

## INAUGURATION DATES OF THREE LATE CLASSIC RULERS OF TIKAL, GUATEMALA

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*Three passages in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Maya city of Tikal in Guatemala indicate inaugurations to the throne of three rulers at A.D. 682, 734, and 768. The distribution of the rulers' name-glyphs in the inscriptions, as well as differences in the art and architecture of the time-periods thus marked, support the validity of the three inaugural dates. The parentage of the rulers and the likelihood that the three rulers were members of the same family is discussed. The author suggests that personality differences among the three rulers can be discerned.*

DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS, our understanding of Classic Maya society (approximately from A.D. 300 to A.D. 900) has been expanded through studies of historical data in the surviving hieroglyphic inscriptions. The life-spans and the reigns of rulers in Piedras Negras, Yaxchilan, Copan, Naranjo, Quirigua, Palenque, and smaller cities have been deduced from patterns of Maya dates in association with certain glyphs and scenes, even though the glyphs themselves have not necessarily been deciphered phonetically (Proskouriakoff 1960, 1963, 1964a, 1964b; Kelley 1962; Graham 1967; Berlin 1958, 1968a, 1968b; Barthel 1968; Kubler 1969).

In the inscriptions of Tikal, one of the largest and perhaps the most important of the ancient Maya cities, Proskouriakoff identifies only two historical statements in her original article: an inaugural date on Stela 4 and a birthday ("initial date") on Stela 23. Both dates are in the Early Classic and have only recently been connected to other historical information (Clemency Coggins, personal communication 1974).

There appear to be at least three additional inaugural statements in the Tikal inscriptions: on Lintel 3 of Temple I (Fig. 1, F9-E10); on Stela 21 (Fig. 2, B10-A11); and on Stela 22 (Fig. 3, B11-A12). The Long Count positions of the three associated dates are equivalent to the following Christian dates (in the Gregorian Calendar), following the "Modified Thompson Correlation," with a "Correlation Constant" of 584,283 days (Thompson 1950:305):

Temple I, Lintel 3	9.12. 9.17.16	A.D. 682, May 4
Stela 21	9.15. 3. 6.8	A.D. 734, December 10
Stela 22	9.16.17.16.4	A.D. 768, December 27

The three dates are close enough in time (around 52 and 34 year intervals) to mark the beginnings of three successive reigns. This paper tries to make a case on epigraphic grounds for the acceptance of the three passages as inaugural statements. It then examines the possibility that the reigns are successive and describes the events and characteristics of the three reigns thus marked.

Scholars have previously made reference to one or more of these three inaugural statements. In a general paper on Maya dynastic history, Barthel pointed out the inaugural glyphs on Lintel 3 of Temple I and on Stela 22 (1968:142). In the same year, Berlin (1968b:147) referred to the use of the seating glyph (T 644 of Thompson 1962) as an inaugural statement in three Tikal texts. In a very generous response to the first version of this paper, Berlin (personal communication 1971) stated that an early draft of his article had contained a specific reference to the inaugural statement on Temple I, Lintel 3. He had deleted it from the published text, however, not wishing to do injustice to the complex Tikal situation with a short aside. In the omitted passage, Berlin also identified the name-glyph of the ruler and listed its distribution. In February of 1970, Linton Satterthwaite wrote a memorandum in response to Berlin's paper and sent it to Berlin and others. It also specifically identified the three inaugural dates and reigns discussed here plus the possibilities of others. In an additional memorandum in 1972, Satterthwaite treated the name-clauses of the rulers extensively. Although none of these works was known to the author

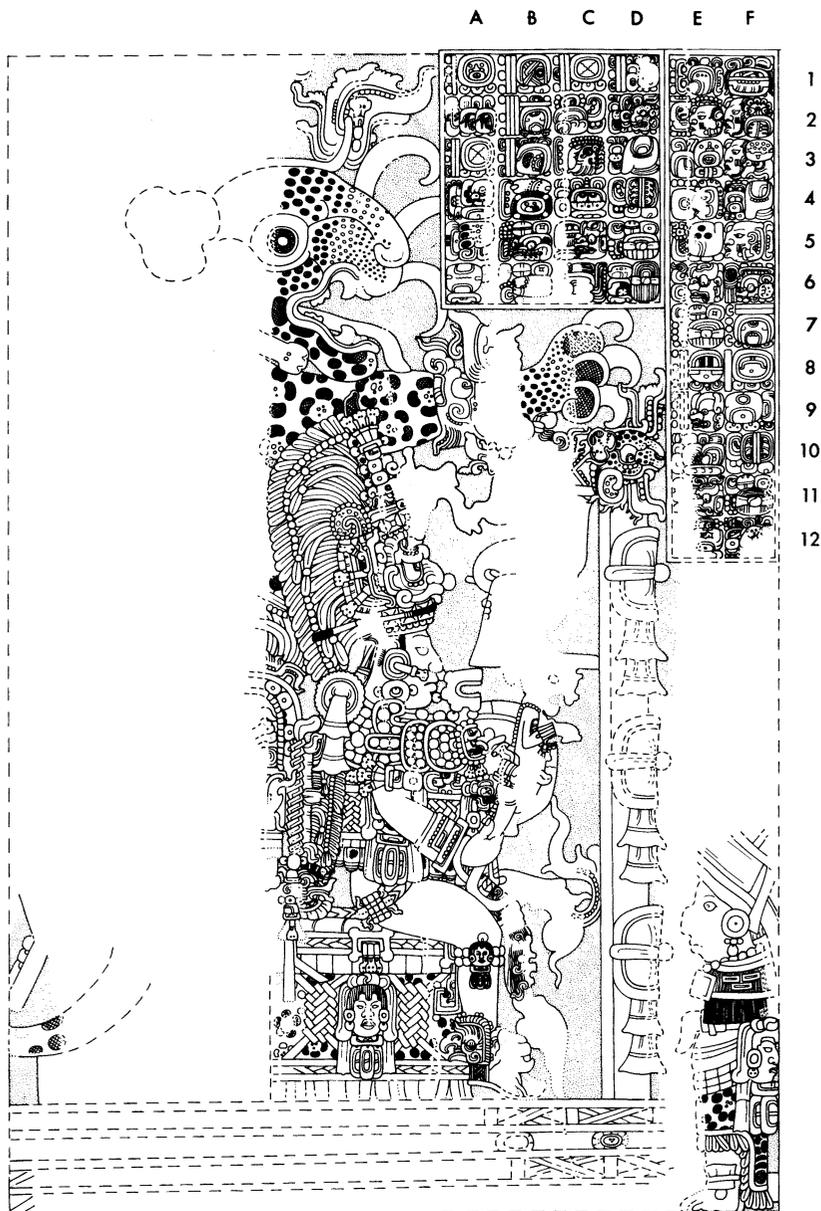


Fig. 1. Lintel 3, Temple I, Tikal, underside. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

when he wrote and circulated the first version of this paper in May of 1970, they have been of great help in the preparation of this revision.

#### THE INAUGURAL DATE ON LINTEL 3 OF TEMPLE I

There were two carved wooden lintels spanning the inner doorways of Temple I (Figs. 1 and 4). The beams of Lintel 3 were removed from the temple in the last century and are now in Basel and

A B

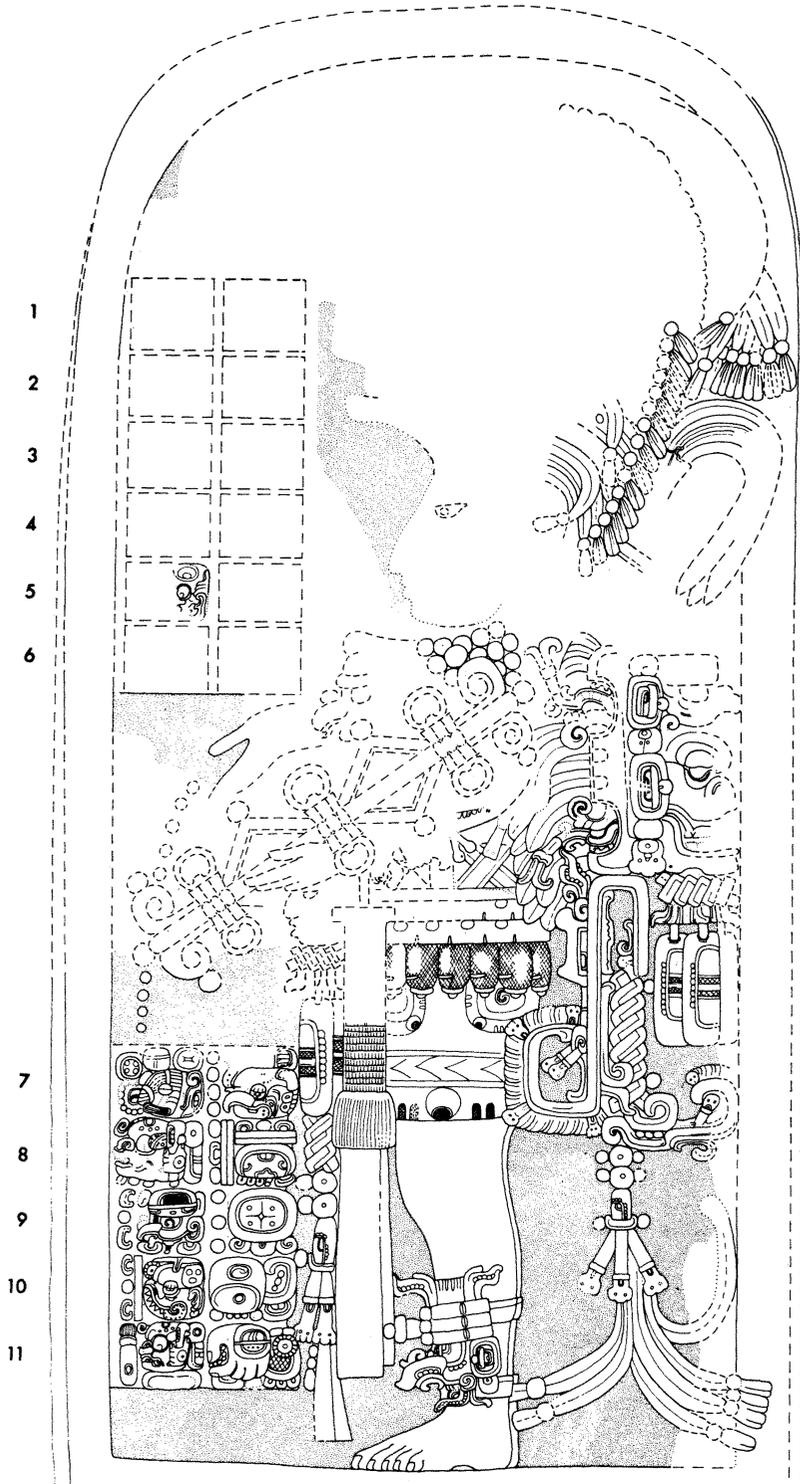


Fig. 2. Stela 21, Tikal, front. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale. (Certain details in broken line provided by unfitted fragments.)

A B

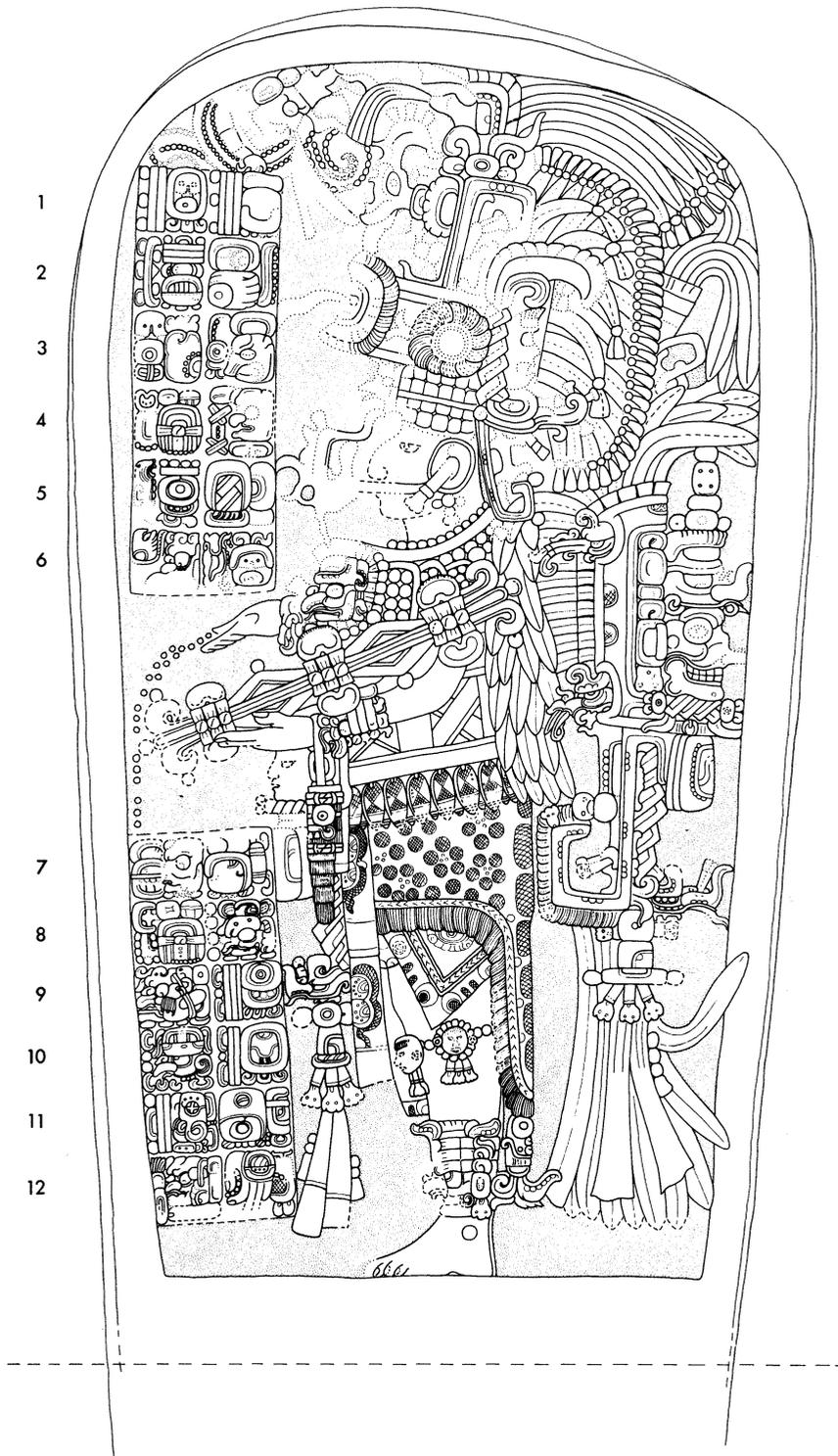


Fig. 3. Stela 22, Tikal, front. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

London. The correct chronology of the lintel was first published by Beyer (1943) and summarized by Satterthwaite as follows (Coe, Shook, and Satterthwaite 1961:67):

A1-B1	Date A	(PE)	(9.13. 3. 0. 0.)	9 Ahau 13 Pop
A2				" <i>yax-double-cauac</i> " glyph
B2		SS	<u>7.18</u>	
A3-B3	Date B		(9.13. 3. 7.18)	11 Etnab 11 Chen
			(2. 0)	(suppressed SS)
C1-D1	Date C		(9.13. 3. 9.18)	12 Etnab 11 Zac
F7-E8		SS	-13.10. 2	
F8-E9	Date D		(9.12. 9.17.16)	5 Cib 14 Zotz

No statement in the inscription directly ties the dates to the Maya Long Count (in the above summary, parentheses enclose information which must be supplied by context). Beyer (1943) placed Date A at 9.13.3.0.0 because the "*yax-double-cauac*" glyph also occurs after that same tun-end on Stela 29 at nearby Naranjo. This argument seems generally accepted (Coe, Shook, and Satterthwaite 1961:68-69; Berlin 1968:18-19).

The inaugural glyphs under examination follow Date D of the inscription. The following tabulation assigns catalogue numbers to the signs, using Thompson (1962), with the addition of nicknames as aids to the reader:

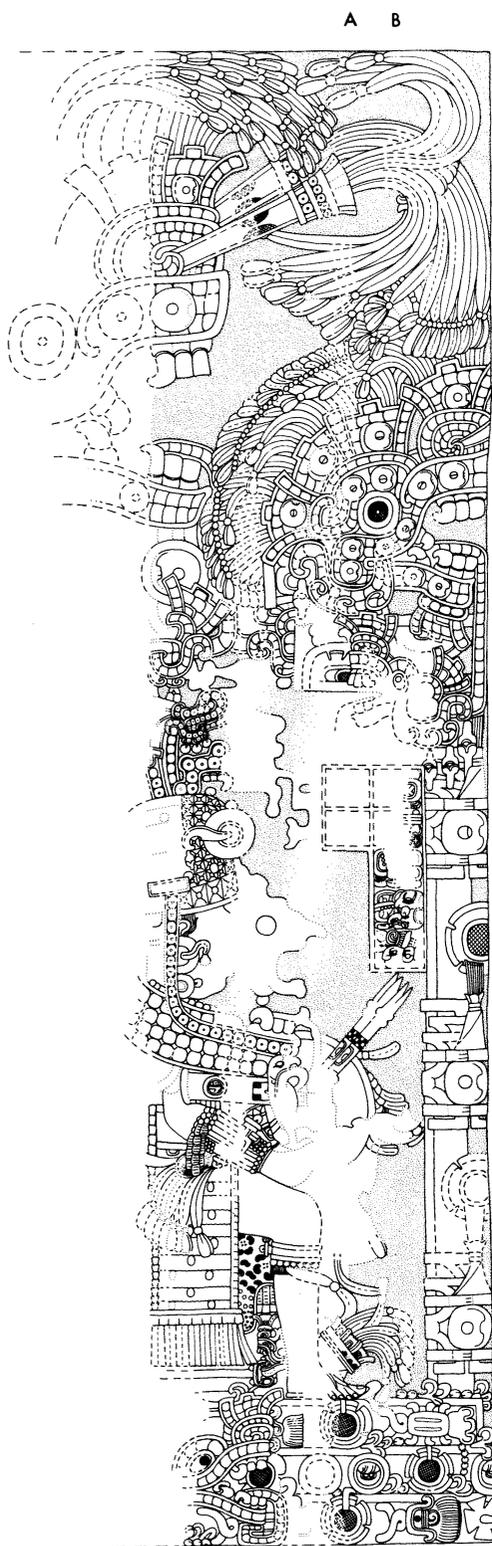
F9	644.683a:178.88:126	seating, moon, inverted <i>ahaus</i> , paw, scrolls
E10	59.74:528.513:188	<i>ti</i> , downballs over <i>cauac</i> and <i>muluc</i> , shell.

In Figure 5 are reproduced some examples of similar glyphic clauses which Proskouriakoff (1960) first demonstrated to be inaugural. The first glyph-block usually contains a "toothache" mainsign, characterized by a vertical band through the center of the glyph, tied with a bowknot above (Fig. 5*a, c, e, f*). At times the tied glyph is a bird head (T 684), at times the lunar sign (T 683), and in one example a curved worm or bundle sign (T 145 MS?). The meaning of this variation is not known.

Although the "toothache" glyph in one of its various forms is the usual first glyph of the inaugural expression, the "seating" glyph (T 644) substitutes for it after inaugural dates on Yaxchilan Stela 12 and Copan Altar U (Fig. 5*b, d*). These two dates also appear with "toothache" expressions elsewhere in the inscriptions of Copan and Yaxchilan, leading Proskouriakoff to suggest that the seating expression marked "another observance taking place on the same date" as the toothache expression (1960:470). Berlin (1968b:147) discussed extensively the relationship between the two glyphs and concluded that "both imply effective rulership over a Maya town"; he suggested that the toothache glyph "means preferably temporal power" and the seating glyph means "preferably spiritual power."

The succeeding glyph-block to the toothache or seating block (Fig. 5) is labeled the "affix cluster" by Proskouriakoff (1960:469). It usually contains a *ti* prefix (T 59), a *ben-ich* superfix (T 168), and a sign shaped somewhat like a sectioned shell (T 188).

Many of the essential elements of known inaugural expressions are present on the Tikal lintel: the seating glyph (T 644) as the main sign of the first glyph-block, and the *ti* prefix (T 59) and shell subfix (T 188) in the affix cluster. Berlin believed that T 188 may be the most important component of the affix cluster (1968:144). The paw (T 88) is found in an inaugural expression at Copan (Fig. 5*e*), substituting for the more usual lunar postfix. An inverted *ahau* (T 178) occurs in one of the inaugural clauses on the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs at Palenque (Berlin 1968b, Fig. 2, H2). The three remaining signs, the downballs over *cauac* and *muluc* (74:528.513), often occur as a unit in Maya inscriptions (Thompson 1962:136) and as such might substitute for the missing *ben-ich* of the affix cluster. A final glyphic argument might be found in the unusual shape of the seating glyph here, in which the top is split open after the fashion of the moon sign (T 683*a*) commonly found as mainsign or affix in the toothache and seating expressions. Thus most of the glyphs in the two blocks occur as variants in known inaugural clauses.



- a.  YAXCHILAN  
Stela 11: C4
- b.  Stela 12: C2-D2
- c.  COPAN  
Temple 11, Step 12
- d.  Altar U
- e.  Altar F'
- f.  PIEDRAS NEGRAS  
Lintel 2

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

Fig. 4 (left). Lintel 2, Temple I, Tikal, underside. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

Fig. 5 (above). Inaugural expressions from Yaxchilan, Copan, and Piedras Negras (from Proskouriakoff 1960, Figs. 2, 7).

The context of the clause further confirms its inaugural nature. It immediately follows its associated date with no intervening glyphs, and the date itself is, by about thirteen years, the earliest of the four in the inscription. This is consistent with the pattern noted by Proskouriakoff whereby monuments erected during a reign often mention the inaugural date along with later events of the reign.

#### THE INAUGURAL DATES ON STELA 21 AND STELA 22

The seating glyph (T 644) occurs after two other dates at Tikal, on Stela 21 (Fig. 2, B10) and Stela 22 (Fig. 3, B11). The calendrics of the two monuments are summarized as follows (Stela 21 from Berlin 1951, Stela 22 from Satterthwaite 1958):

##### *Stela 21*

(missing)	(Date A?)	(PE?)	(9.15. 5. 0. 0)	(10 Ahau 8 Chen)
B8-A9		SS	-1.11.12	
B9-A10	Date B		(9.15. 3. 6. 8)	3 Lamat 6 Pax

##### *Stela 22*

A1-B1	Date A	PE	(9.17. 0. 0. 0)	13 Ahau 18 Cumhu
A2-B2				End 17 Katuns
B9-A10		SS	-2. 1.16	
B10-A11	Date B		(9.16.17.16. 4)	11 Kan 12 Kayab

As Satterthwaite has noted, the calendrics of the two monuments are very similar. Both begin with tun-end dates (reconstructed on the missing upper panel of Stela 21 on the basis of the secondary series [SS] and Date B). Both count backward approximately a year and a half and two years respectively to a non-tun-ending date, followed by three practically identical glyph-groups. These latter (the inaugural statements) are catalogued as follows:

##### *Stela 21*

B10	644.181:140	seating glyph, moon, dots
A11	59.1030m.87:23?	<i>ti</i> , long-nosed head with axe, <i>te</i> , <i>al</i> ?
B11	710.679:93	hand scattering grain, forward infix, crosshatched suffix

##### *Stela 22*

B11	644[683a].145?:140.126	seating, lunar infix, bound worm, dots, scrolls
A12	59.1030m.87:188?	<i>ti</i> , long-nosed head with axe, <i>te</i> , shell?
B12	710.679:93:125	hand scattering grain, forward infix, crosshatched suffix, tassels?

Many features of inaugural expressions from other sites appear in these glyphs. The foremost, of course, is the seating glyph (T 644). On Stela 21, the sign has the lunar postfix (T 181), thought to mark an event, and commonly found in inaugural expressions. The postfix on Stela 22 is catalogued by Thompson (1962:253) as T 88 (the paw) but the closest match to it is affix T 145, a worm-like or bundle-like sign bound in the middle. As such, the postfix is possibly the affix form (drawn on its side) of the toothache variant shown in Figure 5*f*. As on Lintel 3 of Temple I, the lack of a lunar postfix on Stela 22 might be compensated for by the infixed moon with enclosed dot (T 683a), in this case at the bottom of the mainsign instead of at the top.

The second glyph-group of both clauses is the long-nosed head with a hand holding an axe, plus affixes. The head is the *batab* glyph named by Berlin (1958) and discussed further by Satterthwaite (Coe, Shook, and Satterthwaite 1961:60-62). Knorozov (apparently following Berlin) translated the glyph as "(baat) -*te* 'headman'?" (1967:105). Proskouriakoff (personal communication 1970) pointed out that the long-nosed head with *ti* (T 59) prefix might play a role here similar to that of the affix cluster in known inaugural clauses. Logically, since the *ben-ich* (T 168) usually present in the affix cluster has been thought of as signifying "lord" (Thompson

1972:151), the *batab* head with the same suggested meaning would provide a substitute for it. This substitution of the *batab* glyph for the *ben-ich* occurs in another context at Tikal discussed below. The subfix to the *batab* glyph on Stela 22 is mostly destroyed, but has the little mouth-like notch characteristic of the important shell suffix (T 188) of the typical affix cluster, thus providing another link to known inaugural expressions.

The third and final glyph-group of each monument features a hand scattering drops of water or seeds which reflects the gesture of the figure beside the glyphs. In the context of the inaugural dates, the three glyph-blocks together might signify something like the following: “the seating of the headman, the grain-planter.” The ruler scattering seeds may here represent the community’s agricultural and general economic success in the same way that the Inca of Peru was said to have planted the first potato of the year.

In view of the presence of the seating glyph (T 644), the lunar elements (T 181 and T 683a), the bound worm (T 145), the *ti* prefix (T 59), the shell subfix (T 188), and the substitution of the *batab* (T 1030m) for the *ben-ich* (T 168) at Tikal, the cases for inaugural expressions on Stela 21 and 22 are very strong. The remainder of this paper accepts these dates as given and reviews the Late Classic texts of Tikal in search of clarification of the implied reigns.

#### THE REIGN OF RULER A

In the first circulated version of this paper, the author labeled the three implied rulers Ruler A, Ruler B, and Ruler C. Kubler (1973), acknowledging the earlier label, suggests the name “Sky-rain” for Ruler A (referring to the sky glyph and rain-god head which Ruler A shares with Ruler B) and the name “Sun-sky-rain” for Ruler B. The first-mentioned labels will be retained here, because the name of Ruler A may lie more specifically in the “Double-Comb” glyph than in the Sky-God glyph-block.

Proskouriakoff (1960:20 and Fig. 8) was the first to point to a Tikal ruler’s name on Lintel 3 of Temple I and on Stela 16 (Ruler A). Dütting (1970:205 and Note 12) also identified the Double-Comb and Sky-God glyphs (Ruler A) as the name-glyphs of a Tikal ruler. He read the Double-Comb as the equivalent of two comb affixes together (T 25.25), suggesting that it referred to procreation.

Heinrich Berlin (personal communication 1971) pointed out to the author the name-glyphs of Rulers A and B and suggested where to look for that of Ruler C. The main guide for the identifications, as with the names of rulers in other sites, seems to be their frequent occurrence before Emblem Glyphs, as at glyph-blocks F10-F11 of Lintel 3 of Temple I (Fig. 1):

F10	181.630:130	moon, double-comb, <i>bil</i>
E11	561?:?.1030	sky, long-nosed head with scroll (Sky-God)
F11	38.168:569	water with shell, <i>ben-ich</i> , tied bundle (Tikal Emblem Glyph)

In view of the fact that Ruler A shares the Sky-God glyph not only with Ruler B, but with rulers at other sites, it would appear that the specific identifier of his name rests in the first glyph. The meaning of this Double-Comb glyph is unknown. It occurs in names or titles of the “moon-sign family” which Proskouriakoff tentatively identified at Yaxchilan (1964b:189). The similar combination 1.23.25:130 (*u*, comb, comb, *bil*) occurs rather frequently in the Post classic Dresden Codex, where Thompson has translated it as *u cacabil* “his *cacao*” (1972:39). The lunar affix (T 181) has been thought to be *kal* “to do, make, or affect” (Ibid.:64). To suggest that this ruler’s name might actually have been *Kal Cacabil*, “Producer of Chocolate,” would be premature, but not without interest, considering his possible westerly connections and the renaissance experienced by Tikal under his rule.

The distribution of the name of Ruler A through the monumental inscriptions of Tikal serves to support the validity of his inaugural date and that of his successor, Ruler B. Table 1 presents all known hieroglyphic dates on Tikal monuments that follow the three inaugural dates. The position in the Maya Long Count is given first, then the “Calendar Round” position, the source, the suggested meaning of the date, and finally the ruler’s name or names which occur in clauses following the data glyphs.

Table 1. Long Count positions in chronological order after 9.12.9.17.16, from Late Tikal Period tests. (Question-marked positions supplied from context. IS—Initial Series; DD—Dedicatory Date; PE—Period Ending; A, B, C—Name of Ruler A, etc. follows date.

*Dates following inaugural of Ruler A:*

9.12.9.17.16	5 Cib 14 Zotz	Temple I, L.3: F8-E9	Inaugural	A
9.12.19.12.9?	1 Muluc 2 Muan	Altar 5: 1-2		
9.13.0.0.0	8 Ahau 8 Uo	Altar 14: 1-7, Center	IS; DD	A
9.13.3.0.0	9 Ahau 13 Pop	Temple I, L.3: A1-B1	PE DD??	
9.13.3.7.18	11 Etnab 11 Chen	Temple I, L.3: A3-B3		
9.13.3.9.18	12 Etnab 11 Zac	Temple I, L.3: C1-D1		A
9.13.11.6.7?	13 Manik O Xul	Altar 5: 10-11		
9.13.19.16.6?	11 Cimi 19 Mac	Altar 5: 24-25		
9.13.19.16.9?	1 Muluc 2 Kankin	Altar 5: 27-28		
9.14.0.0.0	6 Ahau 13 Muan	Stela 16: A1-A2	PE; DD	A

*Dates following inaugural of Ruler B:*

9.15.3.6.8	3 Lamat 6 Pax	Stela 21: B9-A10	Inaugural	
9.15.3.6.8	3 Lamat 6 Pax	Stela 5: A1-B1		B
9.15.5.0.0	10 Ahau 8 Chen	Stela 21: restored	PE?; DD	B
9.15.10.0.0?	3 Ahau 3 Mol?	Structure 5D-52, Lintel: A1-A3	PE; DD	
9.15.10.0.0	3 Ahau 3 Mol	Temple IV, L.2: A1-B1	PE; DD??	
9.15.10.0.0	3 Ahau 3 Mol	Temple IV, L.3: A1-B1	PE; DD??	
9.15.12.2.2	11 Ik 15 Chen	Temple IV, L.3: B3-A4		B
9.15.12.2.3	12 Akbal 16 Chen	Temple IV, L.3: D4-C5		
9.15.12.11.12	6 Eb 0 Pop	Temple IV, L.2: B3-A4		B
9.15.12.11.13	7 Ben 1 Pop	Temple IV, L.2: B7-A8		
9.15.13.0.0	4 Ahau 8 Yaxkin	Stela 5: C3-C4	PE; DD	B-A
9.15.15.2.3	13 Akbal 1 Chen	Temple IV, L.3: E2-F2		B-A
9.15.15.14.0	3 Ahau 13 Uo	Temple IV, L.2: A17-B17		B
9.15.17.10.4?	10 Kan 12 Pax	Column Altar 1		
9.16.0.0.0	2 Ahau 13 Tzec	Stela 20: A1-A2	PE; DD	B
9.16.14.17.17	4 Caban 15 Pop	Temple VI: I'2-J'2		
9.16.15.0.0	7 Ahau 18 Pop	Temple VI: H3-H4	PE; DD	B

*Dates following inaugural of Ruler C:*

9.16.17.16.4	11 Kan 12 Kayab	Stela 22: B10-A11	Inaugural	
9.16.18.3.1?	4 Imix 4 Zotz	Stela 19: suppressed		
9.17.0.0.0	13 Ahau 18 Cumku	Stela 22: A1-B1	PE; DD	C-B
9.17.18.3.1	2 Imix 9 Kayab	Stela 19: A11-B11	Katun Anniv.	
9.18.0.0.0	11 Ahau 18 Mac	Stela 19: A1-B1	PE; DD	C?-B
9.19.0.0.0	9 Ahau 18 Mol	Stela 24: xA1-xB1	PE; DD	
10.2.0.0.0	3 Ahau 3 Ceh	Stela 11: A1-B9	IS; DD	

The name of Ruler A, besides appearing with the date 9.12.9.17.16 and the inaugural expression on Lintel 3 of Temple I, also occurs on Altar 14 after the date 9.13.0.0.0 (Fig. 6b, 13-15) and on Stela 16 after the date 9.14.0.0.0 (Fig. 7, B3-C1). The altar inscription is much eroded but can be read with the assistance of the examples on Lintel 3. On both the stela and the altar, the mentioned katun-ending dates are the only ones on the monuments and most of the remaining glyphs are the names and titles of the ruler, with the possible exception of a few uninterpreted glyphs between the date and the name (Altar 14:8-12 and Stela 16:B1-B2).

Altar 14 was found in front of Stela 30 (Fig. 6a) in the anciently razed enclosure of Group 3D-1, the earliest dated Twin-pyramid Group at Tikal. Stela 16 was found with Altar 5 in the enclosure of the next dated Twin-pyramid Group, Group 5C-1. These groups are large platforms supporting two four-stairwayed flat-topped pyramids, a nine-doorwayed building with a single long narrow room, a collection of plain stela/altar pairs, and an enclosure with its stela/altar pair, usually carved. In an earlier work (Jones 1969), the author suggested that the groups were built as stages for the katun ceremonies and dances of the community which shifted from one group to the

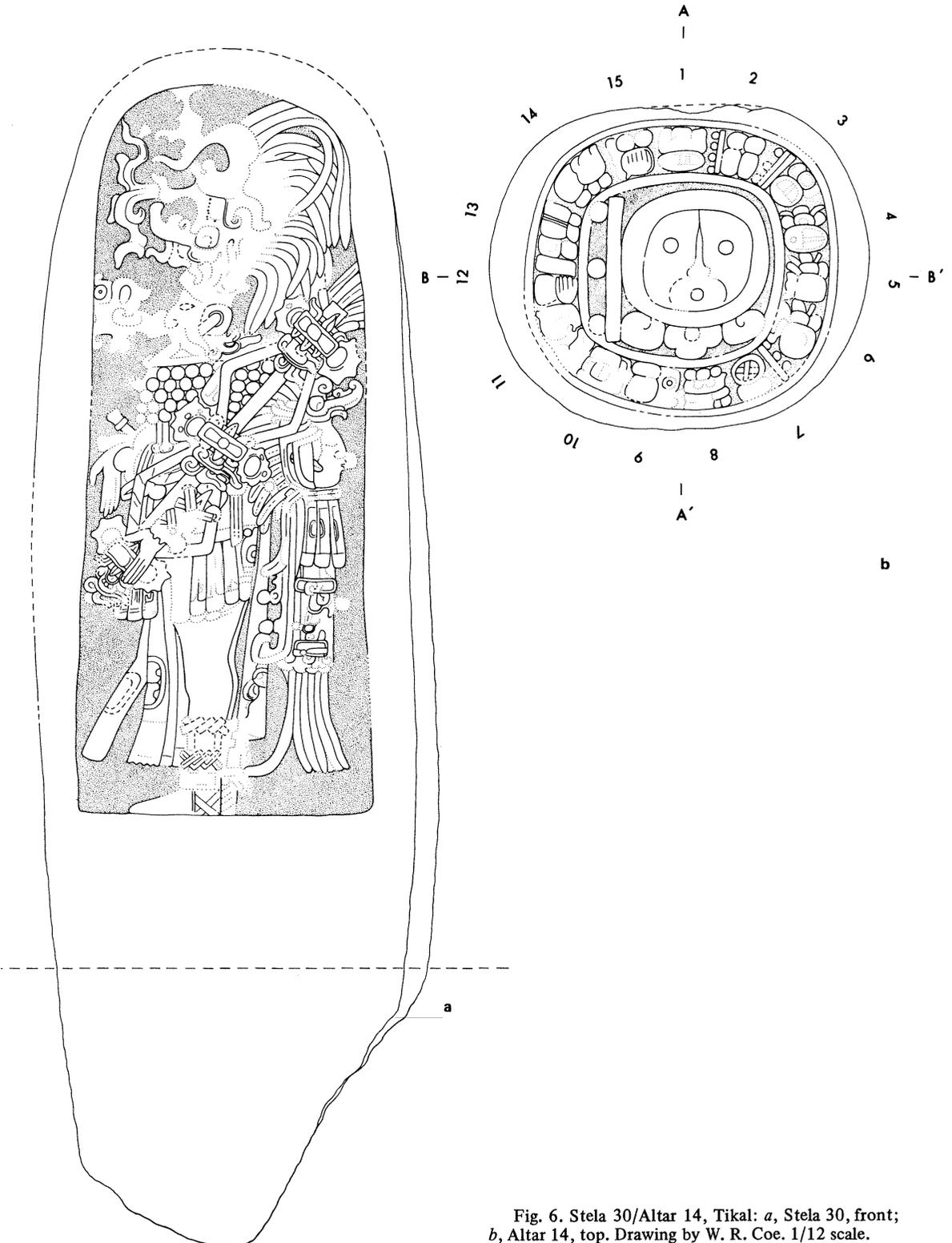


Fig. 6. Stela 30/Altar 14, Tikal: *a*, Stela 30, front; *b*, Altar 14, top. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

A1  
A2  
A3  
A4

B1  
B2  
B3  
B4

C1  
C2  
C3  
C4

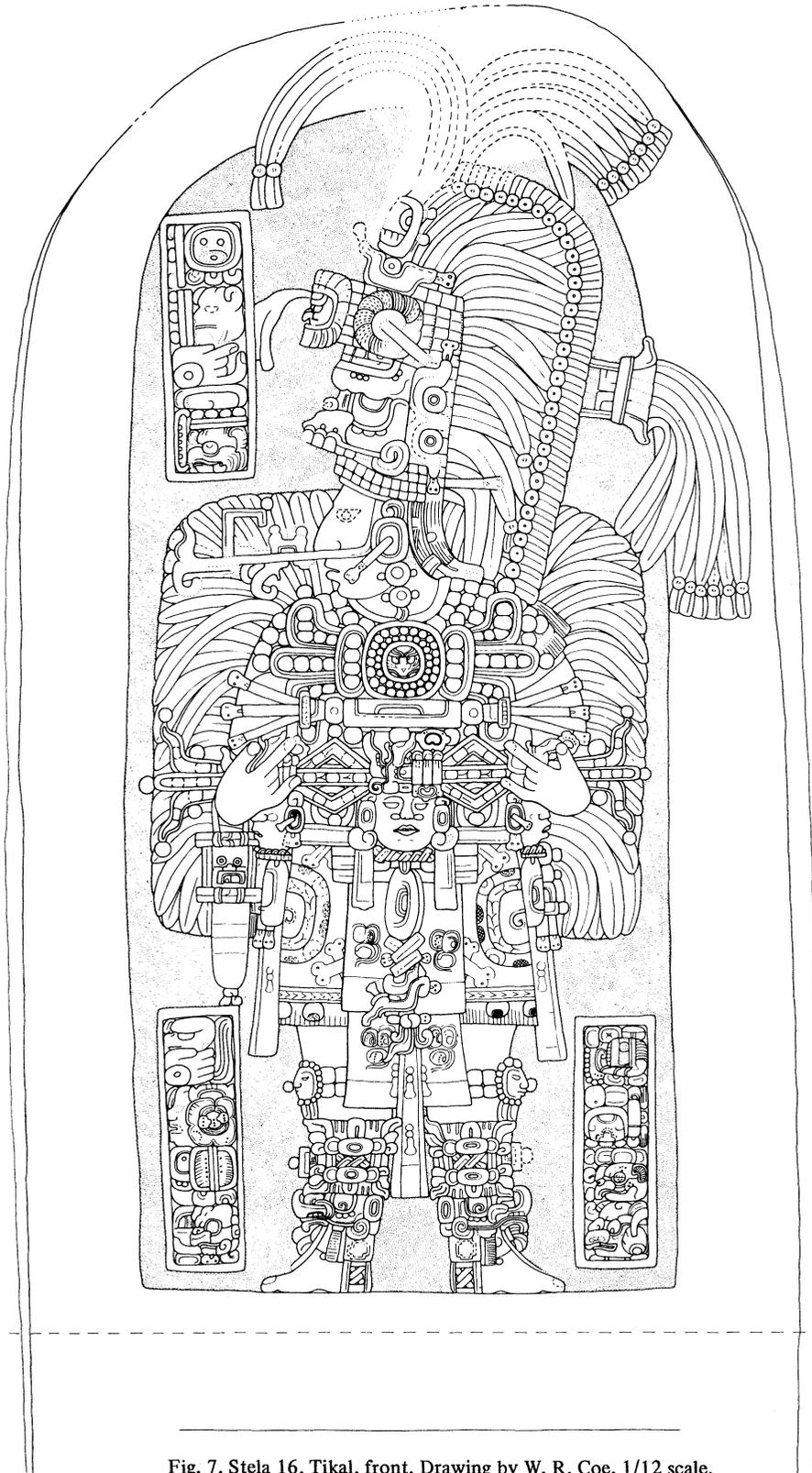


Fig. 7. Stela 16, Tikal, front. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

next as the katuns changed. Even though the groups are vast, open, and public, and the four-stairwayed pyramids and nine-doorwayed galleries direct attention to the cosmological forces involved in the succession of the katuns, nevertheless the walled enclosure with its single doorway focuses attention also on the ruler's carved portrait on the stela front. The ruler's names on carved monuments in all the groups (with the exception of Altar 5) confirm this focus and underline the importance of the ruler in the religious life of the community.

A record of "three *Batab Katuns*" follows the name-glyphs of Ruler A on Stela 16 (Fig. 7, C3-C4). These *Batab Katun* expressions at Tikal were first noted by Berlin (1958:114) and further reviewed by Satterthwaite (Coe, Shook, and Satterthwaite 1961:60-62). Berlin suggested that they might refer to successive periods of five katuns each. It seems likely, however, that they are parallels to the "*Ben-ich Katun*" notation of the Maya sites west of Tikal, referring to the elapsed katuns of a ruler's life (Proskouriakoff 1963:153). At Tikal the *batab* glyph with its suggested meaning of "lord" may again substitute here for the *ben-ich* with the same suggested meaning, as noted above in the inaugural affix clusters. If this reading is correct, it would mean that Ruler A was between 40 and 60 years of age at 9.14.0.0.0 (in his third katun), between 10 and 30 at the time of his inauguration thirty years before, and over 60 years of age at death, as is perhaps noted in the "four *Batab Katuns*" glyphs after his name on the later Stela 5 and Lintel 3 of Temple IV (see below).

William Haviland (personal communications 1971 and 1975) informs me that the body in Burial 116 under Temple I was very old at death, almost certainly over 55 years of age. As will be seen, there is considerable evidence that the burial was of Ruler A. This supports the age shown by the *Batab Katun* notations and the exceedingly long suggested reign of Ruler A, lasting possibly 53 years. As yet, the inscriptions do not inform us of the time of death except that it seemed to have occurred after Stela 16(9.14.0.0.0). The lack of mention of an intervening ruler on the monuments of Ruler B, however, suggests that the death occurred not long before the inaugural of Ruler B at 9.15.3.6.8. The point will be discussed further.

Several inscriptions on small bone objects placed in a pile in the famous tomb of Temple I (Triuk 1963) strongly suggest that the body in the tomb is that of Ruler A. Berlin points out (personal communication 1971) that Ruler A's name-glyphs occur on Miscellaneous Texts (MT) 51A and 51B, two of the carved bones, in a slightly variant form (Triuk 1963, Figs. 6, 7):

181.1038a[513]:130 moon, God C with *muluc* in mouth, *bil*

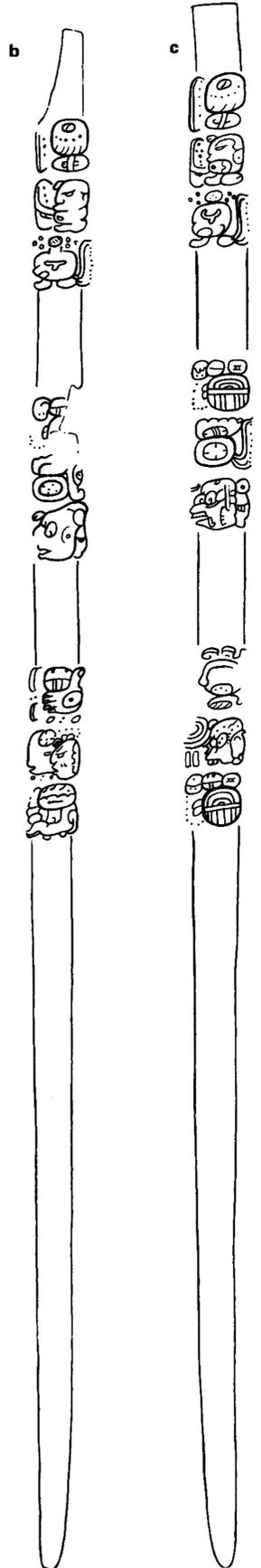
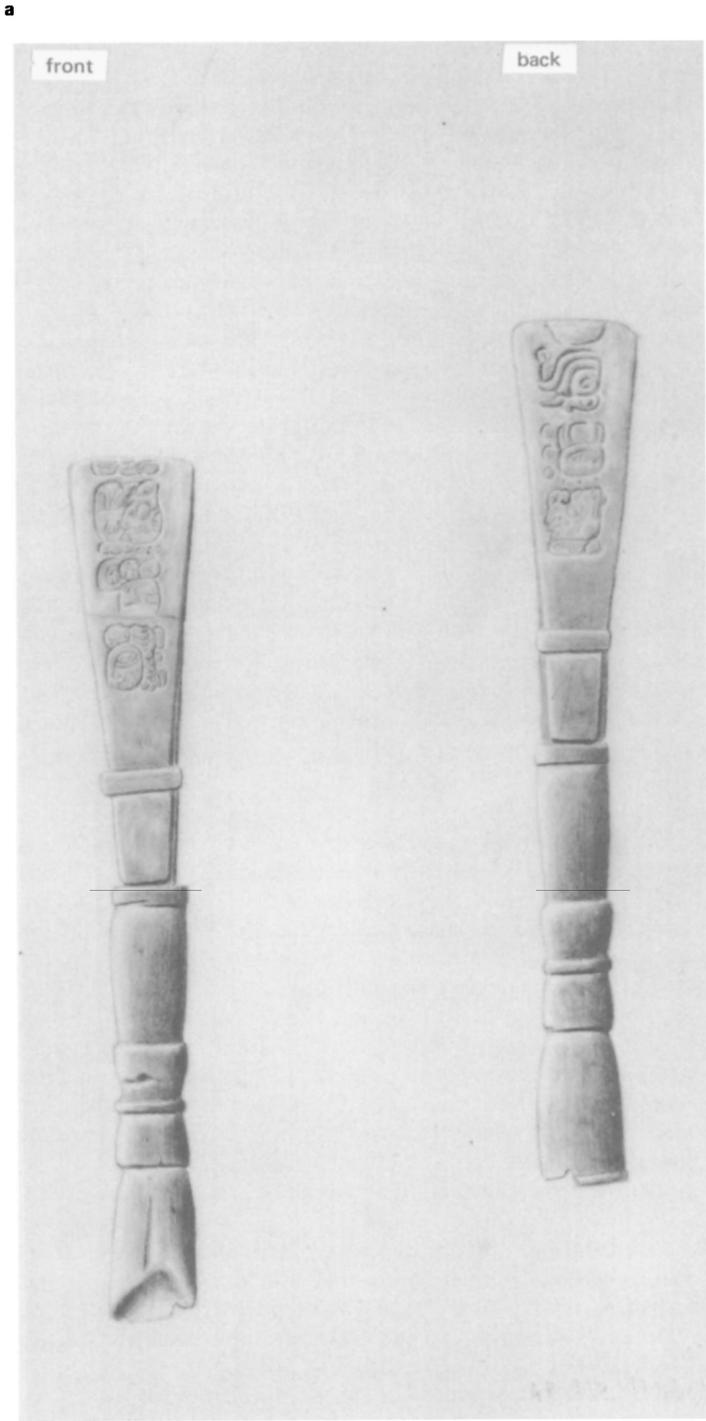
followed by the usual Sky-God and Tikal Emblem Glyphs. The substitution of God C with *muluc* for the Double-Comb glyph can also be seen in an apparently unrelated context at Yaxchilan in two variants of the "moon-sign family" name (Proskouriakoff 1964b:186-89).

A partially missing inscription on MT 45 (Fig. 8a) seems to duplicate almost exactly the glyphic clause pertaining to Ruler A on Stela 16. The glyphs are incised on both sides of a bone and shell implement. This is probably a hair-tweezer, and much used, for most of the top glyphs of each side are missing. Only the lower half of the moon prefix (T 181) and the *bil* suffix (T 130) of the assumed name-glyph survive. The rest of the inscription (Sky-God, Tikal Emblem, a *uinal* compound, two uninterpreted glyphs, 3 *Katuns*, *Batab*) is so close to the glyphic clause on Stela 16 as to allow us to restore the missing Double-Comb or God C with *muluc* to complete the name of Ruler A. The "three *Batab Katuns*" notation suggests that the item was carved and first used before death, while the ruler was under 60 years of age. The personal nature of the tweezers, its heavy wear, and the "monogram" provide a strong connection between the glyphic name of Ruler A and the body in the tomb.

The name of Ruler A was also carved on MT 38A, 38B, and 50 (Triuk 1963, Figs. 3, 5), all portraying gods paddling a canoe with a solitary human and several animal passengers. In these texts, the second glyph-block of the name (the Sky-God glyph) is written with the name-glyph of God B (T 668) as used in the Maya codices (Thompson 1962:264-65), substituting for the sky glyph (T 561) and the head of God B (T 1030a).

It is possible that the canoe scene represents the journey of the dead ruler to the land of the gods. Of these three texts, MT 38A and 38B carry the date 6 Akbal 16 Zac, which falls in the Long

Fig. 8. Miscellaneous Texts 45, 43, and 44, Tikal: *a*, MT 45; *b*, MT 43; *c*, MT 44. Drawings by A. Seuffert. 1/1 scale.



Count positions 9.11.19.4.3 and 9.14.11.17.3. The latter position is close to but early for the death of Ruler A, leaving as it does almost 12 years until the inaugural date of Ruler B. The scene might also refer to the death of another individual or to another type of spiritual journey taken by the ruler whose name is inscribed on the bone (a curing ceremony, for example, or a dream). Two similar bones and texts (MT 38C and 38D) carry the same date and scene, but without a name clause.

Two additional bones from the same pile in the tomb provide yet another interesting link between the tomb and Ruler A. MT 43 and 44 (Figs. 8*b*, *c*) are both carved with nine glyph-blocks, set in groups of threes. The first six blocks are the same on both bones and refer to Ruler A with the substitutions noted above:

25.501.102	comb, <i>imix</i>
181.1038a[513]:130	moon, God C with <i>muluc</i> in mouth, <i>bil</i> (Ruler A)
174:668.116:130	(Name of God B)
40.168:569	(Tikal Emblem Glyph)
221.110:544.116	(West)
1030n.87	( <i>Batab</i> )

The last three glyphs of the nine on MT 44 are:

122:535:?	flames, decorated <i>ahau</i>
151.1040	shield, skull
40.168:569	(Tikal Emblem Glyph)

The last three glyphs on MT 43 are different:

126.584.670:140	<i>u</i> , hand holding <i>ben</i> , dots
686.[544] 35:1001	inverted vessel with <i>kin</i> , woman's head
609a.1031	jaguar-skin cushion, jawless serpent head

The presence of the Tikal Emblem Glyph after the "Shield-Skull" block on MT 44 suggests that it is the name of another Tikal ruler. The second to last glyph on MT 43 occurs with women's names at Yaxchilan (Proskouriakoff 1964a:89 and Figs. 5, 6). Thus the pair of bones provides the name of Ruler A, termed here "lord of (or from) the west," followed by the names of another Tikal ruler and a woman. The most obvious interpretation of their relationship to Ruler A is as parents.

The two names above are probably duplicated on Lintel 3 of Temple I itself, where the names of Ruler A at D4-D5 (Fig. 1) is followed by a long passage containing first the woman's name (with the *kin*-title at E2 and the jaguar pelt seat over the jawless serpent head at F3) and then the other Tikal ruler's name (identified by the shield and skull glyph at F6 and the Tikal Emblem Glyph at E7). These are surely the same two individuals as on the bones. The repetition of their names as a pair in conjunction with that of Ruler A emphasizes their importance to him and again suggests the parental role.

The contention that "Shield-Skull" is the father or at least the predecessor of Ruler A is strongly supported by the parallel nature of this passage on Lintel 3 of Temple I to a similar passage on Lintel 3 of Temple IV where the name of Ruler B is followed by that of Ruler A (Table 2), as pointed out to the author by Berlin (personal communication 1971). Table 2 is arranged to demonstrate that the Tikal rulers named their predecessors in conjunction with their own names on these two carved wooden lintels and on three stelae. Lintel 3 of Temple I has dates following the inaugural of Ruler A, Lintel 3 of Temple IV and Stela 5 following that of Ruler B, and Stelae 22 and 19 following that of Ruler C. The two lintels share some common intervening glyph-blocks between the two rulers' names, the "Tied Bundle and Darkened *Kin*," and "1 Shell," and the "Pseudo-Inverted Fist" blocks as defined in the key to the table. Following the "1 Shell" block on

Table 2. Patterns of Recording Ruler's Name with that of Predecessor in Tikal Inscriptions.

Source	Ruler's Name	Common Intervening Glyph-blocks	Woman's Name	Common Intervening Glyph-blocks	Predecessor's Name
T. I, L.3	Ruler A, TEG (D4-D5)	TBDK, 1 Shell (D6) (E1)	Jaguar Seat (E2-F3)	PIF (F4)	Shield-Skull, TEG (F6-E7)
Stela 5	Ruler B, TEG (C5-D6)	—	Twelve Macaw (D7)	Ahau (C10)	Ruler A, 4BK, TEG (D10-D12)
T.IV, L.3	Ruler B, TEGv. UC, 4BK (E9-H1)	TBDK, 1 Shell (H4) (H5)	Twelve Macaw (G6)	PIF (G8)	Ruler A, TEG, 4BK (H8-H9)
Stela 22	Ruler C?, TEG (B3-A4)	—	none	Ahau (B6)	Ruler B, UC, TEG, 4BK (A7-A9)
Stela 19	Ruler C?, TEG (A6-B6)	—	none?	Ahau (B7)	Ruler B, TEG, 4BK (A8-A9)

*Abbreviated glyph-blocks:*

- Ahau: Decorated *Ahau* (1 or 204.535:23 or 24)  
 4BK: Four *Batab Katuns* (IV.28:548.1030m)  
 PIF: Pseudo-Inverted Fist (3:580:59.712:81)  
 TBDK: Tied Bundle and Darkened *Kin* (606 or 561:599.544:23.569)  
 TEG: Tikal Emblem Glyph (38.168:569 or 778) or (38.1000.232.152)  
 1 Shell: One Shell (3.1:606.23)  
 UC: *Uinal* Cluster (244:522:142.184.74)

Temple IV is again the name of a woman, certainly a different name from the "Jaguar Seat" woman of Temple I:

1000.86.1036a	woman's head, maize, God B with <i>uinal</i> mouth
110P.168:566:23	personified bone, <i>ben-ich</i> , serpent segment, <i>te</i>
XII.3:333.744	twelve, dotted bracket, scroll, macaw head

This woman, presumably the wife of Ruler A and mother of Ruler B, has her name carved also on Stela 5 (Table 2) in a similar passage, and on Panel V of the inscription on Temple VI (Fig. 9, N3-N4), perhaps in the same context.

The later monuments listed in Table 2 will be discussed below, but it is of interest to point out that Ruler C mentions no woman on Stela 22 and Stela 19, and that the lintels, which are perhaps funerary in purpose (Kubler 1973), share intervening glyph-blocks which do not appear on the stelae. The stelae are presumably saying the same thing as the lintels but in a slightly different context, perhaps the context of a living ruler rather than a deceased one. Note also that Ruler A's name carries the 4 *Batab Katun* notation in its presumably posthumous occurrences on Stela 5 and Temple IV, Lintel 3, as does the name of Ruler B in the same context on Stelae 22 and 19. This would appear to mean that both rulers were over 60 when they died.

The four calendric dates on Altar 5 fall within the suggested reign of Ruler A (Table 1) but his name does not appear on the inscription (Fig. 10). The scene on the altar portrays two individuals conversing over a skull and bones. The four-glyph phrase under the scene begins with a skull and bone glyph and a woman's title and name. One might surmise that the subject here is the death of a woman important to Ruler A, but the name does not resemble the two women's names on the lintels.

If the man buried in the tomb under Temple I is the ruler inaugurated at 9.12.9.17.16 (Ruler A, as identified by the association of his name with the inaugural date on Lintel 3 of Temple I) and Stela 16 at 9.14.0.0.0 clearly gives only that ruler's name, then it is probable that the tomb and the temple were placed after that date. The tomb and the temple appear to be contemporaneous,

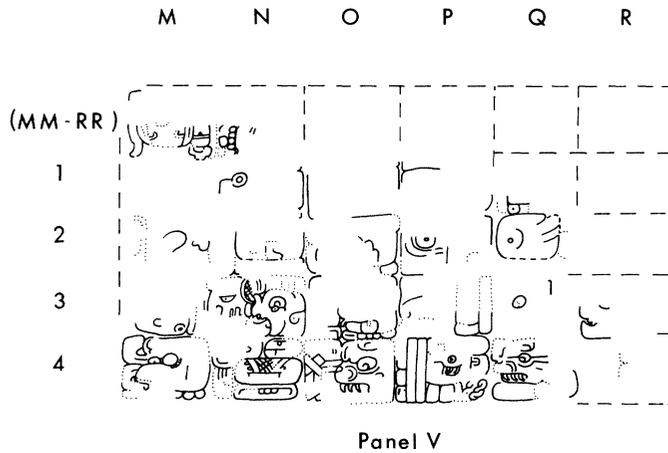
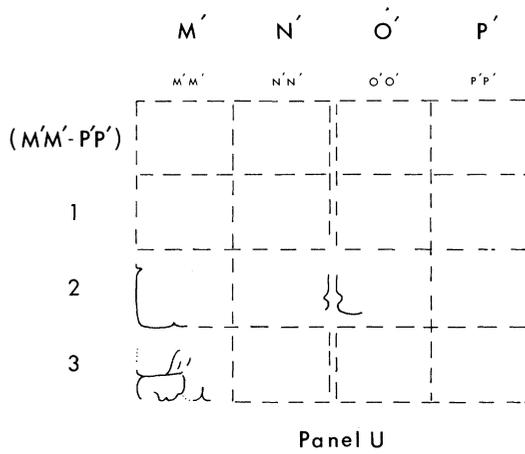
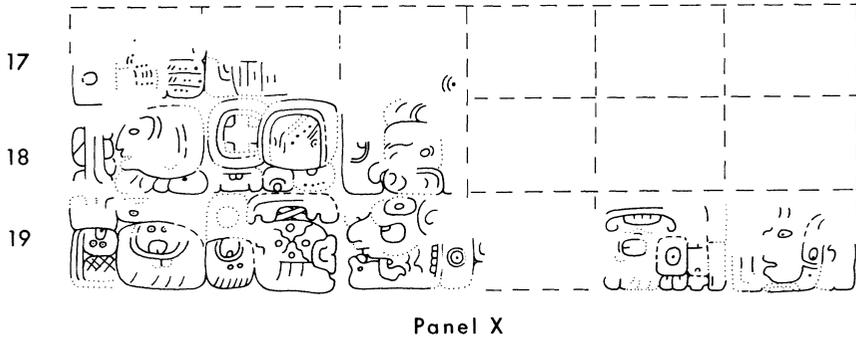


Fig. 9. Facade Text, Temple VI (Temple of the Inscriptions), Tikal: Panels X, U, and V. Drawings by W. R. Coe. 1/50 scale.



Fig. 10. Altar 5, Tikal, top. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

as the flint-chip layers in the temple fill over the tomb suggest (Triak 1963:5-6; W.R. Coe 1965:41-42). The epigraphic dates on the lintel are all earlier than 9.13.3.9.18 and the average of five C-14 dates from wood samples of Lintel 3 and roof beams from Temple I is A.D. 682±31 years (9.11.0.0.0 to 9.14.2.0.0) (Ralph 1965, Table 3). Proskouriakoff's Style Dates for the two carved wooden lintels of Temple I are 9.17.10.0.0±2 Katuns and 9.16.0.0.0±2 Katuns, however, and Satterthwaite has suggested 9.14.0.0.0 as an unstated alternative Dedicatory Date for the lintels (Coe, Shook, and Satterthwaite 1961:51, 70-72). So many factors complicate the C-14 dates, including "Post-Sample Growth," carving prior to installation, cutting prior to carving, etc. (Coe, Shook, and Satterthwaite 1961:42-53; Ralph 1965; Satterthwaite and Coe 1968), that a difference of twenty or so years should probably not be used to rule out the possibility of a date of around 9.15.0.0.0 for both the tomb and the temple (see also Proskouriakoff 1973:170-71).

The Twin-pyramid Group 4D-1, which is unusual in having a plain pair of stone monuments within its enclosure (Stela P55/Altar P47), has been seriated to the 9.15.0.0.0 "gap" in the sequence of Twin-pyramid Group Katun markings on the basis of masonry and monument size and shape, structure form, cache materials, and ceramic fills (Jones 1969:91-95). This Katun End is in

the critical period just before the inaugural date of Ruler B. Possibly there was no ruler at Tikal to be honored by the usual carved stela portrait or Ruler A was on the verge of death, too weak to see the project through.

In his comments on Berlin's identification of name-glyphs, Satterthwaite (Memorandum 1972) suggests that glyph-blocks B3-B5 of Lintel 2 of Temple I (Fig. 4) record the name of a successor to Ruler A. However, the name-glyphs on Lintel 2 are so similar in composition to the Double-Comb Sky-God name of Ruler A that it is more likely to be only a variant: the only variable involved is in the double-comb mainsign itself, which here seems to be divided in half horizontally, as occurs in the glyph on Tikal Altar 5, Block 26 (Fig. 10), the Palenque Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (Berlin 1968b, Fig. 2, K1), and the Xcalumkin Column of the North Building (Thompson 1962, P1. 13). Kubler (1973) is probably correct in saying that the two lintels of Temple I depict the same ruler, just as the two on Temple IV show another.

#### THE REIGN OF RULER B

A list of known glyphic dates following the inaugural date of Ruler B (9.15.3.6.8) is given in Table 1 along with the occurrences of the ruler's name in clauses following the calendric glyphs. Heinrich Berlin (personal communication 1971) suggested that the ruler inaugurated at 9.15.3.6.8 is identified by the following glyph-block:

16[545]:561c.1030b                      *yax* with darkened sun, sky, God B head

usually followed by the Tikal Emblem Glyph. At F9 on Lintel 3 on Temple IV (Fig. 11) and at A6 and D2 of Lintel 2 (Fig. 12), the name is followed instead by a head glyph which can be catalogued as:

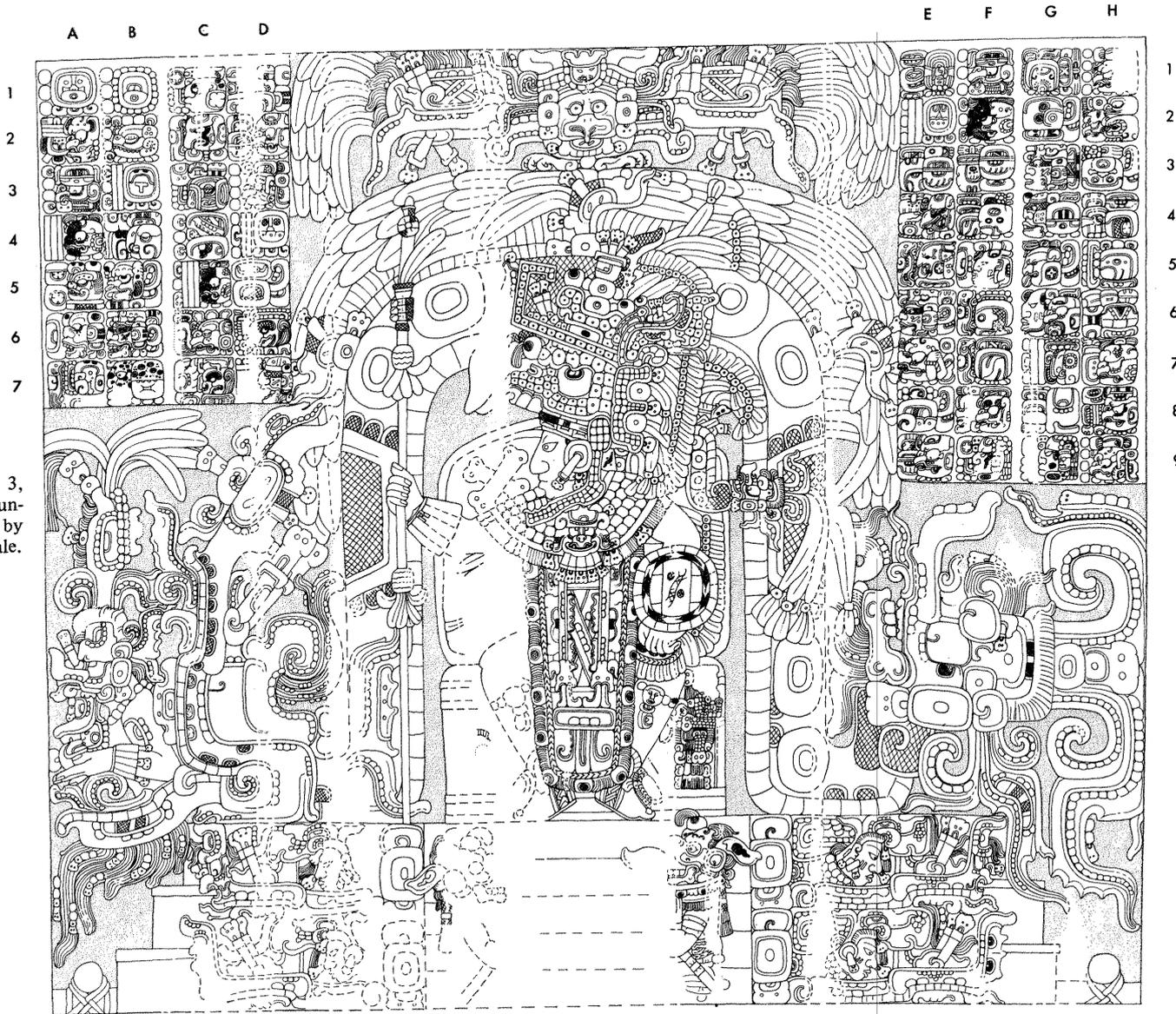
36.1000f[232.152]                      *kan* cross with water, young head with spots,  
skull and jaguar tail, shield with pendant hair

The glyph might simply be a personified version of the "tied bundle" Tikal Emblem Glyph, since the hanging hair with beads on the ends resembles those of the glyph itself. Besides the three above-mentioned occurrences, the glyph appears once with the name of Ruler A on Lintel 3 of Temple IV (Fig. 11, G9). It appears only on the lintels of Temple IV and only with the names of Rulers A and B. Elsewhere on the lintels and on other monuments, the same names are followed by the two normal forms of the Tikal Emblem Glyph as defined by Berlin (1958, Fig. 28). This free substitution for the normal Tikal emblem leaves little doubt that the head is a variant emblem.

The new ruler seemed very eager to commemorate his new reign, as he dedicated his inaugural stela (Stela 21, Fig. 2) to the tun-ending date 9.15.5.0.0, the only known five-tun marker at Tikal. His name probably appeared along with that of Ruler A on the missing top panel of the stela. About eight years afterward he dedicated Stela 5 (Figs. 13, 14) to the tun-end 9.15.13.0.0, again not waiting for the end of the katun. He repeated the inaugural date (Fig. 14, A1-B1), showed himself standing above a bound prisoner, mentioned his own name twice, once with the statement summarized in Table 2 presumably stating his parentage. Ruler B marked the first katun-end of his rule (9.16.0.0.0) with Twin-pyramid Group 3D-2 containing Stela 20 and Altar 8 (Figs. 15, 16a). Although the two monuments are rich in iconographic detail, they seem to say little about the ruler beyond perhaps stating his name (Stela 20, A6-A9?) and something about his prisoner (Altar 8, yA1-zA2).

The date 10 Kan 12 Pax on Column Altar 1 (Fig. 16b) should probably be placed at 9.15.17.10.4, considering the similarities of the rope border, bound prisoner, and short glyphic text to those of Altar 8 at 9.16.0.0.0. Column Altar 2 (Fig. 16c), without a surviving inscription, is a pair to Column Altar 1 in size, shape, and motif. The former was found inset on its side in the lower steps of Structure 5D-15 in the West Plaza and the latter was found inset on its side in the lower steps of Structure 5D-42 in the East Plaza. The pair might originally have been ball-court markers, perhaps in the early version of the ball-court in the East Plaza behind the above-mentioned Structure 5D-42. Incidentally, the fragment of Column Altar 3 (Fig. 16d)

Fig. 11. Lintel 3,  
Temple IV, Tikal, un-  
derside. Drawing by  
W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.



contains in its inscription elements of the name of Ruler A, lacks the rope border, and is of smaller diameter than the other two. Because of the name-glyphs, it is probably earlier in date.

The three stela/altar pairs of Ruler B share the motif of the prone bound prisoner. This theme is found in Tikal monuments of the Early Classic Period but not in any of the monuments of Ruler A (with the possible exception of Column Altar 3). The ruler is not shown in the act of capturing the prisoner, and capture or captor glyphs as identified in Yaxchilan inscriptions have not been found in their texts. The monuments mention only tun-ending and inaugural dates. Thus it would seem that these are depictions of a ritual rather than a historic event, an act of ceremonial sacrifice or demonstration of power rather than a capturing.

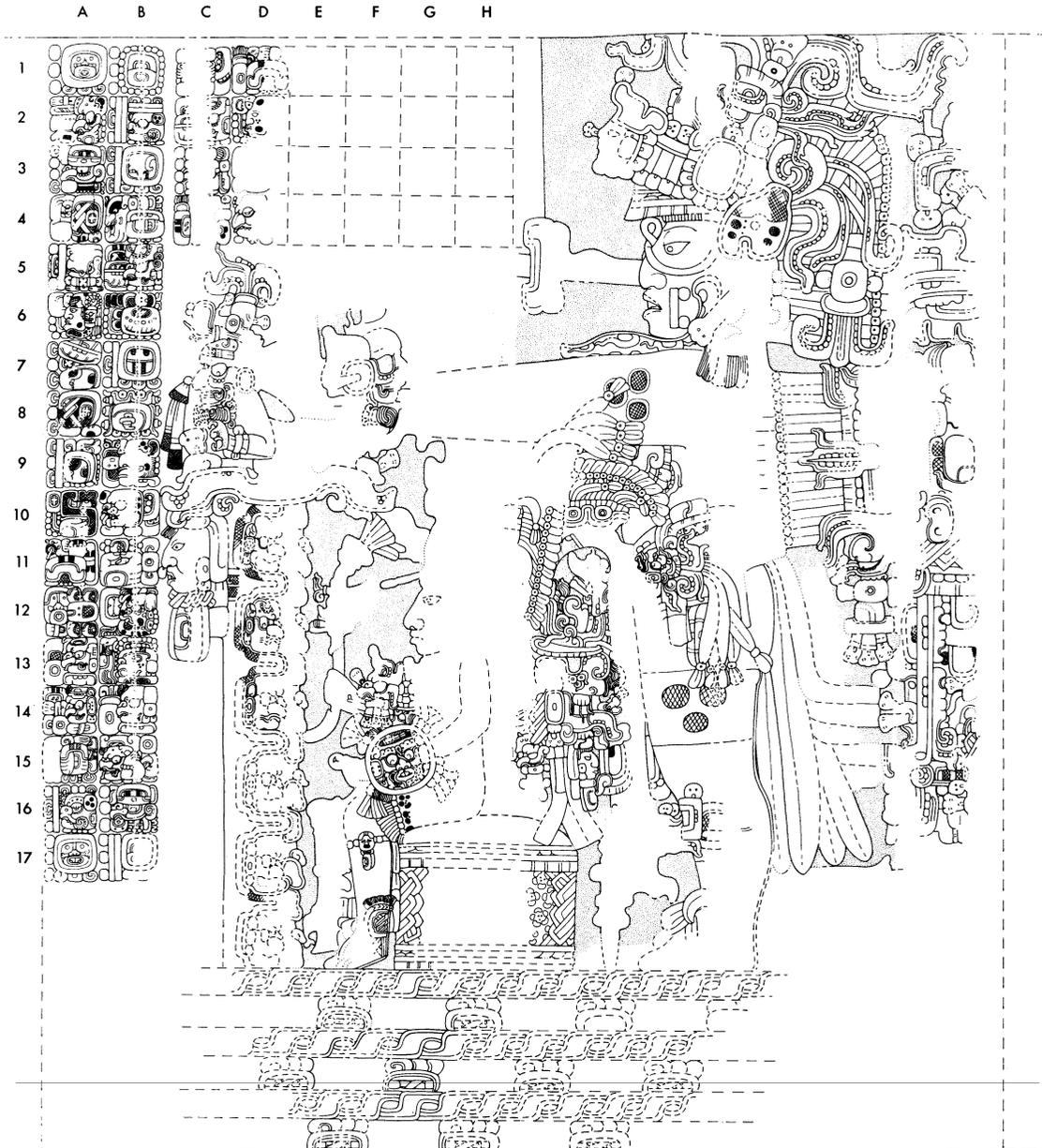


Fig. 12. Lintel 2, Temple IV, Tikal, underside. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

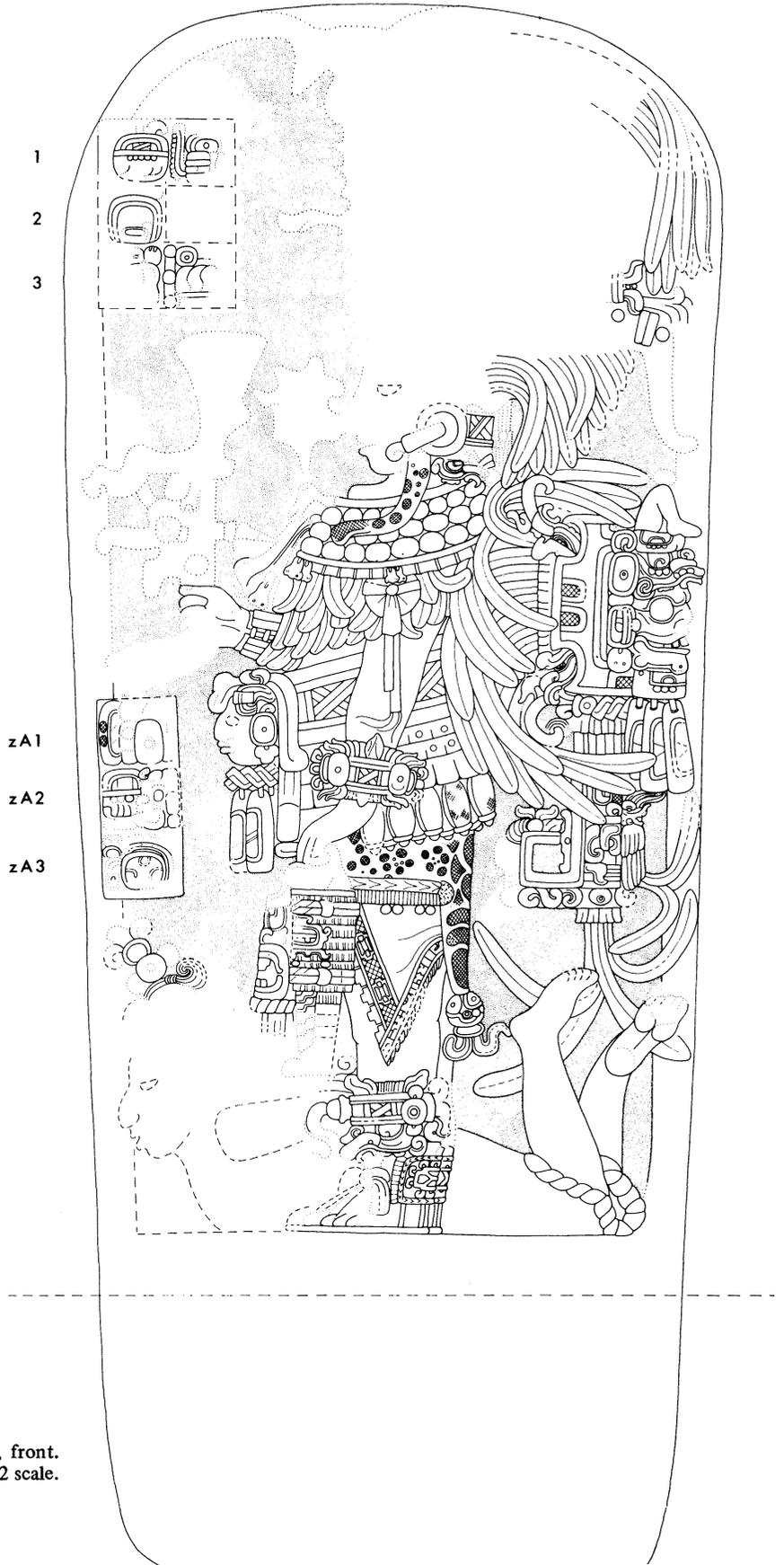


Fig. 13. Stela 5, Tikal, front.  
Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

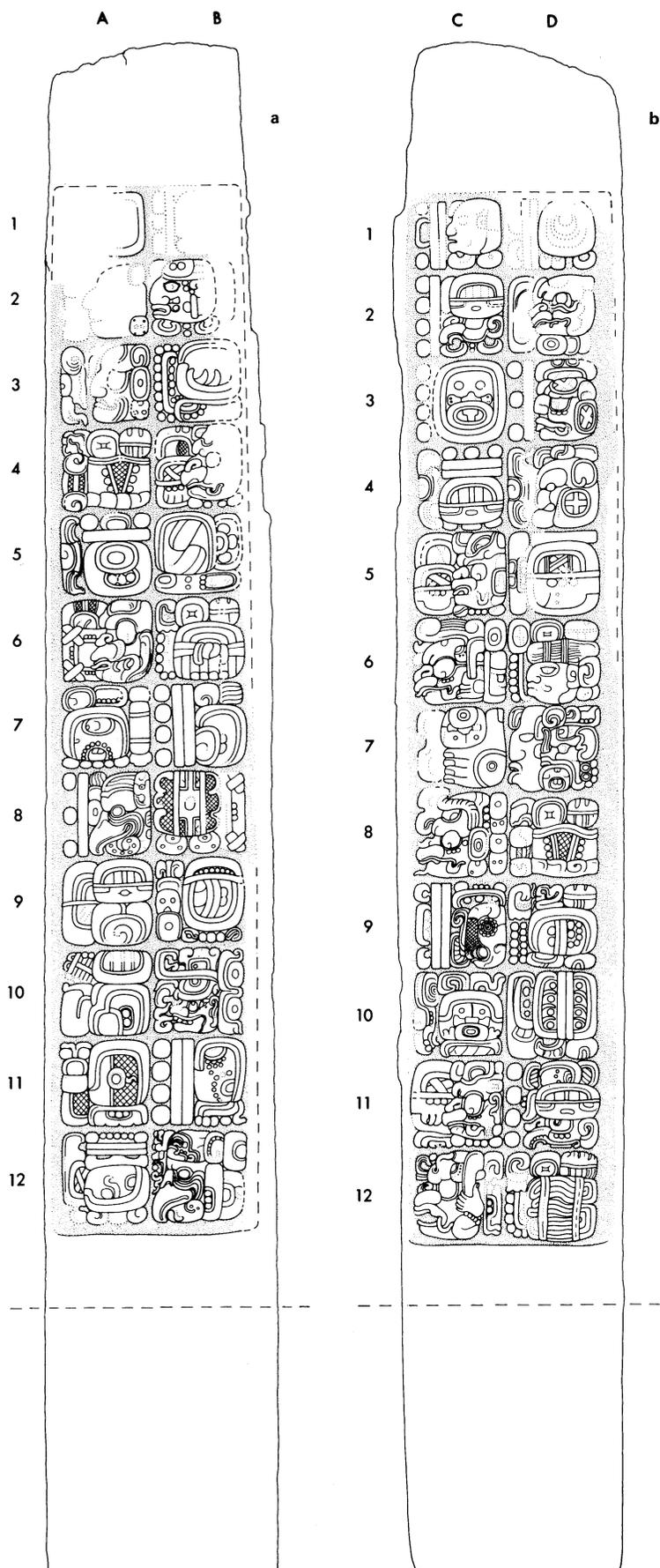
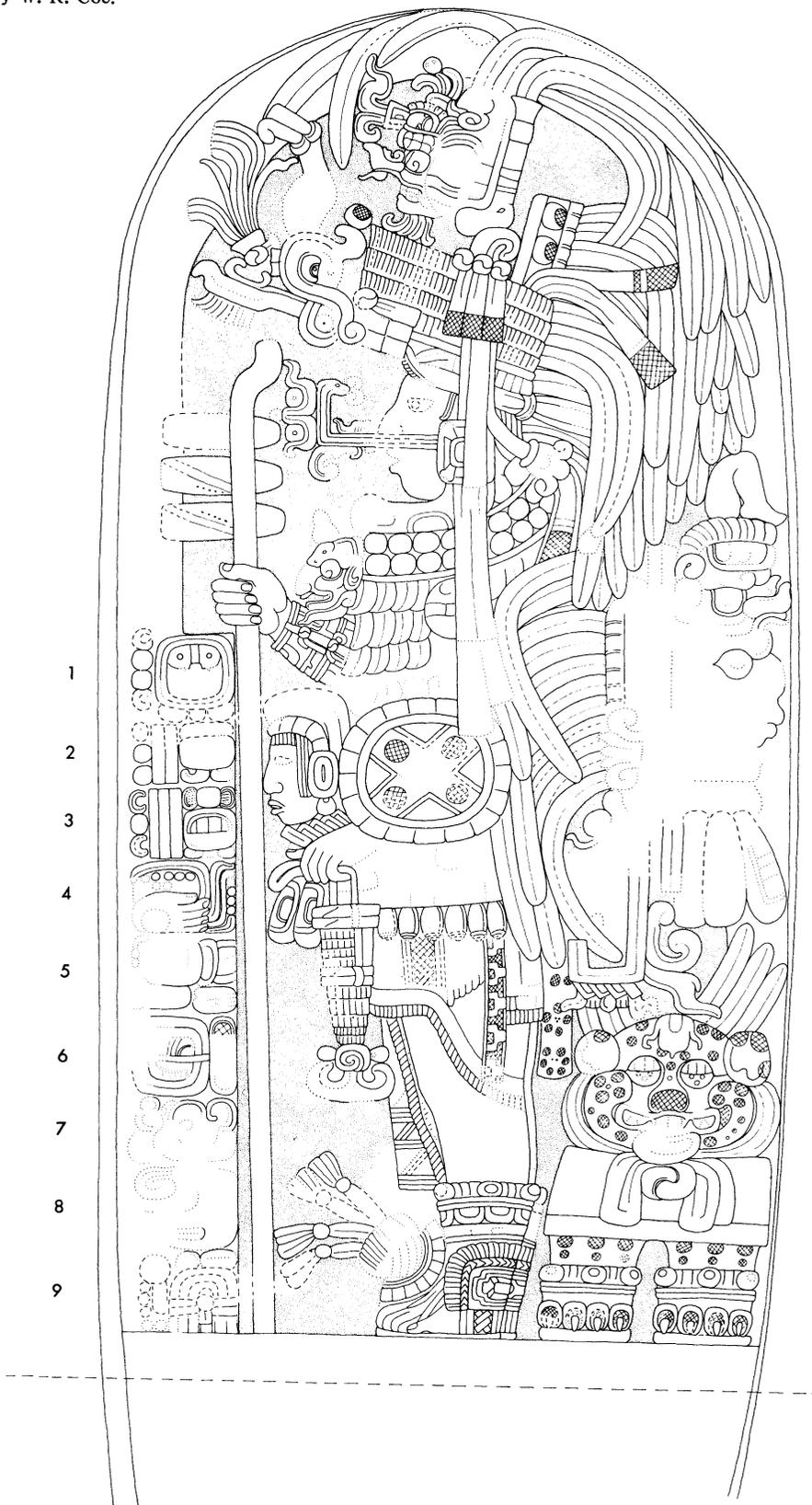


Fig. 14. Stela 5, Tikal, sides: *a*, left (west) side; *b*, right (east) side. Drawings by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

Fig. 15. Stela 20, Tikal,  
front. Drawing by W. R. Coe.  
1/12 scale.

A



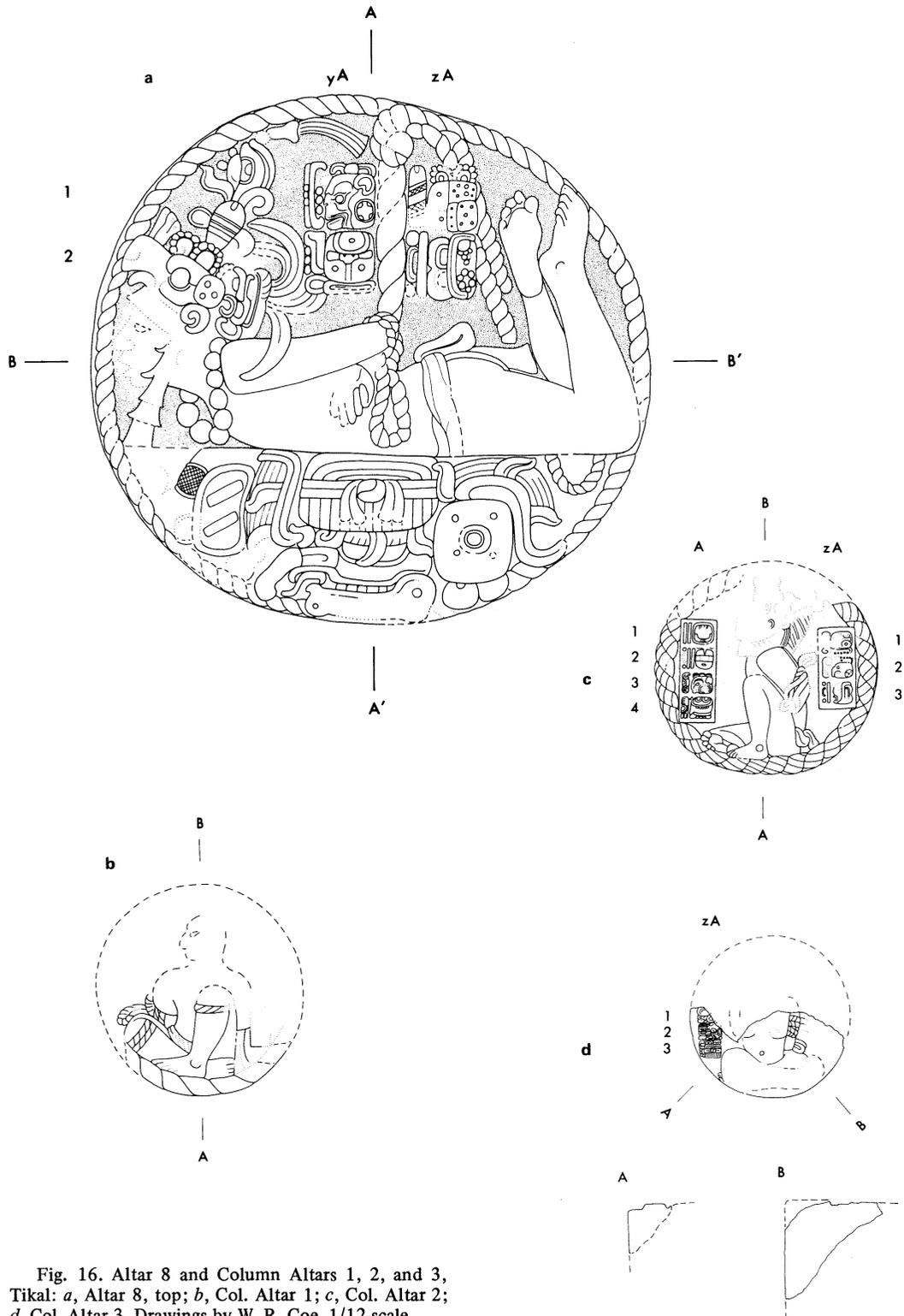


Fig. 16. Altar 8 and Column Altars 1, 2, and 3, Tikal: *a*, Altar 8, top; *b*, Col. Altar 1; *c*, Col. Altar 2; *d*, Col. Altar 3. Drawings by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

The date 3 Ahau 3 Mol (9.15.10.0.0) on the carved wooden lintel taken from Str. 5D-52, formerly Structure 10 (Fig. 17), perhaps dates that huge and important palace complex in the Central Acropolis to the reign of Ruler B (Coe, Shook, and Satterthwaite 1961:74-75), although the reading has been questioned by Satterthwaite (1967). The costume of the main figure is similar to that of Ruler B on Temple IV, Lintel 2 and the bird head glyphs in the badly destroyed text (B1, C1) might be the name of the "Twelve Macaw" woman suggested above (Table 2) to be the mother of Ruler B.

The opening dates of both lintels of Temple IV are also 3 Ahau 3 Mol (9.15.10.0.0). These are the only tun-ending dates in the texts, which would usually mean that they were the Dedicatory Dates of the lintels and the temple. However, the same problem arises as on the lintels of Temple I, namely that other glyphic dates in the texts fall later than the tun-ends, making it possible that the carvings are later than the tun-ending dates. The Katun-End 9.16.0.0.0 has been suggested (Coe, Shook, and Satterthwaite 1961:59-60).

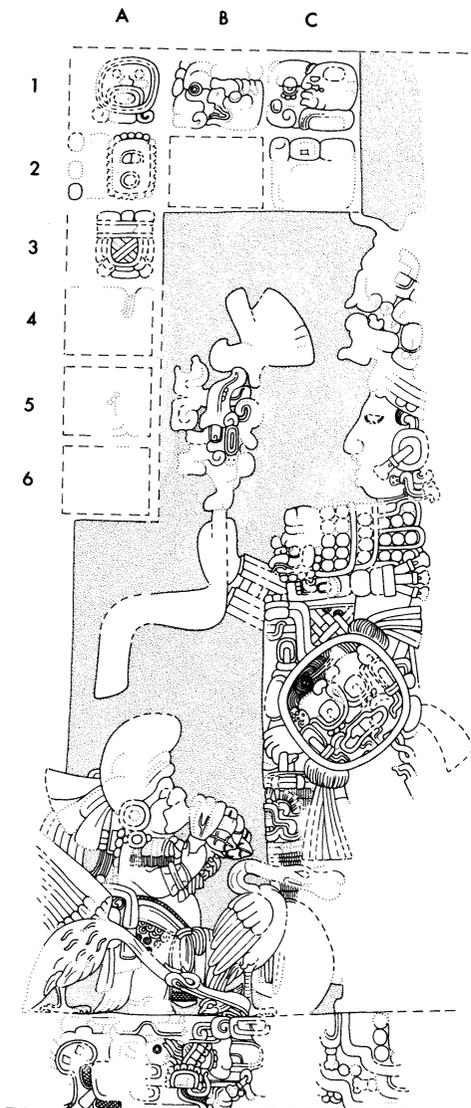


Fig. 17. Lintel, Structure 5D-52 (formerly Structure 10), Tikal, underside. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

Although there are no *Batab-Katun* notations of age for Ruler B on Stela 5 (9.15.13.0.0) and Stela 20 (9.16.0.0.0), a 4 *Batab-Katun* statement (over 60 years of age) is given three times on the lintels of Temple IV, once in the Temple of the Inscriptions Facade Text, and twice in the succeeding reign (Stelae 22 and 19). This suggests: that there was some pride in being able to note such an advanced age; that Ruler B would not have missed the opportunity to do so on Stela 20 at 9.16.0.0.0 if he had turned 60 by that time; and that therefore the lintels of Temple IV had not yet been inscribed by 9.16.0.0.0.

The final dated monument of the reign of Ruler B is the great inscription on the back and sides of the Temple of the Inscriptions. The temple, the text, and the associated inaugural stela of Ruler B (Stela 21) were first described by Berlin (1951). New drawings of this important text are presented here for the first time in print (Figs. 9, 18, 19). They are based on field drawings of the glyphs by the author and Linton Satterthwaite. The summary of the chronology is taken from a preliminary memorandum circulated by the Tikal Project (Satterthwaite and Jones 1965), slightly revised in accordance with later suggestions by Satterthwaite (personal communication 1971), principally in returning to Berlin's original statement that the text opens with Panel W on the back instead of Panel U (1951:48).

The text is clearly mythological as well as historical, although the distinction was surely not strong among the Maya. Date A refers back to 1139 B.C., Date B to 457 B.C., and Date C to 156 B.C. Tikal was probably not even a village at the time of the first date but the Olmec site of San Lorenzo was rich in stone monuments by that time (M. D. Coe 1968:75). By 457 B.C. (Date B) people living in Tikal were making pottery of the Tzec Ceramic Complex and at least laying down plastered floors (W. R. Coe 1967:96-97). By the time of Date C in the inscription, at the transition from the Chuen to the Cauac Ceramic Complex, the people were building large formal platforms and religious structures and were about to begin work on "vaulted tombs, large temples with rich, polychromed stucco work and masks as well as carved monuments" (Coe 1967:98). The Tikal Emblem Glyphs which follow Dates A and C suggest that the text is meant to be a review of Tikal rulership or the family tree, as does the repetition after Date A (Fig. 18, A11-B12) of a phrase which follows the name of Ruler B on Stela 5 (Fig. 14, A7-B8).

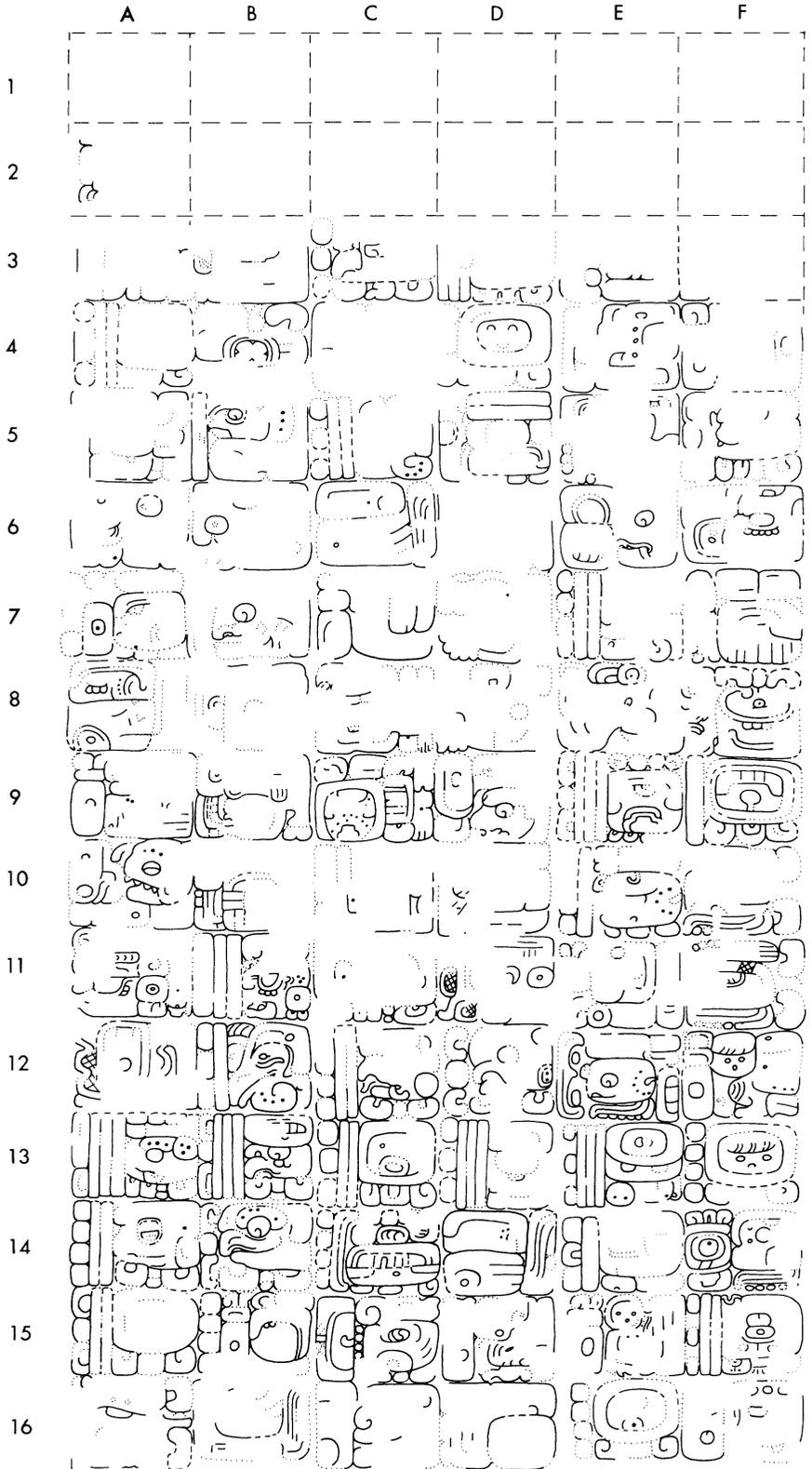
Date D (9.4.0.0.0 in A.D. 514) was written on Stela 6 on the North Terrace in the center of Tikal, surely available to Ruler B and his advisors. Date X, probably at 9.4.13.0.0, was written on Stela 12, also visible and near Stela 6. Dates E, F, and G fall within a few months of Date X, although the positions of the four latter dates are not absolutely certain. These dates record tun-ends and unknown events in a period of unusual architectural, funeral, and monumental activity from A.D. 514 to 528 (W. R. Coe 1965:24-37, 1967:43-47).

The dates in this text were thus perhaps considered to be important events and it is very interesting that most of them do correspond to times of archaeologically known prosperity, either in Tikal or in the Olmec area, the latter thought by Michael Coe to have been culturally ancestral to the Lowland Maya (1968:117-22). Perhaps the Classic Maya of Tikal even thought of themselves as direct descendants of the earlier Olmec rulers.

The remainder of the text may be devoted exclusively to Ruler B, for we find on Panel V (Fig. 9, M3-N4) a fragment of the name-clause of the "Twelve Macaw" woman and on Panel Z after Date I (Fig. 19, L3-L4) the name of Ruler B himself, with a 4 *Batab Katun* notation. Date I, and Date H three days before, are less than three years earlier than the inaugural date of Ruler C on Stela 22. Date H might therefore be the death date of Ruler B, although there is not yet any known epigraphic support for that contention. A three-year period of mourning before accession might have been required here.

#### THE REIGN OF RULER C

The inaugural date of Ruler C was found on Stela 22 (Fig. 3), as noted above. This monument, along with Altar 10, was erected in the enclosure of Twin-pyramid Group 4E-4, the first of the two neighboring Twin-pyramid Groups that dwarf all others in size. The area of the platform top of the group is 1.88 hectares, almost three times the size of the preceding platform (Jones



Panel W

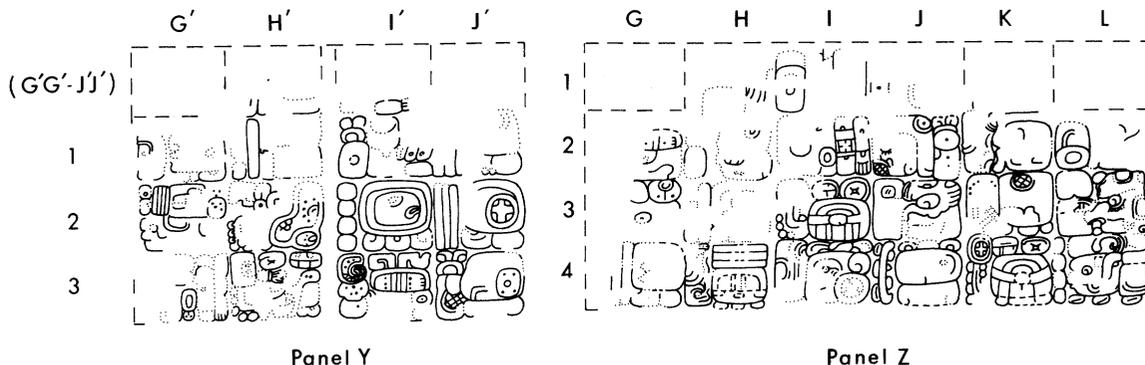


Fig. 19. Facade Text, Temple VI (Temple of the Inscriptions), Tikal: Panels Y and Z. Drawings by W. R. Coe. 1/50 scale.

*Panel W* (Fig. 18)

A1–B3	IS?		
A4–B4	Date A	(5. 0. 0. 0. 0)	12 Ahau G9-F
A5–A6			5E 5C (partial Lunar Series)
A7–A8	Date A PE	(5. 0. 0. 0. 0)	3 Zac (5) Baktuns End Haab
A13–B14	SS 1	1.14.16. 9.16	
A15–B15	Date B	(6.14.16. 9.16)	11 Cib 4 Zac
D2–D3	SS 2	15. 3.(8. 4)	
D4–C5	Date C PE	(7.10. 0. 0. 0)	3 Ahau 13 Pax 10 Katuns End Haab
C11–D12	SS3	1.14. 0. 0. 0	
A13–C15	Date D PE	(9. 4. 0. 0. 0)	13 Ahau 18 Yax 4 Katuns End Haab “Zero”?
E1–F1	SS X?	( 13. 0. 0)?	(lost)
E2–F2	Date X?	(9. 4.13. 0. 0)?	(13 Ahau 13 Yaxkin? lost)
E9	SS 4	4.16	
F9–E10	Date E	(9.14.13. 4.16)?	5 Cib 9 (Ceh?)
E13	SS 5?	1.18??	(variant Moon sign as 20??)
F13–E14	Date F	(9.14.13. 6.14)?	4 Ix 7 (Kankin?)
F15	SS 6	.13	
E16–F16	Date G	(9. 4.13. 7. 7)?	4 Manik (0 Muan?)

*Panel X* Lost Calendrics? (Fig. 9)

*Panel U* Lost Calendrics? (Fig. 9)

*Panel V* Lost Calendrics? (Fig. 9)

*Panel Y* (Fig. 19)

I'2–J'2 Date H (9.16.14.17.17)? 4 Caban 15 Pop

*Panel Z* (Fig. 19)

G3 SS 7? (. 3)?

H3–H4 Date I PE (9.16.15. 0. 0) 7 Ahau 18 Pop 15 Tuns

1969:116-17, Table 4). The carving on Stela 22 bears a remarkable resemblance to the old inaugural monument of Ruler B (Stela 21, Fig. 2). The pose and costume of the figures, the arrangement of the two glyphic panels, and the hieroglyphic texts appear to be conscious imitations on the part of the designer of Stela 22, even though Stela 21 is about 35 years older and two quite innovative stelae were carved within that period which were not picked for models (Stelae 5 and 20). Besides supporting the thesis that both monuments were basically inaugural in their commemorations, the imitation also suggests that Ruler C wished to emulate his predecessor. Again, the presence of Ruler B's name on Stela 22 (A7-B8, with the four *Batab Katuns*) implies that the succession was direct and within the family. As can be seen on Table 2, however, no woman's name can be found in the statement of predecessors of Ruler C.

Stela 19 (Fig. 20) and Altar 6 were erected within the enclosure of Twin-pyramid Group 4E-3, which is next to and of comparable size to Group 4E-4 and is the last of the Twin-pyramid Groups of Tikal. It was dedicated to the Katun End 11 Ahau 18 Mac (9.18.0.0.0, Satterthwaite 1958:100-02). Once again, the design is similar to that of Stelae 21 and 22. Also, the text ends with the same two glyphs (the *batab* and the hand-sowing glyphs), after a date 2 Imix 9 Kayab (9.17.18.3.1), one katun plus 97 days later than the inaugural date on Stela 22. These similarities have led Satterthwaite to suggest that the text deals with the inauguration of a successor to Ruler C, in spite of the lack of specific inaugural glyphs (Memorandum 1972). This possibility should be kept open, but at present it appears more likely that Ruler C is here commemorating a katun-anniversary of a date of unknown significance 97 days after his stated inaugural, for in place of the inaugural seating glyph between the date and the *batab* glyph occur the following two glyph-blocks (A12-B12):

713a:121.165:126

hand, tassel, bracket, scrolls (end of)

3.I:28:548:?

dotted *u* bracket, one, *ka*, *tun* (one katun)

Similar katun anniversaries are illustrated by Thompson (1950:184-86, 194-96) and Berlin (1968b:146). In addition, the presence of the name of Ruler B (A8-B8) in similar fashion to the passage on Stela 22 supports the belief that this is still Ruler C depicted.

The name of Ruler C seems to have been recorded on Stela 22 (B3-A4) and Stela 19 (A6-B6) with the Tikal Emblem Glyph. It is characterized by an animal head, probably T 754, the peccary, with prefix and superfix. The Sky and God B glyphs of the ruler's two immediate predecessors do not seem to be present in his name. The peccary occurs frequently in the Early Classic at Tikal, perhaps as a name.

#### LATER RULERS

No inaugural dates have yet been identified in the four Tikal inscriptions which follow Stela 19: Stela 24 and Altar 7, dated by the author at 9.19.0.0.0 (unpublished); Lintel 2 of Temple III, style-dated by Proskouriakoff to the same Katun End  $\pm 2$  Katuns (Coe, Shook, and Satterthwaite 1961:76-77, Figs. 18-20); and Stela 11 (with Altar 11), dated at 10.2.0.0.0 (Maler 1911, P1. 22; Morley 1937-38(1):370-72). Since the identity and reigns of the rulers depicted on these monuments cannot be identified as yet, they will be discussed only briefly here and drawings of the monuments are not included.

Stela 24 and Altar 7 were found badly shattered at the foot of Temple III, where the lintel is still in place. The association of stela with temple suggests that they are products of the same reign. There are Tikal Emblem Glyphs in both texts but the preceding glyphs are either missing or not at all similar from case to case. None appear to be the name-glyphs of Ruler C. The central figure on the lintel is eccentrically dressed in a jaguar suit complete with tail. Whether this person is Ruler C in his dotage or a new ruler remains conjectural. Stela 24 breaks the long-established Tikal tradition of marking the katuns with the Twin-pyramid Groups. This alone suggests a change in direction in Tikal leadership.

The text on Stela 11 is badly eroded. The upper panel is mostly taken up by an Initial Series and possible Lunar Series at 10.2.0.0.0, almost 60 years later than Stela 24, Altar 7, and the style

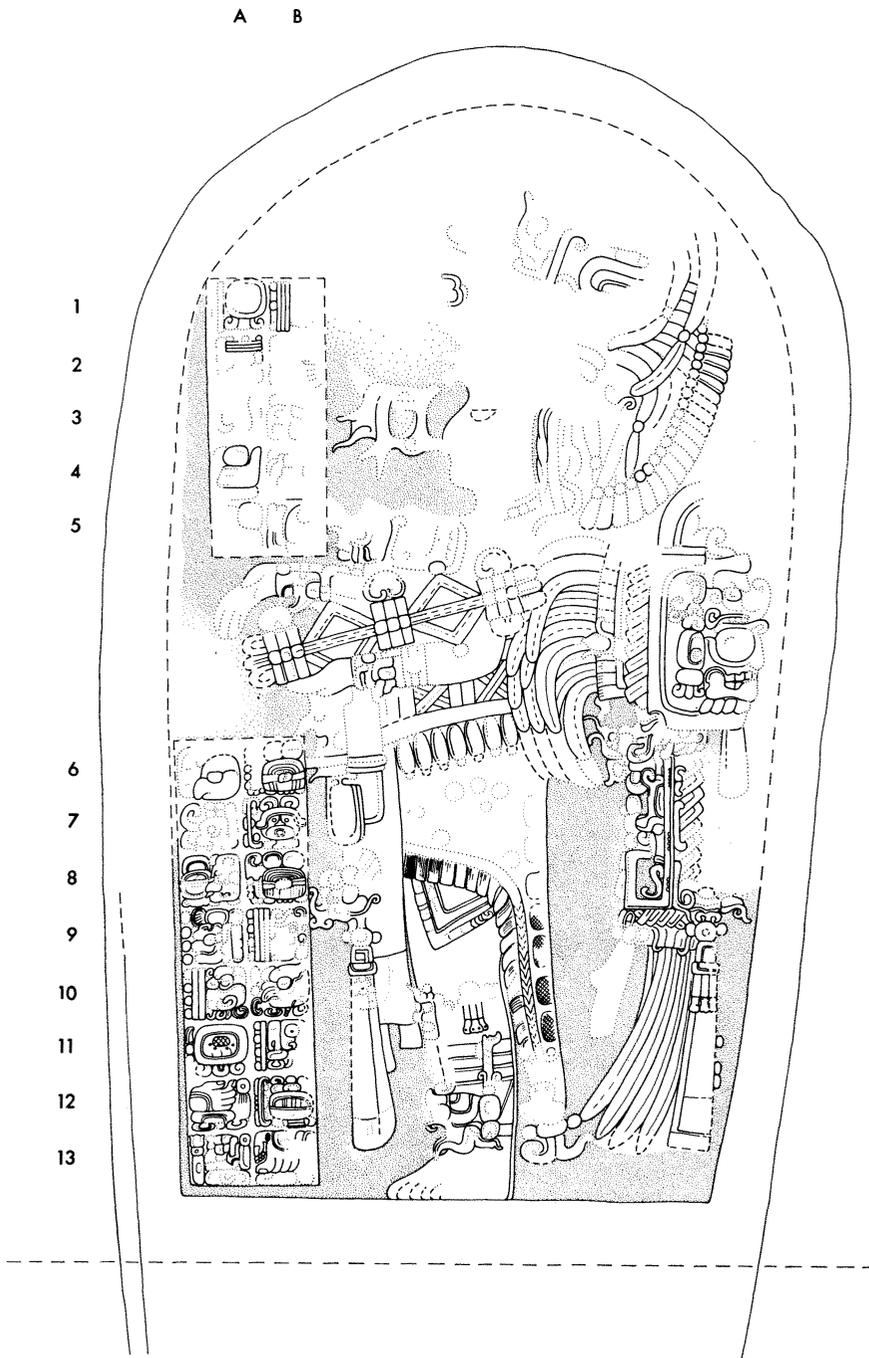


Fig. 20. Stela 19, Tikal, front. Drawing by W. R. Coe. 1/12 scale.

date of Temple III. The first part of the lower panel appears to be a record of the 819-day cycle (A13-B15) which Proskouriakoff believes might function as an augury for the fortunes of a new reign or period of time (1964a:178, 180, 192). Jon Simpson has recently suggested (personal communication 1975) that the 819-day notation refers to the date 1 Ik 15 Kankin (10.1.18.2.2) at

A12-B12 and that this date might be the inauguration of a ruler. Among the remaining glyph-groups can be recognized the Tikal Emblem Glyph, indicating some continuation of Tikal traditions.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF RULERS A, B, AND C

Hints of differences in personality among these three sequent rulers of Tikal begin to emerge from this survey of their suggested reigns. Ruler A presided over a renaissance of sorts, erecting the first known carved monuments (Stela 30 and Altar 14 at 9.13.0.0.0) since Stela 17 at least 100 years before. The imposing Structure 5D-33-1st might have been built during this period as well (W. R. Coe 1965:42). He did not begin the Twin-pyramid Group tradition, for earlier ones are known (Jones 1969), but his groups contain carved monuments for the first time. He might have been more interested in the affairs of state than Ruler B, for his monuments say less about himself, are erected less frequently, and sometimes even focus on other subjects. Stela 30 bears his portrait but no glyphic statements; Altar 14 presents his name and titles but focuses on the *Ahau* date of the Katun End; Stela 16 bears his name and titles; Altar 5 seems to speak of the death of a woman. Genealogical information is not given on either monument pair. Lintel 3 of Temple I holds genealogical information about him, but we are surmising that this is his funerary inscription and we do not know whether he or his successor ordered the design.

The monuments of Ruler B stand in contrast to those of his predecessor. He erected his first monument only two years after his inauguration (Stela 21), his second eight years later, and his third seven years afterward, finally commemorating the end of the katun. The Early Classic Tikal tradition of showing a bound prisoner was revived by Ruler B on all three of these monument pairs. Of the three, Stela 5 is an especially self-centered monument, showing the prisoner directly under the ruler's feet instead of on the altar, repeating the inaugural date stated on Stela 21, and having a long inscription, apparently devoted mostly to himself and including a statement of parentage which in the case of Ruler A was reserved for the lintel of the burial temple (Table 2). In line with this view of a ruler concerned with his image, there is the long text in huge hieroglyphs on the back and sides of the Temple of the Inscriptions, which again states the name of Ruler B, probably his immediate parentage, and lists dates in the Early Classic, the Protoclassic, the Preclassic of Tikal and even one date which might have linked his family ties back to the ancient Olmec. On the other hand, the three carved stelae of Ruler B show considerable originality, each differing in several ways from its predecessors. Of course the culmination of Late Classic monumentality is Temple IV, which probably overlies the tomb of this ruler. Its massive heaviness is set high on a ridge, looming over the site yet at a distance, in contrast to Temple I, which is at the center of Tikal activity, at the meeting point of most of the causeways, slender rather than ponderous, elevating rather than elevated, and most of all, beautiful. We are not sure when and by whom the temples were built, but this difference in design and placement suggests that each ruler took part in the planning of his own burial temple.

Items dated to the reign of Ruler C stand in as much contrast to those of Ruler B as Ruler B's did to Ruler A's. The most noticeable change is the quantum jump in size of Ruler C's two katun-ending Twin-pyramid Groups. Another change occurs in the sudden lack of originality of stela design. The two stelae of Ruler C (22 and 19) copy Stela 21 in details of pose, costume, placement of the glyphs, and glyphic statement. The accompanying altars repeat Ruler B's theme of the prone prisoner, with the addition of carving on the altar sides. The two gigantic Twin-pyramid Groups in which the stelae are placed copy the preceding group (3D-2) in symmetry of design and in a broader and heavier pyramid form (Jones 1969:116-17). Ruler C seemed to lack some of the creativity of his predecessor, content to make things bigger but not different.

As more of the art and architecture of Late Classic Tikal are dated through stratigraphy and stylistic seriation, it may be that the evidence will negate the personality differences outlined here. It should be pointed out that the items discussed are those which are most likely to have been under the personal direction of the rulers, those bearing their personal names and portraits. Other items, such as ball-courts, palaces, jade carving, pottery, painting, etc., were perhaps of less interest to him.

In some ways, this period of Tikal history (roughly from A.D. 680 to A.D. 790) was the high point in the fortunes of the community. Excavations in the surrounding housemounds indicate that the population density was higher than at any other time (Haviland 1965). Most of the great temples and large palaces were built during this period. The prosperity was brief and final, however. "Great Temple" building seemed to cease with Temple III, and Stela 11 is the only known carved stela erected in Tikal after Stela 24. As Culbert has recently argued, the site lost much of its population by A.D. 830 (10.0.0.0.0) and was probably entirely deserted within a century (1973:88-90).

In any historical study it becomes apparent that economic fortunes and leadership are inextricably mixed. It has been suggested in this paper that the Late Classic renaissance at Tikal was effected by a man of action and was sustained for a century by two successors whose concern with self-image and tradition prevented them from capitalizing on the initiative and rescuing their city from the ruin which followed. This is not to suggest that the wealth of Late Classic Tikal and its later downfall were necessarily caused by the fact that rulers of such personalities happened to reign when they did. The source of Tikal wealth, possibly a monopoly over trade-routes between Mexico and Central America, has not been discussed in this paper, nor has the loss of this monopoly, possibly through a shift from a preferred riverine and overland route across the base of the Yucatan Peninsula to a sea route around it. If this is the case, then Tikal's ruin was due to technological and navigational advances completely beyond its control and might be said to have been inevitable under the circumstances. Even so, it is possible that Ruler A was able to revive temporarily the use of the riverine and overland trade route either by personal force and diplomacy, by military action, or by family connections to western Maya cities. At this point in our study of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Tikal and other Maya ruins, any of these speculations as to personality can only be offered in the hope that they will stimulate further study. It would be disheartening if they were accepted as authoritative history on the same level as the documentation of the inaugural dates themselves.

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