



Texas Notes on Precolumbian Art, Writing, and Culture

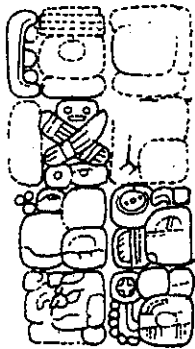
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Some Revisions to Tikal's Dynasty of Kings

by Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube

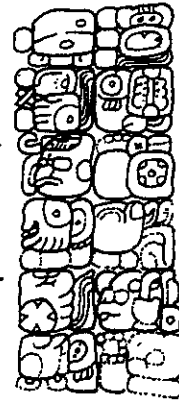
Recent examinations of the corpus of Tikal have allowed us to revise some of the names in the king list, to identify some previously unrecognized rulers, and to clarify the identity of some members of the royal family. This note will present the evidence concerning these new data and proposed changes to the names. Contrary to more normal sequence, we will begin with the latest king and discuss the dynasty in reversed chronological order.



As Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:29-30) proposed, the last known ruler of Tikal erected Stela 11 dated at 10.2.0.0.0 3 Ahaw 3 Keh. Their analysis included the chronology and the identification of an 819-day Count, but they did not venture an identification of the name. However, the original monument is still legible in the area of the name. C13-C14 is a numbered successor title, with the founder's personal name replaced by the *ch'ok-te-na* founder's

glyph. The number clearly contains the moon-sign twenty, two bars, and one, two, or three dots above. Unfortunately, we cannot discern whether he was the 31st, 32nd, or 33rd ruler. D15 is *Ha-sa-wa Kan* and C16 is *K'awil*. This last king then had the same name as Ruler A—Hasaw-Kan-K'awil.¹

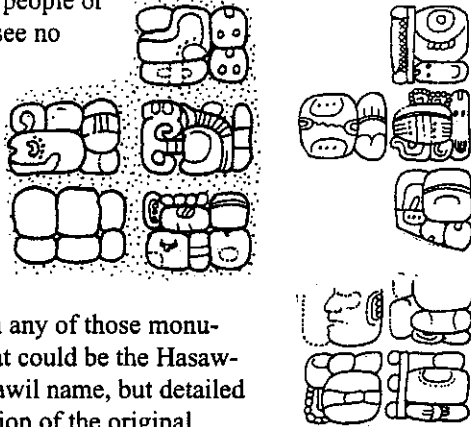
Werner Nahm (personal communication, 1993) pointed out an occurrence of this name on Waxaktun Stela 12 with the date 10.3.0.0.0. Linda checked the original monument in January, 1994 and found he is right. However, the period-ending clause at the beginning of the text is followed by a scattering verb and a different name. This suggests that the Tikal ruler set the stone, while the local lord scattered for the occasion. In any case, this stela suggests that Waxaktun was again part of the Tikal sphere at this late date and that Hasaw-Chan-K'awil ruled at least until 10.3.0.0.0.



1. Previous publications called this king Ah Kakaw, but phonetic evidence clearly supports a revised reading of Hasaw instead of Ah Kakaw. In most examples his is called Hasaw-Kan-K'awil, but on several objects from his tomb he is called Hasaw-Kuchwan. We do not know the meaning of this *hasaw*, but it also names the flapstaff banner at Yaxchilan. This king was therefore probably named for a battle banner. One version was "Banner-Sky-Embodied" and the other was "Banner-Carried."

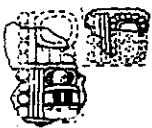
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Contemporary monuments from Jimbal and Ixlu list different names for their monarchs at 10.1.10.0.0 and 10.3.0.0.0. The texts, especially at Jimbal are so badly eroded as to make identifications of the names problematical, so that we cannot tell if those two sites were ruled by the same people or not. We see no



names on any of those monuments that could be the Hasaw-Chan-K'awil name, but detailed examination of the original monuments must be undertaken before these conclusions can be taken as final.

Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:52-53) associated the date and text of Stela 24 with Temple 3 and suggested that both monuments be attributed to the same ruler, whom they called Dark-Sun. We accept their dates and association between the two monuments, but we believe they identified the wrong



glyph as the name. The front of the monument appears to have utilized the standard formula for recording period-ending ritual. yA1 and yB1 record the calendar round date and yA2 has the 19 k'atuns notation for the 9.19.0.0.0 date. If the formula proceeded as it did Stela 22 and other similar monuments, the next would have been the T713 "setting the stone" followed by either the location of the event and the name of the actor or the name of the actor. Regularly the name would include a mention of the parents or at least the father. This name would end either in an emblem glyph or known titles. zA1 has the Tikal emblem glyph just as the formula predicts and it was probably followed by a numbered Chakte' title.

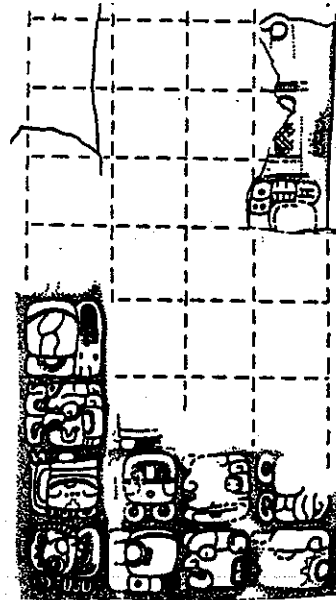


zA2 violates the formula because it is *yichnal*, "in the company of."

The next series of glyphs records not the name of the Tikal king, but a visitor who is from a site also designated by the Mutul emblem glyph. The main name, Jones's "Dark K'in," is now known to be a title read *Yukum*, "Joiner," (title identified by Martin 1991; reading proposed by MacLeod in a letter to Martin in 1993). This title was identified by Martin as one specifically designating lords in the Calakmul (Site Q) political sphere. The same *yukum* title occurs on the side of the monument at D10 so that this person was referred to in more than one part of the text.

The only site that used the Mutul emblem glyph while being part of the Calakmul sphere was Dos Pilas and its subordinate sites. We feel this visitor was from there, but at the time the only active site with inscriptions in the Pasión region were Aguateca, La Amelia, and Seibal. However, the glyph at zA3 reads Ah Lahka Ab-?? ("He of 12 Hab-??") and is very close to the Ah Bolon Ab-Ta glyph found in the name phrases of the very late rulers at Aguateca (9.18.0.0.0)² and Seibal (9.17.0.0.0-10.1.0.0.0). We think this similarity of name and time points toward Aguateca or Seibal as the home of the visitor.

If this analysis is correct, the name of this Tikal ruler does not survive on Stela 24, but an important



title does. E13 is the *tz'akab* glyph used in numbered succession titles and E14 is the *k'awil* glyph. Stela 22 has an almost identical sequence at B4-A6, where the founder's name is followed by "the 29th *tz'akab*" and the "*chi*-throne" associated with founders at many sites. We think this is a way of referring to the founder through a

titular reference. Stela 24 may have had the same sequence with the name of the founder at E12, the number (perhaps 30th) at F12, *tz'akab* at E13, the *chi*-throne at F13, and K'awil at E14. Its a shame we have lost some much of the text of Stela 24, because

2. This same title appears in the name phrase of the of the last known ruler of Aguateca. A new monument from Aguateca associates him with the date 9.18.0.0.0.



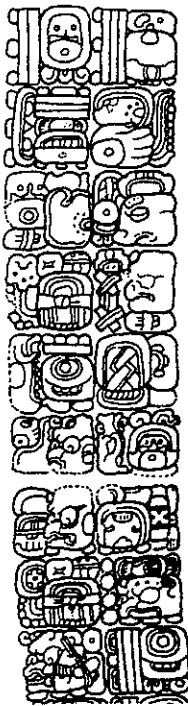
it probably once recorded the birth and other historical information about this ruler.

While we do not have his name from the stela, a royal name does survive on Lintel 2 in Temple 3 above the stela. D17 is Nu-U-Bak, the name usually called "Shield-Skull." It is followed by the title K'inich, Nab K'inich, the emblem glyph, and finally Chakte'. This series of names and title follows the expected construction of Tikal royal names. The Nu-Bak name may also be on the altar to Stela 24. We also find it interesting that the last two known kings of Tikal—who may be the 30th and 31st kings—follow the same sequence as the 24th and 25th rulers of earlier

times. We also note the presence of a *sak wayas* title (see *Texas Note 60* for the explanation of the reading and distribution of the title) that Martin 1991 associated with the lords of the Calakmul alliance. The text is too eroded to surmise the context of the reference, but apparently the rivalry between Tikal and its arch-rival continued up to the time of this king at 9.19.0.0.0.

Jones and Satterthwaite (1982) correctly identified the name glyph of the 29th successor on Stela 22. Steve Houston (personal communication, 1992) first pointed out to us that this name repeats the famous Nu-Yax-Ain or Curl-Snout name of Early Classic fame. The Early Classic name usually consisted of the *nu* or *hun* knot with *yax* and a crocodile head pronounced *ain* in Mayan. One reference to the early king on MT 35 uses the T151 nu sign in place of the knot. The Stela 22 version of the name has T282 nu sign in the place of the knot. We therefore have another reuse of an ancient royal name.

Using the numbered k'atun titles, Jones and Satterthwaite (1982:126) proposed a 28th successor associated with the Temple of Inscriptions



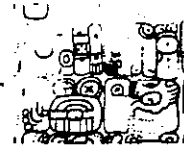
(Temple 6). Jones (personal communication, 1987) later identified the name in Panel Z at I2-J2 and associated with a dedication ritual that took place on 9.16.14.17.17. We cannot presently connect this name with earlier dynastic names. He was the older brother of Nu-Yax-Ain or Ruler C. Apparently none of the stela from his reign have survived and his reign appears to have been very short. Only three years after his dedication rite, Ruler C acceded at 9.16.17.16.4.

Ruler B's name was correctly identified by Jones and Satterthwaite (1982) and was called Yaxk'in. We think the components of his name require a different reading although we are not entirely sure of what it is. The main name consists of a half-darkened k'in inside a *yi* shell. This combination occurs at Dos Pilas, Yaxchilan, and Calakmul in glyphs accompanying events that took place at night (as first suggested by Peter Mathews 1976). This combination of glyphs should represent a word for night beginning with *yi*.³ The name then was something like Night-Sky-K'awil.

Ruler A's name, as we have already commented, was spelled Hasaw-Kan. We do not know the derivation of this term, but at Yaxchilan it is recorded as the name of the flapstaff. Ruler A was apparently named for this battle standard. Hasaw-Kan was the 26th successor although no numbered successor title has survived in his inscriptions.

His father, known as Shield-Skull, had the name Nu-U-Bak-Chak or once at Dos Pilas Nun-Bak-Chak. The root nun has a variety of meanings that can all be linked to prophecy making, ventriloquism, spasms, and "to consider or contemplate" (Barrera Vásquez 1980:588). Oracle-Bone-Chak is a good approximation of the meaning of his name. He was the 25th ruler.

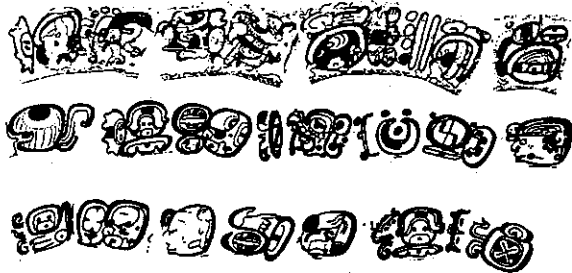
His father is recorded on a fragmentary rim text from a pot sherd (Schele in a letter to Jones, 1975). At the 1994 Workshop, Steve Houston pointed out



3. *Yih* is Yukatek for "old" and this glyph is sometimes personified by an old god head.

to us that the first glyph on this fragment is the title *yanabil* known to mark subordinates. The person named may then have been the Ah Nabil ("painter") of the king and the "child of" the last name. If so, this fragment does not name the father of the king as I has first thought.

No texts have been identified with the 23rd ruler,



but the 22nd is well known from the plates in Burial 195. His name has been identified on several looted pots in texts which confirm his mother's name at least. She was Lady Tzutz (or Hom)-Kanil-Balam-Ahaw. The name of his father should correspond to the ruler on Stela 17, but neither the names on Stela 17 or on the pots are sufficiently clear to make and identification one way or the other. Houston (Houston et al 1993) have identified his name on



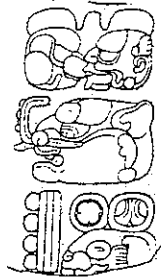
Altar de Sacrificios Stela 8 at 9.9.15.0.0. This leaves a gap of fifty-one years between this date and the death of Nun-Bak-Chak, the 25th successor. Dos Pilas HS2 associated Nun-Bak-Chak with the date 9.11.4.5.14 so that we know he was in office by then. This a little under twenty-nine years for the reigns of the 23rd and 24th, as well as the early part of the 25th ruler's tenure. If we assume the 22nd ruler lived after the Altar date then the time for these unknown reigns is even further reduced.

The 21st successor erected Stela 17 and recorded events with two dates 9.5.3.9.15 and 9.6.3.9.15. The earlier of these two dates has a verb preceding the main sign of the Tikal emblem glyph used as a location. Unfortunately the critical part of the verb is gone. Any actions associated with the later date are also missing so that we do not know what action were recorded. One seems to be the featured event and the other its anniversary. Between these two events on 9.5.19.1.12, the ruler of



Caracol was installed under this king's authority. That Caracol king later attacked Tikal and defeated his overlord

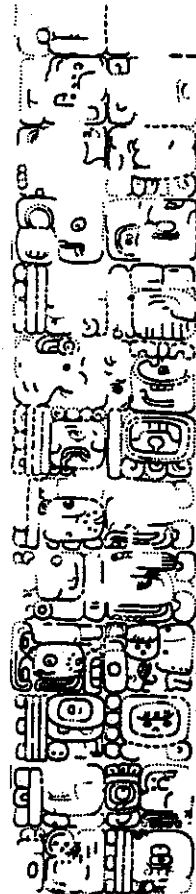
The 20th successor is presently unknown, but the 19th is clearly recorded with his numbered succession title on Stela 12. His name was either Jaguar (D5) or Curl-Head at B5. We think Stela 10 can also be attributed to this ruler although the dates on this monument still remain problematic. Most interesting is a series of texts on the Temple of Inscriptions that fall into the time period of this ruler's reign.



This important inscription (C. Jones 1977) begins with events in Olmec times (5.0.0.0 and 6.14.16.9.16), moves to the Late Preclassic (7.10.0.0.0), and then jumps to 9.4.0.0.0 and 9.4.13.0.0., the date on Stela 12. C13-D14 record the date 9.4.0.0.0 (October 18, 514) and the "flathand" pe

verb. The passage continues with *yichnal*, "in the company of," the Sak Ix bird that occurs on Stela 31, Stela 26, and Ixlu Altar 1. We cannot read the rest of this passage text, but in the eroded area at the top of the next columns, there had to have been a *dn* that led to 9.4.13.0.0. The name of the actor is destroyed, but F5 is probably *u kahiy*, "his doing," with a name following. This section should name the 19th successor.

There are two other events 9.4.13.4.16 and 9.4.13.6.14. One appears to be David Stuart's *patwan*, "was formed," and the second is *tz'ap tun*, "erected the stone." The object formed and set was "the ??? tun of the Sak Ix bird. On the two Tikal monuments, the bird emerges from the mouth of a serpent. We think he is a being from the Otherworld and perhaps a patron god of the Tikal line. These events appear



to link the 19th successor with the dedication of monuments for this bird deity. We also point out that the same Sak Ix bird may occur at A9 with the 5.0.0.0.0 date, and at A17 with the 6.14.16.9.16 date.



The 17th and 18th are also unknown, but one of them may have appeared on the badly damaged Stela 6, which dated at 9.4.0.0.0. The other may be the protagonist of Stela 26. We propose this because of the reference to a Jaguar-Paw on Yaxchilan Lintel 37

(Mathews 1975) with the date 9.3.13.12.19 1 Kawak 7 Yaxk'in. The event is one involving a lord named Ah Balam, who is called a u yahaw te (the "vassal lord of") Jaguar-Paw of Tikal. Mathews first suggested this reference is to the Jaguar-Paw associated with 9.3.0.0.0. However, we have the Stela 8 ruler at 9.3.2.0.0 in between the earlier Jaguar-Paw and the Yaxchilan date. This leaves open the possibility that Yaxchilan is referring to a later Jaguar-Paw. The eligible candidate is the protagonist of Stela 26, a monument that has never been placed in the dynastic sequence. The name Wak-Kan-Ahaw Toh-Chak-Ich'ak appears on the right side of the monument. We suggest he may be the Jaguar-Paw of the Yaxchilan reference.

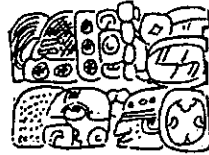


The other side is also interesting. The first two surviving glyph are the introductory glyphs from the PSS. A2 seems to be a proper name—Kabanal—and *u lakam tun*, the term for stela (B2). A3 is the same glyph as C2 on Stela 3. The next glyph is David Stuart's Chak Bay Kan, the name of a vision serpent. Then we have Sian-Kan and Chak-Ich'ak. These glyphs may name the protagonist, since it was the practice of Tikal in this period to combine ancestral names. The other alternative is that they are recalled ancestors, in the manner of a similar passage on Stela 3. In any case, the

protagonist of this monument is Jaguar-Paw, and the style with its front view figure is in keeping with the

front view of Stela 12, dated soon after. Also note the Sak-Ix bird floating next to the tooth of the serpent bar in the ruler's arm. This is a tentative identification, but it seems the best way of dealing with the Jaguar-Paw date at Yaxchilan.

The 16th may be recorded on a looted pot now in Europe. The name sequence includes the title 16th successor of the *te nab K'inich*, a well-known title of Tikal's kings. On the side panels, the text names the pot and then its owner. The name starts with 4th



successor lord of Ch'ul ???

Winik. The unread part of this title is the sign



from G4 of the Lords of the Night. No phonetic value has been proposed for it.



However, Werner Nahm has associated this title with a similar sequence on Stela 31 at A20 that appears in Sian-Kan-K'awil's name. We think this may be a succession count from this 16th ruler's father, but we will present evidence for this interpretation later. This king's name continues with an upended vase and a name phrase read by Stuart (1993 letter) as Sih-Kan K'awil. It is followed by Nab K'inich and then the name phrase Nu-Yax-Ain-Te. This name combines that of the 10th and 11th successor.



The 15th successor is confusing, because we have no clear record



of a numbered succession. We think he is the person on Stela 8, which has the date 9.3.2.0.0. Since this date is later than Jaguar-Paw's monuments (all dated at 9.3.0.0.0), we have placed him in the position of the 15th successor. However, this K'inich Te name appears with the 13th successor in the list on the looted pot. His name is difficult to identify, but we think it is the same as the 22nd ruler's. It consists of a saurian head with a *te*



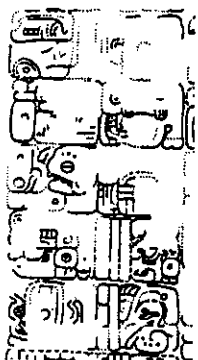
sign in its mouth. One example of the 22nd ruler's name phrase has a T712 sign in its mouth. An example of a *pax* head on an early pot from Waxaktun has the same T712 sign in its mouth. David Stuart long ago (personal communication, 1986)



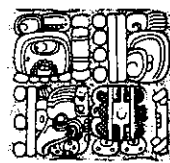
identified all of the signs in the Pax Gods mouth as *te* based on their appearance in the mouths of head variant numbers.

Finally, the sign in the mouth of the Stela 8 name at Tikal occurs as *te* in a Chakte title on Stela 15 at Copan. The name of this ruler appears to have been Te-Nab-K'inich at A4 and B3.

This Te or E-Te name seems to be a very sacred and ancient one at Tikal. It appears with the 5.0.0.0.0 (or Nov. 28, 1143 B.C.) date on the



Temple of Inscriptions at Tikal. The actor on this extraordinary date (it corresponds to the earliest levels of San Lorenzo) appears to include the combination of E-Te among the name.



The end of the name phrase includes a "14 Te, 8 Til, location" glyph that also occurs

on Stela 5. The occurrence of the name or variants of it in the 14th, 15th, and 22nd successor's name may be no accident. We also point out that these name are differentiated by the other glyphs that appear with the K'inich Te or Te Nab K'inich expressions.

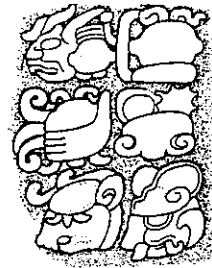


The 14th successor appears with this

number on a looted pot published by Robiscek and Hales (1981:Fig. 76a). He was known by the name of Jaguar-Paw, which probably reads Chak-To-Ich'ak. On the pot he also carries a title sequence of Wak-Kan-Tah-Chak that is similar to Wak-Kan titles carried by his earlier name



sake. All three of his monuments have the date 9.3.0.0.0, but Stela 10 appears to record his first bloodletting at 9.2.11.10.16. A first bloodletting event is also the Hauberg Stela prior that young king's accession and on Caracol Stela 3. We think this correspond to the type of bloodletting now documented at Dos Pilas on Panel 19. Stela 7 explicitly records him as the child of K'an-Ak.



During the 1991 Texas Meetings, the Middle Classic research group (consisting of Sandy Bardslay, Pat Urban, and Jaon Hendrikson) first identified the ruler on Stela 3 (Bardslay 1992). We think this fellow is 13th successor, but there are some problems with his succession number. The date 9.2.13.0.0 is accompanied by a text that seems to mimic the opening



passages of Stela 31. There is a long count date, a period-ending verb, and then a series of gods name from A9-D5 making for a total of eleven god names or titles. Stela 31 has ten. D6 is clearly the *u nichin* "child of father" glyph and the father is obviously K'an-Ak. That leaves only C6 as the possible glyph to be the name. A jaguar -Paw name does occur in the text above, but it seems to be part of the deity series instead of a

person.

Interestingly, this same name identified by Bardslay and her colleagues appears on a pair of looted earflares thought to be from Rio Azul. And another name from these earflares also appears on Copan Stela 20. If the earflares were looted from Rio Azul, then their owner acknowledged his subordination to the king of Tikal. He had also contacted Copan in a significant way. This Tikal king therefore had wide and important connections to other kingdoms.

The 13th and 14th successor both record K'an-Ak as their father. There is also a possibility that the man on Stela 8, our 15th successor, also recorded K'an-Ak as his father. The single text recording the 16th successor has no parentage statement, but it

⁴ See *U Mut Maya IV: Reports and Readings from the 1990-91 Advanced Seminars* for a series of papers and commentaries on these same inscriptions.

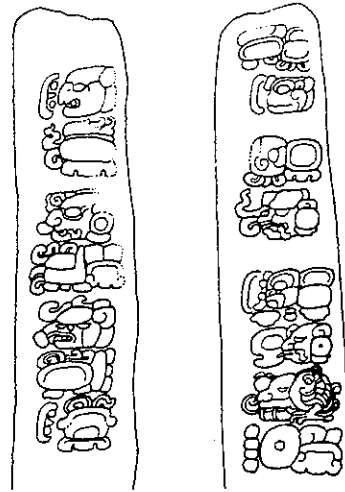
does have the title *Kan Tz'ak Ahaw Ch'ul*???? We know this title with *ch'ul* and the main sign of G4 appears in Sian-Kan's name. We suggest that the presence of this title with a "fourth successor" notation may identify the 16th ruler as the fourth of a set and we think the set may have been of brothers fathered by K'an-Ak. This suggestion will have to remain tentative, but it would help explain how the 21st successor could be the child of Jaguar-Paw, who was probably the 14th as well as the 17th or 18th successors.

There is one problem with this reconstruction that we must mention. The looted pot with the eleventh to fourteenth successor aligns these names in a pattern that differs slightly with our order. The fourteenth successor is Jaguar-Paw as we proposed, but the thirteen successor seems to be K'inich Te' whom we have made the fifteenth. Our order is based on the dates: Jaguar-Paw has 9.3.0.0.0 on all his monuments; Te' Nab K'inich has 9.3.2.0.0 on his; and the Stela 3 ruler has 9.2.13.0.0 on his. We think either we have not recovered the full names of our set—especially the 9.2.13.0.0 ruler—or there is some problem inherent the monument sample that has by happenstance survived. We feel the possibility remains open that our fifteenth may be the thirteenth, but since we have no way of explaining the discrepancy in dates, we have chosen the pattern presented in this note.

The 12th successor is the king first named K'an-Boar by Coggins (1976). At the time she realized that the main sign was probably a peccary, but she choose the English term for male pig to represent the sign. We now know the animal is a peccary, but phonetic evidence suggests it was read *ak*. *Kitam* and *ak* were words for different species of peccaries in Yukatek and Chol peccary until recent times. Today Yukatekan retains on *kitam*, while *ak* is the word for peccary used in the highland languages. The *ak* and the *kitam* peccaries existed in the Classic writing system. *Kitam* (or *chitam* in Cholan) was distinguished by the presence of a *ma* suffix. The *ak* peccary appears on an Early Classic vessel in the Pearlman collection where it is suffixed to a lower jaw *chak* (Stuart 1987) as a phonetic complement. This particular peccary is identified by three-pointed object hanging in his eye. These same objects characterize the animal head in K'an-Boar's name. We therefore propose a reading of K'an-Ak for his name.

No previous analysis has been able to identify

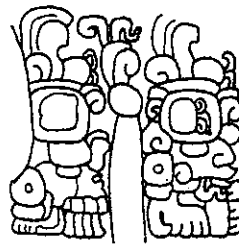
the father of K'an-Ak, although a parentage statement has long been known to exist on Stela 13. We think there now be a clue to the identity in a new proposed reading of Stormy-Sky's name by Stuart (1993 letter). He proposed that the split in the sky glyph was read *sih* or *siyan* and that the



name was Siyan or Sih-Kan-K'awil. He also identified substitutions for the *sih* consisting of the "birth frog" plus *ha* or plus *ya* and *na*. The father's name on Stela 13 is badly eroded, but Linda was able to check the original monument in January, 1994. The "birth frog" is clearly there with a *ya* sign below. It is followed by an eroded sign with the proper shape for "sky," a clear *na* sign, and *k'awil*. If Stuart's proposed readings are correct, then this text records K'an-Ak as the son of Siya-Kan-K'awil. The mother appears to consist of a anthropomorphic head combined with a bird that may be a tinamou.

The period of time between Yax-Ain ("Curl-Snout") and Sian-Kan-K'awil also presents major problems in that there are personalities floating on monuments from this period who are not yet placed

in the succession. We think this may be because these floating people were not rulers. The most important clue about their identity has come from David Stuart's recognition that some of these names appear on the side of Stela 28. Linda took



notes from the original monument in January, 1994, and redrew these names from a rubbing on Merle Robertson's CD-Rom.

On the left side two of these names survive. One is clearly Jaguar-Paw complete with his *to* glyph. Below that name (to its left in the illustration) sits a skull with feathers in its mouth. Stuart realized that this is the name of the protagonist of Stela 39. Interestingly, this name does not appear on any other major monument at Tikal and is not included

on Stela 31 or the dynasty pot. He does not appear to have been a king.

As Linda suggested in the 1990 workshop on Tikal, the first passage seems to be the conclusion of a parentage statement naming the protagonist as the son of Jaguar-Paw. The only readable verb occurs at Bz4. It is a dedication verb followed by *u ch'am yak'il*, "his harvesting of his tongue." The name is a Bz5 followed by a

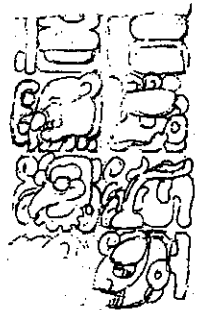


glyph Nikolai and Werner Nahm have read as *p'eneł*, "child." The last three glyphs are *ut Yax Mutul kan kun ti u kun*, "it happened at First Mutul sky seat at his seat." We think this is a reference perhaps to the Lost World Group.

The date of this stela has been much disputed. First estimations were that it recorded (Bz6-Az7) the k'atun ending 8.17.0.0.0. Federico Fahsen chal-



lenged this by arguing that the number with the k'atun is likely to be nineteen as seventeen. The debate could not be settled with available date, but Linda saw a stela in the bodega at Tikal that is said to be from the nearby site of Carazol. We have only a quick field drawing of the stela, but it is important. It opens with the date 6 Muluk 7 Pop which fall on 8.17.9.12.9 or 9.0.2.7.9.



There is an eroded verb, a second unreadable glyph, and A3 seems clearly to be the same skull name, now with a K'inich prefix, that occurs on Stela 39. There is a second date and verb, but both are not reconstructable although a likely reconstruction of the date is 8.17.16.14.9 5 Muluk 12 Pop.

There is a broken area following the date and verb, but when the text resumes, we have two unreadable glyphs and *u kahiy Toh Ich'ak*. This passage identifies the over authority for the actions of the Skull person to be

Jaguar-Paw. If this identification is correct, then the earlier date for Stela 39 is most likely. Moreover, Skull was a son of Jaguar-Paw who did not take the throne. Instead, he appears to have ruled a zone within Tikal—perhaps the Lost World Group, as well as one of the outlying town and presumably the zone around it.

The third name surviving on Stela 28 appears on the right side. It consists of a saurian head, a knot, and a sky sign. These are all signs that appear in Yax-Ain's name, but the combination lacks the Yax that is usually present. Finally the last row of glyphs on the rear of Stela 28 records the protagonist as the *yahaw ochk'in* "Chakte?" Yax ????. We cannot identify who the protagonist is but he, like Sian-Kan-K'awil on Stela 1, is recorded as the "vassal of the Chakte." The eligible chaktes were Smoking-Frog (K'ak'-Sih) or Yax-Ain.

There is another possible son depicted on Stela 2. The text has lost almost all of its detail, but when checking it in January, Linda recognized a cage sign in the row immediately above what seems to read *u bah u huntan*. The Cage-Shark glyph (either Moch-Xok or Ch'akte-Xok) occurs in Jaguar-Paw's name on MT 140 and Stela 29. We think the name of the father here is probably Jaguar-Paw, although the identification must remain tentative. However, if this identification is correct, the Stela 2, like Stela 39, records a son of Jaguar-Paw. Unfortunately, the rest of the glyphs are too eroded to identify the name of the son.

These texts clearly identify one son of Jaguar-Paw and a second possible son. If Yax-Ain was also a son, then we have two or three brothers guiding the city through forty years after the Tikal-Waxaktun war. We suggest there was another set of at least three brothers ruling in succession after K'an-Ak's death.

One last problem in the early dynastic history must be addressed. Schele and Freidel (1990) identified Smoking-Frog as the brother of Jaguar-Paw based on two deductions. On the Marcador, the actor of the 10 Eb 15 Mak date is named the *yitah* of the spearthrower-owl person. They identified the spearthrower-owl as a war title, an interpretation we have recently supported in Grube and Schele (1994). They had interpreted *yitah* as "the sibling of," based on suggestions by David Stuart. However, Barbara MacLeod has made counter arguments that most epigraphers now accept that the better interpretation is "the companion of." Sometimes this special status applies to siblings, sometimes to high-ranked lords,

and sometimes to gods, but Smoking-Frog cannot be taken now to be the brother of Jaguar-Paw, but only his companion.

Yax-Ain is clearly named as the *yune* or "child of" the spearthrower-shield person. Schele and Freidel (1990) posited that the spearthrower-owl and spearthrower-"shield" based on a suggestion by Peter Mathews that both the "shield" and the owl were *ku*. We have shown that they were not only *ku* or *kuy*, but that *kuy* and *kuyte* were terms for "soldier" and "war." If this title referred to the principal warrior in the kingdom as the king, then the Schele-Freidel identification of the father of Yax-Ain as Jaguar-Paw still holds. However, Stela 31 now presents a problem.

When Schele and Freidel prepared *Forest of Kings* in 1988 and 1989, the reading of the verb associated with Spearthrower-Shield in the final readable phrase of Stela 31 had not been deciphered. That has now changed. Based on another decipherment by Stuart, the event is now read as *och ha*, "entered the water," and is recognized as a metaphor for death. Thus, the Spearthrower-Owl person "entered the water" or died. That means this particular example cannot refer to Jaguar-Paw, who died much earlier; to Yax-Ain, who must have also been long dead (or Sian-Kan-K'awil would not have been king at this time); or to Sian-Kan himself, who was alive until at least 9.0.10.0.0, when he dedicated this monument.

This means we cannot now identify the Spearthrower-Shield person whose death is recorded in this last clause. It also means that the identity of Yax-Ain's father is less secure than we had previously thought. However, before this is taken to be evidence that the spearthrower-shield person was a foreigner whose son created a break in the dynasty, some weight must be given to the succession numbers we have. MT 140 records Jaguar-Paw as the 9th successor, while the dynasty pot records Sian-Kan-K'awil as the 11th. This leaves room for only one successor between the two. The count does not begin again with Yax-Ain. And to our mind, the archaeology associated with him cannot be taken to identify him as a foreigner—especially in light of new findings at Copan from a near contemporary strata.

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