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*The Materialization
of Classic Period
Maya Warfare*

Caracol Stranger-Kings at Tikal

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The publication of *A Forest of Kings* by Linda Schele and David A. Freidel in 1990 reignited a nascent academic interest not only in Maya history and historical figures, but also in the nature and impact of Maya warfare. Schele and Freidel were among the first scholars to combine readings of the Maya hieroglyphic records from the monuments at a series of sites into a coherent history, reflecting events that had transpired during a period of time that many other scholars considered to be unwritten history.

Theirs was a civilized world: a world of big government, big business, big problems, and big decisions by the people in power. The problems they faced sound familiar to us today: war, drought, famine, trade, food production, the legitimate transition of political power. It was a world which mirrors our own as we wrestle with the present in search of a future. (Schele and Freidel 1990:17–18)

In essence, *A Forest of Kings* constituted the first cohesive work to present the ancient Maya in contemporary-world terms.

A key component of the focus in their landmark book was Maya warfare and its role in changing and shaping Maya society. They wrote about conflict as central to ancient Maya society and as being well represented in hieroglyphic texts. They also presented a case for the Maya as practicing “sacred war” (Schele and Freidel 1990:144) in which the “Maya lords fought

their own battles” (65) using techniques involving “traditional hand-to-hand combat of proud nobles” (145) that often ended in the sacrifice of a king (65). In their model (see also Freidel 1986), early warfare was practiced predominantly for religious rather than economic reasons; there was “raiding for captives,” accompanied by “captive sacrifice” and “decapitation” as forms of “sacrificial gifts to give to the gods.” In accord with its ritual aspects, warfare was also correlated with the astronomical passage of Venus (Schele and Freidel 1990:147; see also Aldana 2005), and the “dry season” was noted as being “the time for wars” (Schele and Freidel 1990:62). The authors noted that the Maya used a ritualized war costume that showed potential relationships with Teotihuacan, leading them to refer to Maya warfare as “Tlaloc-Venus war” (147).

While warfare was both sacred and ritualized, Schele and Freidel suggested that a change occurred in AD 378, when the result of war went beyond the taking of a captive king and extended, through that act of personal conquest, to the taking of an actual kingdom—in this case Uaxactún by Tikal. The subsequent Late Classic period in the central lowlands was then cast in terms of ritualized conquest warfare that was at the same time linked to “political dominance” and loosely to “territory” (Schele and Freidel 1990:452). In their view, the size of ancient Maya polities was compartmentalized and reflected by the distribution of emblem glyphs, not giving way to more global conflicts or control. The unitary divisions of Maya society were seen as being reflected in limited warfare extracting tribute and not in attempts by the victors to substantially alter the societies of the losers; we extend their interpretations and argue here, however, that this warfare did have more significant impacts during the Classic period. Schele and Freidel (1990:380) also cast the Maya collapse in terms of warfare. In their words: “As time went on, the high kings were driven to unending, devastating wars of conquest and tribute extraction” (380)

There has been some disagreement about the details of the Maya warfare model presented in *A Forest of Kings*—mostly revolving around areas that are difficult to prove with extant hieroglyphic texts and archaeological remains. For instance, whereas Schele and Freidel (1990) presented Tikal as the victor in the AD 378 war, Juan Pedro Laporte and Vilma Fialko (1995) argued that Uaxactún actually dominated Tikal and not the other way around—matters of hieroglyphic interpretation that may never be definitively resolved. Juan Antonio Valdés and Federico Fahsen (1995) suggested that the foreign individual (Sihiyaj K’ahk’) responsible for this successful war was actually buried at Uaxactún, something not contradicted by isotopic analysis of Tikal burials 10 and 48 (Wright 2012:347). Regardless of which site housed this presumed Teotihuacan-based interloper in AD 378, Maya warfare was altered by this

event and Maya researchers' views on the nature of Maya warfare shifted, as Schele and Freidel (1990) outlined. David Webster (2000), for example, subsequently argued that Maya war was similar to warfare practiced by other civilizations in that it resulted in economic and political gains for the victor, including the general population. This is something visible in the archaeology of Caracol (D. Chase and A. Chase 2004a). At the time that *A Forest of Kings* first appeared, we had also suggested that Maya warfare impacted the general population in far more than ritual—specifically in terms of economic gain (A. Chase and D. Chase 1989), something noted in the footnotes of the book (Schele and Freidel 1990:442). However, at the time that they wrote, neither we nor Schele and Freidel could not have foreseen the far-reaching impact that Maya ritual could attain through warfare.

Most Maya warfare events are inferred from hieroglyphic texts or from iconography on stone monuments and, less frequently, pottery vessels. Our understanding of Maya warfare derives primarily from interpretations based on these two sources—texts and iconography—as well as from information extracted from ethnohistoric documents. Finding material evidence of warfare in the Maya archaeological record beyond texts is extremely difficult. But, these data do exist in the form of specific artifacts and features recovered and behaviors inferred from these archaeological remains: fortification walls (Demarest et al. 1997; Webster 1976); stone points (Aoyama 2005; Hassig 1992); “skull pits” (Buttles and Valdez 2016; Demarest et al. 2016:177); the burning of central buildings (Cowgill 1988; Inomata and Stiver 1998; Millon 1988), and more. Sometimes, these artifact classes and contexts are correlated with hieroglyphic texts and the iconography on stone monuments (e.g., Scherer and Golden 2014), and other times they are not (Hansen 2008; Webster 1976). However, more nuanced considerations of warfare can also be gained by appropriately conjoining texts and iconography with detailed considerations of archaeological contexts.

In this chapter we further define relationships between history and archaeology, contextualizing both the ritual, organizational, and economic impacts of warfare, and the symbolic materialization of domination and integration, as well as of distribution, disintegration, or dissolution. We argue not only that the wars between Caracol and Tikal and between Caracol and Naranjo are reflected in outwardly visible features—monument construction, or lack thereof, and material evidence of site prosperity and integration—but that evidence for the “subjugation/domination” of these sites by the victorious site of Caracol also may be seen in burials and constructions placed in conquered territory. We similarly argue that the dismantling or dispersal of monuments or other relics can reflect the sharing or disposal of ritual power. We provide

an archaeological argument for the subjugation of Tikal that was expressed in the physical interment of Caracol lords in prominent architecture at that site. Furthermore, we suggest that the positioning and acceptance of a Caracol ruler at Tikal may be comparable to patterns and behaviors seen in other historic Colonial contexts. Following the work of Marshall Sahlins (1981, 2008) and others (Hagerdal 2008; Henley 2004; see also Marcus, chapter 4 in this volume), we argue that the concept of a “stranger-king” can help explain the placement and reception of Caracol rulers in what was once both a dominant and foreign polity.

WARFARE AND CARACOL

When we started archaeological work at Caracol, Belize in 1985, hieroglyphic texts already were being read to indicate that Caracol had engaged in warfare with Naranjo in the early part of the Late Classic period (Riese 1984; Sosa and Reents 1980; Stone et al. 1985). In 1986 our project discovered Altar 21, which recorded that Caracol was involved in an earlier successful war against Tikal (A. Chase 1991; A. Chase and D. Chase 1987, 1989). The recovery of this monument focused our research on analyzing the impact that successful warfare would have had on Caracol. Thus, we temporally ordered the hieroglyphic texts and examined them to determine different kinds of war events (e.g., A. Chase and D. Chase 1998:20, fig. 2). Two star-war events, believed to constitute “all-out war,” were evident in the Caracol texts, and Caracol was the victor in both. Tikal was defeated in a star-war in AD 562, and Naranjo was vanquished in a star-war in AD 631. A series of less-understood *jub'uuy*, or destruction, events also appeared in Caracol's record prior to the star-war with Naranjo. All of these texts could be contextualized by other data, such as the spatial distance between sites, and, at least for Tikal, archaeology. More than three decades of archaeological work at Caracol also permit the contextualization of the hieroglyphic texts. The AD 562 war between Caracol and Tikal spanned a distance of 76 km, which meant that Caracol would have been challenged to maintain territorial control over that site. Military theory posits that extended territorial control is difficult beyond three days' marching distance or 60 km in the southern Maya lowlands and similar areas (A. Chase and D. Chase 1998; Hassig 1992). That there was also disruption at Tikal following the star-war is indicated in that site's archaeological record through (1) a dynastic upheaval accompanied by monument breakage, resetting, and burial (e.g., Harrison-Buck 2016; Satterthwaite 1958); (2) the cessation of new carved stone monuments for 130 years in Tikal's epicenter (A. Chase 1991; C. Jones and Satterthwaite 1982; but see Moholy-Nagy

2016); and (3) a decrease in the population of outlying residential settlement at Tikal (Puleston 1974:309; but see Moholy-Nagy 2003), with an accompanying increase in population at Caracol (A. Chase and D. Chase 1989; D. Chase and A. Chase 2000, 2002, 2003b, 2017). That there was an interest in controlling broader political spheres can be seen in Caracol's relationships with Naranjo. With the AD 631 star-war at Naranjo, 42 km distant from Caracol, monument erection related to the indigenous Naranjo dynastic line also ceased (Houston 1991), Caracol apparently placing its own monuments and texts at that site (e.g., Graham 1978, 1980). We believed that Caracol's interest in defeating Naranjo with a star-war was that the site was used as a stepping stone for direct territorial control of Tikal (A. Chase and D. Chase 1998); hieroglyphic texts at Naranjo after this conquest contained passages about Caracol personages, implying that the site may have functioned as a second capital for Caracol for approximately fifty years.

There have been a number of detailed anthropological and archaeological studies of early warfare and its impact on various societies (e.g., Arkush 2000; Keeley 1996; LeBlanc and Register 2003; Nielsen and Walker 2014; Otterbein 1973, 2009; Webster 2000). Because of the record of successful war events at Caracol, we were particularly interested in testing the effects that successful warfare could have had on Maya society with the archaeological data. Keith Otterbein (1973; see also D. Chase and A. Chase 2017) pointed to three specific results of successful warfare: (1) the organizational integration of the victorious society; (2) more prosperity for the victorious society; and (3) an influx of people into the victor's city or polity, drawn there either because of the lure of ritual and economic success or because of having been forcibly moved.

Recognizing these potential outcomes of successful warfare on the victorious population, we tested Caracol's residential settlement archaeologically to document any changes that occurred in the site's residential groups (D. Chase and A. Chase 2000, 2002, 2003a). Because the inhabitants of Caracol placed ceramic vessels within the majority of their ritual deposits (e.g., A. Chase 1994), we were able to tightly date construction and occupation of Caracol's residential groups. Investigations showed all three indicators: integration, prosperity, and population growth. Integration was seen in shared residential group and mortuary patterns—and ultimately in site organization. Material remains in burials and residential groups suggested internal prosperity at the same time that there was a substantial increase in population numbers (e.g., figure 3.1).

Some 70 percent of Caracol's residential groups contain an eastern building that functioned as a shrine or a mausoleum (D. Chase and A. Chase 2004a, 2011, 2017). Most of these buildings followed a standard pattern of ritual

Caracol, Belize

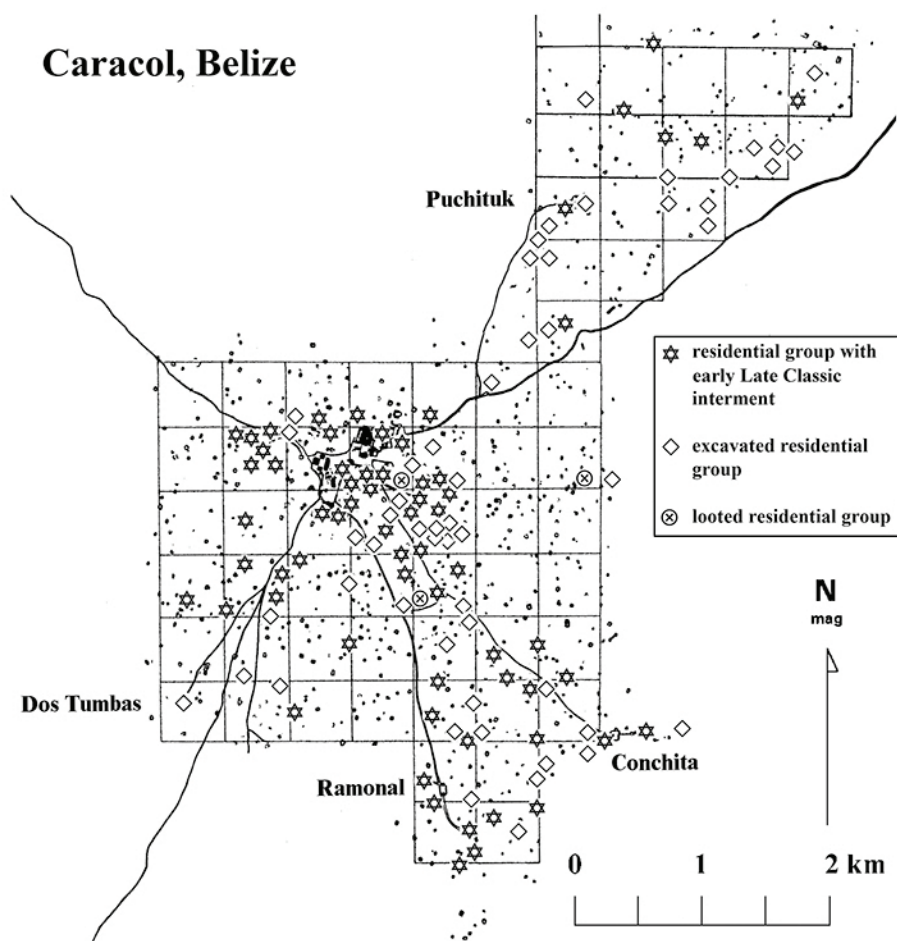


FIGURE 3.1. *Distribution of Caracol residential groups with excavated eastern interments at the beginning of the Late Classic Period.*

deposition of caches and burials that involved at least one tomb (D. Chase and A. Chase 2004b). Archaeology has revealed that this residential group plan with its associated eastern mausoleum rapidly covered the landscape of Caracol at the beginning of the Late Classic period—coincident with the epigraphically recorded warfare with Tikal and Naranjo. By the end of the Early Classic Period (ca. AD 450–550 at Caracol), interments in eastern buildings at Caracol began to appear, being present in approximately twenty-six residential groups appropriately tested with excavation. During the early facet of the Late Classic period, interments associated with eastern constructions

have been documented in seventy-one residential groups (figure 3.1), showing a surge in popularity precisely when the site was engaged in successful warfare. For the late facet of the Late Classic period, at a time when the actual residential settlement for the site covered 200 km², ninety-five appropriately tested residential groups have produced interments associated with the use of eastern residential shrines. The tombs and interments in these residential groups usually contained not only bodies, but also pottery vessels and other artifacts, such as carved seashell. Ritual caching of finger bowls and faced pottery urns further took place in many of these residential groups (D. Chase and A. Chase 1998, 2001). The market system at Caracol (D. Chase and A. Chase 2014) is projected to have existed during these times and likely functioned to facilitate not only the distribution of ritual containers but also the distribution of quotidian goods such as obsidian, which is present in all of these residential groups, as well as luxury items such as jadeite, which occurs in 41 percent of the groups investigated (D. Chase and A. Chase 2017:225). The occurrence of these ritual goods and imported artifactual materials within most of Caracol's households was interpreted as representing a high level of prosperity for the people living at the site—and one that was not generally found elsewhere in the Maya area (A. Chase and D. Chase 2009).

The rapid spread of this prosperity over the Caracol landscape, as seen in the archaeological data, also indicated a swift population growth on the order of 300 percent at the very beginning of the Late Classic period (A. Chase and D. Chase 1989). While this increase may have been caused by a population influx at the site, isotopic analyses have yet to be run to test this proposition. The residential interments and their contents showed continued prosperity for the site's population even after Caracol had suffered its own star-war defeat at the hands of Naranjo in AD 680. We have previously described the combined “shared identity” and growth in prosperity as “symbolic egalitarianism” (A. Chase and D. Chase 2009; D. Chase and A. Chase 2006, 2017).

The Caracol extensive causeway system may have been an outcome of the site's successful warfare, especially as these roads permitted the effective organizational integration of the site. Apart from the earlier causeways connecting Caracol, Cahal Pichik, and Hatzcap Ceel by the end of the Early Classic period (A. Chase et al. 2014), the majority of Caracol's causeways were built at the beginning of the Late Classic period, precisely the time when the site was engaged in successful warfare. This same causeway system also would have facilitated the deployment of warriors from one end of the site to the other, something directly correlated with the construction of many road systems (Trombold 1991). The causeway system also helped to support a functioning

market system for the site (A. Chase and D. Chase 2001a; A. Chase et al. 2015; D. Chase and A. Chase 2014). Three large plazas constituting public space were embedded in the landscape, each approximately three kilometers by causeway from the site epicenter, at the very beginning of the Late Classic period, presumably shortly after the war with Tikal (A. Chase and D. Chase 2001; D. Chase and A. Chase 2014). The causeways linking the Caracol epicenter to the existing sites of Ceiba and Retiro likely also were built at the same time (A. Chase et al. 2011), thus helping to consolidate and integrate Caracol's huge urban settlement. As the urban settlement grew during the Late Classic, other built causeways expanded Caracol's integrative road and administrative system (A. Chase et al. 2014). Thus, these various archaeological data appear to corroborate all three noted outcomes of successful warfare. Increased site integration was apparent in residential and ritual patterns, as well as in the site's causeway system. Prosperity was noted in the materials present in ritual and household contexts. Finally, population grew substantially.

EFFECTS OF MAYA WARFARE IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORDS OF TIKAL AND NARANJO

Correlating archaeological data with hieroglyphically recorded war events relies heavily upon not only the recovered archaeological record but also upon an interpretation of the severity of the epigraphically recorded conflicts and the associated materialization of such aggression. As the most severe type of Maya warfare, it would appear that a star-war led to the removal of the local ruler and descendants at a defeated site; often, the site was not dynastically "refounded" for an extended period of time. The impact of such a warfare event on the epigraphic record is clear. Tikal did not erect monuments for 130 years after the AD 562 war (A. Chase 1991), and Naranjo did not erect local monuments for 71 years after the AD 631 conflict (Houston 1991). But, such an event also should be detectable in other aspects of the archaeological record. Thus, at Tikal there appears to have been a loss of outlying residential population and a restructuring of that site's settlement pattern (Puleston 1974), while, as noted above, Caracol appears to have undergone a dramatic population increase and site expansion (A. Chase and D. Chase 1989; D. Chase and A. Chase 2002). But, the impact of this successful warfare may also be visible in the epicentral architecture of the defeated sites. For Naranjo, this is implied in the appearance of Caracol monumental texts in association with epicentral architecture. For Tikal, this may in fact be seen in the temples constructed in the North Acropolis during this time period.

We argue here that Caracol's rulers used both their initial star-war victory over Tikal and then subsequently their star-war victory over Naranjo to effectively insinuate themselves into the ritualized fabric of both societies. We believe that this was done through the construction of specific ritual buildings, the symbolic interment of key individuals, and the manipulation of current and previous hieroglyphic texts and monuments. At Tikal, this meant the construction of structures 5D-32-1st and 5D-33-1st in Tikal's North Acropolis and the physical interment of Caracol individuals within their latest tombs (specifically in Burials 23, 24, and 195). This building program in Tikal's North Acropolis was meant to ritually displace the existing site leadership and to establish Caracol's own ritual pantheon.

CARACOL'S STRANGER-KINGS AT TIKAL

One of the things that has puzzled us after over thirty years of excavation is that we have been unable to locate any of the burials of Caracol's rulers mentioned on its monuments, particularly those of its most noted rulers, Yajaw Te' K'inich II, who spearheaded the Tikal war in AD 562, and his son, K'an II, who waged the Naranjo war in AD 631. This is not for a lack of trying. We have investigated all of the major structures in downtown Caracol and recovered a plethora of tombs (D. Chase 1994; D. Chase and A. Chase 1996, 2011, 2017), many of them dated with hieroglyphic texts (reflecting both death dates and covering activities) that are painted either on tomb capstones or directly on tomb walls (A. Chase 1994; A. Chase and D. Chase 1987). What we can say at this point is that the hieroglyphic dates recovered from Caracol's tombs are not replicated in the carved monument texts, nor can they possibly represent death dates for any of the site's known rulers as they do not match lifespans indicated within the texts (table 3.1; see also A. Chase and D. Chase 1996; D. Chase and A. Chase 2017). It has also been intriguing that many of the primary occupants of Caracol's tombs are women (D. Chase 1994; D. Chase and A. Chase 2017). In the past, epigraphers worked to fit tombs to a given site's monumental record (e.g., Valdés and Fahsen 1995 for Uaxactún). For the reasons outlined above, the assumption of male rulers in tombs or of textually identified individuals in these chambers does not work at Caracol, as gendering the site's tombs has demonstrated that such an supposition is problematic. The woman in the central Structure B19 tomb who died in 9.10.1.12.11 (A. Chase and D. Chase 1987) was initially identified by epigraphers as an arrival from Site Q and the mother of K'an II, being repeatedly called "Lady Batz Ek" (Grube 1994:108; Martin and Grube 2000:91-92, 2008). Based on

TABLE 3.1. Relevant dates from Caracol, Naranjo, Xunantunich, La Rejolla, Tikal, and Dos Pilas.

<i>Long-Count</i>	<i>Calendar Round</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Site/Text</i>
7.4.17.0.14	13 Ix 12 Xul	unspecified action by Naranjo lord	Nar Altar 1
8.5.18.4.0	7 Ahau 3 K'ankin?? OR: 8.5.17/18.4.0 8 Ajaw 8 ?		Nar St. 25
8.18.4.4.14			Car St. 20
9.2.9.0.16	10 Cib 4 Pop		Car St. 13
9.4.16.13.3	4 Akbal 16 Pop		Car St. 15
9.5.3.1.3	9 Akbal 1 Xul	death date	Car B20 tomb 4
9.5.3.9.19		accession of Wak Chan K'awiil	Tik St. 17
9.5.12.0.4	6 K'an 2(3) Zip	accession of Double Comb <i>ucab</i> Tuun K'ab Hix of Q?	Nar St. 25
9.5.19.1.2	9 Ik 5 Uo	seating of Yajaw Te' K'inich II at Caracol <i>ucab</i> x of Tikal?	Car Altar 21 Car St. 6
9.6.2.1.11	6 Chuen 19 Pop	axe event against Caracol	Car Altar 21
9.6.3.9.15		k'atun anniversary of Wak Chan K'awiil	Tik St. 17
9.6.13.17.0			Tik St. 17
9.6.8.4.2	7 Ik 0 Zip	star-war at Tikal	Car Altar 21
9.6.12.0.4	4 K'an 7 Pax	1st anniversary of Double Comb	Nar St. 25
9.6.12.4.16	5 Cib 14 Uo	birth of Batz Ek	Car St. 3
9.6.17.17.0	8 Ahau 13 Mac		Car Altar 21
9.6.18.2.19	9 Cauac 12 Kayab		Car Altar 21
9.6.18.12.0	8 Ahau ? Mol	action related to Sky Witness of Q	Car St. 3
9.7.2.0.3	2 Akbal 16 Mac		Car St. 5
9.7.3.3.17	7 Caban 5 Kayab	building of a particular structure	Nar Altar 1
9.7.3.12.15	3 Men 18 Yaxkin	death date	Car B20 tomb 3
9.7.8.12.12	6 Eb 10 Xul	covering of tomb	Car A34 tomb 2
9.7.10.16.8	9 Lamat 16 Chen	arrival x Uxwitz'a' witnessed by Batz Ek	Car St. 3
9.7.12.0.4	2 K'an 7 Zac	2nd anniversary of Double Comb	Nar St. 25
9.7.14.10.1	9 Imix 9 Uo		La Rej St. 1
9.7.14.10.8	3 Lamat 16 Uo	birth of K'an II of Caracol	Nar "Lintel" 1

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TABLE 3.1—*continued*

<i>Long-Count</i>	<i>Calendar Round</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Site/Text</i>
			Car St. 3
			Car Altar 21
9.7.19.10.0	1 Ahau 3 Pop	ballgame??	Car Altar 21
9.7.19.13.12	8 Eb 15 Zotz	1st bloodletting	K'an II
		ucab 4 katun ahau	Car St. 3
9.8.0.0.0	5 Ahau 3 Chen	scattering by Yajaw Te' K'inich II via cherished Lady Moon Bird	Car St. 1
		katun bleeding by 2nd bloodletting	K'an II
		3rd katun seating Yajaw Te' K'inich II	Car St. 6
9.8.0.0.0		wooden panels	Tik Bu. 195
9.8.3.14.4	7 Akbal 11 Zotz	split mountain/his skull/waterlily sky house "ko 3 stone place"	
		ucab Yajaw Te' K'inich ? . . . holy	Nar Altar 1
9.8.5.16.12	5 Eb 5 Xul	seating of Yajaw Te' K'inich II (possessed)	Car St. 6
		seating as "lord bleeder" Flame Ahau	
9.8.5.16.12			Car St. 5
9.8.10.0.0	4 Ahau 13 Xul	seating as "ba bleeder lord" Flame Ahau	Car St. 6
		it was seen by 3-katun bleeder Yajaw Te' K'inich II, water-lily ahau, sibling . . .	
9.8.10.0.0			Car St. 5
9.8.12.0.4	13 K'an 7 Xul	3rd anniversary of Double Comb	Nar St. 25
9.9.0.0.0	3 Ahau 3 Zotz		Car St. 5
9.9.0.4.0	5 Ahau 3 Mol		Car St. 5
9.9.0.16.7	2 Caban 15 Uo	covering of chamber	Car L3 tomb
9.9.2.0.4	12 K'an 17 Zip	3 and ½ anniversary of Double Comb	Nar St. 25
9.9.4.16.2	10 Ik 0 Pop	accession of K'an II ucab TRIAD? witnessed by Batz Ek	Car St. 3
			Car St. 22
9.9.5.13.8	4 Lamat 6 Pax	X by K'an II ucab ?-Sky of Q	Car St. 3

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TABLE 3.1—*continued*

<i>Long-Count</i>	<i>Calendar Round</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Site/Text</i>
9.9.9.0.5	11 Chichan 3 Uo		Car St. 22
9.9.9.10.5	3 Chichan 3 Ceh	arrival of 3-uinal bird at Uxwitzá'; it was seen by Batz Ek k'ul-yax- ahau X K'an II hun tan of emblem (not Q)	Car St. 3
			Car St. 22
9.9.10.0.0	2 Ahau 13 Pop	K'an II scattered	Car St. 3
			Car St. 22
>9.9.12.0.4	5-katun Double Comb		Nar St. 27
9.9.12.6.6?			Car St. 22
9.9.13.1.9			Car St. 22
9.9.13.4.4	9 K'an 2 Zec	jubuuy Koka' place ah-cab-hi ucab K'an II jubuuy "he of Naranjo" jubuuy his flint/shield	Car B16 stucco Car St. 3 Car St. 22
			Nar Step VIII
9.9.13.8.4	11 K'an 2 Chen	jubuuy Koka' place ah-cab-hi	Car B16 stucco Car St. 22
			Nar Step VII
9.9.14.3.5	12 Chichan 18 Zip	verb 3-knot-skull? (ballgame?) jubuuy jubuuy ma-X-kin-??? ucab K'an II sibling of "cauachhead"	Nar Step VII Car B16 stucco Car St. 3
9.9.14.?.?			Ucanal Ms. 1
9.9.17.11.14	13 Ix 12 Zac	death	Ucanal Ms. 1
9.9.18.16.3	7 Akbal 16 Muan	star-war over Naranjo by Caracol founder? +[verb] monkey ucab cauachhead Q? ox-te-tun-ne he of Chik Naab star-war over Naranjo	Nar Step 6 Car St. 3
9.10.0.0.0	1 Ahau 8 Kayab	witnessed by K'an II K'an II	Nar "Lintel" 1 Car St. 3

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TABLE 3.1—*continued*

<i>Long-Count</i>	<i>Calendar Round</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Site/Text</i>
		<i>iwal k'ah</i> (it was seen)	Car St. 22
9.10.0.0.0			Nar Step 6
9.10.1.12.11	1 Chuen 9 Sac	death date	Car B19 tomb 1
9.10.3.2.12	2 Eb 0 Pop	star-war / flint and shield	
		Waxaklajuun Ubaah Kan	Nar Step 1
9.10.4.7.0	8 Ahau 8 Tzec		Car St. 3
9.10.4.16.2	8 Ik 5 K'ankin	1-katun anniversary of K'an II	Nar Step 10
9.10.5.12.4			Nar Step 10
9.10.5.13.4	11 Kan 2 Sac	death of Batz Ek	Xun Panel 3
9.10.7.9.17	1 Caban 5 Yaxkin	death of 18-Jog-snake?	Xun Panel 3
9.10.10.0.0		ballgame implied	Xun Panel 3
9.10.10.0.0	13 Ahau 18 Kankin		Nar Step 1
9.10.10.0.0			Xun Panel 4
9.10.12.11.2		Flint-Sky-K accession at Dos Pilas	
9.10.16.16.19		Jaguar-Paw of Q born	
9.11.5.14.0		seating of K'ahk' Ujol K'inich II of Caracol	Car B16 stucco
9.11.5.15.9		death of K'an II	Car B16 stucco
9.11.9.16.2	12 Ik 0 Mol	anniversary K'an II	Car B19 stucco
9.11.9.16.2		anniversary K'an II	La Rej St. 3
9.11.11.9.17		capture of Tah-Mo by Sky-K Dos Pilas	
9.11.19.11.0	13 Ahau 13 Cumku		La Rej. St. 3
9.11.18.13.0	1 Ahau 8 Uo		La Rej. St. 3
9.12.0.0.0	10 Ahau 8 Yaxkin		La Rej St. 3
9.12.7.14.1	3 Imix 9 Pop	Star-war Uxwitzal' Naranjo title	Car B16 stucco
9.12.8.4.9	2 Muluc 17 Chen	arrival K'ahk' Ujol K'inich II (?)	Car B16 stucco
9.12.9.17.16	5 Cib 14 Zotz	Jasaw Chan K'awiil accedes at Tikal	Tik T1, Lintel 3
9.12.10.5.12	4 Eb 10 Yax	Lady 6-Sky arrives Naranjo	Nar St. 24
9.12.13.17.7		Jaguar-Paw of Q accedes	

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TABLE 3.1—*continued*

<i>Long-Count</i>	<i>Calendar Round</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Site/Text</i>
9.12.15.13.7		Smoking-Squirrel of Naranjo born	Nar St. 24
9.12.19.12.9			Tik Altar 5
9.13.0.0.0.	8 Ahau 8 Uo	Giant Ajaw altar at Tikal (w. St. 30)	Tik Alt. 14
9.13.1.3.19	5 Cauac 2 Xul	Smoking-Squirrel accedes	Nar St. 22
9.13.1.4.19	12 Cauac 2 Yaxkin	jubuuy kinich-cab	Nar St. 22
9.13.1.9.5	7 Chichan 8 Zac	“shell-kin” event	Nar St. 22
9.13.1.13.4	5 Ix 17 Muan	“shell-kin” event	Nar St. 22
9.13.2.16.0	5 Oc 8 Cumkuu	jubuuy “he of Tikal” was captured/ was born Smoke God K it happened at Caracol?	Nar St. 22
9.13.3.7.18		Jaguar-Paw’s flint/shield capture at Tikal	Tik T ₁ , Lintel 3
9.13.3.15.16	13 Cib 9 Kayab	chamber covering; ruler witnessed	Car A3 tomb
9.13.4.1.13	13 Ben 1 Zip		Nar St. 22
9.13.5.4.13	3 Ben 16 Zec		Nar St. 22
9.13.6.2.0		Shield-K accedes at Dos Pilas	
9.13.6.4.17	3 Caban 15 Zec	“shell-kin” captive Kinichil-Cab	Nar St. 22
9.13.6.10.4	6 Kan 2 Sac	“shell-kin” by Shield-jaguar of Ucanal in land of Naranjo Smoking Squirrel	Nar St. 22
9.13.7.3.8	9 Lamat 1 Zotz	ritual carried out by Lady 6-Sky	Nar St. 24
9.13.10.0.0	7 Ahau 3 Cumhu		Car St. 21
9.13.10.0.0		Lady 6-Sky scatters	Nar St. 24
9.13.10.0.0			Nar St. 22

the archaeological data and on the likelihood that Batz Ek was actually a male regent, we have always challenged this identification (A. Chase and D. Chase 2008; D. Chase and A. Chase 2008, 2017). The newly found Xunantunich Panel 3, by providing the death date for Batz Ek on 9.10.5.13.4, confirms that the B19 locus was not the resting place for this individual (Helmke and Awe 2016a: 9).

We do know quite a bit about the place of Caracol in Maya history from texts, but the identification of physical remains of historically known individuals is generally difficult. Caracol was clearly important in the broader dynastic events of the Classic Period, as can be seen in its connections with

both Copán, Honduras, and Tikal, Guatemala. There were epigraphically recorded relationships between Caracol and Copán (Grube 1994; Stuart 2007; Stuart and Houston 1994:23), and it is likely that the founding ruler at Copán, Yax-K'uk'-Mo, originated at Caracol. Not only do stable isotope data indicate that this individual was likely from the Caracol area (Price et al. 2010), but his upper dentition was inlaid with jadeite from premolar to premolar (Buikstra et al. 2004:194) following high-status Caracol patterns (see below). Two Copán monuments (Stela J and Stela 63) also refer to this ruler as Uxwitz'a' Ajaw, using the primary toponym of Caracol (Martin and Grube 2008:193; Stuart 2007); additionally, a stone bowl from a tomb in Caracol Structure B20 may also record the name K'uk' Mo (A. Chase and D. Chase 1987:20–21, fig. 15; Prager and Wagner 2013), suggesting minimally onomastic ties between the two dynasties, if not outright reference to the same individual. Besides Copán, Tikal also had an early interest in Caracol and its emblem glyphs appear on a number of Caracol's monuments (Stela 6, Stela 15, and Altar 21). Yajaw Te' K'inich II was presumably installed as ruler at Caracol under the aegis of Tikal (likely by Wak Chan K'awiil or Double-Bird) in AD 553 (9.5.19.1.2; text on Caracol Stela 6). After his installation, Caracol Altar 21's texts note that events turned hostile with an “axe event” against Caracol in AD 556 followed by retaliation from Caracol in AD 562 through the promulgation of a star-war against Tikal. This is the event that effectively erased the Tikal dynasty from history for 130 years (A. Chase 1991; A. Chase and D. Chase 1987:33).

What we know about Yajaw Te' K'inich II at Caracol was largely recorded by his son K'an II. Yajaw Te' K'inich II acceded to the throne in AD 553 (9.5.19.1.2). We know that he ruled until approximately 9.8.0.0.0 (AD 593). He is recorded on Caracol Stela 6 as marking this *katun* ending and his presence is noted as well on Caracol Stela 1, where we are told that a youthful K'an II carried out the bleeding ceremony. However, ten years later, in AD 603, he is noted as posthumously witnessing the 9.8.10.0.0 half-*katun* ceremonies as a water-lily jaguar lord, thus providing us with a rough idea of his death. After a slight interregnum, during which an individual named Flame Ahau is mentioned on Caracol Stela 6 as having been seated to carry out the ritual act of bloodletting (in 9.8.5.16.12 [exactly 6 years and 3 months after the first piercing of K'an II found on Caracol Stela 3]), Yajaw Te' K'inich II's son K'an II, who was born on 9.7.14.10.8 (AD 588), acceded to the throne on 9.9.4.16.2 in AD 618. K'an II is noted as carrying out three jubuuy events against Naranjo in AD 626 and AD 627 (9.9.13.4.4, 9.9.13.8.4, and 9.9.14.3.5) in multiple texts both at Naranjo and at Caracol, seemingly ending the long running reign of the five-*katun* Naranjo ruler Double Comb. In AD 633 (9.9.18.16.3), K'an II carried

out a star-war against Naranjo, presumably bringing the site under his direct control. Apart from the carved stone monuments at Naranjo, other texts at Caracol containing information about K'an II include Caracol Stela 3 (Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981), Caracol Stela 22 (Grube 1994), a buried stucco text in Caana at Caracol (D. Chase and A. Chase 2017:fig. 11; Grube 1994), and a portable slate mace fragment (A. Chase and D. Chase 2001b:fig. 4.5; this type of artifact is known from the Belize Valley [Willey et al. 1965:476–482] and from Copán [Willey et al. 1994:258–259]). The Caana stucco text records the death of K'an II in AD 658 (9.11.5.15.9). A two-katun anniversary of his accession is noted in the texts at Naranjo (9.11.9.16.2), and a posthumous mention of a two-katun five-tun anniversary of his accession is found on a monument at La Rejolla (9.11.9.16.2).

Based on the extensive archaeological data that has now been accumulated for Tikal and Caracol, we suggest that both Yajaw Te' K'inich II and K'an II were interred at Tikal in the North Acropolis in Structures 5D-32-1st and 5D-33-1st. Knowing that Caracol bested the reigning Tikal dynasty, we believe that they attempted to demonstrate their dynastic rights at Tikal by appropriating the symbolic aspects of the North Acropolis. We think that Yajaw Te' K'inich II is interred in Tikal Burial 195 (figure 3.2) and that K'an II was placed in Tikal Burial 23 (figure 3.3). A dwarf, presumably of ritual significance, was also placed in Tikal Burial 24 (figure 3.4) very shortly after the deposition of Burial 23 and probably in conjunction with the siting of Tikal Stela 31 in the rear room of Structure 5D-33-2nd just before the construction of 5D-33-1st. The placement of this monument in the rear of this room may have been an attempt to resurrect common ties to a Teotihuacan heritage by the Tikal elite. Jasaw Chan K'awiil was originally posited to be the son of the individual interred in Tikal Burial 23 (see W. Coe 1990:540), but this is very unlikely given that the radiocarbon dating of Burial 23 (Coe 1990:843) accords with the AD 658 death of K'an II and that the later Nuun Ujol Chaak is named in Tikal texts as the father of Jasaw Chan K'awiil (Martin and Grube 2000:44). Yet, there appears to have been a concerted effort of some duration to link the refounding of the Late Classic Tikal dynasty to its Early Classic rulers. The ties between Jasaw Chan K'awiil and Yax Nun Ayiin I ("Stormy Sky") are significant. According to both Clemency Coggins (1975) and William Haviland (1992:79), Jasaw Chan K'awiil accedes to the throne on the 13-katun anniversary of Yax Nun Ayiin I's earlier accession at Tikal—hardly a coincidence. Martin and Grube (2000:45) point out that the commemoration date on the wooden lintel in Tikal Temple 1 (the mortuary monument for Jasaw Chan K'awiil) was precisely the commemoration date of the 13-katun anniversary of

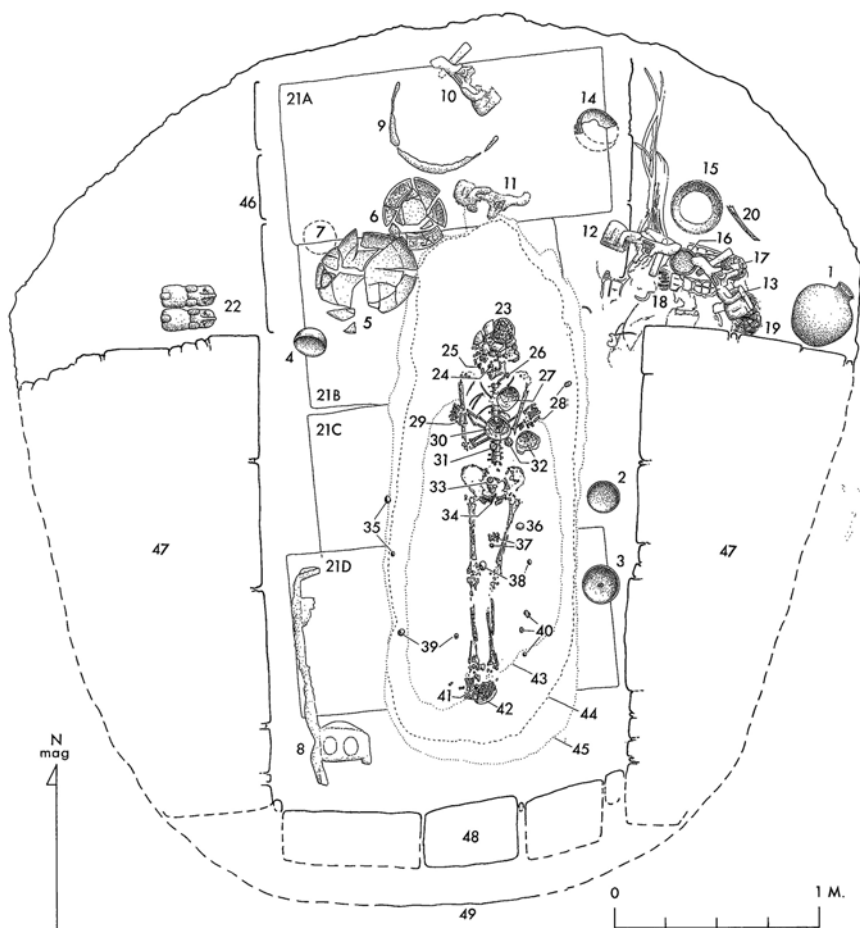


FIGURE 3.2. *Tikal Burial 195, the interment of Caracol Yajaw Te' K'inich II (after Coe 1990).*

“the death of Spearthrower Owl, the Mexican overlord and father of Yax Nuun Ayiin I.” As discuss below, Jasaw Chan K'awiil also acknowledged Caracol through his formal accession monument.

There are several lines of archaeological data that point to a Caracol origin for early Late Classic tombs in Tikal's North Acropolis. All three individuals recovered in the referenced tombs from Tikal Structures 5D-32 and 5D-33 contain maxillary teeth once inlaid with jadeite and hematite. This was an unusual custom at Tikal. Besides the North Acropolis tombs, inlaid teeth

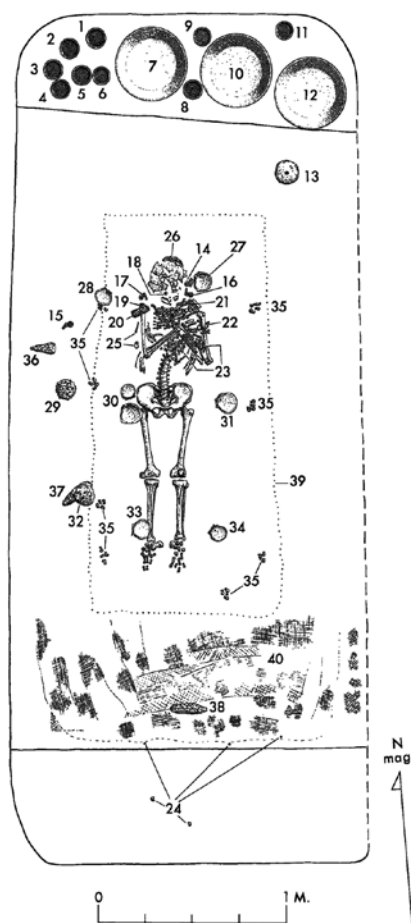


FIGURE 3.3. *Tikal Burial 23, the interment of Caracol K'an II (after Coe 1990).*

hematite premolar inlays (Coe 1990:539) may resemble the pattern found in the earliest tomb in Caracol Structure B20 dating to 9.5.3.1.3; the individual in this Caracol tomb (S.D. C1H-1) exhibited pyrite inlays in the upper left premolar and the upper right canine with the other inlays in between likely removed at death; however, this Caracol individual also had inlays present on the mandible with canines having a jadeite (left) and pyrite (right) inlay and the inlays on the incisors not being present. Finally, the pattern of inlays found in Tikal Burial 24 may have been replicated in another tomb in Caracol

only occurred in two other locations at Tikal—in Burial 193 in Structure 7F-31 and in Burials 147, 149, and 157 all found in Structure 6B-9, leading Marshall Becker (1973, 1983) to suggest that the Structure 6B-1 residential group focused on dentistry. Inlaid teeth, in contrast, are common at Caracol, occurring in fifty-seven residential groups thus far investigated and representing 15.85 percent ($n=116$) of all excavated individuals occurring in the site's burials (D. Chase and A. Chase 2017). The bundled individual in Tikal Burial 195 had inlaid maxillary teeth that extended from premolar to premolar; William Coe (1990:567) notes that all of the inlays seem to have been deliberately removed at the time of death. Both the maxillary inlay pattern from premolar to premolar and the removal of the inlays at death also appears with the bundled individual in the basal tomb beneath the front steps of Caracol Structure B19 (S.D. C4B-3) dated to 9.10.1.12.11. The inlay pattern found in Tikal Burial 23 with maxillary jadeite inlays bracketed by

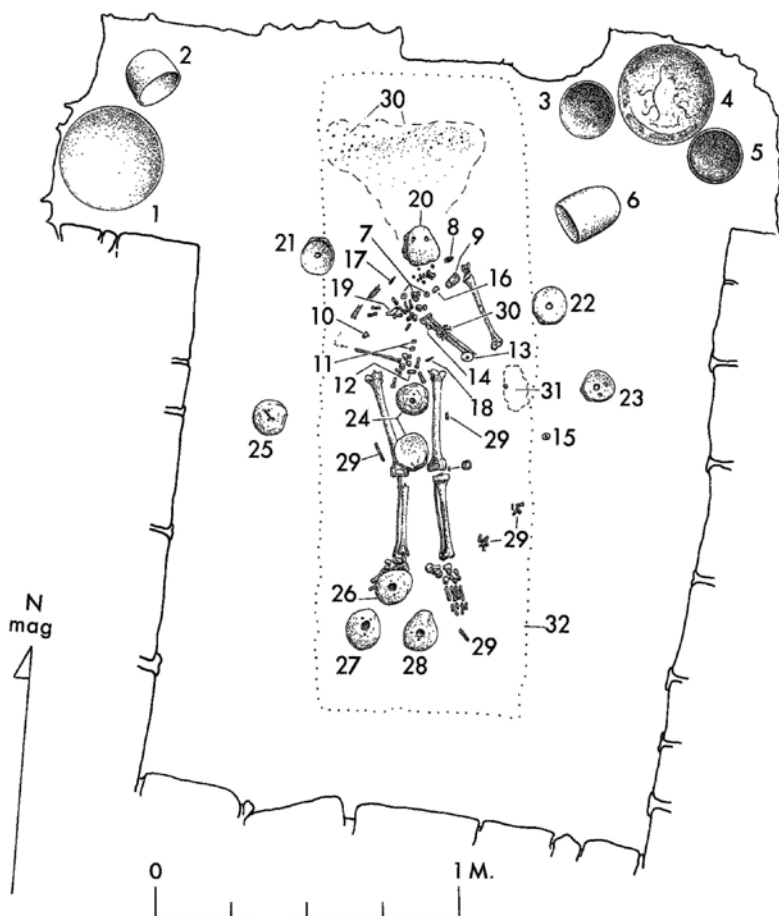


FIGURE 3.4. *Tikal Burial 24, the interment of a probable dwarf from Caracol (after Coe 1990).*

Structure B20 (S.D. C1B-3) dating to 9.7.3.12.15; although this tomb had been looted, it yielded a central upper incisor containing three jadeite inlays like the ones in Tikal Burial 24 (Coe 1990:543).

Isotopic analysis of the bone in Tikal Burial 23 was carried out by Lori Wright (2012:349), who concluded that this individual was not from Tikal but had spent his childhood “elsewhere” presumably in a place “located on limestone, but with highland-sourced water,” which is an appropriate description for the Caracol landscape if river water to either side of the site was accessed.

This matches earlier archaeological assessments by Coggins (1975:372–380) and Coe (1990:39–540) that the individual was not from Tikal, but was “a foreigner.” Coggins made her determination iconographically based on the *ajaw* plates within the burial that she viewed as similar to monuments at Caracol; Coe made his determination based on the inlaid teeth and relative paucity of grave goods in the chambers, as well as the *ajaw* plates (mirroring the giant *ajaw* altars from Caracol; bowls decorated with *ajaw* glyphs are also known from Caracol, e.g., A. Chase and D. Chase 1987, fig. 11). We would also note that a red “disc” was painted on the central capstone of Tikal Burial 23 (Coe 1990:537, fig. 331), which would be consistent with Caracol practice (a red dot is also found on a capstone of Tikal Burial 116 [Coe 1990:852], suggesting a linkage between these two interments, as discussed below). Tikal Burials 24 and 195 have not been tested for stable isotopes, so we do not securely know that they were foreigners to Tikal like the individual in Tikal Burial 23. Based on radiocarbon dating, the placement of the individual in Tikal Burial 23 occurred between 9.11.0.0.0 and 9.12.0.0.0, according to Coe (1990:843); this dating is in agreement with the known death date for Caracol’s K’an II (9.11.5.15.9).

Tikal Burial 195 was placed deep under the centerline of Structure 5D-32-1st. A bundled body, another common Caracol practice (e.g., A. Chase and D. Chase 1987:26) was placed into a chamber excavated into bedrock that flooded with water shortly after deposition, an event that mixed some items up but that also preserved perishable artifacts. The bundled body was placed atop four carved wooden panels that recorded the long count date 9.8.0.0.0. Two alabaster sculptures representing agoutis (Moholy-Nagy 2008:fig. 138) were placed in the chamber along with six ceramic vessels, four possibly cardinaly oriented K’awiil deity figures, three stuccoed and painted wooden bowls, as well as a ballgame yoke and the remains of a rubber ball. This ballgame association is likely significant given the use of a Caracol ballcourt marker (Caracol Altar 21) to discuss the history of Yajaw Te’ K’inich II by his son K’an II. While the individual in Tikal Burial 195 has been identified as “Animal Skull,” Simon Martin (2008a) correctly points out that “he has no known stelae and what little information we have comes from texts on unprovenanced ceramic vessels and those found within Burial 195.” Martin (2008:n.p.) further noted that, as “Christopher Jones first suggested, there are good grounds to doubt that Animal Skull descended from the existing royal patriline.” Martin (2008) was intrigued with Tikal Burial 195 because one of the wooden vessels in that chamber preserved part of a text that contained a Caracol emblem (figure 3.5), again something of great importance to this discussion. The placement of the individual in Tikal Burial 195 is of the appropriate date to be Caracol ruler

Yajaw Te' K'inich II, who may have assumed a different name at Tikal, but appears to have retained at least one of his Caracol possessions. One of the footed dishes placed in Burial 195 notes that Animal Skull was a two-katun ruler, which corresponds well with the accession date of Caracol's Yajaw Te' K'inich II.

The polychrome plates that were deposited in Tikal Burial 195 also deserve comment. Two plates in this burial name Animal Skull (Culbert 1993:figs. 50e and 51), both of them referring to him as a witness. Although not containing dates, both of these plates are stylistically like others that can be associated with Tikal, but that are Caracol-like in text. Specifically, the nineteenth month of the solar *haab* calendar was known as *kol ajaw* at Caracol and as *wayhaab* elsewhere in the Maya area. During the early Late Classic at Tikal, precisely the name

of *Kol Ajaw* appears on polychrome plates that reference Wak Chan K'awiil and presumably Animal Skull (Christophe Helmke, email June 14, 2018). The linguistic similarity between Caracol and early Late Classic Tikal during this era likely resulted from already established ties between the two cities, especially since Yajaw Te' K'awiil II acceded to office at Caracol under the aegis of a Tikal overlord (Grube 1994:106). However, this linguistic similarity also indicates the strength and impact of the Caracol influence on Tikal at this time (Helmke and Kettunen 2012).

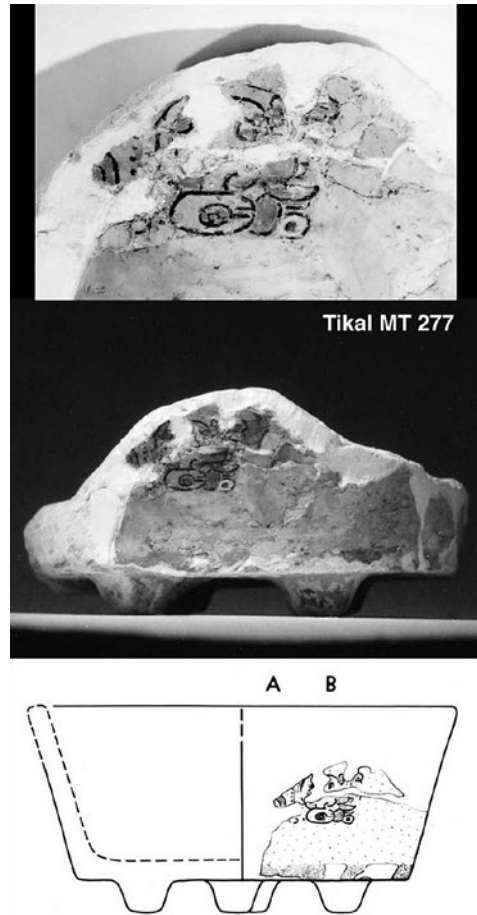


FIGURE 3.5. Caracol emblem on stuccoed wooden bowl in Tikal Burial 195 (after Martin 2008).

Interestingly, the death of the individual in Burial 195 occasioned a “massive reconstruction of the site center” of Tikal that has been interpreted as a “dynastic overthrow” and “an attempt by usurpers to put their own distinctive stamp on the political and ceremonial heart of the city” (Haviland 1992:73–74), further supporting the idea of a non-Tikal origin for this individual. Whatever the case, Yajaw Te’ and Animal Skull may have been one and the same individual or there may have been differentiation between Yajaw Te’ and Animal Skull, with the former taking care of business running matters and the latter operating “as a puppet of the city’s conquerors” (see Martin and Grube 2000:41). Whatever the case, it is Yajaw Te’ who is interred in Tikal Burial 195.

Tikal Burial 24 was interred in Tikal Structure 5D-32 very shortly after Tikal Burial 23. The individual placed in this chamber was described as a “diminutive adult” of approximate 115 cm in stature with a deformed spine (Coe 1990:541–543). Coe (543) posited that this individual was deposited “incidentally” and sees the death of this individual as having occurred very shortly after the death of the individual in Burial 23—“dead master and fatally bereaved, monstrous jester.” Because of how unusual the interment of a dwarf is, some researchers are not convinced that a dwarf was actually in this chamber (see summary in Bacon 2007:61). However, after this interment, dwarf iconography, which is very common at Caracol (occurring on Caracol Stelae 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 19, and 21), becomes evident at Tikal in the carved wooden lintels (Bacon 2007). The layout of nine *Spondylus* shells about the bodies in both Tikal Burials 23 and 24 indicate that the two interments shared common patterns. One of the vessels in Burial 24 was, for Tikal, a “unique” ring-base polychrome dish that is directly representative of the Caracol ceramic tradition and was likely an import from Caracol for the chamber (see Culbert 1993:fig. 42a). Two of the vessels included as special deposits in the fill of construction for Structure 5D-33-1st are also in pure Caracol style (Ca. 201, a cylinder with incised modeled-carved glyphs, and P.D. 235, a short squat cylinder). The inclusion of a dwarf in Burial 24 is further significant, especially as dwarves were believed to be able to function within both the living and lower worlds (A. Chase and D. Chase 1994) and, as noted above, are also extensively portrayed on Caracol stelae (Bacon 2007; Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981).

NARANJO AND ITS MONUMENTAL RECORD

It has long been known that Caracol-related texts occur at Naranjo. These texts, however, are no longer in their original locations. We suspect that one or more ritual buildings were constructed at Naranjo and used by the Caracol

victors, but that they were later dismantled because they were not directly associated with ancestral individuals, as at Tikal. However, we believe that these constructions were associated with the carved stone monuments that recorded the deeds of Caracol ruler K'an II in one or more specific locations at Naranjo after he had effectively displaced the earlier dynastic ruler ("Double-Comb") and his line. The Caracol-related stone monuments at Naranjo were later ritually neutralized through being dismantled and nonsensically arranged as a stairway and through pieces of these carvings being spatially distributed to other sites, such as Xunantunich and Ucanal (and probably others), that were under Naranjo's sway toward the end of the Late Classic (e.g., Helmke and Awe 2016a, 2016b). The treatment of these stone monuments and their texts provides a case example of the inchoate power that was vested in these monuments through their texts (and probably images) by the ancient Maya. The subsequent destruction, recombination, and widespread distribution of these texts and monuments may be considered as either representative of attempts to ameliorate their inherent power or to carefully distribute some of the power and symbolism imbued within these stones both to Naranjo's later dynasty and to its allies. The desecration of Maya carved monuments is noted as having involved "repeated, ritualized procedures" in which the "scattering, commingling, or burial of fragments may have been intended to prevent such reuse" (Moholy-Nagy 2016:258).

The recovery of Panels 3 and 4 at Xunantunich during the summer of 2016 by Jaime Awe (Helmke and Awe 2016a, 2016b) emphasize the inherent power of written texts for the ancient Maya. Through moving these texts to Xunantunich, the symbols of Naranjo domination were dispersed, either lessening the power of their message or providing some ritual sustenance to that site, an ally of Naranjo (LeCount and Yaeger 2010). The two large stone panels contain passages related to the Caracol ruler K'an II. Xunantunich has no known recorded connections to Caracol, but these monuments were ritually placed at that site exterior to a building containing one of Xunantunich's buried rulers (presumably transferring to the dead individual or the building that housed him some sort of ritual power). This act also destroyed whatever meaning these panels once had within their original context. That they were moved some distance away from their original location demonstrates that these stones were both decontextualized and "shared." The same process took place with the hieroglyphic stairway at Naranjo (figure 3.6); it contains passages relating to the same Caracol ruler, but placed in a jumbled and decontextualized order that likely combined several different monuments into one. Again, one of these stair blocks was found far to the south at the site of Ucanal,



FIGURE 3.6. *Photograph of the Naranjo hieroglyphic stairway (after Maler 1908).*

where it was associated with that site's ballcourt. While Martin (2000:57–58) argued that these blocks originated at the site of Caracol and were carried to Naranjo as effective spoils of war (see also Helmke and Awe 2016a: 2), it is more likely that the various carved monuments found at Naranjo were part of construction efforts at that site.

K'an II was not the object of the Naranjo war in AD 680; he had already been dead for twenty-two years. The objective target would have had to have been the current Caracol ruler K'ahk' Ujol K'inich. Thus, it should have been his monuments and not those of K'an II that were the focus of subsequent actions—and, indeed, we have no stone monuments for this ruler in the Caracol epicenter. The subject at all of the texts at Naranjo, Ucanal, and Xunantunich is K'an II; therefore, this disbursement pattern would have made more sense if they were coming from Naranjo. That no texts are known for the presumably long-lived ruler K'ahk' Ujol K'inich may indicate that they were purposefully destroyed, whereas it appears that the texts and monuments relating to the dead ruler K'an II had to be treated in a different way.

There are also indications that multiple Caracol-related texts existed at Naranjo and that not all of them were co-located. Examining the stair blocks from Naranjo and Ucanal in more detail reveals that there are stylistically at least two different texts in the stair blocks based on the consistent treatment of day signs as either in or out of cartouches. There is also a sizable Naranjo “lintel” that was likely not a part of any stairway. There are also pieces of another panel recovered “in the debris on top of the Central Acropolis at Naranjo” (Tokovinine 2007:17, fig. 5). Furthermore, in their original context, the panels found at Xunantunich would have been vertically arranged and were likely not part of the Naranjo stairway or arranged on any balustrade; there are clearly more of these vertical panels to be found in the future based on the missing border of the upper cartouche on Panel 3 (Helmke and Awe 2016a: 6, fig. 7).

Finally, the miscellaneous carved stone fragment from Caracol that Martin attributes to the Naranjo stairway was more likely part of a Caracol stela or even a fragmentary stair block from Naranjo that was brought back to Caracol as part of or after the AD 680 conflict. The widespread distribution of these texts that deal with Caracol personages (Yajaw Te' Kinich II and K'an II) at Naranjo, Ucanal, and Xunantunich, however, also provides new insights into Classic period Maya warfare through demonstrating the ritualized aspects of these destructive actions and the power of hieroglyphic writing (and history) to the ancient Maya, especially when positioned by the victor at the subjugated site.

Given that multiple sites exhibited pieces of textual materials relating to Caracol's K'an II, these materials suggest the enormity of impact that the Tikal and Naranjo star-wars by Caracol had in the sixth and seventh centuries. The widespread disbursement of the carved texts suggests a purposeful attempt to either mitigate or share their power (see also Helmke and Awe 2016a, 2016b), thus also supporting how impactful these carved texts were. Although apparently feared by the northern communities that were brought under Caracol's sway, these texts were treated with respect ritually and their inherent power was redirected through subsequent action and ritual. The ritual disbursement of these texts to areas previously held under Caracol's sway after Naranjo's successful star-war at Caracol served to mark the end of the effects of the earlier star-war where Caracol was the victor and to bring balance back to Naranjo's world, as reflected in the establishment of its new dynasty.

THE EFFECTS OF NARANJO'S STAR-WAR AT CARACOL

Caracol's hold over Tikal and Naranjo ceased with the Naranjo star-war against Caracol in AD 680 (9.12.7.14.1). The timing of this event was probably sequent to the final construction of Structure 5D-33-1st over the tombs of K'an II and his aide. There has been speculation that the occupant of Burial 23 (K'an II) was the father of the individual in Tikal Burial 116 (Coe 1990:340); however, this is unlikely. It is rather more likely that the individual in Tikal Burial 23 was divorced from the Late Classic Tikal dynastic line because, if the individual in Tikal Burial 116 is Jasaw Chan K'awiil, then the texts record his father as being Nuun Ujol Chak (Martin and Grube 2000). We know from stucco texts at Caracol that the ruler K'ahk'Ujol K'inich acceded to the throne at Caracol in AD 658 (9.11.5.14.0), some twenty-nine days before the death of K'an II. K'ahk'Ujol K'inich was the ruler who was affected by the Naranjo star-war in AD 680. Although K'ahk'Ujol K'inich is recording as having returned

to Caracol in AD 680 (9.12.8.4.9), this star-war ended Caracol's hold on both Naranjo and on Tikal. What eventually happened to K'ahk' Ujol K'inich is not known. However, at Tikal, the effects of the Naranjo victory over Caracol enabled Jasaw Chan K'awiil to establish a new dynastic line. It is suspected that this would not have been the case had the star-war not taken place, for it is likely that K'ahk' Ujol K'inich would have eventually been interred at Tikal like the previous two Caracol rulers.

The first monuments to appear at Tikal after 130 years are iconographically significant in that the altar was carved in Caracol-style with a giant ajaw day-sign in its center to commemorate 9.13.0.0.0 (Tikal Stela 30 and Altar 14; Jones and Satterthwaite 1982:62), again indicating the strength and impact of Caracol influence on Tikal in ritual contexts. Fourteen of these giant ajaw day-sign altars are known from Caracol (Beetz and Satterthwaite 1981:table 2). Also, Lintel 3 of Temple 1 (Structure 5D-1) details events in the life of Jasaw Chan K'awiil and "features a motif most commonly found at Caracol, in this case a dwarf" (Bacon 2007:257). Thus, the new ruler of Tikal, Jasaw Chan K'awiil, appears to have explicitly recognized the ritual impact of Caracol through these paired monuments and the lintel iconography; this recognition likely served to terminate other ritual practices utilized under Caracol's sway (such as the Caracol practice of placing human phalanges in caches; Moholy-Nagy 2008:65). He was also anchored to the earlier foreign-based lords of Tikal through the placement of Stela 31 in the building that housed Burials 23 and 24 and by acceding to the throne on the thirteen-katun anniversary of Stormy Sky's (the individual on Stela 31) earlier accession at Tikal (Coggins 1975; Haviland 1992:79).

While the earlier star-wars by Caracol against Tikal and Naranjo had effectively erased the dynasties from those sites, the Naranjo star-war against Caracol appeared to have had impacts in the global arena, but not within the local population at the site. This may have been because of the direct relationship that Caracol's rulers had with Tikal and Naranjo—and their absence from Caracol. Thus, the star-war at Caracol itself was not as impactful as it was at Tikal and Naranjo, because the ruler may not have been physically located there at the time of the star-war. The stucco text on Caana recorded that the Caracol ruler returned to the site 168 days after the star-war (Martin and Grube 2000; D. Chase and A. Chase 2017), but one is forced to wonder "from where"? Did the attack serve to encourage his return to Caracol from somewhere else? That monument erection continued at Caracol is indicated by a slate stela dating to AD 702. Yet, the political impact of the Naranjo star-war in 9.12.7.14.1, recorded in a buried stucco text on Caracol Structure B16-2nd

(D. Chase and A. Chase 2017:fig. 10), was profound. Even though Caracol's ruler K'ahk'Ujol K'inich, who had acceded to the throne in 9.11.5.14.0 (AD 658), one month before the death of K'an II, rearrived at the site in 9.12.8.4.9 (AD 680), the site's political dominance of the central Petén was over, a fact driven home by both the accession of Jasaw Chan K'awiil at Tikal in 9.12.9.17.16 (AD 681), reestablishing visible rule after an extended hiatus, and the arrival of Lady 6-Sky at Naranjo in 9.12.10.5.12 (AD 682), reestablishing a ruling dynasty at that site as well.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have used history and archaeology to follow up on the interpretations provided by Schele and Freidel in *A Forest of Kings*. In particular, we have reviewed the combined evidence for Maya warfare at the cities of Caracol, Tikal, and Naranjo. These efforts document that the textually recorded warfare did in fact happen, that certain sites and rulers dominated other regions at different points in their histories, and that the impact of warfare can be seen in the archaeological and epigraphic records of both winners and losers. Of special interest is the insertion of rulers from one site to another and the symbolic use of burials to indicate both domination and change in appropriate public and ritual contexts.

While not a necessary component of the previous argument, the concept of “stranger-kings” may help explain the function of Caracol rulers at Tikal. Thus, we suggest that the individuals in Tikal Burials 195 and 24 may be cast as “stranger-kings” at Tikal. Various past and present interpretations support these persons as being of nonlocal origin. But, given the siting of their burials in Tikal's North Acropolis, they have become enmeshed within that site's cosmological ancestors. Sahlins (1981, 2008) originally developed the concept of stranger-kings through his work in the Pacific area to define a concept in which local peoples subjugated themselves to a foreign power, believing that that power was strong enough to resolve some of the tension and conflict that had existed within their own society. Often, stranger-kings also treated their new subjects in a Colonial way for the exploitation of resources that benefited another place; this is argued to have been particularly true for global colonialism (Hagerdal 2008; Henley 2004). The relatively short ruling spans of kings at Tikal prior to Caracol's military exploits suggest that there was substantial turmoil at that site and that any neutral strong outsiders in a position of authority would have been welcome because of the role they could play in resolving conflict. Wak Chan K'awiil acceded to power at Tikal in

AD 537 (9.5.3.9.15); his twenty-five-year rule was ended by the AD 562 star-war. Whereas Wak Chan K'awiil evinced some longevity as a ruler, his defeat was clearly by someone who was stronger and who could bring an end to the rivalry and conflict in the dynastic line at Tikal—Yajaw Te' K'inich II. This is precisely the role of a stranger-king. Whereas Wak Chan K'awiil was ruler for 25 years, Schele and Freidel (1990:454n7) calculated an average span of rulership of only 8 years per king for the 72 years between the death of Stormy-Sky (11th successor) and the accession of Wak Chan K'awiil (21st successor). Thus, the end of the Early Classic at Tikal was clearly a troubled one that was probably rife with conflict between royal families vying for the throne. With Wak Chan K'awiil removed by the actions of Yajaw Te' K'inich II, this Caracol king would have been perceived as an extremely strong overlord, one appropriate for the role of a stranger-king.

The star-war initiated at Tikal by Yajaw Te' K'inich II had severe repercussions for both sites. We can see these results in the archaeological record at Caracol (A. Chase and D. Chase 1989; D. Chase and A. Chase 2017). That it had an impact at Tikal is clearly seen in the 130 years of monument hiatus and also in the “poverty” that is seen in Tikal’s general burials dating to this era, at least as reflected in the archaeological record (Coggin 1975:258). However, given what we know about the archaeology of both sites, it would make sense that the two greatest Classic period rulers at Caracol would choose to be interred at a mythical site with greater time depth than their own and that had once housed lords from Central Mexico—a site to which they had once owed allegiance, but that was now under their direct sway. The defeat of Wak Chan K'awiil must have been a shock at Tikal, for he was one of the longest-ruling kings at the site. His subjugation by Yajaw Te' K'inich II would have made the Caracol ruler appear extremely powerful. Given his star-war success at Naranjo, K'an II would also have been an appropriate stranger-king. The defeat of the Caracol king K'ahk' Ujol K'inich by Naranjo not only removed him and the site from global politics, but also provided the opportunity for Jasaw Chan K'awiil to reinsert himself back into the formal Tikal dynasty. Jasaw Chan K'awiil claimed the throne by directly referencing both the stranger-king associated with Teotihuacan through the use of a propitious date for his accession and by referencing the stranger-kings from Caracol through the use of Caracol-related iconography with his initial stela and altar.

A Forest of Kings was a major breakthrough volume in conceptualizing the ancient Maya and in suggesting that they could be viewed in much the same way as other historic and contemporary peoples. In addition, however, the history within it remains relevant to current thought and debate in Maya studies.

As expected, continued research brings to light new evidence—whether from texts, excavations, or technical analyses—that help us refine our views of ancient history, religion, and politics. In this chapter we have sought to bring to bear the current state of history and archaeology at Caracol, Tikal, and Naranjo to document the materialization of Maya warfare and to explain the close histories of these sites. It is evident that Maya warfare can be seen not only in historic texts, but also through its impact on both the “winners” and “losers.” Key factors in assessing these impacts remain: monument (and monumental architecture) construction and deconstruction; differences in textual terminology; and archaeological evidence for integration, prosperity, and population increase or decrease. We add to these factors, however, the interment of foreign stranger-kings at the defeated sites—an act that clearly demonstrated not only global impact, but also the existence of broader political units, commonly known as “empires,” among the ancient Maya. As noted above, we believe that Yajaw Te’ K’inich II, the Caracol lord who is credited with the defeat of Tikal, and K’an II, the Caracol lord who conquered Naranjo, are both interred in Tikal’s North Acropolis (Burials 195 and 23). These identifications make sense in terms of archaeological and historic contexts and explain both the oddity of these interments at Tikal and the lack of their royal interments at Caracol. Most significant, however, this analysis highlights the nuanced relationships that existed among Maya polities and the degree to which the materialization of ritualized behavior symbolized the conquest, defeat, integration, and dissolution of power and polity among the ancient Maya “forest of kings.”

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Archaeological research at Caracol, Belize, has been ongoing annually since 1985 and has been supported by a variety of funding agencies (see D. Chase and A. Chase 2017:232). Recent work at Caracol has been supported by the Alphawood Foundation, the Geraldine and Emory Ford Foundation, and the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Investigations at Caracol would not be possible without the extensive cooperation and support of members of the Belize Institute of Archaeology (particularly Melissa Badillo, Allan Moore, John Morris, George Thompson, and Brian Woodye). This current chapter has benefited from edits and comments by Christophe Helmke, though we take responsibility for the textual content.