

A Collocation Denoting a ‘Substitute’ Relationship in Classic Maya Inscriptions

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Introduction

Two parallel verbal clauses in the Palenque inscriptions, one from Temple XVIII and the other from the Palace Tablet (fig. 1), pertain to the respective participation of Chaacal and Kan-Xul in the so-called “deer hoof-in-hand” event (Schele 1988:84-85). From the ages of the subjects (14 and 7 years, respectively) at the time of the event, Schele inferred that the event involved a rite appropriate to young future rulers. Following the subject, both clauses contain a collocation (at B18a and F9, in fig. 1) that Schele tentatively identified as denoting either an agency or a relationship because it is followed by a phrase naming a set of deities, including the members of the Palenque Triad.¹

This paper demonstrates that the collocation in question denotes a substitute relationship between two individuals. In particular, in terms of the general verbal clause:

[verb] [noun phrase₁] [relationship] [noun phrase₂]
 a case is made that the entity denoted by *noun phrase₁* is the substitute (or the representative)

of the one denoted by *noun phrase₂*.

The argument is based on the fact that clause (1) is of the form verb-subject, where *relationship* and *noun phrase₂* are part of the subject named by *noun phrase₁* (possibly with additional titles). Such a naming pattern is well attested in Classic Maya renditions of royal names. An example of a “standard” form occurs in the text on Yaxchilán Stela 11 where Bird Jaguar’s name is followed by a number of appellatives, including the ‘child-of-woman’ and ‘child-of-parent’ relationships (Schele 1990:46):

Bird Jaguar,

*captor of Ah Cauac, he of 20 captives,
 3-katun batab, divine Yaxchilán ahaw
 (duplicated),*

*child-of-woman Lady Ik Skull ... titles of mother,
 child-of-parent Shield Jaguar ... titles of father.*

On the other hand, an example involving a ‘subservient’ relationship between two individuals is found in the text on Arroyo de Piedra Stela 2 (Houston and Mathews 1985:18-19, fig. 12):

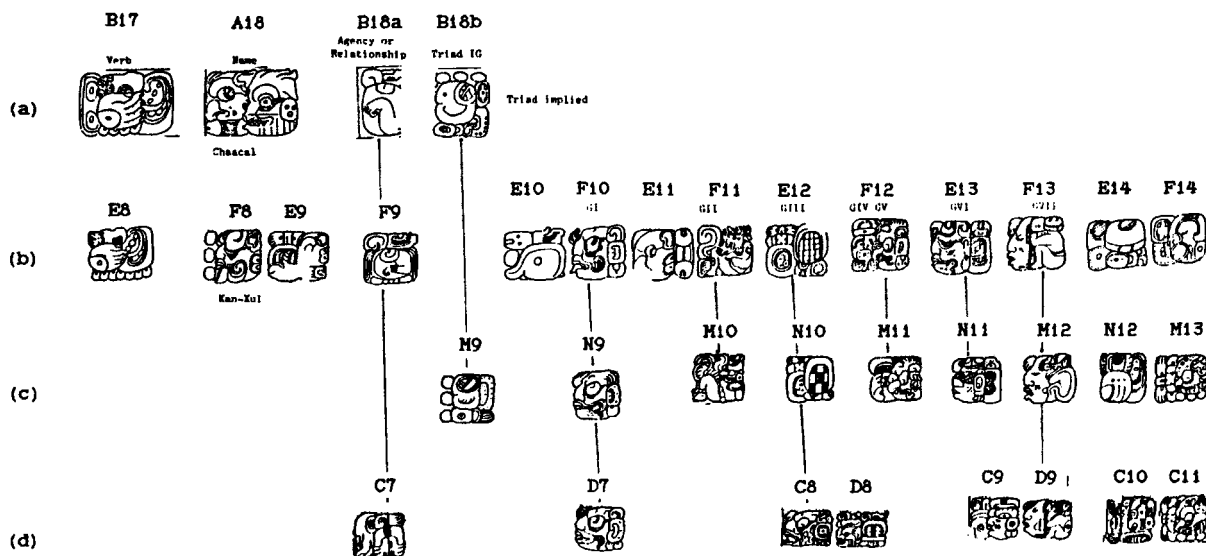


Fig. 1. Comparative analysis of phrases from Palenque texts. (a) Tablet of Temple XVIII, (b) Palace Tablet, (c) Tablet of the Foliated Cross, (d) Tablet of Temple XIV (after Schele 1988: 84-85).

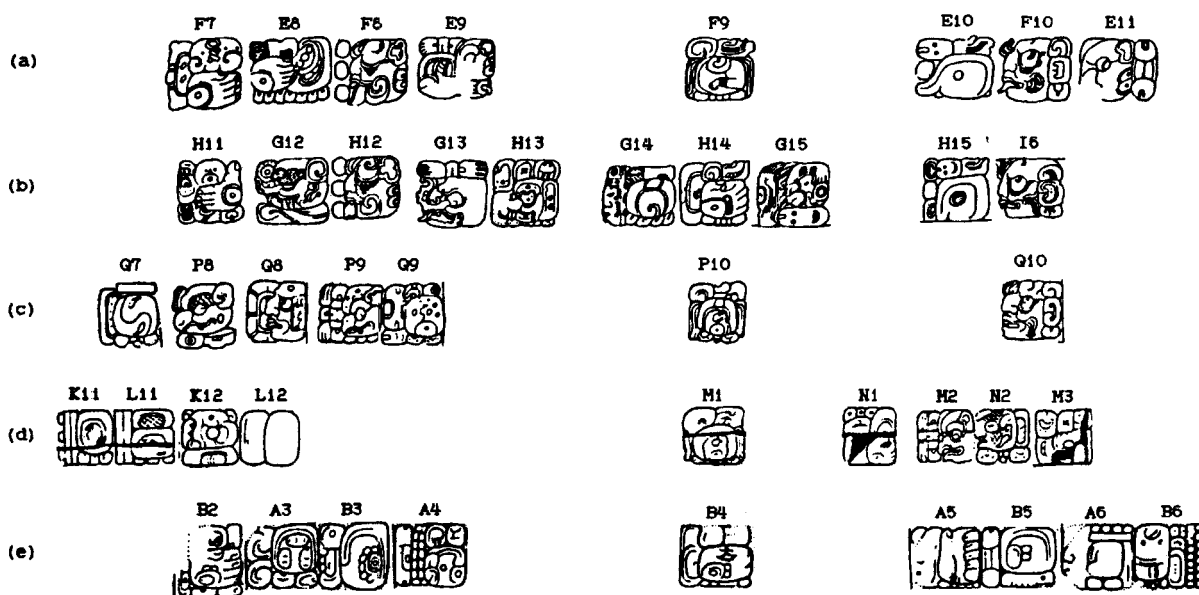


Fig. 2. Verbal clauses involving a “substitute” or “representative” relationship. (a, b) Palace Tablet, Palenque (after Schele 1988); (c) Tablet of the Sun, Palenque (after Schele 1987); (d) West Panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions, Palenque (after Schele 1986); (e) Dumbarton Oaks Relief Panel 4 (after Miller and Stuart 1981).

Yax-bi, Ah Cauac, divine Arroyo de Piedra ahau,
yahaw (the subservient of) [literally, ‘his lord’ or ‘the lord of’]
Shield-God K, divine Dos Pilas ahau.

The ‘Substitute’ Relationship

Consider the parallel clauses shown in fig. 2. The clause in fig. 2a is a shorter version of that in fig. 1b, showing only GI’s name after the relationship collocation under consideration. A comparison of the clauses in fig. 2a and 2b reveals not only that they have the same structure, but also that the texts following their corresponding verbs have essentially the same semantic value. The constituents of the general clause (1) match the two clauses as indicated below (cf. Schele 1988:67, 69):

*noun phrase*₁

F8-E9: Ox-Bat-Cab, titles

H12-G14: Ox-Bat-Cab, titles

relationship

F9: *k’exol* (successor)

H14: verb or relationship or agency

*noun phrase*₂

E10-E11: Hun-Ah-Pu, GI, Rodent Bone

G15-16: the blood of Hun-Ah-Pu, GI

Since both clauses involve the same pair of individuals at the same structural positions, it

follows that the relationship linking them is also the same. The equivalence between the collocations at F9 (fig. 2a) and H14 (fig. 2b) is supported by the fact that they have a similar superfix and the same subfix.

All of the constituent glyphs of the collocation at H14 (fig. 2b) have known readings. The prefix has a phonetic value of *yi* (Stuart 1987:25-28). The superfix represents an ear of corn (its counterpart at F9 in fig. 2a shows the silk emerging from the ear of corn), and Yucatec *NAL* ‘maiz en mazorca/ear of corn’ (Barrera-Vásquez 1980:557)² is the currently accepted reading for the glyph (Schele et al. 1990:3). The main sign depicts the back view of a grasping hand, and its phonetic value has been shown to be *chi* (Justeson and Campbell 1984:350). The phonetic reading of the subfix as *la* is easily derived from the spelling *ah-pi-tzi-la-wa-la* of Chan-Bahlum’s title ‘he the ballplayer’ at L3 on the Palace Tablet (Schele 1988:73).

Accepting Stuart’s argument that the *NAL* glyph is read last even though it follows the prefix and precedes the main sign in the reading order (cf. Houston 1989:34), the combined values of the constituent glyphs yield the potential word *yichilanal*.³

Stuart (letter to Schele 1988), on the

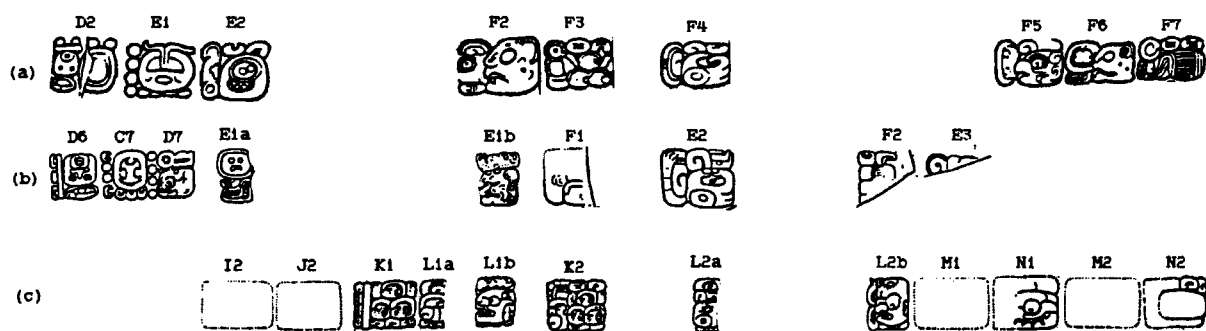


Fig. 3. Name phrases of rulers from the Petexbatún region, naming Seibal rulers as their local substitutes/representatives in reign. (a) Aguateca Stela 2; (b) Dos Pilas Stela 16; (c) Seibal Tablets 2 and 3 (drawings by Ian Graham 1967 [a, b], and Peter Mathews [c]).

assumption that Chol is the language represented in the Classic inscriptions, and appealing to well-known phonological correspondences between Chol and Yucatec in the equivalence **yik(i) ≡ yich(i)**, posited the hypothetical Cholan word **yichnal** as a reading for the collocation on the basis of the Yucatec word **yiknal** (cf. Schele and Freidel 1990:457). The unpossessed form of the word should be **iknal**, ‘con, en compañía, en poder, en casa/with, in the company (of), in the power (of), in the house (of)’ (Barrera-Vásquez 1980:265-266). Houston (1989:34) went even further in stating: The compound [**yi-chi-NAL**, or **yichnal**, ‘together nest with’ in Cholan] separates the name glyphs of Maya lords and tells us that they did something together, the second person supervising the first.

From this interpretation, Houston then derived the formula ‘subordinate’ + **yichnal** + ‘superordinate.’⁴ It is noteworthy that the relationship collocation presented by Houston (1989:34) lacks the suffix **la**, thus lending support to the derivation of **yichnal**.

The above meanings would allow reading the clause in fig. 2b thus “(He) displayed the God K scepter, Ox-Bat-Cab ... in the company of Hun-Ah-Pu, GI ...” However, a problem facing the proposed **yichnal** reading is that it does not work for the structurally equivalent collocation at F9 (fig. 2a), which has been read as **k'exol** ‘the successor of’ (Schele 1988:67), for the phrase “Ox-Bat-Cab ... the successor of Hun-Ah-Pu, GI ...” in fig. 2a would not be equivalent to its counterpart in fig. 2b. Hence, the inconsistency must be removed by seeking an alternative meaning for the relationship glyph.⁵

A viable solution to the problem is presented by the Yucatec word **ichilan** and its derivatives (cf. Barrera Vásquez 1980:99, 263):

(**ah**) **chilan** presidente que preside por otro; presidente, en lugar de otro/president who presides in place of another

chilam intérprete, naguato/interpreter

chiilan,t tomar por medianero o intercesor o farsante que hable por él/to take as middle man, mediator, or farce actor to speak on his behalf

chilan,t medianero, tomar por medianero/mediator, to take as mediator

ichilan delegado, presidente, teniente que está en lugar de otro, puesto con las veces de otro, suplente/delegate, president, deputy or substitute in place of another, performing the duties of another, substitute

yichilan ahaw virrey/viceroy

yichilan yahaw kaan provisor del obispo o vicario así/provider to the bishop or vicar

AH ICHILAL delegado/delegate

These glosses suggest reading the **yi-chi-la-NAL** spelling of the collocation in question as (**y**)**ichilan(al)**, with the **NAL** glyph working solely to provide the final *n*.⁶ Considering the support provided by Tzotzil **chi'ilil** ‘townsman, companion, sibling, relative, similar or identical object’ (Laughlin 1975:116), it can be posited that **ichilan** may have been borrowed by Yucatec from Chol. The reading then presents a productive solution: the collocations at F9 (fig. 2a) and H14 (fig. 2b) are not entirely identical, and yet they must have the same semantics. The words **ichilan** and **k'exol** perfectly fit such a pattern of synonymy, for their interchangeability is supported by terms relevant to the latter in both Chol (Aulie

and Aulie 1978:102) and Tzotzil (Laughlin 1988:232):

Chol:

k'ex *cambiar*/to trade

***k'exol** *trueque*/trade, exchange;
tocayo/ namesake

k'exolan *sustituir* (*cargo, nombre*)/to substitute, to fill-in (duty, name), to act as deputy of someone else

Tzotzil:

k'exol deputy (of warden or governor), substitute, vicar

k'exol rey viceroy

k'exolil successor

k'extay exchange, fill another's role, substitute

Interestingly enough, Schele's (1988:67) speculative **k'exol** reading (lacking phonetic support) for the collocation at F9 (fig. 2a) is now validated by the phonetically-derived reading of the collocation at H14 (fig. 2b) as **ichilan**.⁷

The next piece of evidence supporting the new reading is given by the clause in fig. 2c. The equivalence between the collocation at H14 (fig. 2b) and P10 (fig. 2c) is supported by the common **NAL** superfix, the **chi** main sign, and the **la** subfix (Stuart 1987:46-47). The lack of the **yi** prefix in the collocation at P10 (fig. 2c) may be significant. The semantic equivalence of the clause in fig. 2c with respect to those in fig. 2a and 2b is established by its re-translation (cf. Schele 1987:96; Schele and Freidel 1990:251):

Q7: and after five changeovers

P8: **oc-te** 'he became, he entered [the office of]'

Q8: **k'in-k'in** 'the sun'

P9: **Mah K'ina** Chan-Bahlum

Q9: **bac le wayal** [**wayal** 'metamorphose, sleep' (Houston and Stuart 1989:5)]

P10: **chilan** 'presider who presides in place of another' ["in the company of," according to Stuart (cf. Schele and Mathews 1993:124)]

Q10: GI

Chan-Bahlum is thus stated to have acquired an office over which he presided in place of GI. By extension, and recalling the Chol/Tzotzil word ***k'exol** 'namesake, deputy, substitute,' the clause in fig. 2c literally asserts that, by becoming the sun, Chan-Bahlum was

the namesake / substitute of GI. The acquisition of this quality by Chan-Bahlum is not accidental, for Maya rulers were considered to be the incarnations (hence, the substitutes or representatives) of the gods before the commoners (Schele and Miller 1986:108; Hendrickson 1989:138-139; Schele and Freidel 1990:Ch. 6).

The modified reading of the clause in fig. 2c has a most interesting implication. From their iconographic analysis of the masks on the façade of Structure 5C-2nd at Cerros, Belize, Schele and Freidel (1990, fig. 3:15) established that the masks are representations of the Headband Twins (i.e., the Hero Twins of the Popol Vuh). In particular, they posited the following identities:

GI = Venus = Hun Ahau = Jester God

GIII = the sun = Yax-Balam

In light of these identifications, recalling that **ichilan** can also mean 'twin' (by extension via ***k'exol** 'namesake' and **chi'ilil** 'companion, sibling'), and observing that either twin can act as the representative of the other, the clause in fig. 2c admits the alternative reading:

Q7: and after five changeovers

P8: **oc-te** (he entered [the office of])

Q8: **k'in-k'in** (the sun)

P9: **Mah K'ina** Chan-Bahlum

Q9: **bac le wayal** (metamorphosed [into])

P10: **chilan** ([the] twin/namesake [of])

Q10: GI (Venus)

The clause in fig. 2c is thus stating that by entering the office of (or by becoming) the sun, Chan-Bahlum metamorphosed into the twin of GI (Venus). As a consequence, the **(i)chilan** collocation in the above reading provides epigraphic confirmation of the identifications GI/Venus-GIII/the sun made by Schele and Freidel (1990, fig. 3:15) on iconographic grounds.

The text on the west panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque contains a clause linking an individual (whose name is completely eroded) to Pacal by means of the same **chilan** relationship between Chan-Bahlum and GI (fig. 2d). In light of the 'representative/substitute' meaning, the clause reads (cf. Schele 1986:117; Schele and Mathews 1993:116):

K11, L11: [on] 13 Caban, 10 Ch'en (9.11.6.16.17)

- K12: **hu-li = hul** ‘he arrived’
 L12: [SKULL-GI]
 M1: **chilan** (one who presides in place of another)
 N1: probably a locative (Schele 1986)
 M2: **Mah K’ina** Pacal
 N2: **pa-ca-la = pacal**
 M3: **ch’ul ahaw** of Palenque

An additional example that may have involved two humans occurs in the text on Dumbarton Oaks Relief Panel 4 (fig. 2e). In their translation, Miller and Stuart (1981:203) indicate that the event is a tun ending by a ruler who is related to a woman:

At B4 [cf. fig. 2e] occurs a glyph known by its context in other inscriptions to designate a relationship between two persons; here it is placed between two name clauses, working in a similar fashion.

The glyph in question is an almost exact replica of the one at H14 in fig. 2b, from which the **ichilan** reading was derived. Therefore, the text pertains to a ceremony performed by an individual acting as the substitute / representative of a woman, who might have been a ruler.⁸



Fig. 4. “The Scribe” alfarda, Palenque (draw - ing by Merle Greene Robertson).

Name Phrases of Rulers from the Petexbatún Region

Additional evidence of the use of the ‘substitute/representative’ relationship is found in the titles of rulers from the Petexbatún area. The verbal clauses in fig. 3a and 3b record the fate of Jaguar Paw, ruler of Seibal. The verb **nawah** ‘to adorn’ (Schele 1982:267; Bricker 1986:158)⁹ at E2 (fig. 3a) and E1a (fig. 3b), is followed by ‘Jaguar-Paw,’ the personal name of the subject. Bricker based her reading on the Cholti words **naual** ‘*afeite, adornar, hermosear alguna cosa/adornment, to adorn, to beautify something*’ and **nauali** ‘*adornar/to adorn*’ (Morán 1935). Given that the Maya painted their bodies (Landa 1560 [19821:37], Bricker (1986:158) posited that the event may have involved “a ceremonial repainting of the ruler of Seibal in a color more appropriate to his new captive status.” Generalizing the idea, Schele and Freidel (1990:464, Note 76) have argued that captives were dressed up (or even dressed themselves up) before being sacrificed. The soundness of both arguments is demonstrated by “The Scribe” alfarda from Palenque (fig. 4). Because of the paper strip passing through his earlobe, the individual depicted on the alfarda is not a scribe but ruler Chac-Zutz’ (Schele 1984:30), wearing sacrificial regalia, and probably in the midst of adorning himself (by painting his face with the “brush” in his hand) in preparation for making a sacrifice. The collocation at A1 (fig. 4) reads: **nawah** ‘he was adorned.’

Continuing with the clauses in fig. 3a and 3b, Jaguar-Paw’s name is followed by the Seibal emblem glyph. Immediately after the latter, the clauses have the **ichilan** relationship (at F4 [fig. 3a] and E2 [fig. 3b], both admittedly lacking the **la** subfix), which in turn is followed by the name of Dos Pilas/Aguateca Ruler 3 (Houston and Mathews 1985:17). Based on her reading of the collocation in question as denoting some sort of agency in the Palenque texts, Schele (1984:27-28, fig. 16) concluded that Ruler 3 was the agent of the action, an inference strongly supported by the iconography on both Aguateca Stela 2 and Dos Pilas Stela 10.

Given the evidence of both royal alliances in the Maya area and territorial warfare in the Petexbatún (Johnston 1983; Houston and Mathews 1985; Mathews and Willey n.d.),

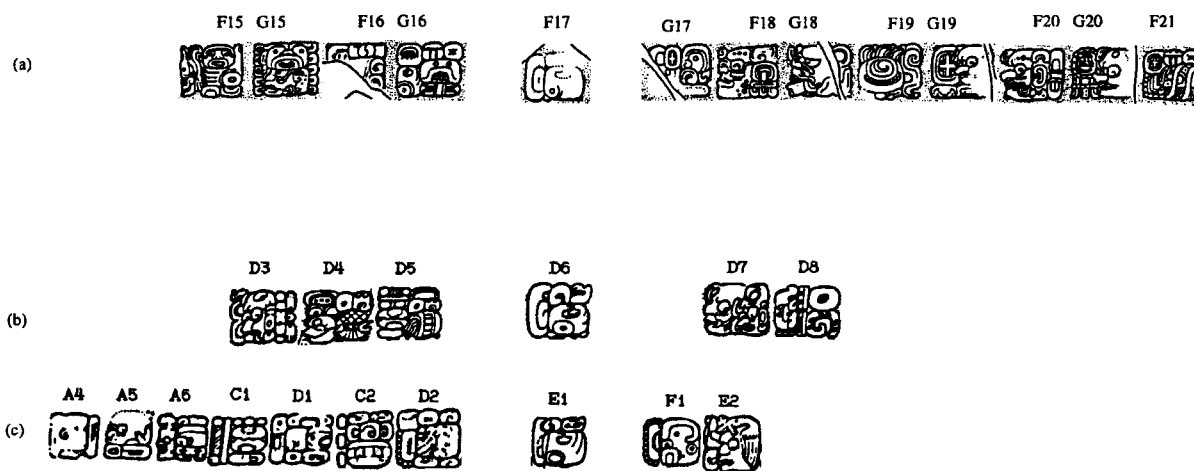


Fig. 5. Name phrases of rules from the Petexbatún region, naming them as substitutes/representatives of deities. (a) Dos Pilas Stela 8, back; (b) Aguateca Stela 1; (c) Aguateca Stela 7 (drawings by Peter Mathews [a], and Ian Graham 1967 [b, c]).

the designation of Jaguar-Paw of Seibal as the **ichilan** of Dos Pilas/Aguateca Ruler 3 suggests that the latter had his former substitute/representative (as local ruler of Seibal) adorned prior to his sacrifice. Consequently, the **ichilan** reading takes precedence over a specification of the agent of the action, which can be assumed from the explicit naming of Dos Pilas Ruler 3 as the subject of the war that led to the capture of Jaguar-Paw. Further support for this chain of inferences is provided by two facts. The capture event on the Aguateca and Dos Pilas stelae, which would have been rendered by means of a **chukah** verb (Proskouriakoff 1960:470, quoting Knorozov 1958) is suggested instead by a **ch'ak** 'decapitation' verb (Orejel 1990).¹⁰ Recent studies of the inscriptions from Tikal (Schele and Freidel 1990:168) seem to indicate a similar pattern of events, substantiated by the alliances and wars involving Tikal, Naranjo, and Caracol. On the other hand, Barbara MacLeod (personal communication 1990) has pointed out that

The 'substitute/representative' idea fits sacrificial victims who are offered as 'representatives' of their sacrificers. This fits exactly the broader pattern of blood sacrifice, e.g. scaffold sacrifice prior to a king's accession [cf. Schele and Miller 1986:111-112 and fig. 11.4], as well as personal bloodletting accompanying the sacrifice of a victim.

MacLeod's observation is in accord with the ballgame scenes portrayed in the Classic inscriptions. It is certain that war cap-

tives were sacrificed in the ballgame (Schele and Miller 1986:246), and likely that the latter was a reenactment of the battle leading to the capture (Schele and Miller 1986:253). Therefore, the mention of a captive as the substitute of his captor suggests that the Maya viewed the ballgame involving the captive vs. the captor as a battle between equals. (By extension, some sort of equality, or likeness, follows from 'substitution' in the **ichilan** sense.)

The text on Seibal Tablets 2 and 3 also suggests that the **ichilan** relationship in the Dos Pilas/Aguateca texts is correct. Although partially effaced, the text at the boundary between the tablets (fig. 3c) contains the name phrase of a sibling of Jaguar-Paw of Seibal. The personal name of the former must have been at I2-J2, for his appellatives start at K1:

- K1: **ah**-Seibal (he of Seibal)
- L1a: **yi-ta-hi** = **yitah** (the sibling of) [Stuart, letter to Schele 1988; cf. Schele and Freidel 1990:449, Note 55]
- L1b: Yich'ak Balam (Jaguar Paw) [Stuart 1987:28]
- K2: divine Seibal **AHAW**
- L2a: **yi-chi-la-NAL** = **yichilan** (the representative of)
- L2b: Smoking God K (title)
- M1: effaced (personal name)
- N1: ?-?-**CHAN** (probably 'captor of')

- M2: effaced (probably the name of the captive of’)
 N2: ?-?-**wa**-? (probably the Dos Pilas/Aguateca emblem glyph)

Since the sibling of Jaguar-Paw is not named as “divine Seibal lord,” but simply as “he of Seibal,” it is likely that the **ichilan** collocation is qualifying Jaguar-Paw as the representative of an individual whose name begins with the “Smoking God K” title, probably has the **u chan** (‘captor of’) title, and probably ends with a “divine Dos Pilas **ahaw**” title. The evidence accumulated in the discussion of the clauses in fig. 3a and 3b suggests that the latter is none other than Dos Pilas Ruler 3. A distinct possibility is that the name refers to Dos Pilas Ruler 4 on the basis of an alternative reading of the partially eroded text from L2 to N2 in fig. 3c (Schele, personal communication 1990; cf. name clause at D3-D5 in fig. 3d):

L2: “Smoking God K” title

M1: [full-form variant of **Mah k’ina** title]

N1: [**u CHAN** ‘captor of’ Lord Turtleshell] (snake variant of “Sky” partially visible)

M2: [“He of 20 captives” title]

N2: [“divine Dos Pilas **ahaw**” title] (**wa** superfix partially visible)

If the second alternative prevails, then the sibling of Jaguar-Paw is being named as the **yichilan** ‘representative’ of Dos Pilas Ruler 4. Given that Dos Pilas Ruler 3 captured and quite probably sacrificed Jaguar-Paw, it may have been the case that Seibal lacked a local ruler until the accession of Ruler 4 at Dos Pilas, who then decided to re-instate a representative of his reign at Seibal.

It turns out that the solution to the above problem of identity comes from an independent

analysis of the **yitah** ‘sibling’ relationship in the inscriptions from Seibal. Schele (1989b:6) noted that Stuart’s (1987:28) discovery of the name Yich’ak Balam implied that there were two different Seibal rulers with ‘jaguar’ in their names: Yich’ak Balam and Kan Mo’ Balam. When analyzing the inscription naming ‘he of Seibal’ as the sibling of Yich’ak Balam (cf. fig. 3c), Schele (1989b:6) remarked that Kan Mo’ Balam seems to have ruled Seibal under the oversight of the Dos Pilas victor. Then, emphasizing the importance of such a discovery, she concluded that “the evidence suggests that Seibal, even after the defeat of its king, remained under control of the same family, although they appear to have become subordinate to the victors from Dos Pilas” (Schele 1989b:6-7).

If such was indeed the case, then the **ichilan** relationship applies not to Yich’ak Balam, the captured ruler, but to his sibling Kan Mo’ Balam, his alleged successor. As a consequence, the primary meanings of **ichilan** ‘delegate, president who presides in place of another’ perfectly fit Schele’s (1989b:6-7) re-interpretation of the clause in fig. 3c. Even though the verb and the personal name of the protagonist are eroded, ‘he of Seibal’ is named both as the sibling of Yich’ak Balam, and as the representative of the Dos Pilas victor.¹¹

The name phrase of Dos Pilas Ruler 2, and those of Dos Pilas/Aguateca Rulers 4 and 5 (cf. Houston and Mathews 1985) recorded on Dos Pilas Stela 8, and Aguateca Stelae 1 and 7, respectively, also contain the **ichilan** relationship (at F17 [fig. 5a], D6 [fig. 5b] and E1 [fig. 5c]). These rulers are named as the representatives of (hypothetically, co-actors with, protected by, or earthly manifestations of) GI, God K.¹² Quite interestingly, the clause from Dos

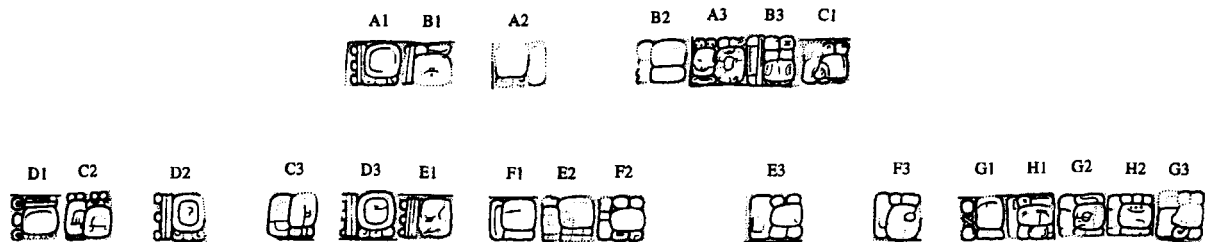


Fig. 6. Structural analysis of the text on the riser of La Amelia Hieroglyphic Stairway I. The text possibly deals with the seating of a local ruler (Houston 1993:120), and names him as the substitute/representative of Dos Pilas/Aguateca Ruler 5. (Drawing after Houston 1993:121, Fig. 4-24.)

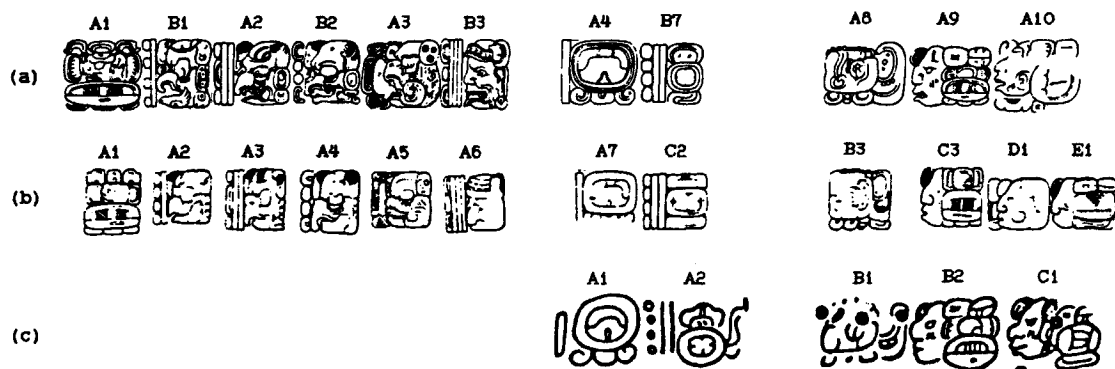


Fig. 7. Clauses recording the birth of Lady Ahpo Katun of Piedras Negras. (a) Stela 3, back (after Bricker 1986: Fig. 218); (b) Stela 1, back (after Stuart 1985: Fig. 2); (c) Shell Plaques, Burial 5 (after Stuart 1985: Fig. 1).

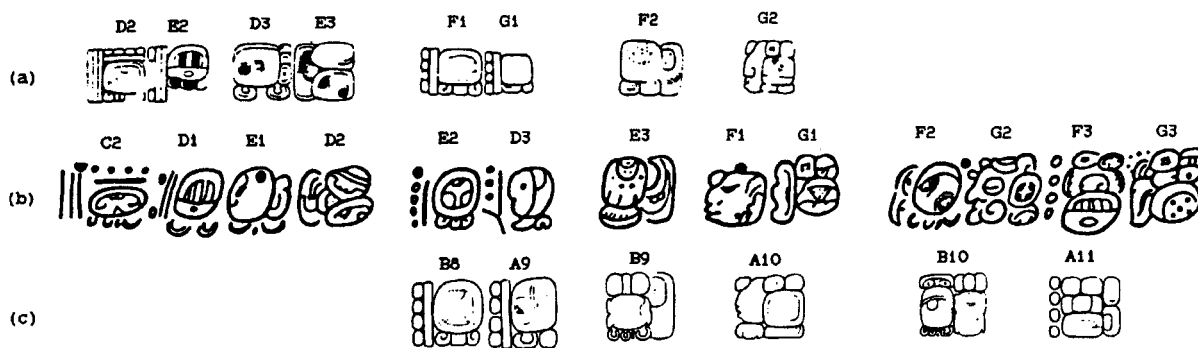


Fig. 8. (a-c) Clauses recording the betrothal of Lady Ahpo Katun to Ruler 3 of Piedras Negras; (d) Clause recording the death of Ruler 2. (a) Stela 1, back (after Stuart 1985: Fig. 2); (b) Shell Plaques, Burial 5 (after Stuart 1985: Fig. 1); (c, d) Stela 8, side (after Stuart 1985: Fig. 4).

Pilas Stela 8 (fig. 5a) is the only example that does not adhere to the general clause (1): the **yichilan** relationship (at F17) is followed first by a phrase naming the Paddler Gods (G17-G18), and then by a phrase naming their representative, Ruler 2 (F19-F20: titles; G20-F21: Shield-God K, Divine Dos Pilas Ahaw).

Finally, Dos Pilas/Aguateca Ruler 5 appears to have been represented (in the **ichilan** sense) by a local ruler at La Amelia (fig. 6). Houston (1993:120) has pointed out that Ruler 5 “possibly presided over a ‘seating’ rite involving the lord of La Amelia” (cf. the **yichi[la]nal** collocation at F3 in fig. 6). As an implication of such a reference, Houston remarked that “the [Dos Pilas] / Aguateca lord may have been the more important of the two.” Once again, the evidence suggests that the La Amelia ruler had been seated as substitute/representative of the Dos Pilas/Aguateca ruler.

Name Phrases of Piedras Negras Royal Persons

The texts on Piedras Negras Stelae 1, 3, 7, and 8, and on four shell plaques from Burial 5 deal with a most interesting but partially-understood sequence of events involving Rulers 2 and 3 as well as at least two royal women. Beginning with Proskouriakoff’s (1960) seminal paper, several scholars have re-studied these inscriptions with varying degrees of agreement. The relevance of the aforementioned sequence of events to the scope of this paper is that the **yichilan** collocation occurs in three phrases naming royal women. Partially blending three previous analyses (Schele 1982; Stuart 1985, and Bricker 1986), the event series is briefly summarized below:

- Birth of Lady Ahpo Katun (cf. fig. 7).
- At about twelve and one-half years of age, **macah** ‘betrothal’ (Stuart 1985:179; Bricker 1986:157) of Lady

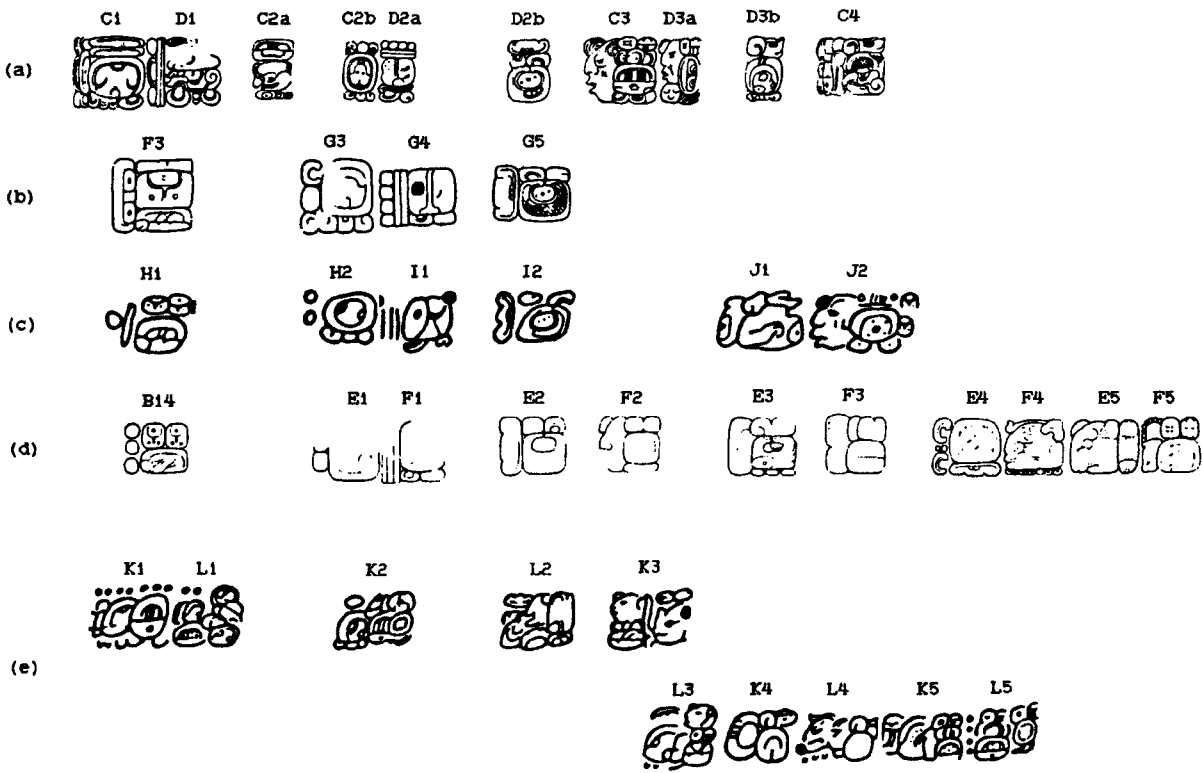


Fig. 9. (a-d) Clauses recording the adornment of Lady Ahpo Katun, acting with the quality of being the representative of another person; (e) Clause recording the adornment of Lady ?-Bat under the auspices of Lady Ahpo Katun. (a) Stela 3, back (after Bricker 1986: Fig. 218); (b) Stela 1, back (after Stuart 1985: Fig. 2); (c, e) Shell Plaques, Burial 5 (after Stuart 1985: Fig. 1); (d) Stela 8, front (after Stuart 1985: Fig. 4).

Ahpo Katun to Ruler 3 (cf. fig. 8a-c).

- Death of Ruler 2 three days later (cf. fig. 8d). (According to Stuart [1985:183], Ruler 2 was probably the father of Ruler 3, while according to Bricker [1986:156] he was probably the father of Lady Ahpo Katun.)
- Two **nawah** ‘to adorn’ (Schele 1982:267; Bricker 1986:158) events conducted by Lady Ahpo Katun two and three days after the death of Ruler 2 (Schele 1982:244; Stuart 1985:181) (cf. fig. 9a-d). (Bricker [1986:157] considered the one-day difference as a scribal error, and merged the two events into the second.)
- A posthumous (unknown) event involving Ruler 2, four days after the second **nawah** event (Schele 1982:203; Stuart 1985:183).
- Inauguration of Ruler 3, two uinals later.

The **yichilan** collocation occurs in the verbal clauses shown in fig. 9a (at D3b), 9c (at J1), and 9d (E3). Stuart (1985:181) interpreted it as an agency association, while Bricker (1986:195) left it uninterpreted, treating **nawah** as an unmarked plural verb and translating the verbal clause as “Lady Ahpo Katun (and) Ruler 3 were adorned” (cf. Note 4).

The name phrase in fig. 9c is problematic in that the **nawah** verb is immediately followed by the **yichilan** relationship. In terms of the general clause (1), name *phrase*₁ (the proper name of the subject) is missing. Stuart (1985:181) assumed Lady Ahpo Katun to be the subject of the verb, obliquely implied by the title following the “agency” glyph. Schele (1982:267) listed Lady Ah-Be as the agent of the event, but concluded that even though the agent was recorded solely by title it could be none other than Lady Ahpo Katun because a structurally equivalent phrase on Stela 8 (fig. 9d) names her as the **yatan** ‘wife’ (Lounsbury 1984) of Ruler 3. Bricker (1986:156) arrived at

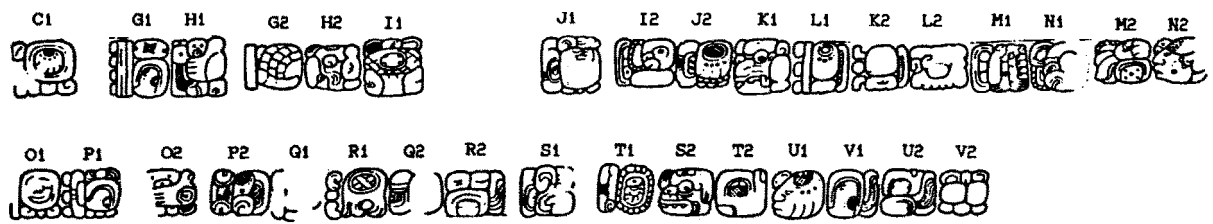


Fig. 10. Clauses recording a reenactment by Piedras Negras Ruler 2 of a rite conducted by an ancestor 150 years before, both of them being named as the representatives of deities. (Drawing by David Stuart, after Schele and Miller 1986: Pl. 40a.)

Table 1		O1-P1	8 Chicchan 3 Ceh
C1-G1	3 Imix 19 Ceh	O2	ahau-in-hand
H1	ahau-in-hand	P2-R2	name, ahaw k'in (ancestor)
G2:	helmet	S1	yichilan 'substitute of'
H2- I1	name (Ruler 2)		['agency' according to Schele and Miller]
J1	yichilan 'substitute of'	T1	ta-?? (name)
	['agency' according to Schele and Miller]	S2-U1	u k'a ba (his name)
I2	his blood	V1	tun
J2	Yax na:ab	U2:	chik'in (west)
K1	Chac-Xib-Chac	V2	batab
L1-K2	8-Imix/1-Imix compounds		
L2	GIII (Jaguar God of the Underworld)		
M1-N1	he let blood (fish-in-hand) [manifestation of the Vision Serpent through bloodletting (Schele and Freidel 1990:254)]		
M2-N2	Piedras Negras ahaw		

the same conclusion.

The clause in fig. 9a pertains to the adornment of Lady Ahpo Katun five days after her betrothal to Ruler 3. At first glance, Lady Ahpo Katun as the **yichilan** 'representative' of Ruler 3 seems strange. However, recalling the semantic equivalence between ***k'exol** and **ichilan**, the clause may refer to the dressing of Lady Ahpo Katun so as to be like-in-kind to Ruler 3 (cf. a similar captive/captor relationship posited above).

The parallel clauses in fig. 9c-d record the second **nawah** event that occurred one day after the one just discussed. As was mentioned before, Bricker (1986:156) considered the one-day difference as a scribal error and lumped the two events into the second. Even though Maya scribes made errors, especially in recording dates, a duplication of the same error in two dif-

ferent texts is unlikely. Under this assumption the clauses indeed pertain to a second adornment of Lady Ahpo Katun, and read thus:

6 days [to] 2 Caban 15 Kankin
nawah ?? **yichilan** na-ah-be-?-la
 3 days [to] 2 Caban 15 Kankin
nawah Lady Ahpo Katun **yichilan** ??
yatan Ruler 3

The parallel between the clauses is striking, for they complement each other. The date of the event is linked both to the betrothal of Lady Ahpo Katun to Ruler 3 (distance number = 6 days), and to the death of Ruler 2 (distance number = 3 days). In terms of the general clause (1), the first clause provides name *phrase*₂, while the second furnishes name



Fig. 11. Carving on the top of Tikal Altar 5. The structural analysis of the text is given in Fig. 12. (Drawing after Jones and Satterthwaite 1982: Fig. 23.)

phrase₁ plus some additional information. The event in question can then be reconstructed as the adornment of Lady Ahpo Katun so as to act as the ‘representative’ of an individual whose name was spelled **na-ah-be-?-la** (possibly “Lady Ah-Be” [cf. Schele 1982:267]) while being the **yatan** ‘wife’ of Ruler 3.

Even though at present the author is unable to ascertain the identity of the person

represented by Lady Ahpo Katun, it is noteworthy that the **nawah** event occurred four days before a posthumous event involving Ruler 2 (Schele 1982:203; Stuart 1985:183). The verb denoting the event is almost totally effaced (Schele 1982:203), but enough of it survives to indicate an **ah** perfective verbal suffix (Bricker 1986:126). If the prefix was the **u** third-person pronoun, then the verb would have been a transitive one. This posthumous event occurred seven days after the death of Ruler 2. Assuming that it is not a variant of **mukah** ‘burial’, the event may designate a ceremony conducted to honor the deceased Ruler, in which Lady Ahpo Katun represented him under some sort of quality denoted by the phonetic spelling **na-ah-be-?-la**. This interpretation adds some support to Bricker’s (1986:156) conjecture that Ruler 2 was the father of Lady Ahpo Katun.¹³

As a last example of the occurrence of the **yichilan** collocation in the inscriptions from Piedras Negras, consider the clauses shown in fig. 10. The clauses form part of the text on Lintel 2, which states that Ruler 2 re-enacted an event performed by an ancestor 150 years before (Schele and Miller 1986:149). In both cases, Ruler 2 and the ancestor are named as the representatives or substitutes of deities (Table 1) (cf. Schele and Miller 1986:148-149).

Schele and Miller (1986:148) remarked that Lintel 2 apparently was taken from an ear-

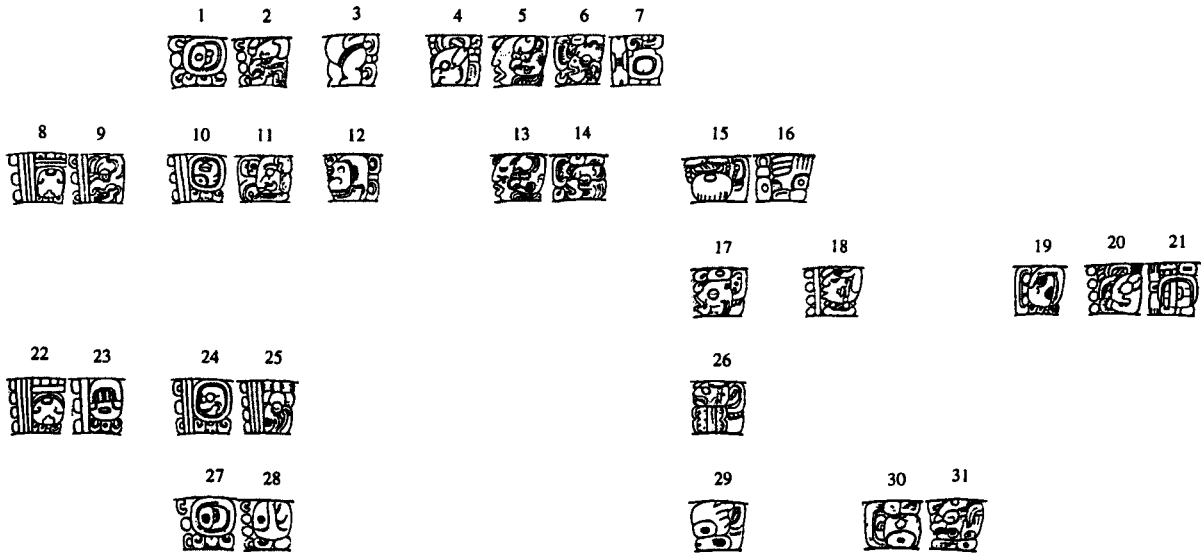


Fig. 12. Structural analysis of the text on Tikal Altar 5, having a clause (spanning collocations 27 through 31) which contains the *yichilan* relationship (at collocation 30). (Drawing after Jones and Satterthwaite 1982: Fig. 23.)

lier construction and reused in the funerary Structure O-13, which may contain the burials of Rulers 5 and 6. Part of the text on Lintel 2, and the reuse of the monument itself, enabled Schele and Miller (ibid) to conclude that “Structure O-13 was undoubtedly the focus of ancestor worship at the site, and the king who built it assembled and reused images of power and antiquity.” In the light of this conclusion, the naming of Ruler 2 and of the ancestor as the representatives/substitutes of deities reiterates the Maya belief that the rulers were physical manifestations of the gods (Schele and Miller 1986:301; Hendrickson 1989:138-139).

The *yichilan* Collocation as a Title at Tikal

The text on Tikal Altar 5 (figs. 11-12), which is associated with Ah Cacaw’s Stela 16, deals with events in the life of a woman who might have been related to the Tikal lord. Since the individuals portrayed on the altar (fig. 11) apparently wear Teotihuacán-style costumes (cf. Schele and Freidel 1990:160-163, and fig. 4:26), it would seem that the monument was erected at Tikal in commemoration of foreign visitors from highland México during the hiatus at Tikal (cf. Schele 1990:71). A preliminary reading of the text (fig. 12) is as follows:

- 1-2 1 Muluc, 2 Muan
- 3 ?-ya (unknown verb)
- 4 ?-ch’ok-zac (?-young/unripe-white)
- 5-6 na-CAUAC, ca-yi-wa-ca (Lady Cauac)
- 7 chac-?-? (title)

- 8-9 11.11.18 [since 1 Muluc, 2 Muan]
- 10-11 13 Manik, Seating of Xul
- 12 skull-ya ([and then] she died)
- 13-14 na-CAUAC, ca-yi-wa-ca (Lady Cauac)
- 15 k’u(?) -ba-ha (reflexive verb)
(bloodletting? [cf. Schele and Freidel 1990:157, fig. 4:23])
- 16 ti-?-? (instrument like a three-pointed flint knife?)

- 17 mu-ca-ha = mucah (burial)
- 18 bolon-ahaw-na (burial building name?)
- 19 u cab-hi-ya (the land of)
- 20 kan-?-?-jaguar (name of one of the individuals portrayed on the altar?)
- 21 ma-[k’ina]-ahaw-te

- 22-23 8.9.19 [since 13 Manik, Seating of Xul]
- 24-25 11 Cimi, 19 Mac
- 26 [and then] ?-sa-ha (verb)

- 27-28 1 Muluc, 2 Kankin [3 days since 11 Cimi, 19 Mac]
- 29 hu-li-ha = huli (arrived)
- 30 yi-chi-nal = yichilan (representative)
- 31 batab te

The text on Tikal Altar 5 mentions the death and subsequent burial of a woman whose name is spelled **na-CAUAC ca-ya-wa-ca**. The clause following an unidentified event after the burial states that on 1 Muluc 2 Kankin, there occurred an event which has been read **huli** ‘arrived’ (cf. Houston 1993:137, fig. S-lob). The phrase after the verb consists solely of a **yichilan** collocation and the title **batab te**. The problem with this phrase is that a possibly deleted name of the subject cannot be reconstructed from the context, for the main protagonist was already dead at the time of the last event. Two possible interpretations of the last clause are discussed below.

On the one hand, the clause lacks the names of the two individuals required between a relationship glyph, in which case it involves the arrival of an unnamed individual having the titles **yichilan** and **batab te**. On the other hand, the phrase lacks only the name of the first individual, and it involves the arrival of the representative of the **batab te**, so that the **yichilan** collocation retains its function as a relationship. Given that, to the best of the author’s knowledge, the **batab te** title occurs exclusively in final position in the name phrases of named rulers, the first one would seem appropriate. However, from the example of deletion of a name at Piedras Negras (discussed above), the second seems to be the most plausible one. At present, the author is unable to decide which interpretation should prevail. In either case, however, reading the clause viewing the collocation as **yichilan** offers two viable alternative readings to a somewhat awkward reading as indicating the arrival of an unnamed person in the company of the **batab te**, as obtained considering the collocation as **yichnal**.

Conclusion

This paper has dealt with the epigraphic evidence of a general 'substitute' relationship collocation in Classic Maya inscriptions. Extensions of the general term include 'representative,' 'successor,' 'deputy,' and 'name-sake.' The new reading was shown to fit the context of several hieroglyphic texts, providing further insight into their historical content. Maya rulers were named either as representatives, substitutes, or even namesakes of deities, acting in much the same way that the **chilam balam** acted as an intermediary between the laymen and the sacred books. The 'substitute' relationship was also used to link subordinate (local) rulers to their overlords. Finally, on the appropriate symbolic level, royal women were equated to their husbands, as captives were to their captors. The new relationship can be considered as the civil counterpart of the **way** 'co-essence' relationship (cf. Houston and Stuart 1989), and is similar to (but stronger than) the God C title **ch'ul na (k'ul na** in Yucatec) that recently has been identified in the inscriptions (cf. Houston 1993:131-132) as a relationship with a meaning related to the term **k'ul** 'cierto oficial de la república, ... abogado medianero y tercero entre algunos/a certain officer of the government, intercessor and third party' (Barrera-Vásquez 1980:420-421).

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NOTES

1 Figure 1c shows a name clause from an unrelated sentence on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross (N9-N13). This clause, in conjunction with the series of deities named in fig. 1b (Palace Tablet, E10-F13), substantiates the claim that the collocation at B18b on the Tablet of Temple XVIII implies the Palenque Triad (Schele 1988:84). Figure 1d shows at the position of the alleged agency or relationship collocation (C7), a verb recorded on the Tablet of Temple XIV, which also occurs on Yaxchilán Lintels 11, 49, 37, and 35. However, from an analysis of the Yaxchilán texts it can be shown that the verb at C7 in fig. 1d is not equivalent to the relationships at B18a and F9 in fig. 1a-b.

2 Translations from Spanish in the Yucatec, Chol, and Quiche dictionaries (Barrera-Vásquez 1980, Aulie and Aulie 1978, Henne-Pontious 1980, respectively) are by the author.

3 Stuart's argument relies on the fact that a full-form rendition of the **NAL** glyph occurs in final position at A4b on the west side of Copán Stela 10 (see Schele 1989a:88). The same form occurs also on Tikal Stela 35. Surprisingly, however, Schele et al. (1990:5, fig. 9) did not read the **NAL** glyph as the last syllable in the phonetic spelling **Hun Nal Ye** of GI's name at Palenque (cf. collocation E10 in fig. 2a).

4 Houston's (1989:34) interpretation that two individuals performed the same event must have been based on Bricker's (1986:193-197) reading of the text on the back of Piedras Negras Stela 3. When dealing with a clause involving a woman who stands in the **yi-chi-la-NAL** relationship to Piedras Negras Ruler 3, Bricker (1986:195)—without translating the relationship collocation in question—indicated that the clause is of the form Date-Verb-Subject1-(?)-Subject2, and that the verb is not marked as plural because of the clear identification of both subjects by well-known royal prefixes. This

clause is dealt with later in the paper.

5 The readings for the clauses in fig. 2a-b have been modified substantially since the author wrote the first draft of the present paper in 1990. Schele and Mathews (1993:124) have read the clauses as follows:

Fig. 2a: unknown event ... K'an-Hok' ... in the company of the gods

Fig. 2b: He took a vision serpent ... K'an Hok' ... in the company of the gods

thus making equivalent the *relationship* and name *phrase2* constituents of both clauses with respect to the general clause (1). In spite of these changes, the main argument of the author remains the same: the analysis of the relationship collocation in several contexts suggests that its meaning is 'representative' and not 'in the company of'.

6 Schele (1982, Chart 128:15) lists a verbal collocation occurring in a text carved on Simojovel Shell (at position B9). Following the strict reading order of glyphic collocations, it spells out as **yi-chi-la-na**, which reduces to **yichilan**. The reconstructed date of the uninterpreted event is 4 Cauac (?) 12 Mol (9.13.0.0.0 [?]), and the agent is Pacal of Palenque. (The complete text is unknown to the author.) If it were the case that the collocation is *not* verbal, then it may refer to Pacal as the representative of another entity.

7 Barbara MacLeod has drawn the author's attention to the fact that Grube (nd.) found a substitution between the "headless torso" (cf. F9, fig. 2a) and the **chi** hand (cf. H14, fig. 2b) in the Primary Standard Sequence. If the equivalence is correct, then the ***k'exol** reading for the former must be given up in favor of the phonetically-derived **ichilan** reading. In any case, the substitution found by Grube further supports the interpretation of the collocation as denoting a 'substitute/representative' relationship between two individuals. On the other hand, Gregorio Tum (personal communication 1990) has informed the author that the Quiche word **rach'il** means 'tocayo/namesake', while Henne-Pontius (1980:86, 131) lists the words **chil** and **rachi'l** as 'su compañero o compañera, junto con él, en compañía con él/companion, together with, in the company of,' along with **chilab** 'encargo, encomienda/errand, commission.' Since Quiché, and Tzotzil are divergent languages, the presence of these words in the former suggests both that a word derived from the root ***chil**, as opposed to ***ich**, originated in the inscriptions (i.e. in Cholan languages), and that its distribution was somewhat wide, being borrowed at least by Yucatec and Quiché. In addition, the Tzotzil and Quiche words suggest an equivalence between **yichilan** and **yichinal**. Hence, even if the proposed **yichilan** reading for the collocation under consideration is shown to be incorrect, its general meaning as 'substitute/representative' would still hold.

8 The badly-effaced text on Copán Stela 7 may involve two individuals linked by the ‘substitute’ relationship, for it occurs at B9 just before a name phrase, and possibly after another name phrase (fig. 5).

9 The verb **nawah** has been given the glosses ‘to humiliate’, and ‘to sacrifice’ (Schele 1979:22-30; Lounsbury 1984:170).

10 Schele and Miller (1986:210) have established that the Maya waged war at least to capture high-ranking individuals, who later would participate in bloodletting/sacrifice rituals to nurture the gods. In terms of logical causation, it can be said then that a capture implies a subsequent sacrifice. Then, appealing to common sense, the record of a decapitation event (after a “star-over-Seibal” war event) suggests that a corresponding capture might have occurred.

11 An interpretation of the clause in fig. 3c was arrived at via two independent lines of inquiry: Schele’s (1989b:6-7) analysis of the implications of the **yitah** relationship, and the author’s analysis of the productivity of the proposed **yichilan** relationship.

12 The author is indebted to Brian Stross for pointing out the alternative semantic interpretations of the phrases naming Dos Pilas Ruler 2, and Dos Pilas/Aguateca Rulers 4 and 5.

13 A distinct possibility is that the second ‘adornment’ of Lady Ahpo Katun was unrelated to the posthumous event involving Ruler 2. The second variant of the clause pertaining to the adornment of Lady Ahpo Katun suggests once more the correctness of the **yichilan** reading for the collocation under study. Taking the alleged **yichnal** ‘agency’ reading as meaning either ‘together with’ or ‘in the company of’, the reading

nawah ‘was adorned’ Lady Ahpo Katun
yichnal ‘in the company of’ [name]
yatan ‘the wife of’ Ruler 3”

leads to ambiguity. The person accompanying Lady Ahpo Katun could be interpreted as being the wife of Ruler 3, which was not the case. To the best of the author’s knowledge, no rendition of Maya royal names follows such a pattern. Titles applicable to the subject of a verb always precede any specification of an agency, as demonstrated by the **u kab** ‘in the land of’ or ‘under the auspices of’ agency (Schele 1982:82) which happens to occur in at least two texts from Piedras Negras (cf. fig. 8b [at B2] and fig. 9e [at L3]). It can easily be seen that in both cases the agency follows the titles of the protagonist of the event. In contrast, the **yichilan** reading for the “agency” collocation just provides additional information about the qualifications of the protagonist:

nawah ‘was adorned’ Lady Ahpo Katun
yichilan ‘the representative/substitute of’ [name]
yatan ‘the wife of’ Ruler 3.