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Sak Tz'i' in the Classic Period Hieroglyphic Inscriptions

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The Sak Tz'i' toponym was discovered by Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube, who first analyzed the inscriptions mentioning this archaeologically unidentified site (1994). Recently, the Sak Tz'i' polity has been discussed by various epigraphers (Guenter and Zender 1999; Martin and Grube 2000; Anaya Hernández 2001; Anaya Hernández, Guenter and Zender 2003; Biró 2004). While I will offer suggestions about the possible political extent or sphere of influence of Sak Tz'i', as previously analyzed by Armando Anaya Hernández (2001), it is ultimately a matter of archaeological investigation to unravel the exact location of the site.

In this paper, I enumerate the monuments referring to Sak Tz'i' and analyze the relevant passages of the texts, with final comments about the political history of the site as far as it is known through the limited set of data.[1] As a supplement to the above-mentioned works, this is directed to interested specialists and non-specialists alike, in hopes that a critical edition of the texts with additional comments will be of some help to future epigraphers and historians.

Our understanding of the information recorded in Classic Maya inscriptions is not complete, and even more limited in the case of unprovenienced monuments. Hopefully, some archaeologist will find the remains of the site that once was called Sak Tz'i', and the picture here presented will be supplemented by inscriptional and archaeological data, as we gain a better reconstruction of the past of another Classic Period center.

The order of the texts here presented follows a time frame from the earliest dedicated inscription to the latest. It should be noted that this is a hypothetical order, as most of the inscriptions are fragments, the last dates of which are not plausible as dedication dates. I will add, where possible, the drawing or drawings available to me; however, it will be helpful if other researchers complete my data in the future.

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[1] In the following, I employ the orthography developed by the Guatemalan Academy of Mayan Languages except in the case of the name of Sak Tz'i' (which would be Sak Ts'i' in the orthography of the Academy), as that spelling is entrenched in the literature. Dictionary entries apply the original orthography. Square brackets represent eroded signs which are reconstructible, underspelled consonants and vowels. I employ the system of reconstructing complex vowels (Houston, Stuart and Robertson 1998) and its modifications (Lacadena and Wichmann n.d.); however, I am aware that this represents the current understanding of linguistic phenomena in the script and will change due to future research.

In these comments I will not attempt a complete historical reconstruction; rather, I will concentrate on "local" political history, not connecting it to a wider narrative. However, the author acknowledges that tying the political history of Sak Tz'i' to a broader region (such as the Usumacinta) is necessary for a better understanding of its past.

Stela 26, Piedras Negras (drawing by John Montgomery; Figure 1 herein)
9.9.15.0.0 8 Ajaw 13 Kumk'u (23 February 628)

Front, Caption to Left Person (captive)

A1 **k'a-b'a-CHAN-TE'**   *k'ab' chan te'*
B1 **SAK-ts'i-i**   *sak ts'i'*
C1 **AJAW**   *ajaw*

Translation: K'ab' Chan Te'; Sak Tz'i', Lord;

Discussion: In addition to the prisoner from Sak Tz'i', who must have been captured at some point during the five years leading up to 9.9.15.0.0 (23 February 628)[2], the stela represents a captive from Palenque (Grube 1996; Schele and Grube 1994)—*ch'ok b'a[h]lam/hiix yajk'uhuun k'uhul b'aak[al] ajaw*. The joint presentation seems to imply some alliance between Sak Tz'i' and Palenque (Anaya Hernández, Guenter and Zender 2003:186), although the possibility that they were taken on separate occasions might argue otherwise. There may have been hostilities in 603 between Palenque and Piedras Negras and also between Palenque and Bonampak (Grube 1996; Dmitri Beliaev, personal communication 2002; Biró 2004).[3]

Panel in the Denver Museum, Panel in the Brussels Museum (drawing by John Montgomery in Schele and Grube 1994; drawing by Arellano Hernández 1998; drawing by John Montgomery 1994; photos in Mayer 1978:cat. no. 2, 1980:cat. no. 12; Figure 4)
After 9.13.1.1.6 4 Kimi 9 Sip (21 April 641 or 8 April 693)

Denver Panel
A1 **yo-NAL-AK**   *yo'nal a[h]k*

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[2] It should be noted that neither Grube (1996:4-5) nor Martin and Grube (2000:142-143) advocate a particular date for the capture. All that can be said with any assurance is that it happened between 9.9.10.0.0 (21 March 623) and 9.9.15.0.0 (23 February 628) because Piedras Negras stelae are known for being erected on the *hotun* and only recording historical events of the previous five years (Proskouriakoff 1960; Marc Zender, personal communication 2004). In addition to the Initial Series date given above, the side texts of the stela (Figure 2) mention two other dates, but the glyphs are too eroded to secure any event or protagonist(s). This leads to the following speculations: First, the two captives could have been captured on different occasions as indicated by the two dates; second, they were captured on the same date and therefore one of the dates commemorates another, lost event; or third, the text deals with other events. The joint presentation of the captives and the remains of the verb after the date of 9.9.11.12.3 7 Ak'bal 11 Mak (13 November 624) make it highly unlikely that this date recorded either capture. On the other hand, the next date, 9.9.14.2.11 11 Chuwen 4 Sip (20 April 627), is followed by an eroded passage of at least eleven glyph blocks, sufficient space to mention the capture, the names of the captives and the captor.

[3] The inference of hostilities between Palenque and Piedras Negras is based on Piedras Negras Stela 25 (Figure 3; also see drawing by Barbara Page in Proskouriakoff 1993:42) and the similarity of the B'aak Waywal name at F2 to that borne by several rulers of Palenque. The Initial Series is followed by **u-?-*li ma-CH'AB'[AK'AB']-li**, *u-?-il ma'ch'a[h]b' ma'a[h]k'baal*, "(it is) the ?-ing of the captive" (Dimitri Beliaev, personal communication 2002; Marc Zender, personal communication 2004 and Zender 2002:125-127 for *ma'ch'ahb' ma'ahk'baal*). Based on examples like Naranjo Stela 22 and Tikal Column Altar 1, it is clear that the sense of *ma'ch'ahb' ma'ahk'b'aal* (an apparent *difrasismo*) is "captive" (Marc Zender, personal communication 2004). The inference of hostilities between Palenque and Bonampak comes from Bonampak Lintel 4 and the downing of the *took'pakal* of Aj Lakam Ha' "He of Lakam Ha'" by Yajaw Chaan Muwaahn of Bonampak, although the Lakam Ha' referenced here may be some site other than Palenque and closer to Bonampak (see Stuart and Houston 1994:30-31). When this article was in preparation, the author was informed that in 1998 Stephen Houston had hypothesized a Palenque connection based on the Stela 25 name (Simon Martin, personal communication 2004).

B1 **K'IN-AJAW-wa**	*k'in ajaw*
A2 **u-KAB'-ya**	*ukab'[ji]iy*
B2 **CHA'-WINIK-HAB'-AJAW**	*cha' winikhaab' ajaw*
A3 **CHA'-WINIK-pi-tsi**	*cha'winik[haab'?] pitsi[l]*
B3 **k'a-b'a-CHAN-TE'**	*k'ab' chan te'*
A4 **HUKLAJUN-HO'-HAB'-b'i-ya**	*huklajuun ho' haab'iiy*
B4 **WAXAK** 'chikchan'	*waxaklajuun 'chikchan'*
WAXAKLAJUN 'kumk'u'	*waxaklajuun 'kumk'u'*
A5 **i-u-ti UXLAJUN IK'**	*i u[h]ti u[h]xlajuun ik'*
B5 **HO'** 'sip' **u-CHOK-K'AK'**	*ho' 'sip' uchok[o'w] k'a[h]k'*
A6 **NIK-AK-MO' ?-TUN-AJAW**	*nik a[h]k mo' ?-tuun ajaw*
B6 **tu-CH'EN-na k'a-b'a-CHAN-TE'**	*tu ch'e'n k'ab' chan te'*
A7 **SAK-TS'I'-wa B'AH-ka-b'a**	*sak ts'i'[aja]w b'aahkab'*
B7 **JUN-PAS JUN-**'ak'bal'	*juun pa[h]s[aj] juun 'ak'bal'*
A8 **u-?-ku**	*u-?-k*
B8 **CH'AK-ka-B'AH-hi u-?**	*ch'ak b'aah u-?*

Translation: ... Yo'nal Ahk; K'in Lord; he has governed it; Two Winikhaab' Lord; Two Winikhaab' Ballplayer; K'ab' Chan Te'; 17 days *3 winik 5 haab'; 8 Chikchan, 18 Kumk'u; then occurred, 13 Ik', 5 Sip, he threw fire; Nik Ahk Mo', Pe'tuun (La Mar) Lord; in the cave [of] K'ab' Chan Te'; Sak Tz'i' Lord, First [of the] Land; one [day] was turned, 1 Ak'bal; his ?; (there was a) decapitation of his ?;

Brussels Panel

A1 **NIK-AK-MO' pe?-TUN-AJAW**	*nik a[h]k mo' pe'tuun ajaw*
B1 **u-KAB'-ya**	*ukab'[ji]iy*
A2 **CHA'-WINIK-HAB'-AJAW**	*cha' winikhaab' ajaw*
B2 **k'a-b'a-CHAN-TE'**	*k'ab' chan te'*
A3 **u-K'IN-ni-AJAW**	*uk'in ajaw*
B3 **CHA'-**'k'an' **UX-**'chikchan'	*ch'a 'k'an' u[h]x 'chikchan'*
A4 **chu-ka-ja ?-AK-MO'**	*chu[h]kaj ?-a[h]k mo'*
B4 **a-k'e-AJAW yi-ta-ji**	*ak'e ajaw yitaaj*
A5 **ya-b'a-?-la AJ-K'AN-na-?-la**	*yab' ?-la aj k'an ?-la*
B5 **CHAN-**'kimi' **pe?-ka-ja**	*chan 'kimi' pe[h]kaj*
A6 **ya-b'a-?-la AJ-K'AN-na-?-la**	*yab' ?-la aj k'an ?-la*
B6 **AJ-yi-?-a AJ-CHAK-TOK'-la**	*aj yi-?-a aj chak took'al*
A7 **AJ-?-su AJ-pa-wi-la**	*aj ?-su aj pawiil*
B7 **AJ-a-TUN-ni AJ-a-mu-a**	*aj atuun aj amu'a*
A8 **pe?-ka-ja yi-chi-NAL**	*pe[h]kaj yichnal*
B8 **k'a-b'a-CHAN-TE' SAK-TS'I'-AJAW**	*k'ab' chan te' sak ts'i' ajaw*

Translation: Nik Ahk Mo', ?-tuun (La Mar[4]) Lord; he has governed it; Two Winikhaab' Lord; His (True?) K'in Lord; 2 K'an 3 Chikchan; was captured ?-Ahk Mo'; Ak'e Lord, they joined (him?); Yab'-? He of K'an-?; 4 Kimi, they were called; Yab'-?, He of K'an-?; He of Yi-?a, He of Chak Tok'al; He of ?, He of Pawiil; He of Atuun, He of Amu'a; they were called in the presence of; K'ab' Chan Te', Sak Tz'i' Lord;

Discussion: These two panels certainly formed part of a single text which was looted from an unknown site, the nature of the narrative making it clear that this must have been Sak Tz'i' itself (see Anaya Hernández, Guenter and Zender 2003). Together they comprise the end or middle part of a larger text, as the first glyphs are the end of a clause that is lacking the date and the verb. However, we have Yo'nal Ahk as the direct object or patient followed by another verb (*ukab'jiiy*, "he governed it"), and therefore the most plausible explanation is a passive (or mediopassive) verb coming before in the missing portion.

The *ukab'jiiy* expression is often seen following verbs expressive of military reverses like captures or defeats, where the second person named (in this case K'ab' Chan Te') has brought about adverse consequences to the first. Or it is seen in connection with events that are supervised by the second person in the capacity of overlord to the first. Given the rhetoric of the rest of the Denver and Brussels panels (Anaya Hernández, Guenter and Zender 2003), it seems likely that something adversarial was done to Yo'nal Ahk by K'ab' Chan Te', or that the latter was somehow in a superordinate position. However, Simon Martin (personal communication 2004) points to an inscription at Tamarindito (HS.3, Step II, A1-B1 [Houston 1993:113]) where the local lord apparently supervises a period-ending ritual performed by his overlord. At the very least, this should be taken to suggest that caution is called for in interpreting the opening passage of the Denver Panel. It is conceivable that Sak Tz'i' accepted the overlordship of Piedras Negras—and had one less enemy to contend with.

The dating of the monuments has been problematical, as they are not connected to a Long Count. The possibilities for the Calendar Round 8 Chikchan 18 Kumk'u are 9.10.3.2.5 (26 February 636), 9.12.15.15.5 (13 February 688), and 9.15.8.10.5 (1 February 740), with the second date of the inscription following about five years later. For the three Piedras Negras kings named Yo'nal Ahk who are candidates to be named in the inscription, the respective reigns are as follows: 603-639, 687-729 and 759-767 (Martin and Grube 2000:138-153; Biró 2004). Yo'nal Ahk III is easily ruled out, as all of the date possibilities fall before his reign. It is also known that the Sak Tz'i' ruler during this period was Aj Sak Maax, while the Ak'e[5] lords were ?-B'ahlam and Aj Sak Teleech (Mathews 1980, Miller and Martin 2004).

We have less direct evidence to decide between the first two possibilities, and the following discussion must clearly be prefaced as speculative. Arguing in favor of the earlier dating is the evidence of hostilities between

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[4] For ?-tuun ("Rabbit Stone") as La Mar see Schele and Grube (1994) and Zender (2002). It has been suggested that the 'rabbit' glyph reads **pe**, yielding Pe'tuun as the name of the site (Beliaev and Davletshin 2002). But an apparent doubler on Tonina Monument 91 and Piedras Negras Throne 1 would have to be accounted for.

[5] The first monuments with the Ak'e emblem glyph are all unprovenienced, while the monuments of Bonampak have both the Xukalnaah and Ak'e emblems, the latter only from the middle of the eighth century. There are no mentions of the early rulers of Ak'e in the inscriptions of Bonampak, though this may be due to looting or the lack of deep stratigraphic excavation. There is another enigmatic toponym which was interpreted by Dmitri Beliaev and Alexandr Safronov (2004) as *Uku'l*, and as the name of Bonampak. The same authors suggest that the capital of the Ak'e polity during the Early Classic was an unidentified archaeological site (they argue especially for Plan de Ayutla) and they cite other "center-transfers" in the case of Dzibanche and Calakmul, Tres Islas and Cancuen or Bejucal and Motul de San Jose (Beliaev and Safronov 2004). In this essay, I will follow the convention of using Ak'e as the ancient name of Bonampak and Xukalnaah as that of Lacanha (Mathews 1980); nevertheless it is possible that these identifications will be changed in the wake of new decipherments, and especially by the discovery of new inscriptions in the region.

Piedras Negras and Sak Tz'i' around this time, as indicated by the Sak Tz'i' captive on Piedras Negras Stela 26 (as discussed above). Also, K'inich Yo'nal Ahk I is only known to take the *K'in Ajaw* title (Piedras Negras Stelae 25 and 26) while K'inich Yo'nal Ahk II generally (but not always) used *K'uhul Yokib' Ajaw* (Biró 2004). Furthermore, La Mar—a Sak Tz'i' antagonist on the Denver and Brussels Panels—is explicitly mentioned with a date of 631 on Piedras Negras Panel 4 (Figure 5), a monument commissioned by the son of K'inich Yo'nal Ahk I in 658. The verb T550-**yi** (at position G1 of the inscription, with La Mar at H1) is not convincingly deciphered (Beliaev n.d.), which makes any interpretation of this event very tentative, but the context would seem to be amicable relations between the two sites. By contrast, it is suggested that La Mar was a vassal of Palenque in the 690s and not of Piedras Negras (Martin n.d., Martin and Grube 2000), which makes a narrative seemingly placing the two sites on the same side in a war campaign between 688 and 693 unlikely.[6]

The last years of K'inich Yo'nal Ahk I are mostly unknown, as his last monument, Stela 31, is highly eroded and what remains is concentrated on the period ending of 9.10.5.0.0 (1 January 638). In the earlier dating hypothesis for the Denver and Brussels Panels, his death in 639 and the hasty accession of his twelve-year-old son (as recorded on Piedras Negras Panel 15) might have given K'ab' Chaan Te' the chance to claim the former *ajawlel* held by Piedras Negras, as suggested by the *K'in Ajaw* title which he carries on the Brussels Panel.

The strongest argument against the earlier dating is that the K'ab' Chan Te' of the Denver and Brussels Panels would almost certainly be the captive depicted on Piedras Negras Stela 26. K'ab' Chan Te' is clearly a recurring name at Sak Tz'i', with a known king of this name between 717 and 726 and at least two more at other times. But it is unlikely, given the normal pattern where recurring regnal names skip at least one generation, often being passed down from grandfather to grandson, that another K'ab' Chan Te' ascended the throne of Sak Tz'i' between the 624-628 date of the Stela 26 capture and the hypothetical 636 date of the Denver and Brussels Panels. This K'ab' Chan Te' would have ruled from the early 600s until after 641, based on the "two *winikhaab'* lord" title mentioned on the panels.[7] And it is necessary to imagine, in the earlier dating of the panels, that he not only survived his captivity but went on only a short time later to wage war against La Mar and Bonampak—and possibly his former captor.

While there are at least two recorded cases of royal prisoners released by their captors in Classic period inscriptions—Yich'aak B'ahlam of Seibal and K'inich K'an Joy Chitam II of Palenque—there are no indications of subsequent counteractions against their former captors. Indeed, Yich'aak B'ahlam stayed firmly under the control of Dos Pilas, while the fate of K'an Joy Chitam is less certain (Stuart 2003). Simon Martin's caution that the *ukab'jiiy* of the Denver Panel might conceivably record an action by an overlord—Yo'nal Ahk—overseen by his subordinate—K'ab' Chan Te'—is interesting in this regard. Although Martin himself forbears to enter into these sorts of unwarranted speculations[8], the hypothesis would be that captivity resulted in subordination to Piedras Negras by K'ab' Chan Te', who then warred against La Mar and Bonampak in concert with his overlord.

On the other hand, Guenter and Zender (1999) interpret the *ukab'jiiy* as indicating enmity between Piedras Negras and Sak Tz'i', and they entertain a scenario in which K'ab' Chan Te' not only recovered his captivity

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[6] Admittedly, alliances might have shifted more than once in this volatile period. That Tonina was also part of the equation is indicated by a "star-war" attack on a Nik Te' Mo' of La Mar, as recorded on Tonina Monument 91 (Martin n.d.).

[7] While it is not entirely certain that this numbered title refers to this person's years of rulership, it is likely, as boasting of twenty to forty years of biological age is not as impressive as a similar number of regnal years. This would make his accession date somewhere before 596, and he could easily have been captured in the five years leading up to 9.9.15.0.0.

[8] As I understand Martin's viewpoint (personal communication 2004), the danger in speculating, rather than letting the facts remain pregnant with tacit possibility, is that ideas enter the public consciousness, and over a period of time their speculative origin is forgotten and they are taken as fact.

and the ongoing control of his captor but was strong enough within a few short years to rebel.

In support of the later dating for the Denver and Brussels Panels, it should be noted that "pairings" of a Piedras Negras king named Yo'nal Ahk and a Sak Tz'i' king named K'ab' Chan Te' are known from both 623-628 (Piedras Negras Stela 26) and 717-726 (Nuevo Jalisco and Zurich panels). The latter king with this name could be the one named on the Denver and Brussels Panels. Again based on the "two *winikhaab'* lord" title, the K'ab' Chan Te' of the panels would have ruled from the 640s until after 693 in the later dating scheme. He could conceivably have been the same as the K'ab' Chan Te' mentioned on the Nuevo Jalisco and Zurich panels, although this would made him in his late sixties or even older. Also in support of the later date range is the carving style of the monuments, which is typical of the late seventh or early eighth century (Peter Mathews, personal communication 2004).

These speculations aside, in the absence of direct evidence I have indicated both dating possibilities in the tables below and do not attempt to tie the inscription to either period.

The first date of the text causes other problems, because it is impossible without a scribal error or omission. The Calendar Round 8 Chikchan 18 Kumk'u is followed by a Distance Number of 5.17 reaching 8 Ik' 5 Sip. Schele and Grube (1994:116) give 9.10.8.3.5 8 Chikchan 13 Kumk'u as the first date, although the *haab'* number is clearly 18. And 9.10.8.3.5 8 Chikchan 18 Kumk'u is also incorrect according to the Distance Number. The problem is solved by taking the 5 as a *haab'* indicator (as the glyph suggests) and interpolating 3 *winik* into the Distance Number. In this case the corrected chronology of the monument is the following:

Denver Panel (earlier dating scenario)

B4	9.10.3.2.5	8 Chikchan 18 Kumk'u	26 February 636
B3	+5.*3.17		
A5b-B5a	9.10.8.6.2	13 Ik' 5 Sip	17 April 641
B7a	+1		
B7b	9.10.8.6.3	1 Ak'bal 6 Sip	18 April 641

Brussels Panel (earlier dating scenario)

B3a	9.10.8.6.4	2 K'an 7 Sip	19 April 641
B3b	9.10.8.6.5	3 Chikchan 8 Sip	20 April 641
B4a	9.10.8.6.6	4 Kimi 9 Sip	21 April 641

Denver Panel (later dating scenario)

B4	9.12.15.15.5	8 Chikchan 18 Kumk'u	13 February 688
B3	+5.*3.17		
A5b-B5a	9.13.1.1.2	13 Ik' 5 Sip	4 April 693
B7a	+1		
B7b	9.3.1.1.3	1 Ak'bal 6 Sip	5 April 693

Brussels Panel (later dating scenario)

B3a	9.13.1.1.4	2 K'an 7 Sip	6 April 693

B3b	*9.13.1.1.5*	*3 Chikchan 8 Sip*	*7 April 693*
B4a	*9.13.1.1.6*	*4 Kimi 9 Sip*	*8 April 693*

I cannot explain the omission of the necessary three *winik,* but it is the best solution for this set of Calendar Rounds. The date presented at B3 of the Brussels Panel presumably was a late night event, as suggested by the appearance of two day glyphs with just one verb connected to them.

The monuments narrate the end of a war campaign by K'ab' Chan Te', the ruler of Sak Tz'i', probably against Piedras Negras and certainly against La Mar and Ak'e. The event involving Piedras Negras is closely connected to the war campaign against Ak'e and La Mar. The first battle was clearly won by Nik Ahk Mo', the ruler of La Mar, as he burned the center of Sak Tz'i', but one day later something or somebody possessed by Nik Ahk Mo' was decapitated by the Sak Tz'i' king.[9]

The glyph at B8b is again the third person singular pronoun with an uncatalogued head sign which could be an object according to the syntax of Epigraphic Mayan. I cannot say what exactly occurred, but the suffering person was the ruler of La Mar. The decapitation was done by K'ab Chan Te', who captured two important lords on the next day — ?-Ahk-Mo' of Ak'e and Yab'-? from K'an-?, an unidentified site. The title here ascribed to K'ab' Chan Te' is very interesting, and as far as I know a unique one in the Classic Maya hieroglyphic corpus. Albeit we have several stative sentences in the inscription, it is the only one with a toponym, with the linguistic analysis as follows:

u-K'IN-ni-AJAW
uk'in ajaw
u-k'in-ajaw-Ø
3sE-K'IN-LORD-3sA
"he (K'ab' Chan Te') is his (the ruler of La Mar's) K'in Lord"

This expression perhaps indicates that K'ab' Chan Te' claimed the royal title of Piedras Negras for himself as the true *K'in* Lord.[10]

The following clause is a couplet known from other Classic and Colonial Maya texts when the information is given twice or frames the main characters, here by the *pe(h)kaj* and *pe(h)kaj yichnal* verbal expressions. The translation of this verb, as analyzed by Beliaev and Davletshin (2002), implies a meaning "were called before" or "were called before into the presence" when it stands with *ichnal*, an inalienably possessed noun. The following glyphs indicate the origin of the defeated and subordinated persons as shown by the **AJ** (T12) agentive particle. Unfortunately, none are associated with a known archaeological site.

If the Ak'e emblem glyph is that of Bonampak, then the realm of Sak Tz'i' reached from the Lacanha Valley

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[9] Unfortunately this clause (A8-B8) contains two undeciphered glyphs, which makes any interpretation tentative. The glyph compound in A8 is composed of **u**-FACE.UP.HEAD-**ku**. Unfortunately I am unable to suggest the phonetic value of the FACE.UP.HEAD, but it is interesting to note that "face down" is *nuk* in Ch'ol (Grube 1988), and this is a good guess in view of the phonetic complement **ku**, which yields a hypothetical **NUK-ku** *nuk* reading. However, there are several problems with this interpretation, namely that the other closely resembling face signs are clearly downturned and take the phonetic complement **-ko**. The next expression is **CH'AK-B'AH-hi** or *ch'ak b'aah* "decapitation" and then a possessed substantive which presumably refers to some object, person or supernatural. It is less likely that the king of La Mar was decapitated than someone or something possessed by him.

[10] However, Simon Martin (personal communication 2004) points out that the "his" in "he (K'ab' Chan Te') is his K'in lord", while necessarily referring to someone named earlier in the text, could as easily refer to Yo'nal Ahk as to the lord of La Mar.

to La Mar, at least in 641 or 693, and K'ab' Chan Te' was a powerful contender in the Upper Usumacinta region.[11]

Zurich Panel or Zurich Stela (drawing by John Montgomery 1994; photo in the possession of Peter Mathews; Figure 6)

9.14.15.0.0 11 Ajaw 18 Sak (17 September 726)

A1- B4 **?-?-HAB'**	*?-? haab'*
A5-B6 **B'ALUN PIK**	*b'aluun pik*
A7-B8 **CHANLAJUN WINIK-HAB'**	*chanlajuun winikhaab'*
A9-B10 **B'ULUCH HAB'**	*b'uluch haab'*
A11-B12 **HO' WINIK-ki**	*ho' winik*
C1-D2 **WAXAK K'IN-ni**	*waxak k'in*
C3-D4 **HO'** 'lamat'	*ho' 'lamat'*
C5 **?-K'IN**	*?-k'in*
D5 **u-TI'-HUN-na**	*u ti' huun*
C6 **LAJUN HUL-ya**	*lajuun huliiy*
D6 **K'AL-ya CHA'-?**	*k'aliiy? cha'-?*
C7 **?**	*?*
D7 **u-CH'OK-K'AB'A**	*u ch'ok k'ab'a*
C8 **K'AL?-B'ALUN**	*k'aal? b'aluun*
D8 **HO'-b'i-xi-ji-ya**	*ho' b'ixjiiy*
C9 **u-CHA'?-a?-?-u?**	*u cha'? a?-?-u*
D9 **LAJUN-?**	*lajuun ?*
C10 **u-K'AK'**	*u k'a[h]k'*
D10 **?**	*?*
C11 **?**	*?*
D11 **?**	*?*
C12 **?-ki**	*?-ki*
D12 **K'AWIL-la**	*k'awiil*
E1 **u?-B'AH?**	*u b'aah?*
F1 **?-?-?**	*?*
E2 **JUN ?**	*juun ['manik']*
F2 **LAJUN** 'sotz''	*lajuun ['k'ayab']*
E3 **i-u-ti**	*i u[h]ti*
F3 **HO'** 'lamat'	*ho' 'lamat'*
E4 **WAK** 'kumk'u'	*wak 'kumk'u'*

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[11] As a final comment, there is the possibility (provisionally accepting the earlier date range for the Denver and Brussels Panels) that the missing part of the text mentioned the capture of K'ab' Chaan Te' in 627 and then his counteractions against the Piedras Negras king. The latter's allies, as was usual in Classic Period war campaign narratives, could have been enumerated and recorded as having been attacked (the most famous example being Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2; see Houston 1993, Guenter 2003).

F4	**K'AL-ja**	*k'a[h]laj*
E5-F5	**yu-lu xu-li**	*yuxulil*
E6	**u-b'i-li**	*u b'il*
F6	**u-MUK-li**	*u mukil*
E7	**WINIK-HAB'**	*winikhaab'*
F7	**ch'a-ho-ma**	*ch'aho'm*
E8	**?-ya**	*?-ya*
F8	**pa-na**	*pan*
E9	**?-SAK-?**	*?-sak-?*
F9	**UXLAJUN-JUN-WINIK-ji-ya**	*u[h]xlajuun juun winikjiiy*
E10	**?**	*?*
F10	**?**	*?*
E11	**?**	*?*
F11	**?**	*?*
E12	**?-wa**	*?*
F12	**a?-?-su**	*a-?-su*
G1	**u-B'AH-li**	*u b'aahil*
H1	**a-nu**	*a'n*
G2	**HUK-CHAPAT-?-na**	*huk chapa[h]t ?-na*
H2	**K'IN-AJAW-wa**	*k'i[h]n[ich] ajaw*
G3	**sa-ja-la**	*sajal*
H3	**KAB'-ya ?-ja-li?**	*[u]kab'[ji]iy ?-jaal*
G4	**u-CHAN-nu**	*u cha'n*
H4	**AJ-ho-?-ma**	*aj ho-?-ma*
G5	**u-?-ja-ya**	*u-?-jay*
H5	**ya-ja-wa-TE'**	*yajaw te'*
G6	**K'INICH**	*k'inich*
H6	**CHAK-chi-ji**	*chak chij*
G7	**AJ-HUK-B'AK-ki**	*aj huk b'aak*
H7	**xu-ka-la-NAH**	*xukalnaah*
G8	**?-wa**	*[aja]w*
H8	**ya-ja-wa**	*yajaw*
G9	**?-TE'**	*[k'ab' chan] te'*
H9	**SAK-TS'I'-AJAW**	*sak ts'i' ajaw*
G10	**a-k'e-AJAW-wa**	*ak'e ajaw*
H10	**MI-B'ULUCH-WINIK**	*mi[h] b'uluch winik*
G11	**?-HAB'-ya ?**	*?-haab'iiy [i uhti]*
H11	**B'ULUCH AJAW WAXAKLAJUN** 'sak'	*b'uluch ajaw waxaklajuun 'sak'*
G12	**WI'-HO'-TUN-ni**	*wi'[l] ho' tuun*

H12 **i-?-yi**   *i ?-y*

Translation: ? haab'; 9 pik; 14 winikhaab'; 11 haab'; 5 winik; 8 k'in; 5 Lamat; ?; its speaker of the white headband; ten arrived; wrapped the two ?; ?; its sprout name; 29 days; the five (days); its two ?; ten; its fire; ?; ?; ?; the foot of?; K'awiil; it is the image of; ?; 1 Manik; 10 K'ayab; then occurred; 5 Lamat; 6 Kumk'u; was wrapped; the carving; (of) the name?; (of) the burial place; (of the One) Winikhaab'; Scatterer; ?-ya; Pan; ?-Sak-?; 13 days, 1 winik; ?; ?; ?; ?; ?; ?; he is the image of; the famous (one)?; Huk Chapaht ?-na; K'inich Ajaw; sajal; he has governed it, ?-jaal; the guardian; (of) He of Ho-?-ma; his ?-jay; Spear Lord; K'inich; Chak Chij; He (of) the Seven Captives; Xukalnaah; Lord; the vassal of; K'ab' Chan Te'; Sak Tz'i' Lord; Ak'e Lord; no days, 11 winik; ? haab', then occurred; 11 Ajaw 18 Sak; the last five tuuns; then ?;

Discussion: This monument is highly interesting because it gives us a detailed picture of the hierarchy among various elite persons living in the Selva Lacandona region in the beginning of the eighth century. The chronology of the panel is the following:

A1-D8	*9.14.11.5.8 5 Lamat 6 Kumk'u*	*24 January 724*
	-*1.*1.*1	
E1-F1	*9.14.10.4.7 *1 *Manik *10 *K'ayab*	*8 January 722*
F3-E4	*9.14.11.5.8 5 Lamat 6 Kumk'u*	*25 January 724*
	+ ?.1.12	
E11-F11	*9.14.11.7.0 11 Ajaw 13 Pop or*	*25 February 723*
	9.14.12.7.0 7 Ajaw 8 Pop or	*20 February 724*
	9.14.13.7.0 11 Ajaw 3 Pop	*14 February 725*
H11	*9.14.15.0.0 11 Ajaw 18 Sak*	*17 September 726*

        The chronological information has some interesting glyph compounds like the one at D8, *ho' bix*, which is a numerical classifier. When it follows numbers (only five and seven), it means "five days (were completed)" and the sixth is beginning, a correct notification of 6 Kumk'u.[12] After the Initial Series date, the glyphs are too eroded, but it is very likely that they once contained a Fire Sequence, from which only the *u k'a(h)k'* expression remains (Grube 2000).

        The 819-day count date is indicated by the numbers 1 and 10 Sotz', yet the day name in the nearest 819 date to the Initial Series requires K'ayab, which may indicate a scribal error. At C12 stands an eroded glyph with a phonetic complement **-ki** modifying the following K'awiil in the 819 day count. I will not endeavour to assign any phonetic reading of this glyph, but I suggest that this is the same expression as the one in A9 of the Lausanne Stela, where it is clearly **yo-OK-ki**. The main event, recorded by the Initial Series, is the dedication of the panel.

        The first part of the text commemorates the dedication of a tomb (*mukil*). The name of the occupant, ?-ya Pan, is followed by an eroded title which is partly composed of **SAK** and a head glyph. The next glyphs are eroded, but clearly there was another date, now impossible to reconstruct, and possibly a verb and a name, A-?-**V**s(u), who

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[12] For the decipherment of the **b'i-xi** and **B'IX** signs see Thompson (1950:170-171, fig. 36-19) and Kelley (1976:35).

could have supervised the wrapping ceremony or another event. On this same day occurred a god impersonation, albeit the drawing does not facilitate this interpretation. The *ub'aahil a'n* expression is half clear and then the name of the god is certainly misdrawn. Nevertheless, I have no doubt that it is the well-attested *Wuk Chapaht ? K'inich Ajaw*, the mythical centipede monster represented on polychrome ceramics and inscriptions (Grube and Nahm 1994).

The next glyph is *sajal*, which I cannot interpret in this context, yet after an investigation of a photograph of the monument I have to say that the *sajal* glyph is clear. Except for the *-jaal?* ending, the name of the impersonator is unreadable because of erosion, but he is the guardian of He of Ho-?-ma and the *?-jay* of the Xukalnaah king, Yajawte' K'inich Chak Chij. At first I interpreted the glyph in G5 as *u sajal* but the head is clearly different from the HEAD-**KAB'**/**sa** variant, and the postfix is more **–ya** than **–la**. This would indicate that this expression is a different title. The next person named is the current ruler of Xukalnaah, and his subordination is demonstrated here by the *yajaw* "he is the vassal of" expression followed by the name of the Sak Tz'i' king.

The next event is the seating of the *ho' tuun* and a dedication ceremony (GOD.N-**yi**), possibly that of the tomb or the monument itself. The most important historical information of the text is the well-defined hierarchy among three elite persons, at least two of whom are identified with a toponym. This shows that ?-jaal was the *?-jay* of Yajawte' K'inich Chak Chij, Xukalnaah Lord, who was the subordinate of K'ab' Chan Te', Sak Tz'i' and Ak'e Lord. In turn, this indicates that Sak Tz'i' held a regional hegemony dominating the middle shores of the Lacanha river and the site of the Zurich Panel. From the text it is very plausible that ?-jaal was the main actor and the Zurich Panel comes from a small center subordinated to Xukalnaah.

Nuevo Jalisco Panels (sketch by Ian Graham; drawing by Arellano Hernández 1998; photos in the possession of Peter Mathews; Figures 7 and 8)
After 9.15.0.13.6 10 Kimi 14 Sek (14 May 732)

Panel 1

A1-B2 **?-?-HAB'**	*? ? haab'*
A3-B3 **B'ALUN PIK**	*b'aluun pik*
A4-B4 **CHANLAJUN WINIK-HAB'**	*chanlajuun winikhaab'*
A5-B5 **HUKLAJUN HAB'**	*huklajuun haab'*
A6-B6 **CHAN WINIK**	*chan winik*
A7-B7 **HUK K'IN**	*huk k'in*
C1 **?**	*[lajchan 'manik']*
D1 **?**	*?*
C2 **?**	*[k'ahlaj]*
D2 **?**	*?*
C3 **?**	*?*
D3 **u-CH'OK-K'AB'A**	*u ch'ok k'aba'*
C4 **K'AL-B'ALUN?**	*k'aal b'aluun?*
D4 **HO'LAJUN MUWAN**	*ho'lajuun muwaa[h]n*

C5 **SIY-ya-ja**	*si[h]yaj*
D5 **?-B'ALAM**	*?-b'a[h]lam*
C6 **xu-ka-la-NAH**	*xukalnaah*
D6 **B'ALUNLAJUN-WAXAK-WINIK-ji-ya**	*b'aluunlajuun waxak winikjiiy*
C7 **UX-HAB'**	*u[h]x haab'[iiy]*
D7 **SIY-ya-ja**	*si[h]yaj*
E1 **?**	*?*
F1 **?**	*?*
E2 **?**	*?*
F2 **CHA'?-?-TE'?**	*cha'?-?-te'?*
E3 **OCH-b'i-ji-ya**	*och b'ijiiy*
F3 **CHAN WINIK-HAB'**	*chan winikhaab'*
E4 **AJAW-wa**	*ajaw*
F4 **LAM?-K'INICH**	*lam? ki[h]nich*
E5 **CHAK**	*chaa[h]k*
F5 **?-?**	*?*
E6 **?-?-ku**	*?-?-ku*
F6 **?-?**	*?-?*
E7 **CHANLAJUN ka-se-wa**	*chanlajun kaseew*
F7 **o-?**	*o-?*

Translation: ? haab'; 9 pik; 14 winikhaab'; 17 haab'; 4 winik; 7 k'in; 12 Manik; ?; was wrapped; ?; ?; its sprout name; twenty-nine?; 15 Muwan; he was born; ?-B'ahlam; He (of) Xukalnaah; 19 days, 8 winik; 3 haab'; (since) he was born; ?; ?; ?; two? ?-te'; he entered the road; 4 Winikhaab' Lord; Lam? K'inich; Chaahk; ?; ?-?-ku; ?-?; 14 Sek, o-?;

Panel 2

A1 **WAXAK ?**	*waxak [ajaw]*
B1 **? JOY?**	*[uhx 'pop'] joy?*
A2 **?**	*?*
B2 **KAB'-ji-ya**	*[u] kab'jiiy*
A3 **K'AB'-CHAN-na-TE'**	*k'ab' chan te'*
B3 **SAK-TS'I'-AJAW-wa**	*sak ts'i' ajaw*
A4 **MI-UXLAJUN-WINIK-ji-ya**	*mi[h] u[h]xlajun winikjiiy*
B4 **CHAN HAB'-ya**	*chan haab'iy*
A5 **u-ti-ya**	*u[h]tiiy*
B5 **u-K'AL-TUN?**	*u k'al tuun*
C1 **?**	*?*
D1 **?**	*?*

C2 **HO' AJAW UX-TE'-ma-MAK**	*ho' ajaw u[h]x te' mak*
D2 **?**	*?*
C3 **cho-ka?-ji?-ya ch'a-ji**	*chokjiiy ch'aaj*
D3 **u-ti**	*[i?] u[h]ti*
C4 **B'ULUCH AJAW**	*b'uluch ajaw*
D4 **WAXAKLAJUN** 'sak'	*waxaklajuun 'sak'*
C5 **WI' HO'-TUN**	*wi'[l] ho'tuun*
D5 **a-ALAY?-ya**	*alay?*
E1 **?**	*?*
F1 **?**	*?*
E2 **xu?-NAH? CHAN-?**	*xu[kal]naah? chan-?*
F2 **?**	*?*
E3 **K'IN-?**	*k'in-?*
F3 **AK'AB'-?-?**	*ak'ab'-?-?*
E4 **K'INICH**	*k'inich*
F4 **?-B'ALAM-ma**	*?-b'a[h]lam*
E5 **ya-?**	*ya-?*
F5 **?**	*?*

Translation: 8 Ajaw; 3 Pop (then) tied?; ?; he has governed it; K'ab' Chan Te'; Sak Tz'i' Lord; no days, 13 winik; 4 haab'; it occurred; his stone-wrapping; ?; ?; 5 Ajaw 3 Mak; ?; were scattered drops; then it occurred; 11 Ajaw; 18 Sak; the last five tuuns; this?; ?; ?; (He of) Xukalnaah?, Chan?; ?; Paddler God; Paddler God; K'inich ; ?-B'ahlam; his-?; ?;

Discussion: Currently in the bodega of Bonampak (Luis Alberto Martos, personal communication 2004), these two panels form a strange category, as there is information about their provenience written on the sketch by Ian Graham, while Alfonso Arellano Hernández (1998) reports a somewhat different origin. Graham's sketch bears the notation, "at Bonampak; said to be from site near Nuevo Jalisco or Palestina." Arellano Hernández (1998:268, citing Víctor Ortíz) refers to them as being from El Cedro, a site near Nuevo Jalisco. Nevertheless, there are some indications that the panels came from Plan de Ayutla (Nikolai Grube personal communication 2003; Beliaev and Safronov 2004). The two panels presumably were on a ballcourt wall, as a third, figural panel shows a ballplayer.

The chronology begins with an Initial Series with head variants, and the dates are not as clear as we would like. Nevertheless, it is possible to secure the dates with the help of a photograph in the collection of Peter Mathews. Arellano Hernández's (1998:276) drawing shows 14 Muwan as the *haab'* date of the Initial Series while the photo clearly has 15, which makes the sketch of Ian Graham more reliable. This requires a 7 *k'in* in the Initial Series and not 6 as was drawn by both scholars, and again the photo looks more like seven than six. The next *haab'* position was drawn in both cases as "9 something," while the photo has 14 Sek, which is perfectly matched by the distance number leading from the Initial Series. Taking into consideration all these minor corrections, I have to accept the chronological reconstruction kindly given to me by Peter Mathews:

Panel 1

A1-D4	9.14.17.4.7 *12 *Manik 15 Muwan	2 December 728
	+3.8.19	
E7	9.15.0.13.6 *10 Kimi 14 Sek	14 May 732

Panel 2

A1-B1a	9.14.5.5.0 8 *Ajaw *3 *Pop	16 February 717
	+ 4.13.0	
C2a	9.14.10.0.0 5 Ajaw 3 Mak	13 October 721
C4	9.14.15.0.0 11 Ajaw 18 Sak	17 September 726

The two panels form a single narrative, as shown by the text itself and the measurements of Ian Graham. The first panel mentions the birth of ?-B'ahlam, and it is very important that his name is accompanied by the Xukalnaah toponym, conventionally connected to Lacanha. Two other monuments, however, connect a person with this name ("Knot-eye Jaguar" in the literature) to another toponym nicknamed the "Knot-Site" (Palka 1996; Anaya Hernández 2001).[13] After the birth of ?-B'ahlam, perhaps in Xukalnaah, we have the death date of a certain Lam? K'inich Chaak ? in 732. The reading of this name is not certain, as the text is highly eroded; nevertheless the **K'INICH** part is clear and the preceding glyph looks like the **LAM** logograph from the half-period glyph. The head in E5 looks like Chaahk, while the further glyphs are not readable (Marc Zender, personal communication 2004). This person is in some kind of relationship with ?-B'ahlam, the next ruler of the Xukalnaah-Ak'e joint polity (see below). It is possible that Panel 2 commemorates the accession of this person, as happened under the auspices of the current Sak Tz'i' ruler. The next two dates are various period-ending ceremonies.

The heavy erosion of the panels is a great obstacle to the acquisition of further information about the origin of Lam? K'inich Chaak, although it is plausible that he was the father of ?-B'ahlam, as Classic Period inscriptions frequently mention important events in the life of a father (like accession and death) on a son's monuments.

This last ruler is connected with the above-mentioned "Knot-Site," and this monument may have come from this important center, although there is no mention of any known toponym in the text. An investigation of the

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[13] The "Knot-site" emblem glyph is mentioned between 690-792 on El Chorro Altar 6; an unprovenienced polychrome ceramic K2323; the Kuna-Lacanha wall panel; Bonampak Lintel 3, and Caption 31, Room 2 of Structure 1, Bonampak (Palka 1996). It has been suggested that the "Knot-site" was somewhere between El Chorro and Bonampak, on the Mexican side of the Usumacinta River. It was perennially involved in the politics of Xukalnaah, as two of its elite members ruled this site, ?-B'ahlam (732-746) and the person mentioned in Captions 15 and 31 of Room 2, Structure 1 of Bonampak (around 790). It is very tempting to say that the Nuevo Jalisco Panels could indicate the location of the "Knot-Site" in the opposite direction and very near to Lacanha and Bonampak, as the text clearly narrates the events from the viewpoint of ?-B'ahlam, albeit not mentioning the "Knot-Site" toponym. Nevertheless, it is known that he was intimately connected with this site, as he is always mentioned with this place name in other inscriptions (the Kuna-Lacanha wall panel and Bonampak Lintel 3). His mention on Bonampak Lintel 3, a later monument which was erected by Yajaw Chaan Muwaahn II after 776, shows political turmoil within the Bonampak-Lacanha polity during the reign of Yajaw Chaan Muwaahn's father Aj Sak Teleech (Mathews 1980; Anaya 2001; Bíró 2004). The latter was inaugurated as a *sajal* in 743 by ?-B'ahlam and dedicated the Kuna-Lacanha wall panel in 746. Two years later he apparently rebelled against his overlord (Miller and Martin 2004) and presumably became the next supreme ruler of the Bonampak-Lacanha area. The 748 event from which this rebellion is inferred is the capture of a lord of ?-B'ahlam by Aj Sak Teleech, as recorded on Bonampak Lintel 3, where Aj Sak Teleech carries the Ak'e and Xukalnaah emblem glyphs while ?-B'ahlam bears only that of the Knot-site. The traditional dating of this event in 740 (Mathews 1980) has made it difficult to understand how such an adversarial event preceded by two years Aj Sak Teleech's accession as *sajal* under the auspices of ?-B'ahlam. But Simon Martin, Nikolai Grube and Christian Prager have reinterpreted the eroded month sign and arrived at a solution of 9.15.17.2.13 3 Ix 1 Ch'en (16 July 748; Simon Martin, personal communication 2004). Albeit the month coefficient is an impossibility, it is accounted for in the case of a night-time event by pushing forward the actual ritual calendar date of 2 Ben (Mathews 2001[1979]; Marc Zender, personal communication 2004).

origin of this monument would prove or disprove this idea, especially with new inscriptions from Nuevo Jalisco, El Cedro or Plan de Ayutla. In conclusion, these panels indicate the hegemony held by K'ab' Chan Te' over another site in the upper Lacanha valley.[14]

New York or Caracas Panel (sketch by Ian Graham; drawing by Kornelia Kurbjuhn; drawing by John Montgomery 1994; drawing by Christian Prager; photos in the possession of Peter Mathews; Figure 9)
9.16.5.0.0 8 Ajaw 8 Sotz' (12 April 756)?

A1 **WAK ?**	*wak ['eb']*
B1 **HO' MUWAN-ni**	*ho' muwaa[h]n*
A2 **i?-HUL?-li?**	*[i? huli?]*
B2 **a-?-?**	*a-?-?*
A3 **?-tsi-la**	*[pi]tsiil*
B3 **AJAW-wa**	*ajaw*
A4 **?-K'UK'**	*?-k'uk'*
B4 **AJ-?**	*aj-?*
A5 **?**	*?*
B5 **?**	*?*
A6 **HO'-HO'LAJUN-WINIK-ji-ya**	*ho' ho'lajuun winikjiiy*
B6 **i-u-ti**	*i u[h]ti*
A7 **LAJCHAN** 'kaban'	*lajchan 'kaban'*
B7 **HO'** 'keh'	*ho' 'keh'*
A8 **OCH-chi-K'AK'**	*ochi k'a[h]k'*
B8 **tu-WAY-b'i-li**	*tu wayaab'il*
A9 **a?-lu-mu?-chi**	*a[ku]l muuch?*
B9 **a?-lu-XUKUB'?-b'a**	*a[ku]l xukuub'?*
A10 **HO'-UX-WINIK-ji-ya**	*ho' u[h]x winikjiiy*
B10 **i-u-ti**	*i u[h]ti*
A11 **LAJCHAN IK'**	*lajchan ik'*
B11 **LAJUN MUWAN-ni**	*lajun muwaa[h]n*
A12 **pa-ta-wa-ni**	*patwaan*
B12 **a-AJAW?-wa?**	*ajaw?*
C1 **?-CHUM?-?**	*chum-?*
D1 **?**	*?*
C2 **a?-lu-mu?-chi**	*a[ku]l muuch?*
D2 **CHANLAJUN-?**	*chanlajuun ?*
C3 **u-?**	*u-?*

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[14] My interpretation of the location of the "Knot-Site" is very suggestive for the location of Sak Tz'i', north of Nuevo Jalisco.

D3 **?**	*?*	
C4 **OCH-chi-K'AK'**	*ochi k'a[h]k'*	
D4 **?-?**	*?-?*	
C5 **u-k'a-b'a**	*u k'ab'*	
D5 **SAK-TS'I'-AJAW**	*sak ts'i' ajaw*	
C6 **WAXAKLAJUN-MI-WINIK-ji-ya**	*waxaklajuun mi[h] winikjiiy*	
D6 **CHAN-HAB'-ya**	*chan haab'iy*	
C7 **WAXAK-WINIK-HAB'-ya**	*waxak winikhab'iy*	
D7 **i-u-ti**	*i u[h]ti*	
C8 **B'ULUCH AJAW**	*b'uluch ajaw*	
D8 **WAXAKLAJUN** 'sak'	*waxaklajuun 'sak'*	
C9 **WI'- HO'-TUN**	*wi'[l] ho' tuun*	
D9 **OCH-chi-K'AK'**	*ochi k'a[h]k'*	
C10 **tu-WAY-b'i-li**	*tu wayaab'il*	
D10 **a?-lu-mu?-chi**	*a[ku]l muuch*	
C11 **u-KAB'-ji-ya**	*u kab'jiiy*	
D11 **AJ-YAX-?**	*aj yax ?*	
C12 **K'AB'-CHAN-TE'**	*k'ab' chan te'*	
D12 **K'UHUL-k'e-AJAW**	*k'uhul [a]k'e ajaw*	
E1 **B'ULUCH-LAJUN-WINIK-ji-ya**	*b'uluch lajuun winikjiiy*	
F1 **WAXAK-HAB'-ya**	*waxak haab'iy*	
E2 **CHA'-WINIK-HAB'-ya**	*cha' winikhaab'iy*	
F2 **i-u-ti**	*i u[h]ti*	
E3 **?-?-HAB'**	*? ? haab'*	
F3 **B'ALUN PIK**	*b'aluun pik*	
E4 **WAKLAJUN WINIK-HAB'**	*waklajuun winikhaab'*	
F4 **UX HAB'**	*u[h]x haab'*	
G1 **LAJUN WINIK-ki**	*lajuun winik*	
H1 **B'ULUCH K'IN-ni**	*b'uluch k'in*	
G2 **WAK ?**	*wak ['chuwen']*	
H2 **B'ALUN MUWAN-ni**	*b'aluun muwaa[h]n*	
G3 **?**	*?*	
H3 **?**	*?*	
G4 **?**	*?*	
H4 **?**	*?*	
I1 **AJ-?**	*aj-?*	
J1 **CHOK?-?-ch'a**	*chok? ch'a[aj]*	
I2 **?**	*?*	
J2 **?**	*?*	

I3 **?**   *?*
J3 **SAK?-TS'I'?-AJAW?**   *sak? ts'i'? ajaw?*
I4 **?**   *?*
J4 **?**   *?*

Caption Text 1
A1 **ti-?**   *ti-?*
A2 **?**   *?*
A3 **SAK?-TS'I'?**   *sak? ts'i'?*
A4 **a?-AJAW?-wa?**   *ajaw?*

Caption Text 2
A1 **?**   *?*
A2 **?**   *?*
A3 **?**   *?*

Incised Glyphs
A1 **?**   *?*
A2 **?**   *?*
A3 **?-ni?**   *?-ni?*
A4 **u-?-?-TE'**   *u-?-? te'*
A5 **HUK-?**   *huk ?*
B1 **?**   *?*
C1 **u?-?**   *u?-?*

Throne Leg
A1 **HO'-HO'-WINIK**   *ho' ho' winik*
B1 **JUN-HAB'**   *juun haab'*
A2 **? AJAW**   *[waxak?] ajaw*
B2 **WAXAK** 'sotz''**?**   *waxak 'sotz''?*
A3 **u-TE'?-ya**   *u te'ey?*
B3 **OCH-chi-K'AK'**   *och k'a[h]k'*

Translation: 6 Eb; 5 Muwan; then he arrived?; ?; the Ballplayer; Lord; ?-K'uk'; He of ?; ?; ?; 5 days, 15 winik; then occurred; 12 Kaban; 5 Keh; entered the fire; into his sanctuary; Akul Muuch; Akul Xukuub'; 5 days, 3 winik; then occurred; 12 Ik'; 10 Muwan; it got formed; the lord; was seated ?; ?; Akul Muuch; 14 ?; his ?; ?; entered the fire; ?; U K'ab'; Sak Tz'i' Lord; 18 days, no winik, 4 haab', 8 winikhaab'; then occurred; 11 Ajaw; 18 Sak; the last five tuuns; entered the fire; into the sanctuary; Akul Muuch; he did it; Aj Yax ?; K'ab' Chan Te'; Divine Ak'e Lord; 11 days, 10 winik; 8 haab', 2 winikhaab'; then occurred; ? haab'; 9 pik; 16 winikhaab'; 3 haab'; 10 winik; 11 k'in; 6 Chuwen; 9

Muwan; ?; ?; ?; ?; He of ?; he scattered liquids?; ?; ?; ?; Sak Tz'i' Lord?; ?; ?;

Caption text 1: ?; ?; Sak Tz'i', Lord?
Caption text 2: ?
Incised glyphs: ?; ?; Vn?; U-?-? Te'; huk ?; ?; his?-?
Throne leg: 5 days, 5 winik; 1 haab'; 8 Ajaw; 8 Sotz'; he ?; entered the fire

Discussion: This magnificent monument is missing the first part of the text, as shown by the fact that it begins with a Calendar Round date. The main theme of the inscription is a number of fire ceremonies (Stuart 1998) into the sanctuary of the same two supernaturals from 564 until 756. This is the longest monument that talks about the rulers of Sak Tz'i', and it is plausible that it came from the site.[15] The only actors are different Sak Tz'i' rulers, at least two of them distinguished by this title, while the third is known from other monuments. The chronology of the monument is clear save at the end of the text, which makes the final date a speculative one. The drawings of this part of the text show various numbers, both 5+, nevertheless the photos show that where we expect the bars and dots, there is a continuous line, an erosion which makes it impossible to state the final date with any certainty. It is known that this was a period ending because the day was Ajaw, while the second sign looks like a monkey head. The chronology of the monument therefore is the following:

A1-B1	*9.6.9.16.12 6 Eb 5 Muwan*	*1 January 564*
	+15.5	
A7-B7	*9.6.10.13.17 12 Kaban 5 Keh*	*1 November 564*
	+ 3.5	
A11-B11	*9.6.10.17.2 12 Ik' 10 Muwan*	*5 January 565*
	+8.4.0.18	
A8-B8	*9.14.15.0.0 11 Ajaw 18 Sak*	*17 September 726*
	+2.8.10.11	
E1-H2	*9.16.3.10.11 6 Chuwen 9 Muwan*	*20 November 754*
?	**9.16.3.12.15 *11 *Men *13 *K'ayab*	*3 January 755*
	+ 1.5.5	
Th.L.A2-B2	*9.16.5.0.0 8 Ajaw 8 Sotz' (?)*	*12 April 756*

The event connected to the first date is unfortunately very eroded.[16] The next clause is better preserved and mentions

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[15] Stuart, Houston and Robertson (1999:II-46) speculate that it might be from La Mar.

[16] The main sign could possibly be **HUL** and below it perhaps a **–li** suffix. Yet the prefix looks like **u**-, which causes a serious problem for the *huli* "arrived" interpretation, as this is an intransitive verb which cannot take the third-person ergative pronoun. If, however, this is an **i** "then," the translation would be "then he arrived". If this reading is correct there is a "coming" event that is frequently connected to dynastic foundation or dynastic change (see the cases of Copan, Naranjo, Seibal or, more problematically, Tikal). The person is named ?-K'uk' with the *pitsiil ajaw* "ballplayer lord" title, and perhaps there is the mention of a woman whose role is not well understood in this context. It is very speculative, but this person could be the founder of the Sak Tz'i' dynasty. There are more clues to support this identification. He carries the prominent ballplayer title that was used by his seventh-century successor on the Denver Panel. His arriving is connected with two important ceremonies, one a fire-entering ritual into the sanctuary of the patron gods of the city or the dynasty, and at A12-B12 perhaps is written *patwaan ajaw* "got formed the ruler," which could indicate a dynastic foundation (see the same phrase and interpretation in the case of Ek Balam in Grube, Lacadena and Martin 2003:II-13). One of the titles of this individual at B4 is the same as at I1 and may confirm the relationship between this Early Classic person and the one who erected the monument, somewhere around 756.

a fire ceremony in the sanctuary (*wayaab'il*) of two gods, perhaps read as Akul Muuch and Akul Xukuub'.[17] There is some uncertainty with the first part of the reading, as the **ku** is reconstructed while the **a-** is not clear in the inscription of the panel. However, on La Mar Stela 1 (Figure 10) at B10 the same god name has a clear **a** as the first component and perhaps **–la** as the last one. This example may show that the name begins with **a** and ends with V**l**, but I cannot explain the difference of the **–lu/-la** complements.

Nevertheless, it is certain that we have here the same supernatural, and this led David Stuart (in Stuart, Houston and Robertson 1999:II-46) to suggest that the New York Panel came from La Mar. However, it seems more probable that the monument comes from Sak Tz'i', at least in view of the narrative. That we have the same supernatural may indicate two things: both sites had the same patron gods, which is not unbelievable, and Sak Tz'i' was not far from La Mar (whose armies went directly to the former center as documented on the Denver Panel). Unfortunately, the glyphs from then on are highly eroded, which makes any interpretation tentative.

The next event could be the foundation of the dynasty (see note 15) or the dedication of some monument which is connected to Akul Muuch. The following glyph is composed of the number 14 and at least two totally eroded signs. The third god on La Mar Stela 1 (at B11) is B'aluun K'uhul Ok? Te', a name that may appear on the New York Panel, in which case the number 14 on the latter is a misdrawn 9 (in the photo we can see an animal head very similar to the **OK** on the La Mar monument). Still on the same day, the Sak Tz'i' ruler U K'ab' conducted a fire ceremony in a sanctuary. These three events are directly connected and occurred within one year: arrival(?), fire ceremony in the sanctuary of the patron gods, a dedication or the founding of the kingdom(?), and finally a fire ceremony under the auspices of the current ruler of Sak Tz'i'.

On the Denver and Brussels Panels, K'ab' Chan Te' is a two *winikhaab' ajaw*, which makes his accession somewhere around 596 (in the earlier dating scheme for the panels) and certainly after 564 because of biological constraints, which in turn makes U K'ab' the first known ruler of Sak Tz'i'. The next event is connected by a long Distance Number and narrates the same fire ceremony conducted to celebrate the *ho'tuun* ending of 9.14.15.0.0 under the auspices of K'ab' Chan Te', Ak'e Lord. It is certain that this is a Sak Tz'i' king, as his name is connected to the same *ho'tuun* ending on the Nuevo Jalisco and Zurich Panels, and on the last one he takes the Ak'e title with his usual Sak Tz'i' emblem glyph. Sak Tz'i' controlled the site of Ak'e around the 720s (and for a short time in 641, again considering the earlier dating for the Brussels Panel), and its ruler used this emblem glyph as his own.

The next date is an Initial Series, but the event is totally lost. It may have been done by the next Sak Tz'i' ruler; albeit the emblem glyph in J3 is very eroded, it is possible to detect the distinctive **TS'I'** head in the photograph (compare it to the same glyph in D5). If this is a Sak Tz'i' emblem glyph, then the ruler was certainly Aj Sak Maax, a king known from El Cayo Panel 1 (see below). The date here is 9.16.3.10.11 (20 November 754) while on El Cayo Panel 1, Aj Sak Maax, Sak Tz'i' Ajaw, appears on 9.16.12.4.10 (5 June 763) and again sometime after 9.17.1.5.9 (7 May 772). After the last date he is described as a two *winikhaab' ajaw,* or 40+, which makes him the king in 754-756. Nevertheless, he could have died before 787, as Bonampak Lintels 1 and 2 mention a different ruler of Sak Tz'i' (see below). Aj Sak Maax controlled the secondary site of El Cayo from 763 until 772 in a little understood alliance with Piedras Negras (Martin and Grube 2000; Biró 2004). Again, this fact shows that Sak Tz'i' had to be somewhere near to La Mar and El Cayo and certainly north of Nuevo Jalisco and Lacanha. The next event in the New York Panel may be a new fire entering ceremony, perhaps in 756.

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[17] For the *xukuub'* reading see Lópes and Davletshin 2004.

The monument represents two persons facing one another: one is sitting on a bench or throne, while the other is offering a plate with a bird. There are two caption texts which perhaps name the two individuals, and Marc Zender (personal communication 2004) has suggested that Caption 1 could have ended with a Sak Tz'i' Lord title. Unfortunately the texts are highly eroded, and without investigation of the original further assertions are highly tentative at best.

El Cayo Panel 1 (sketch by Ian Graham; drawing by John Montgomery 1994; Figure 11)
After 9.17.1.5.9 1 Muluk 17 Sek (7 May 772)

A1-B2 **?-?-HAB'**	*?-?-haab'*
A3 **B'ALUN-PIK**	*b'aluun pik*
B3 **WAKLAJUN-WINIKHAB'**	*waklajuun winikhaab'*
A4 **MI-HAB'**	*mi[h] haab'*
B4 **?**	*[cha' winik]*
A5 **WAKLAJUN-he-wa**	*waklajuun he'ew*
B5 **?**	*[wak 'kib']*
A6 **?**	*?*
B6 **u-?**	*u-?*
A7 **UX-HUL-ya**	*u[h]x huliiy*
B7 **UX-K'AL-ja-u-?**	*u[h]x k'a[h]laj u-?*
A8 **u-K'UH-sa-K'AB'A**	*u-k'uh[ul] sa? k'ab'a*
B8 **u-CH'OK-K'AB'A**	*u ch'ok k'ab'a*
A9 **K'AL?-LAJUN**	*k'aal? lajuun*
B9 **B'ALUN MOL**	*b'aluun mol*
A10 **SIY-ya-ja**	*si[h]yaj*
B10 **CH'OK-ko**	*ch'ok*
A11 **CHAN-pa-na-ka**	*chan panak*
B11 **WAY**	*way*
A12 **ya-YAL**	*yal*
B12 **IX?**	*ix?*
A13 **yu-ku**	*yuk*
B13 **no-ma-CH'EN**	*no'm ch'een*
A14 **IX-k'a-b'i**	*ix k'aab'*
B14 **u-MIJIN?-li**	*u mijiinil?*
A15 **CH'OK'-ko-WAY-b'i**	*ch'ok wayaab'*
B15 **AJ-YAX-?-ma**	*aj yax ?-ma*
A16 **k'u-ti-ma**	*k'utiim*
B16 **sa-ja**	*saja[l]*
C1 **LAJUN-HUKLAJUN-WINIK-ya**	*lajuun huklajuun winikiiy*

D1 **B'ULUCH-HAB'-ya**	*b'uluch haab'iiy*
C2 **u-ti-ya**	*u[h]tiiy*
D2 **i-PAS**	*i pa[h]s[aj]*
C3 **UXLAJUN-**'kimi'	*u[h]xlajuun 'kimi'*
D3 **B'ALUNLAJUN-**'sotz''	*b'aluunlajun 'sotz''*
C4 **?**	*?*
D4 **ti-JUL-?**	*ti jul-?*
C5 **?-?**	*?*
D5 **?**	*?*
C6 **?**	*[ajaw?]*
D6 **?**	*?*
C7 **?**	*?*
D7 **AJ-?**	*aj-?*
C8 **?**	*?*
D8 **?**	*?*
C9 **?**	*?*
D9 **?**	*?*
C10 **SAK-TS'I'-AJAW**	*sak ts'i' ajaw*
D10 **u-ti-ya**	*u[h]tiiy*
C11 **?-?-?-TE'**	*?-?-? te'*
D11 **HUK-?-?**	*huk-?*
C12 **?-ya**	*?-y*
D12 **i CHAM-mi**	*i chami*
C13 **mu-ku-ja**	*mu[h]kaj*
D13 **tu-CH'EN**	*tu ch'e'en*
C14 **YAX-ni-la**	*yax niil*
D14 **T'AB'-yi**	*t'ab'aay*
C15 **?-TUN-ni**	*? tuun*
D15 **CHAN-pa-na-ka**	*chan panak*
C16 **yi-chi-NAL**	*yichnal*
D16 **IK'-NAH-CHAK-MAN?-ta?**	*i[h]k' naah chak manat?*
E1 **K'UHUL-yo-ki-b'i-AJAW**	*k'uhul yokib' ajaw*
F1 **K'IN-ni-AJAW**	*k'in ajaw*
E2 **CHAN-CHA'-WINIK-ji-ya**	*chan cha' winikjiiy*
F2 **?**	*[i uhtiiy]*
E3 **HO'** 'manik'	*ho' 'manik'*
F3 **UX YAXK'IN**	*u[h]x yaxk'in*
E4 **JOY-ja**	*joyaj*
F4 **ti-sa-ja-la-li**	*ti sajalil*

G1 **AJ-YAX-?**   *aj yax ?*

H1 **k'u-ti-ma**   *k'utiim*

G2 **u-KAB'-ji-ya**   *u kab'jiiy*

H2 **AJ-SAK-MAX**   *aj sak maax*

G3 **SAK-ts'i-AJAW**   *sak ts'i' ajaw*

H3 **CHA'-?-WINIK-ya**   *cha' [waklajuun] winik[ji]iy*

H4 **i-u-ti**   *i u[h]ti*

G4 **WAXAK-HAB'**   *waxak haab'[iiy]*

I1 **B'ALUN-?**   *b'aluun ['eb']*

J1 **WI'-'wo'**   *wi'[l] 'wo'*

K1-L9 totally eroded

K10 **u-?**   *u ?*

L10 **?**   *?*

K11 **?**   *[ha' k'in]*

L11 **?-ki**   *[xook]*

K12 **?**   *?*

L12 **K'IN-ni-AJAW-wa**   *k'in ajaw*

K13 **WAKLAJUN-?-WINIK-ya**   *waklajuun [cha'] winikiiy*

L13 **i-u-ti**   *i u[h]ti*

K14 **JUN-'muluk'**   *juun 'muluk'*

L14 **WAKLAJUN-ka-se-wa**   *waklajuun kaseew*

K15 **JOY-ja**   *joyaj*

L15 **ti-sa-ja-li**   *ti sajali[l]*

K16 **CHAN-pa-na-ka**   *chan panak*

L16 **wa-WAY**   *way*

M1-N9 totally eroded

N9 **ts'a-pa-ja**   *ts'a[h]paj*

M10 **?**   *?*

N10 **u-KAB'-ya**   *u kab'[ji]iy*

M11 **CHAN-pa-na-ka**   *chan panak*

N11 **WAY**   *way*

M12 **AJ-YAX-?**   *aj yax ?*

N12 **k'u-ti-ma**   *k'utiim*

M13 **sa-ja-la**   *sajal*

N13 **AJ-YAX-ni-la**   *aj yax niil*

M14 **IL-ji-ya**   *il[a]jiiy*

N14 **AJ-SAK-MAX**   *aj sak maax*

M15 **SAK-ts'i-AJAW**   *sak ts'i' ajaw*

N15 **CHA'-WINIK-HAB'**   *ch'a winikhaab'*

M16 **AJAW-wa**   *ajaw*
N16 **b'a-ka-b'a**   *b'a[ah] kab'*

Translation: ? years; 9 pik; 16 winikhaab'; 0 haab'; 2 winik; 16 k'in; three arrived; three ? was wrapped; his sacred ? name; his sprout name; 30 (days); 9 Mol; was born; sprout; Chan Panak, Way; he is the son of; Lady; Yukno'm Ch'een; Lady K'aab'; he is the son of; Ch'ok Wayaab'; Aj Yax-?, K'utiim; Sajal; 10, 17 winik; 11 haab'; occurred; (then) ? 13 Kimi; 19 Sotz'; ?; with ?; ?; ?; lord?; ?; ?; He of ?; ?; ?; ?; ?; Sak Tz'i' Lord; occurred; U-?-? Te'; Wuk ?; ?; then died; he was buried; in his cave; Yax Niil; went up to; "Paw-Stone"[18]; Chan Panak; in the presence of; Ihk' Naah Chak Manat?; Divine Yokib' Lord; K'in Lord; 4 days 2 winik; then occurred; 5 Manik; 3 Yaxk'in; he appeared; into sajalship; Aj Yax ?; K'utiim; he has governed it; Aj Sak Maax; Sak Tz'i' Lord; 2, 16 winik; 8 haab'; then occurred; 9 Eb; 0 Sip;… Ha' K'in Xook; ?; K'in Lord; 16, 2 winik; then occurred; 1 Muluk, 16 Sek; he appeared; in the sajalship; Chan Panak Way; … ; it was erected**;** ?; he has governed it; Chan Panak**;** Way; Aj Yax ?; K'utiim; Sajal; Aj Yax Niil; he witnessed ; Aj Sak Maax; Sak Tz'i' Lord; Two Winikhaab', Lord; First (on) Earth;

Discussion: El Cayo Panel 1 is the single most important inscription for understanding the political situation of El Cayo, Sak Tz'i' and Piedras Negras in the second half of the eighth century (Martin and Grube 2000; Anaya 2001; Anaya, Guenter and Zender 2003; Biró 2004). Unfortunately the monument is severely damaged exactly where there would be information about the involvement of Sak Tz'i' in the politics of El Cayo, and even the dedication is not certain as it is totally eroded. Nevertheless, enough remains to make some suggestions concerning the narrative.

The chronology of the monument is fairly clear, save the dedication date which could have been recorded in M1-M9, a totally eroded part of the panel. Nevertheless, it is probable that the monument was dedicated to the nearest *tuun* ending; therefore a dedication date of 9.17.5.0.0 6 Ajaw 13 K'ayab is probable.

A1-B9	9.16. 0.*2*16	*6 Kib 9 Mol*	*2 July 751*
	+*11*17.10*		
C2-D2	9.16.12. 2. 6	*13 Kimi 19 Sotz'*	*21 April 762*
	+*2.*4*		
E3-F3	9.16.12. 4.10	*5 Manik 3 Yaxk'in*	*4 June 763*
	+8*16. 2*		
I1-J1	9.17. 1. 2.12	*9 *Eb *0 *Sip*	*10 March 772*
	+ 2*16*		
K14-L14	9.17. 1. 5. 9	*1 Muluk 16 Sek*	*6 May 772*

The monument is certainly dedicated by Chan Panak Way Aj Yax ? K'utiim (born 751; acceded 772; died 795<) who was the *sajal* of Yax Niil or El Cayo (Mathews 1998). He was the son of the former *sajal* Ch'ok Wayaab' Aj Yax ? K'utiim (763-772). The other persons of the El Cayo *sajal* family are the one whose death is recorded on this panel as happening in 763 and Aj Chak Wayaab' K'utiim, who erected El Cayo Altar 4 in 731 when he was 67 years old (Mathews 1998). His father was Och? Nal K'utiim and his mother a woman from Huun Naab'.

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[18] For *t'ab'aay* as "went up (to)" and a discussion of the "Paw Stone" toponym of Piedras Negras see Stuart 2004.

First of all, I would like to comment on the reading of Aj Yax ?. On the lintel it appears three times at B15, G1 and M12. The T12 **AJ** component is clear in every case, as is the bat head, and in B15 there is a possible **–ma** as a phonetic complement. The fourth element is an indistinct **YAX** (B15, M12) or **CHAK** (G1). On the Cleveland Panel there is a record of an *elnaahaj* "house firing" ceremony (Stuart 1998) conducted into the tomb? of Ix K'aab' by a certain **AJ-ya-xa tu-BAT-ma**, who is certainly the same Chan Panak who was the *sajal* of El Cayo from 772 and whose mother's name is the same. This example shows that we have to read the indistinct element as **YAX** while the bat head is certainly not **SUUTS'** or **xu**. Because of the attested differences among seven bat head signs in the inscriptions, the reading of this particular sign is questionable, although Albert Davletshin and Dmitri Beliaev (2003) have suggested a value **SINAM** "scorpion."

The first event recorded on El Cayo Panel 1 is the birth of Chan Panak. Then follows a highly eroded text commemorating a series of events in 763. Although it is not possible to say what happened, it is clear that a Sak Tz'i' lord participated in the events. It is possible that three+? events are all connected and form a cause and effect narrative, and therefore the ruler of Sak Tz'i' played an important role in the life of the future *sajal* of El Cayo. The first event connected to the Sak Tz'i' emblem glyph occurred in a place called U-?-? Te' Wuk-? (C11-D11). The same toponym, although quite eroded, appears in the Incised Text of the New York Panel A4-A5 (figure 9). Unfortunately, both the contexts and the glyphs are unknown in both inscriptions; nevertheless it is very probable that this was a place name in the polity of Sak Tz'i'.

The next compound (C12) is drawn by John Montgomery as the T843 glyph, but a close examination of the photograph makes this highly unlikely (Marc Zender, personal communication 2004). After the *i chami* "then he died" compound, the following event is the burial of the former *sajal* of El Cayo, which occurred at the site itself, as indicated by the Yax Niil toponym (Peter Mathews 1998). This is followed by a clear instance of the T843 verb, involving the young Chan Panak and a toponym connected to Piedras Negras (Stuart 2004). Two months later Aj Yax ? K'utiim was installed as a *sajal* under the auspices of Aj Sak Maax, the ruler of Sak Tz'i'. The next event is totally lost but occurred in the presence of the new Piedras Negras ruler, Ha' K'in Xook, before the accession of Chan Panak Way. It is impossible to say anything about the lost event, although the suggestion by Simon Martin and Nikolai Grube (2000:151) that it was a burial makes sense according to the narrative structure of the text. For the same reasons, the accession of Chan Panak Way could have occurred under the supervision of the Sak Tz'i' king. Finally, the text mentions that the dedication of the monument, or its "planting in the ground," was witnessed by the two *winikhaab'* Aj Sak Maax, which could have taken place in 9.17.5.0.0 or 775.

This pattern of *yichnal* and *uk'abjiiy* statements led Martin and Grube (2000:151) to propose the existence of a "formalized hierarchy of sites within the Piedras Negras hegemony at this time," although there are no indications of the subordination of Sak Tz'i' to Piedras Negras, and it is equally plausible that they were allies in the warfare-torn Usumacinta region.

Lintels 2 & 1 of Bonampak (drawings by Peter Mathews 1980; Figures 12 and 13)
9.17.16.3.8 4 Lamat 6 Kumk'u (8 January 787)
9.17.16.3.12 8 Eb' 10 Kumk'u (12 January 787)

Lintel 2

A1	**CHAN** 'lamat'	*chan 'lamat'*
A2	**WAK** 'kumk'u'	*wak 'kumk'u'*
A3	**chu-ka-ja**	*chu[h]kaj*
A4	**xu-k'u-b'a**	*xuk'ub'*
A5	**a-?**	*a[hk]*
A6	**u-?**	*[uyajawte']*
A7	**ye-TE'-?**	*[yete' k'inich]*
A8	**SAK-TS'I'-AJAW**	*sak ts'i' ajaw*
B1	**?**	*?*
B2	**u-CHAN-nu?**	*u cha'n*
B3	**?-MO'-o**	*[tah] mo'*
B4	**PA'CHAN[19]-AJAW-wa**	*pa'chan ajaw*
C1	**yu-xu-lu**	*yuxul*
C2	**?**	*?*
C3	**ya-?**	*ya-?*
C4	**ya-na-b'i**	*yanab'i[l]*
D1	**u-CHAN**	*u cha'n*
D2	**TAH-MO'-o**	*tah mo'*
D3	**K'UHUL-PA'CHAN-AJAW**	*k'uhul pa'chan ajaw*

Translation: 4 Lamat; 6 Kumk'u; he was captured; Xuk'ub'; Ahk; the spear lord of; Yete' K'inich; Sak Tz'i' Lord; ?; the guardian of; Tah Mo'; Pa'chan Lord; it is his carving; ?; ?; his *anab'*; the guardian of; Tah Mo'; Divine Pa'chan Lord;

Lintel 1

A1	**WAXAK -'EB'**	*waxak 'eb'*
A2	**LAJUN -'KUMK'U'**	*lajuun 'kumk'u'*
A3	**chu-ka-ja**	*chu[h]kaj*
A4	**AJ-HO'-B'AK**	*aj ho' b'aak*
A5	**u-ya-AJAW-TE'**	*uyajawte'*
A6	**ye-TE'-K'INICH**	*yete' k'inich*
A7	**SAK-[TS'I']-AJAW**	*sak ts'i' ajaw*
B1	**?**	*?*
B2	**?-CHAN-MUWAN-ni**	*?-chan muwaa[h]n*
B3	**?-ka-pa-ta**	*?-kapat*

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[19] For the **PA'CHAN** *pa'chan* reading see Martin 2004.

B4 **u-UK?**   *uku'l?*[20]

Translation: 8 Eb; 10 Kumk'u; he was captured; He (of) the 5 Captives; the spear lord of; Yete' K'inich; Sak Tz'i' Lord; ?; ?-Chan Muwaahn; ?-kapat; Uku'l?;

Discussion: In his article Peter Mathews (1980) commented thoroughly on these two lintels and left very little to say about them. While he did not identify the captives' polity, it is certain that it was Sak Tz'i'. Yete' K'inich was a ruler of this polity who had at least two *yajawte'* captured by the joint army of Bonampak and Yaxchilan. As detailed elsewhere (Anaya Hernández 2001; Anaya, Guenter and Zender 2003; Biró 2004), this battle may have been the final scene in a longer conflict involving two factions of the royal family of Lacanha (or two different families) and their overlords, Sak Tz'i' and Yaxchilan.

Lintels 1 and 2 form a little-understood narrative with Lintel 3 and the mural paintings in Structure 1 of Bonampak (Mathews 1980). It is clear that there was some conflict between Aj Sak Teleech, the father of Yajaw Chan Muwaahn II and his once overlord ?-B'ahlam (Bonampak Lintel 3). There is a slight indication that ?-B'ahlam or his father were subordinates to the lord of Sak Tz'i' (Nuevo Jalisco Panels), whose ruler used among his titles the Ak'e emblem glyph (Zurich and New York Panels). The next ruler of Ak'e and Xukalnaah was ?-B'ahlam, whose *sajal* was Aj Sak Teleech (Kuna-Lacanha Lintel 1).

Aj Sak Teleech, using both the Ak'e and Xukalnaah emblem glyphs, attacked his former overlord in 748 (see note 13). A rebellion against a former master is not an impossible scenario, nor the advice or help of greater powers. Yajaw Chan Muwaahn II's campaign against Sak Tz'i' with Itsamnaaj B'ahlam IV may indicate a longer involvement of Yaxchilan in the conflict among the powers of the Lacanha Valley.

Tonina Monument 83 (drawing by Ian Graham; Figure 14)
9.18.5.10.3 12 Ak'bal 11 Sotz' (1 April 796)?

A1 **u-TS'AK-AJ**	*uts'akaj*
A2 **HUKLAJUN-HUK-WINIK**	*huklajuun huk winik*
B1 **?-?-CHAPAT**	*?-?-chapa[h]t*
C1 **K'UHUL-PO'-AJAW-wa**	*k'uhul po' ajaw*
D1 **?-yi**	*?-yi*
D2 **u-KAB'-CH'EN**	*u kab' ch'e'en*
D3 **JATS'-TOK-EK'-HIX**	*jats' tok[al] ek' hiix*
D4 **SAK-TS'I'-AJAW**	*sak ts'i' ajaw*

Captive's Leg
G1 **CH'OK**	*ch'ok*
G2 **AJ-?**	*aj*

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[20] For the *uku'l* reading see Beliaev and Safronov 2004.

Translation: it counted; 17 days 7 winik; ?-Chapaht; Divine Po' Lord; "he warred"; his cave; Jats' Tokal Ek' Hiix; Sak Tz'i' Lord; sprout; He of ?;

Discussion: The dating of the monument is not certain because there is no Calendar Round, but its closeness to Monument 114 led Peter Mathews to connect it to the above mentioned Long Count date (Mathews 2001b). It is from the reign of ?-Chapaht, who was the ruler of Tonina from at least 789 (Martin and Grube 2000) and who attacked Sak Tz'i' and intruded into the Selva Lacandona region.

The most important information of this inscription is the mention of the name of Jats' Tokal Ek' Hiix (Marc Zender, personal communication 2004) as the ruler of Sak Tz'i' and the indication that at this time the polity was a functioning entity. Moreover, it indicates the position of Sak Tz'i' as somewhere between Tonina and Piedras Negras.

Lausanne Stela (sketch by Ian Graham; drawing by John Montgomery 1994; drawing by Simon Martin in Miller and Martin 2004:167 and photos in ibid.:162, 190; Figure 15)
10.1.15.0.0 10 Ajaw 8 Mak (12 September 864)

A1-B3 **?-?-HAB'**	*? haab'*
A4 **LAJUN PIK**	*lajuun pik*
B4 **JUN WINIK-HAB'**	*juun winikhaab'*
A5 **CHANLAJUN HAB'**	*chanlajuun haab'*
B5 **B'ALUN WINIK-ki**	*b'aluun winik*
A6 **HUKLAJUN K'IN-ni**	*huklajuun k'in*
B6 **?**	*?*
A7 **u-TI'-HUN-li**	*u ti' huunil*
B7 **UXLAJUN he-na**	*u[h]xlajuun he'en*
A8 **HUKLAJUN WINIK-ji-ya**	*wuklajuun winikjiiy*
B8 **WA'-ji-ya**	*wa'jiiy*
A9 **yo-OK-ki**	*yook*
B9 **?-K'AN-na**	*?-k'an*
A10 **mi-si-?**	*mis ?*
B10 **K'AWIL-la**	*k'awiil*
A11 **CH'OK-ko**	*ch'ok*
B11 **JUN K'AN**	*juun k'an*
C1 **HUKLAJUN se-wa**	*huklajuun [ka]seew*
D1 **?**	*?*
C2 **u-TI'-HUN-li**	*u ti' huunil*
D2 **CHA'-**'kaban'	*cha' 'kaban'*

C3 **HO' se-wa**	*ho' [ka]seew*
D3 **OCH-K'AK'**	*ochi k'a[h]k'*
C4 **ti-yu-lu**	*ti yuxul*
D4 **xu-K'AN-TUN-li**	*k'a[h]tuunil*
E1 **B'ALAM-chi-ji**	*b'a[h]lam chij*
F1 **u-yu**	*uy*
E2 **K'UK'-ma-xi**	*k'uk' maax*
F2 **sa-ja**	*saja[l]*
E3 **a-HO'-?-ni**	*a[j] ho' ?-ni*
F3 **u-B'AH -JUN-TAN-na**	*u b'aah [u] juun ta[h]n*
E4 **?-la?-IXIK**	*?-la Ixik*
F4 **IX-?-ni**	*Ix ?-n*
G1 **B'ALAM**	*b'a[h]lam*
H1 **u-MIJIN?-li**	*u mijiinil*
G2 **CHAN-na-K'AN**	*chan k'an*
H2 **to-ko-wa-WAY-b'i**	*tok wayaab'*
G3 **u-?-CHAN-na**	*u ? chan*
H3 **?-wa-xi-ki**	*? waxik*
G4 **YAX-chi-ta-ma**	*yax chitam*
H4 **WAXAKLAJUN-ts'a-ka**	*waxaklajuun ts'ak*
I1 **b'u-li**	*b'uul*
I2 **sa-ja**	*saja[l]*
I3 **?-yi?**	*?-yi?*
J3 **u-cha-b'a-nu**	*u chaba'n*
I4 **AJ-YAX?-?**	*aj yax ?*
J4 **CHAK?-ta**	*chakat?*
I5 **CH'OK-ko**	*ch'ok*
J5 **sa-ja-la**	*sajal*
I6 **ya-AL-la**	*yal*
J6 **IX-k'e-cha**	*Ix K'e'ech*
I7 **IXIK-AJ**	*ixik aj*
J7 **K'IN-ni-a**	*k'in[h]a'*
I8 **CHA' HIX**	*cha' hix*
J8 **WAK UNIW-wa**	*[wuk] uniiw*
I9 **i-CHAM-mi**	*i chami*
J9 **b'a-la-ma**	*b'a[h]lam*
I10 **chi-ji-u-yu**	*chij uy*
J10 **HO'-WINIK-HAB'-na**	*ho' winikhaab'*
I11 **CHAM-mi u-sa-ja**	*chami u saja[l]*

J11 **K'AB'-CHAN-na-TE'**   *k'ab' chan te'*
I12 **SAK-TS'I'-AJAW**   *sak ts'i' ajaw*
J12 **B'ALUNLAJUN-WINIK**   *b'aluunlajuun [ho'] winik*
I13 **?-TUN-ji LAJUN AJAW**   *?-tuunij lajuun ajaw*
J13 **WAXAK ma-MAK-ka**   *waxak mak*

Caption Text
G1 **yu-lu-xu**   *yuxul*
G2 **u-CHAN-na-TE'**   *u chan te'*
G3-G4 **ya-AJAW?-ja-wa**   *yajaw?*
G5 **CH'OK-ko**   *ch'ok*

Translation: ? haab'; 10 pik; 1 winikhaab'; 14 haab'; 9 winik; 17 k'in; ?; its speaker of the white headband; 13 days; 17 winik; it raised up; the base; ? yellow?; ?; K'awiil; sprout; 1 K'an; 17 Sek; ?; its speaker of the white headband; 3 Kaban; 5 Sek; entered the fire; on the carved; bench stone; of B'ahlam Chij; Uy, K'uk' Maax; Sajal; He of the ?; his image, his cherished one; ? Lady, Holy, Lady; B'ahlam; he is the son of; Chan ?; Tok Wayaab'**;** U ? Chan; ? Waxik; Yax Chitam; the eighteenth set in order; sajal; was finished?; his ?; Aj Yax ?; Chakat?; sprout; sajal; he is the son of; Lady K'e'ech; Lady of; K'in Ha'; 2 Ix; 7 K'ank'in ; then he dies; B'ahlam; Chij Uuy; 5 winikhaab'; he dies, he is the sajal; (of), K'ab' Chan Te'; Sak Tz'i' Lord; 19 days 5 winik; ? 10 Ajaw; 8 Mak;

Caption Text: it is his carving; of Chan Te'; he is the vassal of?; sprout;

Discussion: This inscription is very interesting for a number of reasons: it is the last dated monument from the Usumacinta-Selva Lacandona region; and it proves the existence of a Classic Maya tradition until the middle of the ninth century in the region of the Selva Lacandona, otherwise unattested in the archaeological record. The chronology of the Lausanne Stela is the following:

A1-C3	*10.1.14.9.17 2 Kaban 5 Sek*	*2 April 864*
	-13.17	
B11-C1	*10.1.13.10.4 1 K'an 17 Sek*	*15 April 863*
I8-J8	*10.1.14.0.14 2 Ix 7 K'ank'in*	*2 October 863*
J12-J13	*10.1.15.0.0 10 Ajaw 8 Mak*	*12 September 864*

        The first important event is an 819 day count and the dedication of the carved bench (*ochi k'ahk' ti yuxul k'ahntuunil*) of the dead *sajal*, B'ahlam Chij Uy K'uk' Maax. His mother is a Lady from ?-ni, while his father is Chan ? Tok Wayaab' U ? Chan ? Waxik Yax Chitam. The next glyph is the "numbered-successor" title or *ts'akb'uul* combined with the number eighteen, together having the meaning "the eighteenth set in order" (Miller and Martin 2004:191). It is difficult to say whether this refers to the father or the son; in any case, it is a rare example where a

secondary lord has a "numbered-successor" title.[21]

 The text follows with the dedication of an object (*chab'a'n*?) of Aj Yax ? Chakat?, a *sajal* prince whose mother was a lady from K'in Ha', a toponym connected to Piedras Negras (Zender 2002). Although it is not mentioned explicitly, it is very plausible that the father of Aj Yax ? Chakat? was B'ahlam Chij Uy himself, whose death is repeated in the last clause of the text with the additional information about his status as a vassal to K'ab' Chan Te', the ruler of Sak Tz'i'. B'ahlam Chij Uy lived to a grand old age as indicated by his five *winikhaab'* lord title, which means that he would have been born around 784.

Taking into account the above mentioned information, the reconstructed family tree of this *sajal* family is as follows:

Chan ? Tok Wayaab' U ? Chan ? Waxik Yax Chitam =? Ix K'uhul Ix ? B'ahlam

|

B'ahlam Chij Uy K'uk' Maax =Ix K'e'ech Ix Aj K'in Ha'

|

Aj Yax ? Chakat?
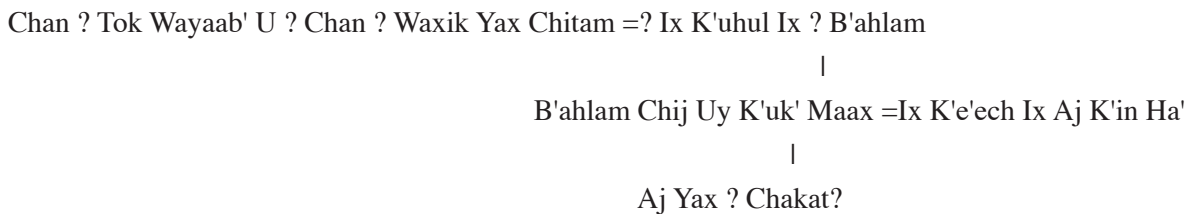
The Lausanne Stela clearly indicates that Sak Tz'i' was indeed a functioning polity using the Classic Period traditions to govern its space by *sajal* who were interconnected with an elite family, probably from Piedras Negras itself (*Ix Aj K'in Ha'*).

The little text near to the carved figure clearly records the carver of the monument as U Chan Te' and then follow two glyphs—**ya**-T533-**o**? **ja-wa**—which can yield various readings and hence several interpretations. The *ya-* syllable indicates that the word begins with *a-*, and it is very tempting to suggest the whole compound reads **ya-AJAW-ja-wa** or *yajaw* "he is the vassal of". This would give an **AJAW** value to the strange T533-**o**? combination; nevertheless, there are various problems with the reading of T533, and therefore this one is as tentative as the others.

The Lausanne Stela is the last dated monument from the region of the Selva Lacandona-Upper Usumacinta, indeed one of the last ones in the Southern Maya Lowlands, and this is the last information about Sak Tz'i' and its kings.

Conclusion

From the provenienced and unprovenienced inscriptions that mention the Sak Tz'i' Ajaw title, it is possible to formulate a sketchy account of the history of the site. As I argued before, the Denver, Brussels and New York panels could have been erected in Sak Tz'i' while the Zurich and Lausanne stelae come from unknown subordinate sites connected to Lacanha and Sak Tz'i' respectively. According to my reconstruction, Sak Tz'i' had at least seven

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[21] Going back eighteen generations of *sajal* (24 years each in office, a mean resulting from the inscriptions of El Cayo, the Dumbarton Oaks Wall Panel and the New Orleans Panel) would yield an approximate date of A.D. 432 which may suggest that the *sajal* formed part of the secondary elites from at least the middle of the Early Classic Period. This is almost 200 years earlier than previously suggested (Houston 1993; Houston and Stuart 2000), although it is congruent with the newest data about the appearance of other secondary elite titles, among them *ti' sak huun*, *aj k'uhuun*, *nuun* and *anaab'* or *anib'*, dated to the middle of the sixth century, or even earlier in the case of the last title which goes back to the late 400s (Zender 2004).

rulers between >564 and 864<, with major gaps in the sequence and with different counts of rulers, bearing in mind the ambiguous dates on the Denver and Brussels Panels:

1.

U K'ab' >564<
K'ab' Chan Te' I >628?
K'ab' Chan Te' II >653-693<
Aj Sak Maax >754-772<
Yeht' K'inich >787<
Jats' Tokal Ek' Hiix >796?<
K'ab' Chan Te' III >864<

2.

U K'ab' >564<
K'ab' Chan Te' I >594-641<
Aj Sak Maax >754-772<
Yeht' K'inich >787<
Jats' Tokal Ek' Hiix >796?<
K'ab' Chan Te' III >864<

It is evident from a glance that the K'ab' Chan Te' sequence was very popular among the rulers of the city. However, it is impossible to say whether it was a recurrent name or a title which was used by every king of the royal family of the city (if indeed there was a family link among them).

There is clear evidence of changes in the influence and power of Sak Tz'i' over other polities in the region in different periods of its existence. This data comes from the inscriptions of other sites which acknowledged its supremacy. It controlled La Mar, Ak'e and several other sites in the middle or at the end of the seventh century; Lacanha, Ak'e and perhaps the "Knot-site" around 717-726 or even until the 740s; El Cayo between 763 and 775; and an unidentified center in 864.

It might have formed an alliance with Palenque in 627 and lost wars against Piedras Negras (627), Yaxchilan-Bonampak (787) and Tonina (796?). Whereas there is no evidence of its subordinate status (save the ambiguous narrative from El Cayo Lintel 1), that can change if the archaeologists find new inscriptions in the future. A more pressing problem is the identification of Sak Tz'i' with one of the many archaeological sites lying in the Selva Lacandona. Armando Anaya Hernández (2001), combining GIS and epigraphy, first delineated a possible territory for Sak Tz'i' and suggested that the archaeological site of Laguna Santa Clara was the best option as the capital of that polity (see Anaya Hernández, Guenter and Zender 2003). At first look, this is a plausible suggestion; nevertheless, I think that Sak Tz'i' lay farther inland, as it was never mentioned directly in the inscriptions of Yaxchilan, while the position of Laguna Santa Clara near to that site makes this highly unlikely. It is more probable that Laguna Santa Clara can be identified with one of the those place names in the texts of Yaxchilan which still are waiting for a secure tie to archaeological sites.

From the monuments which mention Sak Tz'i', only four have secure archaeological contexts—from Piedras Negras, El Cayo, Bonampak and Tonina. Its interaction with La Mar and Lacanha shows a position near to them, possibly near to the fertile Lacanha river valley. All information at hand indicates that Sak Tz'i' was a major polity in the Selva Lacandona zone, lying at the center of a circle delimited by other major centers like Tonina, Palenque, Piedras Negras, Yaxchilan, Bonampak, Lacanha and Santa Elena Poco Uinic. To narrow this circle down, it is plausible to suggest that it lay northwest of Bonampak and Lacanha, and inland, between La Mar, El Cayo and Santa Elena Poco Uinic. The archaeological site of Plan de Ayutla is a good option because of its size and geographical

coordinates; nevertheless, if the Nuevo Jalisco Panels come from that site, this suggestion becomes unlikely and makes the site a suitable candidate for the Early Classic Ak'e. Further archaeological investigation may resolve this puzzle.

Acknowledgements

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Figure 1. Piedras Negras Stela 26. Drawing by John Montgomery.

Left
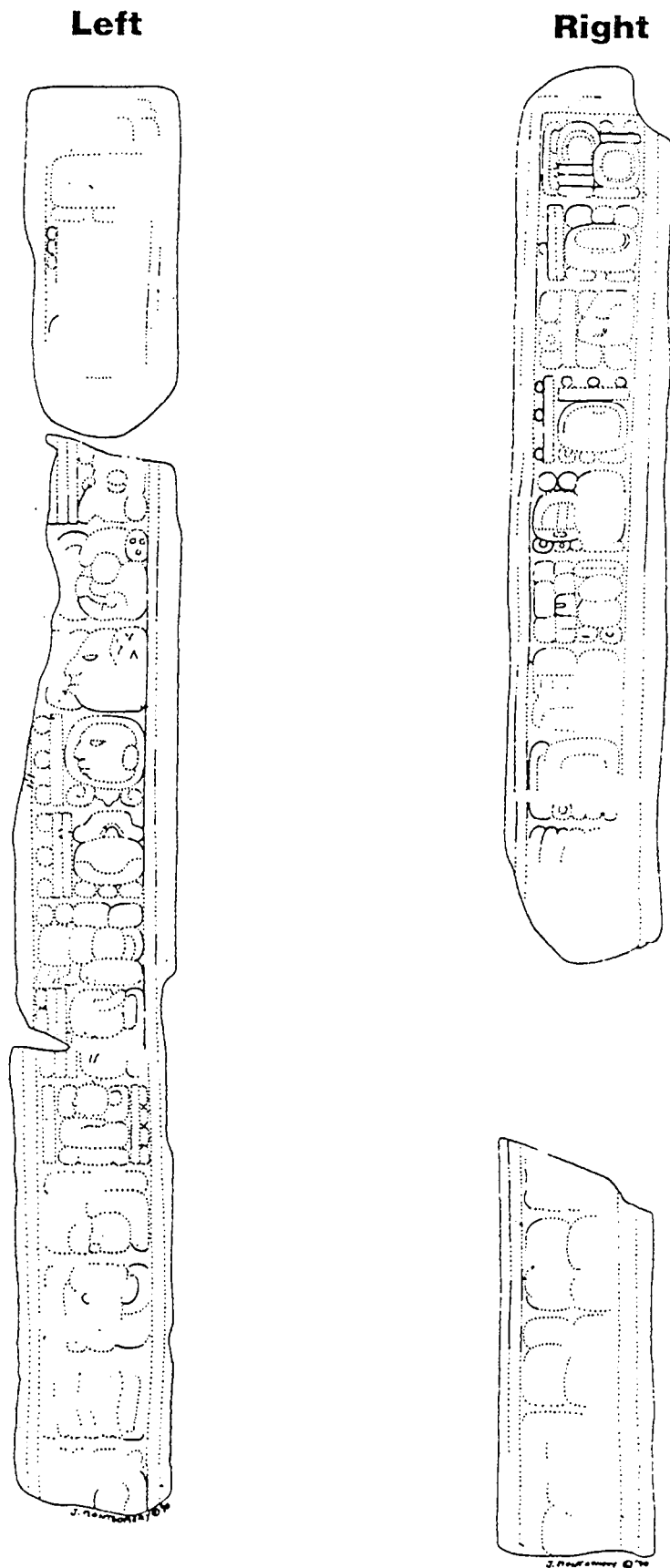
Right

Figure 2. Piedras Negras Stela 26, side texts. Drawings by John Montgomery.
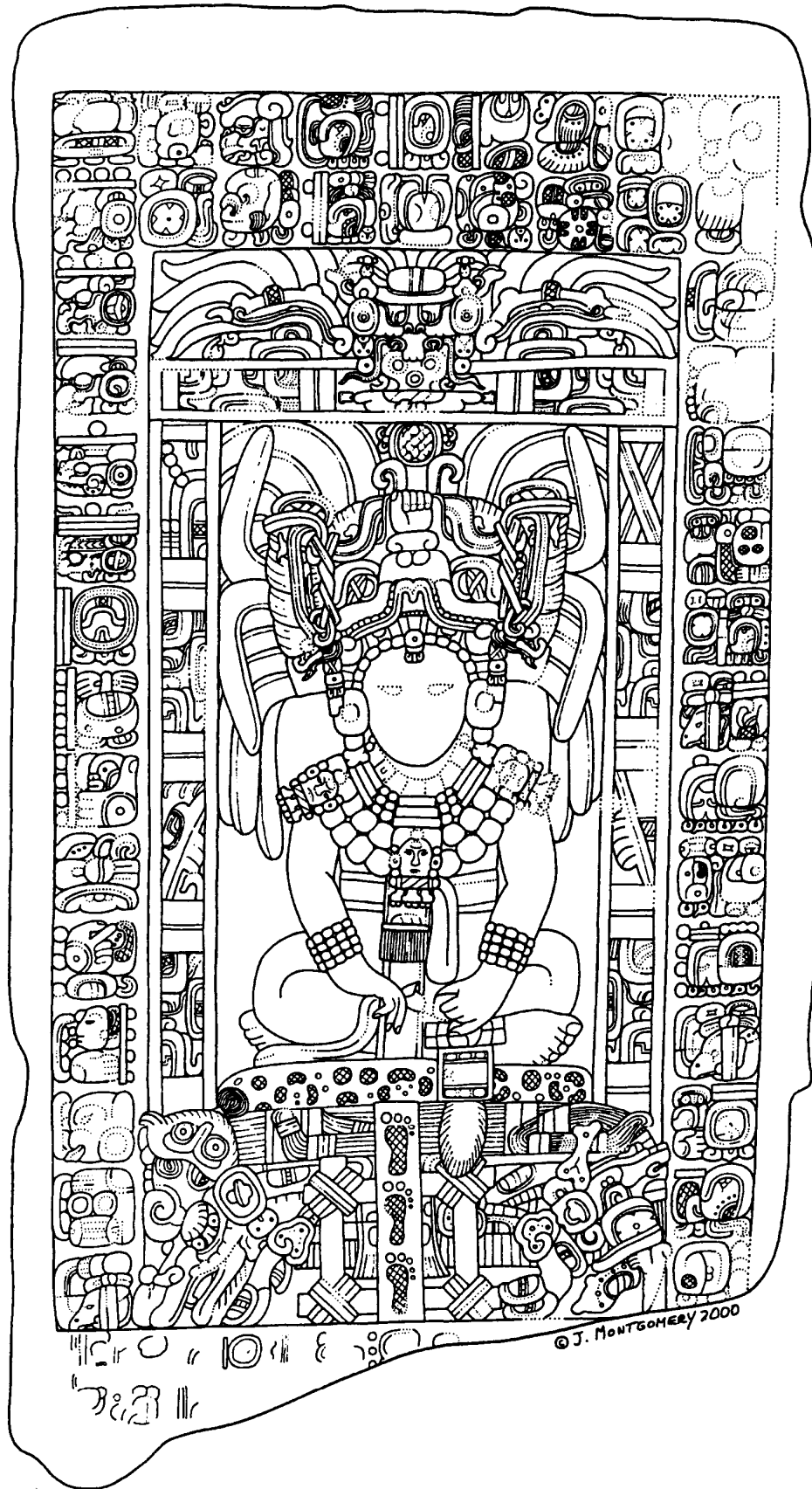
Figure 3. Piedras Negras Stela 25. Drawing copyright 2001 by John Montgomery.
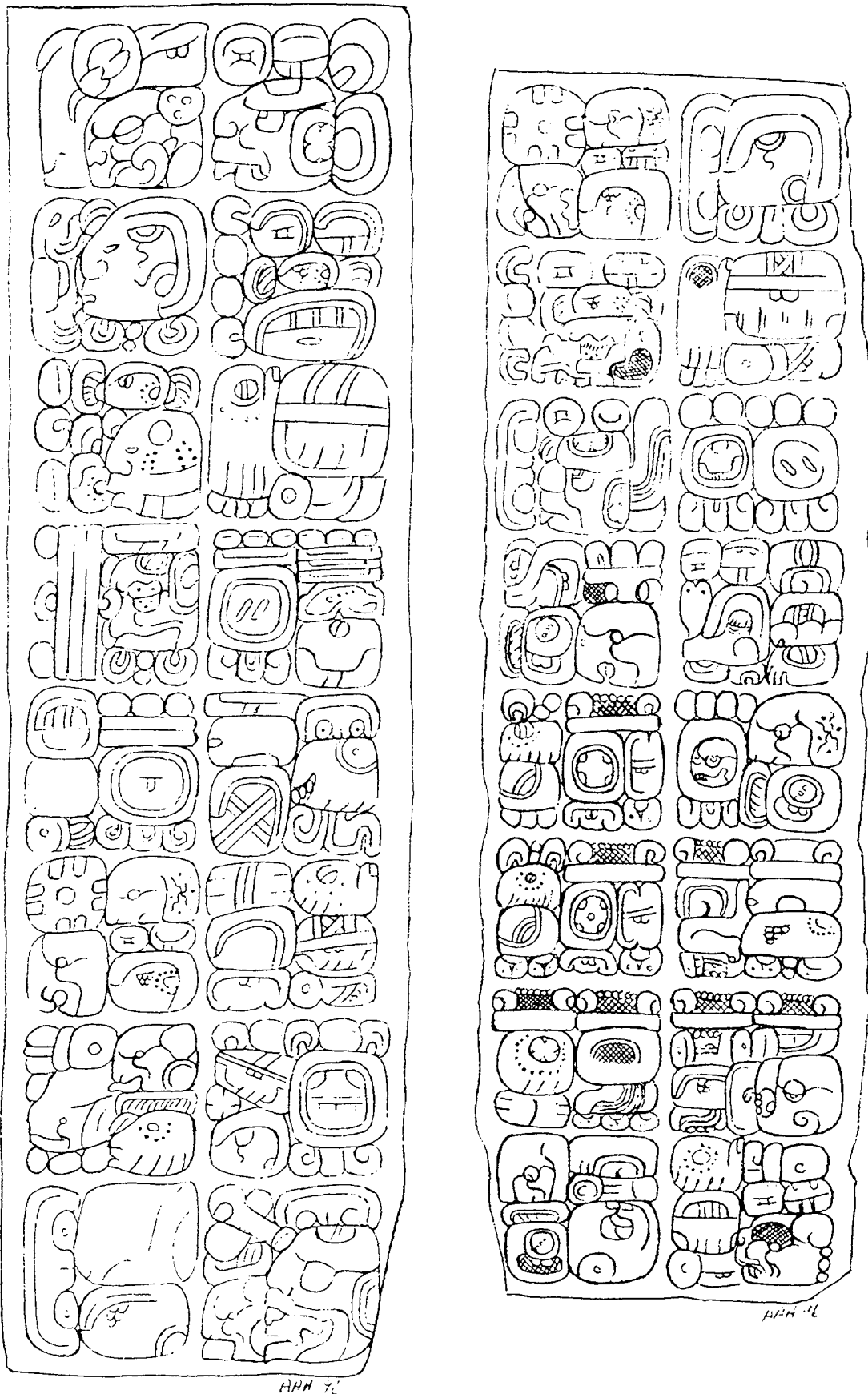
Figure 4. Panels in the Denver and Brussels Museums. Drawings by Alfonso Arellano Hernández.
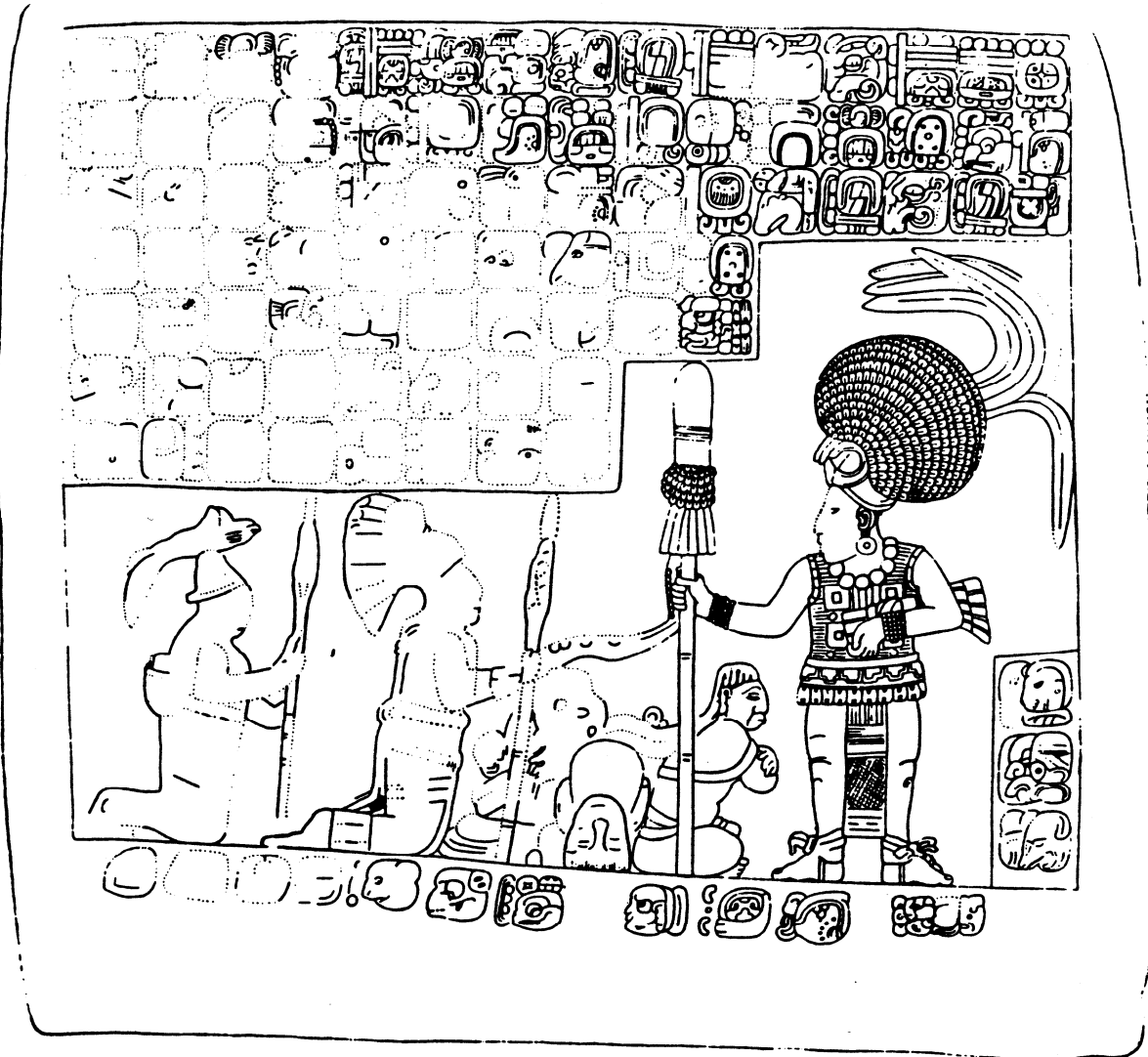
Figure 5. Piedras Negras Panel 4. Drawing by John Montgomery.
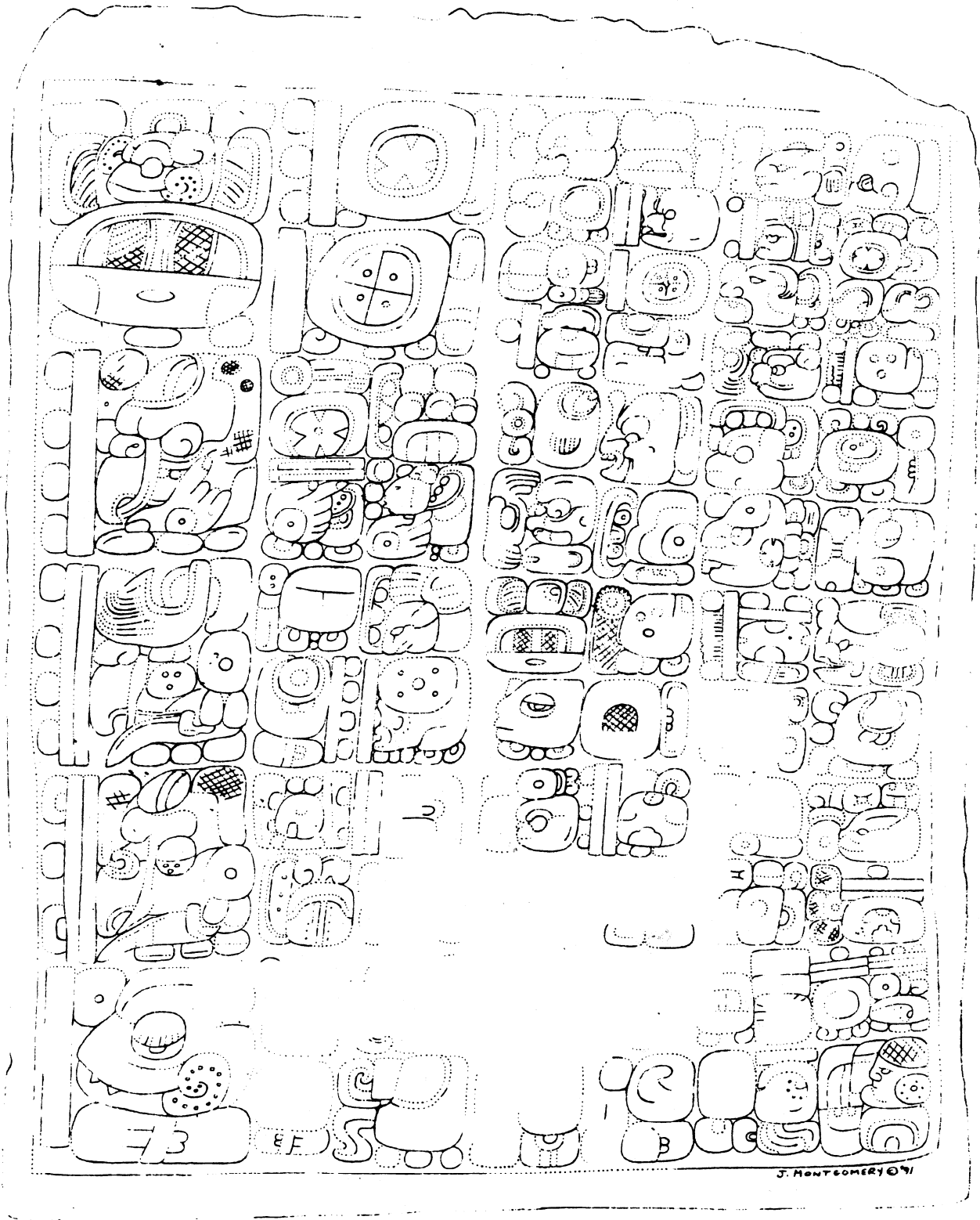
Figure 6. Zurich Panel or Zurich Stela. Drawing copyright 2001 by John Montgomery.
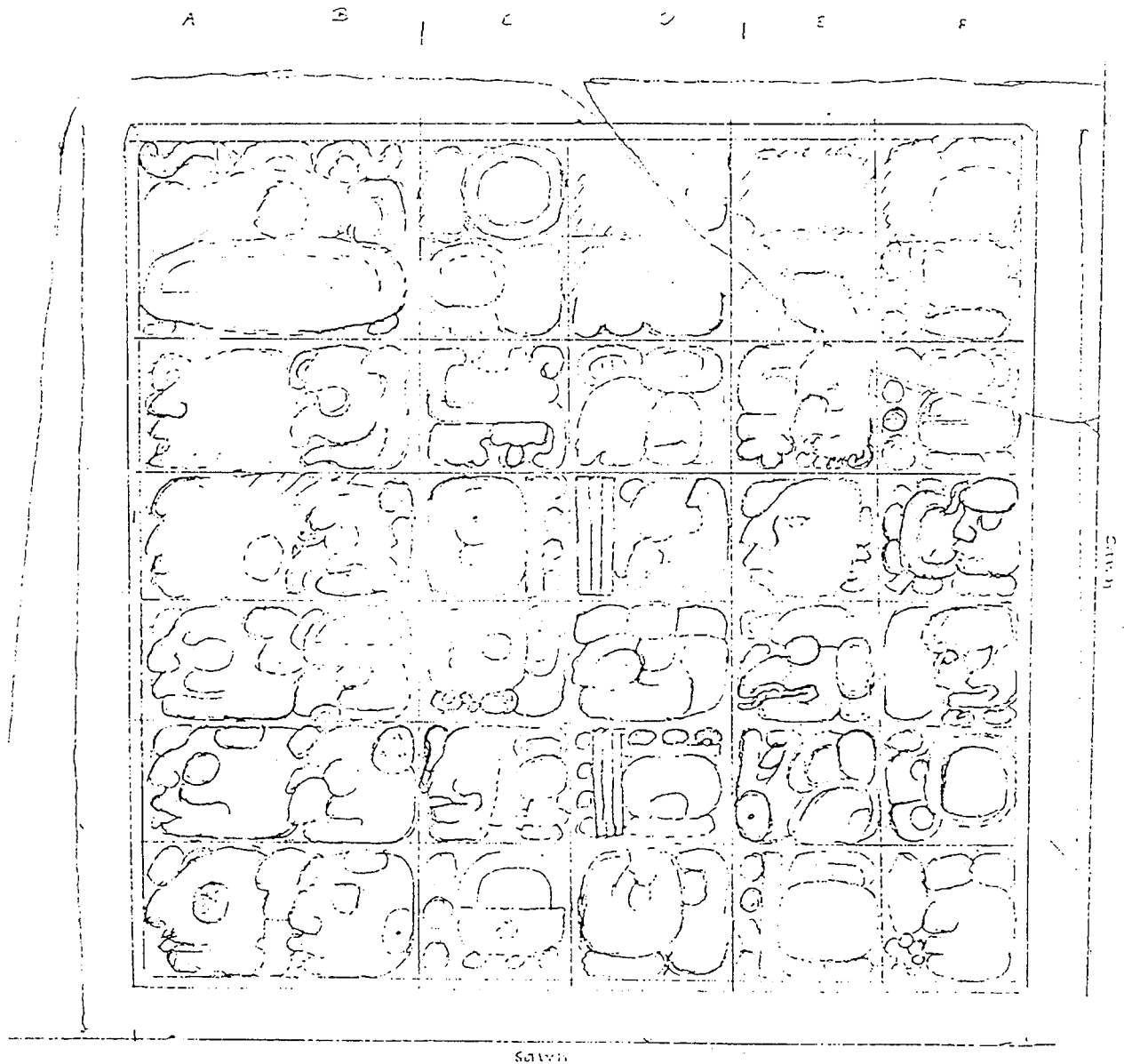
Figure 7. Nuevo Jalisco Panel (first fragment). Sketch by Ian Graham, courtesy of Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions project, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.
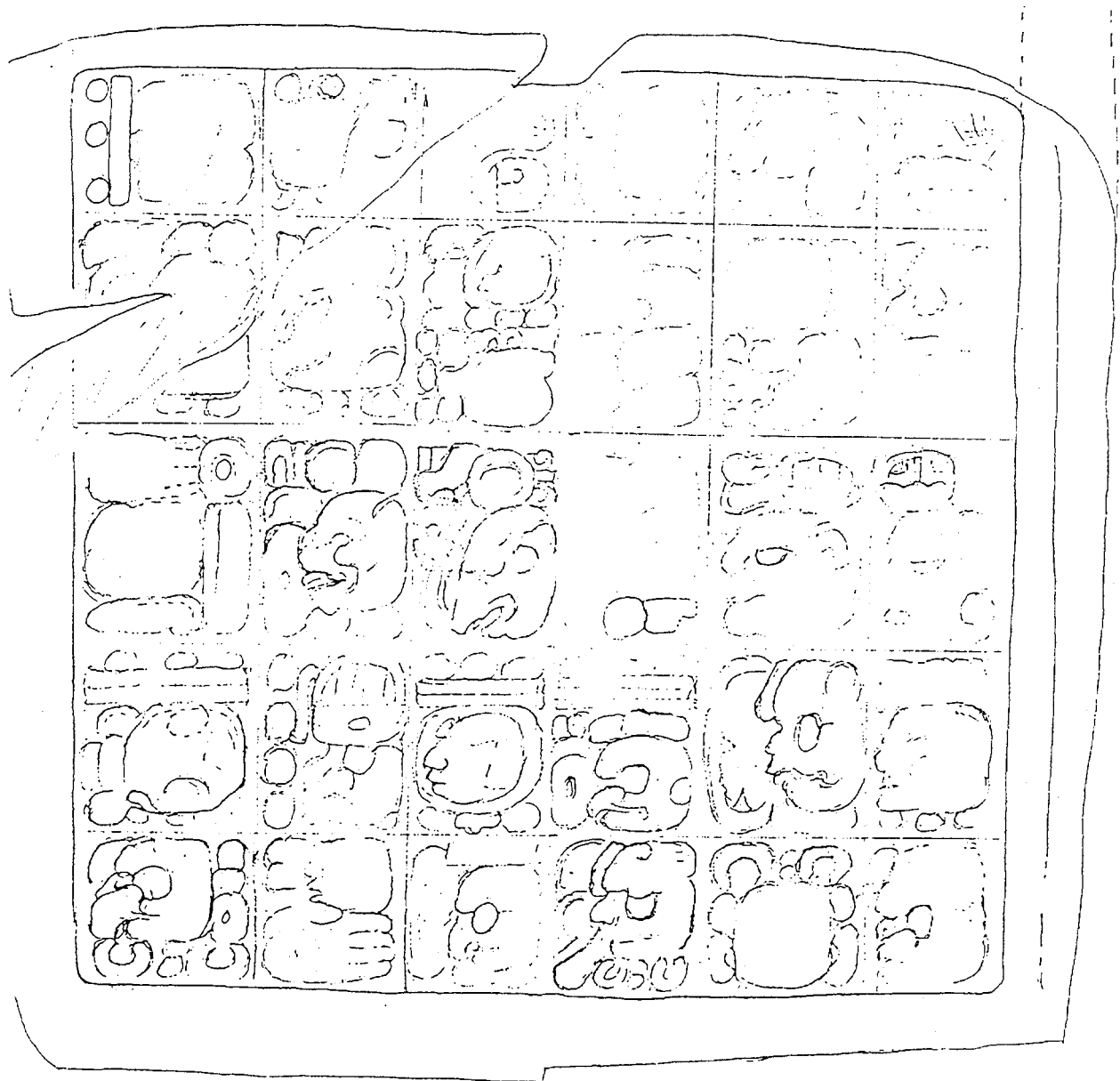
Figure 8. Nuevo Jalisco Panel (second fragment). Sketch by Ian Graham, courtesy of
Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions project, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.
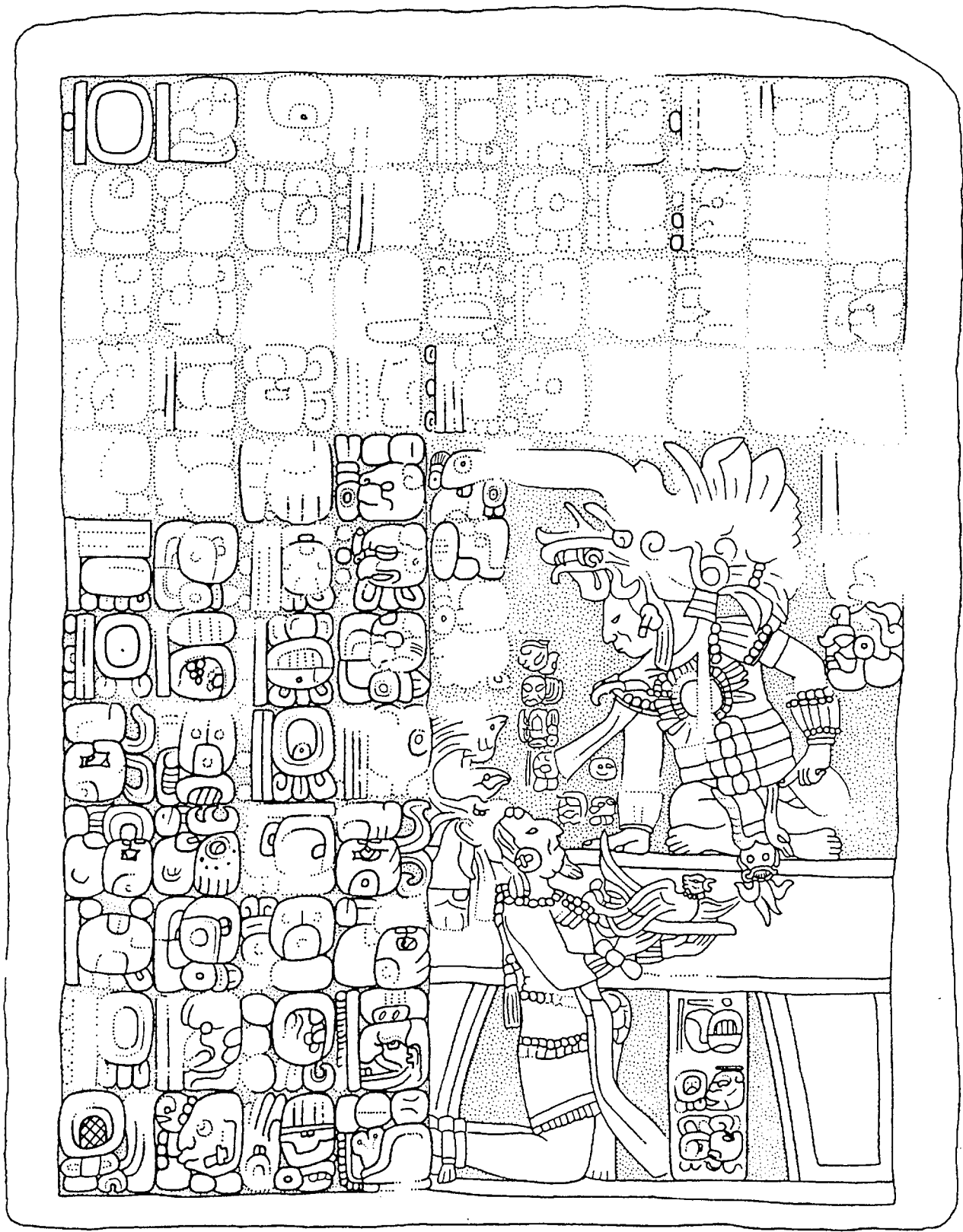
Figure 9. New York or Caracas Panel. Drawing by John Montgomery.
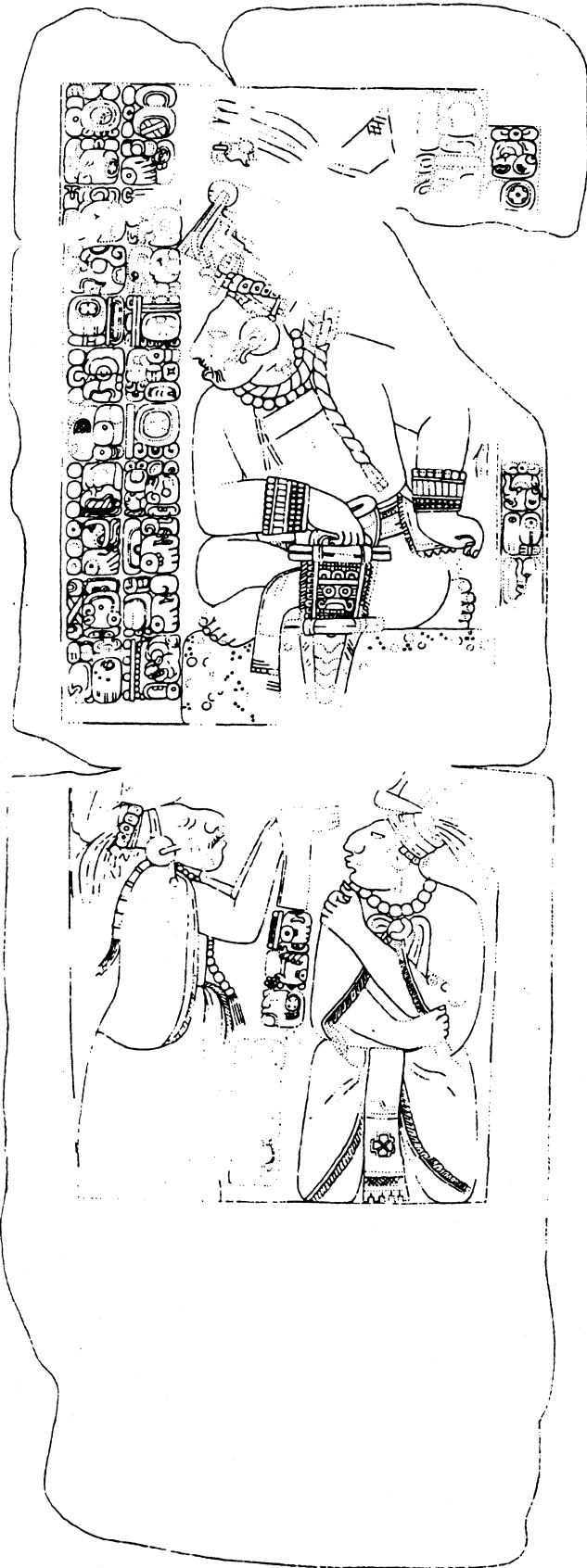
Figure 10. La Mar Stela 1. Drawing copyright 2000 by John Montgomery.
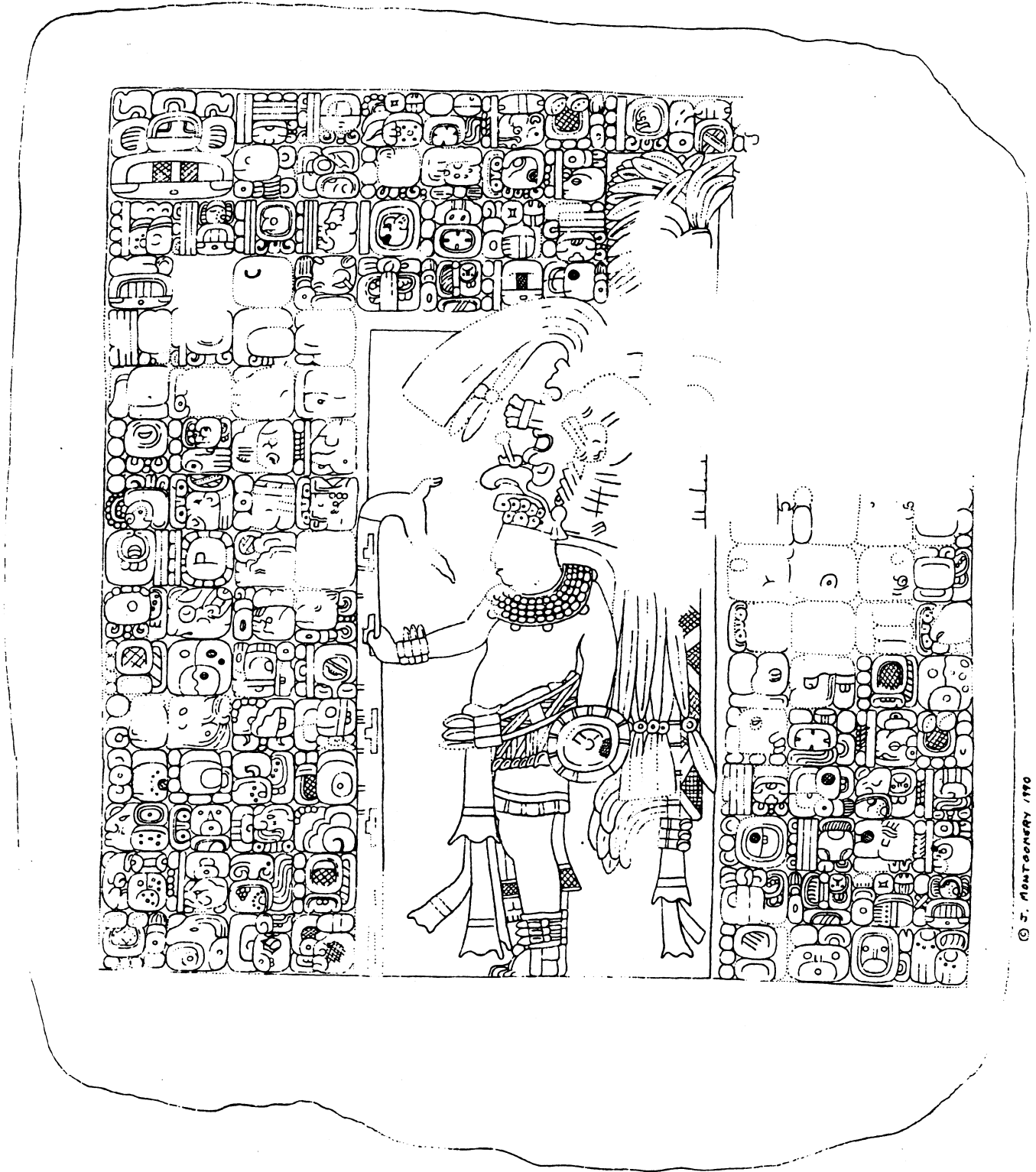
Figure 11. El Cayo Panel 1. Drawing copyright 2000 by John Montgomery.

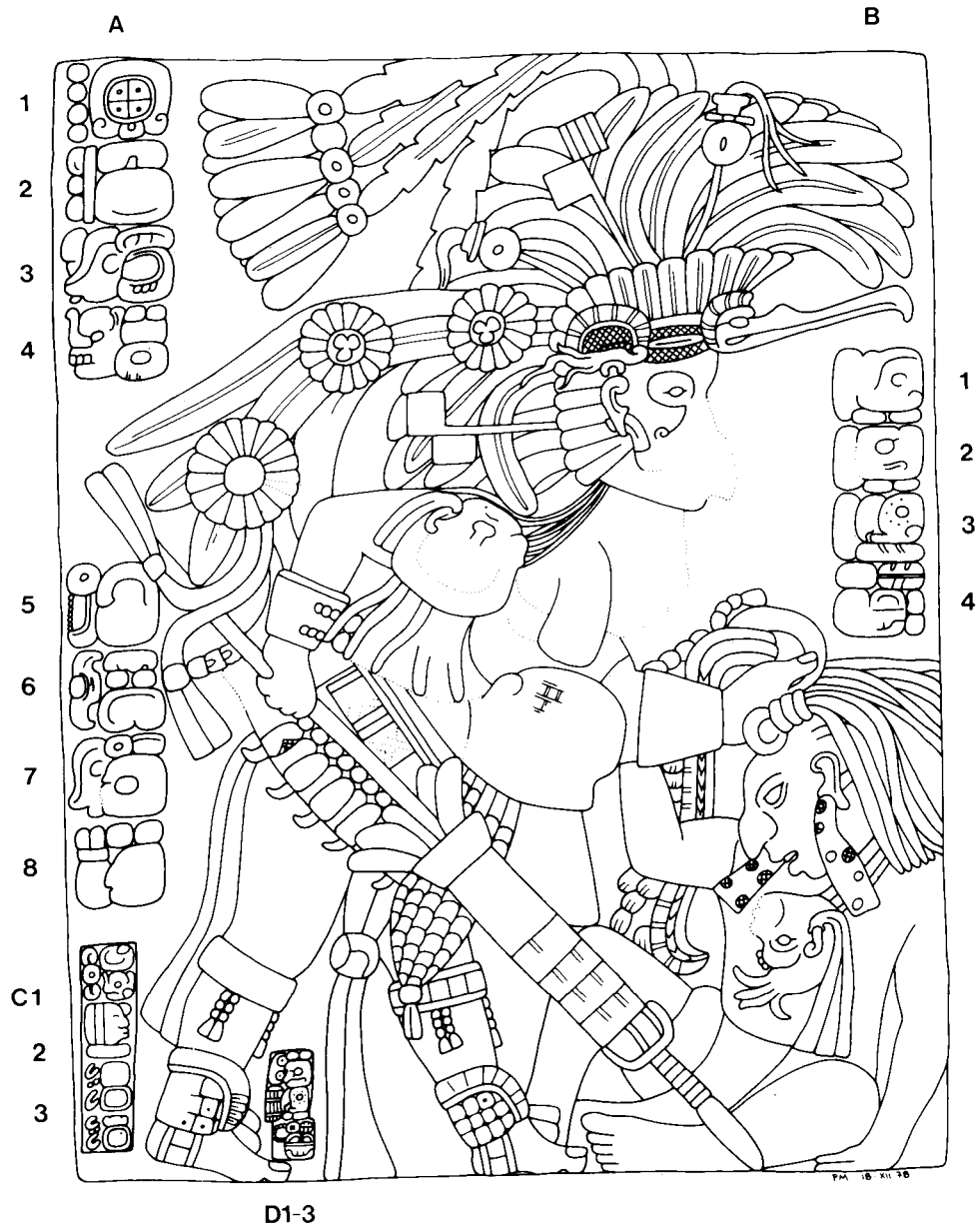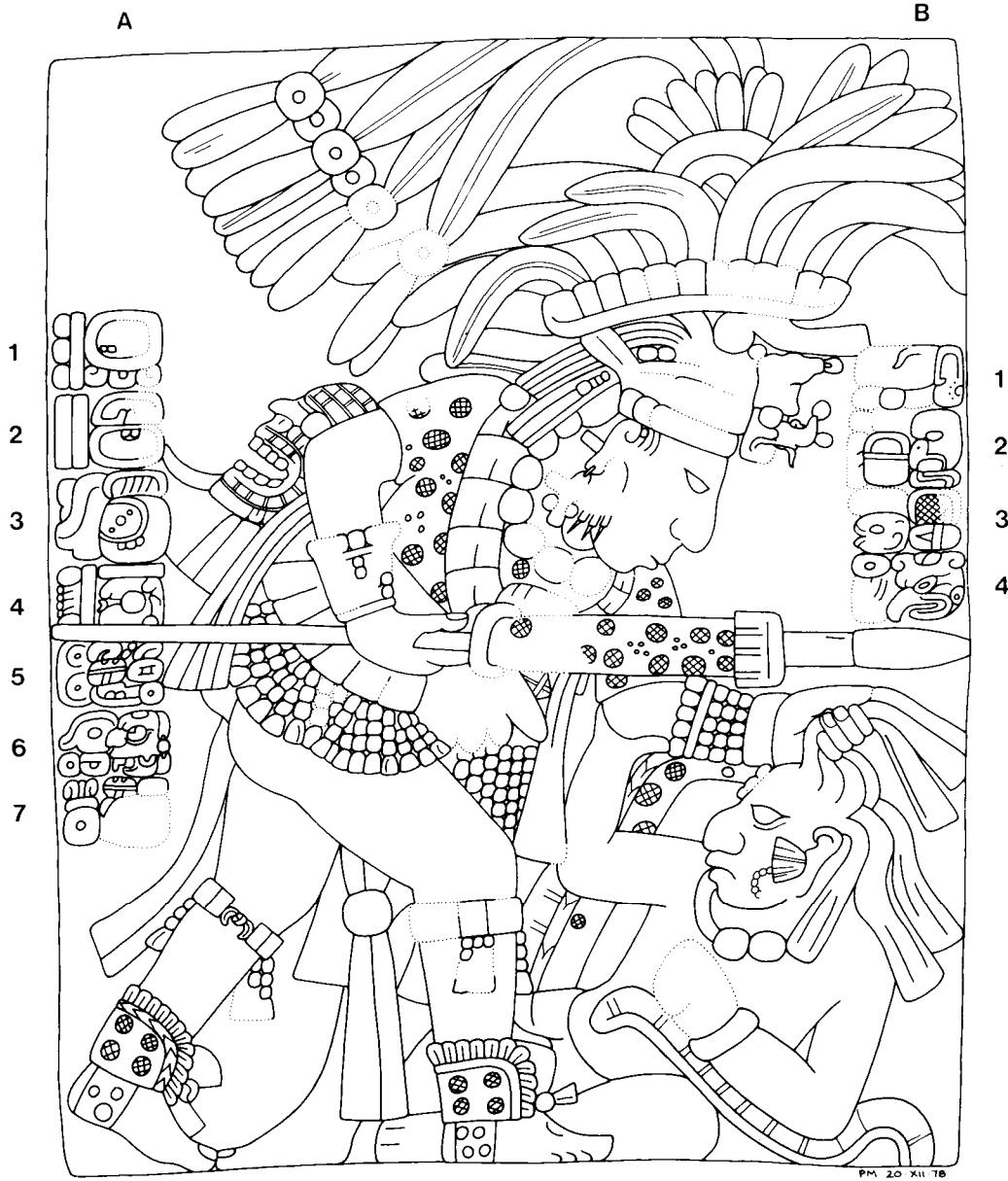Figure 12. Bonampak Lintel 2. Drawing by Peter Mathews.

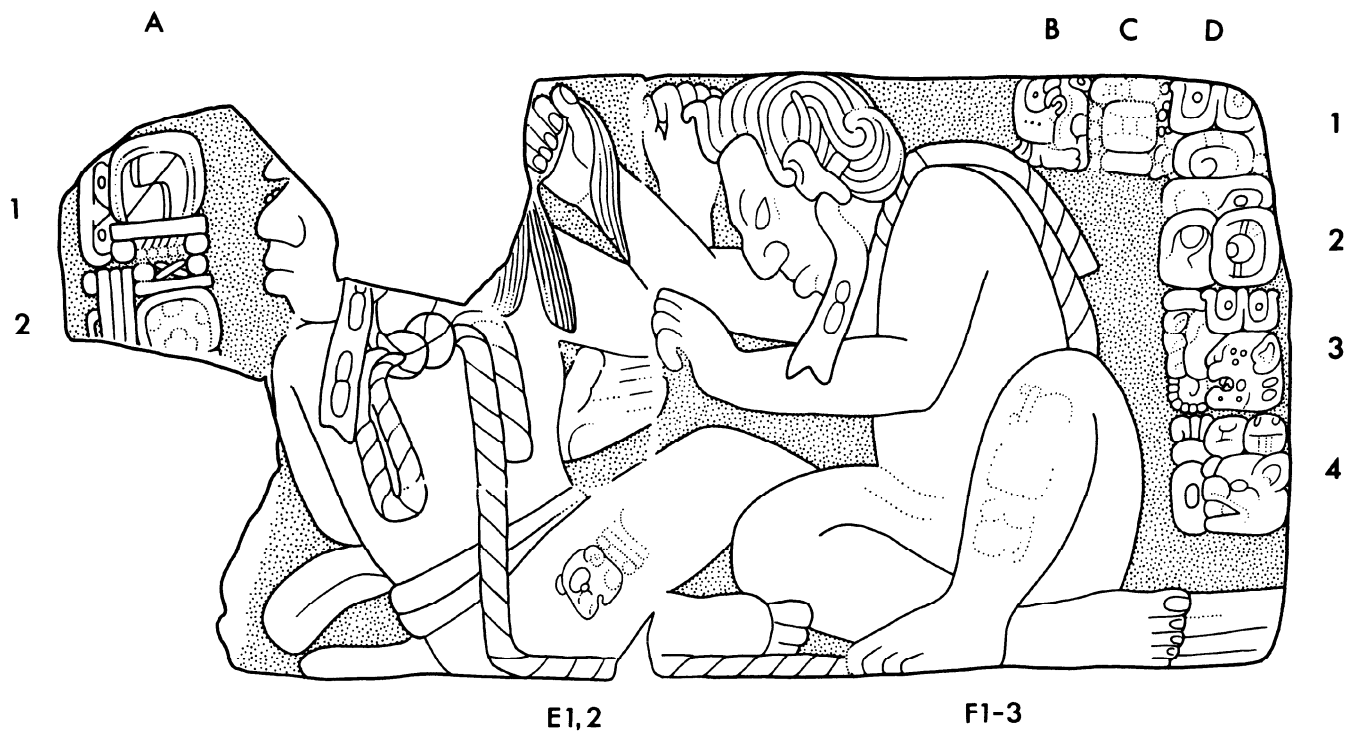Figure 13. Bonampak Lintel 1. Drawing by Peter Mathews.

Figure 14. Tonina Monument 83. Drawing by Ian Graham, courtesy of Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions project, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Figure 15. Lausanne Stela. Drawing by Simon Martin.