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# **Fifth Palenque Round Table, 1983**

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The Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute  
San Francisco

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Library of Congress Catalog Number 85-60786

Lithographed and printed by Herald Printers Inc, Monterey, California.



*Cover illustration:*

GI 'Hunahpu

Birth: 1.18.5.3.2 9 Ik 15 Ceh 2697 B.C.

Drawing by Linda Schele

# The Dynastic History of Naranjo: The Middle Period

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The site of Naranjo is located in Guatemala, about 45 km east-southeast of Tikal. It contains numerous hieroglyphic monuments, including forty-one stelae, one lintel, one ballcourt sculpture, and a hieroglyphic stairway. Unfortunately, many of the glyphic texts are poorly preserved. Nevertheless, some of them are in very good condition and together with those which are partially preserved there is sufficient information to give a detailed account of the dynastic history of the site. Earlier researchers such as Proskouriakoff (1960:464-467), Berlin (1968a, 1973), and Marcus (1976a:58-62, 165-169) had difficulty in obtaining satisfactory pictorial records of the Naranjo inscriptions, a problem now remedied by the appearance of Parts 1-3 of Volume 2 of the *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* (Graham and von Euw 1975; Graham 1978; Graham 1980).

The inscriptions of Naranjo fall into three general periods. An early period accounts for monuments sculpted from 9.8.0.0.0 to 9.10.10.0.0, a middle period for those from 9.13.10.0.0 to 9.14.15.0.0, and a late period for those from 9.17.10.0.0 to 9.19.10.0.0. The earliest date which may be attributed to the middle period at Naranjo is 9.12.10.5.12. There is thus a gap of some forty years between the last monument of the early period and the first reference to renewed activity in the middle period. Another gap of approximately forty years separates the latest date in the middle period from the earliest date in the late period. This gap may be more apparent than real, for there are a number of stelae whose Long Count placements are uncertain but which may fall into this interregnum.

The present paper is concerned with the dynastic happenings at Naranjo in the middle period. Interestingly, there is a continuity between the early and middle periods despite the hiatus in monumental activity noted above. In a previous paper (Closs n.d. b), I presented a reconstruction of the dynastic history of Naranjo in the early period. I then designated the great ruler of this period as "Chief Double-Comb" (Fig. 1a). His name glyph appears on three monuments of the middle period, and in order to appreciate these posthumous references it is necessary

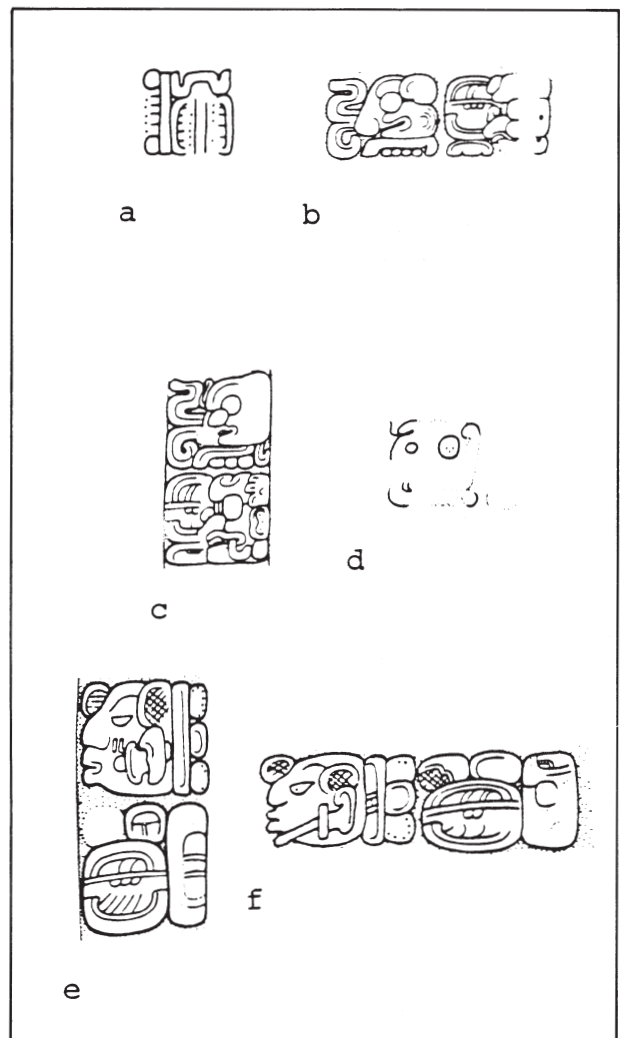


Fig. 1 Rulers named in the monuments of the middle period at Naranjo. Chief Double-Comb: (a) Stela 3, E14. Smoking Squirrel: (b) Stela 22, E7-F7, (c) Stela 30, B2-B3, (d) Stela 3, E6-F6. Lady 6: (e) Stela 24, A6-A7, (f) Stela 29, H13-I13.

to recall that Double-Comb acceded to the throne at 9.5.12.0.4. This event is recorded on the early period Stela 25 together with its one, two, three, and three-and-a-half katun anniversaries. The significance of the middle period references will be discussed later in the paper.

There are twelve stelae from Naranjo which contain glyphic texts sufficiently well preserved to shed light on the history of the middle period. A thirteenth monument, Stela 26, may also be assigned to the middle period but cannot be tied to a specific date due to its fragmentary nature. Of the thirteen stelae pertaining to the middle period, eight, including Stela 26, are associated with a male ruler whom I shall refer to as "Smoking Squirrel." The remaining five are associated with a female ruler whom I shall refer to as "Lady 6." A summary of the dates on the twelve monuments which can be fixed in the Long Count is given in Table 1. The Long Count positions are listed in chronological order and are cross-referenced by monument and by ruler. The monuments in Table 1, with the exception of Stela 18, constitute the *Series I Monuments* listed by Proskouriakoff (1960:465).

Berlin (1968a:23) presents a date chart similar to Table 1 which covers the same monuments with the addition of Stela 20. The last monument is not included in the present analysis because its Calendar Round date is problematic and it is not fixed in the Long Count by its glyphic text. Moreover, there is reason to doubt that its protagonist is in fact Smoking Squirrel since the name of the ruler depicted on Stela 20 carries affixes (T18 and T126) which are not found in other representations of Smoking Squirrel's name, and the T117 postfix found with Smoking Squirrel's name is not used on Stela 20. It may be noted that while the dates in the two charts agree for the most part, there are some discrepancies. These are related to chronological decipherments on Stelae 1, 2, 18, 21, and 28.

Table 1 also disagrees with a few of the dedicatory dates for Naranjo stelae suggested by Mathews (Graham 1978:111). He assigns Stela 5 and Stela 20 to Long Count positions at 9.13.7.3.8 and 9.14.2.12.16, respectively, which would place them both within the middle period. I regard both of these placements as problematic and do not include them in Table 1. In addition, Mathews, probably due to a typographical error, places the dedicatory date of Stela 29 at 9.13.3.0.0 rather than one katun later at 9.14.3.0.0. Finally, he suggests that Stela 28 was dedicated at 9.14.10.0.0. The Long Count placement of this stela is very important since it is the latest monument dedicated to Smoking Squirrel. Six dates can be surely identified on Stela 28, all falling within an interval of about half a tun, running from 9.14.4.7.1 to 9.14.4.17.9. The latest of these dates is just eleven days before the quarter-katun event at 9.14.5.0.0, and there is more than ample space in the last two glyph columns of the badly eroded text to record such an event. It is also worth noting that this is the only quarter-katun event during the middle period for which no dedicatory monument has been identified. Thus, given the temporal distribution of

monuments at Naranjo and the distribution of dates on Stela 28, it seems more likely that the monument was dedicated at 9.14.5.0.0 rather than 9.14.10.0.0.

### Smoking Squirrel

Three examples of the name glyph of Smoking Squirrel are illustrated in Fig. 1, b-d. The name contains two glyphic expressions. The first consists of the T122 prefix, interpreted here as a symbol for "smoke," the head of a rodent, interpreted here as a squirrel, and a T117 postfix. The second part of the name consists of the T561, *caan* "sky" glyph with its common T23, *-na*, postfix, and anthropomorphic head with extended nose and lolling tongue, characteristic of God B in the codices. Jones (1977:39-41) has discussed a similar Sky God B glyph, occurring as the second part of the name of Ruler A of Tikal, and has observed that in this context it is sometimes replaced by the name glyph of God B (T668) as used in the codices.

The name of Smoking Squirrel occurs at least thirty-one times in the Naranjo inscriptions [Stela 1, A6-A7, C15-D15; Stela 2, A3-A4, D13-E13, E19-D20; Stela 3, E6-F6; Stela 21, A9-A10, F10-E11; Stela 22, A4-A5, E7-F7, F10-E11, H16-G17; Stela 23, E15-F15, H2-G3, H11-G12, H19-G20; Stela 24, C13-B13; Stela 26, p Ap1 – p Bp1; Stela 28, B6-B7, D11-C12; Stela 29, I8-H9; Stela 30, B2-B3, D10-C11, F10-E11, E15-F15, H6-G7, H10-G11, H14-G15; Stela 31, F12-E13, G7-H7, G14-H14]. It is significant that in all of these appearances, with the possible exception of Stela 3, E6-F6 (Fig. 1d), the form of Smoking Squirrel's name is invariant.

The simplest proof that the above glyph combination is the name of a Naranjo ruler can be seen on Stela 21, E9-F11, and on Stela 23, G16-H20. In each of these cases the name intervenes between the Naranjo emblem glyph and a preceding phrase of a chronological and calendrical nature.

Full-figure portraits of Smoking Squirrel appear on Stelae 1, 2, 21, 22, 23, 28, and 30.

### Lady 6

Two examples of the name glyph of Lady 6 are illustrated in Fig. 1, e-f. The names differ only in the ultimate postfix where one has T24 and the other a related head variant. The name begins with the female head glyph, T1002, *na* "mother" the common prefix for female names in the inscriptions. This is attached to the bar and dot numeral "six." The second part of the name contains a T168, *Ahau* "lord, ruler," superfix, a T561, *caan* "sky," glyph as main sign, and one of the two variant postfixes noted earlier.

The name of Lady 6 occurs at least twelve times in the Naranjo inscriptions [Stela 18, D3-C4, F5; Stela 24, A6-A7, C9-B10, D6-E6, D17-E17; Stela 29, G10-F11, I4-H5, H13-I13, I17-H18; Stela 31, E15-F15, I15].

Full-figure portraits of Lady 6 appear on Stelae 3, 24, 29, and 31.

### The Birth of Smoking Squirrel

As Proskouriakoff (1960:465) first pointed out, there

TABLE 1. Long Count positions and dates from the middle period at Naranjo.

	Lady 6	Royal Sky	24		3	29	31	18	
	Smoking Squirrel		22	1	21	23	2	30	28
9. 6.10. 0. 0	8 Ahau 13 Pax								
9. 6.12. 0. 4	4 Kan 7 Pax								
9.12.10. 0. 0	9 Ahau 8 Zotz'								
9.12.10. 5.12	4 Eb 10 Yax								
9.12.10. 5.15	7 Men 13 Yax								
9.12.15.13. 7	9 Manik 0 Kayab								
9.13. 1. 3.19	5 Cauac 2 Xul								
9.13. 1. 4.19	12 Cauac 2 Yaxkin								
9.13. 1. 9. 5	7 Chicchan 8 Zac								
9.13. 1.13.14	5 Ix 17 Muan								
9.13. 2.16.10	5 Oc 8 Cumku								
9.13. 3. 0. 0	9 Ahau 13 Pop								
9.13. 4. 1.13	12 Ben 1 Zip								
9.13. 5. 4.13	3 Ben 16 Zec								
9.13. 6. 4.17	3 Caban 15 Zec								
9.13. 6.10. 4	6 Kan 2 Zac								
9.13. 7. 3. 8	9 Lamat 1 Zotz'								
9.13. 9. 8. 5	7 Chicchan 8 Mol								
9.13.10. 0. 0	7 Ahau 3 Cumku								
9.13.14. 4. 2	8 Ik 0 Zip								
9.13.15. 0. 0	13 Ahau 18 Pax								
9.13.18. 4.18	8 Etz'nab 16 Uo								
9.13.18. 9.15	1 Men 13 Yaxkin								
9.13.19. 6. 3	3 Akbal 16 Zip								
9.14. 0. 0. 0	6 Ahau 13 Muan								
9.14. 0.10. 0	11 Ahau 8 Yaxkin								
9.14. 1. 2. 9	12 Muluc 17 Kayab								
9.14. 1. 3.19	3 Cauac 2 Pop								
9.14. 1.12. 4	12 Kan 7 Ch'en								
9.14. 1.13.14	3 Ix 17 Yax								
9.14. 2. 1.19	11 Cauac 2 Kayab								
9.14. 2. 4. 0	13 Ahau 3 Uayeb								
9.14. 2.15. 7	6 Manik 5 Ceh								
9.14. 3. 0. 0	7 Ahau 18 Kankin								
9.14. 4. 7. 1	1 Imix 9 Zip								
9.14. 4. 7. 5	5 Chicchan 13 Zip								
9.14. 4.12. 7	3 Manik 15 Mol								
9.14. 4.12. 8	4 Lamat 16 Mol								
9.14. 4.14. 1	11 Imix 9 Yax								
9.14. 4.16.17	2 Caban 5 Mac								
9.14. 4.17. 9	1 Muluc 17 Mac								
9.14. 6.11. 2	9 Ik 0 Yaxkin								
9.14. 7. 4.17	10 Caban 15 Cumku								
9.14. 7.13. 6	10 Cimi 19 Mol								
9.14.10. 0. 0	5 Ahau 3 Mac								
9.14.13.16. 4	5 Kan 7 Yax								
9.14.14. 7. 2	1 Ik 0 Pop								
9.14.14.10.14	8 Ix 12 Zotz'								
9.14.15. 0. 0	11 Ahau 18 Zac								

are three statements recording the birth of Smoking Squirrel at 9.12.15.13.7, each employing the usual T740 birth glyph [Stela 22, E1-F11; Stela 24, B11-C17; Stela 29, H6-I9]. The birth is introduced by an Initial Series on Stela 22, the only monument dedicated to Smoking Squirrel which is known to mention it. Since no other monument in his series has an earlier dedicatory date, Stela 22 may be regarded as his initial monument. The remaining two records of the birth are found on monuments dedicated to Lady 6.

### The Accession of Smoking Squirrel

Some of the general observations of Proskouriakoff (1960:460) concerning the inscriptions of Piedras Negras are applicable to those at Naranjo. For example, she noted that the monuments at Piedras Negras could be arranged in several series, each series corresponding to a presumed ruler. Similar series can be established at Naranjo for the rulers of the early, middle, and late periods. In the present case, Table 1 exhibits a series of seven monuments associated with Smoking Squirrel and a series of five monuments associated with Lady 6. Proskouriakoff observed that the earliest date in a given series was marked by T740 and she termed it the "initial date." This pattern is repeated at Naranjo in the Smoking Squirrel series and the initial date, now known to correspond to a birth date, has been discussed above. Proskouriakoff also noted that the first monument in a given series was marked by an "ascension motif" and was associated with a date she called the "inaugural date." Finally, she mentioned that the initial and inaugural dates tended to be repeated within a given series of monuments and were frequently commemorated by anniversaries. With respect to Naranjo, Proskouriakoff (1960:466) did not believe that the inaugural dates were marked by a distinctive motif or that they were celebrated by anniversaries. However, she did comment that the late period Stela 32 had a composition suggestive of the ascension motif at Piedras Negras and postulated that it began another series. This is confirmed by the existence of an inauguration glyph on Stela 32, S3, and by the fact that it is the first and only monument in the series dedicated to the ruler portrayed.

Berlin (1968a:17) has noted that the sculpted scene on Stela 22, the initial monument in the Smoking Squirrel series, shows an individual seated on an elevated throne (Fig. 2). He compared this theme to that found on Stela 32 which Proskouriakoff had related to the accession motif at Piedras Negras. Berlin accepted her interpretation and extended it to Stela 22, proposing that this monument depicted Smoking Squirrel's accession to power. He did not recognize an inauguration glyph in the text of Stela 22 and believed that the problem of the accession was complicated by Stela 20 which does mark an accession and which, as noted earlier, Berlin associated with Smoking Squirrel. While I endorse Berlin's notion that Stela 22 portrays the accession of Smoking Squirrel, I have rejected that proposal that Stela 20 is a Smoking Squirrel monument. This removes one complication but

leaves the problem of locating an inauguration statement on Stela 22. If the patterns observed by Proskouriakoff at Piedras Negras are to prevail at Naranjo, Stela 22 should record the accession of Smoking Squirrel.

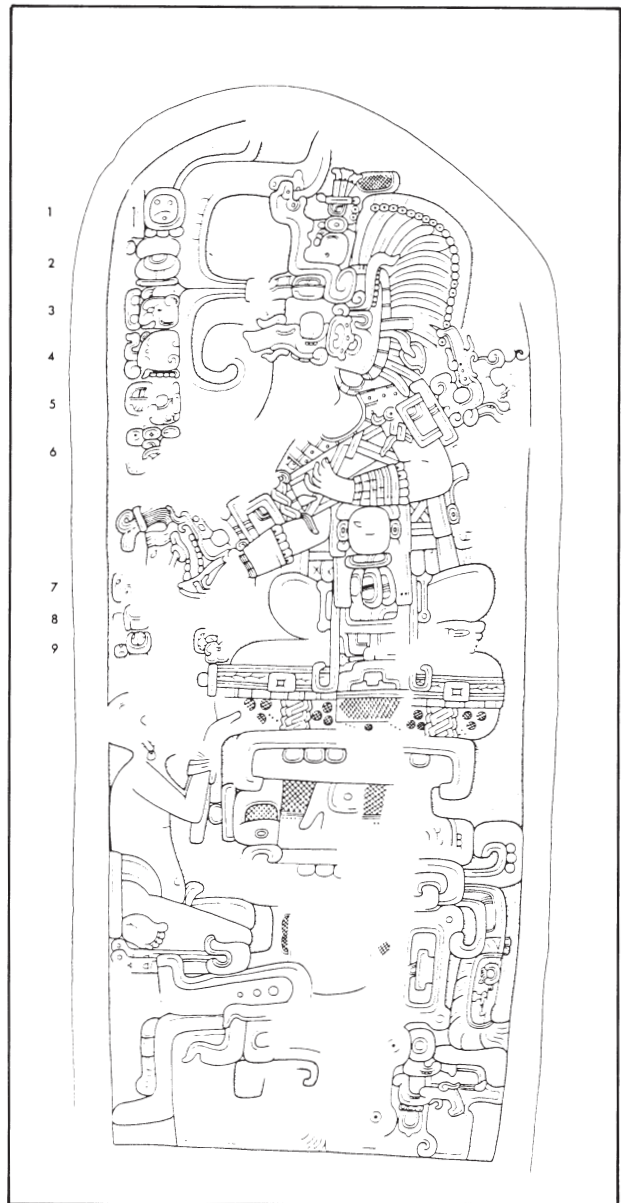


Fig. 2 Scene depicting the accession of Smoking Squirrel; Naranjo, Stela 22.

The earliest date following the birth of Smoking Squirrel on Stela 22 occurs at 9.13.1.3.19. I will argue that the event on this date, of which Smoking Squirrel is the protagonist, marks the beginning of his reign. The date is commemorated on Stela 21 and its first katun anniversary is celebrated on Stelae 2, 3, and 30. Thus, there are at least five references to the proposed accession date and its anniversary. By comparison, the birth of Smoking Squirrel is recorded three times. The only other dates

with multiple listings during the reign of Smoking Squirrel are of a chronological nature and refer to period endings. Hence, the pattern of dates gives strong support to the idea that Smoking Squirrel was inaugurated at 9.13.1.3.19.

Testifying to the importance of the event at 9.13.1.3.19 is the fact that its date is directly fixed in the Long Count by an initial Series on Stela 21. Unfortunately, the description of the event on this monument is totally effaced. The earlier reference to the event, on Stela 22, is well preserved and is reproduced in Fig. 3a. The verb at E10 employs as main sign the expression T168:518. This expression, with different affixes, appears in the predicate phrase of an accession statement of the great Pacal of Palenque [Temple of the Inscriptions, East Panel, R10-Q11]. It also occurs in the predicate phrase of an accession statement of New-Sky-at-Horizon of Copan [Structure 11, North Step, K2] (Proskouriakoff 1960:468). In each of these cases the predicate phrase has a two-part form in which the first part is an accession verb and the second part functions as an indirect object. Based on analogous constructions in other texts (Closs 1982), this second part has a meaning which should correspond to the concept of rulership. These examples tie the usage of the verb on Stela 22, E10, to accessions in general and to the notion of rulership in particular and give glyphic support to the idea that Smoking Squirrel was inaugurated on 9.13.1.3.19.

Smoking Squirrel commemorated the one katun anniversary of his accession in a sentence on Stela 30. The text is reproduced in Fig. 3b and may be paraphrased as follows.

- E7 [It was] 19 [kins], 3 uinals and
- F7 1 tun [to]
- E8-F8 3 Cauac 2 Pop [9.14.1.3.19]
- E9 at the joining together of
- F9 his first katun
- E10 in the rulership
- F10 Smoking Squirrel
- E11 Sky God B
- F11 Lord of Naranjo

The glyph at E10, glossed as “in the rulership,” is somewhat problematic, but the locative prefix T59, *ti* “at, in,” and the T168, *Ahau* “lord, ruler,” superfix are visible. Moreover, the form and intent of the anniversary statement imitate a pattern which has been described elsewhere (Closs 1982).

Two stelae were actually erected to commemorate the anniversary of Smoking Squirrel’s accession at 9.14.1.3.19. On one of these, Stela 2, the anniversary is marked by an Initial Series. Most of the glyphs have been eroded but enough remains at B10-C10 (Fig. 3c) to show that the Initial Series celebrates “his first katun in the rulership.” Precedents for such anniversary phrases pertaining to accessions have been described elsewhere (Closs 1982).

The second stela dedicated at Smoking Squirrel’s an-

niversary celebration is Stela 3. It belongs to the series of monuments associated with Lady 6. The reference to the anniversary occurs in a sentence running from E1 to E11. The anniversary date is found at E4-E5, Smoking Squirrel’s name at E6-F6, and the Naranjo emblem glyph

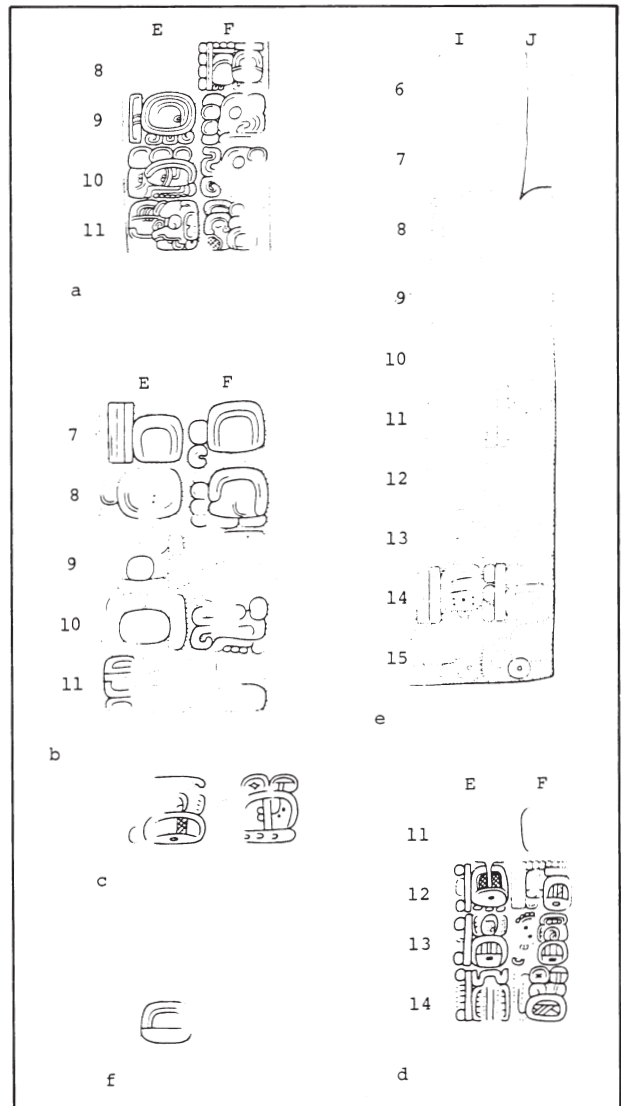


Fig. 3 (a) Sentence describing the accession of Smoking Squirrel; Naranjo, Stela 22, F8-F11. (b) Sentence describing the one katun anniversary of Smoking Squirrel’s accession; Naranjo, Stela 30, E7-F11 (c) Reference to the one katun anniversary of Smoking Squirrel’s accession; Naranjo, Stela 2, B10-C10. (d) Sentence relating the one katun anniversary of Chief Double-Comb’s accession to a similar event in the reign of Smoking Squirrel; Naranjo, Stela 3, F11-F14. (e) The end of the text on Stela 28 relating the one katun anniversary of the first quarter-katun event in the reign of Chief Double-Comb to a similar event in the reign of Smoking Squirrel; Naranjo, Stela 28, I6-J15. (f) Anniversary katun from Stela 28, B4.

title at E7. The name phrase is followed by that of a Lady Ahau of “Tikal” at E9, and by a woman’s name at E10-F10. The latter female is clearly not Lady 6, and whether or not she is to be identified with the lady at E9 is not certain. However, it is possible that this woman is Smoking Squirrel’s wife. Many of the remaining glyphs in this sentence are eroded and the visible details shed little light on the nature of the anniversary date and the relationships among the people named.

However, the terminal sentence on Stela 3 is in excellent condition, is of considerable interest, and is reproduced in Fig. 3d. It is a subsidiary sentence attached to the preceding sentence marking Smoking Squirrel’s anniversary. The subsidiary sentence may be paraphrased as follows:

F11-E12 [On] (4 Kan) 7 Pax [9.6.12.0.4]  
 F12 [it was] 15 [kins], 3 uinals, 9 tuns and  
 E13 7 katuns  
 F13a from the joining together of  
 F13b his katun  
 E14 Chief Double-Comb  
 F14 Lord of Naranjo

This sentence recalls the one katun anniversary of Double-Comb’s accession at 9.5.12.0.4. The fact that it is attached to an anniversary date of Smoking Squirrel implies that the anniversary is like-in-kind to that of Double-Comb. Since Double-Comb’s anniversary was of an accession, then so also was that of Smoking Squirrel. Hence, in this text, Lady 6 commemorated her son’s anniversary by comparing it to a similar anniversary of the great early ruler of Naranjo.

The last part of the text of Stela 28 (Fig. 3e) contains a distance number whose magnitude is similar to that encountered in the sentence from Stela 3, discussed above. It is found at J13-J14 and can be reasonably reconstructed as 7.10.0.0. The drawing of the text indicates a katun coefficient of 8, but in the photograph which accompanies the drawing in Graham (1978), the central dot of the coefficient differs from the two flanking dots. This suggests that it may be better rendered as 7. The zero coefficients of the kin and uinal term are compatible with the surviving remnants of the distance number but cannot be surely identified.

In the case of Stela 3 it has been seen that the distance number counted back to the reign of Chief Double-Comb and was used to link an event in his life to a similar event in the life of Smoking Squirrel. In the present case the name of Double-Comb appears at J11 and that of Smoking Squirrel precedes it at I9-J9. If we assume that this preceding sentence marked the period ending at 9.14.5.0.0, the proposed dedication date of Stela 28, then the distance number of 7.10.0.0 would fix the ultimate sentence at 9.6.15.0.0. The rationale behind this reconstruction is that 9.14.5.0.0 marks the katun anniversary of 9.13.5.0.0, which is the first quarter-katun event following Smoking Squirrel’s accession on 9.13.1.3.19. In this regard, it may be noted that there is an anniversary katun

notation on the front of Stela 28, B4 (Fig. 3f). The earlier date at 9.6.15.0.0 marks the katun anniversary of 9.5.15.0.0, which is the first quarter-katun event following Double-Comb’s accession at 9.5.12.0.4. Hence, Smoking Squirrel’s quarter-katun event at 9.14.5.0.0 is like-in-kind to that of the great Double-Comb at 9.6.15.0.0, almost 150 years earlier. Once again, the like-in-kind events are related to the dates of accession but in this case allow us to only approximate the date of Smoking Squirrel’s accession. The relationship establishes bounds for the latter event between 9.13.0.0.0 and 9.13.5.0.0.

#### An Accession Motif at Naranjo

It has been claimed that Stela 22 portrays the accession event of Smoking Squirrel. The ruler is depicted seated on a jaguar covered throne and holding a ceremonial bar. Three features in the scene on Stela 22 seem to be characteristic of other accession monuments at Naranjo from the middle and late periods. Of these, the most important and the only diagnostic trait is the holding of the ceremonial bar. A second feature, found on most accession monuments and only rarely on other monuments, is a three-boned crest appearing at the top of the headdress. The third feature found on middle and late period accession monuments, but also common in non-accession

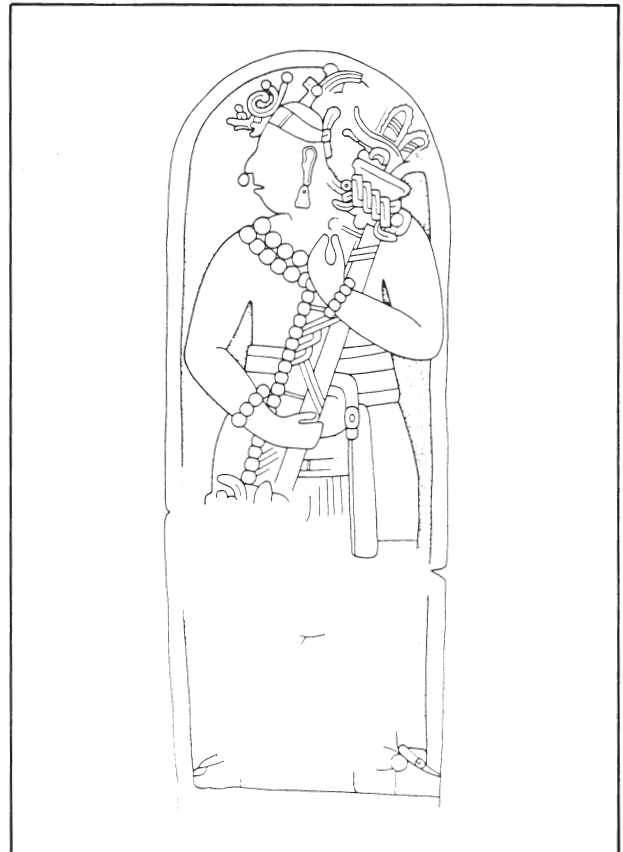


Fig. 4 Scene depicting the accession of Chief Double-Comb; Naranjo, Stela 25.



scenes, is the presence of a headdress based upon a deity head with long nose and lacking a lower jaw.

The wielding of the ceremonial bar as a monumental theme at Naranjo can be traced back to Stela 25, the monument which commemorates the accession and anniversaries of accession of Chief Double-Comb. In the scene depicted on this stela, shown in Fig. 4, one has a prototype for later accession monuments. The dominating feature is Double-Comb holding the ceremonial bar. He is also shown wearing a headband to which is attached a long-nosed god with a diminutive lower jaw. This appears to be replaced by a headdress based on a long-nosed deity lacking a lower jaw in later accession monuments. On top of Double-Comb's head is what may be an early form of the three-boned crest. The simplicity of Double-Comb's attire is in striking contrast to the rich embellishments of later rulers.

Stelae 6, 7, 9, 12, 14, 20, 22, 25, 31, and 32 all display ceremonial bar scenes. Stela 25, the proposed prototype, is the only monument in this group from the early period and relates to the accession of Double-Comb. Stela 22 has been considered and identified as the accession monument of Smoking Squirrel. The remaining monuments, with the exception of Stela 31, do not belong to the middle period and will not be examined in detail in this paper. Nevertheless, it is clear that Stelae 6, 14, 20, and 32 celebrate the inauguration of Naranjo rulers. In fact, each of these monuments contain explicit accession glyphs [Stela 6, A3; Stela 14, D9-C10; Stela 20, A4; Stela 32, S3]. Stelae 12 and 7 do not celebrate an accession proper but do mark the ten tun and one katun anniversaries of the Stela 14 accession monument. Stela 9 has no surviving glyphs and so must be discounted. In summary, six of the monuments exhibiting ceremonial bar scenes celebrate the accessions of the rulers depicted, two of the monuments are associated with accessions by extension, one has been discounted due to its lack of glyphic content, and one, Stela 31, has not been discussed.

The foregoing evidence argues strongly that the ceremonial bar motif is indicative of accession monuments or their anniversaries at Naranjo. As a consequence, there is good reason to believe that Stela 31 commemorates the accession of the ruler it portrays (Fig. 5). Its consideration has been delayed because it is dedicated to Lady 6, and an accession monument for a female ruler would be without precedent. This is not to say that female rulers are unknown in the Classic Maya inscriptions, for two such are known from Palenque. Lady Ik was seated on the throne of Palenque at 9.7.10.3.8 [Temple of the Inscriptions, East Panel, K2-K9] and appears to have ruled until her death at 9.8.11.6.12 (Lounsbury 1974). A second female ruler, Lady Zac-Kuk, began her reign at 9.8.19.7.18 [Temple of the Inscriptions, East Panel, N11-P5]. Her rule was relatively brief since the great Pacal was inaugurated as ruler of Palenque a little over two years later on 9.9.2.4.8 (Mathews and Schele 1974). Lady Zac-Kuk appears to have abdicated in favor of Pacal

since she continued to live for another twenty-five years until 9.10.7.13.5 (Lounsbury 1974). It is interesting to note that the accession statements of Lady Ik and Lady Zac-Kuk are posthumous, whereas the records of Lady 6 are contemporaneous.

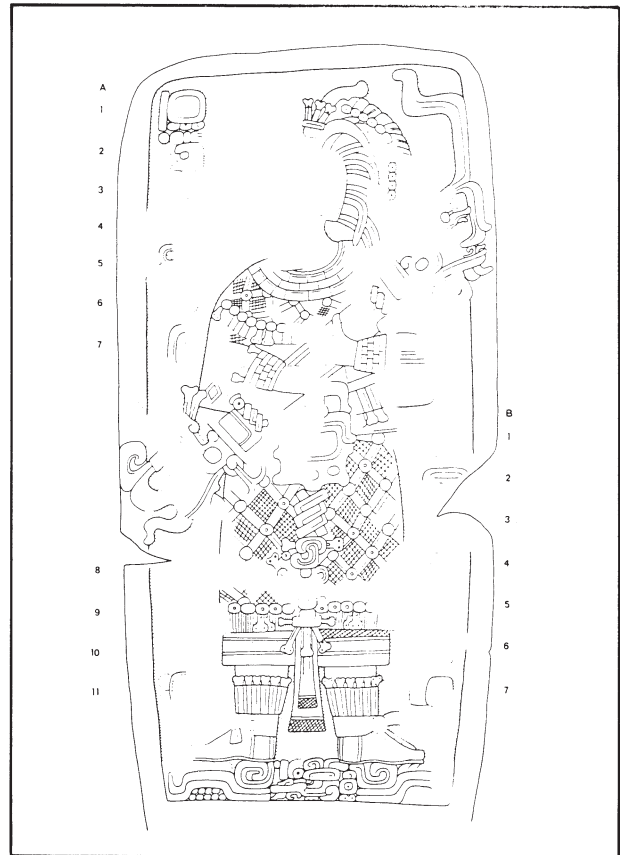


Fig. 5 Scene depicting the accession of Lady 6; Naranjo, Stela 31.

Stela 31 was erected on 9.14.10.0.0, and the prior death of Smoking Squirrel is germane to the accession of Lady 6 at that time. Before considering additional evidence concerning her accession, the problem of Smoking Squirrel's death will be addressed.

#### The Death of Smoking Squirrel

No explicit death statement relating to Smoking Squirrel is apparent in the surviving texts of Naranjo. However, there is good circumstantial evidence that he died prior to the erection of Stela 31. The latest monument dedicated to Smoking Squirrel is Stela 28 and the latest secure date on the monument is at 9.14.4.17.9. Nevertheless, it is likely that Stela 28 was dedicated eleven days later at the quarter-katun on 9.14.5.0.0. Smoking Squirrel is also mentioned on Stela 31 at F12-E13, G7-H7, and G14-H14. The penultimate reference to him can be fixed at 9.14.7.13.6 while the final reference could be six days later, but this is uncertain. There are no later references to Smoking Squirrel in the inscriptions of Naranjo.

The latest monument of the middle period, Stela 18, has a dedication date at 9.14.15.0.0. It lists the ancestry of Lady 6 and also recalls the beginning of the middle period but, unlike the other monuments of the middle period, it does not contain any references to Smoking Squirrel. This is evidence that he was no longer alive at this time. Name glyphs at H2-G3 and J2-I3, although badly eroded, appear to resemble that of Smoking Squirrel. However, it is unlikely that these glyphs refer to the Smoking Squirrel born on 9.12.15.13.7, since they are followed by the Naranjo rulership title (Closs n.d. b) at H3 and J3, respectively. In all of the previously accepted occurrences of Smoking Squirrel's name, that title is never employed. Rather, in all cases but one [Stela 23, E15-F15], his name is followed by the Naranjo emblem glyph. This suggests that the individual named on Stela 18 is not Smoking Squirrel, but a namesake. It is interesting to observe that there are other references to namesakes of Smoking Squirrel at Naranjo. Indeed, an individual named "Smoking *ti* Squirrel" is mentioned on Stela 13, H10-G11, on a monument which may have been dedicated on 9.17.10.0.0. He is listed as the father of a late Naranjo ruler, "Smoking Batab," named at F10-E11. Another namesake, "Smoking New Squirrel," appears on Stela 20, B1-B2, which commemorates this ruler's accession. As noted earlier, the Long Count position of Stela 20 is problematic. In a tentative reconstruction of the late history of Naranjo I have placed it at 9.15.15.3.16. Of these two namesakes, the former employed the Naranjo rulership title [Stela 13, H13] while the latter used the Naranjo emblem glyph title [Stela 20, B3]. An analysis of the Naranjo texts suggests that the person named on Stela 18, H2-G3 and J2-I3, Smoking *ti* Squirrel, and Smoking New Squirrel, all belong to the generations following Smoking Squirrel and preceding Smoking Batab. Further speculation on the relationship of these three namesakes of Smoking Squirrel with each other and with the original Smoking Squirrel would be premature at this time.

It may also be noted that a Smoking Squirrel is named on a polychrome vase described by Coe (1982:108-113). This Smoking Squirrel also takes the Naranjo rulership title and is probably identical to the one recorded on Stela 18. In any case, the vase record is posthumous and does not alter the fact that during his lifetime the Smoking Squirrel born on 9.12.15.13.7 used the Naranjo emblem glyph title and not the Naranjo rulership title.

The epigraphic evidence points to Smoking Squirrel's death within the interval from 9.14.7.13.6 to 9.14.10.0.0 when he was 32 to 34 years old. There is also other evidence that Smoking Squirrel died at this time. In the fifteen tuns from 9.13.10.0.0 to 9.14.5.0.0 at least eleven stelae were erected. By contrast, in the ten tuns from 9.14.5.0.0 to 9.14.15.0.0 only two stelae are known. This suggests that something happened at Naranjo, probably between 9.14.5.0.0 and 9.14.10.0.0, which had a dramatic effect on the pace of stela production. Since both of the latest stelae are dedicated to Lady 6 while

eight of the eleven earlier stelae are dedicated to Smoking Squirrel, there is good reason to suspect that the cause of the decline was the death of Smoking Squirrel.

### The Accession of Lady 6

The front of Stela 31, illustrated in Fig. 5, portrays Lady 6 as a new ruler of Naranjo. The composition shows her holding a ceremonial bar, wearing a headdress based on a long-nosed deity lacking a lower jaw, and sporting a three-boned crest at the top of the headdress. It has been argued that these features form an accession motif for rulers at Naranjo and therefore constitute the trappings of royal power at this site. Thus, the imagery on Stela 31 implies that Lady 6 had replaced Smoking Squirrel as ruler of Naranjo by 9.14.10.0.0.

Marcus (1976a:165) has raised the question of whether the woman depicted on Stela 31 is in fact Lady 6. The question can be answered affirmatively since her name is written out in full at E15-F15 and in conflated form at I15.

No date on Stela 31 can be identified as an accession date for Lady 6 prior to the mid-katun at 9.14.10.0.0. This suggests that she may have assumed power at Naranjo by presiding over the mid-katun festivities, including the dedication of Stela 31, and wielding the ceremonial bar of office on that occasion. In this case, she is no longer acting as regent but has taken the ceremonial bar into her own hands and has installed herself on the throne of Naranjo.

There is a date on Stela 31 which is recorded between the last reference to Smoking Squirrel and the dedication date at 9.14.10.0.0. The date is of special interest since it is not contemporaneous with the era of the monument and has a temporal position far in the past. It occurs in a sentence which is chronologically linked to the mid-katun at 9.14.10.0.0. The sentence is shown in Fig. 6 and its glyphic content is paraphrased below.

I6	[It was] 0 [kins], 0 uinals,
J6	0 tuns [and]
I7	8 katuns [from]
J7-I8	8 Ahau (13 Pax) [9.6.10.0.0]
J8	[at the] end of a tun
I9	Chief Double-Comb
J9	Lord of Naranjo

In this passage Lady 6 relates the first mid-katun celebration she has presided over as a ruler of Naranjo in her own right to a similar event celebrated by Chief Double-Comb more than 150 years earlier. The event presided over by Double-Comb was the first mid-katun occurring in his reign which began at 9.5.12.0.4. Hence, Lady 6 compares her role in presiding over the mid-katun at 9.14.10.0.0 as *like-in-kind* to that of Double-Comb in presiding over the mid-katun at 9.6.10.0.0. The implication is that Lady 6 is a legitimate ruler of Naranjo just as the great Double-Comb was so many years ago.

The device of referring to the famous Double-Comb to legitimize a reign is found three times at Naranjo. The two other occurrences relate to the reign of Smoking

Squirrel and have already been discussed. The fact that Lady 6 employs the identical device provides unequivocal evidence that she is to be regarded as a ruler in the same sense as Smoking Squirrel and Chief Double-Comb.

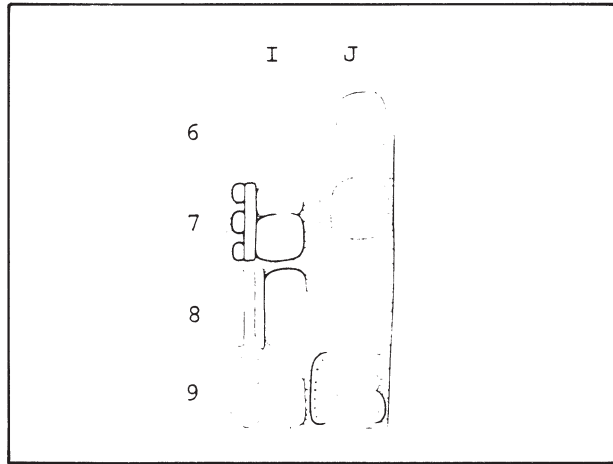


Fig. 6 Sentence relating the first mid-katun event in the reign of Chief Double-Comb to a similar event in the reign of Lady 6; Naranjo, Stela 31, I6-J9.

### Chronological Events Celebrated During The Middle Period

Direct evidence relating to the exercise of power at Maya sites is available by examining the various period ending statements to see who presided at these important events. The celebration of period endings by erecting monuments dedicated to themselves was one of the most conspicuous activities of Classic Maya rulers. It is clear that ceremonial rites were among the important functions performed by rulers on these auspicious occasions. (See, for example, Bricker 1981.) This knowledge provides an excellent analytic tool for identifying who was in power at a given moment in time. A summary of the period endings celebrated during the middle period at Naranjo, with the corresponding chronological events noted and the name of the celebrant listed, is given in Table 2. Selected texts which relate to some of the period endings in Table 2 are illustrated in Fig. 7. Most of these are complete sentences of a special type, common in the Maya inscriptions, in which the only events mentioned are of a chronological nature.

The earliest chronological event celebrated in the middle period is recorded on Stela 29, H10-H14 (Fig. 7a). The cycle event at I12, associated with 9.13.3.0.0, has been referred to in Table 2 as the "Tikal cycle." The rationale for this terminology is that the cycle was proclaimed on Tikal Temple I, Lintel 3, A1-A2, on a date which may correspond to the dedicatory date of the lintel. Moreover, there is a possibility that it was recorded on the much earlier Tikal Stela 25, C3, in association with the Long Count position 9.4.3.0.0 (Coe, Shook and Satterthwaite 1961:68-71). By contrast, the occurrences of this glyph at other sites are much later. Indeed, at Naranjo it is first mentioned on Stela 29 which was dedicated at 9.14.3.0.0. The event is also recorded on another monu-

ment, reportedly from Xunantunich, which has been described by von Winning and Dütting (Labbe 1982:38-41). This monument has also been fixed in the Long Count at 9.14.3.0.0 and so is contemporaneous with Naranjo, Stela 29. Thus, the earliest occurrences of the event glyph pertain to Tikal.

The text in Fig. 7a refers to an "end of tun" event at H12 and to the Tikal cycle event at I12. These events are far more than chronological footnotes. They are public events celebrated by the protagonist named at H13-I13, that is, Lady 6. The sentence implies that Lady 6 presided over the events recorded and that she was exercising one of the prerogatives of a ruler. Since Smoking Squirrel had been installed in his rulership a few years earlier, Lady 6 would be performing these functions by proxy, that is as regent. This is understandable given that the king was only seven years old at the time.

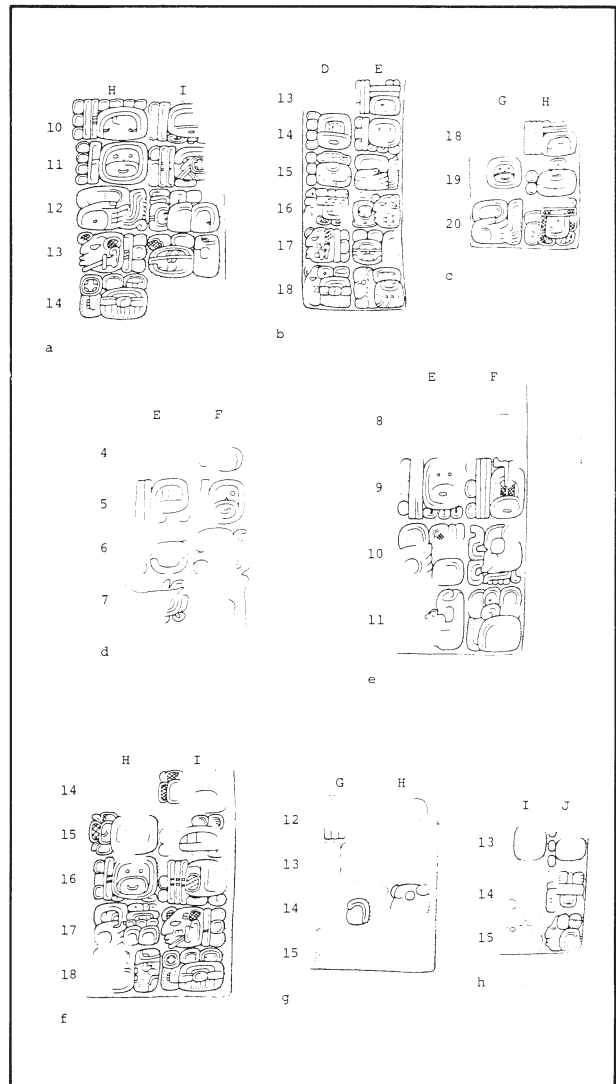


Fig. 7 Selected period ending statements from the middle period at Naranjo. (a) Stela 29, H10-H14; (b) Stela 24, E13-E18; (c) Stela 22, H18-H20; (d) Stela 1, F4-E7; (e) Stela 21, F8-F11; (f) Stela 29, I14-I18; (g) Stela 30, G12-H15; (h) Stela 31, I13-J15.

The earliest event of the middle period at Naranjo occurred at 9.12.10.5.12 and has Lady 6 as the protagonist. From the birth record of Smoking Squirrel at 9.12.15.13.7, it is clear that Lady 6 is at least five years older. Since she presided over the tun-ending and the Tikal cycle events when the king was seven years old, it may be inferred that she was much more than five years older than Smoking Squirrel and was of an older generation. This is in agreement with an earlier suggestion of Proskouriakoff (1960:466).

The first three monuments to be erected at Naranjo in the middle period were dedicated on 9.13.10.0.0. Of these, Stela 24 is in the Lady 6 series and Stelae 1 and 22 are in the Smoking Squirrel series. All three monuments contain complete sentences referring to the mid-katun and these are illustrated in Fig. 7, b-d. A comparison of the three sentences is very instructive. On Stela 24 (Fig. 7b), the monument dedicated to Lady 6, she is named as the protagonist of the tun-ending event and the mid-katun event. This indicates that she officiated over the ceremonial rites associated with the period ending. On Stelae 22 (Fig. 7c) and 1 (Fig. 7d), the monuments dedicated to Smoking Squirrel, no celebrant at the period ending is named. This strongly suggests that Smoking Squirrel, now fourteen years old, did not preside at the celebrations. Hence, once again, it may be concluded that Lady 6 is acting as regent for Smoking Squirrel. The fact that he was fourteen and was still not exercising his royal powers reinforces the notion that Lady 6 was significantly older than Smoking Squirrel when she presided over the Tikal cycle event mentioned previously.

About five years after the erection of the preceding three monuments, Stela 21 was dedicated to Smoking Squirrel on 9.13.15.0.0. In the passage shown in Fig. 7e, Smoking Squirrel is listed as the protagonist of a period ending event for the first time. The earliest date on this monument refers to Smoking Squirrel's accession and commemorates it with an Initial Series. One other date can be recognized on Stela 21. This occurs at 9.13.14.4.2 and appears on the front of the monument. Since this intervenes between 9.13.10.0.0 when Lady 6 was exercising power and 9.13.15.0.0 when Smoking Squirrel presided over the chronological celebrations, it may mark the occasion when authority to rule was transferred from Lady 6 to Smoking Squirrel. At that time he would have been eighteen years old.

It can be seen from Table 2 that Smoking Squirrel celebrated the period endings from 9.13.15.0.0 to 9.14.3.0.0 inclusive. Although the glyphic record on Stela 28 is no longer extant, it has been argued that this stela records his commemoration of the quarter-katun at 9.14.5.0.0. The only anomaly in this period of Smoking Squirrel's active reign occurs on Stela 29, I14-I18 (fig. 7f), where Lady 6 is indicated as presiding over the katun anniversary of the Tikal cycle event on 9.14.3.0.0. A parallel sentence on Stela 30, G12-H15 (Fig. 7g), demonstrates that Smoking Squirrel was also a celebrant at this event. The anniversary was of major importance

since both Stela 29 and 30 were dedicated at this time. The event is the only one in the annals of the middle period which is recorded in independent but parallel texts with two distinct celebrants. A possible explanation is that during these festivities Lady 6 represented Tikal while Smoking Squirrel represented Naranjo.

Table 2 indicates that by 9.14.10.0.0, Smoking Squirrel was no longer exercising power at Naranjo. The first evidence of this in the period ending records is on the back of Stela 31, I13-J15 (Fig. 7h). In this passage, I13-J13 contains the Calendar Round date 5 Ahau 3 Mac [9.14.10.0.0], I14 records the tun-ending event, and J14 the mid-katun event. The ruler presiding over these chronological celebrations is named at I15 as Lady 6. This confirms in a simple and direct manner that Smoking Squirrel was no longer ruling at Naranjo.

Before leaving this section it is interesting to note that Lady 6 makes use of the *bacab* title on Stela 24, A9 and E18, and again on Stela 31, B7. The earlier usages are before Smoking Squirrel began his active reign and the later usage is after his presumed death. On Stelae 3 and 29, erected during Smoking Squirrel's active reign, she does not employ the title.

#### **The Relationship Between Lady 6 and Smoking Squirrel**

Berlin (1968a:20) was unable to decide whether Lady 6 was the mother or wife of Smoking Squirrel. Marcus (1976a:60-61, 165-167), on the other hand identifies Lady 6 as the mother of Smoking Squirrel. Berlin (1968a:19) observed that on Stela 23, F14-E14, a Lady Ahau of Tikal is shown in relationship to Smoking Squirrel. He interpreted the glyph at F14 to indicate a marriage between the woman at E14 and the protagonist of the sentence, Smoking Squirrel. A Lady Ahau of Tikal is also mentioned on the nearby contemporaneous Stela 3, E9. The reference is followed by a woman's name at E10-F10 which is distinct from that of Lady 6. It is known that Lady 6 refers to herself as a Lady Ahau of Tikal [Stela 24, D18; Stela 31, G1, J15] and that Stela 3 is dedicated to her (the opening event at Naranjo in which she was the protagonist is celebrated on this stela). Nevertheless, there is no explicit textual link identifying Lady 6 with the Lady Ahau at E9 or the woman at E10-F10. Similarly, there is no mention of the name of Lady 6 on Stela 23 and there is no reason to identify the woman named in the monument's "marriage" clause with Lady 6. In fact, Smoking Squirrel never explicitly refers to Lady 6 on any of his monuments.

The date on Stela 23 associated with the presumed marriage of Smoking Squirrel occurs at 9.13.18.4.18. This would be a very late date to observe a spousal alliance with Lady 6. Indeed, she had already exercised rulership functions by proxy more than 15 tuns earlier at 9.13.3.0.0 and again at the mid-katun on 9.13.10.0.0. Smoking Squirrel had begun his active reign more than 3 tuns earlier on 9.13.15.0.0. This chronology, together with the fact that Lady 6 celebrated the birth of Smoking Squirrel on her earliest monument, dedicated when she

TABLE 2. Period endings celebrated during the middle period at Naranjo.

Period Ending	Location	Chronological Event	Celebrant
9.13. 3. 0. 0	Stela 29, H10-H14	End of tun; New cycle (Tikal)	Lady 6
9.13.10. 0. 0	Stela 24, E13-E18	End of tun; Mid-katun	Lady 6
	Stela 22, H18-H20	End of tun; Mid-katun	(not given)
	Stela 1, F4-E7	End of tun; Mid-katun	(not given)
9.13.15. 0. 0	Stela 21, E9-F11	End of tun; 15 tuns	Smoking Squirrel
9.14. 0. 0. 0	Stela 23, G16-H20	End of 14 katuns; End of tun	Smoking Squirrel
	Stela 2, D3-E8	14 katuns	(not given)
	Stela 30, E1-F6	14 katuns	Smoking Squirrel
9.14. 3. 0. 0	Stela 29, I14-I18	End of tun in the Tikal cycle	Lady 6
	Stela 30, A1-B6	Anniversary katun (Tikal)	Smoking Squirrel
	C1 -D11	"hand scattering"	Smoking Squirrel
	G12-H15	End of tun in the Tikal cycle	Smoking Squirrel
9.14.10. 0. 0	Stela 31, A1-B7	Mid-katun	Lady 6
	I13-J15	End of tun; Mid-katun	Lady 6
9.14.15. 0. 0	Stela 18, A1-D9	End of tun	Lady 6
	J4-J6	15 tuns	(eroded)

presided over the mid-katun at 9.13.10.0.0, demonstrates a lengthy relationship between Lady 6 and Smoking Squirrel prior to 9.13.18.4.18. Moreover, it has been seen that Lady 6 probably belonged to an older generation than Smoking Squirrel. The combination of these factors can best be accounted for by the hypothesis that Lady 6 was the mother of Smoking Squirrel.

It is significant that Lady 6 refers to Smoking Squirrel on all of her monuments, except the last erected after her accession. Even though she was acting as ruler on Stela 24, it was because her son was king. Her right to govern was founded on this reality and her status and position are enhanced by the references to Smoking Squirrel. By contrast, Smoking Squirrel does not name his mother on any of his monuments. This neglect is at variance with the common practice of many Maya rulers, including those at Naranjo, in listing parentage statements in the records of their reigns. In these instances, the father of the ruler is almost always a former ruler himself and the parentage statements are means of legitimizing the current kingship. That Smoking Squirrel does not use this device suggests that his unknown father was not an actual ruler and that he had nothing to gain by publicizing his parentage.

### The Origins of Lady 6 Royal Sky

On three of her monuments [Stelae 18, 24, and 29], Lady 6 has recorded her parentage. The lineage phrases referring to the mother of Lady 6 are illustrated in Fig. 8, a-c. The initial glyphs in the first and third phrases are relationship glyphs indicating "child of the female parent" and are followed by the name of the mother. (See Jones 1977:41-42 and Schele 1982:30-32 for some comments and examples of this type of structure.)

Three lineage phrases referring to the father of Lady 6 are shown in Fig. 8, d-f. The initial glyph in each phrase is a relationship glyph signifying "child of the male parent" and is followed by the name of the father and ultimately by the Tikal emblem glyph. The Tikal emblem glyph title, taken by her father but not her mother, is the source of the royal status claimed by Lady 6 herself. The first part of the father's name appears on Stela 24, D11 and on Stela 29, E6. It is followed by a "sky" glyph and a deity name with "smoke" prefix [Stela 24, E11; Stela 29, E7; Stela 18, C8b-D8]. The example of the deity name on Stela 24 has a symbolic form whereas in the other two cases it has an anthropomorphic form.

The father of Lady 6 carries a "3 katun" notation on Stela 29, E4, and a "4 royal katun" notation on Stela 18, D7b (Fig. 8, e-f). The former stela has a dedicatory date at 9.14.3.0.0 while the latter has a dedicatory date at 9.14.15.0.0. The common context in which these notations occur show that the simple "katun" and the "royal katun" notation have an equivalent meaning. They give the age of the individual named in terms of an ordinal numeration of katuns counted from birth. Subtracting a *katun* from the position of Stela 18 in the Long Count, it can be seen that the father of Lady 6 had "3 royal katuns" at 9.13.15.0.0. Comparing this with the record

on Stela 29 it can be concluded that in the interval from 9.13.15.0.0 to 9.14.3.0.0 he was between 40 and 60 years of age. It follows that he could have been no older than 52 years at 9.13.15.0.0. Extrapolating backwards, he could have been no older than 12 years at 9.11.15.0.0. If we assume that he reached puberty at age 14, the earliest he could have fathered Lady 6 would be at 9.11.17.0.0. This implies that Lady 6 could not have been any older than 13 years at 9.12.10.0.0.

Since Smoking Squirrel was born at 9.12.15.13.7, the assumption that Lady 6 gave birth at age 15 or later implies that at 9.12.10.0.0 she could not have been any younger than about 10 years. Thus, reasonable limits on human sexuality indicate that Lady 6 would have been between 10 and 13 years old at the beginning of the middle period at Naranjo. Any deviation from these limits would have to be very small. As a consequence, Lady 6 was about 32 years old when the first monuments of the middle period were dedicated and about 52 years old when she was portrayed on Stela 31 (Fig. 5) as a new ruler of Naranjo.

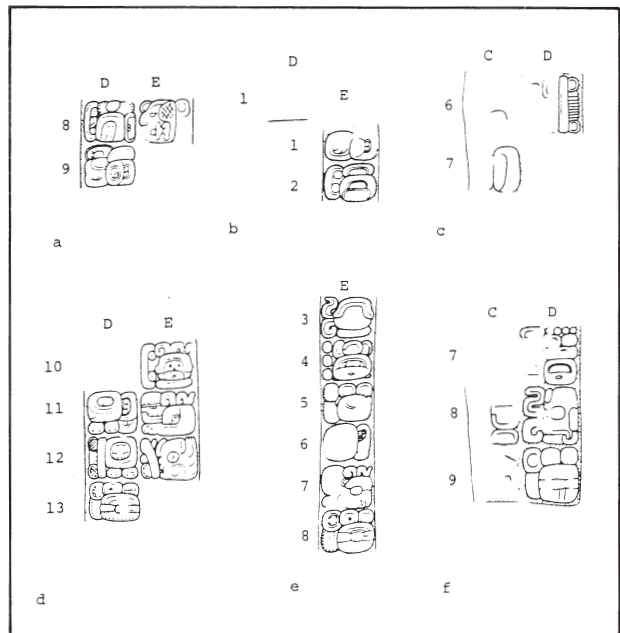


Fig. 8 The parentage of Lady 6. Maternal: (a) Naranjo, Stela 24, D8-D9; (b) Naranjo, Stela 29, D1, E1-E2; (c) Naranjo, Stela 18, C6-C7. Paternal: (d) Naranjo, Stela 24, E10-D13; (e) Naranjo, Stela 29, E3-E8; (f) Naranjo, Stela 18, D7-D9.

Houston and Mathews (1983) have argued that Lady 6 is the daughter of Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas. Their reasoning is based on the similarity of the names of the father of Lady 6 and of Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas. They have suggested that the latter ruler acceded to the throne at 9.10.12.11.2. However, from the age katun notations in the paternal lineage phrases of Lady 6, it can be concluded that her father was not born until sometime after 9.11.2.0.0.

Thus, the proposed accession date for Ruler 1 may be questioned. It was based on an interpretation of two anniversary phrases in the Dos Pilas texts [HS2, W, Step 2; HS1, Step 1]. The first of the phrases relates to Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas and includes a T573 variant glyph, having the semantic value of “succession” or “change,” and a numerical coefficient of 1, 2, or 3. The second of the phrases relates to Ruler 2 of Dos Pilas and includes a T573 glyph with a numerical coefficient of 2 and an *u* prefix. Now, it is clear from the known accession date of Ruler 2 that he is celebrating a one katun anniversary of accession. The anniversary text can be paraphrased as “completion, the second in succession, his katun in the rulership, Ruler 2 of Dos Pilas.” The second expression can be interpreted as a reference to Ruler 2’s position as second in the royal succession at Dos Pilas. With a similar interpretation, Ruler 1’s anniversary phrase would read “completion, the first in succession, his katun..., Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas.” The anniversary katun, not having any coefficient, should be interpreted as a first katun just as in the case of Ruler 2. The implication is that Ruler 1 acceded to the throne at 9.11.12.11.2, one katun later than proposed by Houston and Mathews. As a consequence, the dynastic records of Ruler 1 would be compatible with the age katun records at Naranjo. Moreover, there would not be a gap of more than seventeen tuns following Ruler 1’s accession in which nothing of note seems to have occurred. In this reconstruction, Ruler 1 would have mounted the throne before he was eight years old and would have fathered Ruler 2 before he was eighteen years old.

Houston and Mathews (1983) have also pointed out that the emblem glyphs of Tikal, Dos Pilas, and Aguateca cannot be distinguished. I would suggest that this is because only one emblem glyph is being employed in all three cases, namely that of Tikal which has priority in its usage. It may be noted that the Tikal emblem glyph appears in the name phrase of Lady 6 [Stela 24, A8, C10; Stela 29, G11, H14, I18], as does an equivalent glyph in which the usual emblem glyph prefixes are replaced by the female head prefix [Stela 24, D18; Stela 31, G1, J15]. The equivalence of these glyphs is apparent from the identical contexts of their usage and in particular

by their interchangeability as exhibited on Stela 24. (One of these two glyphs also appears on Stela 18, C5, but it is uncertain which one due to erosion of the prefix.) After her accession at 9.14.10.0.0, Lady 6 was ruler of Naranjo but continued to use the Tikal emblem glyph, or its equivalent, in her name phrases. This does not mean that the Tikal emblem glyph became a Naranjo emblem glyph. Similarly, the use of the Tikal emblem glyph at Dos Pilas and Aguateca does not imply that it has become a local emblem glyph at these latter sites.

In order to better understand the usage of emblem glyphs in these historic texts it is useful to appreciate their function as titles applicable to Maya rulers and occasionally other noble individuals. This function is made evident by their grammatical position in name phrases and particularly in female name phrases, for in these cases the usual “water group” prefix is often replaced by the female head prefix and so there is no doubt that they must modify the name of the woman involved. Because the names they modify are rulers or other noble individuals, it is also clear that they are royal titles. The local and extra-local usage of emblem glyphs can then be explained by the hypothesis that emblem glyphs pertain to membership in a dynastic lineage centered at a specific site. Thus, for example, the emblem glyph titles of Lady 6 may be glossed as “Princess of Tikal” and “Lady Ahau of Tikal” with the understanding that she is thereby claiming a familial relationship with the royal lineage having its dynastic center at Tikal. It does not necessarily imply that she herself is *from* Tikal. In the same way, her father can claim to be a “Lord of Tikal” even though he was resident and ruler of Dos Pilas.

It is known that Ruler A of Tikal had “3 katuns” at 9.14.0.0.0 [Stela 16, C3] so that he would have been in the same generation as the father of Lady 6. As a result, it may be posited that Ruler A of Tikal was a brother of Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas, and uncle of Lady 6, and a grand-uncle of Smoking Squirrel of Naranjo. Such a scheme would imply that Dos Pilas, Naranjo, and Tikal were all being ruled by members of the same dynastic family, descendants of Lady Jaguar Seat and Lord Shield-Skull of Tikal (Jones 1977:41-42).

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