INAUGURAL ART OF BIRD JAGUAR IV: REWRITING HISTORY AT YAXCHILAN

By

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ABSTRACT

Monumental art of the Maya incorporates figural imagery and hieroglyphic texts to document dynastic and mythical history. One particular monument tells us that near the end of April in 752 A.D., Bird Jaguar IV was inaugurated as ruler of the Mayan city now known as Yaxchilan. Investigation of his sculptural programmes reveals a multiplicity of innovative solutions for Bird Jaguar's unparalleled problems in validating a tenuous claim to rulership of Yaxchilan. It appears that in order to compensate for his insufficient genealogical claim, Bird Jaguar fabricated a series of ritual events which proclaimed his political legitimacy.

This study examines the intended integration of two parallel systems of communication: the visual and hieroglyphic languages of the Maya. Analysis shows how Bird Jaguar's artists presented symbolic references which manipulated the past history, justified the current history, and established the future political history of Yaxchilan.
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CHAPTER I  INTRODUCTION

I.A  The Site: Setting and Sculpture

The site of Yaxchilan in Chiapas, Mexico is located alongside the Usumacinta River which creates part of the present boundary between Mexico and Guatemala (Figure 1). Yaxchilan is one of several Maya cities that were centers of military, economic, religious, and political activities during the Classic era from about 450 A.D to 800 A.D.

Archaeological data from the Maya area suggests that communities in densely populated major sites were intensely stratified societies from which a single dynastic ruler, and his elite entourage, commonly directed and controlled the rural population. The sculptural legacy left by the Maya appears to have been political art, commissioned by elite patrons as a means of securing continued prestige. It is not known to what extent artists controlled the designing of monuments. However, since the sculptures functioned as public propaganda, and since they document the history of rulers, it can be assumed that the ultimate approval of
public monuments was granted only by the political leader.

One of the largest groups of sculptures was found at Yaxchilan, where over one hundred monuments have survived since its eighth century fluorescence. Here stone sculptures include stelae, lintels, altars, thrones, and stairs. The figural images and accompanying hieroglyphic texts on these monuments afford a reconstruction of Yaxchilan's history and an unusual glimpse into the artistic methods employed by rulers to promote themselves as creators of that history.

The setting for Yaxchilan art and architecture is a flat esplanade located parallel to the river, and four hilltops which surround and overlook the tableland (Figure 2). The most public ceremonies would have taken place in the large plazas of the esplanade flanked by imposing temple structures. Ceremonies restricted to the Yaxchilan elite would have occurred on the higher acropolis levels, in smaller terraces directly in front of larger temples which were often oriented to face toward the plazas and river below.

Mayan art was not merely commemorative: in some sculptural programmes the art may have been designed to rewrite history and to redirect public opinion. The
inaugural monuments of Bird Jaguar IV, late eighth century ruler of Yaxchilan, illustrate this particular form of propaganda. The ways in which the figures and inscriptions "create" history to validate claims to rulership will be the subject of this study.

I.B Previous Studies of Yaxchilan

Art and architecture of Yaxchilan have been investigated now for over one hundred years. Photographs and descriptive notes which continue to be valuable sources for studies of Yaxchilan were published by Maudslay from 1889 to 1902, Maler in 1903, and Morley in 1938. Erosion and destruction of recent decades have obscured much of the figural and glyphic detail that was photographically recorded during their initial explorations of the site.

Morley was one of the first historians to investigate chronological developments of Mayan art, and his stylistic basis for comparison was typical of most studies which preceded the more historical approach introduced by Proskouriakoff (1960). Although some of Morley's (1937-38) suggestions for stylistic dating of the monuments at Yaxchilan have proven incorrect, his
work has been an incentive for further studies of this sculptural legacy.

Graham's published site plan and the drawings of Yaxchilan's lintels and hieroglyphic stairways (1977, 1979, 1982) greatly increased the visual data available for analysis. Graham also loaned me preliminary drawings of Yaxchilan's stelae. As he is preparing a corpus of inscriptions for other scholars to analyze, Graham avoids any interpretation.

Proskouriakoff's (1960) discovery of the nominal glyphs of rulers at nearby Piedras Negras was the first real evidence that the content of Maya inscriptions is largely dynastic. Proskouriakoff's identification of dynastic records, and the association of specific hieroglyphs with particular scenes, provided the foundation for most of the major epigraphic advances of the past three decades. Her original deductions concerning the succession of rulers and their relevant monuments at Piedras Negras enabled her to subsequently establish the dynastic sequence for eighth century Yaxchilan (1963, 1964), defining the reigns of three rulers whom she called Shield Jaguar, Bird Jaguar, and Shield Jaguar's Descendant.
Although Cohodas' study (1972) preceded the more recent decipherments of nominal and verbal glyphs which would have confirmed his theories of chronological developments, he was able to build a stylistic sequence for Yaxchilan sculpture that was based on Proskouriakoff's dynastic sequence. Since rulers often erected sculpture to commemorate an event which had occurred several decades earlier, during the reign of a previous ruler, Cohodas' stylistic sequence is valuable for detecting which ruler actually erected such monuments.

Cohodas also determined that while Yaxchilan's sculpture had been traditionally carved in a Narrative mode, the introduction of a more Symbolic type of representation coincided with the inauguration of Bird Jaguar IV (1976b:302). The new symbolic monuments involved new iconographic themes and sculptural techniques as well, suggesting that the Narrative and Symbolic compositional types were created by two different schools of artists. The Symbolic sculptural School is present only during the reign of Bird Jaguar IV at Yaxchilan and disappears thereafter.

Schele's analyses (1982) of verb morphology and the syntax of the Maya hieroglyphic system incorporates
the findings of several other epigraphers and linguists, and has resulted in the profusion of decipherments and interpretations of glyphic passages from monuments at most Maya sites, including Yaxchilan. A recent publication by Schele and Miller (1986) presents several hypothetical interpretations of Yaxchilan sculptural scene as well. The reconstruction of dynasties is currently under investigation by Peter Mathews and David Stuart. For example, through their work we now know that Proskouriakoff's Bird Jaguar was the fourth ruler to use the nominal glyph of a small bird atop a jaguar head, and he is now referred to as Bird Jaguar IV.

The first major study of the iconography of Yaxchilan sculpture is the recent dissertation by Tate (1986). Tate's investigation of Yaxchilan's art, writing, and architecture emphasizes that: "..in order to comprehend the symbol system, it is necessary to understand the nature of the place in which it operates" (1986:5,11). Tate discerned that the use of certain symbols was restricted to representations of specific rituals. In particular, she discovered the correlation between a particular ceremonial element and the observation of Summer Solstice sunrise.
I.C Present Methodology

Although scholars who have studied the art and architecture of Yaxchilan have contributed greatly to our knowledge of the calendrics and the dynastic history of the sites, all of the analyses outlined above have involved limited points of view, thus providing only partial solutions for interpreting the monuments. For example, no author has yet analyzed the interrelationship of the figural images and the hieroglyphic texts of individual sculptures. Many authors focus on interpretation of the historical data, but do not sufficiently investigate the visual means used by artists to complement and enhance ideas conveyed by the inscriptions. Understanding both aspects is important since the Maya set their figural scenes within a framework of religious and mythical concepts that has not been sufficiently investigated.

This study differs in that instead of examining a large body of works from one point of view, it examines one sculptural ensemble from several points of view. The investigation includes not only the recorded dynastic events but also the problem of apparent genealogical fabrications, the use of calendric and cosmological
concepts, and the creation of new rituals and a new artistic style. These features will be reviewed in light of their immediate context at Yaxchilan, and also within the broader scope of patterns of political art at other sites.
CHAPTER II  DOCUMENTATION, THEMES, AND STYLES

II.A  Dynastic Documentation

Introduction. Architectural and sculptural remains enable scholars to reconstruct some aspects of Mayan cultural history. The pictorial images and hieroglyphic texts carved on stone stelae, lintels, and staircases were commissioned by rulers as public documents of their legitimate role in society. The greatest percentage of texts document bloodlines, revealing that the Maya were concerned with the public display of proper lineage as their right to rule. The motivation for erecting carved stone monuments was not only political and historical, but also religious, since the art incorporated sacred, supernatural and ritual imagery. While hieroglyphic records of birth, parentage, marriage, accession, and death validated the ruler's dynastic right to rule, the figural scenes convey information pertaining to the mythological, religious, and astronomical aspects of Mayan ideology.

The freestanding carved stelae were the most public of Maya monuments and were set up either in large plazas, or in the smaller patios of individual buildings.
The prominent image on the largest proportion of Maya stelae is the ruler, although subsidiary consorts, parents, militia captains, prisoners, are often present. When gods are included they are usually secondary and positioned to frame the ruler. Stone sculpture from Usumacinta River sites (such as Yaxchilan) is differentiated by the narrative interaction of several figures in an illusionistic space, and the frequent inclusion of the ruler's parents on its stelae and wall panels.

Texts inscribed on these monuments usually refer to public ceremonies undertaken during a particular reign. Subordinate calendric and relationship glyphs are often included to establish the specific temporal and dynastic environment of those occasions. Stela 22 from Tikal exemplifies this pattern (Figure 39). The text begins by stating the date on which the ruler ceremonially ended a time period. This initial clause includes the ruler's name, modified by a reference to his parentage. The second clause further identifies the ruler by referring to his inaugural date. Finally, the third clause restates the ruler's participation on the current period-ending ceremony. In this case, some of the figural imagery is readily decoded, since it
elaborates the hieroglyphic allusion to the "scattering" event. This concise type of documentation for a more public ritual contrasts with types of information conveyed by texts and images on the more secluded lintels. Although the text on Lintel 3 of Tikal's Temple IV (Figure 40) follows a basic format similar to that of Stela 22, the records of both ritual and history are much more detailed. For example although the inscription begins with an important period-ending, five different clauses are concerned with a three-tun anniversary of a war-associated event, probably the conquest of Yaxha. For this ritual the glyphs also name several gods in conjunction with the ruler's name.

The particular juxtaposition of glyphic patterns, complex costumes, postures, and ceremonial implements evolved into a unique and standardized form at each site (such as the above examples from Tikal). Within each site-type, atypical themes, contrived calendrics, or gaps in a predictable sequence of events may appear when the political situation was unstable, as exceptional techniques were employed to augment dynastic documentation.
The Rulers of Yaxchilan. Following Proskouriakoff's original identification of three of Yaxchilan's eighth century rulers (1963-64) other scholars have identified the names of additional rulers spanning the history of the site from 454 A.D. to 808 A.D. The dynastic list (Chart 1) suggests a total of seventeen rulers. However, because of the discontinuity of documentation between Early and Late Classic rulers, it remains difficult to ascertain either the actual number or the exact succession.¹

Information concerning Yaxchilan's Early Classic rulers is limited to lists of accession records on the lintels of Structures 12 and 22, and to a few badly eroded stelae which, (with the exception of Stela 14), appear to commemorate period-ending ritual (Stelae 27, 2). Names and titles of the first ten rulers are compiled in the lintel texts of Structure 12. The sequential ordering of these lintels suggests that this history was documented by the tenth ruler, known currently as Mak'inah Skull II (accession 526 A.D., died circa 550 A.D.). Though he commemorated the date of his own inauguration, he listed only the ordinal succession of his nine predecessors.² A history of Mak'inah Skull's next two successors remains obscure and is based
on limited and problematic references on a severely eroded Early Classic stela and on lintels and stairs by Late Classic rulers (Stela 27, Lintel 46, Structure 44 Step I). The lack of documentation for the period of about 550 to 650 A.D. leaves a gap in our knowledge of Yaxchilan's history.

The first known ruler of the Late Classic period, called Bird Jaguar III, reportedly ruled for over fifty years, from 629 A.D. to about 680 A.D.. He is commemorated by both his son Shield Jaguar, and his assumed grandson Bird Jaguar IV, who gave him his final name glyph. The mother of Shield Jaguar I, presumably the consort of Bird Jaguar III, is named Lady Pacal.

Since no monuments are yet known from his reign, one may infer that during his era Yaxchilan did not possess the economic and political power necessary for the regular production of personalized monumental art.

A possible explanation for the lack of sculpture dating to the reign of Bird Jaguar III may be found on the steps of House C at Palenque. It has been suggested that the son of Bird Jaguar III was captured by someone of Palenque on 9.11.6.16.3, at about age six to eleven years (Schele 1982:226). A ruler whose heir has been captured does not possess the power required to
commission art. However, because later descendants did refer to Bird Jaguar III, he is the first Late Classic leader for whom we have clear lineage connections. It should be noted though that the only data we know about this ruler is the information his descendants chose to record. These latter inscriptions suggest that his original name glyph was "Bundle" Jaguar, and that it was modified later (to "Bird" Jaguar) by his supposed grandson to promote himself as a legitimate successor.

The precise birthdate of Shield Jaguar I (accession 681 A.D., died 742 A.D.) is not known, but glyphic evidence indicates that he lived to be approximately ninety-five years old, after having ruled Yaxchilan for sixty-one years. Shield Jaguar I documents his parentage on many sculptures: he is the son of "Bundle/Bird" Jaguar III and Lady Pacal. He is also shown with a woman, Lady Xoc, who may have been his consort although she is never referred to as anyone's mother. The monuments commissioned by Shield Jaguar describe his military exploits, his celebrations of period-endings, and may inform us when he held dedicatory ceremonies for newly constructed temples (Schele 1987:135).
The fluorescence of dynastic documentation at Yaxchilan was not initiated until after Shield Jaguar I had been ruling for about forty-five years. The use of stelae as a medium for documenting rulership was standardized under Shield Jaguar during the early eighth century at Yaxchilan, and his art sets the criteria against which the innovations of his successors may be understood. According to the general rules, stelae were only erected to commemorate completions of time spans, or period-endings. While the inscription may also refer back to the ruler's accession several decades earlier, the events depicted occurred close to the time of the carving and dedication of the sculptures. Shield Jaguar's artists also introduced the triadic programme of lintels to communicate interrelated figural and glyphic validations of rulership, initially derived from the three-part scheme of the Cross Group at Palenque (Cohodas 1976a:173).

It is known that the successor of Shield Jaguar was Bird Jaguar IV (born 709 A.D., accession 752 A.D., died circa 771 A.D.). However, there are several peculiarities in the documentation of Bird Jaguar IV's parentage and his accession that "...creates the impression that there was something unusual in it that
required explication", (Proskouriakoff 1964:180). The first indication of a problem in dynastic succession is the ten year interregnum between the death of Shield Jaguar I and the inauguration of Bird Jaguar IV. At the death of his predecessor, Bird Jaguar was already thirty-three years old, mature enough to rule, yet he did not take the throne until he was aged forty-three, ten years later. Normally adult rulers are inaugurated within a year of their predecessor's death, so the unprecedented decade of interregnum suggests that Bird Jaguar did not have an undisputed claim to the throne. Perhaps he was one of several eligible contenders who began striving for the throne after the 9.15.17.15.14 death of Lady Xoc. Her death preceded Bird Jaguar's accession by about three years.

There is also a genealogical problem: Bird Jaguar's parentage claims may be either partially or totally fabricated. His inaugural monument, Stela 11, claims that Bird Jaguar is the child of the previous ruler Shield Jaguar I and Lady Ik Skull. However, the only royal lady represented in the art commissioned by Shield Jaguar was Lady Xoc, and none of Shield Jaguar's known monuments mention either Lady Ik Skull or Bird Jaguar IV. Later sculptures (lintels of Structure 24)
record that lady Xoc and Lady Ik Skull lived contemporaneously, but while there are records of Maya rulers remarrying after the death of a consort, there is no documentation of rulers having concurrent wives. Thus, even if Bird Jaguar was the child of Shield Jaguar and Lady Ik Skull, Shield Jaguar's lack of acknowledgement for Lady Ik Skull and Bird Jaguar still suggests that Bird Jaguar was not the dynastic heir, as he was not the son of the official consort, Lady Xoc.

Although partial remains of a glyphic passage suggest that he may have ruled until about age sixty-four, there is no extant record of either Bird Jaguar's death or the accession of his successor (see Lintel 31, and a stela fragment in Tate 1986:240). Thus, while Bird Jaguar IV commissioned more sculptural commemorations of rulership than any other ruler at the site, currently known remains cannot entirely account for either his entry into or his exit from Yaxchilan's political history.

The sculpture erected during Bird Jaguar's reign reveals many innovations which may relate to the disruption of dynastic succession. For example, a most unusual method used to strengthen his assertion of power was Bird Jaguar's choice for his inaugural date as
This selection of a period-ending (which marks the completion of a 360-day cycle) for an inauguration is unique in Maya history. Period-endings were among the most commonly recorded events of Maya rulers, but they were reserved for public celebrations of calendric transformation, as opposed to more individualized rites such as accession. Period-ending rites seem to have accorded the ruler a type of supernatural capability for both the destruction and the renewal of time, since these events celebrated not only the completion of one era, but also the birth of a new calendric interval. By planning his accession to coincide with a recognized period-ending, Bird Jaguar was emphasizing a perceived symmetry between such temporal renewal and his own dynastic succession. The subsequent lintels of Structure 33 (erected for 9.16.6.0.0) show that whenever the public joined him in celebrating future period-endings, they would be simultaneously commemorating his inauguration.

Normally it is only after a ruler takes office that his birth and any relevant events of his youth are recorded. It is therefore significant that Bird Jaguar not only refers glyphically to his son and heir, (Shield Jaguar II), but that he also commissioned a dual
portrait of himself with this five year old son (Lintel 2 of Structure 33, Figure 27). Also significant is that despite his extreme youth, the five year old heir is named with the mak'ınah title normally reserved for installed rulers. The possibility of dual rulership exists, but cannot be proven by presently known sculpture. Since Bird Jaguar is inaugurated only seventy-five days after his son's birth, the production of an heir with proper genealogy might have been a precondition of Bird Jaguar's inauguration.

Bird Jaguar's reign is also marked by many innovations and irregularities in the dynastic monuments. For example at Yaxchilan, stelae were normally erected to commemorate period-endings of katuns and half-katuns. By contrast, Bird Jaguar commissioned a triad of Stelae (11, 12, 13) to memorialize his inauguration and erected them in front of Structure 40, a temple also constructed for his inauguration. The alignment of Structure 40 and its stelae with the summer solstice sunrise (Tate 1986:133) was the first of several astronomically oriented temples built by Bird Jaguar to emphasize that solar station (Figure 2).

Another unusual feature of Bird Jaguar's sculpture is that it introduces the portrayal of cahals,
or administrators of subordinate sites. Unlike depictions of cahals at other sites, (Piedras Negras Lintel 3, Stela 12), those at Yaxchilan are not shown in subordinate positions. Rather, they appear in costumes, poses, and events shared by the ruler, (Lintels 3,6,8,9,14,42), suggesting that they may also share some measure of the ruler's prestige. Similarly, while mothers of rulers certainly appear in compositions at other cities, the erection of Stela 34 (Figure 24), commemorating Bird Jaguar's deceased mother Lady Ik Skull is unparalleled.

The "Skull" glyph in nominal phrases of Bird Jaguar's mother may be significant also. As seen in the Dynastic Chart 1, there seems to have been an earlier alternation between two dynastic families, the "Skulls" and the "Jaguars". The fact that Bird Jaguar's mother (Lady Ik Skull), his consort (Lady Great Skull), and the most often represented cahal (Lord Great Skull), all carry the "Skull" title demonstrates the continuing importance of this line during the successive reigns of three "Jaguar" rulers; (Shield Jaguar I, Bird Jaguar IV, Shield Jaguar II). There is a possibility that Bird Jaguar was attempting to unite these two distinct lineages to support his position as ruler.
While it was reasonably common for Maya rulers to commission images of their consorts, Bird Jaguar also erected numerous portraits of two additional females, Lady Ix and Lady Ik, without documenting their relationship to him. In all four temples in which they appear, Lady Ix is always on the left of three lintels and Lady Ik is always on the right: they never appear alone or in any other pattern. Cohodas (personal communication) believes that this compositional pattern and the opposition of Ix and Ik indicates that these female images are symbolic representations rather than historical personnages.

To summarize, many features of Bird Jaguar's dynastic documentation are unusual. The ten year interregnum evidencing dynastic instability suggests that Bird Jaguar may not have held a clear title to the throne. It appears that in order to compensate for the irregularity of his succession, Bird Jaguar chose for his accession date a period-ending which would provide cosmic validation of his position. The curious interregnum seems to have stimulated not only his claims of parentage that now seem questionable, but also the unprecedented construction of Structure 40 and its stela-triad to commemorate the accession. Later sculpture commissioned
by Bird Jaguar continued to display unusual features. The inclusion of secondary rulers, cahals, fictional ladies, and the conferring of the mak'inah title on his son are all highly irregular in Mayan art. Blake (personal communication) has suggested that for Bird Jaguar IV, the cahals may have been responsible for his having been chosen as ruler of Yaxchilan.

The next ruler documented at Yaxchilan is Shield Jaguar II (born 752 A.D., accession circa 772 A.D., died circa 808 A.D.), whom we know to be the son of Bird Jaguar IV. Since an inaugural date for this ruler has not been found and the death date for his father is unknown, it is impossible for contemporary scholars to determine precisely when and why this succession occurred. However, what is discernible from the sculptures of Bird Jaguar IV and Shield Jaguar II is that both these rulers placed an exceptional emphasis on the documentation of dynastic descent and their affiliations with elite, though secondary, cahals. Shield Jaguar II's art continued to present similar types of records, but the execution of both hieroglyphs and figural images evidence a decline in quality.

Although references are rare (Structure 3, Lintel 10), currently available data shows that
Yaxchilan's last documented ruler was Mak' inah Skull III. He is recorded as the heir of Shield Jaguar II (i.e., the son of the "captor of Tah Mo"/Shield Jaguar II, and Lady Bloodletter), and he is therefore grandson of Bird Jaguar IV. The "Skull" name of this final ruler repeats Early Classic titles and again suggests that there may have been some alternation of two dynastic families: "Skulls" versus "Jaguars".

II.B Sculptural Themes and Styles

Introduction. Mayan sculptural art was commissioned by rulers who had sufficient control over both the economic resources and the schools of skilled artisans required for the production of art, and therefore would have been viewed as expressions of prestige and authority. Monumental art was commissioned by rulers primarily as an enduring form of publicity to display and validate their powers which were both religious and political.

The synthesis of the specified historical data and the chosen illustrative features of sculpture creates a symbolic validation of the status of rulership, reached only after a series of rituals had been performed to
ensure a ruler's transformation from mortal to divine. Ethnographic and iconological studies by several scholars have suggested that most Maya rituals were re-enactments of myths which themselves were paradigms of the cyclic character of the environment. In the same way that supernatural aid was deemed necessary to transform wrinkled old seeds into lush, green plants, and to ensure that the setting sun would reappear at dawn, supernatural intervention was necessary for ensuring that Maya rulers would be transformed from mere humans to divine kings. Thus, in addition to proclaiming the ruler's military and genealogical qualifications, imagery for public monuments was also designed to document the ritual process of transformation to reinforce the ruler's claims.

Imagery employed to convey mythological contexts varied spatially and temporally. The most common sculptural format for stelae is a standing or enthroned ruler, whose royal regalia alludes to his mythological role and to his metaphorical relationship with celestial deities. As pointed out by Reents-Budet (in press) this formal portraiture is typical of a monoscenic type of narrative wherein one scene is representative of an entire complex of events and
beliefs. Though only one specific moment is depicted, costume, ornament, and hand-held objects are subtle references to associated concepts and events. Alternate sculptural compositions would include images of rulers with several assistant cahals and prisoners of war (Piedras Negras Stela 12), multiple elite members in throne-room settings (Piedras Negras Lintel 3), stelae pairs featuring male and female royal persons (Naranjo Stelae 22, 24), and images of rulers with their consorts (Yaxchilan Lintel 26), or with their parents (Palenque Palace Tablet).

Though the pictorial focus of the sculpture may be dynastic or militaristic, the event itself is generally an allegorical reference to either the ruler's transformation to divinity for his accession, or to transformations of status during his ensuing reign. On Stela 2 from Aguateca, (Figure 41), the ruler is dressed as a warrior and the glyphs record his participation in a military conquest, while the text also states that he presided over a period-ending ceremony a few months later. That is, the ruler's military success which afforded him an elevated political status is incorporated as part of the justification for his socio-religious role as the transformer of time at the period-ending ceremony.
Studies of calendrics at several Maya sites have also proven that dates for historical events were frequently chosen for their symbolic values as well. That is, a combination of factors associated with the date influenced specific choices. Aguateca Stela 2 also exemplifies this phenomenon, since an Evening Star appearance of Venus, symbolizing death and destruction, was chosen for the date of the military attack.

Maya sculptural images are frequently contained in groupings of monuments which together present an entire programme of concepts. The institution of rulership is frequently substantiated with metaphorical allusions to the oppositions of the cyclic universe, and these allusions seem to reflect the religious and ritual foundation of all Mesoamerican societies, based on a cyclic agrarian subsistence.

As proposed by Van Gennep in his volume, "Rites of Passage" (1975): three stage rituals are universal and tend to replicate the cyclic nature of the cosmos. Van Gennep's study has determined that these rituals include a period of transformation or liminality, occurring between the end of one state and the start or rebirth of a new status, and it is this transitional phase that Maya rulers often refer to in their art. Cohodas applied
these three stages to three-part narratives at Palenque, Yaxchilan, and Copan (1976a).

Although the supposed transformation was the key aspect of cyclic renewal, a state of liminality requiring supernatural mediation was difficult to portray in pictorial images. Frequently compositions were created to juxtapose themes of death and rebirth, which were symbolic of the entire cyclic progression from the prerequisite death of the old order through to the regeneration of the new status. The Cross Group panels of Palenque are a rare example of three-part sculptural programmes which include imagery representing the liminal state, whereas stelae and altar composites of Copan, stelae of Quirigua and Yaxchilan are representative of more common two-part schemes implying the transition by juxtaposing themes of destruction and renewal (Cohodas 1976a:173).

**Sculpture at Yaxchilan.** Chronological comparison of monuments at Yaxchilan shows that up until the reign of Bird Jaguar IV, only two sculptural themes were traditional for stelae: a militaristic scene of prisoner arraignment and a commemorative scene wherein the ruler scattered liquid as part of a period-ending ritual. All such stelae at Yaxchilan had fallen and had
thereby been partially eroded before nineteenth and twentieth century historians were able to photograph them. While the preserved faces of Shield Jaguar's stelae show the military scene, those of Bird Jaguar and Shield Jaguar II show the period-ending rite. However, there are enough traces of both sides to determine the consistent format followed in all three reigns.

The salient characteristics of the arraignment theme are the postures, the costumes, the implements held, and the verbal phrases of the text (Figures 19b, 20, 21b). Arraignment scenes always portrayed the ruler in the garb of a warrior, (shield, padded chest protector), and holding an obvious weapon. Usually present is a captive victim, indicated by his kneeling posture and/or his gestures of supplication, (one hand to mouth or to opposite shoulder). The verbal expression in the hieroglyphic text is deciphered phonetically as "capture", confirming the event illustrated. Archaeological evidence shows that at Yaxchilan, stelae were always erected with the arraignment scenes facing toward the river.

The opposing "scatter" themes faced the temples (Figures 19a, 21a, 22). These illustrations of period-ending rites feature a standing ruler who wears a
reptilian headdress, a shell diadem, a knotted pectoral ornament, twisted serpent wristlets and anklets, a trophy head at the back of his belt, and a short hipcloth. A stream of liquid flows from his hands and splashes onto a woven container, as related in the "scattering" verb (Schele 1982:145). Secondary actors are not always present, but if included they are often male and/or female assistants who stand, and a kneeling suppliant figure who is usually depicted with a dangling bivalve-shell neck ornament.

The main image of a ruler scattering liquid was flanked by smaller panels above and below. The upper flanking images depict male and female ancestors who are seated within cartouches that are sometimes recognizable as solar and lunar enclosures, (Tate 1986:63ff). These miniature portraits may also refer to the paradigmatic supernatural union of male and female, and of Sun and Earth, which are necessary for the completion of cyclic transformation. Between these ancestor images is the head and torso of a sacrificial deity, usually the Barbel or Jaguar God.

These ancestral cartouches are separated from the main image by what scholars term a Celestial Band (Carlson 1985:115), the "skyband" or "planetary band"
referred to by Tate and others. This rather geometric depiction of a two-headed reptile whose body is composed of symbols associated with astral bodies, usually seems to function as a pictorial allusion to the mythical underworld journey travelled by astral bodies, maize seeds, human embryos, and deceased rulers (Cohodas 1982:141-143). To the band are attached god heads, usually of Sun God or Jaguar God type, and often similar to that of the central deity image above.

The lower panel contains only deity imagery and Tate thus suggests that they represent some aspect of the supernatural underworld (1986:76ff). These images are completely different in each example.

The "capture" and "scatter" scenes were repeatedly paired because together they symbolize cyclic destruction and renewal, whether of time periods, of rulership, or of society as a whole. Through this juxtaposition of themes, the stela also confirmed that the ruler was qualified for both military and religious leadership.

These two typical themes were always carved in the Narrative mode traditional for figural art at Yaxchilan. Lintel programmes commissioned by Shield Jaguar were also carved in the Narrative mode and
presented themes of capture and self-sacrifice. Lintel 44, 45, and 46 show the ruler as warrior who towers over a cowering victim. On Lintel 24 Shield Jaguar's consort, Lady Xoc is depicted drawing her blood for a self-sacrificial offering by drawing a spined rope through her tongue. Later artists who repeated these themes for Bird Jaguar also employed the traditional Narrative sculptural mode, using the same costumes, postures, and verbal hieroglyphs, often in multfigural scenes or groups of lintels linked as stages in a single narrative.

Although the Narrative approach had endured at Yaxchilan for over two hundred years, a new Symbolic mode involving new themes and a new sculptural technique was introduced and developed under Bird Jaguar IV (Cohodas 1976b). While Narrative school lintels involve up to six figures interacting and therefore a variety of postures, as well as graphic verbal hieroglyphs, Symbolic lintels depict only one or two standing figures who do not interact, and the verbal expressions usually refer to the object held rather than to the function of the ritual event (Cohodas 1976b:309-310). During the reign of Bird Jaguar IV the older Narrative school of artists continued to carve the traditional themes used on stelae and lintels of Shield Jaguar I, while the new Symbolic school
was responsible for the new thematic types that were (with one exception) reserved for lintels, and were represented only in a Symbolic mode not employed by earlier artists at Yaxchilan (for example; Lintels 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9).

Though the distinctions between the Narrative and Symbolic sculptural schools are clearly evident throughout Bird Jaguar's rulership, it must be noted that his first Symbolic School sculpture was introduced on his Inaugural Stela 11 as part of a completely innovative programme of political publicity.

Notes for Chapter II

1 This chart is modified from Tate's dynastic list (1986:465). Chart 1 does not include Lady Ik Skull (Tate's ruler #13) as one of Yaxchilan's rulers. Reasons for this disparity are discussed in Chapter IV. The Shield Jaguar suggested by Tate as ruler #12 is mentioned once only, at Bonampak around 9.8.0.0.0. Lady Xoc's parentage, recorded on Lintel 23 of Structure 23, is problematic and has therefore not been included in Chart 1. Further discussion of this problem appears below in note #6.

2 The lintels of Structure 12 were likely erected to commemorate the accession of Mak'inah Skull II that is recorded therein on Lintel 47 as 9.4.11.8.16, or February 11, 526 A.D.. The sequential list of Yaxchilan's first ten rulers is found on Lintels 49, 37, 35, 47, 48, and "new" of this structure.

3 Even though Stelae 6 and 3 (Figure 26) do record
anniversaries of Bird Jaguar III's accession; stylistic, iconographic, and hieroglyphic comparisons with other Yaxchilan sculpture suggest strongly that these monuments were designed and erected some one hundred years later by Bird Jaguar IV and Shield Jaguar II.

Although the later Bird Jaguar IV makes reference to "Bundle/Bird" Jaguar III as a prestigious ancestor, it must be noted that when other sites document events from the era of "Bundle/Bird" III, they refer only to his son (Shield Jaguar I) suggesting perhaps that "Bundle/Bird" Jaguar lacked the esteem usually associated with rulership. The staircase of House C at Palenque records some martial event for Shield Jaguar at about age 6 to 11. The nominal glyph Ah Kan on Piedras Negras Lintel 2 (Figure 51 A'-B') is listed for Shield Jaguar on Lintel 32 and Stela 12 at Yaxchilan as well, suggesting that as a child, Shield Jaguar participated in a type of communal successor-appointment at Piedras Negras. Here again, no mention is made of Shield Jaguar's father, "Bundle/Bird" Jaguar III.

A comparison of the various glyphic names for Bird Jaguar III provides further evidence that Stela 6 was created later by Bird Jaguar IV. As seen in Figure 38 the nominal glyphs on the hieroglyphic stairs of Structure 44 show that when Shield Jaguar I was referring to his father, ("Bird" Jaguar III), the glyph is composed of a jaguar head and an indistinguishable element which may be construed as a "bundle", (Steps IV, V, VI). However, in the texts of Bird Jaguar IV which allude to his supposed grandfather, that peculiar prefix element has clearly been changed to a "bird" (Step VIII, Stela 6).

Though it is clear that her father was a cahal (Ah Kan-GI), the nominal glyph for Lady Xoc's mother may be deciphered as either Lady Xibalba or Lady Pacal (Lintel 23a D-1 to E-2). Shield Jaguar's mother is known to have been Lady Pacal (Hieroglyphic Step IV). Thus, if Lady Xoc's mother was also the Lady Pacal, Lady Xoc and Shield Jaguar I may have been half-brother-and-sister, rather than ruler-and-consort as is usually assumed. If so, then there is the possibility that Shield Jaguar's consort was Lady Ik Skull (Bird Jaguar's Mother). However, it is curious that Shield Jaguar might have commissioned a portrait of a half-sister rather than a consort. Even if Lady Ik Skull was the consort, the ten
year interregnum (between the death of Shield Jaguar and the accession of Bird Jaguar) still suggests that Bird Jaguar did not have a clear right to the throne.

While certainly speculative, iconographic comparison suggests that Lintel 2 of Structure 33 may memorialize the heir designation of Shield Jaguar II. The bird-staffs held by Bird Jaguar and his son on Lintel 2 are reminiscent of the central images (serpent-winged bird, branched tree/staff) of Palenque's Panel of the Cross. Like the Cross Panel, Lintel 2 features a father/son pairing, and it is the central of three sculptural images. It may be that the lintels of Structure 33 are replicating the same three commemorations of the Cross Group: an accession, an anniversary of accession, and an heir designation.

Lintel 2 is dated 9.16.6.0.0, when Shield Jaguar II was about five years old (5.3.15). This age is within the range for recorded heir designations and is comparable to Chan Bahlum's age (6.2.17) for his heir designation that is one of the three featured events of the Cross Group. Lintel 5 of Structure 1 also depicts a bird staff, held by Bird Jaguar IV. The Yaxkin date (June 7, 752 A.D.) is normally used by Bird Jaguar only in reference to Flapstaff events associated with the passage of power and summer solstice seasons. Since the date of Lintel 5 follows the birth of Shield Jaguar II by about 100 days, it may be that Lintel 5 is commemorating the birth of the heir who is formally designated as such nearly five years later on 9.16.6.0.0 (Lintel 2). Bird Jaguar seems to have employed the Bird Staff in references to the heir designation of his son, while reserving the Flapstaff to be employed only in references to his own affirmations of power.
CHAPTER III  DESCRIPTION OF STELA 11: CONTEXT & CONTENT

III.A  Structure 40

Bird Jaguar's Inaugural Complex consists of Structure 40 and its triad of Stelae: 11, 12, 13 (Figure 3). Figural imagery, hieroglyphic inscriptions, and its special placement and orientation show that Stela 11 was the major sculpture of Bird Jaguar's Inaugural Commemorative. Structure 40 was constructed with several innovative features designed to emphasize its importance. Its orientation, at 53 degrees east of north, duplicates the possibly earlier Structure 41 of the same hilltop. Tate has discerned that structures at Yaxchilan with orientations of 51-54 degrees were constructed so that on summer solstices, the first sunrise rays illuminate the interiors of the buildings for only a few minutes, (see Figure 2). At Structure 41, the summer solstice rays pass through the stepped outline of the doorway and create a quatrefoil patch of light on the floor (Tate 1986:133,183).¹

The interior of Structure 40 contains two unusual decorative features. While remnants of interior benches are evident in other structures, that of
Structure 40 was ornamented with nine three-dimensional seated stucco figures. Associations of the number nine and concepts of liminality and the underworld are evident in numerous Maya contexts, so the atypical inclusion of nine figures serves to affirm the general function of this temple as the site of transformational ritual. The elaborate murals inside Structure 40, now little more than traces of polychrome paint on every interior surface, seem to have been commissioned by Bird Jaguar to create an extraordinary sanctuary space. Archaeological evidence suggests that only a very few Maya structures were decorated with interior murals.

III.B Stelae 11, 12, 13

Stela 11 was erected centrally on the middle terrace in front of Structure 40, and it was flanked symmetrically by Stelae 12 and 13. Circular altars were found in association with each stela: Altar XIII with Stela 12, Altar XV with Stela 13, and a plain altar with Stela 11. Altar XIV, on the upper terrace, was also aligned with the central Stela 11 of the middle terrace. (See plan, Figure 3). Hieroglyphs were carved on three altars, and though erosion has made it impossible to
verify his proposal, Morley suggested that their dates were contemporary with the stelae (1938:525).

The three stelae in front of Structure 40 were designed to be as exceptional as the temple. Though imagery from the river side of Stela 13 is almost entirely obliterated and cannot be adequately described (Tate 1986:384), the opposite face presents a portrait of Shield Jaguar I which differs from either scene on traditional stelae in both costume and the simple staff held in his hand (Figure 6). The hieroglyphic text opens with an auxiliary verb rather than the usual introductory calendrics, thus suggesting that the information conveyed on this face of the stela is a continuation of an event placed historically by a date on the reverse side. Although configuration of the nominal glyphs indicate Shield Jaguar I as the subject, erosion makes it impossible to interpret the verbal clause (Figure 7).

When found by Maler in 1897, Stela 12 was already broken into several fragments which have since been reassembled, but the pictorial remains are insufficient for determining original compositions. However, glyphic panels from both sides of the upper fragment have survived in good condition (Figure 5). These texts relate Shield Jaguar's death in 741 A.D. to
the subsequent accession of Bird Jaguar IV in 752 A.D. (Schele 1982:136,198).

Its central placement between Stelae 12 and 13, and its greater height and more elaborate composition, distinguish Stela 11 as the major sculpture of the Structure 40 complex. The two narrow surfaces contain only glyphic data while the temple and river sides present the new style and themes of Bird Jaguar's reign. In fact, Stela 11 may be the first stela to have been carved on all four faces, and it is also the only freestanding sculpture at Yaxchilan to include miniature portraits in the upper registers of both sides. On the temple side associated glyphs identify the two small figures as Bird Jaguar's parents, Shield Jaguar I and Lady Ik Skull (Figure 11). Identifying glyphs are not included with the ancestral portraits on the river side.

Both major scenes of Stela 11 display new themes and formats which served as models for other artists. While most stelae of earlier rulers documented occasions during their reigns as evidence of their power and position, Bird Jaguar's Stela 11 focuses instead on pre-inaugural rituals as confirmation of his having achieved the requisite divinity.
Information concerning Bird Jaguar's pre-inaugural events and his accession is found in glyphic texts on all four faces of Stela 11. Five dates and occurrences are included, one of which is repeated three times, for a total of seven inscribed dates. These initiate with 9.15.9.17.16 and conclude with 9.16.1.0.0, the date of Bird Jaguar's inauguration and the probable dedication date for Structure 40 and its triad of stelae. A paraphrasing of these texts (Figures 12 through 18), includes Julian date correlations, and the epigraphic findings of Morley (1938:521), Schele (1984a:37-38), and myself. Letters and numbers have been assigned to the individual glyphs as per Tate (1986:553).

The Two Narrow Faces of Stela 11. A continuous text unites the two narrow spaces (Figures 17, 18). As with the text of Tikal's Stela 22 mentioned previously, Mayan hieroglyphic passages often establish a context for present events through reference to a previous event. Here, the text begins on the northwest side with the Initial Series date of Bird Jaguar's inauguration, 9.16.1.0.0, elaborated with the addition of pertinent lunar data. The text continues on the southeast face with a distance-number referring back to an earlier date,
9.15.19.14.14, which celebrates a station in the 819-day cycle. Known instances of the 819-day-count are extremely rare (Kelley 1976:57), and seem to highlight and foreshadow a forthcoming featured event, as on Stela 11. However, here the 819-day station is atypically documented as having been an actual ritual, rather than the usual conceptualized and arithmetically derived cosmic "station". This 819-day-count "event" on 9.15.19.14.14 precedes Bird Jaguar's inauguration by just over one year (426 days). The final clause on this narrow face repeats Bird Jaguar's accession date and includes the verbal glyph deciphered as "was inaugurated".

The River Side. The carving on the river side of Stela 11 follows the three register format characteristic of scattering scenes on the Temple Sides of Yaxchilan period-ending stelae. As in the conventional format, an elaborate "skyband" separates the main scene from the ancestor cartouches of the upper register (Figures 8b,10). These portraits of a male and female probably represent Bird Jaguar's parents although no identifying glyphs were included on this face of the
The central scene of paired males is immediately recognized as a notable innovation at Yaxchilan. In addition to the introduction of a new ritual implement (the staffs), the scene is distinguished by a unique compositional approach. While previous stelae differentiated status with variations of pose and costume, the two males in this scene who stand facing each other are of equal height, hold nearly identical
objects, and wear clothing that distinguishes them both as elite individuals. Their nearly equivalent status is confirmed by two different texts where they are individually identified as Shield Jaguar I, (on the left), and his successor Bird Jaguar IV. Tate suggests that the "flapstaff" which both figures grasp was composed of a wooden frame to which cloth, (with cut out quatrefoil shapes), was attached (1986:130). Although the flapstaff occurred occasionally at other sites, this scene on Stela 11 constitutes its first appearance at Yaxchilan.

Both males wear the pointed hipcloth seen in period-ending rites, but they also hold circular shields which are commonly paired elsewhere with manikin sceptres as symbols of divine rulership. The headdresses of both Shield Jaguar and Bird Jaguar contain elements normally associated with the period-ending ritual of scattering. Thus, their costume suggests a composite of two rituals.

Two different texts enclosed within the upper and lower borders of this scene each document events that supposedly occurred several years before Bird Jaguar was enthroned. The lower text refers to the ritual display of the flapstaff. While the Flapstaff scene shows two figures, the glyphic text only mentions Shield Jaguar's
participation in the ritual (Figure 12). However, since Bird Jaguar is also depicted as holding a flapstaff, it may be assumed that his presence was a vital part of the rite. The date of this event (9.15.9.17.16) may be calculated as June 22, 741 A.D., nearly a year before the death of Shield Jaguar I on 9.15.10.17.14.

Tate discusses calendric, architectural, and ethnographic evidence which shows that the June 22 date of the Stela 11 Flapstaff ritual begins a pattern of associations with summer solstice dates which was continued in later examples at Yaxchilan. Stela 11 is itself aligned with Structure 40 along an axis which Tate suggests was used for sighting the Sun at summer solstice sunrise (1986:133).

Tate also provides a possible explanation for this Flapstaff ritual, based on the similarity of the carved scene and ethnographic accounts of summer solstice ritual. The solsticial ceremonies presently performed by the Chorti-Maya replicate the annual passage of the Sun when it slows down before changing directions. These solsticial rites function as the points of exit from, and entry into, positions of religious leadership. Specifically, summer solstice marks the day that the current leader terminates his duties (Tate 1986:133ff).
The summer solstice ceremony recorded on Stela 11 may then have constituted a type of successor-appointment ritual depicted by Bird Jaguar as a validation of the passage of power from his father to himself. In view of the interregnum discrepancies noted above, it is likely that the ritual event was pure fabrication.

The second text in this scene records the period-ending ritual on 9.15.15.0.0 (746 A.D.). Although verbal and nominal glyphs of this passage (Figure 13) seem to indicate that Shield Jaguar conducted the usual scattering rite in celebration of the period-ending, the date recorded is nearly four years after his death. Here, Bird Jaguar's name is connected to that of Shield Jaguar by means of an "u-cab" glyph, roughly meaning "under the auspices of" or "in the realm of" (Figure 13, N-2). Its inclusion here seems to imply Bird Jaguar's political command of the scattering event. Certain costume elements associated with such period-ending rites (shell diadem, reptillian mask) are worn in this scene by both Shield Jaguar and Bird Jaguar, paralleling the textual record of their shared participation in the scattering ceremony. The figural scene thus simultaneously represents the symbolic dual participation of Shield Jaguar I and Bird Jaguar IV in both a Flapstaff
ritual on 9.15.19.17.16 and a Period-Ending ritual on 9.15.15.0.0.

It appears that both the dual inscriptions and the dual portraits of the Flapstaff scene were intended to establish the succession from Shield Jaguar I to Bird Jaguar IV. Bird Jaguar appears to be suggesting that on the summer solstice before his father's death, Shield Jaguar performed a Flapstaff ritual which elevated Bird Jaguar to the position of heir. For some as yet undetermined reason, no inauguration was held for ten years after Shield Jaguar's death. However, Bird Jaguar claims that he was already sufficiently in control, and of proper title, to officiate the next period-ending ritual as surrogate for the deceased Shield Jaguar.

The Temple Side. This side of Stela 11 is a two-register format. The upper zone depicts Bird Jaguar's parents, identified glyphically as Lady Ik Skull Sky and Shield Jaguar I. The lower register contains a narrative scene (Figures 8a,11) which is in part a combination of the arraignment/capture and scattering themes that decorate the two sides of Yaxchilan's standard period-ending stelae. Characteristics of scenes associated with the capture and arraignment of prisoners
which appear on this side include: 1. three kneeling figures identified as captives by the drooping cloth earplugs, rope bindings, scant clothing, and kneeling posture; 2. the jaguar skin kilt and cauac monster belt mask worn by Bird Jaguar, associated in general with sacrifice and destruction; and 3. the baton held by Bird Jaguar, which reappears on two later arraignment scenes commissioned by Bird Jaguar where it is held by the attending cahal (Figures 23,36). Characteristics of the scattering ritual associated with period-endings which appear in this scene include: 1. the knotted pectoral; 2. the twined serpent decoration on wristlets and anklets; 3. the perforator god on the loincloth; and 4. the manikin sceptre held in Bird Jaguar's left hand, which may be associated with such scattering rites as well, since it likewise connotes fertility and rebirth (Cohodas 1982:113ff). This thorough blending of characteristics associated with two contrasting rituals is consistent with the organization of the Flapstaff scene on the river side, as explained above.

In addition to this combination of standard stela elements, the narrative scene on the temple side of Stela 11 is also distinguished by the dramatic portrayal of Bird Jaguar as an impersonator of the Barbel God.³
While rulers often wore the shell earplug and diadem of the Barbel god in their headdress on scattering rituals depicted in stelae sculptures, in this scene on Stela 11 Bird Jaguar himself wears not only the earplugs and diadem but also a mask depicting the face of the Barbel god. As this deity impersonation is the most unique and striking element of the temple-side narrative, it will hereafter be referred to as the "Barbel God Scene".

While the hieroglyphic text accompanying the arraignment scene clearly records Bird Jaguar IV as the subject of the action, severe erosion of the verbal glyphs makes it difficult to determine what particular event is being recorded (Figure 16). For reasons explained in Chapter V, I suspect the event was Bird Jaguar's acceptance as Yaxchilan's ruler-elect. The calendric glyphs are clear and inform us that this event occurred on 9.15.19.1.1, about two years prior to Bird Jaguar's accession. It should be noted too that unlike dates on the Period-ending Stelae that usually record a capture and subsequent period-ending during a specified reign, this action on Stela 11 is historically and symbolically associated with Bird Jaguar's later inauguration. Whereas the integration of two symbolic themes in the Flapstaff scene of the river side was
clarified by the inclusion of a text for each of the two associated rituals, only a single text appears with the equally dualistic Barbel God scene of the temple side. There is a possibility that the additional and climactic inaugural text on the base of the river side was understood to function as an explanation for the second ritual implement of the Barbel God scene. While the baton refers to sacrificial activity associated with the Barbel god, the incorporation of the manikin sceptre (associated with dynastic rituals at Yaxchilan), may refer directly to the inaugural event.

III.C Summary

The unique Stela 11 is the focus of Bird Jaguar's ensemble of inaugural commemoratives aligned with Structure 40 and flanked by Stelae 12 and 13. Maya inscriptions commonly span at least several decades in order for rulers to relate events within their reign to prerequisite events during their youth. This technique also enabled rulers to associate themselves with supernaturals by linking supposed events from mythical history to actual events in current history. Stela 11 is unusual in its reference only to events encompassing the
ten year interregnum period when the rulership of Yaxchilan was uncertain—beginning with a ceremony which supposedly took place a year before Shield Jaguar's death and ending with Bird Jaguar's inauguration (Chart 2).³

Other unusual elements on Stela 11 include the introduction of both a new sculptural mode and a new theme involving a father/son pairing. The most unique artistic innovation is the design of each figural scene to represent two separate events, clarified in individual texts. The Flapstaff scene refers both to Shield Jaguar's supposed selection of Bird Jaguar as heir, and to Bird Jaguar's performance of a period-ending rite as surrogate for the deceased Shield Jaguar. The Barbel God scene refers both to the military conquest associated with Bird Jaguar's final election to succeed, and to the inauguration which culminates this tortuous path to the throne.

Of the four events, two are common in Maya dynastic monuments: the period-ending and inauguration rituals. The other two, the Flapstaff ritual and the Election/conquest, are unusual events associated specifically with Bird Jaguar's validation of a shaky claim to the throne, and they dominate the figural imagery. These two rituals thus represent the focus of
propaganda in the inaugural complex and deserve further investigation. The following chapters will probe the calendric content of these two rituals, in connection with the iconography of the associated figural scenes.

Notes for Chapter III

1. While Tate does relate interesting phenomena at Structures 41 and 33 where the first patches of summer solstice sunlight create special visual effects (1986:3,25); she does not record any such hierophany for Structure 40. The central Stela 11 was one of the tallest at Yaxchilan and was aligned with the central doorway of Structure 40. I suspect that the intended visual effect may have occurred when the first solstitial rays aligned with the temple and the upper portion of Stela 11. This illuminated side of the stela portrays Bird Jaguar and his father, engaged in a summer solstice ritual; so the associations of the imagery and the astronomy were perhaps planned to be complementary. Tate would not have been able to observe this phenomena since Stela 11 is no longer standing in its original position.

2. The 819-day-cycle seems to have been divided into four quadrants associated with each of the four directions, four different colours, and the Mayan God "K" (Kelley 1976:57). God "K" represents a form of the newly born maize god, and is symbolic of rulers who are newly "born" upon inauguration.

3. The Barbel God is named for the fish-barbels usually depicted on his cheeks. His contextual associations with the watery underworld realm (incised bones from Tikal), are reflected as well by the shell ear covering and the shell headdress diadem that are frequently included as his costume elements (Copan Stela I, Altar Painter's plate).

The Barbel God is also referred to as GI (God #1) because of its context at Palenque. The triad of Palenque gods were first identified by Heinrich Berlin (1963) as God I, God II, and God III. The Cross Group inscriptions record
that these three gods were the offspring of an ancestral male/female pair of gods, presently known as: "Lady Beastie" and "GI, the father" (Schele 1984a). For Palenque at least, GI/the Barbel God represents the patriarch of Maya rulership. Schele has recently suggested another name for this god: Chac Xib Chac (1986:312).

This emphasis on the Barbel god is reflected in the skyband on the river side of the monument. Instead of the more usual jaguarian or sungod anthropomorphic heads, artists of Stela 11 have modified the deity heads to represent a composite cauac-Barbel god (Figure 10).

Chart 2 incorporates data from various sources. The Julian and Gregorian correlations for Maya long counts are taken from Lounsbury's tables incorporating the Goodman-Martinez-Thompson (G.M.T.) synchronization of 584,283 days. Venus-day positions, calculated by Lounsbury, are counted from the midpoint of the fifty-day Superior Conjunction (midpoint counts as zero and/or 584). The difference in degrees of longitude for Venus and the Sun derive from Tuckerman's tables of Planetary and Solar positions (1964).

Regarding initial sightings of Venus, opinions vary but it is generally accepted that Venus cannot be seen from Earth until it is at least 10 to 13 degrees away from the Sun. For Evening Star this difference would correspond to approximately Day 25 of the Venus cycle. Morning Star could first be seen on approximately Day 297 of the Venus cycle. However, Venus days for initial sightings of Morning or Evening Star vary according to intersite differences in atmospheric conditions and elevation or alignment with the horizon. Thus, variations of first sightings of Evening Star could range from about Day 23 to at least Day 45. For first appearances of Morning Star, the Venus cycle Day could vary from about Day 297 until about Day 319.

When investigating possible correlations of calendrics and astronomy, another factor must be considered: although it actually lasts for about fifty days, Mayan astronomy tables charted a period of ninety days for Superior Conjunction. Thus, in checking apparent first appearances of Evening Star one cannot be sure if the Maya intended a reference to an actual sighting or to a mathematically predicted sighting. For Mayan symbolic purposes, either would have been significant.
CHAPTER IV  THE FLAPSTAFF RITUAL

IV.A  Interpretation of Calendric and Glyphic Data

At Yaxchilan the Flapstaff ritual is depicted not only on Stela 11 but also on Stela 16, Lintels 33, 50, and 9 (Figures 25, 33, 35). In all examples of readable dates, the association with summer solstice is maintained. Furthermore, although all five examples were carved during the reign of Bird Jaguar, four out of the five are closely associated with Shield Jaguar, suggesting that this ritual continued to associate the transfer of power to Bird Jaguar with celebrations of the summer solstice.1 The Flapstaff ritual on Stela 11 is said to have taken place on 9.15.9.17.16, (June 22, 741 A.D.). Bird Jaguar chose to date this ceremony back to the last Summer Solstice before his father's death, the last time when solar events could validate the transfer of power from Shield Jaguar I to Bird Jaguar IV.

Since Mesoamerican political leaders identified themselves with the Sun, Maya sculptures documenting dynastic succession often include metaphorical references to the death and rebirth of the Sun, which could be perceived as recurring both daily and annually. As first
synthesized by Cohodas (1976a:162ff), the death of a predecessor would be analogous to the daily descent of the Sun in the west or its annual descent on the vernal equinox, while the inauguration of the successor would correspond to the subsequent daily sunrise or annual "rebirth" on the autumnal equinox. The time between one death and a subsequent accession would be likened to the Sun's nocturnal journey from west to east, which was presumed to occur in the underworld during the summer solstice season. By choosing to associate himself and his predecessor with the liminal point of the Sun's metamorphosis, Bird Jaguar was able to capitalize on its metaphorical references to dynastic succession.

A rare cosmological circumstance happened to coincide with this summer solstice prior to the death of Shield Jaguar, and it seems certain that this auspicious occasion stimulated Bird Jaguar's innovative use of summer solstice symbolism. Within a period of six days from the Stela 11 Flapstaff ritual, there was an extraordinary coincidence involving arithmetical and symbolic halfway positions of three different cycles: the 365-day Solar cycle (9.15.9.17.16), the 7200-day cycle of Katuns (9.15.10.0.0), and the 584-day Venus cycle (9.15.10.0.1). As the period-ending date 9.15.10.0.0
marked or approximated the midpoints of all three cycles, in addition to signaling the annual midyear resting point of the Sun, it was the end of the first half of twenty tuns called a lahuntun (equivalent to ten tuns), and it was near the last day of invisibility or Inferior Conjunction in the Venus cycle (Chart 4). Each of these cyclic stations are midpoint pivots, marking the end of one phase and the start of a new rotation, and each is therefore associated with liminality and transformation. The simultaneous occurrence of these three cyclic bifurcations is extremely rare and would have held enormous significance for the Maya whose political and religious foundation focused on concepts of parallel cyclic transition and renewal.2

While many rulers did commemorate celebrations of the exact date of the period-ending, 9.15.10.0.0, Bird Jaguar did not.3 Instead, he referred only to dates occurring before and after the lahuntun celebration. The Flapstaff ritual on Stela 11 is dated 9.15.9.17.16, or the June 22 Summer Solstice of 741 A.D. preceding the period-ending by four days, and it appears also to have been the midpoint of Inferior Conjunction. By contrast, two later sculptures erected by Bird Jaguar record events which seem to have been partially in commemoration of the
subsequent first appearance of Morning Star, five days later, on June 27 or 9.15.10.0.1, one day after the lahuntun celebration. These closely connected dates are strongly indicative of a rite of passage which spanned six days: from 9.15.9.17.16 through 9.15.10.0.1. The dates involved thus include four days before the period-ending transformation, the unstated liminal period of the period-ending itself, and the renewal or recreation which takes place on the first day of the new lahuntun. These three events document the destruction of the old time period and creation of the new in a manner parallel to the three stages of a ritual passage.

Reviewed according to this scheme:

Date A, 9.15.9.17.16, marks the final descent of the aged Sun in its annual cycle, the midpoint of Inferior Conjunction when Venus is invisible, and signals the death or completion of the old time period. This date is recorded for the Flapstaff event of Stela 11, and is interpreted here as Bird Jaguar's claim to having been designated as Shield Jaguar's successor.
Date B, 9.15.10.0.0, denotes the liminal transition point in all these cycles. Although understood as the date from which the preceding and succeeding events are calculated, this period-ending date is not itself recorded.

Date C, 9.15.10.0.1, signals rebirth, reappearance, and renewal in all cycles. It records the first day of a new decade and the first Morning Star sighting of Venus which was followed minutes later by the first rising of the reborn Sun. This date appears on two sculptures from later in Bird Jaguar's reign, and he is one of four different participants depicted in images with this date.

It appears that the discrepancies of Bird Jaguar's genealogical claim to rulership required that he document some precedent or justification for his accession. Bird Jaguar took advantage of the order and predictability of celestial bodies and the count of tuns, by rewriting a history which would convey notions of a parallel inevitability for his own personal transformation from mortal to divine.

The ruler Chan Bahlum, from the nearby site of Palenque, should be credited with the specific linking of
Summer Solstice days to rites of passage and office-taking. In the three temples of the Cross Group (692 A.D.) Chan Bahlum depicts himself with his father and predecessor Pacal, in a three stage transfer of power that begins with Chan Bahlum's heir designation and ends with his father's memorial ceremony (Cohodas:personal communication). The date of Chan Bahlum's heir designation as recorded on the Sun Tablet (Figure 45:P6-Q10) occurred near a summer solstice in the G.M.T. correlation. The intended parallels of dynastic and solar transition are clarified in the passage which appears to state that on this solstice Chan Bahlum "became the sun" or "entered (the lineage) as the sun" (Schele 1984b:289). That Bird Jaguar was replicating Chan Bahlum's identification of heir designation and Summer Solstice, is suggested by Bird Jaguar's choice of a date (9.15.9.17.16), occurring precisely one hundred solar years after the similar event at Palenque! Even by itself this anniversary would have held great significance, but since it coincided with the phenomenal aspects of the 9.15.10.0.0 lahun tun period-ending its symbolic value was enormously magnified. Furthermore, the Cross Group tablets provide the only likely source for the Flapstaff scene, in the representation of the
deceased predecessor and present ruler facing each other.

Bird Jaguar's figural and glyphic allusions to a six day ritual sequence appear to be an elaboration of the solstitial heir designation first documented hieroglyphically by Chan Bahlum at Palenque. The Cross Group texts specify that Chan Bahlum's heir designation rites culminated on the fifth day after they were initiated. Similarly, at Yaxchilan the fifth day is commemorated by the monuments dated 9.15.10.0.1. In addition to replicating Chan Bahlum's "fifth day" celebration, this date also signaled the emergence of a new lahuntun and the initial appearance of Morning Star which was symbolically analogous to a Summer Solstice sunrise. Bird Jaguar's version takes advantage of the cyclic convergence with Venus and a temporal count, not available to Chan Bahlum.

IV.B The Figural Scene

The Stela 11 pairing of two facing figures who hold nearly identical staffs immediately insinuates an equivalent status as royal persons, supporting Tate's associations of the flapstaff with the transfer of ritual and secular power (1986:138). Not only do the symbolic
motifs, posture, and gesture in the Flapstaff scene of Stela 11 reinforce the general idea of transfer, but also the individual elements and motifs allude to the destruction or end of one state of being which must precede the creation of a new order.

Ornamental flapstaffs are reasonably common in Maya sculpture but they are normally included only as costume paraphernalia identifying individuals as self-sacrificers and/or warriors (Figure 37). Hand-held flapstaffs appear on four other monuments at Yaxchilan: Stela 16, Lintels 9, 33, 50. These were commissioned later than Stela 11 (likely during Bird Jaguar's second decade of rule), and evidence a revival of flapstaff imagery. As with Stela 11 they are also in contexts denoting the passage of power.

Though Stela 16 (Figure 25) cannot be dated securely, the protagonist holding the flapstaff is clearly named as Shield Jaguar I.* The fact that the monument was erected by Bird Jaguar suggests re-use of this image as a validation of his right to rule.

Lintel 9 (Figure 35), dated 9.16.17.6.12, 1 Eb end of Yaxkin (June 16, 768 A.D.), also interrelates the solstice with a passage of power, but its function is difficult to interpret. The actors are Bird Jaguar and
the calal Great Skull Zero (perhaps brother-in-law to Bird Jaguar), who is not known to have ruled at Yaxchilan. At least three scenarios could explain the enigma of Lintel 9, but not enough information is available."

Like Stela 11, the lintels of Structure 13 (Figures 33, 34) refer back to dates during the reign of Shield Jaguar, and during the interregnum. Flapstaff images on Lintels 50 and 33 flank the central Lintel 32 which depicts Bird Jaguar's putative parents: Lady Ik Skull and Shield Jaguar I. Tate shows (1986:307) that the scene and date of Lintel 32 (9.13.17.15.13) were designed to rewrite the event on Lintel 24 (9.13.17.15.12) where Shield Jaguar is shown with Lady Xoc performing self-sacrifice. Since this date occurred only sixty-three days after Bird Jaguar's birth, it may be that Bird Jaguar was now inferring that he had been considered the rightful heir since that time. The date of the Flapstaff ritual performed by Bird Jaguar on Lintel 33 (9.15.16.1.6) corresponds almost to the fifth solar anniversary of Shield Jaguar's death, and was likely perceived of as the exact anniversary of his burial and descent into a journey of transformation through the underworld.
No date was inscribed on Lintel 50, but since it is paired with Lintel 33, one could assume that this Flapstaff event occurred on the same date as Lintel 33, the probable anniversary of Shield Jaguar's burial. Erosion has destroyed the glyphs, although an apparent "skull" glyph could be associated with the burial-anniversary proposed herein. The two flanking lintels of Structure 13 would then represent Shield Jaguar and Bird Jaguar with flapstaffs as on Stela 11, varying the theme of successor appointment; while the central Lintel 32 depicting Bird Jaguar's parents emphasizes a genealogical claim repeating that in the upper registers of both sides of Stela 11.

Further connotations of the Flapstaff ritual may be inferred by comparison with representations at other Maya sites. To my knowledge the only incidence of predominant hand-held flapstaffs prior to the reign of Bird Jaguar IV, is on the paired stelae from Site Q/El Peru (Figure 43), which commemorate the period-ending of 9.13.0.0.0 (692 A.D.). There are no known glyphs associated with Site Q sculpture which record either a summer solstice or a successor-appointment, so the flapstaffs there are almost certainly not representing the same ceremony as Bird Jaguar recorded. Furthermore,
the flapstaff is incorporated into a sacrificial sceptre held by both a male and a female, in contrast to the strictly male association at Yaxchilan. The actors portrayed on the panels are glyphically identified as the mother and brother of the contemporary ruler, Jaguar Paw, and they are both recorded as having performed self-sacrificial bloodletting in celebration of the period-ending.

From evidence on the Site Q stelae and ballplayer panels (Schele 1982) it is known that the ruler Jaguar Paw acceded in 686 A.D. at the age of 44. Puma, born about four years before Jaguar Paw and from the same parents, was the older brother of Jaguar Paw, and presumably, his predecessor. A distance number of eighty-two days precedes the accession of Jaguar Paw and circumstantial evidence suggests that it may have been counted from the death of the predecessor, Puma. However, on the paired sculptures which record Jaguar Paw's accession and subsequent period-ending, his elder brother Puma is also named posthumously in association with the period-ending. These observations infer that like Bird Jaguar of Yaxchilan, Jaguar Paw of Site Q was incorporating the supernatural power of his deceased
predecessor to sanction or legitimize the accession and period-ending rites.

Further support for this interpretation of Flapstaff ritual appears at Palenque. In commemorating the first katun anniversary of his accession in 764 A.D., Kuk erected the Tablet of the Ninety-Six Glyphs on the South wall of the palace tower, and flanked this tablet with the "Orator and Scribe" images on the balustrades (alfardas) of the stairway below. Both alfardas (Figure 46), depict self-sacrificers who hold a version of the flapstaff. The actor in both scenes seems to be Chac Zutz, a cahal whose curious control of Palenque came between the reigns of Lord Chaccal and his son, Lord Kuk. Through these panels and the Flapstaff ritual, Kuk established descent from his father, rather than from the cahal whom he actually succeeded.  

A pattern emerges. Kuk "inherited" rulership from a cahal long after the death of his father; Jaguar Paw "inherited" rulership from his brother, long after the death of his father; and Bird Jaguar was inaugurated after a ten year interregnum that followed Shield Jaguar's death. The Flapstaff ritual, represented on Yaxchilan's Stela 11, the Palenque alfardas, and the Site Q stelae, may have been employed as compensation for
deviation from the usual solar paradigm for patterns of
descent. That is, acceding rulers who are impersonating
the reborn Sun normally acquire divinity from their dying
fathers who impersonate the setting Sun. If those
fathers are long since deceased when their sons are
approaching inauguration, then the supernatural powers of
the fathers must be reactivated in order for the acceding
son to inherit his required divinity. The Flapstaff
Ritual may accomplish this purpose. For Bird Jaguar, in
addition to expressing his claim as heir, the Flapstaff
seems to have been especially important as a claim of
Shield Jaguar's fathership.

The same associations of self-sacrifice with
the flapstaff ritual at Site Q and Palenque also occur on
Stela 11. Concepts of piercing or sacrifice are inherent
in the cut-outs of the flapstaff itself, as well as the
self-sacrificial contexts in which it occurs. In
addition, the Summer Solstice date, four days before the
period-ending of 9.15.10.0.0 refers to the termination
or destruction of three distinct cosmic cycles.
Similarly, the symbolic function of the long deceased
predecessors revived at Yaxchilan, Site Q, and Palenque
for the inaugurations of their sons is parallel to the
descending or dying Sun God whose destruction in the
underworld allows the creation of the new sun or new ruler.

While death symbolism of the flapstaff elements was used to illustrate the concepts of death and descent connected with the date 9.15.9.17.16, Bird Jaguar's monuments commemorating the date 9.15.10.0.1 symbolize rebirth and emergence through a two-headed serpent image (Figures 24,31b,32b). Serpent imagery for this date is as consistent as the flapstaff imagery for Summer Solstice dates although, unlike the Flapstaff scene, serpents are also employed in other contexts at Yaxchilan. Monuments dated 9.15.10.0.1 also share inscriptions describing the events as the "fish-in-hand-God K" type of sacrificial bloodletting, usually associated with female self-sacrifice at Yaxchilan.

As synthesized by Cohodas (1982:141), reptilian imagery in Maya sculpture is generally representative of the transformational realm, and the female principle of womb and creation. Thus, on Bird Jaguar's sculptures commemorating 9.15.10.0.1, the portrait heads suggest that the role of the serpent was to engender new life and/or new status. This proposal is supported by the context of serpent imagery on other lintels at Yaxchilan that record well recognized

The most significant monument dated 9.15.10.0.1 is Stela 34, as its iconography, calendrics, and symbolism are in direct opposition to parallel components of Stela 11. While Stela 11 commemorates the role of Bird Jaguar's father in the termination-Flapstaff rite, Stela 34 commemorates the role of Bird Jaguar's mother in the "Serpent" rites of emergence.

I disagree with Tate's conclusions that these sculptures commemorate the day when Bird Jaguar's mother, Lady Ik Skull took some important office at Yaxchilan (Tate 1986:114). On 9.15.10.0.1 Bird Jaguar, at age 31, was certainly old enough to accede; and since political leaders were customarily males, it is not likely that Bird Jaguar's mother would have been given the power in lieu of her son. Also, since Shield Jaguar's officially presented consort, Lady Xoc, was still living in 9.15.10.0.1, it would seem more likely that if any female were to be given political power, it would be she. As well, since Lady Ik Skull never carries a "Lady of Yaxchilan" title of rulership, it is unlikely that she held the position as political leader. Furthermore, Tate supports her proposal with a decipherment of the glyph at
B-3 (Figure 24) to name Lady Ik Skull with the Mak’inah title usually reserved for rulers. However, in my judgment the "u-cab" glyph at A-3 introduces two supernaturals (at B-3/A-4) in whose realm the bloodletting (at A-2) occurred. Then, a second phrase begins with the auxiliary verb at B-4, and communicates that Lady Ik Skull also performed a bloodletting on 9.15.10.0.1. It is my opinion that the bloodletting done by Bird Jaguar's mother, Lady Ik Skull, was supplemented or sanctified by the deity or deities identified at B-3/A-4 with the mak’inah title.

The stela portraying only a female on both sides was entirely unique for the Maya, and infers a superior status for Lady Ik Skull. Since the reverse side of this stela names her as Bird Jaguar's mother (D-3) I suspect that the primary reason for claiming great status for his mother was because it thereby elevated Bird Jaguar's own position in society - as having descended from an eminent father and mother.

While the allusion to the five day successor designation ritual was borrowed from Palenque, the elements Bird Jaguar's artists used on Stela 34 to illustrate the culminating emergence of 9.15.10.0.1 were borrowed from an earlier lintel sculpture at Yaxchilan.
whose inscription commemorates Shield Jaguar's inauguration: Lintel 25 of Structure 23 shows Lady Xoc's bloodletting, menaced by the portrait of Shield Jaguar as warrior emerging from the serpent maw (Figure 30). About sixty years later Bird Jaguar adopted this design for Stela 34 in order to document his mother's (Lady Ik Skull's) self-sacrifice on 9.15.10.0.1. Stela 34 (Figure 24) reflects both the serpent imagery and the "fish-in-hand" verbal expression of the earlier Lintel 25. Furthermore, Stela 34 depicts a partially skeletal serpent. The half-fleshed, half-skeletal serpent of Lintel 25 is suggestive of liminality and is a visual allusion to the "underworld journey" travelled by Shield Jaguar prior to his symbolic rebirth at accession.

The other Bird Jaguar era sculpture recording the self-sacrifice on 9.15.10.0.1 is the central lintel of Structure 13, Lintel 39 (Figure 32). The flanking Lintels 38 and 40 incorporate similar serpent imagery and record the same "fish-in-hand" bloodletting ritual, performed on two different dates by the possibly symbolic ladies Ix and Ik. Two features of Lintel 39 differ from their parallel elements on the flanking lintels, and were probably intended to ensure that the Lintel 39 event was understood to be symbolically distinct. Whereas Lintels
38 and 40 depict fleshe d serpents, Lintel 39 imitates the partially skeletal serpents that have been shown to be specifically associated with transformation and emergence (Lintel 25). Equally significant is that while the flanking lintels record bloodletting performed by the females, the verbal phrases of Lintel 39 specify that the bloodletting was done "under the auspices of" or "in the realm of" Bird Jaguar, but not by him. These distinctions are suggestive that Lintel 39 also alludes to the self-sacrifice by his mother, as recorded for the same date on Stela 34.10

The date 9.15.10.0.1 is mentioned again at Yaxchilan on Lintel 14, dating from the reign of Bird Jaguar's son, Shield Jaguar II (Figure 31). While the imagery of self-sacrifice and emergence from a divine serpent is similar, the nominal glyphs suggest that the scene is referring to bloodletting done by Bird Jaguar's wife, Lady Great Skull and the cahal, Lord Great Skull. Their bloodletting may have been performed to sanction Bird Jaguar's emergence as ruler-elect in 9.15.10.0.1. Support for this proposal appears on Lintel 13 where the imagery almost duplicates that of Lintel 14 from the same temple. On Lintel 13 (Figure 31) Bird Jaguar and his consort are engaged in the same act of bloodletting to
sanctify the birth of their heir, Shield Jaguar II. As implied on Stela 34 and Lintel 39, Lintel 13 clearly euphemizes "rebirth" as an emergence from the underworld via the front head of a serpent.

A repeated pattern thus links Flapstaff ritual and the 9.15.10.0.1 self-sacrifice. In contrast to the complex of sculptures featuring Bird Jaguar's father and the flapstaff image, all of the monuments commemorating the date 9.15.10.0.1 incorporate serpent imagery and memorialize actions of Bird Jaguar's wife or mother, and are associated with birth or renewal. It should be noted that the Flapstaff ritual involves the same actors on different dates, while 9.15.10.0.1 involves different actors on the same date. Whereas Stelae 11, 12, 13 linked the death of Shield Jaguar to the transformation and eventual accession of Bird Jaguar, and emphasized the male roles during transition; the three sculptures recording the conclusion of the six-day transformational rites on 9.15.10.0.1 link Bird Jaguar's emergence as heir to actions performed by female family members. This separation of male versus female roles during transition is characteristic of Maya mythology, hieroglyphics, and figural compositions and explains the necessity of Bird Jaguar's ceremonies spanning the five days from Summer
Solstice to first appearance of Morning Star. In many Mesoamerican myths and rituals (Cohodas 1976a), death must precede rebirth, and the initial act of death or sacrifice is most commonly associated with male actors while the culminating rebirth or emergence is usually associated with female self-sacrifice.

IV.C Summary of the Flapstaff Ritual

Since Bird Jaguar was not inaugurated until ten years after the death of his predecessor, the validity of the ceremonial events he documents is dubious. It appears that to compensate for his tenuous claims to rulership, he proclaimed an appointment by his predecessor, in which he exploited the symbolism presented by a series of cosmological events associated with the period-ending of 9.15.10.0.0. Unlike monuments at other sites that commemorate this period-ending, Bird Jaguar recorded instead the solstice date of four days earlier because its associations with Solar, Venus, and long-count cycle endings could be used to emphasize the parallels of cosmic and dynastic termination which must precede reordering and emergence.
To complement this new form of cosmic validation, artists of Stela 11 also employed innovative imagery. Stela 11's scene of father and son was unprecedented at Yaxchilan. The idea of dynastic succession inherent in this pairing was reinforced with the concept of exchange conveyed not only by the dual flapstaffs, but also by the shared ritual responsibility for the period-ending of 9.15.15.0.0., (the first after Shield Jaguar's death). Flapstaff imagery of sacrifice is associated with a reviving of the deceased father/old Sun for the transfer of power to the son/new Sun.

Both the father/son pairing and the solstice ceremony of successor-appointment clearly derive from an earlier composition at Palenque, and Bird Jaguar may also have borrowed the idea of a ritual completion of the transformation rites after five days. While known inscriptions at Yaxchilan do not arithmetically connect the dates 9.15.9.17.16 and 9.15.10.0.1, their five day interval echoes the fifth-day culmination of the heir designation rites at Palenque, and the cosmological aspects of renewal associated with 9.15.10.0.1 echo similar concepts at Palenque where Chan Bahlum emerged as "the (new) Sun". In contrast to Palenque where a Summer Solstice marked the culmination of Chan Bahlum's heir
designation rites, Bird Jaguar chose to exploit the multiple associations of circa 9.15.10.0.0 by claiming that his heir designation initiated on the solstice and culminated on 9.15.10.0.1 since the latter date symbolized renewal in not one, but three, separate cycles.

Of Yaxchilan's stelae, Stela 11 and Stela 34 are the most innovative in format and opposite in imagery. Both are unusual in representing similar events for both sides, but while Stela 11 shows only male actors and depicts a flasstaff ritual for the "separation" date of 9.15.9.17.16, Stela 34 depicts only a female involved in the serpent/self-sacrificial ritual for the "reintegration" date of 9.15.10.0.1. By erecting the unique Stela 34 Bird Jaguar was generating immense prestige for his mother, who in reality was probably not the royal consort of Shield Jaguar I. As well, he was creating a pair of stelae to commemorate both the paired rites of passage and his pair of immediate predecessors.

Notes for Chapter IV

1 By comparison, Tate shows that Shield Jaguar and his consort presided over three separate ceremonies which occurred on summer solstices (1986:440). Recent
decipherment of the verbal "fire" glyphs accompanying those rites, (cited in Schele 1987:135), suggests that these rituals involved the dedication of Shield Jaguar's newly constructed lintels and temples (Structures 23 and 44).

In view of Freidel's (1986) archaeological evidence of Mayan termination rituals that incorporated fires, the glyphs deciphered as dedication rites, and the later Aztec New Fire Ceremonies that celebrated the death and renewal of Time, it is apparent that in Mesoamerica, "fire" rites were sometimes associated with concepts of transformation and change. Though it seems likely that "fire" rituals do relate to concepts of creation and regeneration, conveyed also by the summer solstice, Shield Jaguar did not consistently schedule fire/dedication ceremonies for solstice days. And, though Bird Jaguar IV documents fire/dedication rites as well (Lintel 28, Lintel 31) they did not occur near a summer solstice. Thus, while it is clear that summer solstice dates had been employed occasionally by his predecessor, Bird Jaguar's artists were the first to specifically link the summer solstice with a repeated ritual.

2 Concerning 9.15.10.0.0, Aguateca Stela 1 records an accession on 9.15.9.17.17 or June 23, 741 A.D., that is linked arithmetically to the period-ending three days later. As this Aguateca ruler seems to have been a political puppet of Dos Pilas, it may be that the symbolic accession date was chosen to elevate the status of such a secondary figure.

3 Although not all period-endings were commemorated by the Maya, the lahunun-ending of 9.15.10.0.0 is documented on sculpture from at least seven sites:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Sculpture Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aguateca</td>
<td>Stela 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Peru</td>
<td>Stela B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machaquila</td>
<td>Stela 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naj Tunich</td>
<td>Group IIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimli Punit</td>
<td>Stela 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quirigua</td>
<td>Stela F west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikal</td>
<td>Temple IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lintels 2 and 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That this particular period-ending was extraordinary is shown on Stela 11 from Machaquila (Figure 49). In addition to the emphasis placed on the Baktun, Katun, and Tun components of the long count (9.15.10.), a curious glyphic compound at B-4a suggests that the period-ending
event (A-4b) may have been linked with another event four
days earlier. The glyphic signs, yax/new and kin/sun,
are positioned between those for "sky" and "earth",
probably as a reference to the annual rising of the
"yaxkin" or "new sun" on 9.15.9.17.16, four days before
the period-ending of 9.15.10.0.0.
Alternatively, Cohodas (p.c.) suggests that the inclusion
of the "yax" glyph with the sun-at-horizon variant of the
kin/day glyph as a distance number, might refer to an
interval of four dawns. In either interpretation the
"yax" sign must refer to a rising or renewal at dawn.

4 On the basis of the nominal glyphs, Tate dates the
erection of Stela 16 to the reign of Shield Jaguar
(1986:395). However, analysis of stylistic and
iconographic developments at Yaxchilan, (Cohodas 1976b),
shows that this sculpture evidences technical and
symbolic traits associated with Bird Jaguar's artists,
and therefore may establish that Bird Jaguar commissioned
this monument to memorialize some event experienced by
his father.
Tate clearly identifies 19 Yaxkin as the month position
and claims that the coefficient for the day is 6, 7, or 8
(1986:395), but judging from the blocks of space allotted
for each component of the Calendar Round, there is also
enough evidence substantiating day coefficients of 11,
12, or 13. Thus the dates 12 Cib 19 Yaxkin
(9.15.9.17.16) and 13 Imix 19 Yaxkin (9.15.11.0.1) must
also be considered as possibilities.
My preference is 13 Imix 19 Yaxkin, the summer solstice
of 742 A.D. that followed the death of Shield Jaguar by
seven days. Shield Jaguar's death is recorded as June
15, 742 A.D. (9.15.10.17.14). Though no sculpture
records his burial, the solstice seven days later is not
only a feasible interval from the death date, but would
have been symbolically very appropriate as well-
particularly in view of the current Chorti convention
wherein Summer Solstice marks the day when ritual leaders
terminate their duties, and particularly for Bird Jaguar
who claims to have entered the lineage as heir, on the
previous solstice.

5 Since the lintels of Structure 10 suggest that Bird
Jaguar continued to rule beyond the supposed transfer of
power on Lintel 9, one explanation for the Lintel 9
Flapstaff rite is that Bird Jaguar employed Summer
Solstice associations with transformation to sanction
increased military and elite status for Great Skull,
which he continued to hold during the reign of Bird Jaguar's heir, Shield Jaguar II.

Another explanation is that Lintel 9 was erected later by Shield Jaguar II in recognition of interim power granted to Great Skull by a perhaps ailing Bird Jaguar. While speculative, it may be that Bird Jaguar died shortly after 9.16.17.6.12 (Lintel 9 date). At about age seventeen, Shield Jaguar II may have been too young to rule, so Bird Jaguar's brother-in-law (uncle to Shield Jaguar II) may have ruled temporarily until Shield Jaguar II reached maturity (perhaps the age "1 katun" or circa 9.17.1.0.0). After the accession of Shield Jaguar II, Great Skull then held the position of major military captain or "second-in-command" as is indicated on Lintel 58. This scenario would explain a curious contradiction of rulership, or dual rulership of Shield Jaguar II and Bird Jaguar IV evidenced by comparing Stela 7 and a newly discovered stela fragment (Tate 1986:240).

Cohodas (personal communication) also notes that Flapstaff rituals depicted at Yaxchilan as well as at other sites often involve personnages who, with the exception of the current ruler, are deceased at the time the monument is erected, suggesting that one of the functions of the flapstaff ritual is to demonstrate a transfer of power from a deceased to a living individual. This suggests to Cohodas that one of the two individuals on Lintel 9 is likely deceased, but he notes that there are reasons for suspecting each. He agrees with me that if Bird Jaguar were now dead, then he would be shown handing over interim power to Great Skull Cahal who could take Bird Jaguar's place in dual rulership with Shield Jaguar II. However, Cohodas also notes that the placement of Lintel 9 over the single door of the tiny temple known as Structure 2 might suggest a memorial to Great Skull Cahal, who could have been buried below, in contrast to the larger three-door temples dedicated to Bird Jaguar IV or Shield Jaguar II. It is therefore possible that the introduction of a new personnage in the flapstaff exchange was occasioned by Great Skull's death, and that Bird Jaguar wished to express the importance of Great Skull's support to his own reign, as did Shield Jaguar II in Structures 54 and 20. In support of this latter possibility, Cohodas also notes that while Great Skull Cahal is never associated with dates after that of Lintel 9 (9.16.17.6.12), Bird Jaguar IV is mentioned in connection with the dates 9.17.0.0.0 and 9.17.1.0.0.

6 Based on the "skull" glyph at A-5 (Figure 33a), Tate
has proposed that the subject of Lintel 50 may be a descendant of Bird Jaguar IV, whose glyphic name identifies him as Mak'inaH Skull II (1986:306), but glyphic and contextual associations for this lintel do not support Tate's idea. Firstly, the stylistic and compositional elements of the image are comparable to other commissions by Bird Jaguar and therefore tend to contradict the notion that this was a later sculpture (Cohodas 1976b). While certainly a moot point, the apparently nominal "skull" glyph of Lintel 50 does not include any of the other elements used by Mak'inaH Skull Ah Kan Banac on his Lintel 10. On Lintel 50 the "skull" glyph precedes Yaxchilan's two emblem glyphs, suggesting that the skull names a deceased "Lord of Yaxchilan"...perhaps the deceased Shield Jaguar I.

7 Decipherment of these alfardas glyphs cannot be secured, but a loose translation infers that a bloodletting or sacrifice was performed by, for, or to Chaccal. Then, on an unreadable date a nawah or "ceremony commemorating the dead" (Schele 1982:267ff) was performed by Chac Zutz, Chaccal's successor. By claiming that the intervening cahal had memorialized the deceased Chaccal, Kuk was reinstating his father as the setting Sun, whose divinity was then transferred to his biological heir.

8 Components of the flapstaff itself may also be symbolic of the processes of solar and dynastic destruction and renewal. The T-shaped flaps have been cut from the cloth-wrapping of the staff and this cutting of a woven fabric is in itself a destructive act, symbolically equivalent to: sacrifice (God of #6, T-shaped axe of GI and the Barbel God), death (glyphic death expression, T-shaped tooth of Solar gods and underworld deities), and by extension, the penetration of the Earth by the Sun at sunset. It must be noted that when in contexts of war or sacrificial bloodletting, most depictions of the flapstaff emphasize only the T-shaped Ik motif (Figure 37). This is in marked contrast to the Yaxchilan contexts where although the cut-out flap is a rectilinear Ik motif (carrying connotations of destruction and penetration), the cloth from which it is cut is a more curvilinear, semi-quatrefoil shape associated with concepts of creation and emergence in several Mesoamerican sources. This opposition of Ik and quatrefoil emblems echoes dualities of death and rebirth,
disappearance and reappearance, separation and reintegration; which are basic to cycles of the Sun and of dynastic succession.

Tate remarks that "the quatrefoil is a depiction of the opening of the cosmic central axis at the crossroads of the four directions", and that it may be symbolic of the opening through which the sun enters and exits the underworld at sunset and sunrise (1986:131). This interpretation offers a possible insight as to why the quatrefoil addition appears on Bird Jaguar's flapstaff images. The symbolic reference to the transformational passageway complements his calendric references to cyclic changes of the Sun.

9 Two additional techniques were employed to accentuate concepts of liminality: Lintel 25, like its Cross panel prototype at Palenque, is the central image of a three-part programme alluding to dynastic and solar succession, and the inscription was carved to be viewed as a mirror image, conveying notions of the underworld transformational realm.

The concept of emergence from the liminal realm may be alluded to within a secondary text of Lintel 25 as well. Although Schele (1987) has proposed that the glyphs at G-1 and G-2 identify the emerging figure as the ancestral founder of Yaxchilan, I suspect that the "founder" glyph is in this case referring to the serpent itself as the ancestral procreator, or founder, of dynastic lineages. The basis for this alternative interpretation is that the glyph at G-1 appears to name a female, rather than the male, "Progenitor Jaguar" who is supposedly the founder of the Yaxchilan dynasty, as seen on the most recently discovered lintel of Structure 12. As well, the identification of serpents and females is evident in several Mesoamerican contexts.

In addition to the frequent occasions when serpents disgorge various humans and deities, Spero (1987:47,125,229) documents several sources wherein serpents are viewed as intercessors and are believed responsible for "devouring, transforming, and regurgitating mortals".

10 As suggested previously, it was likely only after the deaths of Shield Jaguar and his consort Lady Xoc that Bird Jaguar could initiate a campaign for the rulership of Yaxchilan. While the central Lintel 39 may refer to self-sacrifice for Bird Jaguar, done by his mother on 9.15.10.0.1, the dates of Lintel 38 (9.16.12.5.14) and
Lintel 40 (9.16.7.0.0) indicate that similar acclaim for Bird Jaguar was later extended by the ladies Ix and Ik on the twenty-first solar anniversary of the death/burial of Shield Jaguar, and on the ninth solar anniversary of the death of Shield Jaguar's consort, Lady Xoc. It appears that the lintels of Structure 16 commemorate solar anniversaries of the two deaths requisite for his accession, and the ceremony on 9.15.10.0.1 fabricated as having been the validation of his heir-apparency.
CHAPTER V THE BARBEL GOD SCENE

V.A Interpretation of Calendric and Glyphic Data

Although Stela 11 was erected to commemorate Bird Jaguar's accession, illustrations of two pre-accession events were emphasized as the justification of that inauguration. The river side of the monument has been shown to depict the Flapstaff ritual wherein Bird Jaguar was designated as heir by the former ruler of Yaxchilan. I propose that the temple side of the stela is in part a later, yet complementary ritual wherein Bird Jaguar was validated as ruler-elect by the Yaxchilan elite and a supernatural patron of rulership. The themes of cosmic and dynastic transformation and succession apparent in the Flapstaff scene are repeated in the Barbel God scene, but artists' choices of calendric, iconographic, and stylistic techniques for presenting those themes were entirely different (Figures 8a, 11).

The inscription above the scene appears to correlate with the martial aspects of the composite image. The date of this capture event carries innovative and potent connotations that are far different from concepts associated with capture dates on traditional
stelae at Yaxchilan. Captures on such stelae were simply related to, (and possibly requisite for\(^2\)), the subsequent period-endings. While combined with an inaugural period-ending, Stela 11's arraignment on 9.15.19.1.1 is most strongly linked to the previous period-ending of 9.15.15.0.0, commemorated above the Flapstaff scene. Since 9.15.19.1.1 is precisely four solar years later than the 9.15.15.0.0 period-ending recorded on the reverse side of the stela, it appears that artists intended the Barbel scene to be understood in connection with the interregnum period-ending. In Mesoamerica the number four is often associated with ritual completions. That this four solar year interval was significant is demonstrated by the later Lintels 8 and 41, which record a later capture event on 9.16.4.1.1, precisely four solar years after the 9.16.0.0.0 katun-ending. Therefore, the difference of exactly four solar years from Shield Jaguar's and Bird Jaguar's joint period-ending of 9.15.15.0.0 is suggestive that the Barbel God event was a culmination of a previously initiated situation. Since the calendrics and imagery of the Flapstaff scene were chosen to emphasize the dynastic relationship of Bird Jaguar IV and his predecessor, the four year "completion" interval on the temple side may imply that the ritual
responsibilities shared by Bird Jaguar and Shield Jaguar on the 9.15.15.0.0 period-ending were finally being granted solely to Bird Jaguar on 9.15.19.1.1.

Venus imagery and calendrics, often associated with capture scenes on Maya sculpture, are also indicated in the Barbel God scene. The parallel 9.16.4.1.1 capture event recorded on Lintel 41 uses the "star-over-shell" glyph which Lounsbury (1982) correlates with raids timed to coincide with the first appearance of Venus as Evening Star, its martial aspect. The date 9.15.19.1.1 of the Barbel arraignment also occurred on or near the first appearance of Venus as Evening Star (Chart 2), and thus is associated with the destructive aspects of the Evening Star. Because the other side of the stela features Bird Jaguar's heir designation, it is also relevant that at least three other sites record war and "axe" events as augmentation for the designation of heirs (Palenque, Naranjo, Bonampak; Schele 1987:97). This association is also inferred on Lintel 2 at Piedras Negras where a form of heir designation is illustrated with warrior imagery (Figure 50), and a parallel sequence of events was standard practice for later Mesoamericans, the Aztecs. Several chronicles describe pre-accession battles that were conducted to secure victims for inaugural sacrifices.
(Garcia Granados 1952). Aztec inaugurations required two rituals: one preceding the battle, and one following it.

The verbal expression in the hieroglyphic text accompanying the Barbel God scene provides some assistance in determining the symbolic functions of the figural image. The three verbal glyphs are eroded (Figure 16:Y,Z,A'), but the third is still recognizable as the animal head representative of the phoneme och, suffixed with the locative ti. Schele (1984b:301) states that the word och means "to enter" or "to become". Laughlin's Tzotzil dictionary (1975:65,412) documents the usage of och in several phrases expressing an incompleted passage from one state to another (ie. "to be put into", "going to become", "to begin to"), and according to Schele the glyph och is used frequently at Palenque in compounds associated generally with movement into a higher position in the dynastic hierarchy. These transformations may be through heir designation, inauguration, or apotheosis. The second verbal glyph of this text may represent a seated figure, and similar human-figure glyphs are associated with heir apparency at Palenque and Tikal. Although the erosion of these glyphs makes interpretation speculative, in my opinion the combination of a human-figure glyph with the clearly
readable och glyph, strongly supports the proposal that the Barbel scene is commemorating a ritual performed to sanction Bird Jaguar as suitable for "becoming" the ruler. Thus, 9.15.19.1.1 may have been the day when, after a successful military campaign, Bird Jaguar was finally elected as ruler. It should be recalled that in this scene, Bird Jaguar holds the baton associated with sacrificial victims, and the manikin sceptre, a well recognized symbol of rulership.

V.B The Figural Scene

The Barbel God scene of Stela 11 combines the imagery of the two sides of a traditional period-ending stela, each of which features a kneeling secondary figure: the captive for the arraignment side and the "suppliant" for the scattering side. The composite Stela 11 scene is unusual for either type in featuring a closely linked and parallel group of three kneeling captive/suppliants.

That this "triplication" was designed to place greater emphasis on the supernatural sanction for these rituals is suggested by the central triad (VI, VII, VIII) of ballgame risers from Structure 33, carved by the same
artist responsible for Stela 11 (Cohodas: personal communication). Like Stela 11, Step VII (Figure 28) is central within a hierarchic grouping of three monuments in front of a major temple. The mythological portion of the text on this panel involves a series of three parallel martial/"axe" events undertaken by deities named "ah-knot-skull", apparently a name for the Venus god. The "historical" portion of the text infers that prior to his accession, Bird Jaguar and the supernatural "ah-knot-skull" reenacted the last of these events from the mythical era. Just as the three mythical sacrificial events were fabricated to justify Bird Jaguar's interregnum event recorded on Step VII, the central of a three-sculpture group, the three victims on Stela 11 may have been fabricated to validate the interregnum event recorded on Stela 11, the central of three stelae.

Whereas the traditional costume of the scatterer in period-ending rites at Yaxchilan involved attributes of the Barbel God, on Stela 11 Bird Jaguar is uniquely shown wearing the zoomorphic mask of, and therefore acting as, the Barbel god. Both associated inscriptions identify the subject as Bird Jaguar, even though he is masked as the supernatural Barbel god. Although masks are devices used universally for the
ritual transformation of humans, they are rarely depicted in Mayan art. This one seems to have been chosen to ensure the viewers' understanding that actions of the supernatural Barbel God were mediated by the royal Bird Jaguar (and vice-versa).

The only previous example of mask-wearing at Yaxchilan is Lintel 25 (Figure 30) of Structure 23 which commemorates Shield Jaguar's much earlier inauguration. The same lintel scene was also shown to be a source for the related self-sacrifice scene on Stela 34. Like the Barbel mask, the Tlaloc masks used on Lintel 25 are also associated with military and sacrificial themes and were retained by Bird Jaguar for his Stela 34 (Figures 24, 30). Bird Jaguar's choice of the Barbel god mask may allude to the power of the Palenque dynasty which appears to have selected this deity, rather than the more common Jaguar god, as its special patron. For example, Kan Xul's memorial tablet depicts this ruler in an equally striking guise of the Barbel God (Figure 47). The purpose of memorial ceremonies at Palenque, always associated with Barbel God and underworld imagery, appears to have been the cessation of the influence of the previous ruler on the current reign. The significance of Bird Jaguar's 9.15.19.1.1 arraignment as concluding a period of joint
influence by Bird Jaguar and Shield Jaguar at Yaxchilan is analogous. At Palenque, the Barbel God was also associated with the ruler's inauguration as in the Temple of the Cross (Chan Bahlum) and possibly the Creation Tablet (Kuk). In the Cross temple, the Barbel god is also selected for the mythological figures of both the aged dying father and the youthful, reborn Sun—a strong parallel to dynastic succession. It is especially notable that the Barbel God's role as patron of dynastic rulership is implicit in the texts describing Chan Bahlum's heir designation at Palenque. According to Schele's translation of the Sun-panel text, the Summer Solstice culmination of the designation ritual was enacted "by the doing of" or "by the agency of" GI of the Palenque triad/the Barbel god (Schele 1987:96, Figure 45).

Although the Barbel God's role is usually that of a destructive sacrificer, he is often involved as well in ceremonies of office-taking, period-ending, memorials for the dead, and the creation of the Maya world, thereby evidencing a dualistic nature for this supernatural that is most appropriate for the composite nature of Stela 11's temple side. Whereas the Barbel-associated costume emblems in traditional period-ending scenes at Yaxchilan
were apparently included to mark the ruler as acting under the auspices of that transformational deity, the Barbel impersonation of the Stela II arraignment scene may represent a more specific aspect of that god as a deified patron of rulership who was intimately connected with sacrificial rites done to ensure the transformations of mortals: from death to rebirth, from deceased to divine, from political contender to inaugurated ruler.

V.C Summary of the Barbel God Scene

The arraignment scene is characterized by calendric and iconographic elements suggestive of sacrificial activity performed by Bird Jaguar who was impersonating the Barbel god. The symbolic associations of several components depicted in the Barbel scene allude to the initial destruction or sacrifice required for all transformations, and the Evening Star phase associated with the date elaborates the symbolism intended. A transformational rite is indicated with the exceptional composite of human and deity, and several pan-Maya hieroglyphic and iconographic contexts for the Barbel god demonstrate his responsibility for metamorphosis.
While Bird Jaguar claims to have been designated as successor in the Flapstaff rite, it is my opinion that he only became a contender for the throne after the death of Lady Xoc, about three years prior to his accession. Imagery, calendrics, and verbal glyphs of the Barbel scene appear to commemorate Bird Jaguar's election to rulership on 9.15.19.1.1, May 31 750 A.D.
The four year interval between the arraignment (9.15.19.1.1) and the previous period-ending (9.15.15.0.0) recorded on the other face of the stela conveys concepts of ritual completion. A speculative explanation for the completive event alluded to in the Barbel God scene is that it marked the end of a rulership "shared" by Bird Jaguar and the deceased Shield Jaguar, and was the ceremony wherein Bird Jaguar was accepted as Yaxchilan's next ruler. For this purpose, Bird Jaguar borrowed Palenque's Barbel God imagery, perhaps designed to mark the end of the influence of a deceased ruler, to likewise indicate a supernatural sanctioning of both his own election and the end of Shield Jaguar's influence.

Notes for Chapter V

1 The Pasadita lintels (Figure 36) emulate the paired themes from Yaxchilan's traditional stelae. Calendric notation on the Pasadita lintels infers that the capture
preceded the period-ending ceremony, and it has been suggested that such acts of capturing served dual purposes of confirming a ruler's military prowess and of securing a victim who would be sacrificed as part of the period-ending rites. Support for this theory is indicated with the occasional presence in the scattering scenes of a kneeling secondary figure who wears a shell pendant. Comparisons with other contexts for the shell (Figure 42), indicate that it is worn in circumstances of self-sacrifice; thereby suggesting that the kneeling personnage in the period-ending scenes may have been forced into sacrificial acts as part of the period-ending ceremony.

2 Lounsbury (1982:143ff) has determined positive correlations between recorded acts of intersite sacrifice, war, and death with known initial appearances of Venus as Evening Star. Such correlations occur in connection with the following monuments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Monument</th>
<th>Venus Day #</th>
<th>Long Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caracol</td>
<td>Stela 3</td>
<td>Day # 18</td>
<td>9. 9.18.16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naranjo</td>
<td>Hier. Steps</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tortuguero</td>
<td>Stela 6</td>
<td>Day # 17</td>
<td>9.10.16.13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dos Pilas</td>
<td>Stela 16</td>
<td>Day # 24</td>
<td>9.15.4.6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aguateca</td>
<td>Stela 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonampak</td>
<td>Lintel 3</td>
<td>Day # 22</td>
<td>9.15.9.3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaxchilan</td>
<td>Lintels 41, 8</td>
<td>Day # 113</td>
<td>9.16.4.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaxchilan</td>
<td>Lintel 16</td>
<td>Day # 98</td>
<td>9.16.0.13.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should also be noted that many "shell-star" war events are not associated with Venus as Evening Star, (Venus Days # 297-540 are Morning Star).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Monument</th>
<th>Venus Day #</th>
<th>Long Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tortuguero</td>
<td>Stela 6</td>
<td>Day # 473</td>
<td>9.10.11.9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piedras Negras</td>
<td>Stela 35</td>
<td>Day # 516</td>
<td>9.11.9.8.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dos Pilas</td>
<td>Steps</td>
<td>Day # 458</td>
<td>9.12.5.9.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Palenque's Palace Tablet records a ceremony wherein the child, Kan Xul is given the title that he uses later, during his adult reign. Glyph F-9 of this passage seems to name Kan Xul as the "kexol", or "successor of", several lineage gods (Schele 1985b:67). According to Schele (1985:p.c.) similar glyphs featuring only a left-hand are also found at Copan and Piedras Negras, and may be graphic expressions of the Tzotzil word "kexol" meaning both "succession" and "left-hand" or "changeable hand".

A similar youth-event for Chaccal III is recorded on the jambs of Temple XVIII at Palenque. Here too, the heir-apparent is described as the "kexol" of GI, the Barbel God.

On Altar 5 from Tikal the nominal glyph between the two actors, and glyphs at positions 4 and 20 may name the elusive Ruler A/B ("Crossed Bands Rodent/Jaguar"?), whose heir designation may have been on 9.12.19.12.9 (Glyphs 1 to 4). The verbal glyph at position 3 appears to be a headless dwarf. It is noteworthy that the kexol glyph on the Palace Tablet is also headless, and that dwarves occur on Yaxchilan's Step VII of Structure 33 where glyphs record another pre-accession event by Bird Jaguar.

Configuration clues to the first two glyphs of the verbal phrase suggest that the initial glyph may be an auxiliary verb and the second glyph is possibly a seated figure. Together the three verbs might be read as; "On 9.15.19.1.1...it happened...he was placed...to enter (the succession) as...the three katun ahau, Bird Jaguar...".

With the exception of Stela 11, there are no stelae where the main compositions of both sides remain intact, rendering it impossible to ascertain original imagery. However, the Pasadita lintel depicting Bird Jaguar in a scatter rite is less deteriorated and a comparison with sculptural remnants from Stelae 1, 3, 31 at Yaxchilan strongly suggests that the usual costume worn by rulers at period-ending ceremonies included the shell ear, shell diadem, knotted pectoral, and crossed-bands belt of the Barbel god. See Figures 36,21, 26, 22.
Monumental art serves as political propaganda for the ruling classes of society and functions generally as a proclamation of the economic, social, and political power assumed by the aristocratic elite for whom it was created. Most dynastic art of the Maya communicated and preserved current political values and cultural traditions, along with the featured historical documentation. In contrast, Stela 11 and its associated sculptures are special forms of propaganda whose primary purpose was the justification of atypical political realities. Stela 11 presents a specific complex of innovative themes, images, and calendrics that was historically unique.

To compensate for his anomalous parentage and his apparently extemporary accession, Bird Jaguar and his artists designed an inaugural commemorative programme which effectively rewrote his dynastic history and emphasized the cosmic means by which he acquired the right to rule. To proclaim legitimacy as ruler Bird Jaguar selected imagery and calendrics which would accentuate the process of succession. While traditional stelae commemorated period-endings, Stela 11 was designed
to memorialize his inauguration and, more importantly, to document the ritual procedures by which he attained the rulership. Though all previous monumental art at Yaxchilan had been carved in a Narrative mode, Bird Jaguar's Stela 11 introduced a Symbolic sculptural mode. While traditional stelae consistently employed only two standardized themes, Stela 11 presents a unique pair of composite images and unprecedented themes. Although it was common for Maya rulers to link their accessions to the deaths of their predecessors, Stela 11 focuses on documenting a suspicious sequence of events as having occurred during the curiously long interval between the death of Shield Jaguar I and the inauguration of Bird Jaguar IV.

Stela 11 was designed with four major dates and two major images which collectively recount the episode of Yaxchilan's history wherein political and religious leadership was transferred from Shield Jaguar I to his successor Bird Jaguar IV. The Flapstaff scene has been shown to include calendric and iconographic references to Bird Jaguar's alleged heir designation on the date 9.15.9.17.16 (recorded in the scene). The analysis of the structure of Mesoamerican religion by Cohodas (1976a) and the ethnographic data incorporated by Tate (1986)
both provide substantial evidence that Summer Solstice seasons would have been viewed by the Maya as periods associated with termination and transformation. This study has determined several reasons to explain why summer solstice symbolism in general, and the solstice of 9.15.9.17.16 in particular, were most appropriate choices for Bird Jaguar’s inaugural commemorations. Costume elements worn by both Bird Jaguar and Shield Jaguar in this scene allude to traditional period-ending scenes, thereby implying that the image of father and son is also a visual reference to the dual "rulership" and period-ending celebration for the date 9.15.15.0.0, which is inscribed in this scene as well.

In contrast to the Flapstaff scene which depicts paired humans and emphasizes an important solar position, the Barbel God scene portrays a supernatural impersonator and refers to a significant station of the Venus cycle. As with the Flapstaff scene, the Barbel scene is also related to two different events: the date 9.15.19.1.1 is linked symbolically with the interregnum period-ending of 9.15.15.0.0, four years earlier. The inaugural inscription represented on the opposite side completes both the Barbel image and the whole stela programme. A Venus date associated with war and
destruction has been substituted for the period-ending normally featured. The elaborate Barbel-mask and the och glyph for "entering/becoming" indicate that the scene is illustrative of a ritual confirmation of Bird Jaguar's position as ruler-elect. This is supported by comparisons with known and probable successor appointments at other sites, where prisoners of war, sacrifice, and the Barbel god were commonly associated with movement to higher status within dynastic hierarchies.

Since Stela 11 commemorated Bird Jaguar's inauguration or his "emergence" as ruler, it might seem curious that the series of pre-inaugural rites include so many calendric and pictorial symbols of sacrifice, death, and termination. However, in origin myths of many cultures "death, destruction, and chaos" always precede "rebirth, creation, and order", and most ritual transformations replicate origin myths. Universally, such rites of passage are composed of three distinct phases: separation rituals where the initiate is removed from the common realm of society, a liminal period when the subject is affiliated only with supernaturals, and reintegration rites when the person is returned to society, along with his newly acquired status. This
three-stage approach seems obvious for the heir designation rites of 9.15.9.17.16, 9.15.10.0.0, and 9.15.10.0.1. It also provides a useful structure for contemplating the entire set of events recorded on Stela 11.

Bird Jaguar exploited the parallels of solar and dynastic succession by implying that Summer Solstice marked the day when the process of his succession was initiated. His alleged heir designation on 9.15.9.17.16 corresponds to the first stage of ritual transformation, the separation. The events on 9.15.15.0.0, 9.15.19.1.1 and 9.15.19.14.14 each involve supernaturals (the deceased Shield Jaguar, the Barbel God, and God "K"), and thus correspond to the liminal Phase of ritual metamorphosis. The prominently featured and thrice-repeated inaugural date 9.16.1.0.0, proclaims Bird Jaguar's reintegration as ruler of Yaxchilan, thereby finalizing the process of dynastic succession. Events of Bird Jaguar's three-stage Rite of Passage, as indicated by Stela 11, are outlined in Chart 6.¹

Structural and contextual analysis has shown that the conceptual basis for the Structure 40 complex of sculpture and architecture was the parallel of dynastic and solar succession. Rather than adhering to
traditional modes of calendric and iconographic declarations of divinity and rulership, Bird Jaguar's Stela 11 introduced numerous symbolic oppositions, innovative images, and calendric manipulations as unique artistic solutions for his unparalleled political and genealogical problems.

Bird Jaguar's emphasis on the Summer Solstice would have been easily recognized by the elite as a variation of Chan Bahlum's solsticial heir designation ceremony. By imitating Palenque, Bird Jaguar adapted the idea of interweaving concepts of solar and dynastic succession on monumental art, and simultaneously assumed some of the prestige previously associated with the powerful dynasty of Palenque. As pointed out by Nagao (n.d.:23) and Stone (n.d.:35) the adoption of foreign themes and stylistic traits demonstrates a deliberate and conscious attempt to claim political legitimacy through visual associations with superior foreign power (contemporary and/or remembered). As well, the political gains engendered by the replication of Palenque's allusions to solar and dynastic renewal were multiplied enormously by Bird Jaguar's selection and exploitation of the singular solstice which fortuitously coincided with the transformational midpoints of two other symbolically
significant cycles, was one hundred solar years after Chan Bahlum's heir designation, and was the last possible date of such an elaborate cosmic transition prior to the death of his predecessor.

The conventions of Mayan interactive narrative involve two parallel systems of textual and pictorial communication which were each manipulated to complement the other (Reents-Budet: in press). While it is possible that these images alone were sufficient to convey concepts of dynastic succession to even a non-literate viewer, only the elite literati would have been able to fully comprehend and appreciate the highly sophisticated intermeshing of calendric and iconographic symbolism that characterizes Stela 11 at Yaxchilan. It has been said that twentieth century visual advertisement or "publicity" is generally addressed to the elite and that its images often refer to the past, and always speak to the future (Berger 1972:130). While monumental art of the Maya operated in this fashion to some extent, Berger's comment on propaganda seems an especially appropriate description of Bird Jaguar's inaugural programme of "publicity". As well as satisfying his personal need for current and future political legitimacy, Bird Jaguar's sculptural propaganda also
satisfied similar needs for his elite retinue. Furthermore, by validating his own rulership and reinstating a dynastic succession, Bird Jaguar simultaneously ensured a dynastic right to rulership for his son, the Mak'ínah Shield Jaguar II.

Research for this project has suggested that only the election of 9.15.19.1.1 and the inauguration of 9.16.1.0.0 are historical probabilities. In my judgment, the alleged heir designation of 9.15.9.17.16 and its ritual completion on 9.15.10.0.1 were fabricated in order to promote Bird Jaguar as heir to an established lineage, when in reality, his claim was insufficient.

Michael Blake (personal communication) suggests that the cahals may have been responsible for elevating Bird Jaguar to rulership at Yaxchilan, both through their military power, and through their manipulation of marriage alliances. In particular, the "Skull" line may have arranged the marriage of Shield Jaguar I to Lady Ik Skull to advance their own position. When Shield Jaguar died, they could then promote Bird Jaguar beyond his rightful status, and further solidify this alliance by marrying him to another member of their lineage, Lady Great Skull. The final step in advancing Bird Jaguar towards the throne was then the birth of Shield Jaguar.
II, whose mother and grandmother were both of the "Skull" line, and whose father and grandfather were both of the "Jaguar" line. In fact, the interval between the birth of Shield Jaguar II and the inauguration of Bird Jaguar, seventy-five days later, is similar to that between the death of a ruler and inauguration of his successor at other Maya sites. If the cahals, and especially Great Skull Cahal, were responsible in this way for selecting and advancing Bird Jaguar to rulership, then they may also have been responsible for the propaganda employed in monumental art to claim a status consistent with the power which they had granted him.

The proliferation of sculpture produced during Bird Jaguar's reign is a convincing testimony to economic, social, and political success following his accession. However, while a few of his later monuments record contemporaneous period-endings and military accomplishments, the majority of his sculptural programmes continue to refer back to preinaugural proclamations of dynastic and cosmic legitimacy. The Structure 40 Inaugural Complex was only the propaganda of the moment. In order to constantly reaffirm his validity as the most suitable ruler, Bird Jaguar developed additional sculptural complexes, each involving
integrated, multi-level programmes in which the justification of rulership was likewise arranged into a transformational and often three-part pattern, and often included fabricated events. Each of these programmes evidences a different focus for legitimization and a different basis for calendric symbolism.

Sculptural imagery and calendrics on the triad of Structures 1, 33, 42 exemplify these conditions. Here, the Flapstaff ritual is never referred to. Instead, symbolism is based on a Ballgame ritual that also took place during the interregnum, and Bird Jaguar's justification for rulership again involves cosmic validation going back to mythical time and again parallels memorial monuments from Palenque. Lintels 15, 16, 17 of Structure 21 evidence another integrated programme which is based on a separate though equally typical construct. Here, neither Ballgame nor Flapstaff events are mentioned. In this case Bird Jaguar's main validation is the birth of his heir, Shield Jaguar II, linked cosmically with a capture of eight days earlier. Again these events are preinaugural, and the eight-day interval was in all probability invented to suggest that the birth of Bird Jaguar's son was a form of ritual completion, associated with Bird Jaguar's accession, and
analagous to the eight days of Inferior Conjunction of Venus between its disappearance as Evening Star (death) and reappearance as Morning Star (birth). Stela 34 and the Lintels of Structure 16 (also from later in his reign), show that Bird Jaguar continued to refer to the phenomenal circumstances of circa 9.15.10.0.0 which he had previously selected as the best justification for his rulership.

Though each of Bird Jaguar's later temple-programmes involve a separate calendric basis, each sculptural set follows a regular pattern wherein references to the past are combined with allusions to astronomical or cosmic involvement which together justify Bird Jaguar's current position. Bird Jaguar's symbolic constructs evidence multiple approaches, each conveying parallel validations of legitimacy.

Mayan monuments are assumed to be objective historical records. However, this study has shown that sculptural compositions could be designed instead to sway public opinion and to modify existing ideology, in order to account for peculiar or unpredicted political situations. Records of actual or fictitious events would equally fit the propaganda function of all monumental art of the Maya. We should be aware that events recorded on
other monuments at Yaxchilan and at other sites may also have been fabricated to support claims of power.

Notes for Chapter VI

1 While Cohodas (personal communication) agrees with this basic three-part structure, he suggests a different organization of events. Emphasizing the main actors involved in each, he suggests that the separation phase corresponds to the Flapstaff ritual which is performed by Shield Jaguar alone before his death; that the liminal phase corresponds to the period-ending recorded as having been celebrated jointly by the deceased Shield Jaguar and not-yet inaugurated Bird Jaguar in the middle of the interregnum; and that the reintegration phase begins with the election event of 9.15.19.1.1 in which Bird Jaguar is the sole actor. In Cohodas' view, the first and last of these stages may be further subdivided, as anticipated by Van Gennep who noted that each stage of a rite of passage may be expanded into a three-part ritual sequence. In this construct, the three stages of the separation ritual would be the Flapstaff event of 9.15.9.17.16, the period-ending four days later on 9.15.10.0.0, and the female self-sacrifice on the following day 9.15.10.0.1. The three stages of the reintegration rite, as suggested on Stela 11 only, would be the combined election of Bird Jaguar as heir and demonstration of his military prowess on 9.15.19.1.1, the following period-ending on 9.16.0.0.0, and the inauguration on 9.16.1.0.0.

2 See Cohodas (n.d) regarding the significance of Venus cycles in relation to Yaxchilan's Structure 33 and Bird Jaguar's pre-inaugural Ballgame ritual.
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Chart 1. The Yaxchilan Dynasties with Accession Dates.
9.15. 9.17.16  12 Cib 19 Yaxkin  FLAPSTAFF RITUAL
Julian Calendar equivalent: June 22, 741 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: June 26, 741 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 304
Sun and Venus are: 21.85 degrees apart
Venus is on or near initial appearance as Morning Star.
Sun is at farthest northerly point: Summer Solstice

9.15.15. 0. 0  9 Ahau 18 Xul  PERIOD-ENDING
Julian Calendar equivalent: May 31, 746 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: June 4, 746 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 356 Morning Star
Sun and Venus are: 45.59 degrees apart

9.15.19. 1. 1  1 Imix 19 Xul  BARBEL GOD RITUAL
Julian Calendar equivalent: May 31, 750 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: June 4, 750 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 65
Sun and Venus are: 17.02 degrees apart
Venus is on or near initial appearance as Evening Star.

9.15.19.14.14  1 Ix 7 Uo  819-DAY-COUNT
Julian Calendar equivalent: February 28, 751 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: March 4, 751 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 338 Morning Star
Sun and Venus are: 44.08 degrees apart

9.16. 1. 0. 0  11 Ahau 8 Tzec  INAUGURATION
Julian Calendar equivalent: April 29, 752 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: May 3, 752 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 180 Evening Star
Sun and Venus are: 41.85 degrees apart.
Venus is near elongation.

Chart 2. Calendric and Astronomical Data.....Stela 11
(see note #5 page 50)
9.15.10. 0. 0  3 Ahau 3 Mol  PERIOD-ENDING
Julian Calendar Equivalent: June 26, 741 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: June 30, 741 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 308
Venus is near final day of Inferior Conjunction

9.15.10. 0. 1  4 Imix 4 Mol  BLOODLETTING RITES
Julian Calendar equivalent: June 27, 741 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: July 1, 741 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 309
Sun and Venus are: 27.61 degrees apart
Venus is on or near initial appearance as Morning Star.

9.15.10.17.14  6 Ix 12 Yaxkin  DEATH OF SHIELD JAGUAR
Julian Calendar equivalent: June 15, 742 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: June 19, 742 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 78 Evening Star
Sun is seven days before Summer Solstice.

9.15.16. 1. 6  5 Cimi 19 Yaxkin  LINTEL 33-FLAPSTAFF
Julian Calendar equivalent: June 21, 747 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: June 25, 747 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 158 Evening Star

9.15.17.15.14  3 Ix 17 Zip  DEATH OF LADY XOC
Julian Calendar equivalent: March 30, 749 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: April 3, 749 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 222 Evening Star

9.16.17. 6.12  1 Eb end of Yaxkin  LINTEL 9-FLAPSTAFF
Julian Calendar equivalent: June 16, 768 A.D.
Gregorian Correction: June 20, 768 A.D.
Approximate Venus Day: 333 Evening Star

Chart 3. Calendric Data Relevant to Stela 11
Chart 4. Convergence of Cyclic Midpoints
A. 9.13.17.12.10 birth of Bird Jaguar  
    + 3.3  
    9.13.17.15.13 celebration of B.J.'s birth??  

B. 9.15.9.17.16 designation as heir  
    + 4  
    9.15.10.0.0 Maya lahunun celebration not recorded  
    + 1  
    9.15.10.0.1 midpoints of three cycles  

C. 9.15.10.17.14 death of Shield Jaguar I  
    + 7  
    9.15.11.0.1 burial of Shield Jaguar I??  
    + 5.1.5 (completion of 5 solar years)  
    9.15.16.1.6 anniversary of burial of S.J.?  
    Lintel 33  
    ?Lintel 50  

D. 9.15.15.0.0 posthumous period-end by S.J.  
    + 4.1.1  
    9.15.19.1.1 probable election of B. J. IV  

E. 9.15.17.15.14 death of Lady Xoc  
    + 1.3.7  
    9.15.19.1.1 probable election of B. J. IV  

F. 9.15.19.14.14 819-day-count heralds accession  
    + 1.3.6  
    9.16.1.0.0 Inauguration of Bird Jaguar IV  

G. 9.16.17.6.12 passing power to Great Skull??  

Chart 5. Synthesis of Data Relevant to Stela 11
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>9.15.9.17.16</td>
<td>Flapstaff Rite (heir designation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.15.15.0.0</td>
<td>Period-Ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liminal Phase</td>
<td>9.15.19.1.1</td>
<td>Barbel God Rite (election &amp; sacrifice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.15.19.14.14</td>
<td>819-Day Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reintegration</td>
<td>9.16.1.0.0</td>
<td>Inauguration (as ruler)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 6. Dates on Stela 11: Arranged as a Three-Stage Rite of Passage.
Figure 1. Map of the Maya Area.
Figure 2.
Map of Yaxchilan, showing Summer Solstice Orientations of Structures 33, 40, 41.
Figure 3. Plan of Structure 40:
Orientation is 53 degrees east of north.
Figure 4. Structure 40 and Stela 11: River Side
A-1 to A-5  On 6 Ix 12 Yaxkin (9.15.10.17.14/June 15, 742 A.D.)..."his soul flew"..."he died"...he of the shell fist title...the 5 katun lord...Shield Jaguar I,...captor of...Ah Ahaual.

B-5 to D-6  It was...6 kins, 11 tuns...until...11 Ahau...8 Tzec (9.16.1.0.0)...(that he) was seated...as ahau of the succession,...title...Sky title...captor of Ah Uhc,...the Zotzkin?...(Bird) Jaguar IV...Lord of Yaxchilan...Lord of Yaxchilan...Bacab.

E-1 to F-5  auxiliary verb...as the deceased? in death?...(he was) a ? uinic...shell fist title...the 5 katun ahau...Shield Jaguar I,...the captor of...Ah Ahaual,...Ah Kan (title of Shield Jaguar)...title?...the 5 katun lord...ahau title...the first in the succession...of God K...the first...of the Zotzkin title...the 5 katun lord...the Ballplayer...the 5 katun ahau?...Lord of Yaxchilan?.

Figure 5. Structure 40 Stela 12: Inscriptions
Figure 6. Structure 40 Stela 13: Temple Side
A-1 to B-4 auxiliary verb?
...? ...? ...? ...? ...
Shield Jaguar I...5 Katun Lord?

C-1 to D-4 ? ...? ...
5 Katun ahau?...

...Lord of Yaxchilan...

Lord of Yaxchilan...Bacab...Bate.

Figure 7. Stela 13: Paraphrasing of Glyphs
Figure 8. Stela 11: a. Temple Side  b. River Side.
Figure 9. Stela 11: River Side, detail.
Figure 10. Stela 11: River Side
Figure 11. Stela 11: Temple Side
S-1 to T-3  On 6 Ix, 12 Yaxkin (9.15.9.17.16/June 22, 741 A.D.) he held... the flapstaff?/the 5 katun lord... Shield Jaguar I/Lord of Yaxchilan.

Figure 12. Stela 11: River Side, Flapstaff Event.
J-1 to R-1  On 9 Ahau 18 Xul (9.15.15.0.0/May 31, 746 A.D.)...(two undeciphered verbs)...he scattered liquid,...the five katun lord...?...?...Bate.

N-2 to N-9  (It happened) in the realm of/under the auspices of,...the captor of Ah Uhc,...Bird Jaguar...he of twenty captives...the three katun lord...Lord of Yaxchilan...Lord of Yaxchilan.

Figure 13. Stela 11: River Side, Period-Ending Event.
A-1 to B-4
On 9.16.1.0.0, 11 Ahau

C-1 to C-3
(Lunar data for the day 11 Ahau)
God G-9 was Lord of the Night, Glyph
F...Glyph Y-6...Glyph D, the moon was 12 days old...Glyph
C-5, it was the fifth lunation of the half-year, Glyph
X...Glyph B, Glyph A, the moon had 29 days.

D-3
On 8 Tzec (April 29, 752 A.D.)

C-4 to F-4
He took office...as Lord of the succession...Bird Jaguar,...the captor of Ah Uhc,...he of twenty captives...the three katun lord...the Batab...the Lord of Yaxchilan...the Lord of Yaxchilan.

G-1 to G-3
He was the child of the woman...Lady Ik Skull...Sky,...Lady of the God C title...Lady Bacab.

H-3 to I-4
He was the child of...the titled parent...the five katun lord...Shield Jaguar I,...the captor of Ah Ahaual,...the Lord of Yaxchilan, the Bacab.

Figure 14. Stela 11: River Side, Basal Inscription.
U-1 to U-4  (auxiliary verb) ...female title...Lady Ik Skull Sky...Lady of the God C title

U-1 to V-4  (missing) ... (Missing) ... Shield Jaguar I, the captor of ... Ah Ahaul, Lord of Yaxchilan.

Figure 15. Stela 11: Temple Side, Upper Zone Parentage Glyphs.
W-1 to C'-5  On 1 Imix.19 Xul (9.15.19.1.1/May 31, 750 A.D.)...auxiliary verb?...seated figure?...he entered (the succession) as...the 3 katun lord...Bird Jaguar IV,...the captor of...Ah Uhc,...Lord of Yaxchilan...Lord of Yaxchilan...Bacab...West Bate.

Figure 16. Stela 11: Temple Side, Main Text
Initial Series Introductory Glyph

9 Baktuns
16 Katuns
1 Tun \( (9.16.1.0.0) \)
0 Uinals
0 Kins

(It was on) 11 Ahau

Glyph F (Glyph G-9)

Glyph Y-6

Glyph D- the moon was 12 days old

Glyph C- it was the fifth lunation of the half-year

Glyph X-3

Glyph B

Glyph A 10 (error, should be 9) the moon had 30(29) days

(It was on) 8 Tzec \( (9.16.1.0.0/\text{April 29, 752 A.D.}) \)

(that) he was seated (as ruler of Yaxchilan).

Figure 17. Stela 11: Northwest Side, Inscription.
(It was) 6 kins, 3 uinals

1 tun (since)

(On) 1 Ix,

7 Uo (9.15.19.14.14), when

he took part in the 819-day-count event,
in its North quadrant.

the colour white, Antler title, God K,

God K titles? (were associated with the event).

?/ (until) 8 Tzec (9.16.1.0.0), when

he took office/as ahau of the succession,
title/Antler title,

Sky title,

"zero-te-uinic" title

Bird Jaguar IV, he of twenty captives,

Lord of Yaxchilan, Bacab.

Figure 18. Stela 11: Southeast Side, Inscription.
Figure 19. Structure 41 Stela 18: 9.14.17.15.12
a. Temple Side  b. River Side
Figure 20. Structure 41
Figure 21. Main Plaza Stela 1: Temple Side
Dedication c. 9.16.10.0.0
Figure 22. Structure 33  Stela 31: Incised Stalactite.  
Date Unknown, c. 9.16.5.0.0.
Figure 23. Structure 39  Stela 10: River Side
Date Unknown,  c. 9.16.5.0.0?
Figure 24. Structure 21 Stela 34: 9.15.10.0.1
Figure 25. Structure 41  Stela 16: River Side
Date Insecure.
Figure 26. Structure 20
a. Stela 6: 9.11.16.10.13
   Dedication: c.9.16.1.0.0
b. Stela 3: Dedication: c.9.17.0.0.0
   Dedication: c.9.16.1.0.0
Figure 27. Structure 33 Lintel 2
Inscribed Date 9.16.6.0.0
Figure 28. Structure 33 Step VII (central of 13 steps)
Inscribed Date 9.15.13.6.9
Dedication Date c. 9.16.6.0.0.
Figure 29. Structure 42 Lintel 41: 9.16.4.1.1
Dedication Date c. 9.16.6.0.0.
Figure 30. Structure 23 Lintel 25: 9.12.9.8.1  
Dedication Date c. 9.14.15.0.0?
Figure 31. Structure 20
a. Lintel 13: Inscribed Date 9.16.0.14.5
b. Lintel 14: Inscribed Date 9.15.10.0.1
Dedication Date for both: 9.17.0.0.0?
Figure 32. Structure 16  

a. Lintel 38: 9.16.12.5.14  
b. Lintel 39: 9.15.10.0.1  
c. Lintel 40: 9.16.7.0.0  

Dedication of Structure c. 9.16.15.0.07
Figure 33. Structure 13: Dedication c.9.16.15.0.0?

a. Lintel 50: Undated
b. Lintel 33: Inscribed Date 9.15.16.1.6
Figure 34. Structure 13 Lintel 32:
Inscribed Date 9.15.17.15.13
Dedication of Structure c.9.16.15.0.0?
Figure 35. Structure 2 Lintel 9: Inscribed Date 9.16.17.6.12
Figure 36. Pasadita Dedication c.9.16.15.0.0
a. Lintel 1: Inscribed Date 9.16.8.3.18
b. Lintel 2: Inscribed Date 9.16.15.0.0
Figure 37. Ornamental Flapstaffs:

a. Machaquila Stela 2, 9.18.10.0.0
b. Copan Stela H, 9.15.0.0.0
c. Dos Pilas Stela 1, 9.13.15.0.0
d. Dos Pilas Stela 17, 9.12.10.0.0
Figure 38. Nominal Glyphs for "Bird/Bundle" Jaguar III.
Figure 39. Tikal Stela 22: Inscribed Date 9.17.0.0.0
Figure 40. Tikal Temple IV: Lintel 3
Inscribed Date: 9.15.10.0.0
Figure 41. Aguateca Stela 2: Dedication Date c. 9.15.5.0.0
Figure 42. Tikal Burial 116: Ceramic Depicting Sacrificial Ritual.
Figure 43. Site Q Paired Stelae: Dedication c.9.13.0.0.0
a. Stela II  b. Stela I
Figure 44. Palenque Cross Group Panels:
Dedication Date c. 9.13.0.0.0
On 9 Akbal 6 Xul (9.10.8.9.3)

he held the obsidian mirror/celt?

(then), 5 days later (9.10.8.9.8),

he entered/became as (och te)

"the Sun", (kin kin)

Chan Bahlum

bac le bahlam ahau; title?

by the doing of/agency of

GI, the Barbel God (patron of rulership).

Figure 45. Palenque Panel of the Sun: P-6 to Q-10, Record of Chan Bahlum's Heir Designation.
Figure 46. Palenque: Dedication  c.9.17.13.0.0????
a. Scribe Tablet       b. Orator Tablet
Figure 47. Palenque Dumbarton Oaks Tablet: Dedication c.9.14.15.0.0
Figure 48. Palenque Tablet of Temple XIV Dedication c.9.13.15.0.0
Figure 49. Machaquila Stela 11:
Inscribed Date 9.15.10.0.0