orleans (Kidder 1959:779-780). The tale continues (Kidder 1959:780):

...never one to take halfway measures, [Morley] accordingly called in Tarcisio, his Korean gardener...who not only raised the finest of vegetables but was an able prestidigitator and tinsmith. Tarcisio was shown the manuscript and directed to produce a sufficiently capacious container that must be absolutely watertight. For either end he was asked to devise some sort of attachment to hold firmly upright a piece of broomstick one meter long. This last item puzzled Tarcisio, but he went to work flattening the many five-gallon gasoline tins needed for the raw material. When finally ready, *The Inscriptions of Peten* was stowed therein and the cover weld soldered down.

To avoid having the sealed container opened by inspectors at Progreso (who were always on the lookout for artifacts being smuggled out of Yucatán, especially by foreign archaeologists), Morley bribed the chief of Customs with a pair of gold cuff links bearing the official’s birth date in Maya glyphs. Once safely on board, Morley installed two broomsticks in the allotted slots and attached a red flag to each small mast, effectively creating an attention-grabbing life raft for his manuscript should the ship go down. Then “he called a steward and demanded two life preservers and a length of stout cord...The vessel was unusually crowded; no extras were to be had. ‘Bring these,’ said Vay, ‘from our stateroom.’ ‘But Sylvanus...,’ began Frances [Morley’s wife] ... ‘Fanny,’ he broke in ‘...you saw [the] wire!’” (Kidder 1959:780). *The Inscriptions of Peten* arrived safely in New Orleans and microfilming was completed before the final stage of the journey to Washington.

Earlier Maps of Petén, 1524–1934

Petén first came to the attention of Europeans through Hernán Cortés’s brief overland trek from the Gulf of Mexico to Honduras in 1524. This was followed by four more Spanish *entradas*, or entrances—expeditions of exploration—in the sixteenth century, six in the mid-seventeenth

⁴ Photos from Maudslay, Maler, and Morley are available at the Peabody Museum website: <https://www.peabody.harvard.edu/node/43>

century, and three immediately before the final subjugation of the Itza Maya at their island capital of Nojpeten/Taiza (modern Flores) in 1697 (Jones 1998). These were primarily efforts at missionization, focused on the “fierce” Maya occupying the central Petén lake basins, where various factions were at war. Only one of these visitors left a “map” of the region: Franciscan Fr. Andrés de Avendaño y Loyola ([1696]1987; see Rice 2018), who hoped to convince the Itzas to submit to the Spanish Crown and Christianity before a Spanish attack. Avendaño was unsuccessful, and the Itzas were overtaken in a waterborne attack led by the Spaniard Martín Ursúa Arismendi y Aguirre (see Jones 1998). Morley produced the first cumulative detailing of later *entradas* in the first volume of *The Inscriptions of Peten*, tracking each expedition’s route in great detail, a scholarly achievement in and of itself (Morley 1937-1938:1:8-67).

Modern exploration of Petén and its Maya sites began with the expedition of Colonel Juan Galindo, governor of Petén from 1831 to 1835, and then John L. Stephens and Frederick Catherwood. Tikal was first explored in 1848 and again in 1852, by Colonel Modesto Méndez of the Guatemalan army, both trips at the direction of Ambrosio Tut⁵, then governor of Petén in Flores. In 1890 and 1903, the Scotsman John Carmichael entered central Petén from Benque Viejo (Belize), the first to arrive via what would become the main gateway for early twentieth-century expeditions. None of these explorers left maps.

To the southeast, Quiriguá was frequently visited throughout the nineteenth century, becoming, along with Copán in Honduras, the best-known Maya site in the area.⁶ The extensive operations of the United Fruit Company, which operated the Northern Railroad of Guatemala from its Guatemala headquarters at Quiriguá, resulted in accurate cartographic coverage of both southeastern Guatemala on the Petén periphery and the eastern highlands as far as Guatemala City.

Some expeditions exploring Petén departed with valuable souvenirs, but no maps. In 1875 the English traveler J. W. Boddam-Wheltham visited sites along the Ríos Pasión and Usumacinta, with a stop in Flores, where he purchased two wooden lintels from one of the temples at Tikal.⁷ In 1877, Gustave Bernoulli recovered a wooden lintel from Temple IV at Tikal, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel, Switzerland.⁸ Edwin Rockstroh travelled along the Usumacinta in 1881, claiming to have discovered Yaxchilán, and explored the Lacandón regions of Chiapas.⁹

The late nineteenth century witnessed publication of some of the first maps of Petén and its ancient ruins. Between 1881 and 1894, Maudslay visited Copán, Quiriguá, Tikal, Yaxchilán, and

⁵ The Tut lineage was an important group of the Chak'an Itzá Maya, who occupied the western Lake Petén Itzá basin and were allied with the Kowoj against the Itzá ruler, Kan Ek', in the pre-conquest civil wars.

⁶ After the railroad between Guatemala City and Puerto Barrios was completed in the mid-1890s, Quiriguá became something of a late Victorian tourist destination, a required stop for travelers on the rail line.

⁷ Both are held by the British Museum (AM.9934 and AM.9935).

⁸ <https://www.heritage-images.com/preview/2326063>

⁹ Yaxchilán was most probably first seen by Europeans in 1696 during the *entrada* of Jacobo de Alcajaga and Fr. Diego de Rivas in 1696 (Morley 1937-1938:41).

Ixkún, trips considered the first modern scientific expeditions to the region (see Graham 2002). These were among the largest ever undertaken, and he made detailed plans of sites, photographed inscriptions on fragile glass negatives, and published a general map of Central America, but it showed little detail of Petén. Frenchman Désiré Charnay was also active in the Maya area, focused more on northern sites in Yucatán, but in 1882 he photographed Palenque, Yaxchilán, Tayasal, and Tikal, and published a map of the middle Usumacinta area. The most significant cartographic achievement came at the hands of an American engineer, Miles Rock, hired by the government of Guatemala to lead a commission surveying the frontier between Guatemala and Mexico. Rock was the first to fix the geographical coordinates of points along the western border.

The most important archaeological work of the nineteenth century in Petén came in the final decade, with Maler's expeditions between 1895 and 1897. Austrian-born Maler investigated many then-known sites, including Tikal, Seibal, Altar de Sacrificios, Piedras Negras, and Yaxchilán; his lavishly illustrated reports included three maps covering the Upper and Central Usumacinta areas and central Petén near Lake Petén Itzá (Figure 1; Maler 1901, 1908a, 1908b). Although these are among the first published maps with detailed archaeological information, they are somewhat rudimentary and Maler himself labels them "sketch" maps.

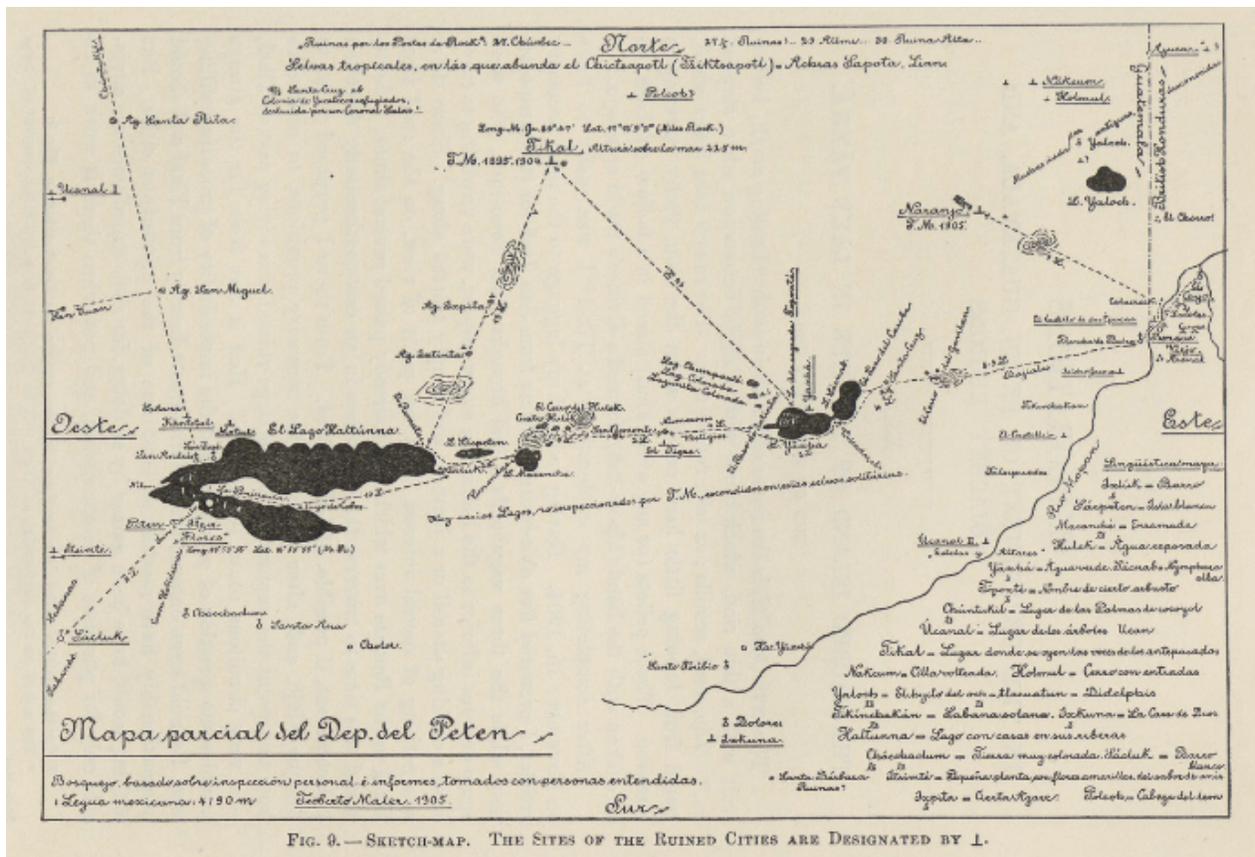


Figure 1. Maler's sketch map of central Petén (Maler 1908:56).

During the 1920s two detailed maps were created, both almost certainly serving as foundations for the big CIW Map. One, a map of the drainage systems of Petén created in 1923–1924 by geologist Hakon Wadell, was actually reproduced in full in *The Inscriptions of Peten* (Morley 1937-1938:5:Pl. 180). Morley (1937-1938:1:2) mentions a second detailed map of Petén, never published, that was created in 1927 by F. Vans Agnew and Didier Masson for the P. W. Schufeldt Company as part of a legal dispute over chicle concession rights (United Nations [1930]2006).

The Creation of Morley’s Expeditions Map

Edwin Shook (1998; Shook and Houston 1990) tells the story of the creation of the CIW expeditions Map, the drawing of which launched his own career as a Maya archaeologist. In 1932 at the height of the Great Depression, Shook, then 21 years old, joined up with three friends and traveled across the United States in an old jalopy, a multi-month vagabond adventure in lieu of impossible-to-find employment. Enamored with the national parks he had seen on this trip, Shook went to Washington, D.C. in the hopes of securing a position with the National Park Service. No luck there, he took a part-time job working for a plumbing contractor. Thinking that construction could be a potential career, he enrolled in an engineering class at the Columbia Institute of Technology. One day a visitor, Rogers Johnson from the CIW Division of Historical Research, showed up in the class asking for “a draftsman.” Shook leapt at the opportunity, even though he had no experience whatsoever as a draftsman. In short, as he admits, he lied (Shook 1998:22).

Shook was charged with re-drawing Oliver Ricketson’s maps and plans of Uaxactún for upcoming publication (Ricketson 1937). His natural talent carried him through the project, but by early 1933 Shook had completed his work on the Ricketson material and faced a return to unemployment. Then, as Shook (1998:24) recounts,

...in blew Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley out of Yucatan... Morley was about five feet two inches tall and a bit roly-poly by the time I met him, but he was a little dynamo. He talked at a tremendous rate, and sparks just flew when he was around. Everything about him was exiting. He came into the drafting room where I was working and looked over my shoulder. He whacked me on the back, ruining my drawing as ink went all over the place. He said, “Ed, how would you like to come to Santa Fe and work with me?”

In another account, Shook (Shook and Houston 1990:247) adds a bit more: “[Morley asked me] ‘Ed, can you draw a map of the Maya area?’ My reply was, ‘Of course, Doctor Morley.’ I had no idea where the Maya area was. Soon I was working on Morley’s *The Inscriptions of Peten*, a project that took months and months.” Shook (1998:26) well describes the creation of the Map:

Lying flat on our bellies on the sheetrock on the floor of the fancy Carnegie research office on the ninth floor of the Tower Building in Washington, DC, we began to create the map. Morley would read his field diaries, and I would plot his course and locate the archaeological sites that he described. Generally we would use Belize (or British Honduras, as it was called then) as a starting point, or the Belize River, or the town of El Cayo. We worked with just a few fixed starting points.

So Morley would read from his diary, “We left El Cayo by mule back and rode four hours north,” and I would sketch in a version of this on the map. Then he would read, “And we turned west for half an hour, then northwest for another short distance, and there we passed the ruins of Naranjo.” And I would sketch in a location for the site. All of our efforts were really by guess and by god.”

In the midst of creating the Map, Morley went on a lecture tour, but work on the drawing did not stop. From New York, Detroit, Chicago, and elsewhere, Morley sent a constant stream of telegrams to Shook with corrections and additions: “Put Pusilhá on the map. It’s in British Honduras, more or less. Add Labná and change the spelling of Santa Rosa” (Shook 1998:26). After some three months of work, Shook had completed the Map, or at least so he thought. Again, he tells the story best himself: “By golly, I turned out the best plan of Guatemala to date, because I had assembled all prior maps¹⁰ and combined them. And what did Morley say? ‘Now I want to show the route of every Carnegie expedition.’ So he took my beautiful plan, made me draw intestinal tracks all over it in blue, green, yellow, and red, obscuring topography, rivers, and virtually everything else” (Shook and Houston 1990:247).

For Shook, his work on the many maps for *The Inscriptions of Peten* project was the start of a long and distinguished career, one that culminated in his overseeing the University of Pennsylvania’s excavation and restoration of Tikal.¹¹ And for Morley? The publication of his enormous monograph cemented his stature as perhaps the most important Mayanist of the early twentieth century.

Carnegie Institution of Washington Central American Expedition Summaries

Between 1915 and 1937 the CIW undertook twenty major expeditions in the Maya area, skipping only 1917–1918 because of World War I.¹² Even during these two years when Morley was active in the region working as an undercover agent for the Office of Naval Intelligence, he was able to squeeze in significant archaeological fieldwork and put the final finishes on *The Inscriptions at Copan* (Harris and Sadler 2003; Morley 1920; Rice and Ward, forthcoming). Morley

¹⁰ Shook almost certainly relied heavily on the Wadell and Van Agnew/Masson maps created in the 1920s. Presumably those of Morley, Maudslay, Maler, and others were influential, and he may also have referenced maps of early Spanish *entradas*.

¹¹ Shook worked for many years as a key CIW archaeologist, remaining on staff until the completion of the last major CIW project, the excavations at Mayapán, in 1955. As early as 1940, with both the Chichén Itzá and Uaxactún projects wrapped up, he began developing plans for the CIW to initiate a major excavation/restoration program at Tikal, but World War II derailed the project before it even began, and by the late 1940s it was clear that the focus of the CIW was shifting away from anthropology toward physical science. Because Shook had been instrumental in formulating the CIW Tikal proposal, after he left the University of Pennsylvania approached him for the project. Sadly, Shook’s work with the Penn Tikal project, from 1955 to 1965, ended in acrimony when William Coe took over and made the controversial decision to destructively excavate Temple 33 in the North Acropolis. Part of Coe’s justification for this was his assertion that Shook had not properly excavated the temple in earlier seasons by failing to reserve sufficient backfill material, an accusation Shook bitterly disputed (Berlin 1967; Rainey et al. 1967; Shook 1998:150–154).

¹² Morley’s long career is covered by Robert Brunhouse’s (1971) biography.

wrote detailed summaries of each of these expeditions (1937-1938:1:87-96) that provide a textual accompaniment to the Map presented here.¹³ Each expedition covered on the Map is also discussed in the annual CIW *Yearbooks*, as are the many subsequent expeditions of the late 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s (Weeks and Hill 2006). We have not included information on these later expeditions as they are beyond the present scope.

The following are abbreviated summaries of CIW activities (Morley termed each season an “Expedition”) between 1914 and 1934, taken from both the *Yearbooks* (as published by Weeks and Hill) and *The Inscriptions of Peten*.

1914 Expedition (black dash itinerary)¹⁴

Dates: February 13–July 6

Participants: Morley, Herbert J. Spinden¹⁵

Sites Visited: Naranjo, Seibal, El Pabellón, Altar de Sacrificios, Tikal, Ixkún, Piedras Negras, Yaxchilán, Yaxhá, Topoxté, Ucanal, Chunvis

Highlights: Extensive coverage of parts of Petén for inscriptions: central Petén near Lake Petén Itzá, Usumacinta region, Río Pasión region, eastern Petén near Naranjo; analysis and recording of inscriptions on Naranjo stelae; discovery of a Cycle 8 date at Seibal; Spinden’s study of Aguas Calientes sculpture; Morley’s first visit to Piedras Negras

1915 Expedition (red line itinerary)

Dates: February 15–June 5

Participants: Morley, J. Percy Adams

Sites Visited: La Honradez, Copán, Quiriguá, Cancuén, La Reforma III, Seibal, Itsimté, Tayasal-Flores, Motul de San José, Yaxhá, Benque Viejo, Nakum

Highlights: Wide coverage of the region and collection of multiple date inscriptions; first significant exploration and mapping of La Honradez; study of Copán dates for preparing *The Inscriptions at Copan* manuscript; finding new dates at seven sites (La Honradez, Cancuén, Itsimté, Flores, Yaxhá, Nakum, Benque Viejo)

1916 Expedition (red dot itinerary)

Dates: February 3–June 5

Participants: 1) Guatemala highlands: Morley, Adams, Alice Jackson, S. K. and Rachel Lothrop; 2) Copán: Morley, W. H. Holmes, Arthur W. Carpenter, George Underhill; 3) Tulum and the east coast of the Yucatán Peninsula: Morley, Carpenter, Underhill, Lothrop, and Thomas Gann; 4) Uaxactún: Morley, Carpenter, Moise Lafleur

¹³ Because Morley’s volume was Petén-focused, he does not include reference to work at Chichén Itzá beginning in 1924. We include it here to fully articulate the scope of CIW activity.

¹⁴ This was not officially a CIW project, but rather one conducted jointly by the American Museum of Natural History (Spinden), the Archaeological Institute of America, and the School of American Research (Morley). Our 1914 summary was culled from his diaries (Rice and Ward 2021), which give day-by-day coverage of the 1914, 1915, and 1916 expeditions.

¹⁵ Listed participants include only the scientific members of the expedition. Besides these, each expedition included muleteers, porters, guides, and other support staff.

Sites Visited: Kaminaljuyú, Santa Cruz del Quiché, Zaculeu, Quiriguá, Copán, Tulum, Dos Aguadas, Uaxactún

Highlights: Most intensive survey of Tulum to date and photography of Stela 1; first detailed recording of Tulum murals; discovery of Uaxactún and what was then the earliest known Long Count date. The crushing end to the expedition came on May 17, when the party was ambushed by Guatemalan troops and Moise Lafleur (the team doctor) and a Guatemalan guide were killed. Morley and Carpenter barely escaped with their lives.

1917 No formal CIW expedition¹⁶

Dates: April 26–end of year

Participants: Morley and John Held Jr. (both as agents for the Office of Naval Intelligence)

Sites Visited: Copán, Santa Rita, Río Amarillo, Los Higos, Paraíso, and trips along the northern coast of Honduras and the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua¹⁷

Highlights: Discovery of two new sites near Copán: Río Amarillo and Los Higos; visit to San Salvador and travel along the Mosquito coast; firsthand observation of the massive Guatemala City earthquakes of December 25, 29, and January 3

1918 No formal CIW expedition¹⁸

Dates: January 1–May 31

Participants: Morley, Held, Gann

Sites Visited: Focus was on the Yucatán Peninsula and a foray into Chiapas: Chac Mool, Tulum, Ichmul [de Morley], Chichén Itzá, Silán, Mayapán, Holactún, Uxmal, Kabah, Labná, Xlapak, Santa Rosa, Palenque

Highlights: Discovery of the site of Chac Mool south of Tulum; first modern survey of all major Yucatán sites in a single season to record all inscriptions and date sites; determination that Maya cultural influence falls off sharply east of the Ulua River in western Honduras; discovery of two new Initial Series dates (in stucco) at Palenque

1919 Expedition (red dash itinerary)¹⁹

Dates: May and June

Participants: Morley

Sites Visited: Copán and Quiriguá; side trip to Costa Rica and Nicaragua

Highlights: Establishment of a small museum at the Copán *cabildo*; excavation of Structures 3 and 4 at Quiriguá; confirmation via examination of museum and private artifact collections in Costa Rica and Nicaragua that Maya influence did not penetrate far south;

¹⁶ Although nothing on the Map relates to this or the 1918 expedition, Morley details 1917 and 1918 archaeological activity in the CIW *Yearbooks* (Weeks and Hill 2006: 46–53) and in his diaries (Rice and Ward, forthcoming).

¹⁷ Morley's Central American travels outside the Maya area in 1917–1918 were in service to the Office of Naval Intelligence, his "archaeological" investigations serving as a cover for his espionage.

¹⁸ Gann's book, *In an Unknown Land* (1924), is an account of his travels with Morley in 1918.

¹⁹ Because WWI ended late in 1918, no planning had been undertaken for a 1919 expedition.

rechecking Copán inscriptions for accuracy before publication (in 1920)

1920 Expedition (red dash and dot itinerary)

Dates: April and May

Participants: Morley and Carl Guthe

Sites Visited: Quiriguá, Copán, Kaminaljuyú, Tayasal-Flores, Benque Viejo, Xultún

Highlights: Discovery of Xultún and its stelae, including several with Cycle 10 dates, some of the latest in Petén

1921 Expedition (blue line itinerary)

Dates: January 7–June 1

Participants: Morley, Guthe, William Gates, Oliver Ricketson, A. K. Rutherford, Alfred Harvey

Sites Visited: Xultún, Uaxactún, Nakum, Benque Viejo, Naranjo, El Encanto, Tikal, Uolantún, Ixlú, Piedras Negras, Itsimté

Highlights: First major CIW work at Tayasal; discovery of Uolantún and Ixlú;²⁰ study of Maya dialects in Belize and highlands (by William Gates); discovery of an early date (8.5.18.4.0) on Stela 25 at Naranjo; discovery of a Cycle 8 date at Uolantún; discovery and recording of five new monuments at Piedras Negras

1922 Expedition (blue dot itinerary)²¹

Dates: January 17–May 13

Participants: Morley, Guthe, Lothrop, Ricketson, Harvey, M. K. Jessup, Juan Sopeña, O. F. Cook, H. F. Loomis, R. D. Martin

Sites Visited: Tanchah, Tulum, and Xelhá (in Quintana Roo), Naranjo, Nakum, Uaxactún, Tikal, Uolantún, Tayasal-Flores, Ixlú, Chichantún, San Clemente, Xmakabatún, Naachtún; Quiriguá

Highlights: Discovery of five new sites: Xelhá and Tanchah in Quintana Roo; Naachtún, Chichantún, and Xmakabatún in Petén; extensive survey of Naranjo to create an accurate site map; Guthe's continued excavations at Tayasal; extensive exploration of Tulum, including clearing the entire site and discovery of three new stelae; discovery of four more Cycle 8 dates at Uaxactún; discovery of Stelae T and U at Quiriguá on the outskirts of the principal group; discovery of intensive artificial agricultural terracing in western Belize

²⁰ It is difficult to believe that Morley only “discovered” the site of Ixlú in 1921. On April 8, 1914, he and Spinden stopped at Ixlú to get a mule. Presumably this was the small community of Ixlú (“catfish”) (Rice and Rice 2016) at the eastern end of Lake Petén Itzá, which lies immediately at the southern edge of the site. It is also very close to Remate, the junction of trails leading north to Tikal, east to Belize, and west to Flores, which Morley followed countless times. That no one had bothered to tell Morley about Ixlú, with its Late and Terminal Classic stelae, is astonishing.

²¹ This was the largest CIW expedition to date, at one point including 42 mules and horses.

1923 Expedition (blue dash itinerary)

Dates: January 31–May 15. Additional administrative activities in Mexico City and Guatemala in summer

Participants: Morley, Ricketson, Gann, W. A. Love, J. O. Kilmartin

Sites Visited: Tayasal-Flores, Itsimté, Ixlú, Tikal, Uolantún, Uaxactún, Nakum, Naranjo, Ucanal, Xmakabatún, Xultún, Quiriguá, Copan

Highlights: Joint work with CIW Department of Terrestrial Magnetism to determine coordinates of the first 11 sites listed above; topographical survey of Lake Petén Itzá with reference to the Itzá capital; finalizing contracts in Mexico City and Guatemala City for CIW excavations at Chichén Itzá and Uaxactún; research in Mexico City museums and discovery of several more Initial Series dates in these collections; examination of the privately held “Stone of Chiapa” in Mexico City which possibly contains inscriptions of numbers two orders higher than the *bak'tun*; excavation of Quiriguá Temple of Stela S and Temple of Stelae T and U; discovery of large jade cache at Copán

1924 Expedition (blue dash and dot itinerary)²²

Dates: February 25–May 18 (Petén); March 23–May 31 (Belize); May 12–July 17 (Chichén Itzá)

Participants: Morley, Ricketson, Monroe Amsden, Frans Blom, Earl Morris, Kilmartin

Sites Visited: Uaxactún, Tikal, Mejía, Ixlú, Tayasal-Flores, San Clemente, Yaxhá-Topoxté, Benque Viejo, caves near Benque Viejo, Nakum, El Encanto, Holmul, Chochkitam, Baking Pot (Belize), Jaina

Highlights: Discovery of Mejía; excavation by Ricketson at Baking Pot (Belize); preliminaries for next season’s extensive excavations at Uaxactún; Morley, Morris, and Amsden begin ongoing work at Chichén Itzá; discovery of an Initial Series inscription at Jaina

1925 Expedition (no itinerary noted on map)²³

Dates: January 12–June 27

Participants: Morley, Earl and Ann Morris, Karl Ruppert, Ricketson, Edith Bayles (Ricketson), E. L. Crandall

Sites Visited: Chichén Itzá

Highlights: Start of restoration of Temple of the Warriors²⁴; excavations at the Group of the Thousand Columns, the Small Ball Court, the Caracol, temple on the northeast bank of the Xtoloc Cenote, Temple of the Four Lintels at Old Chichén; reconstruction and

²² Beginning in 1924, Morley’s main activities were at Chichén Itzá supervising the CIW project. Morley himself no longer explored Petén every season.

²³ The 1925 season was devoted exclusively to the Chichén Itzá project and therefore no CIW “expedition” was undertaken. Accordingly, Morley omits this year from his map.

²⁴ Morris’ excavation and restoration of the Temple of the Warriors was the crowning achievement of his career and one of the jewels in the CIW crown. He tells the story in *The Temple of the Warriors* (1931), which, oddly, was not a publication of the CIW.

watercolor recording of Temple of the Warriors murals by Ann Morris²⁵

1926 Expedition (orange line itinerary)²⁶

Dates: January–June²⁷

Participants: Morley, Ricketson, Amsden, John Lindsay, Joseph L. Smith, Robert Franks, Gann, Sopena, J. E. S. Thompson, G. Wiggin, Jean Charlot

Sites Visited: Chichén Itzá, Uaxactún, Copán, Cobá

Highlights: Continued work at Chichén Itzá (Temple of the Warriors, Caracol, Initial Series Group in Old Chichén); uncovering painted sculptures in the Temple of the Warriors substructure; commencement of the Uaxactún project under Ricketson—clearing Group E for initial excavation; four expeditions to the newly discovered Cobá in Quintana Roo (1, Gann and Crandall, February 23–24; 2, Kidder, Thompson, Wiggin, and Franks, March 16–18; 3, Thompson and Charlot, May 22–28; 4, Morley and Thompson, June 4–11); discovery of the Macanxoc stelae group; discovery of an Initial Series date at Chetumal Bay; analysis of the Copán astronomical base-line connecting Stelae 10 and 12 on opposite ends of the valley, 4 miles apart, at similar elevations above the valley floor

1927 Expedition (orange dot itinerary)

Dates: February 23–May 14 (Uaxactún); mid-January–June 5 (Chichén Itzá).

Participants: Morley, Earl and Ann Morris, Ruppert, P. S. Martin, H. B. Roberts, Franks, Charlot, Lowell Houser, Crandall, L. C. Hammond, Gustav Strømsvik

Sites Visited: Chichen Itza, Uaxactún, La Muralla, Yaxuná, Zacatal, Edzná

Highlights: Completion of work on Temple of the Warriors; reconstruction of the Temple of the Two Lintels in Old Chichén; reconstruction of the Temple of the Wall Panels near the Caracol; Stereographic photography of the entire Chichen Itza site; first exploration of La Muralla north of Uaxactún; excavation of Uaxactún Group E; first exploration of Zacatal; brief trip to Edzná in Campeche

1928 Expedition (orange dash itinerary)

Dates: January 11–July 14

Participants: Morley, Frances Morley, Alfred Kidder, George Vaillant, Amsden, A. Ledyard Smith, H. E. D. Pollock, Strømsvik, Ira Guillot, Ruppert

Sites Visited: Chichén Itzá, Uaxactún, Quiriguá, Tikal, Ek Balam, Pusilhá

Highlights: Excavation of Temple E-VII Sub at Uaxactún; discovery of turquoise mosaic mask at Temple of the Warriors; exploration of peripheral areas adjacent to Chichén Itzá by Ruppert; beginning of health-related clinical work among the Maya in the Chichén Itzá area, a program that continued for many years; Morley announces plan to write *The Inscriptions of Peten*

²⁵ Ann Morris details this work in *Digging in Yucatan* (1931), a companion volume to her husband's book (note 23).

²⁶ Only the Copan part of the expedition is presented on the map.

²⁷ Weeks and Hall (2006) omit the 1926 *Yearbook* entry from their collection of CIW documents, possibly because of its excessive length (Morley 1926).

1929 Expedition (orange dash and dot itinerary)

Dates: February 21–June 15

Participants: At Chichén Itzá: Morley, Kilmartin, Ruppert, Pollock, A. J. Kerr; at Uaxactun: O. and E. Ricketson, A. L. Smith, Enrique Schufeldt; Piedras Negras Expedition: Morley and Frances Morley

Sites Visited: Chichén Itzá, Uxmal, Uaxactún, Piedras Negras, Cobá

Highlights: Morley trip to Piedras Negras, continued work at Chichén Itzá (especially at the Caracol) including detailed survey and mapping; continuation of CIW medical efforts in association with the Department of Tropical Medicine, School of Public Health of Harvard University; excavation at E-Group, Uaxactún, and mapping of house mounds and chultuns in peripheries

1930 Expedition (green line itinerary)²⁸

Dates: February 24–May 14

Participants: O. and E. Ricketson, A. L. Smith, F. C. Perkins; Pollock and Thompson (Cobá)

Sites Visited: Uaxactún, Chichén Itzá, Cobá

Highlights: Completion of work on the Caracol and phase one of the Chichén Itzá project; Charles Lindbergh aerial survey; continued excavations at Uaxactún E-Group, including excavation of the plaza floor to establish a ceramic sequence, and further exploration of house mounds; study of Cobá *sacbeob*; expansion of medical research in central Yucatán

1931 Expedition (green dot itinerary)

Dates: February 25–May 8

Participants: Morley, Frances Morley, Ruppert, J. S. Bolles, D. W. Rife, F. K. Rhoads, A. L. Smith, Robert E. Smith, Amsden, Josselyn Van Tyne, Adolph Murie, H. Bartlett, C. Wythe Cooke

Sites Visited: Chichén Itzá, Uaxactún, Yaxchilán, Piedras Negras

Highlights: Visit to Yaxchilán and Piedras Negras;²⁹ continued excavations at Uaxactún

1932 Expedition (green dash itinerary)

Dates: February 24–May 19

Participants: A. L. Smith, R. E. Smith, Robert Wauchope, W. L. Lincoln, Shufeldt, Ruppert, Bolles, Strømsvik

Sites Visited: Chichén Itzá, Uaxactún, Calakmul, Xamantún (La Muñeca), Yaxhá

Highlights: First CIW expedition to Calakmul; discovery of Xamantún; excavations of Groups B and C at Uaxactún, including discovery of rich tombs; map of Yaxhá (Lincoln); continued reconstruction at Chichén Itzá Mercado

²⁸ The map itinerary for 1930 shows only travel between Uaxactún and Belize.

²⁹ Morley's visit to Piedras Negras is detailed in Satterthwaite and Weeks' *Piedras Negras Diary* (2018), available at Mesoweb.com.

1933 Expedition (green dash and dot)³⁰

Dates: March 5—June 6 (Petén); most of winter and spring at Chichén Itzá

Participants: A. L. Smith, R. E. Smith, F. Richardson, C. L. Lundell, L. C. Stuart, Ricketson, Ruppert, J. H. Denison, J. P. O’Neill.

Sites Visited: Chichén Itzá, Uaxactún, Polol, Chakantún, Quiriguá, Calakmul, Xamantún, Noche Buena, Río Bec, Kohtún, Alta Mira, Tres Marías, Naachtún, El Mirador

Highlights: Excavations of middens and chultuns at Uaxactún; joint expedition with the University of Michigan and discovery of Polol and Chakantún in Petén; discovery of Noche Buena, Kohtún, and Tres Marías in Campeche; excavations at Quiriguá for ceramic sequencing

1934 Expedition (yellow line itinerary)³¹

Dates: February–May

Participants: A. L. Smith, Edwin Shook, Morris, Strømsvik, Thompson, Ruppert, J. H. and Fanny Denison, F. P. Parris

Sites Visited: Chichén Itzá, Uaxactún, Quiriguá, San José (*Belize*) Oxpemul, Becán, Balakbal, Uxul, Uacbal, Channá, Río Bec II, III, IV, Sasilhá, Pared de los Reyes, La Muralla

Highlights: Discovery and first exploration of Oxpemul, Becán, Balakbal, Uxul, Uacbal, Chamá, Río Bec II, III, IV, Sasilhá; resetting the stelae at Quiriguá with new foundations; discovery of altars associated with Zoömorphs O and P at Quiriguá; work in Group A at Uaxactún³²; Shook map of Group A at Uaxactún; excavations at San José (Thompson)

³⁰ Lundell’s ([1934])2005 report of this expedition is available online at Mesoweb.com.

³¹ The 1934 CIW Expedition was the last shown on the Map, owing to press deadlines for Morley’s volume. Additional expeditions took place in most years until 1955, when fieldwork at Mayapán (the last major CIW project) concluded. Excavations ended at Chichén Itzá in 1935 and at Uaxactún in 1937. No significant fieldwork was done between 1938 and 1940, when exploratory expeditions and excavations resumed in Yucatán, Campeche, and Petén. Activity continued throughout the war years and until the end of the decade. Notably, in 1941–1942 Morley undertook the last significant fieldwork of his career at Uxmal.

³² Morley (1937-1938:1:93) wrote “Because of the wealth of new material obtained—the number of new sites located... and the scientifically significant results of the excavations at Uaxactun, Quiriguá, and San José—the Seventeenth Expedition [1934] may be considered as having been one of the most successful of all the Carnegie Institution’s Central American Expeditions.”

The Map

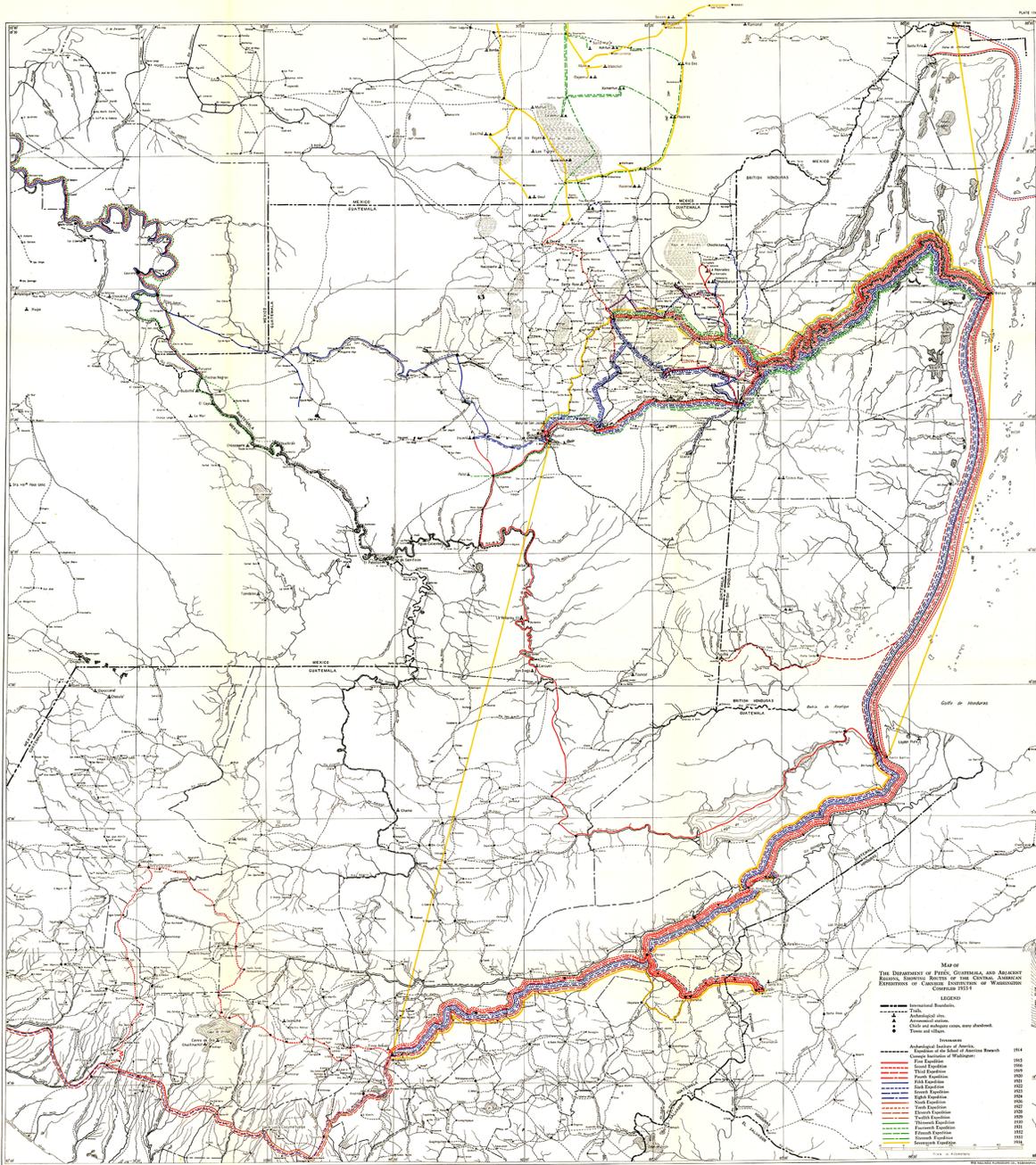


Figure 2. The CIW Expedition Map (Morley 1937-1938:5:Pl. 179). Large-scale viewable version available: www.mesoweb.com/publications/Morley/Map_Carnegie_Expeditions.pdf

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