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Stela 1 from the Maya Site of Temblor, Petén, Guatemala

Estela 1 del sitio maya de Temblor, Petén, Guatemala

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Abstract: Ian Graham recorded and sketched two sawn-off fragments of a bas-relief carved with glyphic texts in an art gallery in New York City in 1971. Later, in 1974, he visited the site of El Temblor in Petén, Guatemala, where he discovered the remains of a damaged stela and could verify that the two fragments he had seen in the New York Gallery were from this looted monument, now known as the Temblor Stela 1. Both fragments were sold to private collections in the United States. The right-hand part of the stela had been given to a public museum in Durham, North Carolina, while the left-hand part was later found, and identified, in a public museum in Las Vegas, Nevada. We can now present the general and more recent history of this stela and its epigraphy thanks to present-day photographs and new line drawings. The aim of this contribution is to make this major Early Classic limestone sculpture available for further epigraphical and art historical studies.

Keywords: Maya; epigraphy; limestone monuments; museum pieces; Guatemala; Early Classic.

Resumen: En 1971, Ian Graham registró y bosquejó dos fragmentos aserrados de un bajo-relieve tallado con textos glíficos, en una galería de arte en la ciudad de Nueva York. Más tarde, en 1974, visitó el sitio de El Temblor en Petén, Guatemala, donde descubrió los restos de una estela mutilada y pudo verificar que los dos fragmentos que había visto en la galería de Nueva York provenían de este monumento saqueado, ahora conocido como La Estela 1 de El Temblor. Ambos fragmentos fueron vendidos a colecciones privadas en los Estados Unidos. El lado derecho de la estela había sido entregado a un museo público en Durham, Carolina del Norte, mientras que el lado izquierdo se encontró tiempo después, y se identificó en un museo público en Las Vegas, Nevada. Ahora podemos presentar la historia de esta estela, su historia más reciente y su epigrafía gracias a fotografías actuales y a nuevos dibujos. El objetivo de esta contribución es hacer que esta importante escultura de piedra caliza del Clásico Temprano esté disponible para futuros estudios epigráficos y de historia del arte.

Palabras clave: Maya; epigrafía; monumentos de piedra caliza; piezas de museo; Guatemala; Clásico Temprano.

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The archaeological site of El Temblor (in English: ‘The Earthquake’; in the following written without the article) is located in the central region of the Guatemalan Department of Petén, south of the declared national reserve *Parque Nacional Tikal*. Within the greater Tikal area and situated relatively near Temblor, the well-known city of Tikal is located at a distance of 18 km NNE, Ixlu at 13 km SSE, as well as other smaller ancient settlements, such as Uolantun, El Zapote, El Carmen, Yalain, Zacpeten, Macanche, Quemada Corozal, Corozal Torre, San Clemente, Ixtinto, Naranjito, among others (Figure 1). Temblor is located in the municipality of Flores, situated in a hilly wooded region and surrounded by agricultural fields near the modern village of El Caoba, a settlement not far from the asphalt road that leads from Flores to Tikal. In 1998, a dirt road led eastwards from El Caoba to a ranch close to the ruins of Temblor.

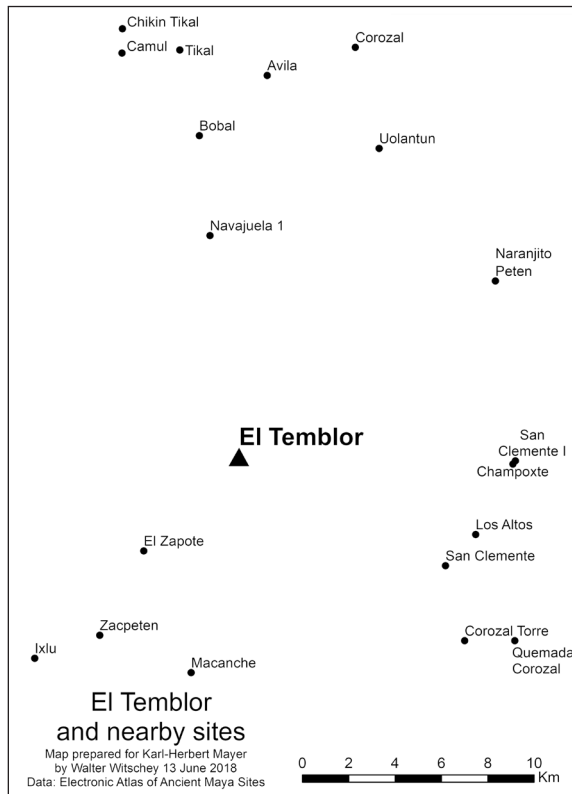


Figure 1. Temblor and surrounding ruins (map by Walter Witschey, 2018).

Ian Graham has been credited as the scientific discoverer of this pre-Hispanic settlement. Apparently, Graham first visited the site in 1974. His documents are preserved in the archives of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, probably consisting of a map, photographs, drawings, and field notes, though they have not been published. The site name El Temblor was mentioned by various authors over the past years (see Graham 1982, 186-187; Martin and Grube 2008, 28, 29; Luján Muñoz 1969, 20; Mathews 1985, 8; Mayer 1998; Rice and Puleston 1981, 128; Quintana Samayoa 1998, 110; 2008, Cuadro 1; Quintana and Wurster 2001, 55; Wanyerka 2000, 67; Stuart 2002, 471, 507).

On the 20th of March 1998, a team of Guatemalan archaeologists of the *Proyecto Nacional Tikal, Sub-Proyecto Triángulo, Visita del Programa de Rescate*, headed by Oscar Quintana Samayoa, visited Temblor with the objectives of exploring the ruins, recording

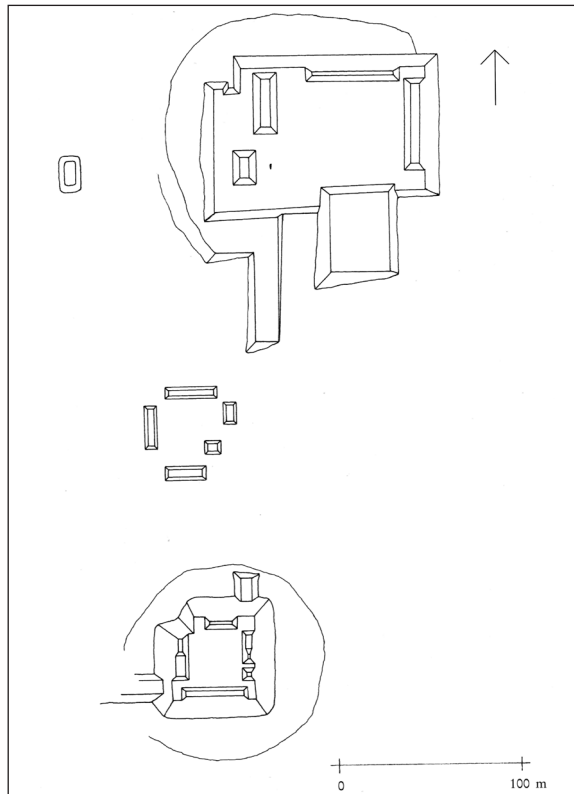


Figure 2. Map of Temblor
(based on Quintana and Wurster 2001, 55, Fig. 72).

the extensive damage made by illicit excavations, preparing a sketch map, and taking photographs and measurements on site. I was invited to accompany the team on this occasion. The exact geographical coordinates were obtained with a handheld GPS device as follows: latitude 17° 03.70' N, longitude 89° 36.70' W. These coordinates were the first information providing the precise location of these seldom visited and (today still) neglected ruins (Figure 1). The group was guided by Roberto García Lorenzana from the village of El Remate on the Lake Petén Itzá. As the initial result of this very brief archaeological exploration and survey, a preliminary report was published (Mayer 1998) and three years later two drawings of the site were made by Raúl Noriega Girón (Quintana and Würster 2001, 55, Fig. 73), namely a sketch map and an isometric view of the then recognizable structures (Figures 2 and 3).

Temblor is an unguarded medium-sized and rather compact ancient settlement that consists of at least three distinctive architectural complexes. The sections were initially designated as Group A, B, and C. They present a roughly north-south axis and do not feature standing architecture. Oscar Quintana and Brenda Lou created preliminary sketch maps of the three groups and noted the collapsed and damaged edifices and evidential platforms that nowadays appear as simple overgrown mounds. The collapsed and buried architecture of various heights was illegally trenched and tunneled by local treasure hunters, as evidenced in most of the numerous ancient settlements found in

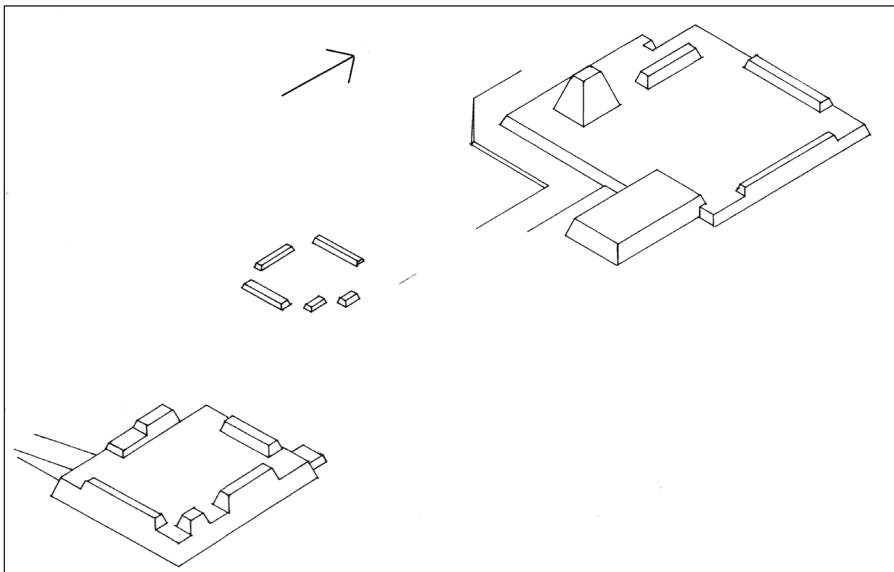


Figure 3. Isometric view of the ruins
(based on Quintana and Würster 2001, 55, Fig. 73).

the Petén. Some of the excavations made by looters revealed exposed masonry walls and remains of ancient floors (Mayer 1998, 116). Group A is the largest and situated on a wooded hill in the northern part of the ruins. There, several mounds are arranged around a plaza, with two structures situated on the west side. Edifices surrounding the open space of a patio (a plaza or a courtyard) share a common architectural pattern in the Petén and other Maya regions.

The highest building of Group A measures more than ten meters in height and may once have had a pyramidal shape. Northeast of this edifice, in which six looters' trenches were found, is a long palace-type building, the west side of which is approximately five meters high and also shows six large trenches. East of the large 'pyramid' mentioned above, which is obviously the main structure of the site, a severely mutilated and cut limestone monument, a stela, was documented which originally had three carved surfaces, namely a carved front and two carved narrow lateral sides (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Looters' trench at Temblor (photo by Karl Herbert Mayer, 1998).

Located south of Group A, the smaller Group B is situated on a lower and flat terrain with eight collapsed structures with a patio or courtyard in the center. They may represent small temples and palaces, now sited within a milpa. Erected on more elevated ground and south of Group B is Group C, which features a quadrangle of structures encircling a courtyard (or plaza) with two annexes to the north and west. One of the visible collapsed structures located in the eastern part contains a curious *chultun*-like masonry interior; a rare feature that was likewise inspected and measured during the expedition in 1998. A regular *chultun* found near the western section of Group C has a common circular opening. Except my brief note two decades ago (Mayer 1998), until now, no other or more extensive report or description of the site of Temblor or the above-mentioned stela has been published, a research gap which I seek to fill by means of this paper.

Stela 1 of Temblor (TMB St. 1) – research and acquisition history

The recent history of this important carved monument is a complex one and can be considered a riddle involving three sawn fragments that are today scattered at three different places in Guatemala and the United States. In 1998, our guide told us that there are more carved stelae at the site; however, our teams' search for them was in vain. The only monument, the above-mentioned Stela 1, had missing lateral surfaces and showed clear traces of saw cuts (Figures 4 and 5).

Obviously, it was only the carcass of a once monumental bas-relief sculpture, and I was unable to recognize the very weathered imagery on its front surface, yet concluded that it may have represented a standing human figure, possibly a local high-ranking dignitary (or ruler/king). I took photographs of the remnants of the limestone stela (Mayer 1998, 117, Figs. 3, 4) and published one photograph, showing the present condition with a fragment missing at the top of its shaft.

This mutilated stela is presently 119 cm high, 58 cm wide, and its thickness varies between 28 and 23 cm. The original height was likely taller. In his introduction to the publication of the first fascicle of the *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, Ian Graham (1975) did not include Temblor as a site with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Years later, he published a map showing the location of Temblor and provided the three-letter site code TMB (Graham 1982, 186, 187). Graham (written communication, May 1987) further informed me that, in 1971, he had recorded the two sawn-off lateral sides of a stela in the Mildred F. Kaplan Collection of the Arte Primitivo Gallery in New York City, where they were exhibited and offered for sale at one time. At that time, these fragments then were allegedly from an unknown location, as can be concluded from the description of his drawings created in 1971. However, on a later copy of the same drawings, he added the provenance as 'Temblor', based on the fact that the size of the fragments corresponded to the dimensions of the sawn sides of the carcass that he noted

as being left on site. Mathews (1985: 8) listed the monument with the information that it is carved on three sides, that the front perhaps shows a figure, and that it bears more than twelve glyph blocks. The two preliminary drawings of the lateral vertical surfaces were first made public by Grube and Martin (2000, II-16) and Wanyerka (2000, 67, Fig. 61), including Ian Graham's drawings (stored in the *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions* archive at Harvard University). Formerly, these preliminary drawings were part of the so-called grey literature and circulated only among a few epigraphers. Meanwhile, Graham's drawings have been reliably recognized and identified as the mentioned left-hand and right-hand side, respectively, of the sawn-off slices pertaining to Temblor Stela 1. His drawings were also accompanied by measurements. Thus, in sum, about three decades passed since the original drawings had been published and finally made accessible to the public. Unfortunately, Graham's photographs were never published. With the establishment of the precise place of origin, the stela fragments can now be 're-provenanced' and its original position – in front of the largest structure of Group A at Temblor – can finally be ascertained.

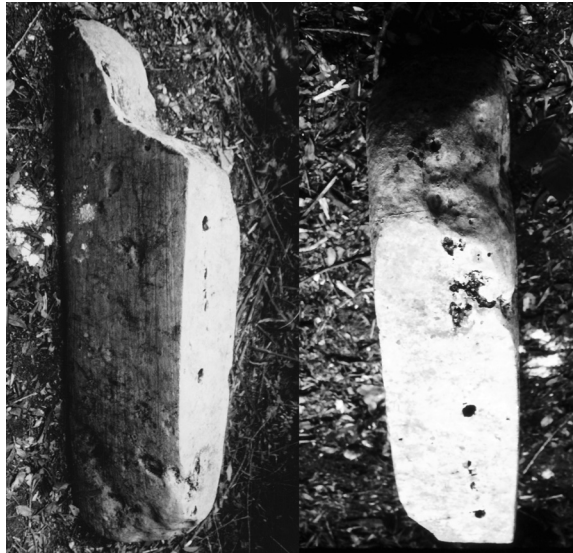


Figure 5. Two views of the mutilated Temblor Stela 1 *in situ* (photo by Karl Herbert Mayer, 1998).



Figure 6. Temblor Stela 1, photograph of the left-hand lateral fragment (photo courtesy of the UNLV Marjorie Barrick Museum of Art collection, gift from Michael C. Braunstein and Mannelta Braunstein, Las Vegas, 2018; digitally enhanced by Guido Krempel).

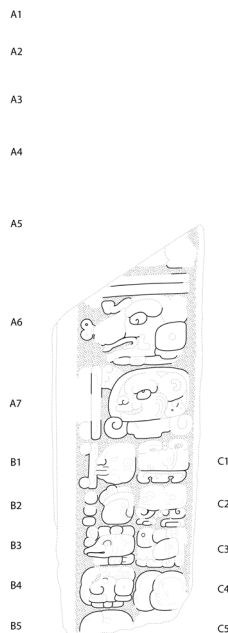


Figure 7. Temblor Stela 1, hieroglyphic text on the left-hand lateral fragment (preliminary drawing from photographs by Guido Krempel, 2018).

Description of the left-hand lateral fragment

The left lateral surface was presumably lost. I devoted several years to searching for this particular object, however, without success. Opinions vary as to the present whereabouts of the disappeared lower part of this side: either it was not known (Mayer 1987, 20; 1989, 117) or it was still at Temblor (Wanyerka 2000, 67). The sawn fragment was recently just rediscovered in a public museum in Las Vegas. This find has been facilitated by the help of Karl A. Taube, who was familiar with my long-time survey of ancient Maya sculptures dispersed around the globe. Taube contacted the Marjorie Barrick Museum of Art, located on the main campus of the University of Las Vegas in Nevada, and requested that the museum staff should inform me of its Maya holdings. In August 2013, the museum sent me photographs of two Maya stone sculptures on exhibit, namely a sculptured Copán-style human head and an inscribed glyphic low-relief fragment. The provenance of the latter, acquired in 2004, was not known to the

museum. To my great surprise, it turned out to be the missing left lateral surface of the stela from Temblor, which I had – unsuccessfully – been trying to track down for decades. In fact, I was not even aware of the very existence of the Las Vegas museum and Maya artefacts in their collection. The museum, founded in 1967, kindly provided a digital color photograph and other pertinent information concerning the fragment. To the present day, no photograph of this fragment has been published and only Graham's sketch of the piece was known to Mayanists.

Although the top of the fragment was missing, it was already clear to fellow epigraphers that this text formed the beginning of a carved text (Figures 6 and 7) which starts with an incomplete Initial Series (Long Count) date. The fragment came to the Marjorie Barrick Museum of Art collection, as a gift from Michael C. Braunstein and Mannela Braunstein in Las Vegas. Thus, the known history of this elusive and long-lost fragment can be traced from the gallery in New York City, to the Braunstein's in 1980, and its final place of destination in the holdings of the Barrick Museum in 2004. This lower stela fragment was acquired in 2004 and bears the catalog number 2004.15. It is 88 cm high, 30.5 cm wide, and the now reduced thickness measures 5.7 cm. As already mentioned, the surviving twelve glyph compounds represent the remainder of a Long Count date, and other calendrical information as well as historical contents in the Early Classic period (Wanyerka 2000, 67).

Nikolai Grube (written communication, September 2018) has studied this incomplete text and offers the following interpretation:

The first entirely preserved hieroglyph is **10-K'IN**, belonging without a doubt to a Long Count. This implies that above the day position with coefficient, here certainly **10-K'IN**, there must have been at least five additional preceding glyph compounds, namely: (1) an Initial Series Introductory Glyph, (2) #-**PIK** (Baktun), (3) #-**WINIKHAAB** (Katun), (4) #-**HAB** (Tun), and (5) #-**WINIK** (Winal). The day has the numerical coefficient 10, therefore the Tzolk'in day must have been in any case *Ok*. Indeed, the day glyph *Ok* follows right after the **10-K'IN** designation. As a common Early Classic feature, the day sign bears the preposition *ta ta* 'at' on top of the Tzolk'in cartouche, leading to the reading *lajun ta ok* 'during/at the day *Ok*'. Unfortunately, the photograph does not allow for recognition of the coefficient of the day sign with certainty, which is due to the fact that major parts of the coefficient are broken off.

Guido Krempel (personal communication, November 2018) commented that

[...] the recognizable outlines suggest that the coefficient was between six and nine, given that one full bar can be discerned, whilst preceding the bar a small circular feature can be made out that either designates a dot or a so called 'filler' element. Following the Tzolk'in day appears one of the so-called Lords of the Night, namely **7-SIBIK** *huk sibik*, also known as G4, which is here followed by Glyph F (**TP-HUUN-na ti' huun**). Thereafter follows a glyph compound consisting of three glyphs: the clearly visible coefficient **3** and ?-**SIHOM** *hux sih(om)*. Based on the contours and the knot above the main sign (forming part of the logogram **SIHOM** *sihom*), only the 'color months' *Sak* (**SAK-SIHOM**), *Kej* (**CHAK-SIHOM**),

Ch'en (**IK'-SIHOM**), or *Yax* (**YAX-SIHOM**) appear to be plausible candidates. Judging on stylistic grounds only, this is clearly an Early Classic inscription with the day record 10 *Ok* followed by a coefficient and corresponding month name; thus, together with the preceding calendar period designations, doubtlessly a common calendar count. Due to the fact that the monument dates to the Early Classic period, as can be concluded based on style and paleographic features, it is not farfetched to assume a date falling in the 8th Baktun, so that the Long Count date recorded here can be partially approximated as 8.[14-19]??.10 [6-9]-**OK 3-SAK/CH'EN/KEJ/YAX** G4. At first sight, these statements may not seem sufficient for the aim of reconstructing a reliable date. However, with the fortunate record of G4 as ruling Lord of the Night (which repeats in a 7-day-cycle, but in combination with the mentioned possibilities for the Haab position which does not appear often neither during the 8th nor the 9th Baktun cycle), it is possible to limit the candidates for the month designation down to the following Long Count dates):

08.05.07.15.10	8 Ok 3 Yax G4	Dec 31, 147
08.12.13.15.10	9 Ok 3 Yax G4	Nov 26, 291
08.14.10.06.10	6 Ok 3 Yax G4	Nov 18, 327
09.01.16.06.10	7 Ok 3 Yax G4	Oct 13, 471
08.07.00.06.10	8 Ok 3 Sak G4	Jan 12, 180
08.14.06.06.10	9 Ok 3 Sak G4	Dec 3, 323
09.03.08.15.10	9 Ok 3 Sak G4	Oct 26, 503
08.08.12.15.01	8 Ok 3 Keh G4	Jan 25, 212
08.15.18.15.10	9 Ok 3 Keh G4	Dec 21, 355
08.17.15.06.10	6 Ok 3 Keh G4	Dec 12, 391
08.03.15.06.10	8 Ok 3 Ch'en G4	Dec 19, 115
09.00.03.15.10	7 Ok 3 Ch'en G4	Oct 1, 439
09.07.09.15.10	8 Ok 3 Ch'en G4	Aug 27, 583

After the Tzolk'in date (including the mentioned Glyphs G4 and F, respectively, that are written between the day name and corresponding month notation, positions B1-C1) follows a glyph compound which is heavily abraded but can be discerned as terminating in **-ya-li?li?**. Since the next two glyph compounds can clearly be transcribed as **JOY-[ti-ja]-ta a-AJAW-wa-le**, the eroded glyphs in position C2 must record a verbal phrase ending in the frequently attested and thus well-known sequence ... *ti joyaj ta ajawle(l)* 'got ... for the procession into rulership/office as ruler' (see also Sheseña Hernández 2015).

Given the early dating of the above-mentioned Long Count proposed here, this can now be considered as one of the earliest full attestations of this common sequence (consisting of a verb followed by *ti joyaj ta ajawle(l)*). This record of a 'coronation' rite is followed here by a clearly visible glyph showing the head of an old man (in position B4), possibly read **MAM** in this context and thus may introduce the name of an ancestor.

The 'bearded old man' glyph is here rendered in an early paleographic variant which is also attested to on an incised Late Preclassic greenstone bloodletting device found in a cache deposit beneath Structure H-XVI Sub, Uaxactun (dating approximately to the early 1st century AD, see Kováč, Jobbová, and Krempel 2016, 17). Interestingly, the glyph showing the head of the bearded old man (**MAM?**) may be followed here by an early form of **YAX** 'green-blue', the contours of which seem to match the variant incised on the bloodletting device

from Uuxactun, leading us to a possible term *Yax* initiating the nominal phrase in position C4. However, this, as well as the following glyphs (position B5-C5) which most likely formed the nominal phrase of the recorded ancestor, appears to be too abraded or broken off, which is the reason why the name of this ancestral individual remains unknown for the time being. In sum, this initial text sequence on the left-hand side of Temblor Stela 1 records a complete Long Count date and an inauguration event of an ancestral figure, possibly an Early Classic (or even Late Preclassic) local dignitary.

Description of the right-hand lateral fragment

In my long-term efforts to compile a series of catalogs focusing on Maya monuments whose precise provenance was unknown, I was able to track down and subsequently publish a black-and-white photograph of an all-glyphic Maya fragment then residing at the Duke University Museum of Art in Durham, North Carolina. The photograph was provided by the museum (Mayer 1987, 20, Cat. No. 19, Pl. 81), which is today named the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University in Durham. The above-mentioned image was the first published photograph of this limestone bas-relief sculpture. The year of the acquisition was given as 1981 and the museum catalog number is 1981.42. The museum files indicated a suggested provenance in Belize and assumed that it dates to the Late Classic period, whereas I suggested an Early Classic date (based on stylistic grounds). The stela fragment with its textual remains was given to the museum as a gift from Dr. and Mrs. Neil Swissman and family, and is presently on display in the Pre-Columbian exhibition space of the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University in Durham. Its current object number is 1981.42.1. The severely weathered relief with roughly parallel sides shows a broken top and bottom area and a sawn reverse side (Figures 7 and 8). The dimensions are the following: height 119 cm, width 32 cm, the sawn and reduced thickness measures 6.4 cm, and the relief depth is 3 mm.

The remaining inscription (Figure 9) is arranged in a double column format and shows a total of 24 glyph blocks (here designated preliminarily as pD1-pE13). Several glyphs are difficult to recognize due to the advanced degree of abrasion on its surface, and notably some glyphs on top are unfortunately missing. Furthermore, the last glyphs in positions pD13-pE13 are partially broken off at the bottom so that it can be suggested with certainty that the text once continued further below. Nonetheless, concerning the exact total number of missing glyphs, no sure estimation can be made at the present time.

As is known today, the previously presumed unknown provenance was incorrect and Ian Graham (written communication, 1987) informed me that, in 1971, he recorded this right side and the left side of a stela which at first sight had no known place of origin. Yet, as mentioned before, his later investigations confirmed that they stemmed from the ruins of Temblor visited by him in 1974. He also drew and recorded the lateral fragments when they were for sale at the Arte Primitivo Gallery, New York City. Graham's positive identification of the piece at the Nasher Museum of Art as the right-hand lateral



Figure 8. Temblor Stela 1, three views of the right-hand lateral side (courtesy of the Nasher Museum of Art, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; photos by Peter Paul Geoffrion).

surface of Temblor Stela 1 and not of an unprovenanced monument was therefore noted and corrected in three of my catalogs (Mayer 1989, 9, 58, No. 92; 1991, 73, No. 195; 1995, 90, No. 211).

The right-hand side fragment was acquired by the museum in Durham in 1981. It is presently on display in the Pre-Columbian exhibitions space. The sawn-off relief shows roughly parallel sides, the back has been reduced by the art thieves to facilitate its removal, transportation, and smuggling to the United States. The catalog number is 1981.42.1. Regarding the history of ownership, the museum provided the following important data:

Mildred F. Kaplan of Arte Primitivo, Inc., New York, NY, from late 1969 to 1980; purchased by Dr. and Mrs. Michael Braunstein, Las Vegas, NV, 1980; ownership transferred to Dr. Neil Swissman, Las Vegas, NV, as of 11 December 1980; donated to the Duke University Museum of Art (Now the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University) in 1989.



Figure 9. Side view of the sawn right-hand lateral fragment (courtesy of the Nasher Museum of Art, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina).

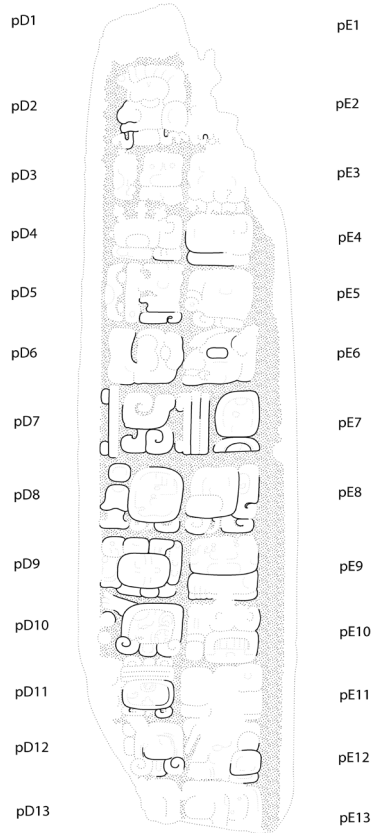


Figure 10. The hieroglyphic text on the right-hand lateral fragment (preliminary drawing from photographs by Guido Krempel, 2018).

Chronologically, the limestone relief sculpture has been ascribed to the “Late Classic Period, 600-900 CE”, it measures 119 x 32 x 0.3 cm, and the dimensions of the hieroglyphic text are 118.7 x 31.08 x 0.3 cm.

As already mentioned, of the only partially preserved inscription, a total of 24 glyph compounds can still be discerned (pD1-pE13; see Figures 7 and 9). Parts of this text sequence, which is fully arranged in double column format, have already been the subject of previous publications by epigraphers, such as Simon Martin (Wanyerka 2000, 67), who observed that at position pE9:

[...] is a glyph that looks very much like *Chak Tok Ich'aak I's* name. The glyph above his name is part of a *chum* or 'seating' phrase and above that is a Distance Number counting from the accession of that character to some later event. In fact, this is probably a Period Ending.

Nikolai Grube (written communication, September 2018) comments that great parts of the upper part of this inscription are illegible and offers the following readings:

The recognizable text begins in the seventh row (from above) with the Distance Number 7 *K'ins*, 17 *Winals*, 1 *Tun* (?). Then follows the verb **CHUM-ji-ya**, *chum-j-iiy* 'after he has sat down', and then possibly a title. One would expect an **AJAW** title, nevertheless, the hieroglyph looks different. The name of the accessioned king appears in the following glyph, it is Chak Tok Ich'ak. We cannot be sure whether this Chak Tok Ich'ak was the famous king of Tikal known as Chak Tok Ich'ak I who was killed in 378 during the Teotihuacán entrada, or whether this was an earlier and still unknown Early Classic namesake.

Guido Krempel (personal communication, November 2018) seconds the comments provided by Martin and Grube, respectively, adding that he has

[...] no doubts about the verbal phrase here being recorded as **CHUM-ji-ya a-AJAW-wa-le CHAK-TOK-ICH'AAK*** *chumjiiy ta* ajawle(l) chak tok ich'aak* 'after he sat down into rulership/into the office as ruler, Chak Tok Ich'aak'. The preceding Distance Number is thus followed directly by a verbal phrase, and interestingly then follows another calendar round, maybe **ta-2-MULUK? ?-ti?-WAY?-HAB** 2 Muluk (?) Wayeb (?). Then another Distance Number follows, **#?-11?-WINIK ?-?-?** (... days and 11? Winal later in time) at position pD11. After this only partially recognizable day count, another Tzolk'in cartouche (pD12) follows, probably **#-ta-AJAW** ... *ta ajaw* 'the ... of (the day) Ajaw'; however, the corresponding coefficient is too eroded here to conclusively determine this supposed period ending date with any certainty, not least of all because the two preceding calendar rounds remain unclear and should be left open for future debate. The aim should be to clarify the chronological implications for this surely significant Early Classic inscription.

Due to the fact that the name Chak Tok Ich'aak is attested from different monuments originating from distant sites, it remains opaque for the time being to which individual the right-hand side of Temblor Stela 1 may refer. However, given the close distance of Temblor to Tikal, the two Early Classic kings with this name, Chak Tok Ich'aak I (AD 360-378) and his later namesake Chak Tok Ich'aak II (ca. AD 486-508), respectively, could be possible candidates. A ruler with the same name is also mentioned on El Peru Stela 34 and the recently discovered Altar 5 from La Corona whilst yet another Chak Tok Ich'aak is depicted as a youngster (*ch'ok*) and clearly named in his headdress on Naranjo Stela 43 (Stuart *et al.* 2018).

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