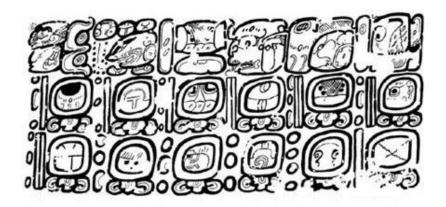# FAMSI © 2004: Alfonso Lacadena García-Gallo

The Glyphic Corpus from Ek' Balam, Yucatán, México
Translation of the Spanish by Alex Lomónaco

Research Year: 2002
Culture: Maya
Chronology: Terminal Classic
Location: Yucatán, México
Site: Ek' Balam

Table of Contents

Introduction

This report is the result of epigraphic investigations carried out at Ek' Balam between 1998 and 2002, as collaborator epigrapher for the Ek' Balam Architectural Restoration Program (Proyecto de Restauración Arquitectónica Ek' Balam) conducted by Archaeologist Leticia Vargas de la Peña, from the Regional INAH office in Yucatán, in the frame of my association with the Archaeology Department of the School of Anthropological Sciences, Autonomous University of Yucatán[1] and the Institute of Filology from the Higher Council of Scientific Research in Madrid. The final stage of this investigation has been accomplished thanks to a research grant awarded by the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc., (FAMSI) in 2002.

Submitted 03/06/2003 by:
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A Note About the Spelling Conventions Used in the Report

In this report I shall use as a convention, for the representation of long vowels, the duplication of the vowel VV instead of V:, used in former transcriptions (i.e. Vargas *et al*. 1999). The rules for transcription recently developed by Houston, Stuart, and Robertson (1998, in press) and Lacadena and Wichmann (in press) shall be used for the representation of the short vowels (V), long vowels (VV) and glottals (V'). Similarly, and following Grube (in press), the distinction between glottal /h/ and velar /j/ aspirants shall be used.

I shall use a flat transcription of the logograms, whereby V indicates an indeterminate vocalic nucleus, without a specification of V, VV, V' or Vh, that is, K'AN, TUN, B'ALAM,

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[1] As a Regular, Teacher/Researcher, Category A, since 1998, and as an invited teacher in 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002.

CH'EN, instead of K'AN, TUUN, B'AHLAM and CH'E'N. The reason for this is mentioned in Lacadena and Wichmann (in press).

Symbols Used:

In the transliteration:

-        block sign separator
…]   beginning of lost text
[…   ending of lost text
[…]   lost glyphic block
[le]   reconstruction of lost or partially lost sign, but reconstructable through preserved traces and/or context, as in **u-ki-ti** IV-**[le]-ku**.
indefinite sign
indefinite number of signs
55   sign mentioned by Thompson (1962)

In the transcription:

[e]   reconstructed phoneme, as in **u-B'AK-le**, *ub'aak[e]l*
…   presence of a phoneme with an uncertain reading, as in **K'UH-#-NAL**, *K'uh…nal.*

Abbreviations used:

- ♦ Monuments: CV= Cover of Vault; S= Stela; COL= Column; M= Mural; MT= Miscellaneous Text.
- ♦ Languages: CHN= Chontal; CHNAC Chontal from Acalán; CHL= Chol; CHT= Choltí; CHR= Ch'orti'; COLYU= Colonial Yucatecan; YUC= Modern Yucatecan; ITZ= Itzaj; MOP= Mopán.

The Glyphic *Corpus* from Ek' Balam

The glyphic corpus from Ek' Balam is among the richest known in northern Yucatán, because of the number of texts and the number of glyphic blocks found in a fine state of preservation, comparable in terms of importance to those from Edzná, Xcalumkin,

Oxkintok, Chichén Itzá and Cobá. Between the only two texts from the site that were known by the mid-eighties and the approximately forty that are presently documented, some excellent archaeological works have been carried out, first by the teams of Drs. William Ringle and George Bey, and subsequently by the teams of Archaeologists Leticia Vargas de la Peña and Víctor Castillo Borges. It was precisely during the works undertaken by the Mexican archaeological team–from the Regional INAH Yucatán, that the hieroglyphic texts from the site began to be uninterruptedly recovered, after the excavation works in Structure 1 (Vargas and Castillo 1998; 2001) were initiated. Most of the texts originate precisely in this Structure 1 of the site, an impressive Acropolis building with a complex and fascinating architecture which has been revealed as Ek' Balam's Royal Palace during the Terminal Classic Period (Figure 1 and Photo 1). Up until now, only half the extension of this building has been explored. It would not be extremely risky to venture that in the following years the number of hieroglyphic texts found in Ek' Balam may well duplicate.
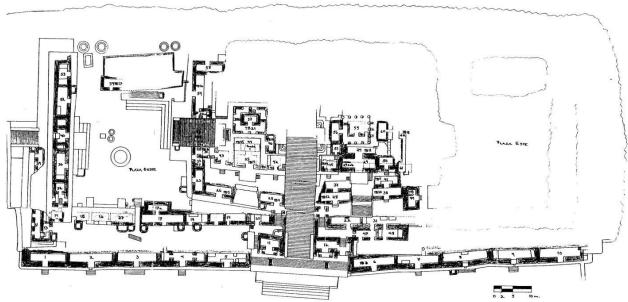

Figure 1. The Acropolis of Ek' Balam (drawing by L. Vargas and V. Castillo).

Photo 1. Detail of Structure 1, Façade. (Photograph © by Justin Kerr, 2004.)

The glyphic *corpus* from Ek' Balam is peculiar. Unlike other hieroglyphic corpus from the Maya Lowlands, the corpus from Ek' Balam includes abundant painted texts. In fact, the painted texts exceed the number of texts cut or carved, which is rather unusual. Other characteristics, such as conveying numerous calendric references, or their extraordinary originality regarding the rich variety of writing formats chosen, or the subjects dealt with, make of the Ek' Balam corpus one of the most significant ones from the northern Maya Lowlands. Ek' Balam has come to fill, at last, a geographic and chronological void in the septentrional central region of the Yucatán peninsula.

This report will present and analyze twenty-seven hieroglyphic texts from Ek' Balam: four stone monuments–Stela 1, Column 1, the Western and Eastern Hieroglyphic Serpents,–twelve Cover of Vaults–CV 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18 and 19,–five hieroglyphic mural paintings–Murals A (96 Glyphs), B, C, and D of Room 29-sub, the Mural in Room 22,–and seven miscellaneous texts–MT 1-7. This relation includes the most important texts from the site that we know of so far, and allows to sketch Ek' Balam's dynastic history throughout the one hundred years they cover, since the last third of the VIII century A.D. to the mid IX century A.D. Some of the texts have been previously referred to in October, 1998, during the Encuentro de Investigadores del Área Maya de Campeche (Meeting of Researchers of the Maya Area in Campeche) (see Vargas *et al.* 1999). Those texts have been included here, together with the

drawings and the updated transliterations, transcriptions, and translations. Similarly, and to fulfill the goals of the Project, this report already advances a number of conclusions derived from the interpretation of the information found in the hieroglyphic texts, from an epigraphic, historic, and linguistic point of view.
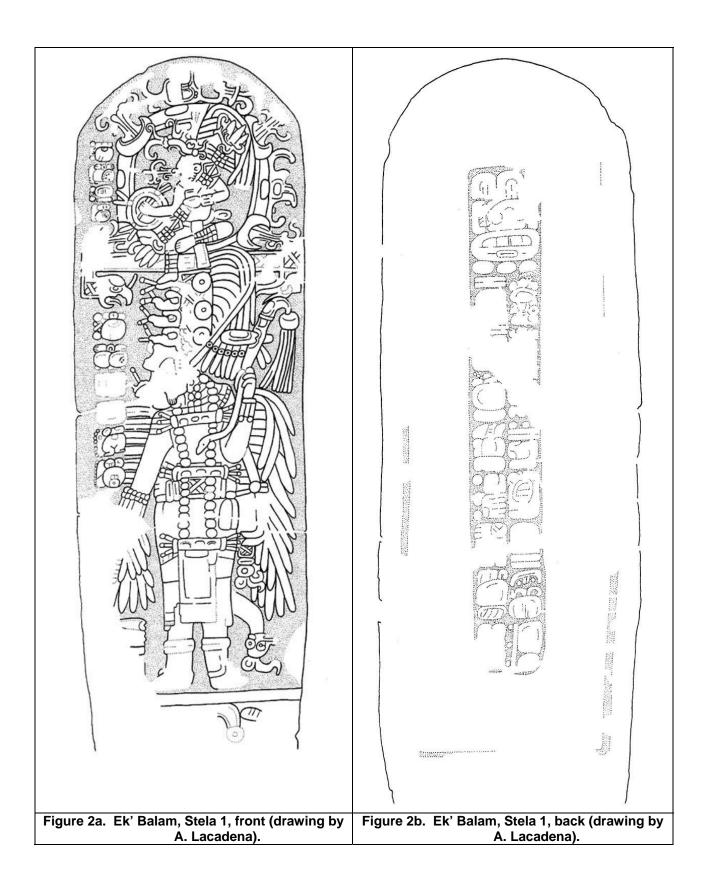
Monumental Inscriptions

Stela 1

Location: It was found fragmented into three large pieces, associated with the platform of the South Plaza by Structure 14, facing Structures 15 and 16

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 2a](#) and [Figure 2b](#))

Dating: 10.0.10.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Pop (January 18, A.D. 840)

Text: It contained 64 glyphic blocks in total. Four different texts can be recognized: the first one would include AB1 to B9 and was found at the back of the monument; the second text comprises C1 to F10 and unfolds on the left and right laterals of the monument; the third one goes from G1 to G6 and is associated with the primary individual represented at the front; the fourth text comprises H1 to H4 and is associated with the character depicted in the front upper portion of the stela.

Figure 2a. Ek' Balam, Stela 1, front (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Figure 2b. Ek' Balam, Stela 1, back (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Photo 2. Ek' Balam, Stela 1, front. (Photograph © by Justin Kerr, 2004.)

Text 1:

AB1   GISI (Pattern of the month Pop)
A2   X-#
B2   **mi-[WINAKHAB']**
A3   [X]-**[HAB']**
B3   **mi-[WINIK]**
A4   **mi-[K'IN]-[ni]**
B4   #-#
A5   #-**[TI']-[HUN]-[na]**
B5   [XIII]-**[HUL]-[li]**
A6   III-**K'AL?-**##
B6   ##
A7   ##-**[K'AB'A']**
B7   **[WINAK]**-X
A8   VERB•FIRE-**li**
B8   **u-K'AK'**
A9   ##
B9   VIII-**[K'AN]-[JAL]-[b'u]**

Text 2:

CD1   [GISI]
C2   ##
D2   […]
C3   **#-HAB'**
D3   **#-[WINIK]-[ki]**
C4   **#-[K'IN]-[ni]**
D4   V-#
C5   #-##
D5   ##
C6   ##
D6   XI?-**[HUL]-ji-ya**
C7   III-##
D7   ##
C8   **[u]**-##-**[K'AB'A']**-#
D8   **[WINAK]**-X
C9   […]
D9   […]

E1   ##

9

F1	#-#
E2	[X]-##
F2	**[ta]**-∨-**[AJAW]**
E3	##
F3	##-#
E4	#-##
F4	#-##
E5	#-#-#
F5	[VERB•OF•FIRE]-**[la/wa]**
E6	**CHAN-[na]**
F6	**[K'AWIL]**
E7	**u-tz'a-pa-[wa]**
F7	**[AJ]-CHAN-[na]-[NAH]**
E8	**u-K'AB'A'-b'a**
F8	**[u]-[LAKAM]-[TUN]-[ni]**
E9	##-#
F9	##
E10	##
F10	##

Text 3:

G1	**u-[b'a]-[hi]**
G2	**KAL-ma-[TE']**
G3	[##]
G4	[##]
G5	**K'UH-#-NAL**
G6	**K'UH-[TAL]-lo-AJAW**

Text 4:

H1	**u-b'a-[hi]**
H2	**[K'UH]-KAL-ma-[TE']**
H3	**u-[ki]-[ti]**
H4	[IV]-**[le]-ku**

Comments:

Text 1 in this Stela reproduces an Initial Series, with a Lunar Series and one mention of a fire ceremony. Although heavily eroded, the date can be reconstructed as 10.0.10.0.0 6 Ajaw 10 Pop (January 18, A.D. 840) (*vid. infra* "Datings from Ek' Balam").

Text 2 is heavily eroded. On its left side, the remains of a second Initial Series with its Lunar Series can be identified, though reconstruction is not possible. As the text on the right side of the monument, some passages may be rescued:

–In E2-F2, there might be a Short Count expressed as follows:

[X]-## [ta]-V-**[AJAW]**

10 [tuun] ta 5 Ajaw

which would correspond to 10.0.10.0.0, the same date indicated in the Initial Series at the back of the monument.

–In F5-F6 a deity appellative has been identified, corresponding to the individual who possibly was named in the preceding blocks, perhaps …K'uh…nal, the ruler represented at the front of the Stela:

[VERB•OF•FIRE]-**[la/wa] CHAN-[na] [K'AWIL]**

…l/w Chan K'awiil

–Fortunately, as of E7, we are able to identify the phrase that conveys the monument's dedication:

u-tz'a-pa-[wa] [AJ]-CHAN-[na]-[NAH] u-K'AB'A'-b'a [u]-[LAKAM] [TUN]-[ni]

utz'apa[']w Ajchan Naah uk'ab'a' ulakam tuun

"he carved the <Ajchan Naah>, (which) is the name of his stela"

The name of this individual, owner of the stela and simultaneously subject of the verb *utz'apa'w* was probably written in tablets E9-F10, now lost. However, and again, the character depicted at the front of the monument could well be …K'uh…nal. Interestingly, the monument bears a name, *Ajchan Naah*, "he-from-the-house-in-heaven", as we have suggested in Vargas *et al.* (1999). This could possibly be the reference to the character represented in the front upper portion of the stela, inscribed in an ancestor's cartouche, sitting on a heavenly throne.

Text 3 identifies the character represented at the front. The text may be transcribed and translated as follows:

u-[b'a]-[hi] KAL-ma-[TE'] [##] [##] K'UH-#-NAL K'UH [TAL]-lo AJAW

Ub'aah Kal[o']mte'… K'uh…nal, k'uh[ul] Tal[o]l ajaw

"This is the image of the Kalo'mte' …K'uh…nal, sacred king of Talol"

Finally, Text 4 identifies the character depicted on the upper front part of the stela, inscribed in a cartouche of ancestry. The transcription and translation thereof would be as follows:

u-b'a-[hi] [K'UH] KAL-ma-[TE'] u-[ki]-[ti] [IV]-[le]-ku

Ub'aah k'uh[ul] Kal[o']mte' Ukit Kan Le'k

"This is the image of the sacred Kalo'mte' Ukit Kan Le'k"

Western Hieroglyphic Serpent

Location: Central stairway, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena (Figure 3)

Dating: No dating

Text:

A1	**K'IN-ni-**T565-ja
B1	**yu-#-li**
C1	**WIN?-UH**
A2	**u-K'AB'A'-a**
B2	**ye-b'a**
C2	**KAL-ma-TE'**
A3	**u-ki-ti**
B3	IV-**le-ku**
C3	**to-TOK'**
A4	**K'UH-TAL-lo-AJAW-wa**
C4	**a-AL-ya**

Figure 3. Ek' Balam, Hieroglyphic Serpent, West (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Photo 3. Ek' Balam, Hieroglyphic Serpent, West. (Photograph © by Justin Kerr, 2004.)

Comments:

The text is read horizontally, following an arrangement A1-C1, A2-C2, A3-C3, A4 and C4. The transcription and translation of the text may be as follows:

K'IN-ni-T565-ja yu-#-li WIN?-UH u-K'AB'A'-a ye-b'a KAL-ma-TE' u-ki-ti IV-le-ku to-TOK' K'UH TAL-lo AJAW-wa a-AL-ya

K'in…j yuCVl Win Uh uk'ab'a' ye[h]b'a[al][2]   Kal[o']mte' Ukit Kan le'k Tok' k'uh[ul] Tal[o]l ajaw, al[ii]y[3]

"It is …[4]   the sculpture of the <Win Uh> (which) is the name of the stairway of *Kalo'mte'* Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', sacred king of Talol, (so it) says"

At the end of the text, and usually appearing in dedication patterns as an Introductory Glyph is found; such syntactic placement is by all means an anomaly. *Aliiy* or *alay* are the possible readings of this composite, which might be related to the verb al "to say", or more probably with adverbial/demonstrative forms such as "here, then, this one", connected with expressions such as *lay*, *li*, *ali*, documented in the Mayan tongues from the lowlands, according to what B. MacLeod has been suggesting in the past few years.

The text, matching the one from the Eastern Hieroglyphic Serpent and whose texts reproduce with little variation an identical pattern, is a part of the dedicatory inscription present in the central stairway of the Acropolis that commemorates the major architectural remodeling of the main access to the Royal Palace, probably in relation to the construction of the ten large rooms–1-5 and 6-7–that flank it.

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[2] In Vargas *et al*. 1999 we take **ye-b'a** for *yehb'*. After some evidence from southern texts where it has been written as **ye-b'a-li**, *ye[h]b'aal*, I consider that **ye-b'a** in Ek' B'alam could be an abbreviation of *ye[h]b'a[al]*, analyzable as *y-ehb'-aal*.
[3] The transcription for **a-AL-ya** is unclear. The alternatives are either *Al[ii]y* or *al[a]y*.
[4] The expression **K'IN-ni**-T565-**ja** and the variants thereof are lacking so far a satisfactory reading. Most probably, as we have pointed out some time ago, it is a dedicatory expression.
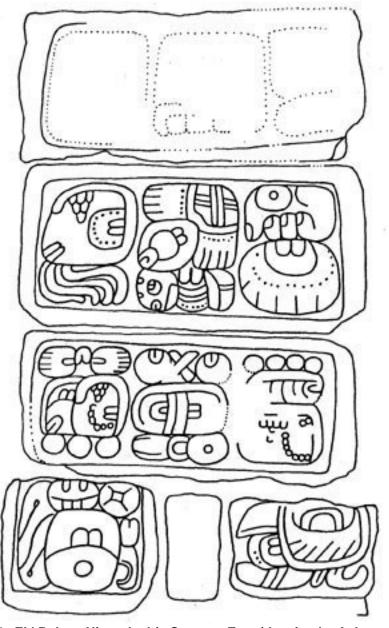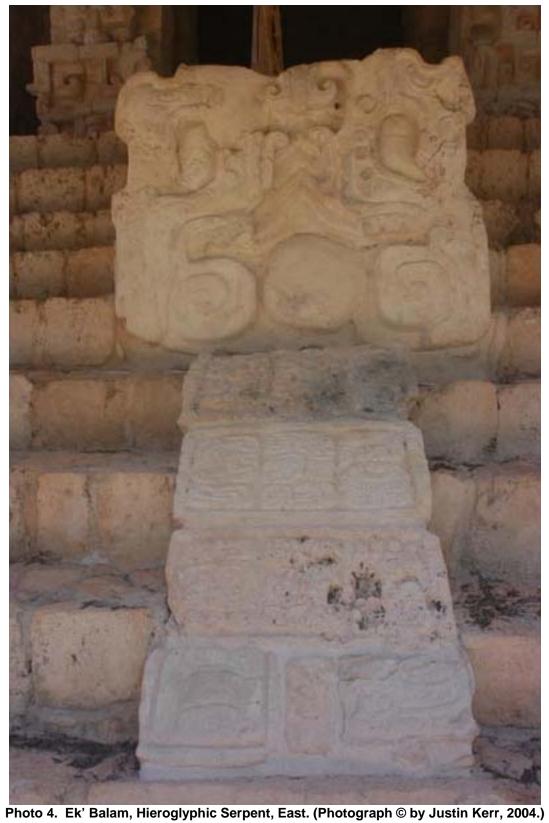
Figure 4. Ek' Balam, Hieroglyphic Serpent, East (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Photo 4. Ek' Balam, Hieroglyphic Serpent, East. (Photograph © by Justin Kerr, 2004.)

Eastern Hieroglyphic Serpent

Location: Central stairway, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena (Figure 4)

Dating: No dating

Text:

A1   [##]
B1   [##]
C1   [##]
A2   **TUN-ni**
B2   **u-K'AB'A'-a**
C2   **ye-b'a**
A3   **KAL-ma-TE'**
B3   **u-ki-ti**
C3   IV-**le-ku**
A4   **TAL-lo-AJAW-wa**
C4   **a-AL-ya**

Comments:

Like the Western Hieroglyphic Serpent, the text is read horizontally: A1-C1, A2-C2, A3-C3, A4-C4. The transcription of the text and the translation may be as follows:

[##] [##] [##] TUN-ni u-K'AB'A'-a ye-b'a KAL-ma-TE' u-ki-ti KAN-le-ku TAL-lo AJAW-wa a-AL-ya

… tuun uk'ab'a' ye[h]b'a[al] Kal[o']mte' Ukit Kan Le'k, Tal[o]l ajaw, al[ii]y

"…. <… of stone> is the name of the stairway of *Kalo'mte'* Ukit Kan Le'k, king of Talol, (so it) says"

The text matches that of the Western Hieroglyphic Serpent.

Column 1

Location: Demolition associated with Level 3 of the Acropolis, in the sector located between rooms 42, 43, 25 and 26

Drawings: Sketches by V. Castillo (iconography) and A. Lacadena (hieroglyphic texts) (Figure 5a, Figure 5b, and Figure 5c)

Dating: 10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, A.D. 830)

Text: The monument includes three texts. The first and primary text unfolds along the upper band (A1-D2) and continues throughout the lower band (E1-H2). The second text (I1-I6) is situated at the left of the individual represented on the upper portion of the representation. Finally, the third text (J1-K) is found at the right of the seated individual depicted in the second fringe of the column.
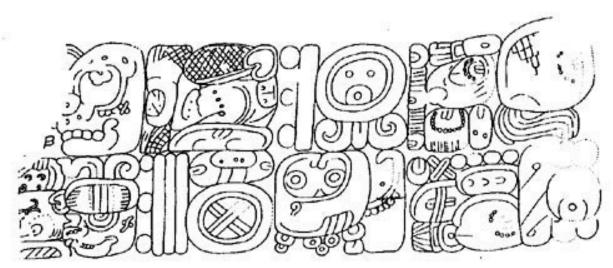

Figure 5a. Ek' Balam, Column 1: Text 1 (E1-J2) (drawing by A. Lacadena).
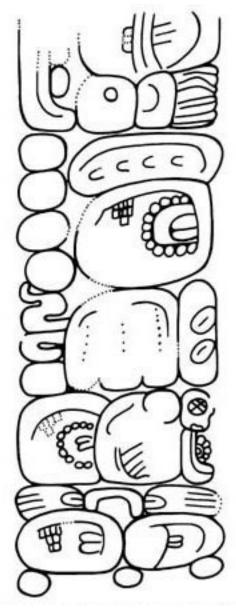
Figure 5b. Ek' Balam, Column 1: Text 2 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Figure 5c. Ek' Balam, Column 1: Text 3 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Text 1:

A1   GISI (patron of the month Sip)
B1   **PAT-JOL-PIH**
A2   **mi-WINAKHAB'**
B2   **mi-HAB'-mi-WINIK**
C1   **mi-K'IN-ni**
D1   XI-**ji-HUL-li-ya**
C2   **u-ll-K'AL?-ja-**SKULL
D2   III-**K'UH**-#-#

E1   […]
F1   **[WINAK]-[ki]**-X
E2   […]
F2   **jo-ch'o-li-K'AHK'**
G1   ##-**na**
H1   VII-**AJAW**
G2   XVIII-**CHAK-AT**
H2   **WAL-la-ja**
I1   **u-SAK-a-ku-b'a-li**
J1   **TUN-ni**
I2   **u-ki-ti**-IV-**le-ku**
J2   **TAL-[lo]-[AJAW]-[wa]**

Text 2:

J1   **[u]-wo-jo-le**
J2   **u-ki-ti**
J3   IV-**le-ku**
J4   VERB•FIRE-**li**
J5   **ku-lu-a**
J6   **KAL-ma-TE'**

Text 3:

K1   **u-b'a-hi**
K2   **u-ki-ti**
K3   **JOL-a-ku-lu**[5]
L   **K'UH-TAL**[6] -**AJAW**

Comments:

Most part of Text 1 consists of an Initial Series and a complete Lunar Series, including one reference to a fire ceremony. In addition to containining a date of Long Count which poses no reading problems (*vid. infra* "Datings from Ek' Balam"), consistent with the

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[5] The glyphic composition is extremely complex: one syllable **a** prefixes a logogram **JOL** which has two infixed signs, one in the eye, **ku**, and another one at the back of the face, possibly **lu**. According to the RRAMW transliteration system, it would result in: **a-JOL[ku-lu]**; the form we have followed here considers that the desirable sequence is **JOL-a-ku-lu**, *jol a[h]kul*, and we have transcribed it that way. The forms **a-ku-la** and **a-ku-lu**, possibly related to *ahk* "turtle", are well documented in people's names from the Maya lowlands.
[6] The logogram **TAL** is infixed in the body of the full form of the **AJAW** logogram.

10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, A.D. 830), Text 1 is particularly interesting because of its final passage, where the dedicatory phrase of the monument is found:

WAL-la-ja u-SAK a-ku b'a-li TUN-ni u-ki-ti IV-le-ku TAL-[lo]-[AJAW]-[wa]

wa'laj usak a[h]k b'aal tuun Ukit Kan Le'k, Tal[o]l ajaw

"The *Sak Ahk B'aal Tuun* of Ukit Kan Le'k, king of Talol, was built"

Sak Ahk is the Yucatecan name for a "galápago" (Barrera 1980: 4), a type of giant water turtle; *b'aal* could possibly be analyzed as *b'aah-il*, meaning an "image"; *tuun* stands for "stone". Therefore, *Sak Ahk B'aal Tuun* could be translated as "the stone image of the water turtle". Evidently, this name is closely related to Column 1, in the lower part of which the turtle of the mythical resurrection of the Maize God is represented, with the K'an cross on its shell, an inverted K'awiil head emerging from one of the openings, and a serpent-like body emerging from the other one. Like K. Taube has indicated (personal communication, June 2002), the aquatic nature of the turtle is defined by its flipper-shaped legs and by the water vegetation motifs present in the representation.

Text 2, which mentions by name the individual coming out from the open fauces of the serpent-like being that emerges from the water turtle's shell, a convoked ancestor, may be transcribed and translated as follows:

[u]-wo-jo-le u-ki-ti IV-le-ku VERB•OF•FIRE-li ku-lu-a KAL-ma-TE'

Uwo[']jole['][7]   Ukit Kan Le'k, …l, Kula[8], Kal[o]'mte'

"These are the glyphs of Ukit Kan Le'k, …l, *Kula*, the *Kalo'mte'* "

In turn, Text 3, which identifies the character sitting at the center of the monument surrounded by the body of the serpent-like being, and who is performing the convoking ritual, may be transcribed and translated as follows:

u-b'a-hi u-ki-ti JOL a-ku-lu K'UH TAL AJAW

Ub'aah Ukit Jol A[h]kul, k'uh[ul] Tal[ol] ajaw

"This is the image of Ukit Jol Ahkul, sacred king of Talol"

---

[7] The glottal reconstruction in *wo'j* "letter, glyph", is given by the epigraphic evidence of **wo-ja, wo-o-ja** and the colonial Yucatecan forms uooh, showing a double vowel that possibly reflects a re-articulation (vid. Lacadena and Wichmann, in press).

[8] *Kula* or *Kulua* (or either *Kula[']* or *Kulua[']*). I'm following the recommendations made to me by M. Zender (personal communication, June, 2002) and by D. Stuart (personal communication, June, 2002), who have identified this title with a similar one (usually written with the juxtaposed **ku** and **lu** signs).

Painted Texts

Cover of Vaults (Capstones)

Cover of Vault 1 (Capstone 1)

Location: Structure 8-9 (Ballcourt)

Drawing: V. Castillo (iconography), A. Lacadena (glyphic text) ([Figure 6](#))

Dating: 10.0.11.11.10 11 'Ok 13 Keh, 12 tun 5 'Ajaw (August 30, A.D. 841)

Text:

A1   […]
A2   XIII-**CHAK**-[SIHOM?]-**ma**
A3   **WAL**-XII-**TUN-ni**
A4   **ti**-V-**AJAW-wa**
A5   **a-[AL]-ya**
B   **ma-ka-ja**
C   **u-WAY**
D   **yo-[OTOT]-[ti]**
E1   **[tz'i]**[9]**-b'a-ma**
E2   **TUN-ni**

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[9] The syllable **tz'i** has been reconstructed in virtue of the presence of the similar name, **tz'i-b'a-ma TUN-ni**, in Cover of Vault 2, B-C. This has been confirmed by the traces of the sign preserved.
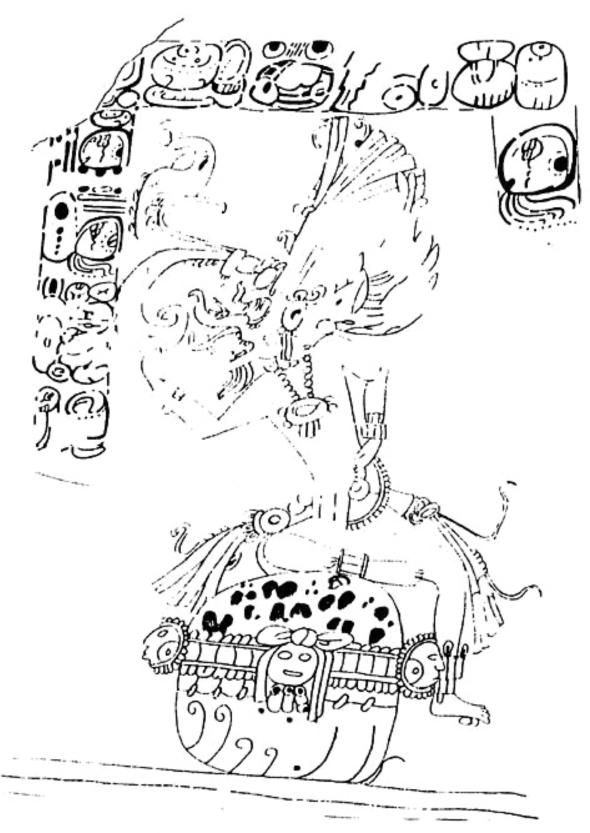
Figure 6. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 1 (drawing by A. Lacadena (glyphic text) and V. Castillo (iconography)).

Comments:

My suggested transcription and translation of the text may be as follows:

[…] XIII **CHAK** [SIHOM?]-**ma WAL** XII **TUN-ni ti** V **AJAW-wa a-[AL]-ya ma-ka-ja u-WAY yo-[OTOT]-[ti] [tz'i]-b'a-ma TUN-ni**

[11 Ok] 13 Chak Siho'm, wal 12 tuun ti 5 Ajaw, al[ii]y ma[h]kaj uway yotoot Tz'i[h]b'am Tuun

"(In) (11 Ok) 13 Chak Siho'm, (in) the times of the 12 tuun in 5 Ajaw, the room of Tz'ihb'am Tuun's house was covered"

Cover of Vault 1 matches Cover of Vault 2. They both mention the same individual, Tz'ihb'am Tuun, as the owner of the structure. The identity of this individual, who lacks any title that may lead to his identification, remains unclear. For a discussion on Tz'ihb'am Tuun, *vid. infra* "Other characters mentioned in Ek' Balam".

Cover of Vault 2 (Capstone 2)

Location: Structure 8-9 (Ballcourt)

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 7])

Dating: ca. September, A.D. 841

Text:

A1	[…]
A2	**[ma]-[ka]-[ja]**
A3	**u-WAY**
A4	**yo-[OTOT]**
B	**tz'i-b'a-ma**
C	**TUN-ni**

Figure 7. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 2 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Comments:

It matches Cover of Vault 1. The transcription and translation of the text is as follows:

[…] [ma]-[ka]-[ja] u-WAY yo-[OTOT] tz'i-b'a-ma TUN-ni

… ma[h]kaj uway yotoot Tz'i[h]b'am Tuun

"(In) … the room of Tz'ihb'am Tuun's house was covered"

Cover of Vault 3 (Capstone 3)

Location: Room 6, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena (Figure 8)

Dating: not reconstructable

Text:

A1   […]
A2   IX?-#-#-**wa**
A3   **ma-ka-ja**
A4   **u-[k'a]-[li]**
A5   **u-[ki]-ti** IV-**[le]-ku**

Figure 8. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 3 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Comments:

The following transcription and translation of the text is suggested:

[…] IX?-#-#-**wa ma-ka-ja u-[k'a]-[li] u-[ki]-ti** IV-**[le]-ku**

… 9 …w ma[h]kaj uk'aal Ukit Kan Le'k

"(In) … 9 …w Ukit Kan Le'k's chamber was covered"

Cover of Vault 4 (Capstone 4)

Location: Room 25, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: V. Castillo (Figure 9)

Dating: Has not been preserved

Text:

A1   […]
A2   […]
A3   **##-[ja]**
B3   **[u]-##**
B4   **#-[OTOT]-[ti]**
B5   **[K'AN]-[na]**
B6   **[²]b'o-[TOK']**

Comments:

The text is heavily eroded. However, the following transcription and translation is suggested:

[…] […] ##-[ja] [u]-## [#]-[OTOT]-[ti] [K'AN]-[na] [²]b'o-[TOK']

… … [mahka]j u… [y]otoot K'an B'o[h]b' Tok'

"(In) the … from K'an B'ohb' Tok's house … was covered"

Possibly, a calendric reference now lost was present in blocks A1-A2. In spite of the damage suffered, the text structure can be pretty well reconstructed. B3 would have probably contained the expression *way*, "room", or *k'aal*, "enclosure".

Figure 9. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 4 (drawing by V. Castillo).

Cover of Vault 6 (Capstone 6)

Location: Room 36, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: V. Castillo (Figure 10)

Dating: 9.17.12.5.15 2 Men 8 Sip (March 13, A.D. 783)

Text:

A1   II-MEN
A2   **K'IN-ni**
A3   **tu**-VIII-**TE'**
A4   **CHAK-a-AT**[10]
A5   **ma-ka**
B   **ja-WAY-ya-li**
C1   **u-k'a-le**
C2   **u-ki-ti**
C3   IV-**le-ku**

Comments:

The following transcription and translation is suggested:

II MEN **K'IN-ni tu** VIII-**TE' CHAK-a-AT ma-ka-ja WAY-ya-li u-k'a-le u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**

2 Men k'in tu['] 8te' Chakat, ma[h]kaj way[i]l; uk'aale Ukit Kan Le'k

"(On) the day 2 Men from the eighth Chakat, the room was closed; this is Ukit Kan Le'k's chamber"

I have opted to transcribe u-k'a-le as ukaale. The suffix *–e* (or *–e'*) could in this case be a focalizer (*vid*. Lacadena and Wichmann 2002).

---

[10] I read the sign as **AT** after D. Stuart (personal communication, June 2002). It could also be a syllable **ta**, resulting as well in the month Chakat (Sip in the Yucatecan list).

Figure 10. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 6 (drawing by V. Castillo).

Cover of Vault 7 (Capstone 7)

Location: Room 33, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: V. Castillo ([Figure 11](#))

Dating: 9.17.4.7.19 13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in (June 7, A.D. 775)

Text:

A1	XIII-KAWAK
A2	**K'IN-ni**
A3	XI[I]-**YAX-K'IN**
A4	**ma-ka-ja**
A5	**u-#[11]-na**
A6	**yo-OTOT-ti**
A7	**u-ki-ti**
A8	IV-**le-ku**

Comments:

The following transcription and translation is suggested:

XIII KAWAK **K'IN-ni** XI[I] **YAX-K'IN ma-ka-ja u-#-na yo-OTOT-ti u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**

13 Kawak k'in 12 Yaxk'in, ma[h]kaj u…n yotoot Ukit Kan Le'k

"(On) the day 13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in, the … from Ukit Kan Le'k's house was covered"

---

[11] The sign represented as an indeterminate could well be a variant of **WAY**, which appears in a similar context in other cover of vaults from the site. However, the sign that follows does not seem to be the syllable **Ii**, but **na**. The block could represent a different expression to designate a structure, some word terminating in /*n* or /*na*/.

Figure 11. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 7 (drawing by L. Vargas).

Cover of Vault 9 (Capstone 9)

Location: Room 41, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: Carlos Arriaga ([Figure 12](#))

Dating: 10.0.0.0.1-10.0.2.0.0 (A.D. 830-832)

Text:

pX   …]##
pY   **[tu]-TUN-[ni]**
pZ   **ti**-[V]-**AJAW**[…

Comments:

Cover of Vault 9 presented to hieroglyphic texts, one on top of the other. The text offered previously corresponds to the upper, more recent one. The preserved remains of the text correspond to the ending of a Short Count:

…]**## [tu]-TUN-[ni] ti-**[V]**-AJAW[**…

…] … tuun ti 5 Ajaw […

"…] … tun on 5 Ajaw […"

In turn, the signs detected in the upper portion correspond to the earlier pictorial layer on which a new stucco layer and a new text were put in place. On a glyphic tablet, a syllable le is still visible, as also the remains of a numeral, perhaps III or IV and a **K'IN** sign possibly infixed in another sign now lost. If the sign **le** and the numeral III or IV belong to the name Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', the text should have been read from right to left.
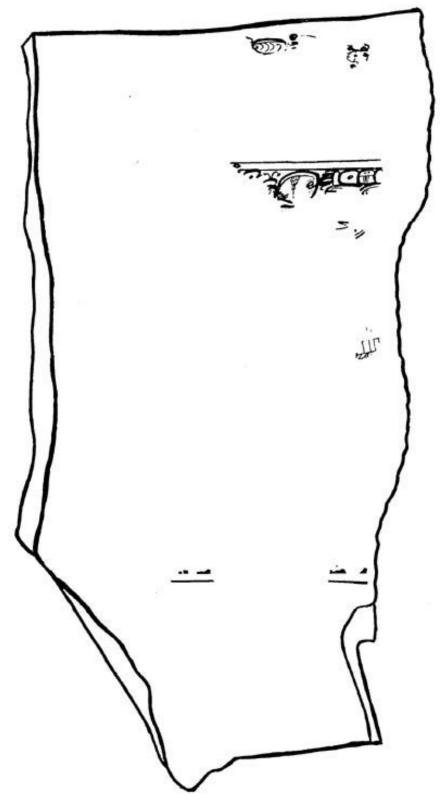
Figure 12. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 9 (drawing by C. Arriaga).

Cover of Vault 10 (Capstone 10)

Location: Room 38, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena (hieroglyphic text) ([Figure 13](#))

Dating: 10.0.1.15.1 5 Imix 14 Kumk'u, 2 Tun 5 Ajaw (January 1, A.D. 832)

Text:

A1   V-IMIX-**ni**
A2   XIV-**OL-la**
A3   **ma-ka-ja**
A4   **u-WAY-li**
A5   **u-k'a-[li]**
A6   **WAL-la**-II-**TUN-ni**
B1   V-**AJAW-wa**
C1   [...]
D1   **CHAN-na-K'AWIL-la**
E1   **[u]-ki-ti-#-JOL?**
F1   *##*

Comments:

The suggested transcription and translation is as follows:

V IMIX-**ni** XIV **OL-la ma-ka-ja u-WAY-li u-k'a-[li] WAL-la** II **TUN-ni** V **AJAW-wa […] CHAN-na K'AWIL-la [u]-ki-ti #-JOL? ##**

5 Imix [k'i]n 14 O'hl, ma[h]kaj uway[i]l, uk'aal, wal 2 tuun 5 Ajaw, … Chan K'awiil, Ukit Jol? …

"(On) the day of 5 Imix 14 O'hl, his room, his enclosure were covered, (in) the times of 2 tuun (on) 5 Ajaw, of … Chan K'awiil, Ukit Jol?…."
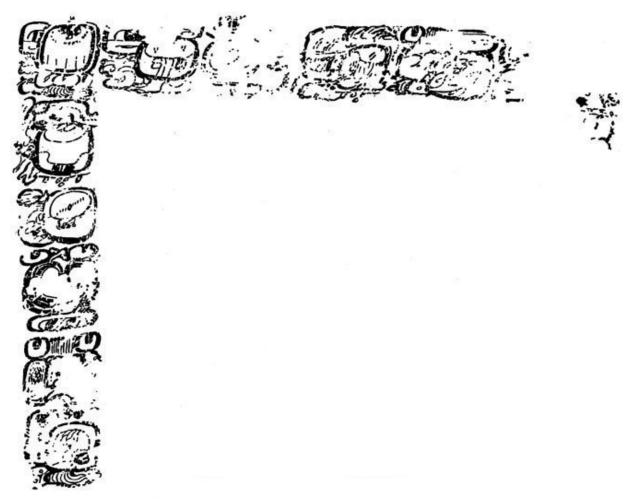
Figure 13. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 10 (drawing of the glyphic text by A. Lacadena).

Figure 14. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 14 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Cover of Vault 14 (Capstone 14)

Location: Room 45, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 14](#))

Dating: 9.17.10.7.17 13 Kaban 0 Xul (May 4, A.D. 781)

Text:

A1	XII[I]-KAB'AN
A2	**K'IN-ni**
A3	**TI'-HAB'**
A4	**ka-se-wa**
A5	**ma-ka-ja**
A6	**u-WAY-li**
A7	**u-k'a-li**
B7	**u-ki-ti**
C7	IV-**le-ku**
D7	**TAL-lo-AJAW-wa**

Comments:

The transcription and dating of the text would be as follows:

XII[I]-KAB'AN **K'IN-ni TI'-HAB' ka-se-wa ma-ka-ja u-WAY-li u-k'a-li u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku TAL-lo-AJAW-wa**

13 Kab'an k'in ti' haab'Kase'w, ma[h]kaj uway[i]l uk'aal Ukit Kan Le'k, Tal[o]l ajaw

"(On) the day of 13 Kab'an (in) the edge of the Kase'w time, the room, the enclosure of Ukit Kan Le'k, king of Talol, was covered"

I suggest that the translation of *ti' haab'* could be "(in) the edge of time". This expression always refers to the first day of the month that follows the one that has just been expressed. The meaning of *ti'* as 'mouth', 'edge', 'border' and that of haab' as "year", and figuratively–I suggest–"time", would then provide a possible explanation to this metaphoric expression.

Figure 15. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 15 (drawing by C. Arriaga).

Cover of Vault 15 (Capstone 15)

Location: Room 49, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: C. Arriaga ([Figure 15](#))

Dating: No dating

Text:

Text 1:

A   V-##-**lu-[NAL]**
B   **AJAW-wa**
C   **u-ki-ti-**IV-**le-ku-TOK'**

Text 2:

D   **a-[AJAW]-wa**

Comments:

Cover of Vault 15 appeared to be associated with the room containing the burial chamber in which Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's Tomb 1 was found. Unlike other Cover of Vaults from the site, this one represents a figure of the Maize God. The first text is found on the image; the second text is in front of the face, at left. Both texts suggest that the image represented is that of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', idealized and deified as the Maize God. My suggested transcription and translation of the texts is as follows:

Text 1:

V-##-lu-[NAL] AJAW-wa u-ki-ti IV-le-ku TOK'

Ho'…lnal ajaw Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'

"(It is in) Ho'…lnal the king Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' "

Text 2:

a-[AJAW]-wa

ajaw

"He is the king"

The sequence V-##-**lu-[NAL]** from Text 1 is consistent with the seat where the figure is seated, represented in this case in the shape of an "emblem", with the variant of the head for "five" and the head of the Maize God representing **NAL**. Presumably, the remaining central elements, the flower and the rodent's head on top of it, could have been written on the lost portion of the A1 tablet; we at least know that it ended in /l/, because of the sign **lu**. Evidently, this is a supernatural place associated with the Maize God. S. Martin (personal communication, July, 2002), has keenly pointed out its similarities with other representations of similar "five-flower" sites in other iconographic representations from the Classic Maya Period.

Cover of Vault 18 (Capstone 18)

Location: Room 62, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 16](#))

Dating: 9.18.3.15.11 11 Chuen 9 Yax, 4 Tun [9 Ajaw] (July 29, A.D. 794)

Text:

A1 XI-CHUEN
A2 **tu**-[IX]-**YAX-WINIK-ki**
A3 **WAL-[la]**-IV-**[TUN]-[ni]**
A4 [...]
B **[ma]-ka**
C **WAY-li**
D **u-[k'a]-[li]**
E **u-ki-ti**
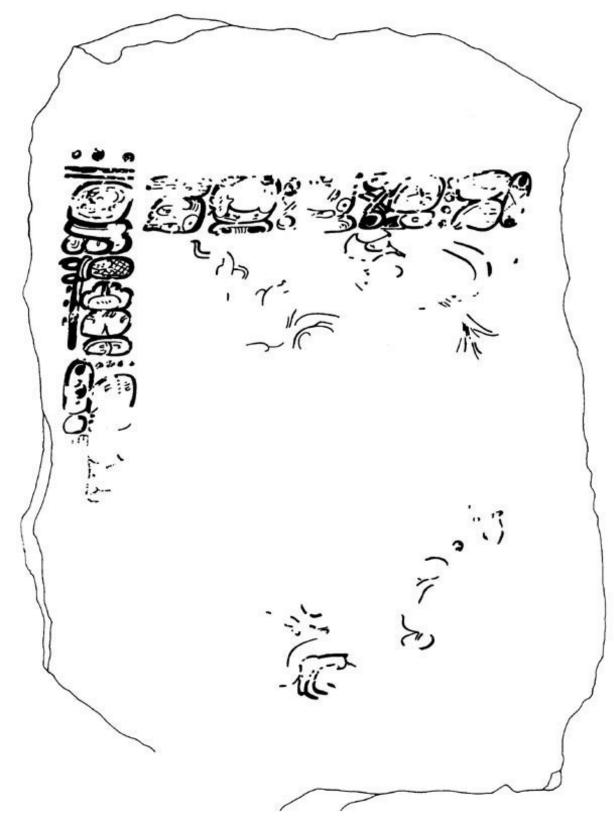F IV-**[le]-ku-TOK'**

Figure 16. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 18 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Comments:

My suggested transcription and translation of the text is as follows:

XI CHUEN **tu** [IX] **YAX WINIK-ki WAL-[la]** IV **[TUN]-[ni] […] [ma]-ka WAY-li u-[k'a]-[li] u-ki-ti** IV-**[le]-ku-TOK'**

11 Chuen, tu['] 9 Ya'ax winik, wal 4 tuun [9 Ajaw], ma[h]k way[i]l uk'aal Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'

"(On) 11 Chuen, on the ninth of the month Ya'ax, (in) the times of the 4 tuun (on) 9 Ajaw, the room, the enclosure of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' was covered"

The sequence **ma-ka** in the dedicatory verb may be considered as an abbreviated form of the normal form **ma-ka-ja**, *ma[h]kaj*. However, I've chosen to explore the interesting alternative according to which **ma-ka** would simply be *ma[h]k, ma-h-k-ø*, thus documenting a possible mid-passive *–h-* in classic Yucatecan (*vid. infra*, Linguistic Comments).

Cover of Vault 19 (Capstone 19)

Location: Room 35, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 17](#))

Dating: ca. 9.18.7.0.0 / 9.18.12.0.0 (A.D. 797 / 802)

Text:

A1   VII[#]-#
A2   II[#]-**K'AN-[a]-[si]**
A3   **WAL**-VII/XII?-**[TUN]-[ni]**
A4   **ta**-[IX]-**[AJAW]-wa**
A5   **ma-ka-[ja]**
A6   **u-[WAY]-li**
A7   **u-[SAK]**
A8   **xo-ko-NAH**
B1   FIRE•KIB'-**ja**
C1   **CHAN-na-K'AWIL**
B2   #-#-#
C2   **[YAX]-CHIT**

D1	I-**[WINIK?]**
E1	**u-ki-ti**
D2	IV-**le-ku**
E2	**TAL-lo-AJAW**

Comments:

This Cover of Vault seems to be associated with Room 35 of the Acropolis, the building with the Ch'enes style stucco façade, inside of which Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's burial chamber was found. Unfortunately, the calendric information was poorly preserved (*vid. infra* Datings from Ek' Balam) due to the bad preservation of the coefficients. For the remaining text, I suggest the following transcription and translation:

(…/…) **ma-ka-[ja] u-[WAY]-li u-[SAK] xo-ko NAH** FIRE•KIB'**-ja CHAN-na-K'AWIL #-#-# [YAX]-CHIT I-[WINIK?] u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku TAL-lo AJAW**

(…/…) ma[h]kaj uway[i]l Ussak Xok Naah …j Chan K'awiil, … Yax Chit Jun Winik, Ukit Kan Le'k, Tal[o]l ajaw

"(…/…) the room of *Sak Xok Naah* from … was covered …l Chan K'awiil, … Yax Chit Jun Winik, Ukit Kan Le'k, king of Talol"

The text seems to maintain the proper noun of the structure, known as *Sak Xok Naah*, whose meaning could be "the Reading White House", or perhaps "the White House of Respect/Obedience", depending on the sense given to *xok*. Interestingly, in one of the K'abah texts, a structure with a similar name is mentioned. The qualifier *sak* would be literal, "white". The structure with the stucco façade, according to the restoration team working at the site (Vargas and Castillo, personal communication), presents the particular trait of not having been painted in red like the other structures in the Acropolis, but instead, to have maintained the natural color of the stucco.

Figure 17. Ek' Balam, Cover of Vault 19 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Mural A, Room 29-sub (Mural of the 96 Glyphs)

Location: Northern inner wall, Room 29-sub, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena (Figure 18a, Figure 18b, Figure 18c, Figure 18d, Figure 18e)

Dating: 9.16.19.3.12 11 Eb' 10 Sotz' (April 7, A.D. 770) and 9.16.19.6.1 8 Imix 19 Xul (May 26, A.D. 770)
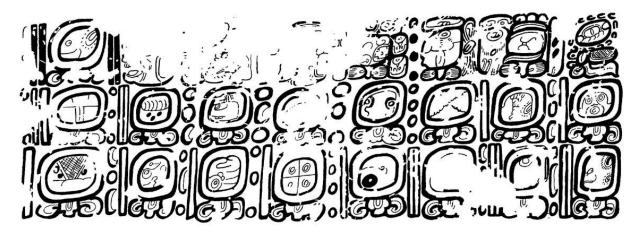

Figure 18a. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 29sub, Mural of the 96 Glyphs (drawing by A. Lacadena).
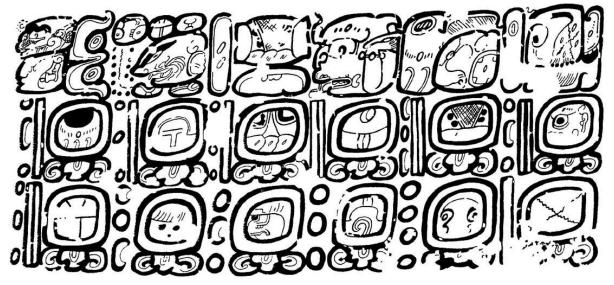
Figure 18b. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 29sub, Mural of the 96 Glyphs (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Figure 18c. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 29sub, Mural of the 96 Glyphs (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Figure 18d. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 29sub, Mural of the 96 Glyphs (drawing by A. Lacadena).
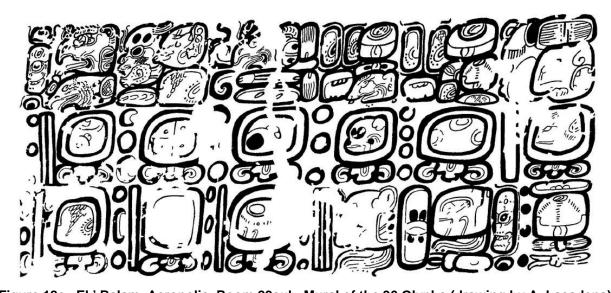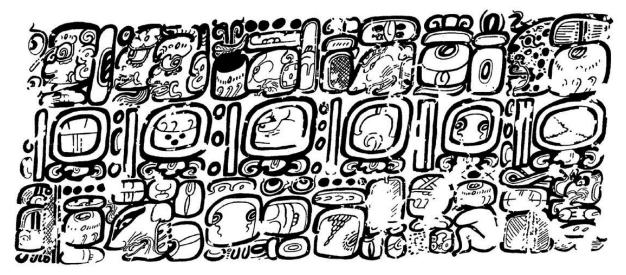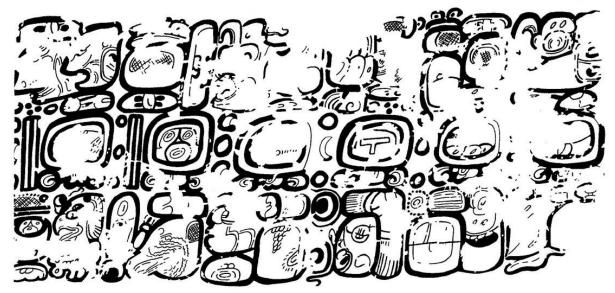

Figure 18e. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 29sub, Mural of the 96 Glyphs (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Text:

A1   XI-EB'
B1   X-**[SUTZ']**
C1   **[hu]-[li]**
D1   [...]
E1   **[ta?]-EK'-b'a-la-ma**

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F1	IV-**na-tzi-ma-hi**
G1	**u-b'a-tz'a-ma**
H1	**CHAK-ju-tu-wi**
I1	**CHAN-na-EK'**
J1	**K'UH-**MAMIF**-AJAW-wa**
K1	**xa-MAN-na**
L1	**KALOMTE'**
M1	**b'a-ka-b'a**
N1	**u**-RABBIT-**ka-ja**
O1	**u-ki-ti**
P1	**ka-na-le-ku**
Q1	**K'AK'-o-ko-xa-ma**
R1	**#-na-OL-ta-ji-la**
S1	**#-na-OL-pi-tzi-li**
T1	**u-tz'i-b'a**
U1	**u-CHAK-ki-li**
V1	**K'IN-ni-o-CHAK**
W1	**AJ**-IV-**na-b'a-ki**
X1	**tu-ta-ji**
Y1	**tz'a-OL-ti**
Z1	**#B'ALAM**[12] **-tz'i-b'a**
A'1	**ta-ji?-la-ch'o-ko**
B'1	**tz'a-pa-ta-na**
C'1	**##-#-le**
D'1	**#-ta-yi-tu-tu?-#-#-la**
E'1	**tu-ki-ta-pa/k'a-xa?**
F'1	##-#
A2	XII-B'EN
B2	XIII-**HIX**
C2	I-MEN
D2	II-KIB'
E2	III-KAB'AN
F2	IV-ETZ'NAB'
G2	V-KAWAK
H2	VI-**AJAW**
I2	VII-IMIX
J2	VIII-**IK'**
K2	IX-AK'B'AL
L2	X-K'AN
M2	XI-CHIKCHAN
N2	XII-KIMI
O2	XIII-MANIK'
P2	I-LAMAT
Q2	II-MULUK
R2	III-OK

---

[12] The jaguar mouth sprouts fire or smoke. Thus, the reading could differ.

S2	IV-CHWEN
T2	V-EB'
U2	VI-B'EN
V2	VII-HIX
W2	VIII-MEN
X2	IX-KIB'
Y2	X-KAB'AN
Z2	XI-ETZ'NAB'
A'2	XII-[KAWAK]
B'2	XIII-**AJAW**
C'2	I-IMIX
D'2	II-**IK'**
E'2	III-AK'B'AL
F'2	IV-K'AN
A3	V-CHIKCHAN
B3	VI-KIMI
C3	VII-MANIK'
D3	VIII-LAMAT
E3	IX-MULUK
F3	X-[OK]
G3	XI-CHWEN
H3	XII-EB'
I3	XIII-B'EN
J3	I-**HIX**
K3	II-MEN
L3	III-KIB'
M3	IV-KAB'AN
N3	V-ETZ'NAB'
O3	VI-KAWAK
P3	VII-**AJAW**
Q3	VIII-IMIX
R3	[XIX]-**CHIK-ni**
S3	**ta-k'a-ni-ti**
T3	**u**-IV-**na-tzi-ma-hi**
U3	**yi-ta-ji-AJ**-IV-**na-b'a-ki**
V3	MAMIF-**AJAW-wa**
W3	**u**-526-**ji-ya-u-ki-ti**
X3	IV-**le-ku-sa-ya-wa**
Y3	**CHAN-[na]-K'UH**-I?-**b'a-**227
Z3	STRING-**i-tz'i-K'AK'-o-ko-xa-ma**
A'3	**AJ-ma-na-o-cho-[ma]**
B'3	**u-ki-ti**
C'3	**jo-lo-a-ku**
D'3	**u-K'AB'A'-a**
E'3	**i-PAT-la-ja**
F'3	**TAL-[lo]-AJAW-[wa]**

Comments:

This very singular text (in every sense) presents a peculiar reading format in horizontal lines. It displays exactly 96 glyphic tablets, like the famous panel in Palenque, arranged in three lines with 32 glyphic blocks each.

Still, the text poses several problems regarding transcription and translation, so I won't be conveying them here. However, I shall offer below a partial transcription and translation of several passages, as also a comprehensive comment on its contents (*vid. infra* "Comments on the Mural A from Room 29-sub, or Mural of the 96 Glyphs"). For a discussion about the datings in the Mural, *vid. infra* "Datings from Ek' Balam".

Mural B from Room 29-sub

Location: Northern inner wall, Room 29-sub, Structure 1 (Acropolis), below and left of Mural A (Mural of the 96 Glyphs)

Drawing: Photo of the Ek' Balam Project ([Figure 19](#))

Dating: 9.18.15.9.0 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb' (January 16, A.D. 806)

Text:

A1   [##]
B1   **[tu]**-##
A2   […]
B2   […]
C1   ##-**b'u**
D1   BALL•GAME
C2   ##-**le**-#
D2   **u**-#-[#]
E1   IX-**TZ'AK-AJAW-wa**
F1   I-**AJAW**
E2   III-**u-WAY-HAB'**
F2   KAB'•NAL-**ja**

Figure 19. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 29sub, Mural B (photograph of the Ek' Balam Project).

Comments:

The heavily fragmented mural does not allow for any coherent transcription and translation. From the contents, the date may be read as 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb (the month being written as **u-WAY-HAB'**, *Uwayaab'*), corresponding to 9.18.15.9.0 (January 16, A.D. 806) (*vid. infra* "Datings from Ek' Balam"). The Ballcourt logogram in D1 and the preceeding block presenting a final syllable **b'u**, perhaps originally a part of the sequence **ye-b'u** or either **e-b'u**, suggest that the subject commemorated in the Mural had something to do with the celebration of a Ballgame at the site. Block E1 shows the sequence IX-**TZ'AK-AJAW-wa**, which I'm not taking as a reference of kings but of the deity *B'olon Tz'ak Ajaw* or *B'olon Tz'ak[ab'] Ajaw*. The date in Wayeb' would support this extreme, provided it was associated to ceremonies for the New Year.
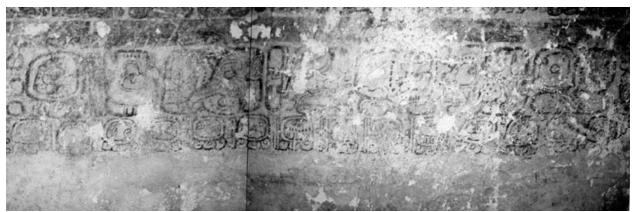
Figure 20a. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 29sub, Mural C (photograph of the Ek' Balam Project).

Mural C, Room 29-sub

Location: Northern wall, Room 29-sub, below Mural A (Mural of the 96 Glyphs), right side of Mural B

Drawing: Photographs of the Ek' Balam Project (Figure 20a and Figure 20b)

Dating: 9.19.3.10.14 3 Hix 17 Kumk'u (January 8, A.D. 814)

Text:

A   III-**HIX**
B   XVII-**OL**
C   **hu-li**
D   **ta-#B'ALAM?-wi?**
E   **CHAN-na-#-na**
F   **B'AK-B'ALAM**
G   **K'AN-**[2]**b'o-TOK'**
H   227-**CHAK-la**
I   **k'i-k'i / ch'i-ch'i**
J   **u-b'a-tz'a-ma**
K   **CHAK-ju-tu-wi**
L   **CHAN-EK'**
M   **b'a-ka-b'a**[13]
N   **u**-RABBIT-**ka-yi**
O   **u-ki-ti**

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[13] In this case, this syllable written with the sign T757 **B'AH/b'a**, must necessarily be given the value of **b'a**.

P   IV-#[14] -**ku**
Q   **K'AK'-o-ko-xa-ma**
R   **sa-ya-wa-CHAN-na-K'UH**
S   STRING-**i-tz'i-I?-b'a**-227
T   **K'AN-^{2}b'o-TOK'**
U   **TAL-lo-AJAW-wa**
V   IV-MEN
W   V-KIB'
X   VI-KAB'AN
Y   [VII]-ETZ'NAB
Z   VIII-KAWAK
A'   IX-**AJAW**
B'   X-IMIX
C'   XI-**IK'**
D'   XII-AK'B'AL
E'   XIII-K'AN
F'   I-CHIKCHAN
G'   II-KIMI
H'   III-MANIK'
I'   IV-LAMAT
J'   [V]-[MULUK]
K'   VI-OK
L'   […

---

[14] Clearly, this is not the sign **le**, as could be expected as a result of the sequence **u-ki-ti** IV-#-**ku** in which it is inserted. Then, it may be either a variant of the sign, or a logogram with the value of **LEK**, as far as I know, never documented before.

Figure 20b. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 29sub, Mural C (photograph of the Ek' Balam Project).

Comments:

Like the Mural of the 96 Glyphs from above, Mural C also presents a reading arrangement in horizontal lines. In fact, Mural C attempts to mimic the format and the writing of the first Mural painted in Room 29-sub.

This text would require too many additional comments and poses abundant reading problems, so it is not possible at this time to offer any coherent transcription and translation. In any case, I shall elaborate on its general contents:

The text begins with the Calendar Round 3 Hix 17 Kumk'u (A-B), which corresponds to 9.19.3.10.14 (January 8, A.D. 814). The event associated to the date is **hu-li**, *huli* "he arrived" (C), like in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs. I believe blocks D and E include the reference to the place where this arrival took place, in whose name the word *b'ahlam* could be found. In D there's a clear sign of ta, possibly representing the preposition ta. The explicit mention to Ek' B'ahlam in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs would support this reading. In E, the sequence **CHAN-na-#-na**, is present, with a structure identical to the *chan ch'e'n* diphrase known from other Classic texts as an expression referred to places. Thus, the sign represented as # should be a syllable **ch'e** or alternatively a variant of the logogram **CH'EN**. Then, in the F-I tablets, the name of the verb subject *huli* "he arrived" appears, named as B'aak B'ahlam K'an B'o[h]b' Tok', followed by … *Chak[a]l K'ik'* or *Ch'ich'*, possibly a title. In J, the expression **u-b'a-tz'a-ma**, is seen, an expression that had already appeared in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs and which I think that stands for *ub'a[ah] tz'am* "his head/first throne". The meaning of that "head/first throne" remains unclear, but it might be the site of Ek' Balam itself. In K-M we find the possessor of that *b'a[ah] tz'am*, and maybe also another one corresponding to another new comer. It is **CHAK-ju-tu-wi CHAN-EK'**, *Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek'*, **b'a-ka-b'a**, *B'a[ah] Kab'* "Head/Prince of the Earth", the foreign king who had *arrived* in Ek' Balam forty-four years before, like the Mural of the 96 Glyphs accounts for. Alike that mural painting, the text once again reiterates in N that Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' is **u-RABBIT-ka-yi** from Ukit Kan Le'k, whose name is written in O-P. The name of Ukit Kan Le'k is followed by several of the titles he already displayed in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs: *K'ahk' Okxo'm*, *Sayaw Chan K'uh*, STRING-**i-tz'i** and I? -**b'a**--227 (Q-S). This lengthy phrase ends up here. Finally, a stative phrase reads (T-U) **K'AN-b'o₂-TOK' TAL-lo-AJAW-wa**, *K'an B'o[h]b' Tok' Tal[o]l ajaw* "K'an B'ohb' is the king of Talol". This K'an B'ohb' Tok' is the same character mentioned at the beginning of the text.

The text continues in the second line with a Tzolk'in days sequence, which starts at 3 Hix. The sequence is interrupted in 6 Ok, and the mural is clearly left unfinished.
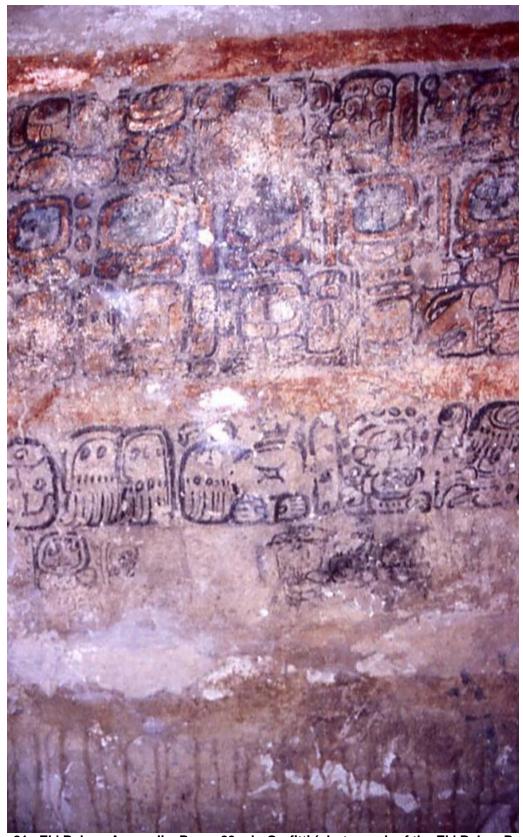
Figure 21. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 29sub, Grafitti (photograph of the Ek' Balam Project).

Mural D, Room 29-sub (Grafitti)

Location: Northern inner wall, Room 29-sub from the Acropolis, in the empty space left by Mural C

Drawing: Photo of the Ek' Balam Project ([Figure 21](#))

Dating: No dating

Text: Three clusters of grafitti have been observed

Comment:

Mural 1 D, a series of grafitti, has not a scripturist sense. Although the author attempt was to reproduce scripture signs, he was probably an illiterate person (vid. infra).

General comment on Murals A, B, C, and D from Room 29-sub: reconstruction of the execution sequence

From the arrangement of the different murals and the dates recorded, the sequence in which the murals were painted may be reconstructed.

A first event corresponds to the creation of Mural A. This is the most amazing of the murals placed against the northern inner wall of Room 29-sub (probably still accessible, at the time, from the outside) due to the excellency of its calligraphy. It was demarcated on its four sides by a wide red band. The upper and lower red bands provide the Mural with an aspect of ceramic, codex-style *roll-out*. The scribe used polychromy in the mural, by using a black ink for the spripture signs, an orange-red for the background of the signs and the numeral coefficients of the Tzolk'in, and blue for the background of the tzolk'in days represented. The final effect is magnificent, the masterpiece of a calligrapher artist.

A second event which took place thirty-six years after the Mural of the 96 Glyphs was painted, when probably the room was no longer accessible from the outside, someone entered Room 29-sub and painted, below and at the left of the existing Mural, a second hieroglyphic mural (Mural B). The callygraphy is clearly different from the earlier one, with no calligraphic virtuosities, with general thinner traces than those from Mural A, and without using color fills for the signs.

Eight years later of the second entrance–and around forty-four years after the Mural of the 96 Glyphs was painted–the structure was once again accessed, and a third hierogyphic mural was painted on the northern wall of the room, below the Mural A of the 96 Glyphs, and at the right of Mural B. This time the scribe, with a different hand than those of the scribes of Murals A and B and thicker traces, attempted to reproduce

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the format of the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, by imitating its arrangement and structure. The first thing he did, as may still be appreciated on the wall, was the linear tracing of the writing case and the space for the glyphic blocks, delineating squares of regular dimensions. He wrote the first horizontal line imitating in full the Mural of the 96 Glyphs: the text began with a Calendar Round, followed by the verb hu-li "he arrived (in here)". Once the first horizontal line of blocks was completed, he began with the second one. At that time he probably changed his mind regarding the dimensions of the blocks in the text, because instead of respecting the space he had previously delimitated to insert the blocks, which was similar to the size of the blocks from the upper line, he used for each new block one quarter of the size established in the first place. Like in the Mural A of the 96 Glyphs, the scribe began the second line with a Tzolk'in days sequence to indicate a distance number: 4 Men, 5 Kib', 6 Kab'an, … . For some reason, after having written sixteen dates of Tzolk'in days, the scribe interrupted his work after having written the date 6 Ok, leaving the text of the Mural incomplete.

After Mural C was interrupted and before the room was fully filled in with stones and sascab–Archaeologists Leticia Vargas and Víctor Castillo found the room filled to the top,–someone else had accessed the room to execute the fourth and last intervention in the northern wall of Room 29-sub. This person added several signs in three different places on the wall, two in the incomplete space of Mural C, and the third at its right. This new person draw first a numeral and a Tzolk'in day at the right of the 6 Ok day of the incomplete day sequence, perhaps in an attempt to complete what was left incomplete. A bit more to the right, below the J-K tablets of Mural C, he draw up three glyphic blocks. Farther away he designed other traces at the right of block U in Mural C, the last of the line. The traces delineated by this person are extremely coarse and of a very poor quality, evidencing his lack of skills in tracing curves, his ignorance concerning proportions. But what does the text say? Absolutely nothing. The person who wrote these signs was in fact drawing grafitti. He simply *copied* several glyphic blocks from the texts he saw painted on the wall and which caught his attention. The first grafitti, the tzolk'in date, is not actually the continuation of the sequence but a poor copy of the same 6 Ok day, where the account was interrupted; the three glyphic tablets in the middle represent, in fact, an attempt to reproduce tablets T3-U3 from the Mural A of the 96 Glyphs. Tests carried out *in situ* have shown that those were the blocks selected to be copied, of all others, because blocks T3-U3 from Mural A were located precisely in front of his eyes, there exactly, at an estimated height of 1.60 meters. We may compare the model with the resulting grafitti, and realize that it is a plain copy. But a wrongly executed copy, because we may observe that the copyist ignored even where the first glyphic block began (he omitted the numeral IV from T3) and split or merged some signs with others, probably because he was unable to identify them. The author of these grafitti was clearly an illiterate person, possibly–I dare say–one of the workers integrating the crew in charge of refilling the room.

Although the outline presented here might explain the process of execution of the four mural paintings on the northern inner wall of Room 29-sub–or of the first three murals plus the grafitti added later–many questions still remain unanswered. The most important one has to do with the architectural history in this sector of the Acropolis, and how, and where, the second, third, and fourth re-entrances to Room 29-sub were

accomplished, at a time when most probably the chamber no longer had a straight access from the outside, as a consequence of having been covered by the subsequent constructive phases of the Acropolis.
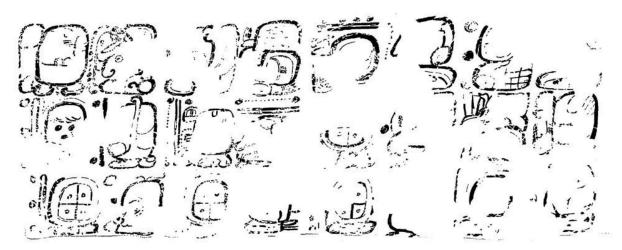

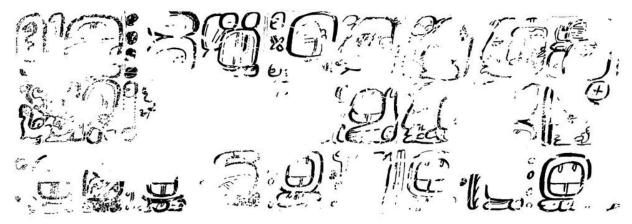**Figure 22a. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 22, Hieroglyphic Mural (drawing by A. Lacadena).**

Figure 22b. Ek' Balam, Acropolis, Room 22, Hieroglyphic Mural (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Mural in Room 22

Location: Northern wall, Room 22, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 22a](#) and [Figure 22b](#))

Dating: 9.17.12.16.14   13 Hix 7 K'ank'in (October 18, A.D. 783) and 9.17.13.3.8   3 Lamat 1 Wayeb' (January 20, A.D. 784)

Text:

A1   **a-AL?-ya**
B1   **T'AB**?-GOD•N
A2   XIII-**HIX**
B2   VII-**UN-wa**
C1   [#]-**ya-ja / HUL-ya**[15]
D1   ti-OTOT-ti
C2   **AJ**-I[#]-**a-[b'a?]-yi**?
D2   **AJ**-##-[**li**?]
E1   XIV-**tu-[TUN]**-[#][16]
F1   **K'AY-[li]**
E2   [#]-LAMAT
F2   I-**WAY-HAB'**
G1   I-544•HAND
H1   ##-**[li]**
G2   #-**ka**?-#
H2   **yi-chi**-[#][17]
I1   FIRE•KIB-[#]-**[ja]**
J1   **CHAN-[na]**
I2   **K'AWIL**
J2   **[u]-[ki]**[18] -**[ti]**
K1   IV-**[le]-[ku]**

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[15] The poor state of preservation of the primary sign in block C1 does not allow for a precise identification of the sign. The two alternatives are the ones expressed in the transliteration offered. The first alternative, [#]-**ya-ja** is of an unknown meaning. The second alternative, **HUL-ya**, considers the unidentified sign and T181 as one and the same sign, which could then be the **HUL** logogram "to arrive (in here)". However, the remaining strokes that can be appreciated in the primary sign are not enough to confirm that this primary sign is a hand.

[16] In E1 there is space enough for a sign below logogram T544 **TUN**. This missing sign could be T116 **ni**, the common phonetic complement.

[17] In H2, there is space enough for a sign below the sign **chi**. Given the preceding **yi-chi-** sequence and the existence of a nominal expression after blocks I1-L1, the sequence in H2 could be reconstructed as **yi-chi-[NAL]**, *yich[nal], y-ichnal* "with, in the company of, before him/her". The way in which *yichnal* was written is not the usual one, which customarily presents the sign chi infixed in the complete form of the logogram **NAL**, with this latter one projecting over **chi**. However, this would not be totally exceptional. Compositions similar to the one suggested here are present in southern texts.

[18] The missing sign in J2 could probably be T102 **ki**, and I have reconstructed it as such, considering the sequence in which it is inserted (blocks J2-K1) **[u]-[#]-[ti]** IV-**[le]-[ku]**, *U[ki]t Kan Le'k*, a name fully attested at the site.

L1   [**TAL**]-[#][19] -**AJAW-wa**
K2   **u-##**
L2   […]
M1   **u-ki-[ti]**
N1   HEAD-##[20]
M2   […]
N2   **ya-YAL**
O1   **K'UH-IX(IK)**
P1   **IX(IK)-##**
O2   **IX(IK)-##**
P2   **##-na?**
Q1   **ti-tz'i?-b'a?**
R1   […]
Q2   **HO'-IX(IK)-[AJAW]**
R2   […

A3   VIII-LAMAT
B3   **I-PAX-xi**
C3   #-LAMAT
D3   #-##-**si**-#
E3   #-LAMAT
F3   #-#-**la**
G3   V[#]-#
H3   I-##-**b'u**
I3   II-B'EN
J3   [#]-**[IK']-AT-ta**
K3   [IX]-B'EN
L3   [I]-**CHAK-[AT]-[ta]**
M3   II[I]-B'EN
N3   I-**[SUTZ']**
O3   X-B'EN
P3   I-**ka**-[#]-**wa**
Q3   IV-B'EN
R3   […

Comments:

The mural presents a peculiar reading arrangement, combining the reading by pairs of columns with the reading in horizontal lines. The syntax in the text supports this arrangement, together with the remains of red lines that grouped the blocks four by four, while the lower line appears free of marks. The texts began in A1-B1, A2-B2, C1-D1,

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[19] The missing sign in L1 is probably lo, a sign which is usually a part of the glyphic sequence of the name of the kingdom of Ek' Balam as expressed in the Emblem Glyph, and I have reconstructed it as such.

[20] The number of signs present is uncertain. No doubt, and because there is room enough to include it, there is a sign below the principal sign; however, it is uncertain whether or not there was another sign behind it.

C2-D2, and so on, until the two first bands were completed. Once at the end of the mural, the lower red line is read horizontally: A3, B3, C3, D3, etc. The mural is incomplete.

The text begins with the Introductory Glyph and the verb-God N, followed in A2-B2 by the Calendar Round. 13 Hix 7 K'ank'in (9.17.12.16.14, October 18, A.D. 783) in an unusual syntactic pattern (but, *vid. infra*, "Linguistic Comments"). C1 may include a verbal expression, heavily damaged though, which poses reading problems. Two signs can be read, **ya** and **ja**, although the main sign has been destroyed. One possibility to consider is that **ja** was a part of the main sign, then a hand giving shape to the logogram **HUL**, but this is mere speculation. D1 reads perfectly clear **ti-OTOT-ti**, *ti['] otoot* "to the house" or "in the house", followed by two possible gentilic expressions in C2-D2, two individual or collective nouns. They represent the subject of the verb lost in C1. Should this be the verb "to arrive", the text then would be indicating that at that time, the persons referred to "arrived in the house".

E1-F1 display a rather eroded expression, with a suggested reading, transcription and translation, as follows:

XIV**-tu-[TUN]-[#] K'AY-[li]**

14 tuun k'a'y[i]l

"the announcement of the 14 tun"

Following this interesting expression, we find in E2-F2 a new Calendar Round which we may reconstruct as 3 Lamat 1 Wayeb' (9.17.13.3.8, January 20, A.D. 784). Perhaps the following verb in block G1, whose reading is uncertain, is associated to this date. Following two remarkably damaged tablets from which no inferences can be made, we find in H2 the expression **yi-chi-[#]**, which perhaps could be transcribed as *yich[nal]*, "with (him), before (his) presence". Blocks I1-L1 indicate who this person is: …*[la]j Chan K'awiil, Ukit Kan Le'k, Tal[ol] ajaw* "…laj Chan K'awiil, Ukit Kan Le'k, king of Talol".

Blocks K2-L2 are almost completely lost. However, considering what comes after in the text and the presence of **u**, *u-* in the first block, we may infer that the expression "son of a father" was written in K2, and in L2 probably a title of the name shown in M1-N1, written as **u-ki-[ti]** HEAD-##; M2 probably displayed an additional title. This is the name of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's father. N2 shows the beginning of the kinship phrase with the mother and the well known expression **ya-YAL**, *yal, y-al* "the son of a (female)". From O1 to R2, her name is present. However, this is almost completely lost, and only some of her titles may be identified: **K'UH-IX(IK)**, *k'uh[ul] ixik* "sacred lady", and **HO'-IX(IK)-[AJAW]**, … *ho' ixik ajaw* "queen of …ho' ". From then on, the mural is lost.

Going down to the third line, which is read horizontally-wise, we find a series of Calendar Rounds. Despite their poor condition, they can be easily reconstructed as 8 Lamat 1 Pax, 2 Lamat 1 K'ayab', 9 Lamat 1 Kumk'u, 8 B'en 1 Pop, 2 B'en 1 Wo, 9 B'en 1 Sip, 3 B'en 1 Sotz', 10 B'en 1 Sek and 4 B'en [1 Xul] (*vid. infra* "Datings from Ek' Balam"). These Calendar Rounds follow a sequence, indicating the beginnings of the

winal corresponding to the 14 tun from the 17 k'atun (9.17.13.0.8, 9.17.13.1.8, 9.17.13.2.8, 9.17.13.3.13, …): precisely, the tun mentioned before in E1.

The significance of this mural painting is remarkable. In addition to its historic value for contributing with new and valuable information about king Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', his filiation for instance, it provides evidence about the celebration of a ceremony to prognosticate a tun–*14 tuun k'a'y[i]l*–associated to the New Year rituals, as those described by Landa in his *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán.* An in-depth study on the historical and cultural implications on the contents of this mural painting, carried out jointly with Archaeologists L. Vargas and V. Castillo, will be presented in short.

Miscellaneous Texts

Miscellaneous Text 1

Location: Midden located in a small patio between Structures 16, 17, and 18 (vid. Vargas *et al.* 1999)

Drawing: A. Lacadena (Figure 23)

Dating: No dating

Text:

A1   **u-b'a-li**
A2   pi[21]
A3   **[TUN]**[22] **-ni**
A4   **##-lo**
A5   **nu**-#
A6   **K'AWIL-wi-la**
A7   **AJAW-wa**

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[21] Although another sign or signs could be present at the left side of the block, it is my belief that the continued rounded upper rim suggests we are in presence of syllable pi in its complete form.
[22] I reconstruct **TUN** because of the remains of the lines preserved, the presence of the syllable **ni** at the right of the sign acting maybe as a phonetic complement, and the context of the phrase, which in this position would be favoring *tuun*, "stone" (*vid. infra* "Comments").
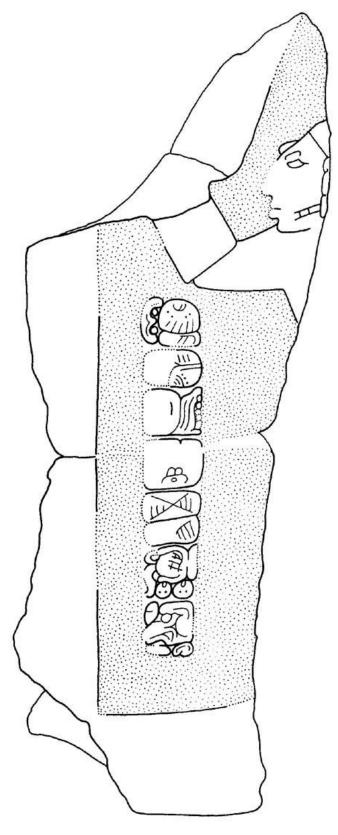
Figure 23. Ek' Balam, Miscellaneous Text 1 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Comments:

The text contains a typical form of object being possessed by some person, with the indication of the name of such object possessed by an ergative pronoun and the name of the owner. The name of the object is found in blocks A1-A3, which is written as follows:

u-b'a-li pi-[TUN]-ni

Ub'aal pi[tz] tuun

"This is the stone ballgame protector of"

This text has been previously referred to in Vargas *et al*. 1999, while the value of **b'a-li**, *b'aal* as "protector" has been already discussed. The transliteration of the text and the transcription have been slightly changed. In the work mentioned, we consider the name of the object as *b'aal* "protector", being **pi** the beginning of the owner's name. Even though this might still be the right solution, I want to convey the alternative I'm inclined to support, with pi being an abbreviation of *pi[tz]* "ballgame", and with **[TUN]-n**i written in A3.

The name and titles of the owner come next:

##-lo nu-# K'AWIL-wi-la AJAW-wa

…l Nu… K'awiil ajaw

The final portion of the text is ambiguous. Due to the poor preservation of tablets A4 and A5, we are unable to know whether the title of ajaw closing the text is a part of an expression of the Emblem Glyph or not. The ballgame protector could well belong to a king named *…l Nu… K'awiil*, or else, to an individual who ruled in kingdom with a name ending in *K'awiil*.

Miscellaneous Text 2

Location: Midden 2, located in the southwestern corner of Structure 1 (*vid*. Vargas *et al*. 1999)

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 24](#))

Dating: 9.18.2.0.19   9 Kawak 7 K'ank'in   (October 19, A.D. 792) / 10.0.14.13.19 (October 6, A.D. 844) / 10.3.7.8.19 (September 23, A.D. 896)
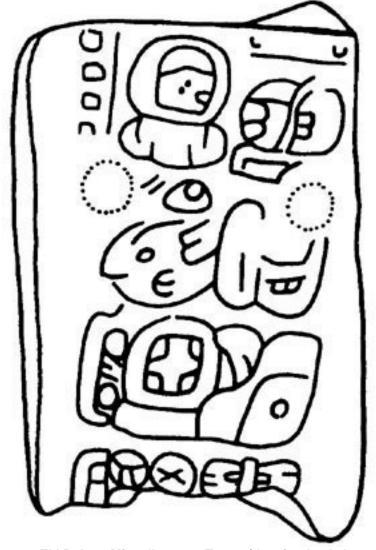
Figure 24. Ek' Balam, Miscellaneous Text 2 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Text:

A1   IX-KAWAK
B1   VII-**UN-[wa]**
A2   **[u]-#-lu-[na]-ja**
B2   **u-K'AN-[na]-chu**
AB3 **[u]-##-AJAW-ma[…**

Comments:

Transcription and translation of the text are as follows:

IX KAWAK VII **UN-[wa] [u]-#-lu-[na]-ja u-K'AN-[na] chu [u]-## AJAW ma[…**

9 Kawak 7 Un[ii]w uCVlnaj uk'an Chu U… ajaw [Kalo']m[te']

"(On) 9 Kawak 7 Uniiw, Chu's, king of U…, the *[Kalo']m[te'* jewel was cut… "

Because of the position where it has been placed, I feel that the sign **ma**, written in the block that follows the one including the Emblem Glyph, was a part of the Kalo'mte' title, and I have thus reconstructed it in the transcription.

The identification of the pendant's owner as *Chu* is not satisfactory. E. Boot (personal communication, January 2002), has suggested that **chu** is a part of the object's name, which would then be *k'anchu*.

Miscellaneous Text 3

Location: Collapse associated to Structure 17 (vid. Vargas *et al.* 1999)

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 25](#))
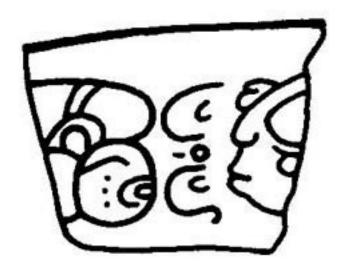
Dating: No dating

Text:

pY   **…]pi**
pZ   **ya-ja[…**

Figure 25. Ek' Balam, Miscellaneous Text 3 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Comments:

The following transcription has been considered:

…]pi-ya-ja[…

…]piyaj[…

Even though the fragmentary condition of the text allows only for a limited comment, there are two possible alternatives, considering in both of them that the three preserved signs correspond to the same word:

♦ The first one would link the sequence …**]pi-ya-ja[**… with the dedicatory expression of the vessel, by using the root *pi(y)*, assessed as **pi-ni** and **pi-ja** in some examples of the Standard Primary Sequence of the Chocholá vases. The root of the verb may be related to the Ch'olan form *piyicña* "smooth and glittering". Given that the Ch'olan suffix–*Vcña* derives adjectives from nouns, we find a root *pi(y)*–the /y/ could probably be epenthetical to avoid the diphthong– that may stand for "smoothness, glitter". The derivation using the signs –**ni** and –**ja** is related to inchoative Cholan forms, meaning "making it or turning into that which the root is indicating", assessed in forms such as **AJAW-ni** and **AJAW-ja**. Should this be the case, the form **pi-ya-ja** may have expressed the epenthetic semiconsonant /y/ and could have corresponded in the beginning of the text in the vessel, to the verbal dedicatory expression "it has been smoothed (polished)".

♦ The second possibility could be relating the sequence …**]pi-ya-ja[**… with a name assessed in southern texts such as those from Yaxchilán, in the name **K'AK'-yi-**

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Miscellaneous Text 4

Location: Collapse, elevated West Plaza, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 26](#))

Dating: No dating

Text:

pX2   …]**ku/TUN-na/TE'**
pW3   […]
pX3   ##-**lu**?-##

pY1   […]
pZ1   […]
pY2   **[u]-ki-ti**-IV-**[le]-[ku]**
pZ2   **K'AN-[na]-b'o-b'o-TOK'**
pY3   FIRE•KIB-**[CHAN]-[na]**
pZ3   **K'AWIL**

Comments:

This is a fragmentary text. Two names may be idenified, Ukit Kan Le'k and K'an B'ohb' Tok', plus an appellative surname for a deity, FIRE•KIB' Chan K'awiil, which would correspond to K'an B'ohb' Tok'. The name of Ukit Kan Le'k presents the epigraphic peculiarity of being written with the syllable **ki** infixed in the body of syllable **ti**.

Little can be said about the sequence **ku/TUN-na/TE'** and **lu**, as they are separated and do not evidence any phraseological connection with the names from the columns.

The event or events with which these names were related are lost. The sequence of both names could indicate that the two of them are the subjects of one verb, or perhaps that Ukit Kan Le'k is the syntactic object of a transitive verb, the subject of which was probably K'an B'ohb' Tok'. With the purpose of considering all the possible alternatives, we may think that Ukit Kan Le'k was a part of K'an B'ohb' Tok's name, who might have assumed his ancestor's surname, a practice already documented in other southern

cases. For the identification of the individuals Ukit Kan Le'k and K'an B'ohb' Tok', *vid. infra* "Kings from Ek' Balam".
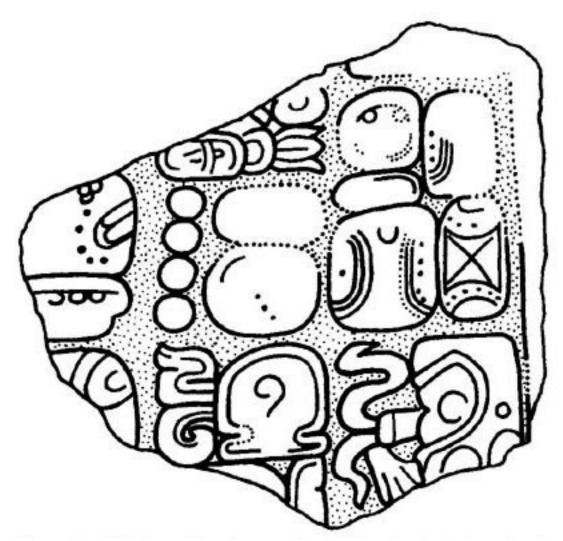

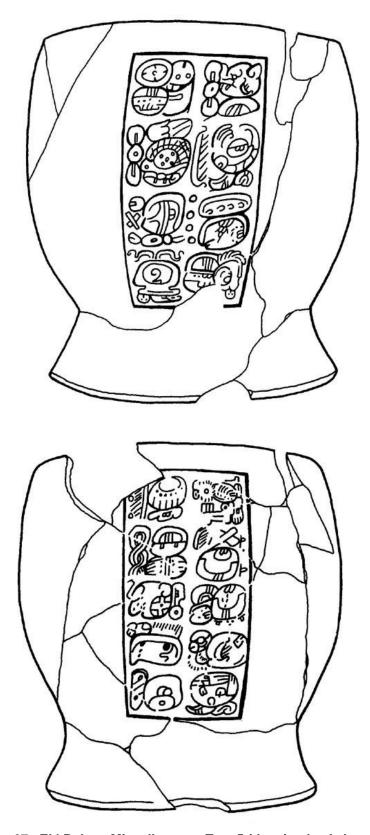**Figure 26. Ek' Balam, Miscellaneous Text 4 (drawing by A. Lacadena).**

Figure 27. Ek' Balam, Miscellaneous Text 5 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Miscellaneous Text 5

Location: Tomb 1, Room 49, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 27](#))

Dating: No dating

Text:

A1   **K'IN**-565-**ja-la**
B1   **yu-#-lu-li**
A2   **yu-k'i-b'i**
B2   **ka-ka-wa**
A3   **u-ki-ti**
B3   IV-**le-ku**
A4   FIRE•KIB-**la-ja**
B4   **CHAN-[na]**[23] -**K'AWIL-la**

C1   **AJ-[ma]**[24] -**na**
D1   **o-cho-ma**
C2   STRING-**i-tz'i**
D2   **CH'AK-ka-OL-la**
C3   **b'a**[25] -**TE'**
D3   **pi-tzi-la**
C4   **b'a**?[26] -**ka-KAB'**
D4   **K'UH-lu**
C5   **TAL-lo**
D5   **AJAW-wa**

---

[23] There is enough space for one sign below the logogram **CHAN**, "heaven". Because of the context, the probable sign would be **na**, the usual phonetic complement, and I have thus reconstructed it.

[24] The portion of the sign which would unequivocally identify the sign as **ma, b'a** or **HA'** has been lost with the fracture and erosion in that zone. However, I'm reconstructing the syllable [**ma**] because *ajman*, "the one from Man", is a well known title assigned to Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', already known from the Mural of the 96 Glyphs.

[25] I am reading this sign as **b'a** and not **B'AH** (*b'aah*) due to its performance in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, with a syllable value **b'a** in the title **b'a-ka-b'a**.

[26] The identification of the sign is uncertain, as opposed to the reading of the compound, which most probably reflects the title of *B'aah Kab'* "Head of the Earth", or "Prince of the Earth". Considering we have **-ka-KAB'**, the first sign must correspond to a /b'a or /b'aah/. This could be a diminished and simplified version forced by the limited writing space available in T567 **B'AH/b'a**.

Comments:

The text is distributed in two sections (columns A-B and columns C-D), one on each opposite side of the vessel, flanked by two incised iconographic scenes. It presents a Standard Primary Sequence, with a reference to the finishing technique, the name of the vessel, the liquid it was supposed to contain, and its owner.

The text reads:

K'IN-565-**ja-la yu-#-lu-li yu-k'i-b'i ka-ka-wa u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku** FIRE•KIB-**la-ja CHAN-[na] -K'AWIL-la AJ-[ma]-na o-cho-ma** STRING-**i-tz'i CH'AK-ka-OL-la b'a-TE' pi-tzi-la b'a?-ka-KAB' K'UH-lu TAL-lo AJAW-wa**

K'in…jal yuCVluul yuk'ib' kakaw Ukit Kan Le'k …laj Chan K'awiil, Ajman, Ocho'm, STRING-i-tz'i, Ch'ak O'hl B'a[']te, Pitzil, B'a[ah] Kab', k'uh[u]l Tal[o]l ajaw

"… The engraving of Ukit Kan Le'k's cocoa vase was …laj Chan K'awiil, from Man, Ocho'm, STRING **-i-tz'i**, the Warrior who Cuts Hearts, the Handsome One, Head/Prince of the Earth, sacred king of Talol"

Miscellaneous Text 6

Location: Tomb 1, Room 49, Structure 1 (Acropolis)

Drawing: A. Lacadena (Figure 28)

Dating: No dating

Text:

A   [**yu**][27] -**sa**-#[28]
B1   **u-ki-ti**
B2   IV-**le-ku**

---

[27] The sign opening the brief text is almost lost, due to erosion and the fractured corresponding zone from the base. Considering the structure of the phrase, a plain possessive formula, the sign may have been a syllable expressing the ergative pronoun of the third person singular *u-/y-*. Among the syllables fit to accomplish this function–**u, ya, ye, yi, yo, yu** and the variants thereof–, **yu** is the sign that best fits the preserved traces of the sign. Therefore, I am reconstructing the syllable **[yu]**.

[28] I have decided to represent with an # the presence of an indeterminate sign. Because of the irregular arrangement of the glyphic tablets, there is no way we can know whether there was space for some other sign or not.

Figure 28. Ek' Balam, Miscellaneous Text 6 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Comments:

The object on which this hieroglyphic text appears is a finely carved shell in the shape of a fish. Two perforations above its upper portion suggest it was a pendant, and, actually, this piece was found on the chest area of the individual buried in Tomb 1 (Vargas and Castillo, personal communication). On the back of the fish there is a short incised hieroglyphic text, common in these portable objects, which identifies the item and its owner.

The text consists of three glyphic blocks. My suggested transcription and translation are as follows:

[yu]-sa-# u-ki-ti IV-**le-ku**

yu's… Ukit Kan Le'k

"This is Ukit Kan Le'k's corvina"

In his *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*, Landa refers to a type of fish which could well correspond to the one shown in the pendant. In Chapter XLV of his account, where Landa discusses the "Fishes from Yucatán", the Franciscan priest states:

> '[there are] trouts, just [like those from Spain] of an identical color and spots and flavor, and they are stouter and tasty to eat, and their name in the local tongue is *uzcay'* (Landa 1985).

The "spots" Landa refers to, typical of this fish, might well be those represented with the tiny perforations on the head of the shell fish. In turn, Bustos (1988: Chart II), mentions the same term used by Landa, *uzcay*, and identifies it with the 'corvina' (*Perca fluvicitilis*). On the other hand, in Colonial Yucatecan, there is also a term *usku*, which also stands for 'corvina'. Thus, what we have here is a type of fish, *uskay (uzcay)* or *usku*, 'corvina'.

The sequence **yu-sa-** for the name segment *u's…* is unusual, and presents a particular pattern corresponding to V'. The etymology of *uzcay* may well be *uz-cay*, that is us 'fly' and cay 'fish'. The 'fly-fish' or 'fish-of-the-fly' would be appropriate for this species, as it partially feeds from insects flying or lying on the water surface. The pattern C**u**-C**a** it presents points to a form *u's*, according to the rules of transcription (*vid.* Houston, Robertson, and Stuart 1998, in press, Lacadena and Wichmann, in press). Even though in different Mayan tongues "fly" is reconstructed as *us*, with no glottal evidences, Wisdom (1950), in his materials on the Ch'orti', invariably presents the form *u's* "fly" with a glottalized vowel.

Miscellaneous Text 7

Location: Tomb 1, Structure 1, Room 49

Drawing: A. Lacadena ([Figure 29](#))

Dating: No dating

Figure 29. Ek' Balam, Miscellaneous Text 7 (drawing by A. Lacadena).

Text:

A1   […]
B1   K'IN•HAND
A2   […][29]
B2   **li**
A3   **[u]**
B3   **ch'i-ki**
A4   **B'AK**
B4   **KAL-ma-TE'**
A5   **K'AK'-o-le**
B5   OBSIDIAN•HAND
A6   [##]
B6   **K'AWIL-la**
A7   **u**
B7   **ki-ti**
A8   IV-**le-ku**
B8   **u**
A9   **B'AH-AN**
B9   IV-**CH'EN**
A10   ?-**NAL**
B10   **K'IN-ni**
A11   HEAD
B11   #-**ka-ja**
A12   **AK'AB'-la**
B12   HEAD
A13   #-**ka-ja**
B13   **K'IN-ni**
A14   #-**na**
B14   JAGUAR•DECAP-**[yu]**
A15   […]
B15   **[TAL]-lo-AJAW-wa**

C1   **u-B'AK-le**
C2   **u-ki-ti-a**
C3   **AKAN**
C4   **AJ-K'UH**
C5   **AJ**-#
C6   […[30]

---

[29] Due to the presence of syllable **li** in block B2 and the context of the phrase, the missing block may have included the signs [yu-#-lu].
[30] The presence of this block is uncertain, and the round contour observed is consistent with the bone fracture in that zone. However, there would be enough space for this block.

Comments:

The inscription is engraved on a carved bone–a human thigh-bone–cut in sections and sharpened in the shape of a perforator.

The bone contains two texts independent from one another: the first is written in a double column and goes from A1 to B15. The second text, separated from the latter one and situated at the edge of the bone, comprises tablets C1 to C6. The existence in the text of abundant undeciphered signs does not allow for a coherent transcription and translation. However, the structure of the text and its contents may be quite easily understood.

Text 1:

♦ A1-A4: a dedicatory expression of the text, partially lost but reconstructable. A1 possibly included an Introductory Glyph; in B1 is the verb; the expression in A2-B2 is consistent with the expression "the carving of", with the final sign li, well preserved.

♦ In A3-A4 the object is mentioned, written as **u**-ALA-**ki B'AK**. This expression is present in other texts, most of them in objects in the shape of perforators. No productive reading results by giving the sign ALA the value of **k'i**. However, when assigning to it a value of **ch'i**, interesting entries are found in the lowland languages, as for instance CHN *ch'ique'* "to pierce" (Seller and Luciano 1997: 103), or YUC *ch'iik*, "to nail, to sow, to fasten or to brooch with pins or sharp-pointed objects" (Bastarrachea *et al.*, 1992: 86). If in this case the sign ALA is read as **ch'i**, then we would have a truly descriptive name of the object: **u-ch'i-ki B'AK**, *uch'ik b'aak* "the bone perforator of".

From B4 and through the end, B15, a lengthy and complex clause unfolds, which includes the name and titles of the individual who owns the bone perforator. This clause begins with the *Kalo'mte'* title in B4, followed by a possible deity appellative which probably begins in A5-B5 and undoubtedly in A6-B6, where the sequence **-[CHAN]-[na] K'AWIL-la** is identified. In A7-A8 we find the proper noun of the individual who owned the bone and the titles, **u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**, Ukit Kan Le'k. In B8-A9, a well-known expression, **u-B'AH-AN**, gives way to a lengthy clause personifying a deity which extends, probably, up to B14 or A15. Little can be said concerning this clause, except outlining the similarities of blocks A11-A12 and B12-B13,

HEAD #-**ka-ja AK'AB'-la**
HEAD #-**ka-ja K'IN-ni,**

and the presence in B14 of the sign of the decapitated jaguar also documented from other sites, like Palenque for instance, though its significance remains unclear. The end of the clause and of this first text appears in B15, where we

have identified in the sequence **[TAL]-lo-AJAW-wa** the royal title of Ukit Kan Le'k, *Tal[o]l ajaw* "king of Talol".

Text 2:

The second text that integrates the bone inscription is found at the end of it, written in blocks inscribed in round cartouches. In this case we are in a position to risk a transcription and translation:

C1   **u-B'AK-le**
C2   **u-ki-ti-a**
C3   **AKAN**
C4   **AJ-K'UH**
C5   **AJ**-#
C6   […

u-B'AK-le u-ki-ti a-AKAN AJ-K'UH AJ-# […

ub'aak[e]l Ukit Ahkan, ajk'uh, aj…

"It is Ukit Ahkan's bone, the priest, the…"

In spite of its briefness, this text is remarkably interesting. The presence of the suffix –*el* in the expression *ub'aakel* (*u-b'aak-el*, 3SE-bone-POS•IN) is indicating that Ukit Ahkan was the *physical* owner of the bone; this means that the femur came from the body of this individual (for a discussion about the suffix –*el*, *vid.* Houston *et al.* 2001).

Also, the title *ajk'uh* (*aj-k'uh*, AG-god) exhibited by this character is interesting. This title, present elsewhere in classic texts in pottery and monumental inscriptions, could be translated as "priest", based on the similarities with the title *acchu* (*ajch'uh*, in modern writing), documented, as accounted for by Martín Alfonso Tovilla in his Relación, with an identical meaning, in the first third of the XVII century among the Chol-Manché. For a comment on his identity as Ukit Ahkan, *vid. infra* "Other characters mentioned in Ek' Balam".

Epigraphic Comments

Dates from Ek' Balam

The texts known so far offer 22 calendric references. These references are as follows:

Monument	DS[31]	Calendric Reference
S1	LA	10.0.[10].0.0 [6 Ajaw] 8 [Pop]
S1	LA	(no possible reconstruction)
S1	SA	10 [tun] 5 Ajaw
AJP1	LA	9.[… (the rest is lost)
CV1	CW+SA	[…] 13 Keh 12 tun 5 Ajaw
CV2	CW	(lost)
CV3	CW?	[…] 9 […]w
CV6	CW	2 Men 8 Sip
CV7	CW	13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in
CV9	SA	[…] tun 5 [Ajaw]
CV10	CW+SA	5 Imix 14 Kumk'u 2 tun 5 Ajaw
CV14	CW	13 Kab'an ti' haab' Kase'w
CV18	CW+SA	11 Chuen 9 Yax 4 tun […]
CV19	CW+SA	? ? ? K'ayab' 7/12 tun 9 Ajaw
COL1	LA	10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip
MT2	CW	9 Kawak 7 Kank'in
M22	CW	13 Hix 7 K'ank'in
M22	CW	[3] Lamat 1 Wayeb'
M96	CW	11 Eb' 10 Sotz'
M96	CW	8 Imix 19 Xul
MB29sub	CW	1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb'
MC29sub	CW	3 Hix 17 Kumk'u

From the above 22 calendric references, 4 are Long Count notations, 2 are Short Count notations, 4 are Calendar Rounds combined with the Short Count, and 12 correspond to the Calendar Round. To these dates could be added the sequence of 9 consecutive Calendar Rounds present where the text ends in Mural 22. I have excluded them from this initial list offered for not being historical; in any case, they will be discussed in the appropriate time and place.

I shall begin with the monuments that exhibit clear calendric notations, and with those that pose no reconstruction problems. They shall be presented in chronological order:

---

[31] Key to the Dating System (DS) used: LA = Long Count; SA = Short Count; CW = Calendar Round.

Mural Painting from Room 22

This glyphic mural presents a total of 11 Calendar Rounds in the positions A2-B2, E2-F2, A3-B3, C3-D3, E3-F3, G3-H3, I3-J3, K3-L3, M3-N3, O3-P3, Q3-R3. The two first Calendar Rounds in A2-B2 and E2-F2 are historical, associated with events described in the text. The remaining nine constitute a sequence of dates not associated with real historical events.

The first Calendar Round in A2-B2 poses no reading problems: XIII-**HIX** VII-**UN-wa**, 13 Hix 7 Un[ii]w or 13 Hix 7 K'ank'in. The second Calendar Round in E2-F2 is incomplete, [#]-LAMAT I-**WAY-HAB'**, while the Tz'olk'in coefficient is missing. However, and considering the first occurrence of *? Lamat 1 Wayab'*, after 13 Hix 7 K'ank'in, the result appears to be [3] Lamat 1 Wayeb', a date 4.14 (ninety-four days) away from the previous one.

On the other hand, at the end of the text, the mural painting offers a sequence of Calendar Rounds in an uneven state of preservation, whose transliteration is as follows:

A3-B3	VIII-LAMAT	I-**PAX-xi**
C3-D3	#-LAMAT	#-##-**si**-#
E3-F3	#-LAMAT	#-#-**la**
G3-H3	V[#]-#	I-##-**b'u**
I3-J3	II-B'EN	[#]-**[IK']-AT-ta**
K3-L3	[IX]-B'EN	[I]-**CHAK-[AT]-[ta]**
M3-N3	II[I]-B'EN	I-**[SUTZ']**
O3-P3	X-B'EN	I-**ka-[#]-wa**
Q3-R3	IV-B'EN	[…

The dates from this text show an interesting pattern: the numerals preserved in the haab' are always I "one"; the months, which may be reconstructed with the signs preserved, are in a sequence that begins with *Paax* (B3), *[K'ana]si[iy]* (D3), *[O'h]l* (F3), *[K'anjala']b'* (H3), *[Ik']at* (J3), *Chakat* (L3), *[Suutz']* (N3) and *Ka[se']w* (P3). *Wayab'* – *Wayeb'*–, which should be placed between *O'hl* and *K'anjala'b'*, has been, however, left out of the list. This indicates that between one *haab'* date and another, 1.0 (one winal, or twenty days) have always elapsed, with the exception of *O'hl* and *K'anjala'b'*, where the time elapsed is equivalent to 1.5 (twenty-five days). These distances allow to confirm the *tzolk'in* coefficients preserved, and to reconstruct the remaining ones. With this information, we are in a position to rebuild the complete sequence of Calendar Rounds, and to offer the transcription:

A3-B3	VIII-LAMAT	I-**PAX-xi**	*8* Lamat 1 *Paax*
C3-D3	#-LAMAT	#-##-**si**-#	*[2]* Lamat *[1 K'ana]si[iy]*

E3-F3	#-LAMAT	#-#-**la**	*[9]* Lamat *[1 O'h]l*
G3-H3	V[#]-#	I-##-**b'u**	*[8 B'en] 1 [K'anjala']b'*
I3-J3	II-B'EN	[#]-**[IK']-AT-ta**	2 B'en *[1] Ik'at*
K3-L3	[IX]-B'EN	[I]-**CHAK-[AT]-[ta]**	*[9]* B'en *[1] Chakat*
M3-N3	II[I]-B'EN	I-**[SUTZ']**	3 B'en *1 [Suutz']*
O3-P3	X-B'EN	I-**ka-[#]-wa**	*10* B'en *1 Ka[se']w*
Q3-R3	IV-B'EN	[…	*4* B'en *[1 Chi'kin]*

and we are also able to translate it, by convention, into Yucatecan dates, to operate with them:

A3-B3	*8 Lamat 1 Paax*	8 Lamat 1 Pax
C3-D3	*[2] Lamat [1 K'ana]si[iy]*	2 Lamat 1 K'ayab'
E3-F3	*[9] Lamat [1 O'h]l*	9 Lamat 1 Kumk'u
G3-H3	*[8 B'en] 1 [K'anjala']b'*	8 B'en 1 Pop
I3-J3	*2 B'en [1 Ik']at*	2 B'en 1 Wo
K3-L3	*[9] B'en [1] Chakat*	9 B'en 1 Sip
M3-N3	*3 B'en 1 [Suutz']*	3 B'en 1 Sotz'
O3-P3	*10 B'en 1 Ka[se']w*	10 B'en 1 Sek
Q3-R3	*4 B'en [1 Chi'kin]*	4 B'en 1 Xul

This sequence of Calendar Rounds is connected to the previous Calendar Rounds in 13 Hix 7 K'ank'in in A2-B2, and in 3 Lamat 1 Wayeb' in E2-F2: precisely, it is 3 Lamat 1 Wayeb' the Calendar Round that should be in place between 9 Lamat 1 Kumk'u in E3-F3 (at a distance of 1.0) and 8 B'en 1 Pop in G3-H3 (at a distance of 0.5).

The possible location for the sequence of Calendar Rounds in the Long Count are as follows:

13 Hix 7 K'ank'in	9.15.0.3.14	9.17.12.16.15	10.0.5.11.15
3 Lamat 1 Wayeb'	9.15.0.8.8	9.17.13.3.9	10.0.5.16.8
8 Lamat 1 Pax	9.15.0.5.8	9.17.13.0.8	10.0.5.13.8
2 Lamat 1 K'ayab'	9.15.0.6.8	9.17.13.1.8	10.0.5.14.8
9 Lamat 1 Kumk'u	9.15.0.7.8	9.17.13.2.8	10.0.5.15.8
8 B'en 1 Pop	9.15.0.8.13	9.17.13.3.13	10.0.5.16.13
2 B'en 1 Wo	9.15.0.9.13	9.17.13.4.13	10.0.5.17.13
9 B'en 1 Sip	9.15.0.10.13	9.17.13.5.13	10.0.6.0.13
3 B'en 1 Sotz'	9.15.0.11.13	9.17.13.6.13	10.0.6.1.13
10 B'en 1 Sek	9.15.0.12.13	9.17.13.7.13	10.0.6.2.13
4 B'en 1 Xul	9.15.0.13.13	9.17.13.8.13	10.0.6.3.13

The text in the mural painting from Room 22, in E1-F1, bears an expression, XIV-**tu-[TUN]-[ni] K'AY-[li],** *14 tuun k'aay[i]l or 14 tuun k'a'y[i]l* "the announcement of the 14 *tuun*" (*vid. supra*), which is found between the Calendar Rounds of 13 Hix 7 K'ank'in

and 3 Lamat 1 Wayeb'. This interesting expression is the key to situate the Calendar Rounds of the text in the Long Count. We may see that of the three possible locations in the Long Count considered, only the central one makes sense at the light of the expression "the announcement of the 14 *tuun*". In fact, the sequence of Calendar Rounds at the end of the text is precisely where the relation of winals corresponding to the 14 *tuun* of the 17 k'atun begins.

With the support of this evidence, my suggested location for the Calendar Rounds in the Long Count, in the mural painting from Room 22 remains as follows:

M22	9.17.12.16.14	13 Hix 7 K'ank'in (October 18, A.D. 783)
M22	9.17.13.3.8	3 Lamat 1 Wayeb' (January 20, A.D. 784)
M22	9.17.13.0.8	8 Lamat 1 Pax (November 21, A.D. 783)
M22	9.17.13.1.8	2 Lamat 1 K'ayab' (December 11, A.D. 783)
M22	9.17.13.2.8	9 Lamat 1 Kumk'u (December 31, A.D. 783)
M22	9.17.13.3.13	8 B'en 1 Pop (January 25, A.D. 784)
M22	9.17.13.4.13	2 B'en 1 Wo (February 14, A.D. 784)
M22	9.17.13.5.13	9 B'en 1 Sip (March 5, A.D. 784)
M22	9.17.13.6.13	3 B'en 1 Sotz' (March 25, A.D. 784)
M22	9.17.13.7.13	10 B'en 1 Sek (April 14, A.D. 784)
M22	9.17.13.8.13	4 B'en 1 Xul (May 4, A.D. 784)

Column 1

It presents a Long Count expressed in an Initial Series and followed by a Lunar Series. Clearly, the Initial Series is 10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, A.D. 830).

The Baktun numeral (B1) is not written in the usual way; from the coefficients of the remaining orders and the associated Calendar Round, we know it should be consistent with 10. In fact, instead of the numeral 10, **PAT-JOL**? has been written, perhaps in relation with "the formation" –pat "to be made, to be formed"–of the B'aktun. Interestingly, this expression using the root pat as the basis for referring to 10 in the context of an Initial Series is also documented in the Dresden Codex. Thus, the date in Column 1 is

COL1	10.0.0.0.0	7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, A.D. 830)

Cover of Vault 10 (Capstone 10)

Found in association with Room 38 in the Acropolis, it poses no dating problems. The text is expressing a Calendar Round, 5 Imix 14 Kumk'u, associated with a Short Count expressed as **WAL-la** II-**TUN-ni ta** V-*AJAW*, "(in the) time of the 2 tun in 5 Ajaw". The Long Count I suggest for the text is as follows:

CV10   10.0.1.15.1   5 Imix 14 Kumk'u (January 1, A.D. 832).

Stela 1

Three calendric references are included in Stela 1, with two Long Counts and one Short Count.

The first date, an Initial Series, is found at the back of the monument and represents a complete Initial Series, with a Supplementary Series and a Lunar Series. The Initial Series is almost complete: the numeral 10 of the Baktun is clear (A2), as also the numeral 0 in the k'atun (B2), winal (B3) and k'in (A4) notations; the tun presents at least the remains of a bar (A3), in a way that it may stand for the coefficients 5, 10, or 15; the tzolk'in is missing (B4), but the numeral 8 of the haab' has been clearly preserved, as also the contour of the signs that were a part of it (B9). Among the possible solutions, 10.0.[10].0.0. [6 Ajaw] 8 [Pop] (January 18, A.D. 840) is the one that complies with the requisitions. The countour of the signs that integrated the Haab adequately correspond to the month Pop (*k'anjala'b'/k'anjalaw* in the Classic Period), and have been written in Stela 1 from Ek' Balam, possibly, as is customary for this month, with a **K'AN** sign infixed in a presumed logogram **JAL**,–only the contour of the latter one has been preserved,–and a suffix sign b'u, the contour of which has also been preserved. The pattern for the month Pop is a feline head which could well correspond to the lines preserved in the Introductory Glyph of the Initial Series (AB1). The Initial Series is followed by a Supplementary Series, with the expression of glyphs G and F in a same block (A5), and a Lunar Series, placed as usual between the notation of the tzolk'in (B4) and the haab (B9), with the presence of the following features: 13D (B5), 3C (A6), X (B6), B (A7), 30A (B7); then a reference to a fire ritual is shown in A8-A9,–FIRE•KIB'-**li u-K'AK** [##]–(*vid.* Grube 2000), to finally close with the haab' we have reconstructed as 8 Pop (B9).

The second date from Stela 1, another Initial Series followed by a Supplementary Series and a Lunar Series, was written on the left side. Unfortunately, reconstruction is not possible. It featured expressions of 10 B'aktun, k'atun, tun, winal, k'in, Tzolkin, Glyph G, Glyph F, Glyph D, Glyph C, Glyph X, Glyph B, Glyph A, and Haab.

At the right side, in tablets E2-F2, there is a possible notation of Short Count which could correspond to *10 [tuun] ta 5 Ajaw*, thus corroborating the date 10.0.10.0.0 at the back of the stela.

In my opinion, the date preserved at the back of the monument is the dedicatory date of the monument:

S1	10.0.10.0.0	6 Ajaw 8 Pop (January 18, A.D. 840)
S1	10.0.10.0.0	10 tuun 5 Ajaw (A.D. 840)

Cover of Vault 1 (Capstone 1)

The Tzolk'in at the right is missing, but the remaining calendric notation, 13 Keh, in association with the Short Count of 12 tun 5 Ajaw, is present. The Long Count corresponding to this information is:

CV1   10.0.11.11.10   11 Ok 13 Keh   (August 30, A.D. 841)

Location in the Long Count of the Remaining Calendar Rounds

Unlike the dates I have just mentioned, the dates to be discussed next have the peculiarity of lacking internal help from the dating system, to become unequivocally associated with a Long Count. The examples to be discussed would require other indirect evidences.

We can obtain a certain amount of help to place with some accuracy the Calendar Round expressions in the Long Count. The first of these tools is of a textual nature: the texts refer to historic characters from the kingdom that may be placed in time by means of the monuments that posed no dating problems and which also make reference to them. The second help comes from archaeology: most texts with Calendar Rounds are cover of vaults that make reference to the dedication of the rooms they contain. The same relative building sequence may give us an indication of the relative temporal sequence between the different monuments, in the pursuit of finding a solution that respects both sources of information.

Together with the previous arguments, a different key to properly determine the dates from the Calendar Rounds in the covers of vaults is Column 1. This monument records an unequivocal date, the Long Count of 10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, A.D. 830) (*vid. supra*). It was then when the monument was dedicated and identified as Ukit Kan Le'k's *sak ahk b'aal tuun*. Column 1 represents a scene where an individual denominated Ukit Jol Ahkul, sacred king of Talol, convokes a second individual, Ukit Kan Le'k. Therefore, by 10.0.0.0.0, Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' had already passed away, while king Ukit Jol Ahkul was ruling. Considering the date of 10.0.0.0.0 as the deadline for Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's life span, the dates that refer to him–leaving aside those present in a context of posthumous reference–should be established sometime prior to 10.0.0.0.0. On the other hand, the location of the Glyphic Mural of Room 22 centered on the dates

9.17.12.16.14 and 9.17.13.3.8, defines a contemporary period of time for Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's ruling.

Considering these indirect evidences, the following Calendar Rounds from the remaining covers of vaults are associated with the following Long Count dates:

Cover of Vault 14 (Capstone 14)

The Calendar Round is expressed as 13 Kab'an ti' haab'[32] Sek, which would correspond to 13 Kab'an 0 Xul. Given that the date refers to the dedication of a structure for Ukit Kan Le'k, this date would have but one unique possibility of being placed in the Long Count prior to 10.0.0.0.0, as follows:

CV14   9.17.10.7.17   13 Kaban 0 Xul (May 4, A.D. 781)

This date is contemporary to those of the mural painting in Room 22.

Cover of Vault 6 (Capstone 6)

The Calendar Round in the text is 2 Men 8 Sip. Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' is mentioned in the text, whereas there is only one unique possibility to place him in the Long Count before 10.0.0.0.0, as follows:

CV6   9.17.12.5.15   2 Men 8 Sip (March 13, A.D. 783)

This date is also contemporary to the dates mentioned in the text of the Glyphic Mural in Room 22.

Cover of Vault 7 (Capstone 7)

In turn, Cover of Vault 7 features the Calendar Round of 13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in, this time with two possible places in the Long Count prior to 10.0.0.0.0:

9.17.4.7.19   13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in

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[32] The expression **TI'-HAB'**, *ti' haab'*, used to outline the "end" of the month indicated and the beginning of the following one, possibly means "in the edge of time", or "in the limit of time", after *ti'* "edge, limit" and *haab'*, "time".

9.19.17.2.19   13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in

Taking into account that CV7 appeared in association with Room 33, I'm inclined to favor the earlier date from the two above, considering that Room 33 is *under* Room 36,– thus corresponding to a previous constructive phase,–where CV6 was found, with a probable date of 9.17.12.5.15 (*vid. supra*). The probable date would then be:

CV7   9.17.4.7.19   13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in (June 7, A.D. 775)

Cover of Vault 18 (Capstone 18)

Cover of Vault 18, which also mentions Ukit Kanle'k Tok', was found in association with Room 62. The date on CV18 shows a Calendar Round associated to a Short Count of which only the reference to the ongoing tun, number 4, has been preserved. The Calendar Round is problematic because the coefficient of the Tzolk'in may stand either for 11 or 12 (the central point being thicker than the two laterals). Besides, it features the peculiarity of having an unusual shape in the haab', which has been written as **YAX-WINIK-ki**, *Yax winik* "month of Yax", while the usual way to write it is **YAX-SIHOM-(ma)** Yax Siho'm. Considering that *winik* is one of the alternative forms for "month" documented in Classic times, perhaps Yax is reflecting the vernacular Yucatecan form (*vid. infra* "Linguistic Comments"). In any case, we consider the month as a representation of the month Yax. The Haab's numeral is probably 9, as there is enough space for one more point in the lower portion at the left of the bar expressing five. If we try to find which dates combine a numeral 11, 12, or 13 in the Tzolk'in, with a 9 Yax in the haab of a 4 tun, while complying with the requisition of being prior to 10.0.0.0.0, as Ukit Kan Le'k is mentioned in the text, one possibility comes forth, which is the one suggested for this text:

CV18   9.18.3.15.11 11 Chuen 9 Yax 4 tun 9 Ajaw (July 29, A.D. 794)

Cover of Vault 19 (Capstone 19)

The date on this Cover of Vault poses problems as a consequence of the heavy erosion in some portions of its surface. The date in A1-A2, includes a Calendar Round combined with a Short Count in A3-A4. The numeral of the Tzolk'in in the Calendar Round could be 7, 8, or 9; the name of the day poses problems for a clear identification: the haab' would apparently be 2 or 3 K'ayab'. As to the Short Count, the tun could be 7 or 12; only the k'atun is reconstructible, and it is no doubt a 9 Ajaw. Based on this information, there are different possible solutions, but selecting one of them at this time would not be advisable. While we await for fresh information to elucidate this matter, I

shall choose a generic date of Short Count for this Cover of Vault, in a 7 or 12 tun of 9 Ajaw:

CV19   9.18.7.0.0 / 9.18.12.0.0   (A.D. 797-802)

Cover of Vault 9 (Capstone 9)

The text preserved in the second pictoral layer of this Cover of Vault shows the remains of a Short Count, where only the reference to the *tuun* may be identified, without any numeral however, and a 5 Ajaw. The 5 Ajaw k'atun covers the period of time comprised between 10.0.0.0.1 and 10.1.0.0.0. We may further refine the date of this Cover of Vault, by considering its archaeological location in Room 41. Eventually, this room was added a second room at the entrance, Room 38, where Cover of Vault 10 was found, bearing the unequivocal date of 10.0.1.15.1. The date of CV9 may have been, possibly, contemporaneous to that of CV10, in the first or second *tuun* of 5 Ajaw. We might even think they were created simultaneously, considering that possibly, Room 41 was remodelled with the construction works of Room 38. I therefore suggest the date

CV9   10.0.0.0.1-10.0.2.0.0   [1 / 2] tun 5 ajaw (A.D. 830-832)

Cover of Vault 2 (Capstone 2)

The calendric information in this Cover of Vault was present in Block A1. The coefficient is missing, and the day cannot be accurately reconstructed. The unusual feature of this dating, expressing the Tzolk'in only, points to the fact that it is a date not too separated from that in Cover of Vault 1, found in the same Structure 8-9, the Ballcourt. Probably, each cover of vault was associated to one of the upper rooms. My suggestion is that Cover of Vault 1 indicates the dedicatory date of the room where it was found, while CV2 corresponds to the termination of an adjacent chamber. The fact that CV2 only bears an expression of the Tzolk'in may indicate that the date falls within the twenty days following the dedication of CV1, something reasonable from an archaeological point of view. Therefore, if CV1 bears the date 10.0.11.11.10 11 Ok 13 Keh 12 tun 5 Ajaw (August 30, A.D. 841), CV2 would be referring to a date between 10.0.11.11.10 and 10.0.11.12.10, still within the 12 tun 5 Ajaw (September 1-20, A.D. 841).

CV2   10.0.11.11.10-10.0.11.12.10   (September 1-20, A.D. 841)

Mural A, Room 29-sub (Mural of the 96 Glyphs)

The placing in the Long Count of the dates present in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs is a particularly important issue. This lengthy text includes two Calendar Round dates, 11 Eb' 10 Sotz' and 8 Imix 19 Xul, separated by a distance number of 49 days. The dates are uncertain, with two possible positions in the Long Count prior to 10.0.0.0.0:

9.16.19.3.12	11 Eb' 10 Sotz'
9.16.19.6.1	8 Imix 19 Xul

or either,

9.19.11.16.12	11 Eb 10 Sotz'
9.19.12.1.1	8 Imix 19 Xul

The Mural of the 96 Glyphs was found on the northern wall of Room 29-sub. This room, partially explored, is located below rooms 29 and 45 from the upper level. To this latter Room 45, Cover of Vault 14 is associated, featuring a date 9.17.10.7.17 13 Kab'an 0 Xul (May 4, A.D. 781). The building sequence in this section of the Acropolis suggests that Room 45 corresponded to a *subsequent* architectural stage than that of Room 29-sub. With this information, one may see that the second group of dates considered would postdate the probable date of construction of Room 45, something that is not possible. The archaeological evidence seems to favor, therefore, the first group of dates:

M96	9.16.19.3.12	11 Eb 10 Sotz' (April 7, A.D. 770)
M96	9.16.19.6.1	8 Imix 19 Xul (May 26, A.D. 770)

Mural B, Room 29-sub

This glyphic mural was written under the previous mural, at its left side. It is clearly a different text because it is out of the space limited by the red thick line that embraces the Mural of the 96 Glyphs. The calligraphy of the text is also visibly different from the one of the previous text. All of this suggests a second event of execution for this mural, the result of a re-entrance into the substructure where the Mural of the 96 Glyphs was found. Mural 2 only has a single preserved calendric reference, 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb. Considering that this date must be subsequent to those expressed in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, the following possibility is suggested:

| MB29sub | 9.18.15.9.0 | 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb' (January 16, A.D. 806) |

This date corresponds to the first occurrence of 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb' after the last date from the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, 9.16.19.6.1 8 Imix 19 Xul (May 26, A.D. 770), some thirty six years later. Obviously, given the fact that this text is the result of a re-entrance in the substructure (already fully buried under the upper constructive phases), we cannot be one hundred percent sure whether we should consider this date immediately subsequent to the one mentioned before, or any other one taking place one or two Calendar Rounds later (for instance, 10.0.8.4.0, eighty-eight years later, or 10.3.0.17.0, one hundred and forty years later). However, evidence present in Mural C, also associated with the Mural of the 96 Glyphs (*vid. infra*), advises to consider the Long Count of 9.18.15.9.0 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb indicated above, as the most probable.

Mural C, Room 29-sub

Mural C was written on the northern wall of Room 29-sub, below the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, at the right of Mural B. Mural C is a text independent from the earlier murals, as is also clearly indicated through its reading format–which in spite of imitating that from the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, differs from the one presented in Mural B–and its calligraphy. Mural C mentions a Calendar Round of 3 Hix 17 Kumk'u. Considering the first occurrence of this Calendar Round after the date 9.18.15.9.0 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb' (January 16, A.D. 806) in Mural B, we obtain the Long Count–occurred eight years after the date in Mural B–as follows:

| MC | 9.19.3.10.14 | 3 Hix 17 Kumk'u (January 8, A.D. 814) |

Like in the previous discussion on Mural B, it is uncertain whether this Long Count is correct, or any of the subsequent Long Counts resulting of adding 2.12.13.0, a full Calendar Round, as 10.1.16.5.14, or 10.4.9.0.14. However, internal evidences originated in the text of Mural C, mentioning a character that could be the same mentioned in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, would point to the suggested Long Count of 9.19.3.10.14 3 Hix 17 Kumk'u (January 8, A.D. 814) like the most probable date, because then, it would have taken place forty-four years after the dates indicated in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, and would thus make it possible that the character mentioned in both texts was, in fact, one and the same person. All the other solutions would indicate that the date in Mural C occurred ninety-six or one hundred and forty-eight years after that from the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, therefore being highly improbable that the name appearing in both texts could refer to the same person.

Miscellaneous Text 2

Miscellaneous Text 2 which mentions the Calendar Round of 9 Kawak 7 K'ank'in, is the only one text for which I shall not suggest one unique Long Count. Engraved on a shell plate that would be used as a pendant (**K'AN-na**, *k'an*, like it is mentioned in the text itself, vid. Vargas *et al.* 1999), it was recovered from a midden without a clear stratigraphic association. The text is incomplete–it broke when carved and was disposed of–and we lack any other indication that may point to one of the Long Counts or at least eliminate some of them as improbable. The most probable dates in the Long Count–already mentioned in ibid.–are as follows:

9.18.2.0.19	9 Kawak 7 K'ank'in	(October 15, A.D. 792)
10.0.14.13.19	9 Kawak 7 K'ank'in	(October 2, A.D. 844)
10.3.7.8.19	9 Kawak 7 K'ank'in	(September 19, A.D. 896)

Summary of Ek' Balam Dates in Chronological Order:

We shall now present a relation of the dates suggested, in chronological order. In the column from the right, the main character of the site associated with the texts is mentioned.

Monument	Long Count	Calendar Round	Julian Date	Lord
M96	9.16.19.3.12	11 Eb 10 Sotz'	(April 7, A.D. 770)	Ukit Kan Le'k
M96	9.16.19.6.1	8 Imix 19 Xul	(May 26, A.D. 770)	Ukit Kan Le'k
CV7	9.17.4.7.19	13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in	(June 7, A.D. 775)	Ukit Kan Le'k
CV14	9.17.10.7.17	13 Kaban 0 Xul	(May 4, A.D. 781)	Ukit Kan Le'k
CV6	9.17.12.5.15	2 Men 8 Sip	(March 13, A.D. 783)	Ukit Kan Le'k
M22	9.17.12.16.14	13 Hix 7 K'ank'in	(October 18, A.D. 783)	Ukit Kan Le'k
M22	9.17.13.3.8	3 Lamat 1 Wayeb'	(January 20, A.D. 784)	Ukit Kan Le'k
CV18	9.18.3.15.11	11 Chuen 9 Yax	(July 29, A.D. 794)	Ukit Kan Le'k
CV19	9.18.7.0.0 / 9.18.12.0.0		(A.D. 897 / 802)	Ukit Kan Le'k
MB29sub	9.18.15.9.0	1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb	(January 16, A.D. 806)	
MC29sub	9.19.3.10.14	3 Hix 17 Kumk'u	(January 8, A.D. 814)	K'an B'ohb' Tok'
COL 1	10.0.0.0.0	7 Ajaw 18 Sip	(March 11, A.D. 830)	Ukit Jol Ahkul
CV10	10.0.1.15.1	5 Imix 14 Kumk'u	(January 1, A.D. 832)	Ukit Jol Ahkul?
S1	10.0.10.0.0	6 Ajaw 8 Pop	(January 18, A.D. 840)	K'uh…nal
CV1	10.0.11.11.10	11 Ok 13 Keh	(August 30, A.D. 841)	Tz'ihb'am Tuun
CV2	10.0.11.11.10-10.0.11.12.10		(September 1-20, A.D. 841)	Tz'ihb'am Tuun
CV2	9.18.2.0.19	9 Kawak 7 K'ank'in	(October 15, A.D. 792)	
	/10.0.14.13.19	9 Kawak 7 K'ank'in	(October 2, A.D. 844)	
	/10.3.7.8.19	9 Kawak 7 K'ank'in	(September 19, A.D. 896)	

The Name of the Kingdom of Ek' Balam

Ek' Balam has an Emblem Glyph of its own. The first identification of an Emblem Glyph associated to the site corresponds to William Ringle, who has identified the presence of this title in Stela 1 and was the first to outline the political implications of such fact. Though at that time, reading the name of the kingdom was not possible because of the poor preservation of the only known example, today we have more information to suggest a transcription.

The name of the ancient kingdom of Ek' Balam appears now written in at least 13 occasions, 12 in texts from the city of Ek' Balam, and one in a text originated outside the site, in Halakal. The references to the kingdom's name appear in all of these cases in composite titles of the Emblem Glyph. Four times the title was preceded by the adjective *k'uhul* "sacred".

In 12 out of 13 cases, the transliteration of the name of the Ek' Balam kingdom is T676.580, **TAL-lo**; in one occasion only, in Ukit Jol Ahkul's nominal clause from Ek' Balam's Column 1, the transliteration is reduced to T676, **TAL**, infixed inside the body of the **AJAW** logogram. The absence of T580 lo in this latter case could be interpreted as a confirmation that T580 lo is a phonetic complement to logogram T676 **TAL**. However, according to the rules that govern the phonetic complements, and according to the known pattern, syllables C**e** and C**o** are never used as a final phonetic complement for logograms other than C**E**C and C**O**C, a function reserved to the syllables C**a**, C**i** and C**u**, depending on each case, to indicate the type of vowels V, VV, or V' (*vid.* Houston, Stuart, and Robertson 1998, in press; Lacadena and Wichmann, in press). For this reason, it is unlikely that T580 **lo** may be acting like a phonetic complement for the logogram **TAL**. Sequences like CVC-CV usually abbreviate the type of words CVC[V]C, as is the case in **MUT-la**, *Mut[u']l*, **B'AK-la**, *B'aak[a]l* or **B'AK-le**, *b'aak[e]l*. This would indicate that **TAL-lo** possibly goes together with a word *Tal[V]l*. Given that the last sign is **lo**, with the vowel /*o*/, the most likely solution would indicate that the preceding vowel is /o/, wherefrom we would have **TAL-lo**, *Tal[o]l*.

We should also consider as a feasible possibility that **TAL-lo** may be consistent with a form *TaloC*, whereby C could be any of the usually abbreviated consonants, like /h, j, l, m, n, '/. Though in this case perhaps we could have expected forms like **TAL-h**V, **TAL-jV**, **TAL-l**V, **TAL-m**V, **TAL-n**V or **TAL-'**V (in fact, the form **TAL-l**V is the one that could be present in **TAL-lo**, but once again, it would refer us to *Tal[o]l*). **TAL-lo** as an abbreviated form of *Talo[']* should not be disregarded, but it would imply, however, an unusual transliteration. If the name of the kingdom was *Talo'*, we would expect to find a form **TAL-o** or **TAL-lo-o**, not identified so far. Therefore, and until new evidence is found, I am inclined to favor the transcription of **TAL-lo** as *Tal[o]l*.

It has been recently suggested (Voss and Eberl 1999) that there are two references to the kingdom of Ek' Balam in the form of gentilics, in the text of the Hieroglyphic Jambs at Chichén Itzá. According to Voss and Eberl, those gentilic references might have adopted the form **AJ-ta-la**, *a[j]tal*, being *aj-* the agentive and *tal* the reference to the kingdom of Ek' Balam. However, given the systematic reference to Ek' Balam as **TAL-lo**

and the possibility that the noun is read as *Talol*, even though **TAL** *(Tal[ol])* may be an abbreviation of Talol, as shown in the example of Ek' Balam's Column 1 mentioned before, it seems to be highly unlikely that in an abbreviated syllabic version, such abbreviation could have been written as **ta-la** instead of **ta-lo**, as in the abbreviated syllabic forms, the vowel of the last written syllable anticipates the vowel of the suffix termination (like in the abbreviations of **ma-su** for **ma-su-la**, **ma-ta-wi** for **ma-ta-wi-la**, or **k'u-ti** for **k'u-ti-ma**). Thus, for example, the form **ma-su-la** may be abbreviated as **ma-su**, and that is how it appears in the inscriptions, but it could not be abbreviated as **ma-sa**.

At Ikil, the Emblem Glyph of Ek' Balam is not mentioned. The Emblem Glyph documented at Ikil reads **ma-TAL-lo**, probably *Matal[o]l*, or even *Talo'm*, provided the sign **ma** is to be read at the end. A similar sequence, **ma-TAL**–but without T580 **lo**–is also present in the text of one of the jades found inside the cenote from Chichén Itzá, and in Altun Ha', in Belize.

About the Name of the City of Ek' B'alam in the Terminal Classic Period

If **TAL-lo**, *Tal[o]l* was the name of the ancient kingdom of Ek' Balam and the rulers of the site called themselves kings of Talol, there is an interesting possibility that the name of the city in the Classic Period was *Ek' B'ahlam* or *Ek' B'aalam*, as documented in colonial times and still nowadays. Block E from the Mural of the 96 Glyphs shows an expression written as **[ta?]-EK'-b'a-la-ma**, *ta? Ek' B'a[h]lam*. Even though the passage is not completely clear because the damages in that part of the text caused almost the total loss of the preceding block D, which would have been of great help for clarifying the meaning of the phrase, the sequence **EK'-b'a-la-ma** could be referring to the name of a place. It would be the place, in block C, where (**[hu]-[li]**, *huli*,) the powerful king Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' arrived. Given that the meaning of the verb *hul-i*, "to arrive", incorporates the sense of "arrive *in here* ", Ek' B'ahlam should be the name of the place reached, the city itself. The possible presence of a sign ta preceding the whole, probably representing the preposition *ta* "to, in", would support this interpretation of the form **EK'-b'a-la-ma** as the name of the place. The resulting syntax of the Intransitive verb–Name of the place–Subject, would also be correct.

To resolve whether **EK'-b'a-la-ma** in the text refers to the name of a place is of crucial importance, not only for understanding the historic information in the text. Ek' B'ahlam could also be the name of a person, a second solution which in this precise context of the archaeological site of Ek' Balam is also admissible. Very interestingly, in the *Relación Geográfica de Ek' Balam* we may read "the capital of Tiquibalon [Ekbalam] was given this name after a great lord known as Ek' Balam, which means black tiger, and he was also known as Coch Cal Balam, which means the lord above all" (de la Garza 1983: 138). Thus, a great lord known as Ek' B'ahlam may have existed and may have arrived in the place–in fact, **EK'-B'ALAM**, *Ek' B'ahlam* is attested as a name of person in texts from the Classic Period. Needless to say, the possible historical

corroboration in a hieroglyphic text from the Classic Period of the story narrated in the XVI century would be of the outmost importance.

In any case, even though the solution I am favoring here is that **EK'-b'a-la-ma** represents the name of a place, possibly the name of the city, or either of its central sector, the appearance of the glyphic sequence **EK'-b'a-la-ma** in a text from the archaeological site of Ek' Balam is by all means interesting.[33]

Lords from Ek' Balam

From the texts known, some twenty different characters have been identified and mentioned in many different ways, by their own names, by their names and titles, by their titles only, or as usual in different cases, by means of the gentilics using the formula agentive-toponym. All characters correspond to the Late Terminal Classic.

Among these identified lords are the ones associated with the Emblem Glyph of the site, and consequently they would be the kings of the place. Let us begin with them.

Kings from Ek' Balam

Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'

Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' is the first king identified in the dynastic sequence from Ek' Balam. He is, by far, the most frequently mentioned personality in the inscriptions of the site. In total, throughout the texts known so far, he has been mentioned 20 times, and one more time, probably two, in texts originated outside the site:

–Stela 1 (H3-H4)	**u-[ki]-[ti]** [IV]-**[le]-ku**
–Column 1 (J2-J3)	**u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Column 1 (I2)	**u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Western Hieroglyphic Serpent (A3-B3)	**u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku to-TOK'**
–Eastern Hieroglyphic Serpent (B3-C3)	**u-ki-ti**-IV-**le-ku**
–Cover of Vault 3 (A5-A6)	**u-[ki]-ti** IV-**[le]-ku**
–Cover of Vault 6 (C2-C3)	**u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Cover of Vault 7 (A7-A8)	**u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Cover of Vault 14 (B-C)	**u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Cover of Vault 15 (C)	**u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku-TOK'**
–Cover of Vault 18 (E-F)	**u-ki-ti** IV-**[le] ku-TOK'**
–Cover of Vault 19 (E1-D2)	**u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Miscellaneous Text 4 (pY2)	**[u]-ki-ti-**IV-**[le]-[ku]**

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[33] Like Marc Zender has correctly pointed out (personal communication, June 2002), the fact that the toponym is written as jaguar-star and not as jaguar-black, is interesting. The etymology usually assigned to Ek' Balam, even in the XVI century by the local Mayas is that of "black tiger". However, perhaps originally the site meant "jaguar star".

–Miscellaneous Text 5 (A3-B3) **u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Miscellaneous Text 6 (B1-B2) **u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Miscellaneous Text 7 (A7-A8) **u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Mural 22 (J2-K1) **[u]-[ki]-[ti]** IV-**[le]-[ku]**
–Mural 96 Glyphs (OP) **u-ki-ti ka-na-le-ku**
–Mural 96 Glyphs (W3-X3) **u-ki-ti** IV-**le-ku**
–Mural C 29-sub (O-P) **u-ki-ti** IV-**#-ku**
–Ichmul, Panel 1 **u-ki-[ti]** IV-**[le]-ku**

This character is most commonly mentioned as *Ukit Kan Le'k*, and he was first identified in the earlier known texts from the site, Cover of Vault 3, Stela 1 and the two Hieroglyphic Serpents (Vargas *et al.* 1999). Given that a portion of the name was written with the logogram IV "four", there were doubts at the beginning on whether it should be transcribed in Cholan as **CHAN**, or in Yucatecan as **KAN**. The decision made at that time to read the logogram IV as **KAN**, in Yucatecan, responded to the indication that the vernacular language of the site was Yucatecan, using as a diagnostic trait the trend to place the rank title *Kalo'mte'* at the beginning of the nominal clause, before the personal denomination, a trait typical of the Yucatecan group (Lacadena 2000). The finding of Mural A in Room 29-sub, or Mural of the 96 Glyphs, has finally confirmed that the reading of logogram IV "four" was in fact **KAN** and not **CHAN**, given that, exceptionally, the scribe in one occasion used instead of logogram IV "four", the syllabic sequence **ka-na**, *kan* "four", in Yucatecan.

At three different times, in the Western Hieroglyphic Serpent and on Cover of Vaults 15 and 18, the sequence **to-TOK'** or **TOK'**, *tok'* "flint" was added to the name of the king, something that may be considered the complete version of his name, which would then be *Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'*.[34]

The name sequence **le-ku** could correspond to lek "forehead" (Barrera 1980: 444), or either to the classifier for hard objects documented in the Tzeltal languages (M. Zender, personal communication, March 2002). The name of the king could therefore stand for "The-flint-father-of-the-four-foreheads", or either "the-father-of-the-four-hard-flints"—in which case, if **le-ku** is consistent with a numeral classifier, Ukit Kanle'k Tok' would be a more adequate transcription. One final meaning could be expressing "the-father-of-the-four-flint-gourd", should we relate **le-ku** with the Yucatecan *lek* "bowl, gourd" (Barrera 1980: 444).

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[34] With the purpose of always presenting an homogeneous version of the king's name, I am preliminarily transcribing the disharmonic sequence **le-ku** as *le 'k* (in any case, and concerning the disharmonic pattern **e-u**, *vid.* Lacadena and Wichmann, in press). As a convention, in this and other occasions where "flint" appears as *tok'*, transcription with a short vowel has been made, as a consequence of the lack of epigraphic information on the phonetic realization of the term in the inscriptions from northern Yucatán, where there is not enough information on final phonetic complementation or pure syllabic compositions. In the southern lowlands and in the Cholan context, "flint" was probably *too'k'* (Lacadena and Wichmann, in press).

Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' is, in ten out of the twenty-one occasions mentioned in total, explicitly associated with the title ajaw "king". In two out of these ten occasions, ajaw is preceded by the adjective *k'uhul* "sacred".

Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' is also associated with other titles in the texts, the most significant of which, and because of its political implications, could be that of **KAL-ma-TE'**, *Kal[o']mte'*, which he exhibits in at least four occasions: in both texts of the Hieroglyphic Serpents located in the central stairway of the Acropolis, and in his posthumous references in Column 1 and Stela 1. Also significant because of the possible political implications, is the insertion of the expression **ku-lu-a** –*Kula[']?*– that appears between titles in Column 1 preceeding the title *Kalo'mte'*, which several researchers have linked with Calakmul (M. Zender, D. Stuart, and S. Guenter, personal communications, 2002).

Other titles that are found together with the name of the monarch are *Ajman* "the one from Man", maybe a gentilic, twicely associated with him in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs (**AJ-ma-na**) in Miscellaneous Text 5 (**AJ-[ma]-na**),[35] and the already known ones of **CH'AK-OL-la b'a-TE'**, *Ch'ak O'[h]l B'a[']te'* "heart slicer warrior", and **pi-tzi-la**, *Pitziil* "handsome" (?), all of them from Miscellaneous Text 5.

Other titles that have not been satisfactorily read as yet, or whose meaning remains obscure, are repeatedly present in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, in Mural C from Room 29-sub, in Miscellaneous Text 5 and in Miscellaneous Text 7, like the titles STRING-**i-tz'i,** I?-**b'a**-227, *Ocho'm, K'ahk' Okxo'm y …n O'hl Tajiil …n Ohl Pitzil*, from blocks R-S from the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, whose initial portion is documented in sites like Naranjo (S. Houston, personal communication, 2000).

The name of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' is also associated with several deity appellatives, like FIRE•KIB'-**la-ja CHAN-[na] K'AWIL**, *…laj Chan K'awiil* (CV19, MT5),[36] **sa-ya-wa CHAN-na K'UH**, *Sayaw Chan K'uh* (Mural 96 Glyphs, M19sub C)[37] and … **YAX-CHIT I-WINIK**?, … *Yax Chit Jun Winik* (CV19), the Water Serpent appellative (D. Stuart, personal communication, June 2002). In Miscellaneous Text 7, Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' presents a lengthy pattern of deity personification (*vid. supra*).

His date of birth is unknown. If he accessed the throne between his twenty-five or thirty years of age, he must have been born by the end of the first half of the VIII century. Through the mural in Room 22, we now know the names of his parents, *Ukit* HEAD-## – maybe *Ukit Ahkan*, *vid. infra*. There are other individuals mentioned in Ek' Balam–and a lady whose titles we are familiar with, *K'uhul Ixik …/… Ho' Ixik Ajaw* "Sacred lady …/… queen of …ho' ". Even though there is no conclusive evidence that his father was a king

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[35] Man is probably the place where Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' was born. Although the location has not been identified so far with any particular village, Man, in the form of Maní, is present in other toponyms from the northern Yucatán peninsula. Probably Man was a small locality within Ek' Balam's territory, but not the capital itself.

[36] Ek' Balam provides epigraphic evidence to state that logogram FIRE•KIB' is finished with an /l/, due to the complementary patterns present: FIRE•KIB', FIRE•KIB'-**ja** and FIRE•KIB-**la-ja**. The absence of FIRE in the example of the mural from Room 22 would reinforce the notion that 'fire' in such cases is an optional semantic determinative.

[37] The occurrance of K'uh, the God C, as an acting entity in the appellative *Sayaw Chan K'uh* in relation with the other celestial gods, is extremely interesting.

in Ek' Balam, his mother undoubtedly was of a royal lineage (vid. infra "Other characters mentioned in Ek' Balam").

Ukit Kan Le'k's accession to the throne might have taken place in 9.16.19.6.1 (May 26, A.D. 770), if we consider that the expression *i patlaj Talol Ajaw* "then he became the king of Talol", closing the text in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, refers to him (*vid. infra*). In any case, his reign is associated with the following dates:

M96	9.16.19.3.12 11 Eb' 10 Sotz'	(April 7, A.D. 770)
M96	9.16.19.6.1 8 Imix 19 Xul	(May 26, A.D. 770)
CV7	9.17.4.7.19 13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in	(June 7, A.D. 775)
CV14	9.17.10.7.17 13 Kab'an 0 Xul	(May 4, A.D. 781)
CV6	9.17.12.5.15 2 Men 8 Sip	(March 13, A.D. 783)
M22	9.17.12.16.14 13 Hix 7 K'ank'in	(October 18, A.D. 783)
M22	9.17.13.3.8 3 Lamat 1 Wayeb'	(January 20, A.D. 784)
CV18	9.18.3.15.11 11 Chwen 9 Yax, 4 tun 9 Ajaw	(July 29, A.D. 794)
CV19	ca. 9.18.7.0.0 / 9.18.12.0.0, 7/12 tun 9 Ajaw	(A.D. 797 / 802)

A final action from Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' may be reflected in Mural B, dated 9.18.15.9.0 (January 16, A.D. 806), when perhaps in association with the New Year ceremonies, rituals in connection with the Ballgame were celebrated. Unfortunately, it would seem that no historic name has survived in the mural.

Keeping into account the time span between the early and the later dates, Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' seems to have ruled for a long time, between twenty-seven and thirty-two years–or thirty-six, if Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' was responsible for Mural B in Room 29-sub,–and his reign might have lasted forty-three years, should the king K'an B'ohb' Tok' have accessed the throne in 9.19.3.10.14 (January 8, A.D. 814) (*vid. infra*). This extended duration of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's reign clearly explains the high number of texts associated with him at the site.

After his passing, Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' was long remembered. All of the successors to the Ek' Balam throne that we know of, have referred to him at least once. The texts from Ek' Balam include four posthumous mentions of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. The first two are found in Mural 29-sub C, in 9.19.3.10.14 (January 8, A.D. 814), made by his probable successor K'an B'ohb' Tok', and probably too it was the the same individual who mentioned him in Miscellaneous Text 4. The third posthumous mention is found in Column 1, where another king of Ek' Balam, Ukit Jol Ahkul, dedicates a funerary monument, Ukit Kan Le'k's *sak ahk b'aal tuun* as the text reads, while he is represented convoking the image of his ancestor. This happened in 10.0.0.0.0 (March 11, A.D. 830). The fourth posthumous mention of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' is found on a monument to king …K'uh…nal, on Stela 1, in 10.0.10.0.0 (January 18, A.D. 840), where he is represented as an ancestor, deified and seated on a celestial throne.

K'an B'ohb' Tok'

For the time being, this ruler is mentioned four times, and twice in the same text:

M29subC (G)	**K'AN-²b'o-TOK'**
M29subC (V)	**K'AN-²b'o-TOK'**
CV4 (F-G)	**[K'AN]-[na]- [²]b'o-[TOK']**
MT4 (pZ2)	**K'AN-[na]-b'o-b'o-TOK'**

While the meaning of the components **K'AN**, *k'an* "yellow, precious" and **TOK'** *tok'* "flint" from the king's name are clear, the sequence **b'o-b'o** / **²b'o** would allow for two possible transcriptions. The first possibility is *b'ob'* "flower", (CHL *bob* "flor" (Aulie and Aulie 1978: 32), YUC *bob* "henequen flower" (Barrera 1980: 58), *boob* "dry bottoms of the henequen leaves", "floral offspring of the agave" (Bastarrachea *et al.* 1992: 80)); the second would be **b'o-b'o**, *b'o[h]b'* "coyote, fox, beast" (CHR *b'ojb'* "coyote" (Pérez *et al.* 1996: 26); *b'ohb'* "fox" (Wisdom 1950); YUC *bob* "a mythological animal", *boboch* "a mythological animal" (Barrera 1980: 58), ITZ *b'oo'* "a beast like a lion" (Hofling and Tesucún 1997: 187)).[38] Depending on each case, the name of the king could be transcribed and translated as *K'an B'ob' Tok'* "Yellow-precious-flint-flower", or *K'an B'ohb' Tok'* "Beast-flint-yellow-coyote". Choosing one of the two possible transcriptions is not an easy task. However, the presence of *boob* in modern Yucatecan indicates that in the Classic Period the term had a long vowel, a feature that has not been represented in the synarmonic pattern **b'o-b'o**. If we consider instead that *b'ob'* has not lost its vocalic length, then we should favor the transcription of **b'o-b'o** as *b'o[h]b'*, and consequently, the meaning of "beast, coyote".

The name K'an B'ohb' Tok' has parallels in the southern texts, where the variant **IK'-b'o-b'o-TOK'**, *Ik' B'o[h]b' Tok'*, is found, in the name of a captive taken by a Machaquilá king. The presence of the color *ik'* "black" preceding the name, indicates that the best translations for *k'an* of the name of the Ek' Balam king is "yellow", and not "precious".

The first mention in Mural C, Room 29-sub, shows that which could be a complete version of his name: **B'AK-B'ALAM K'AN-²b'o-TOK'**, *B'aak Bahlam K'an B'o[h]b' Tok'*. *B'aak Bahlam* could be analized and translated as "jaguar-skull". Considering the context in which the name appears, it could well be his pre-accession name.

K'an B'ohb' Tok' ruled in Ek' Balam, as shown in the title he exhibits in Mural C from Room 29-sub, **TAL-lo-AJAW-wa**, *Tal[o]l ajaw* "king of Talol". In the same text another title is shown, 227-**CHAK-la k'i-k'i** or 227-**CHAK-la ch'i-ch'i**, depending on the reading

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[38] Nikolai Grube (personal communication) notes that among the *cruzo 'ob'* from Quintana Roo there is a beast or imaginary monster known as *b'óob'* which is said to devour merchants. No doubt, this monster has something to do the Ch'orti' meaning of "fox, coyote" and of "a beast like a lion" of the Itzaj.

value we determine for the sign 'ala' in this case. Although the full meaning of the title remains elusive because of the current uncertain reading of the first sign, the final portion of it could be *chak[a]l k'ik'* or *ch'ich'* "red blood", cfr. YUCOL *k'ik'*, *k'iik'* "blood" (Barrera 1980: 399); YUC *k'i'ik'* "blood" (Bastarrachea *et al.* 1992: 100); ITZ *k'ik'* "sangre/blood" (Hofling and Tesucún 1997: 391); MOP *k'ik'* "blood" (Schumann 1997: 267), *q'uic'* "blood" (Ulrich and Ulrich 1976: 180); CHN *ch'ich'* "blood" (Keller and Luciano 1997: 102); CHR *ch'ich'* "blood" (Pérez *et al.* 1996: 55). Like other kings from Ek' Balam, and as shown in the fragmented Miscellaneous Text 4, K'an B'ohb' Tok' has incorporated the deity appellative of FIRE•KIB' **[CHAN]-[na] K'AWIL**, to his nominal clause.

Presently, what we know about this ruler is not much. As of the chronological scheme we are handling on the monuments of the site, K'an B'ohb' Tok' was probably the successor of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. For the time being, the only date associated to his reign is that on Mural C from Room 29-sub, 9.19.3.10.14 3 Hix 17 Kumk'u (January 8, A.D. 814). The scribe who designed this glyphic mural has consciously chosen a text format that mimicked Mural A (the Mural of the 96 Glyphs) in that same Room 29-sub: one that should be read in horizontal lines, and with dates expressed in Calendar Rounds separated by the explicit expression of the days that separated them. The text structure is also identical, and it accounts for an *arrival* (**hu-li**) in that place. The individuals mentioned are K'an B'ohb' Tok' himself, and once again, Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' –in this case only accompanied by the title of **b'a-ka-b'a**, *B'a[ah] Kab'* "Head/Prince of the Earth",–the foreign ruler who arrived to Ek' Balam and who was involved in Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's accession to power, forty-four years earlier. In fact, Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' and Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' are once again connected to one other in the mural by the enigmatic relating expression **u**-RABBIT-**ka-yi** (**u**-RABBIT-**ka-ja** in the Mural A or Mural of the 96 Glyphs). Thanks to the parrallelisms between both texts, we are now able to interpret the event recorded in the mural as K'an B'ohb' Tok's accession to power, and the date 9.19.3.10.14 3 Hix 17 Kumk'u (January 8, A.D. 814) as the day he was enthroned.

If K'an B'ohb' Tok' was in fact Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's successor, then probably he was the one that made the arrangements for his funeral. The finding of Cover of Vault 4 in Room 25 of the Acropolis, whose dedicatory text probably speaks of K'an B'ohb' Tok', could be related to the remodelling works undertaken in that sector of the Acropolis at the time the *Sak Xok Naah*, the building that houses the tomb of his predecessor, was sealed.

Ukit Jol 'Ahkul

He is mentioned twice in the preserved texts:

      COL 1 (K2-K3)   **u-ki-ti JOL-a-ku-lu?**
      CV10 (E1-F1?)   **u-ki-ti #-JOL?-##**

Ukit Jol Ahkul possibly stands for "the-father-with-the-turtle-head". During the Classic Period, in the context of toponyms and names of individuals, ahk "turtle" is often suffixed with the morpheme −u'l or −ul (**a-ku-la, AHK-la, a-ku-lu, AHK-lu**), as in the case of Ek' Balam.[39]

Ukit Jol Ahkul was king of Ek' Balam, as is attested by the title **K'UH-TAL-AJAW**, *k'uh[ul] Tal[ol] ajaw* "sacred king of Talol" shown in Column 1. The presence of the *k'uhul* "sacred" preceding the Emblem Glyph is significant, should this concurrence allow to derive implications of a political nature.

We ignore when exactly Ukit Jol Ahkul was enthroned, but by means of the date in Column 1, we know for sure that by 10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, A.D. 830), he was already ruling. In this monument, which probably stood against the surface that covered the *Sak Xok Naah* where Ukit Kan Le'k's burial chamber was located (L. Vargas and V. Castillo, personal communication), king Ukit Jol Ahkul was depicted in a seated position, wearing a cloak, and wrapped up with the serpentine body of a supernatural being that emerged from the shell of a sea turtle represented beneath him, whose fauces let out the image of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', his predecessor in the throne. This monument, whose significance has already been outlined in the Long Count date it exhibits, one that allows to define a deadline *ante quem* for Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's life, is extremely interesting for its iconographic and epigraphic contents, as we have outlined elsewhere in this report.

Because of the dedicatory date recorded, 5 Imix 14 Kumk'u, 2 tuun 5 ajaw, and through what may still be read of the name of the individual who owned this structure, **u-ki-ti #-JOL?-##**, it is probable that Ukit Jol Ahkul was the lord mentioned in Cover of Vault 10 from Room 38, in 10.0.1.15.1 (January 1, A.D. 832). As Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' had already passed by 10.0.0.0.0, and the date in this Cover of Vault occurs only two years after the dedication of Column 1, the reliable sequence of the text **u-ki-ti** … could well refer to this monarch. This would imply to admit that during his reign, this sector of the Acropolis underwent architectural interventions.

Another possible reference to king Ukit Jol Ahkul is found in Panel 2 from Ichmul. Ukit Jol Ahkul could be the ballplayer represented at the left, with a nominal clause that shows the sequence **u-[B'AH]-hi / #-#-# / [pi]-tzi / u-[ki]-[ti] / #-JOL?-#**. The individual exhibits an Emblem Glyph placed at the end of his nominal clause, which, because of its overall disposition, could be that of Ek' Balam, though this is not evident in the drawing. The verification of such a suggestion awaits the examination of the original monument. The presumed reference to Ukit Jol Ahkul would not contradict the date of the monument, one k'atun 7 Ajaw, corresponding to 10.0.0.0.0, precisely the date recorded in Ek' Balam's Column 1, dedicated by him.

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[39] The glyphic sequence **u-ki-ti jo-lo-a-ku** is seen jointly with the name of Ukit Kan Le'k in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs. Even though the similarity between this form in the Mural and the king's name is evident, it still remains unclear whether reference is made to him or not, as it could be a nickname for Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', later adopted by Ukit Jol Ahkul. In any case, if the optional chronology situating the Mural of the 96 Glyphs in a later Calendar Round is adopted, both characters would result to be one and the same person.

… K'uh…nal / K'ihnich Junpik Tok' K'uh…nal

For the time being, this monarch of Ek' Balam is known only through one single but particulary important text, Stela 1. The king was portrayed in the front of the monument, with luxury costumes, wearing a mask and a sophisticated headdress, exhibiting the scepter of the K'awiil god in his left hand, and with his right hand possibly executing the *chok-ch'aaj* ritual on the small altar represented in front of him, on which an offering of hearts or fish can be seen. A glyphic clause engraved in front of his face, with two entire glyphic blocks missing, identifies him as […] […] **K'UH-#-NAL**, … *K'uh…nal*. The king exhibits two major titles of political rank: **KAL-ma-TE'**, *Kalo'mte'*, opening the nominal clause, and **K'UH-[TAL]-lo-AJAW**, *kuh[ul] Tal[o]l ajaw* "sacred king of Talol", as a closure. The stela, dated at the rear with the Initial Series 10.0.10.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Pop (January 18, A.D. 840), defines the moment when … K'uh…nal is ruling.

Above the image of the king another individual is represented, seated on a celestial band in the shape of a throne, inserted in an ovoidal cartouche, denominated by iconographers as an ancestors cartouche. The individual carries a shield and a ceremonial lance, finished on both sides with three flint leaves. Though eroded, the glyphic clause engraved before him identifies the image, by stating "it is the image of the sacred *kalo'mte'*, Ukit Kan Le'k". Like his ancestors, king … K'uh…nal also makes a posthumous reference to the first king of Ek' Balam.

Because of the name's structure and the similarity of the preserved signs of the name …K'uh…nal, maybe this king is the same lord mentioned on Lintel 1 from Halakal with Ek' Balam's Emblem Glyph, towards 10.2.1.0.0 (A.D. 870). This relation has also been outlined by other epigraphists (*vid.* Vargas *et al.* 1999; Voss and Eberl 1999, García 2000). The name of this Ek' Balam ruler mentioned in Halakal is **K'IN-ni-chi-I pi-ki-TOK'-K'UH-#-NAL**, *K'i[h]nich Junpik Tok' K'uh…nal*–David Stuart being the first one to identify this K'ihnich Junpik Tok' in the texts from Halakal and Chichén Itzá–while he might be once more mentioned in the Hieroglyphic Band of the Red House in Chichén Itzá simply as K'ihnih Junpik Tok'. If … K'uh…nal from Ek' Balam's Stela 1 and K'ihnich Junpik Tok' K'uh…nal from Halakal's Lintel 1 are one and the same inividual, his reign must have lasted for at least thirty years, which is the temporal distance separating the date 10.0.10.0.0 in Ek' Balam's Stela 1, and the reference 10.2.1.0.0 from Halakal.

K'inich, k'in-ich is often translated as "solar-face", from the Yucatecan *k'in* "Sun" and *ich* "face". However, we think that as this title is frequently seen in southern Mayan texts with a definite Cholan filiation, the translation, more accurately, could perhaps simply be "solar", from *k'in* "Sun" and *–ich* "have the quality of", a well-documented suffix in the Mayan tongues from the lowlands. Søren Wichmann (2000) has recently contributed to the discussion around this title by presenting a second alternative according to which the logogram **K'IN** would transcribe not only the word *k'in* "Sun", but also *k'i[h]n*, with the related meanings of "heat, hot" and "anger, rage, annoyance", well documented in the Ch'orti' tongues. Considering that the suffix *–ich* represents the same value of "having the quality of", we would then have that *k'ihnich, k'ihn-ich* could also mean "hot" and "angry, enraged, furious". Although the three qualifiers of "solar", "hot" and "annoyed, choleric, furious" are epigraphically possible and do make sense, in this case

and for the meaning of the name of the Ek' Balam king, I'm in favor of "angry, choleric, furious". Thus, K'ihnich Junpik Tok' would translate as "furious-eight-thousand-flints". It would be interesting to point out that the Rabinal Achí documents a qualifier or title *oyew*, or *oyew achi*, preceding personal names, with the meaning of "choleric, fierce" (vid. Breton 1999: Note 22, 314, 371-372). The *oyew* title could be a survival and a literal translation of the classic title *k'ihnich*, with an identical meaning.

Even though the identity of … K'uh…nal from Ek' Balam and K'ihnich Junpik Tok' K'uh…nal is by all means possible, it should not be forgotten that with the evidence available so far it is not possible to make a final assertion. For now, the suggested identity of both characters depends on another character mentioned in Ek' Balam, Tz'ihb'am Tuun, mentioned in Cover of Vaults 1 and 2 of the site, and associated to the date 10.0.11.11.10 (August 30, A.D. 841), and if he was, or was not, king of Ek' Balam. If Tz'ihb'am Tuun was in fact a king, his reign would have taken place undoubtedly between the reigns of …K'uh…nal from Stela 1 (10.0.10.0.0) and K'ihnich Junpik Tok' K'uh…nal from Halakal's Lintel 1 (10.2.1.0.0).

Other Characters Mentioned in Ek' Balam

I shall now discuss some of the characters that seem to be more relevant from the point of view of the political history from this site, mentioned in the Ek' Balam inscriptions:

Tz'ihb'am Tuun

He appears twice in the Ek' Balam texts:

CV1 (E1-E2)	**[tz'i]-b'a-ma TUN-ni**
CV2 (B-C)	**tz'i-b'a-ma TUN-ni**

The glyphic sequence **tz'i-ba-ma TUN-ni** may be transcribed as *Tz'i[h]b'am Tuun*, though the proper transliteration of the name sequence **tz'i-ba-ma** may also have been tz'iibam, as a consequence of the evidence that points to the existence in Ek' Balam of a Yucatecan vernacular substratum. However, the transcription *Tz'i[h]b'am* is favored, as there is no evidence in the north-central region of Yucatán–the area where Ek' Balam and Chichén Itzá are located–of the change Vh > VV (VV with a high tone in Yucatecan and VV in Itzaj-Mopán) reconstructed for the proto-Yucatecan. Other words in the region written in a clear Yucatecan context, such as **k'a-k'a**, *k'a[h]k'* "fire", indicate that the change referred to had not taken place.

Tz'ihb'am Tuun may mean "he-who-paints/writes on-stones", after *tz'ihb'* "painting, writing", *-am*, a possible archaic, agentive suffix documented in colonial Yucatecan (Barrera 1980:15) and *tuun* "stone".

It is uncertain whether Tz'ihb'am Tuun–provided he was a historic character[40] –was at any point king in Ek' Balam, as he is not present in either of the two occasions in which he is named in association with the Emblem Glyph of the site. Nevertheless, this argument is not really definite, as Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' occasionally appears without the Emblem Glyph. We may have a clue in the fact that Tz'ihb'am Tuun is associated with the cover of vaults from the rooms of a structure which is not a part of the Acropolis but of the Ballcourt (Structures 8-9), indicating perhaps a subsidiary character somehow connected to the Ballcourt or to the maintenance of the field. However, this argument is far from conclusive.

In Cover of Vault 1, Tz'ihb'am Tuun is associated with the date 11 Ok 13 Keh, 12 tun 5 Ajaw, matching 10.0.11.11.10 (August 30, A.D. 841). As previously indicated, this date is between the dates 10.0.10.0.0 from Ek' Balam's Stela 1 (January 18, A.D. 840), and 10.2.1.0.0 from Halakal's Lintel 1 (A.D. 870). If Tz'ihb'am Tuun was in fact one of Ek' Balam kings, then king …K'uh…nal, who dedicated Stela 1, and king K'ihnich Junpik Tok' K'uh…nal mentioned in Halakal, cannot be one and the same person.

Ukit HEAD-## and Ukit Ahkan

In the mural found inside Room 22 of the Acropolis, an individual referred to as **u-ki-ti** HEAD-## is mentioned as the father of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. This is an almost exceptional information in the hieroglyphic texts from northern Yucatán, which rarely include such data. Unfortunately, neither the block preceding the name nor the one that follows, both corresponding to a nominal clause, were preserved. In case they included titles, important information could have been obtained on this individual's identity.

The way in which the name of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's father was written in the mural of Room 22, **u-ki-ti** HEAD-##, greatly resembles the sequence **u-ki-ti-a AKAN**, **Ukit Ahkan**,–*Ahkan* being written with the logogram of God A's head–which is present in the second text of Miscellaneous Text 7, the long inscription inscribed on a human thigh-bone, carved and transformed into a perforator (*vid. supra*). Ukit Ahkan is precisely the individual whose femur, physically, we are referring to (*ub'aakel*).

I have been considering the possibility that Ukit HEAD-## and Ukit Ahkan are one and the same individual. Should this suggestion be correct, it would account for the presence of the bone perforator in Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's tomb in the role of a relic from an ancestor, his father, and for the importance granted to the object through such an impressive carving and the long inscription written on it.

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[40] V. Bricker (personal communication, March 2000) has suggested a different alternative to the interpretation of *–am* as an agentive suffix, and consequently of *Tz'ihb'am Tuun*, as "he-who-paints/writes-on stones". V. Bricker suggests that *–am* could be the allophone of the Yucatecan participle suffix *–a'an*, and *tz'ihb'am tuun* could therefore stand for "painted stone" or "written stone", not making reference to an individual but instead, to some type of object housed in the rooms where the vaults come from.

If so, it is possible that Ukit Ahkan, in spite of having been Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's father, had *not* been a king. The only title from Ukit Ahkan we are able to read in Miscellaneous Text 7, is that of ajk'uh "priest" (*vid. supra* MT7); the tablet that follows is partially destroyed, but the signs preserved indicate that it was not the Emblem Glyph; it could have been written in a last block now lost with the bone fracture, but this is something we are now unable to find out.

For the time being, it is not possible to confirm this suggestion. Nevertheless, I want to outline the fact that while the mother of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', presented name and titles that covered eight glyphic blocks from the mural in Room 22, the name and titles of Ukit Kan Le'k's father covered only four. This perhaps could support the suggestion that the mother enjoyed a higher status, from a social and political standpoint, than the father, and could account for many things regarding the importance imbued to Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' in Ek' Balam, which could be explained if he were the founder of the royal dynasty from the site. I would also like to point out that for now–though this may be a consequence of the incomplete knowledge of the corpus from this site,–no dedicatory inscriptions for Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's father have been found in the Acropolis.

K'uhul Ixik …/ …ho' ixik ajaw

This female character, the first one appearing in the texts from Ek' Balam for the time being, is mentioned only once in the texts of the site:

M22   **K'UH-IX(IK) IX(IK)-## IX(IK)-## ##-na? ti-tz'i-b'a […] HO'-IX(IK)-[AJAW] […**

The poor condition of the glyphs in the mural prevents reading her name, but some of her titles could be recovered. She was a lady with a royal ancestry, as indicated by the reverential title shown at the beginning of her clause, *k'uh(ul) ixik* "sacred lady", and its final section, where an Emblem Glyph has been partially preserved. Interestingly, the Emblem Glyph, whose final portion can be recovered …*ho' ixik ajaw* "queen of …ho' ", is not the one from Ek' Balam.

This "queen of …ho' " is the mother of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. This is clearly indicated in the mural of Room 22, where it says that Ukit Kan Le'k is **ya-YAL**, *yal* "the son of" this noble lady.

Where did the mother of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' come from? Where was her kingdom located? It would be hard to specify a location, though there are two possible alternatives. Both are suggested in the Cobá inscriptions, a city that stands sixty kilometers southeast of Ek' Balam, where two places are mentioned with names ending in /ho'/. One could be the kingdom of Cobá, probably called **EK'-HAB'-HO'**, *Ek'aab' Ho'* during the Classic Period, like N. Grube suggested, in 1992, that the Emblem Glyph was to be read. The second one is the toponym **HO'**, *Ho'* or better yet **i-tz'i-a-HO'**,

Itz'a['] Ho' that is shown in the nominal clause of one of the captives represented in Stela 4.[41]

In any case, no matter if it was Cobá or some other place where the unfortunate captive of Stela 4 came from, the original kingdom of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's mother should be traced in the intermediate region between Ek' Balam and Cobá–if not in Cobá itself.

Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek'

He is mentioned three different times in Ek' Balam: twice with his name and titles, and a third time simply by one of his titles:

M96 (H1-I1)	**CHAK-ju-tu-wi CHAN-na-EK'**
MR29sub (K-L)	**CHAK-ju-tu-wi CHAN-EK'**

The name of this individual could be transcribed as *Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek'*. The translation is uncertain, as there are doubts concerning *jutuuw*, the root of the verb, which could be related to the Yucatecan *juut* "to demolish, to crumble, to fall to pieces" (Bastarrachea *et al*. 1992: 93) or otherwise with the Ch'orti' root *jujt* "to blow" (Pérez *et al*. 1996: 88, M. Sanz, personal communication, January 2002). It is possible that chak here is representing the adverb "much, good, stout, stoutly" (Barrera 1980: 76-77).

Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' was an individual with a remarkably outstanding political status, as suggested by the titles displayed. The first time he is mentioned in Ek' Balam, in the Mural of the 96 Glyps, his name is followed by the titles **K'UH**-MAMMAL-**AJAW-wa**, *k'uh[ul] … ajaw* "sacred king of …", **xa-MAN-na KALOMTE'**, *Xaman Kalo'mte'* "Kalo'mte' from the North" and **b'a-ka-b'a**, *B'a[ah] Kab'* "Head/Prince of the Earth". There are no higher political titles than these.

The kingdom of Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' has not been located. The primary sign represents the head of a mammal, perhaps a meat-eater. Don Héctor and other Maya-speaking workers from Ek' Balam have suggested this is a *sáab'im* ("weasel, ferret", Bastarrechea *et al*. 1996: 116); all of them, together with Julio César Ho'il, a student in UADY and also a Maya speaker, have suggested that it could also be a *k'ulu'* ("raccoon, badger, doggie, coati", *ibid*.: 100); in turn, D. Stuart and K. Taube have suggested it could be an *ooch* ("oppossum", "fox from the land", *ibid*.: 109) (personal communication, June 2002). Due to the lack of phonetic complements to help read the logogram, the final identification of the mammal represented in the primary sign of the Emblem Glyph is still pending. In none of the Emblem Glyphs documented in other texts of the region, a similar animal is clearly represented.

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[41] Although it seems inevitable to consider Mérida-Dzibilchaltún (**ti-jo, ti-jo-i**), in my opinion, the invariable way of writing the name with the syllable **jo** (velar aspirate), never using the syllable **ho** or the number five **HO'** (glottal aspirate) would indicate they would not be related to one another.

Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' is the individual who *arrives* in Ek' Balam on 11 Eb' 10 Sotz', 9.16.9.3.12 (April 7, A.D. 770), and the one mentioned forty-nine days later in the same text, acting with Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. The context of the arrival in Ek' Balam and its relation with Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' is not totally clear. Unfortunately, the key expressions in the text which would allow to elucidate this issue in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs are obscure, or have not been deciphered: the expression **u-b'a-tz'a-ma** (*ub'a[ah] tz'am* "the head/first throne of"?), which seems to define the relation between the site of Ek' Balam and Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek'; the expression **u**-RABBIT-**ka-ja** that relates Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' with Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'; the expression IV-**tzi-ma-hi** or the verbal form **ta-k'a-ni** or **ta-k'a-ni-ti** cannot be reliably transcribed and translated. In the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, it is only clear that all this account concerning the arrival of Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' is related to, and culminates, with the expression *i patlaj Tal[o]l ajaw* "then he became the king of Talol", an accession to the throne, presumably the accession of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'.

Forty-four years after the reference to Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, an identical name **CHAK-ju-tu-wi CHAN-EK'** appears once again in Mural C of Room 29-sub, this time joining only the title of *B'aah Kab'* "Head/Prince of the Earth". Even though the time span of forty-four years between one reference and the other is important, it is not impossible that both references corresponded to one and the same person, and that is how they have been considered here. The evidence obtained by the repetition of the name, the fact that the context of the reference is identical, an *arrival* in Ek' Balam, and the fact that both texts share the same physical location in the northern inner wall of Room 29-sub support this suggestion. In this case, we are also unable to assert that the content of the hieroglyphic mural has been fully understood. The same problematic expressions present in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs have been repeated here: the expression **u-b'a-tz'a-ma** and the expression **u**-RABBIT-**ka-yi** (in this case with a suffix -*aay* instead of -*aj, vid. infra* "Linguistic Comments") to define the relationship between Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' and Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. The innovation in this mural is the reference to K'an B'ohb' Tok', a new ruler from Ek' Balam.

Comments on Mural A or Mural of the 96 Glyphs: Implications for the Dynastic History of Ek' Balam

The attempt to define a dynastic history for Ek' Balam at this time would by all means be premature. In spite of the fact that the number and significance of the texts recovered in the past few years through the works accomplished by Archaeologists Leticia Vargas, Víctor Castillo and their team is truly relevant, the unfinished excavation of the Acropolis (only half of its surface has been excavated so far) and of the two other major structures that flank the central plaza east and west, anticipate the finding of new texts, something that undoubtedly will take place along the coming seasons. Some of these future texts, with their dates and names, may contradict what I am about to suggest here. Nontheless, I shall risk a few interpretations that the existing material seems to support, or at least not to contradict, a number of hypothesis presented like preliminary answers

to the many questions raised by the epigraphic materials recovered in Ek' Balam. The wrong appreciations and inexactnesses shall be corrected in the future.

For reconstructing the dynastic history of Ek' Balam, it is necessary to talk about the Mural of the 96 Glyphs. According to the chronology applied so far (*vid. supra*), with the dates 9.16.19.3.12 11 Eb' 10 Sotz' (April 7, A.D. 770) and 9.16.19.6.1 8 Imix 19 Xul (May 26, A.D. 770) this is the first dated text from Ek' Balam, and the first to mention king Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. The Mural of the 96 Glyphs is original, in different ways. The format in horizontal lines, the extraordinary quality of its calligraphy, the probable coincidence of the 96 tablets with the well-known panel from Palenque, are all very special traits. Unfortunately, the content of the text, for the most part, remains obscure. Some components that are crucial for the understanding of certain relations present undeciphered signs that prevent their reading and translation; unusual verbal forms or remarkably polysemic forms do not allow to identify the event they were referring to; in some other cases, in spite of the transparent transliterations, the transcription is equivocal or the final meaning remains elusive. However, the relevance of the text is attested, the recorded events were significant, and the kings of Ek' Balam acknowledged this fact through at least two additional entries to the compound, to add new glyphic murals below the existing one.

The first intriguing fact in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, is the association of a date 11 Eb' with an *arrival* (**[hu]-[li]**), considering that one of the most relevant events in the history of the lowland Mayas during the Classic Period is also associated to a date 11 Eb' and to an *arrival*, that of the Teotihuacáns, in Central Petén (Stuart 2000; *vid*. Martin and Grube 2000).

Following this event, we have a completely lost tablet and an expression **[ta?]-EK'-b'a-la-ma**, *Ek' B'a[h]lam* or *Ek' B'aalam*. I have interpreted this as a toponym, due to the possible presence of the preceding preposition ta "to, in" and the syntactic situation in the entire phrase. The meaning of the glyph that comes after, IV-**tzi-ma-hi**, *Chan Tzimaah* is enigmatic (the literal translation in Cholan would be "four squashes"–does not seem to be the name of a person, but rather to be somehow connected to Ek' B'ahlam, given that it is mentioned once more in T3 possessed by the pronoun *u-*). Then there's an expression indicating that Ek' B'ahlam Chan Tzimaah is the **u-b'a-tz'a-ma** of an individual. It may well be a form possessed by *u-*, the ergative pronoun of the third person singular before a consonant. But then, what is **b'a-tz'a-ma**? I have not found a single satisfactory entry for a possible *b'atz'am* or *b'a[h]tz'am*. However, it could reflect the form *b'aah tz'am*, "head/first throne, seat". If so, Chan Tzimaah or otherwise Ek' B'ahlam (or both, Ek' B'ahlam, Chan Tzimaah), the place of arrival, is being described as the *b'aah tz'am* "head/first throne" of an individual.

This character, whom I consider the subject of the verb *huli*, he who arrives, is called Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek', and is the leading character in this first part of the text. This lord is of the outmost political relevance, inasmuch as he displays the highest possible titles for a Maya ruler of the Classic Period: *k'uhul ajaw* "sacred king", *Xaman kalo'mte' "Northern Kalo'mte'"*, *B'aah Kab'* "Prince of the Earth". The combination of "northern" *xaman* and the Kalo'mte' title is interesting, as it closes the series of the *Kalo'mte'* title

associated to the cardinal points: *Ochk'in Kalo'mte', Elk'in Kalo'mte', Noho'l Kalo'mte'*. A recent identification of the variant Xaman Kalo'mte' in Altar 1 from Ixlú (S. Guenter, personal communication, July 2002), confirms that this title is not of an occasional nature.

King Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' is related to Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' from Ek' Balam through the relational glyph **u**-RABBIT-**ka-ja**, whose reading, unfortunately, is still uncertain. The expression possibly reflects a noun possessed by *u-*. This possessed noun is probably a substantive derived, through suffix *–aj* from the verb documented as RABBIT-**ka-ja** in the Panel of Brussels, with a probable root *CVk*.

In tablet T, following the name and titles of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', a new phrase probably begins; if we take **u-tz'i-b'a** as a verb, then maybe *utz'i[h]b'a* "has written it". Next comes a name, the subject of *utz'ihb'a*, called Uchaahkil K'in O' Chaahk, *Ajchan B'aak* "the one of the four captives".

After tablet X and up to the end of the line, the structure of the text is lost: perhaps a new verb, **tu-ta-ji**, *tutaaj*, of an unknown meaning in this context–other southern examples indicate that *tut* could stand for "to cover", "to renovate a house", and maybe this is the case at this time–is found in tablet X, then maybe a name, the title *ch'ok*, perhaps a new verbal form in **tz'a-pa-ta-na**…

In the second line, a sequence of forty-nine *tzolk'in* days begins, counted as of 11 Eb'. It begins with 12 B'en, 13 Hix, and continues through the end of the line, which concludes with 3 Ak'b'al, 4 K'an, to continue then in line three with 5 Chikchan, 6 Kimi, until in tablet Q we come to 8 Imix, whose 19 Xul, the corresponding haab' is expressed in tablet R. This new date, 8 Imix 19 Xul corresponds to 9.16.19.6.1 (May 26, A.D. 770).

Immediately after, in tablet S, we may see the verbal expression associated with this new Calendar Round. The expression, although with a transparent transliteration, **ta-k'a-ni-ti**, poses problems for transcription and even more, for analysis and translation. The transcription problems derive from the two possible alternatives it features: the first one has to do with considering that the verbal form is **ta-k'a-ni**, *tak'aan* or *tak'ni* and that **ti** transcribes the preposition *ti*, in relation to the following expression, **u**-IV-**tzi-ma-hi**; the other one has to do with considering that **ta-k'a-ni-ti** constitutes one single word, whereafter the verbal expression would be *tak'aanti*. Other problems arise when we try to clarify the meaning of the expression, due to the huge polysemy that the verbal root *tak'* presents in the lowland Mayan languages. Even though excluding, because of its unlikelyness, the meanings of "to mature", "to cook", "the creature to be conceived in a woman's womb", and "to revel, to have sexual intercourse", *tak'* still features the following meanings, all of them, so far, valid for the text:

♦ *tak'* "to stick, to place on a wall, to lean on" (CHN *täq'ue'* "to stick" (Séller and Luciano 1997: 232), *täc'a* "tied to, perched", *täc'äm* "sticky" (*ibid.*: 230); CHR *tak'* "to stick with glue" (Pérez *et al.* 1996: 196), *tak'b'u* "to stick (with glue), to stick (to put) on the wall", (*ibid.*); COLYU *tak'* "to stick paper, clay, and similar things to a wall, to stick with paste, to stick, to affix" (Barrera 1980: 762); YUC *taak'* "to

stick, to glue, to affix, to assemble, to attach" (Bastarrachea *et al.* 1992: 119); ITZ *täk'* "pegar/stick" (Hofling and Tesucún 1997: 581), *tak'al* "pegado/stuck, leaning against" (*ibid.*: 574); MOP *täk'ik* "to stick it, to attach it" (Schumann 1997: 279)). This meaning for *tak'* is interesting, inasmuch as it could be referring to the dedication of the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, when it is "stuck", "attached to" or "placed against the wall" in Room 29-sub. In this case, the verb *tak'* would be identical to the one S. Houston identified in the Madrid Codex.

♦ *tak'* "younger brother" (COLYU *tak'* "brother or sister that follow another one", "brother that comes next", "brother or sister born next" (Barrera 1980: 761); CHR *tak'* "younger brother" (Pérez *et al.* 1996: 196)). This meaning for *tak'*, maybe in the inchoative form *tak'aan* or *tak'ni* that may be translated as "he became a younger brother", poses interesting questions on the presumed accomplishment of some type of ritual designed perhaps for the kinship association of the actors involved.

♦ *tak'* "to join, to become a participant, to become a companion" (COLYU "to adhere to, to come close, to become a participant, a companion" (Barrera 1980: 762). CHN *täq'ue'* "to connect, to unite" (Keller and Luciano 1997: 232)). As previously, in this case *tak'* would also suggest the accomplishment of certain rituals aimed at some type of association between the characters involved.

♦ *tak'* "to light (a fire)" (CHR *tak'ar* "lit (the fire)" (Pérez *et al.* 1996: 196); *tak'res* "to light (the fire)" (*ibid.*: 197)–possible cognates in the other languages like "to roast, to cook"). The reference to a ritual involving lighting a fire would not be rare, considering that this kind of ceremony is well documented in the Classic Maya Period, not only in relation to building dedications but also to other types of ceremonies.

♦ *tak'* "to preach, to encourage" (CHNAC *tak-an*, "to preach, to encourage" (Smailus 1975: 169)). This meaning for *tak'* should not be disregarded, as the event recorded in this expression might very well describe such an activity, with sermons and exhortations.

On the other hand, should the verbal sequence be **ta-k'a-ni-ti**, *tak'aanti*, the possible morphological analysis thereof would point to the Chontal, where the analysis *tak'-aant-i* or *tak'-a-ant-i* would make sense. In this case, and in addition to other textual evidences, *tak'* or *tak'a* would need to be placed in relation with the verb *tak'-a-n* documented in the Chontal from Acalan in the sense of "preaching, encouraging" (Smailus 1975: 169), the last meaning we have seen. In turn, the suffix –*Vnt*- is documented in Chontal as the passive suffix of transitive verbs of no-CVC; -*i* would then mark the completive. The form would then be passive (consistent with suffixing the third person absolutive pronoun –ø), "was preached", "was encouraged". The Papers of Paxbolón (Smailus 1975: 109) present a similar passive form (in the optative though): *takanticob –tak'-ant-ik-ob'*, in modern graphs– "were preached", "so that they were preached". In spite of the subjective nature of this solution, there is no reason whatsoever to justify the presence of the western Cholan morphology in this text.

In all cases, I am taking the expression **u**-IV-**tzi-ma-hi** as the name of the place where the event takes place, perhaps this Room 29-sub, this sector of the Acropolis or the entire Acropolis. It is an expression identical to the one found before the name of Ek' B'ahlam at the beginning of the text, only that in this case it is possessed by the pronoun *u-*.

Next, the text tells us about the actors that are participating or attending the event described by *tak'*, whichever this may be. Following the expression **yi-ta-ji**, *yitaaj*, maybe translatable as "in the company of, with" or "he has accompanied him", we have on the one side **AJ**-IV-**na-b'a-ki**, *Ajchan B'aak*, and on the other MAMIF-**AJAW-wa**, … *ajaw*. *Ajchan B'aak* "the one of the four captives", is the title the character called Uchaahkil K'in O' Chaahk displays in the first line of the text; in turn, … *ajaw* "king of …" is the Emblem Glyph of Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek', the visiting king. Then, and following the expression of agency **u**-526-**ji-ya**, we have the name of Ukit Kan Le'k, followed by the titles of *Sayaw Chan K'uh*, I?-**b'a**-227, STRING-**i-tz'i**, *K'ahk' Okxam, Ajman* and *Ocho'm* –the title *K'ahk' Okxam* was already present in line one associated with Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'; the titles *Sayaw Chan K'uh*, I?-**b'a**-227, STRING-**i-tz'i**, *Ajman* and *Ocho'm* will be seen together with the name of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' in Mural C of Room 29-sub and in Miscellaneous Text 5;–these titles are followed by the sequence **u-ki-ti jo-lo-a-ku**, *Ukit Jol A[h]ku[l]*; the expression **u-K'AB'A'-a**, *uk'ab'a* "this is his name" closes the whole.

In this text, the presence of **u-ki-ti jo-lo-a-ku** is highly confusing. This name is similar to **u-ki-ti JOL-a-ku-lu**?, Ukit Jol A[h]kul, which belongs to one of the successors of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. Again, there is a number of different possibilities: (1) the long sequence of name and titles correspond to *one* single individual, Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'; then, Ukit Jol Ahku[l], is one of the nicknames of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', a nickname adopted later by king Ukit Jol Ahkul when he accessed the throne; (2) the sequence of names and titles refers to two individuals, Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', who owns the whole of the titles, and Ukit Jol Ahkul, his successor.

At the end of the line and closing the text, in tablets E'3-F'3, there is an interesting phrase which poses no translation problems: **i-PAT-la-ja TAL-[lo]-[AJAW]-wa**, *i patlaj Talol ajaw* "then he became the king of Talol". After so many uncertainties, this sentence brings us back to the primary sense of the text, to the culmination of the entire preceding account: the commemoration of an accession to the throne of one of the kings of Ek' Balam.

But, whose accession? Who *became* king of Talol at that time? According to the first outline of the dates considered that place the Calendar Rounds 11 Eb' 10 Sotz' and 8 Imix 14 Xul in 9.16.19.3.12 and 9.16.19.6.1 respectively, this text would fall in the beginning of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's reign–all dates from the remaining monuments of the site that refer to him are subsequent,–and would thus narrate his own access to the throne. Considering the alternative Long Counts of 9.19.11.16.12 and 9.19.12.1.1, it

would result that the text corresponds exactly to the end of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's reign. Thus, Ukit Jol A[h]ku[l] would be the name of his successor, as in Column 1, we learn that he is undoubtedly ruling in 10.0.0.0.0 (A.D. 830); should this alternative interpretation be correct, we would have that the king of Talol enthroned was Ukit Jol Ahkul, so that probably Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', even being alive, had abdicated in his favor or had somehow associated him to the throne.

In either case, king Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's accession to the throne should have taken place under the auspices of Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek', "sacred king", "the northern *Kalo'mte'*, "Head/Prince of the Earth". This is an important piece of information that situates the kingdom of Ek' Balam in the period when the Mural of the 96 Glyphs was created, under the political protection of a different kingdom.

Even though the second alternative mentioned is certainly possible and would be supported by the appearance of the name **u-ki-ti jo-lo-a-ku**, I'm in favor, after the information available at this time, of the first solution, the one considering that the dates from the Mural of the 96 Glyphs are 9.16.19.3.12 11 Eb' 10 Sotz' (April 7, A.D. 770) and 9.16.19.6.1 8 Imix 19 Xul (May 26, A.D. 770), and therefore, considering that the text is an account of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's accession to the throne. The following arguments support this option:

♦ As we have already pointed out, the archaeological sequence suggests that Room 45 was built *after* Room 29-sub. Cover of Vault 14, associated with Room 45, is dated 9.17.10.7.17 13 Kab'an 0 Xul (May 4, A.D. 781). There's *no way* this date could be delayed one full Calendar Round, because it would reach beyond the limits outlined by the date 10.0.0.0.0 in Column 1 for Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's life extension.

♦ Among the many titles that Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' is given throughout the text in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, none corresponds to that of "king" or "sacred king". Perhaps he was not ruling at that time maybe because, as specified at the end of the text, *i patlaj Tal[o]l ajaw* "then he became the king of Talol".

♦ It would seem that since or around 9.18.0.0.0, the scribes of the sites deliberately attempted to present historic events with a greater chronological precision. The earlier dates for Ek' Balam corresponding to the 9.17.0.0.0 k'atun are indicated only by a Calendar Round (CV7, CV14, CV6, Mural from Room 22). After the 18 k'atun, when Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' became fifty-two years old or shortly after–he has been ruling throughout an entire k'atun–the dates from Ek' Balam begin to combine with the Short Count (CV18, CV19), and it is by then or even later when the Initial Series appear. Precisely, the Mural of the 96 Glyphs shows only dates of Calendar Rounds, indicating they belonged to an early period.

Besides, there are other elements that seem to suggest that perhaps we are witnessing something more than a king's accession to the throne. The hypothesis being considered is that Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' was the *first* king of his dynasty, and maybe the first king following the foundation of Ek' Balam as a kingdom. This does not mean that as a city

- Even though Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's mother, the "queen of …Ho' " undoubtedly comes from a royal lineage, we are not positive this was the case with his father. As mentioned earlier in this report, if Ukit HEAD-## from the Mural in Room 22 is the same individual as Ukit Ahkan from Miscellaneous Text 7, the owner of the carved thigh-bone relic, then the father of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' would not have been a king but an *ajk'uh*, a priest.

- The events of *arrival (huli)* in the Maya area are sometimes associated, like in Mesoamerica, to dynastic foundations or re-foundations, as documented in Tikal and Copán. In the case of Ek' Balam, the election of the date 11 Eb' 10 Sotz' perhaps was not accidental, and instead, the connection with Siyal K'ahk's famous arrival to Tikal in 11 Eb' 15 Mak was being sought.

- When Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' accessed power, Ek' Balam was a modest settlement. The monumental public center did not exist with the architectural volume we are now familiar with. The Acropolis itself was a much smaller building, half its height and narrower in two-thirds than the sophisticated building presently at sight. The uninterrumped works for remodelling and building the Acropolis were initiated precisely after Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' accessed power, presumably when Structure 1 was transformed into the Royal Palace of an undoubtedly dynamic ruler.

- All other kings from Ek' Balam that we know of mention Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' in their texts, posthumously. The image of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', as presented by his successors is that of a royal founder: K'an B'ohb' Tok', probably his direct successor, re-enters Room 29-sub and places below the Mural of the 96 Glyphs a new hieroglyphic mural with an identical format, reproducing the discursive scheme with his own *arrival* in the site and that of king Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek', involved in Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's accession forty-four years before; he is given a tomb never seen before north of Calakmul, and the building that contains his burial chamber is ritually buried (Vargas and Castillo 2000); Ukit Jol Ahkul will honor him after his death by dedicating a funerary monument, the *sak ahk b'aal tuun*, placed in front of his sealed tomb; another king, … K'uh…nal, will portray him in his own stela, seated on a celestial throne as a deified ancestor. In a way, Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' is present in his successors' monuments in the same way that the dynastic founders Yax Ehb' Xook appears in the Tikal monuments, or K'ihnich Yax K'uk' Mo' in Copán's.

Linguistic Comments

The early impressions on the linguistic aspects from Ek' Balam set forth by Vargas *et al*. 1999 are confirmed by the new information obtained in the past few years, allowing for a greater and more profound accuracy concerning the conclusions preliminarily suggested.

On one side, texts written in classic Cholan are documented in Ek' Balam, as evidenced in Stela 1, most cover of vaults, Column 1, or Miscellaneous Text 2, where the following forms are documented:

♦ -V_1' w, for transitives CVC (**u-tz'a-pa-wa**, *utz'apa[']w* "he pushes it/he pushed it") (Bricker 1986; Wald 1994; Houston *et al*. 2000).

♦ Passives –h-…-aj for transitives CVC (**ma-ka-ja,** *ma[h]kaj* "was covered") and –n-aj for non-CVC transitives (**u-#-lu-na-ja**, *uCVlnaj* "it was engraved") (Lacadena, in press).

♦ Antipassives –VV_1w (>-V_1w) (*vid*. Lacadena 2000) used in teonyms such as Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek', or Sayaw Chan K'uh, well documented in the south in names such as Tiliw Chan Chaahk or Jasaw Chan K'awiil (*vid*. Houston and Stuart 1996; Grube 2002).

♦ Participle present in –VV_1l, in the verbal form of Column 1 which is a part of the expression **jo-ch'o-li K'AK'**, *joch'ool k'ahk'* "the fire has been drilled" referred to the fire ceremony.

♦ **yi-chi-[#]**, *yich[nal]* "with him, in his presence" from the mural in Room 22 is clearly Cholan in its phonology, reflecting the change pM *k>ch corresponding to the Yucatecan *yiknal*.

This behavior is normal throughout the Maya lowlands during the Classic Period, where a language with an eastern Cholan filiation served as written, prestiged language (Houston *et al*. 2000).

However, and simultaneously, a series of elements repeatedly pointing to the fact that the vernacular tongue of the site was of a Yucatecan filiation, strongly emerged in Ek' Balam. This statement is supported by a number of elements:

♦ **ka-na**, *kan* "four". It is written in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs. The context is semantically controlled by the substitution of the sequence **ka-na** and the logogram IV "four" in the name of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. Writing "four" like *kan* instead of *chan* in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs is a clear indication that the vernacular tongue from the place is of a Yucatecan provenance: YUC *kan* "four" (Bastarrachea *et al*. 1992: 94); ITZ *kän -, käm-* "four" (Hofling and Tesucún 1997: 342); MOP *kän* "four" (Schumann 1997: 99); compare with the Cholan forms

CHN *chän-, chäm-* "four" (Keller and Luciano 1997: 81); CHL *chämp'ejl* "four" (Aulie and Aulie 1978: 52); CHR *chante'* "four" (Pérez *et al*. 1996: 34).

♦ **YAX-WINIK-ki**, *Ya'ax winik* "month of Ya'ax". The Yax month usually appears in texts of the Classic Period in the form of **YAX-SIHOM?-(ma)**, *Yax Siho'm*, which would represent the Cholan name. The writing of this name in the form of **YAX-WINIK-ki** instead of **YAX-SIHOM?-(ma)** in Cover of Vault 18 from Ek' Balam, is anomalous. Even though according to the sources, the Yucatecan word for "month" in colonial times seems to have been *winal*, the truth is that whenever the logogram "month" is documented throughout the Classic Period in northern Yucatán with a final phonetic complement, this invariably is **ki** and not **la**, pointing to *winik* as the noun used for "month". Even in Chichén Itzá, in the Hieroglyphic Band from the Red House, in a semantically controlled context where the word for "month" is expected, this is written like **wi-ni-ki**, *winik*. Taking this into consideration, it is possible then that *winik*, in the example **YAX-WINIK-ki** should simply stand for "month", thus leaving only **YAX** as the sole definite denomination for it. *Yax*–without *Siho'm* or any other added feature–is present in the Yucatecan list of months recorded by Bishop Diego de Landa in the XVI century. *Yax*, or better yet *Ya'ax*, with a re-articulated vowel, is indicating the use of the Yucatecan language in this text. The Ek' Balam example would add up to other peculiar cases, like when during the Classic Period the name of the months are written following the Yucatecan list and not the Cholan, as documented in sites like Xcalumkín (**K'AN-K'IN-ni**, *K'ank'in*, instead of *Uniiw*) and Chichén Itzá (**wo**, *Wo'*, instead of *Ik'at*).

♦ **u-WAY, WAY-ya-li**, **WAY-li, u-WAY-li**, way "room, chamber, cell". This term, well documented in colonial Yucatecan sources (Barrera 1980: 915) may be considered as a marker of Classic Yucatecan because it is absent from southern texts, where apparently the expression used for "room, chamber" is *wayib'*. The difference between both expressions lies in the presence of the instrumental *–ib'* in the Cholan expression, and the absence thereof in the suggested Yucatecan expression.

In addition to the examples mentioned, enough to suggest the presence of Yucatecan in the place, other indications also suggest the presence of classic Yucatecan in the texts:

♦ Alike other sites from northern Yucatán, in Ek' Balam the titles of rank and position exhibit the Yucatecan trend to syntactically be placed at the beginning of the nominal clause, before the personal denomination (Lacadena 2000). For instance, in the seven occasions where the title of *Kalo'mte'* has been documented so far in Ek' Balam, five times it has been situated before the personal denomination, against the remaining two where it has been situated subsequently. In one occasion also, the title *ajaw* "king" behaves similarly. In Cover of Vault 15, *ajaw* has been written before the name Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'. Although it could be argued that actually it is not directly related with the name of the king but rather with the preceding supernatural toponym Ho'…lnal, thus giving shape to a hypothetical expression of Emblem Glyph, we would then have

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a syntactic aberration, given that the title represented by the Emblem Glyph usually comes after the personal denominations, and not before. Therefore, the expression **AJAW-wa u-ki-ti-IV-le-ku-TOK'**, *ajaw Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'* from Cover of Vault 15, may be put in relation with the other examples mentioned above where the title of *kalo'mte'* precedes the personal denominations, reinforcing the presence, therefore, of this characteristic in Ek' Balam.

♦ Going further with syntax, though in a different ambit, the change of place of temporal references, which used to occupy a position at the beginning of the phrases and now changed to be placed after the verb or at the end of the phrase, could also be taken as a diagnostic trait of Yucatecan. Even though a more detailed analysis is still pending, this trait could perhaps be found in the Mural of Room 22, where the Calendar Round 3 Hix 7 K'ank'in follows the Introductory Glyph and the verb-God-N, and maybe also in Mural B of Room 29-sub, where, apparently, the one single calendric expression in the text, 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb, is placed at the end of it.

As to the morphological evidence, the Yucatecan from the Classic Period presents particular identification problems because the forms we are in a position to document, precede in several centuries the forms of the proto-Yucatecan rebuilt by linguists around the XI century (vid. Lacadena and Wichmann 2002). Nevertheless, we may suggest a Yucatecan filiation for some of the documented forms:

♦ The ending **–ja-la**, *-jal*, from the dedicatory verb in Miscellaneous Text 5 (A1) may be consistent with the inchoative of the colonial Yucatecan *–(a)j-al*, also identified in other texts from northern Yucatán and different from the equivalent Cholan forms expressed as **–ja** and **–ni** (Lacadena and Wichmann 2002).

♦ I suggest as well to consider classic Yucatecan the presence of the suffix *–aay*, which alternates with *–aj* in the relational expression **u**-RABBIT-**ka-ja** / **u**-RABBIT-**ka-yi**, in Murals A and C from Room 29-sub. As a possession fomula, the possessed expression must be a noun. The suffix *-aay* from Ek' Balam could well correspond to the suffix *–ay* documented in colonial Yucatecan, which derives nouns from verbs–the composition RABBIT-**ka** appears like a verb in southern texts, as shown by the form RABBIT-**ka-ja** written in the Brussels Panel. About this suffix *–ay*, Smailus states: "There is a function of forms in *–ay* that makes them look like nouns. Whether this derivation is a variation of the construction shown above or otherwise is a different morpheme, remains to be seen. Concerning this use of *–ay*, Buenaventura declares: <*-ay* postponed to neutral verbs having removed from them the two last letters, which were there, will turn them into nouns and other adjectives> (Buenaventura 20v). This substantival use of –ay fits as well its usual capacity of being preffixed with the ergative pronoun E-" (1989: 138).

♦ Similarly, perhaps some constructions of the type VERB-*aaj* present in northern Yucatán, such as **tu-ta-ji**, *tutaaj* in Ek' Balam or **TZAK-ka-ji**, *tzakaaj* in Chichén Itzá, may be considered as Yucatecan. These forms are apparently different, on

- ♦ The possible ending –*e*' of forms written in Ek' Balam as **u-k'a-le** and **u-wo-jo-le** could also be reflecting this Yucatecan vernacular background, following typical forms from elsewhere in northern Yucatán, where disharmonic forms ending in –C**e**, such as **u-tz'i-b'a-le**, **u-TUN-ni-le, yo-to-che, yu-CV-lu-le** or **yi-ta-je** are documented (*vid.* Lacadena and Wichmann 2002). This is not merely a way to indicate disharmony with a pattern C**a**–C**e**, C**o**-C**e** and C**i**-C**e** instead of the usual C**a**–C**i**, C**o**-C**i** and C**i**-C**a**, but it clearly introduces new disharmonic examples where the common pattern is of a synharmonic nature, as in **u-TUN-ni-le** instead of **u-TUN-ni-li**.

I wish to refer now to the text of Cover of Vault 18. We have seen that the dedication verb *mak* "to cover, to close", has been written like **ma-ka**, and not like **ma-ka-ja**, the usual form (*vid. supra*). True, **ma-ka** could be an abbreviated form for **ma-ka-ja**, and therefore the word to be transcribed may be the rebuilt form *ma[h]ka[j]*, reflecting the Cholan morphology of the passive voice of verbs with a CVC structure, like in the remaining cover of vaults of the site. But there is another possibility to explore, the one that considers that **ma-ka** is a simple reflection of *ma[h]k*. This *mahk* form may be analized as *ma-h-k-ø*, and consider that the infix *-h-* is the pre-proto-Yucatecan morpheme of the mid-passive voice VV (a high tone in Yucatecan) documented for CVC verbs in the modern languages of the Yucatecan group, prior to the change Vh > VV, typical of the group (-*h*-, a mid-passive morpheme is well documented in other languages of the Mayan family, and can be traced back to the proto-Mayan (Kaufman 1986)). If we recall that it is precisely this Cover of Vault 18, the one that presented the interesting example of the month Ya'ax written in Yucatecan (*vid. supra*), we may consider that this interpretation, which suggests a Yucatecan solution to the uncertain form of **ma-ka**, is reinforced. Thus, the dedicatory verb would be translated as a mid-passive "it was covered". If we did this, *nothing* would remain in the text that could be diagnostic of a Cholan tongue. On the contrary, the text should then be considered as an example of a text *entirely* written in classic Yucatecan, in Ek' Balam, by the end of the VIII century A.D.

> *11 Chuen, tu 9 Ya'ax winik, wal 4 tuun [9 ajaw], ma[h]k way[i]l, uk'aal Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'*

> "(In) 11 Chuen, on the ninth Ya'ax month, (in) the times of the 4 tuun (in) 9 Ajaw, the room was covered, Ukit Kan Le'k Tok's chamber"

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Note: To view more photographs from the site of Ek' Balam, visit A PreColumbian Portfolio, Collection by Justin Kerr. (Search for "Ek Balam.")

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