

Genealogical Documentation on the Tri-figure Panels at Palenque

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There are three monuments from Palenque with tri-figure compositions: the Palace Tablet, the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet, and the Tablet of the Slaves. In addition, there are fragments from two additional tablets in the Bodega at Palenque. The Oval Palace Tablet, which is the oldest surviving stone panel from Palenque, became the model of the iconic program, not only of the tri-figures panels, but also of the programs in the Group of the Cross, the Temple of the Inscriptions and other monuments at Palenque. This paper will present an interpretation of the iconic and epigraphic programs of these tri-figured compositions at Palenque.

In previous papers on the Group of the Cross and the Temple of Inscriptions (Schele, 1974 and 1976), I proposed that the tomb of the Temple of Inscriptions and the pictorial scenes of the Group of the Cross present respectively death and accession events from the viewpoints of three different offices which corresponded to the foundations and functions of Palenque rulership. These offices are as follows:

1. The Temple of the Cross and the sarcophagus lid present an iconographic program characterized by a tri-level vertical model of the cosmos—the celestial, middle world and underworld. This model of the cosmos is transversed by the quadripartite god (Greene Robertson 1974), which I believe is conceptually the cyclic sun (in terms of the daily and yearly solar cycles). The particular responsibility of Palencano rulers was the ritual care of the western gateway to the Underworld into which solstice sun sank. This hypothesis has been confirmed to some degree by the identification of these skull variants of the Palenque emblem glyph as a rabbit skull (or moon) and deer skull (or sun) (Schele 1977). GI of the Palenque Triad is the “patron” of this temple.

The text of the Temple of the Cross records the births of the gods of the Palenque Triad and their parents and the births and accessions of the past rulers of Palenque up to and including the ruler for whom Chan-Bahlum was named. North is the direction of the ancestral dead and the Temple of the Cross is the north temple in the Group of the Cross.

2. The Temple of the Foliated Cross records the life and death cycles of the middle world in which men live. Its patron is GII or God K, the deity of lineages and rulers. The particular rite associated with this eastern temple is self-inflicted blood sacrifice which for the men involved penis perforation and for the women tongue perforation (Joralemon 1974). This rite included the magical recall of ancestral dead (Furst 1976) and controlled hallucination (Greene Robertson n.d. and Furst 1976).

3. The Temple of the Sun records the western and underworld office. Its symbols are the shield and spear of war and its rites may well have included captive sacrifice by decapitation. Its patron is GIII, who has been identified as the Jaguar God of the Underworld and of the number seven.

In all the three temples of the Cross Group (Fig. 1), the incumbent ruler, Chan-Bahlum, stands in a simple uniform facing a smaller figure, who is always located in the minor direction (west or south). On the jamb panels flanking the entrance to the sanctuary containing the main tablet, Chan-Bahlum stands in elaborate costume holding the object held by the smaller figure on the interior. In 1976, I identified the smaller figures in the main tablet as Pacal, the previous ruler

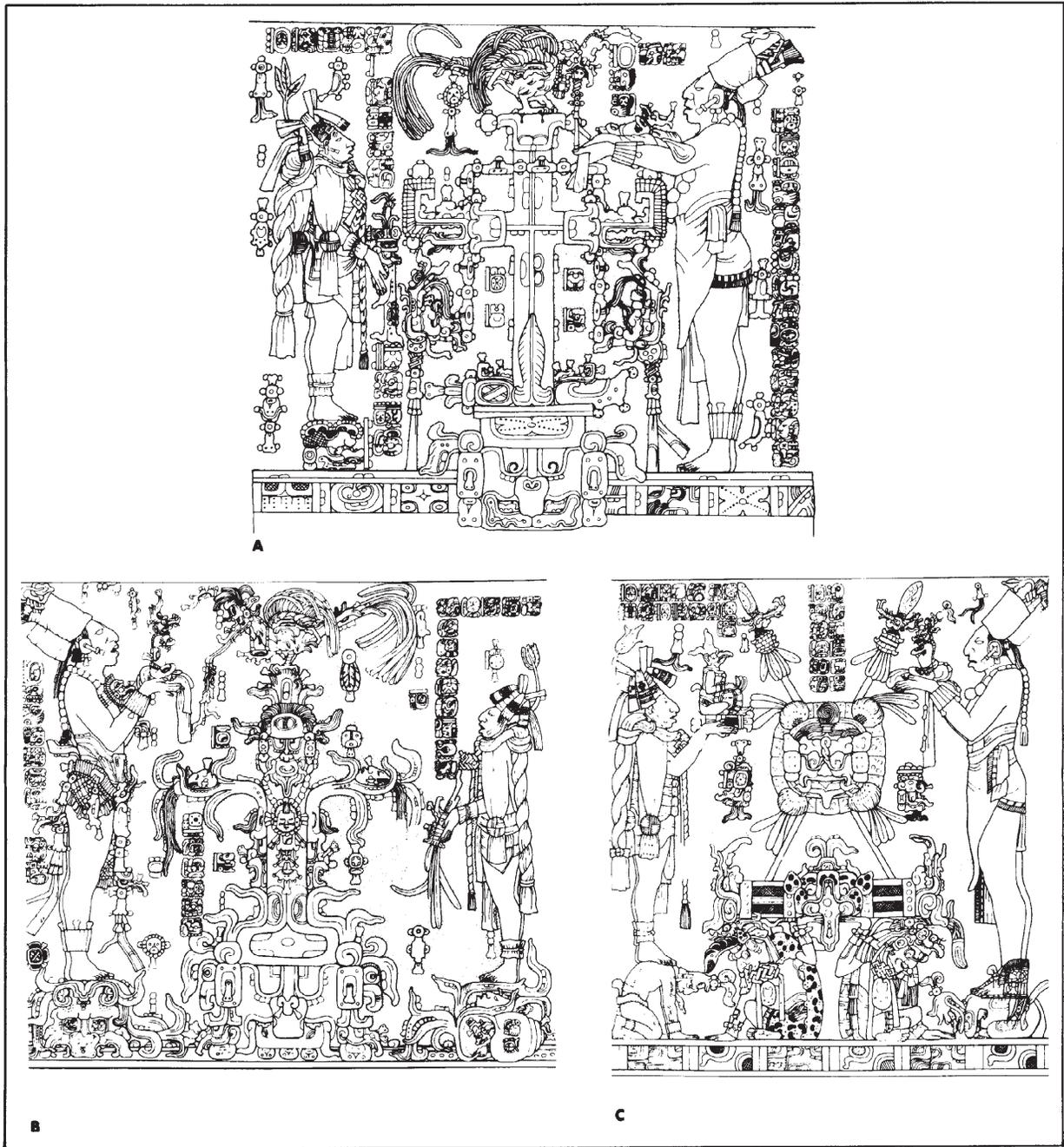


Fig. 1 Tablets of the Group of the Cross: (a) Tablet of the Cross; (b) Tablet of the Foliated Cross; (c) Tablet of the Sun.

and sire of the incumbent, Chan-Bahlum. I have not altered my belief in the correctness of this identification; however, since the former paper was written in 1975, new understanding of the texts from the Group of the Cross has caused reinterpretation of some of the evidence. The adjacency of the *Pacal* name glyph near the smaller figure can no longer be accepted as evidence supporting its identification as Pacal.

The secondary texts (Fig. 2) of all three tablets relate three events: (1) the heir-apparentcy of Chan-Bahlum on 9.10.8.9.3 9 Akbal 6 Xul; (2) the accession of Chan-Bahlum on 9.12.11.12.10 8 Oc 3 Kayab; (3) the celebration of the 75th (plus leapdays) solar year anniversary of the accession of Pacal by the Palenque Triad on 9.12.18.5.16 2 Cib 14 Mol, and by Chan-Bahlum on 9.12.18.5.17 3 Caban 15 Mol and on 9.12.18.5.19 5 Cauac 17 Mol. On all three tablets, the latter events are spatially located adjacent to Chan-Bahlum (the larger figure) and the heir-apparent-

cy event adjacent to Pacal (the smaller figure). Of the three events, Pacal could have participated as a living person in the heir-apparency. In two of the three cases this 9 Akbal 6 Xul secondary text contains the name of Pacal. However, this glyph *does not* name the small figure; rather, it functions as part of the extended nominal phrase of the subject of the heir-apparency event — Chan-Bahlum.

On the Tablet of the Cross (Fig. 2a), Chan-Bahlum is named at K2-K3 by his *kan* (maize) and jaguar-spotted *ahau* titles. His parentage statement immediately follows the abbreviated name phrase. He is named at K4 at “the child of¹ *K’ina Pacal*” and at K5-K6 as “the child of² Lady *Ahpo-Hel*.”

On the Tablet of the Foliated Cross (Fig. 2b), no recognized name glyph either personal or titular is present in the heir apparency text (G1-K1). Chan-Bahlum is instead named at K1-K1 as “the child of the man/the 5 katun *ahau /Mah K’ina Pacal/ Ahpo of Palenque*.”

On the Tablet of the Sun (Fig. 2c), the heir apparency phrase (E1-K3) contains Chan-Bahlum’s name in the form of the jaguar-spotted *ahau* title (K1). This title is followed by K2-K3 by “its child of man, Palenque emblem glyph”. Chan-Bahlum is named as “the child of the place (and/or the lineage of Palenque)³.” This unusual relationship statement is clarified in the other secondary text (L1-M6) which is read as follows (Fig. 2d):

- L1-M1: (on) 8 Oc 3 Kayab (9.12.11.12.10)
- L2-M2: was placed in office
- L3-M3: *Mah’ K’ina Chan-Bahlum, kan* (maize) title, jaguar-spotted *ahau* title
- L4: his child (the child of the male)
- M4-L5: (the) 5 *ahpo* katun, *Mah K’ina Pacal*
- M-5: her child (the child of the female)
- L6-M6: Lady *Ahpo-Hel* of Palenque

It is now apparent that the *Pacal* name glyph does not name the smaller figure, but rather functions as a statement of the genealogical background of Chan-Bahlum. However, the original identification of the smaller figure as Pacal did not depend solely on the adjacency of the Pacal name glyph. Different glyphic and iconographic evidence has accumulated since 1975 which supports the Pacal identification. This evidence derives from the study of the tri-figure compositions which are related in terms of iconographic content to the program of the Group of the Cross.

CONSTANTS:

The tri-figure panels and related tablets at Palenque contain constant and variable elements within each iconographic program. The first of these constant elements is the costuming of the male and female participants.

Female costumes (Fig. 3): The women portrayed on tri-figure panels wear a *huipile* of a light material usually with fold-marks shown in the midriff area. With two exceptions, a cape and skirt of a net-like material is worn over the undergarment. On Stela H at Copan, jaguar-spots on the underskirt of jaguar pelt can be seen through the open grid of the net material. Each female wears a necklace of round simple beads. In most cases a long strand of beads which acted as a counterweight hangs down the spine. Pectorals appear to have been optional. The skirt is tied at

¹ T1:535:24 has been identified by Schele, Mathews and Lounsbury (n.d.) as a relationship term which specifies the parent-filial relationship between offspring (both male and female) and the male parent.

² T126:1002 or 534 or 578 or 584:670 and T1 (or its equivalent) I:606:23 has been identified as a relationship glyph which specifies the parent-filial relationship between offspring (either male or female) and the female parent.

³ There is still considerable debate on whether emblem glyphs are solely place names or lineage names or a combination of both.

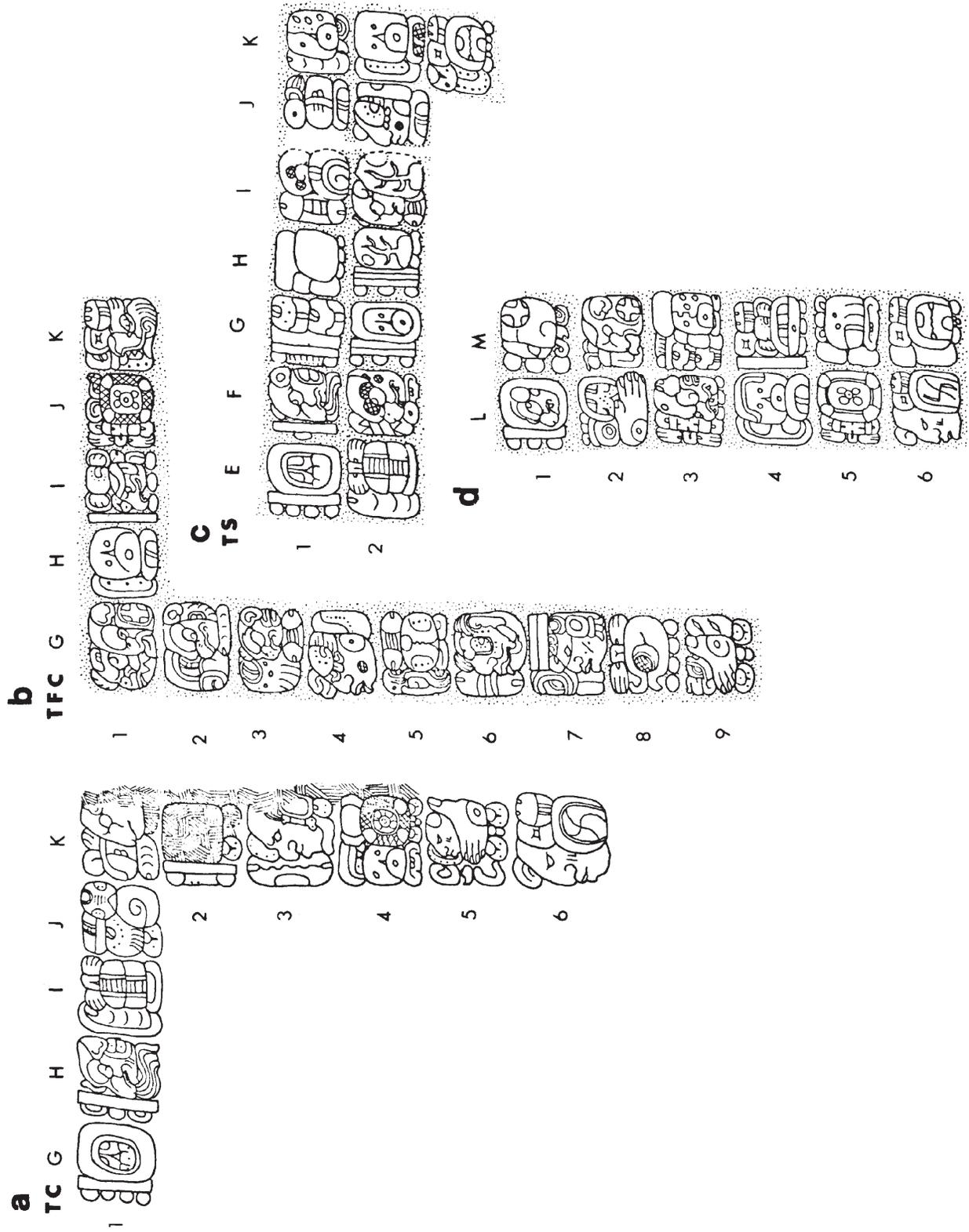


Fig. 2 Secondary texts of the (a) Tablet of the Cross; (b) Tablet of the Foliated Cross; (c and d) Tablet of the Sun.

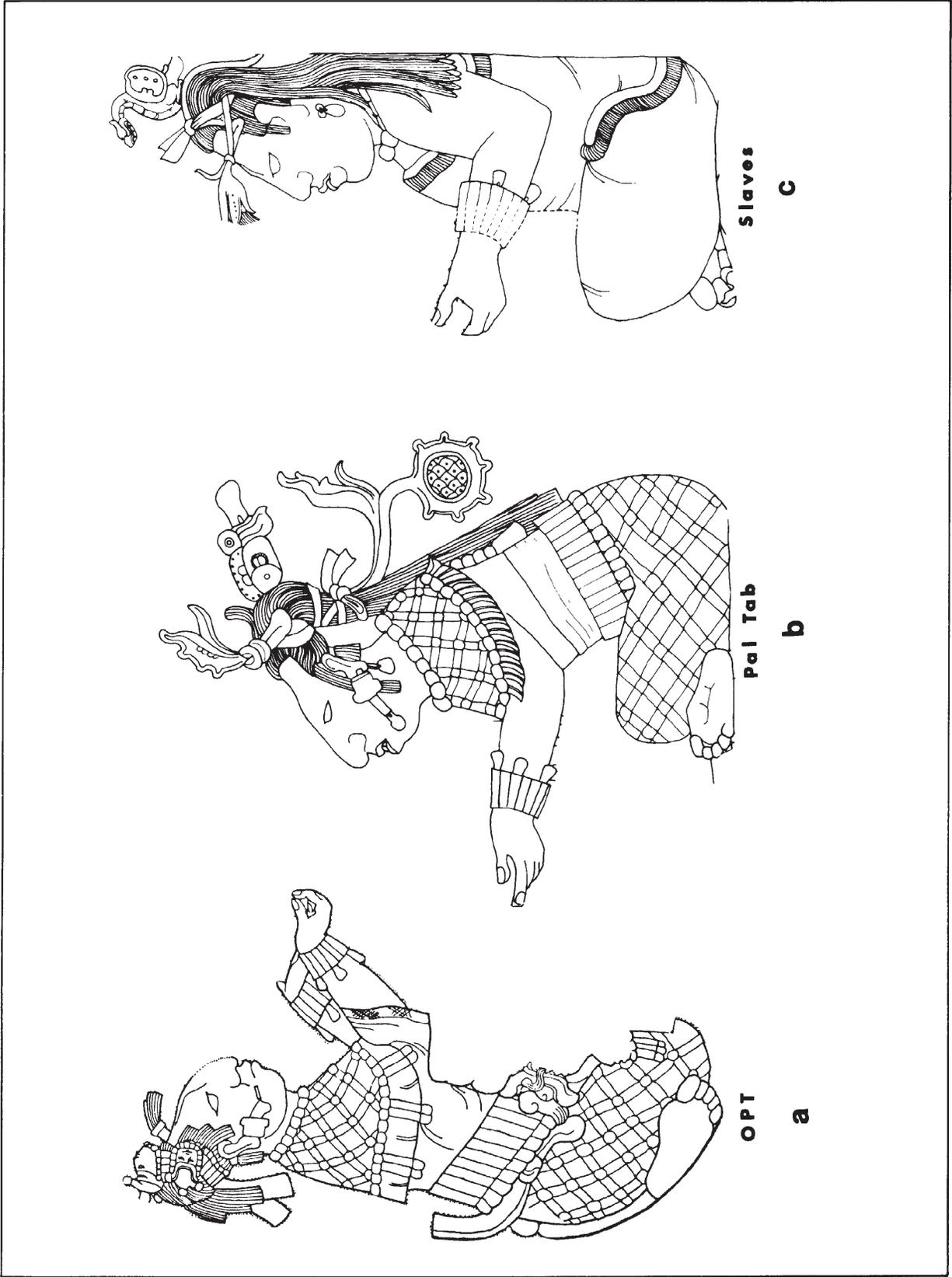


Fig. 3 Female Costumes: (a) Oval Palace Tablet; (b) Palace Tablet; (c) Tablet of the Slaves.

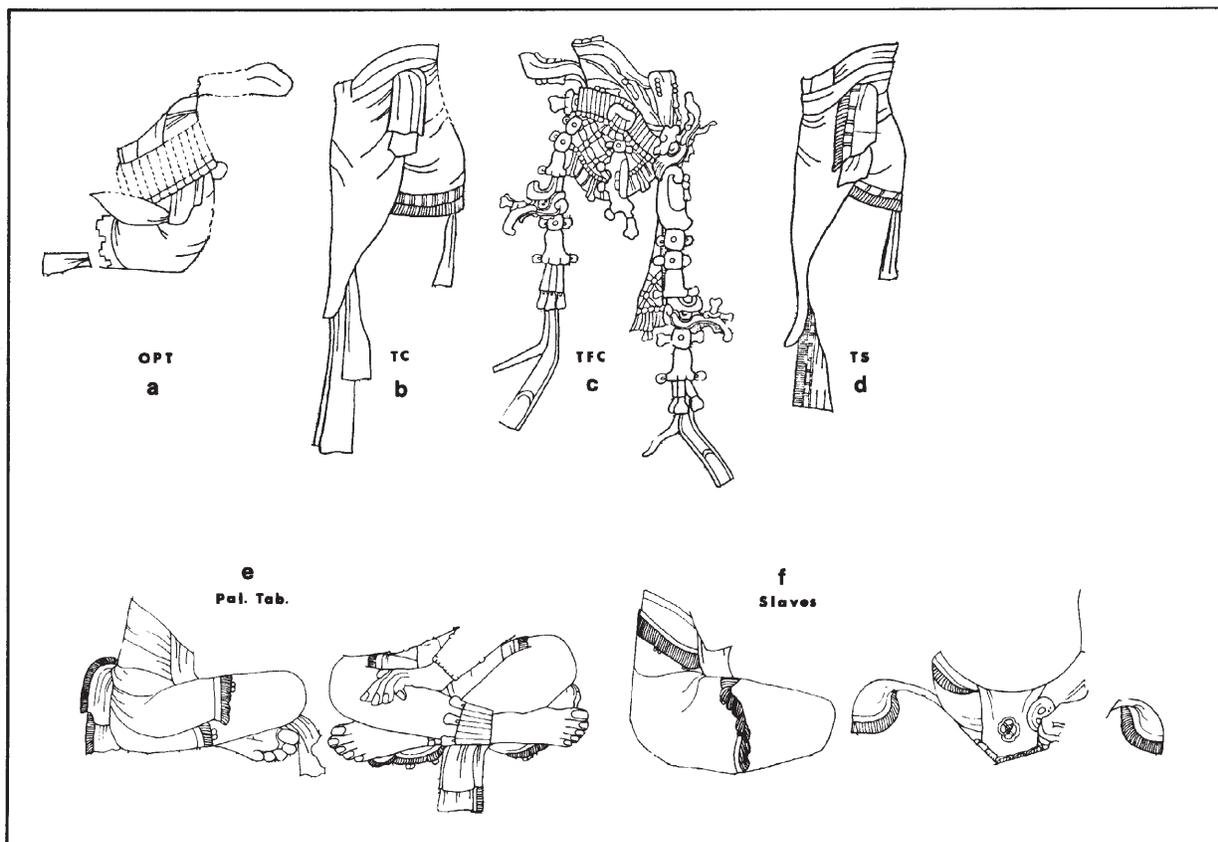


Fig. 4 Kilts from male costumes.

the waist by a belt made of cylinders and beads. The female on the Oval Palace Tablet wears a *xoc* fish, a sign marking women (Miller, 1974: 154), on the front of the belt. Bows are seen below the belt at the hips and sometimes a loincloth overlays the skirt. The wristlets are made of cylinders and beads and in all cases the feet are bare.

The women on the Tablet of the Slaves and the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet do not wear the net over-cloaks. The woman on the Tablet of the Slaves wears an unadorned *huipile* which covers her breasts, but not her shoulders. Fringe borders decorate the bosom and a line which apparently surrounded the mid-line of the hips. The woman on the Dumbarton Oaks panel wears a similar *huipile*, but she also wears a cape made of plaques and a cylinder and bead belt. Deity heads are attached to the cape at the deltoids and center-front. The lower edge of the *huipile* has evidence of a stepped border and embroidery.

Male costume (Figs. 4 and 5): All males, with the exception of the large figure on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross and the small figures in the Group of Cross (Fig. 1), wear the same basic costume. The clothing appears to be the equivalent of fancy underwear. Each male wears a high-waisted kilt-like skirt made of relatively thin cloth. The rear of the skirt (c.f. the Tablets of the Cross) falls just below the buttocks and the front hangs much lower. In some cases, the front edge is as low as the knee, and in others between the crotch and knee. The lower edge of the skirt is fringed, stepped or pleated, but no other decoration is used. A long loincloth hangs atop the skirt at the front and beneath it in the rear. Both front and rear loincloths often tied in a doubled knot. The ornate belts and aprons of all costumes at Palenque are worn over this undergarment.

The Scribe, Orator and *alfardas* from Temple XXI show rulers involved in blood-letting rites. In all four cases, a ruler kneels wearing only the undergarment described above. However, while the ruler may wear some jewelry in accession scenes, he wears none in the blood-letting rite. In both kinds of rituals, it would appear that the ruler was stripped of status symbols. In the

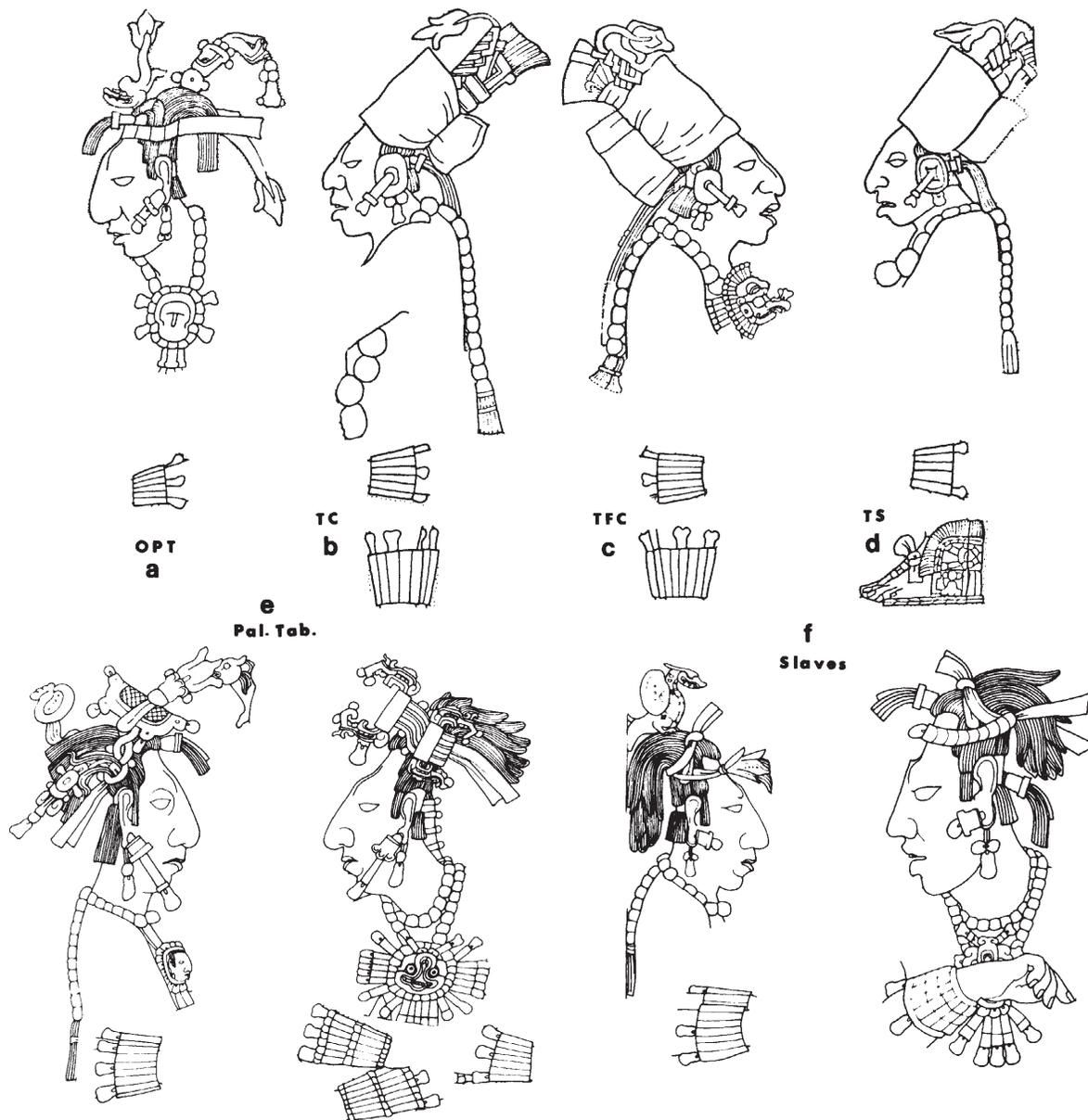


Fig. 5 Head gear and jewelry from male costumes.

blood-letting rite, the lack of rank may have reinforced the ruler's role as surrogate sacrifices for his people. In accession rites, I assume he appears with few rank markings because the ceremony provided the means by which he obtained the regalia of rulers.

Both the central and flanking males wear the same costume on the tri-figure panels. In all accession scenes, but the Tablet of the Foliated Cross, they are barefooted. They wear simple jewelry including wristlets, necklace, pectoral and belt (Fig. 5). The head gear was variable, but the hair style was constant. It was cut square around the face. A strand of hair often was contained in a cylinder extending from the forehead. A band from ear to ear was shaven on the back of the head. The hair above the shaven band was stiffened into an arch and, below it, the hair was cut square at the neck with a rear queue preserved. The details of this hair style may be seen in volumetric form on the stucco head from the Temple of Inscriptions tomb.

On the main Tablet of the Foliated Cross, Chan-Bahlum wears additional costume elements (Fig. 4c). The underskirt is visible above his waist, but over it, he wears an elaborate belt, front and rear aprons, and the same net fabric that characterizes female figures. The association of Chan-Bahlum's clothing with female symbols is especially marked by the presence of the *xoc*/spondylus shell motif at his waist. Jeffrey Miller (1974:154) identified the *xoc*/shell

motif as an iconic and linguistic marker of women. Chan-Bahlum would appear to be marked by this motif and the net-skirt as a woman. This seeming contradiction can be resolved by examination of a number of passages in the Group of the Cross and Temple of Inscriptions, in which the current ruler (Chan-Bahlum or Pacal) is named in a relationship with the gods of the Palenque Triad which is the same as the relationship between mother and child. In other words, the three gods are called “the children of the woman, Chan-Bahlum.” Evidence for a female role associated with rulers survives in the *Popol Vuh*, where, in the various creation stories, man is described as having been created in order to adore, obey, *support* and *nourish* the gods. *Tzuqul*, the word used for “nourish”, is also the word for “to nurse a child” (Edmonson 1965: 136-137 and 1971: 18, 244; Saenz 1940: 392-393). In later passages, the Quiche ask for fire from *Tohil*. The gift demanded in return for fire was human blood; the acceptance of the gift by *Tohil* is characterized as “suckling” (Edmonson 1971: 168-169). The rite celebrated in the Temple of the Foliated Cross is self-inflicted bloodletting; Chan-Bahlum in this context wears the female symbols, signalling his role as the nourisher of the gods.

Offered objects: Six objects are held by the figures in accession scenes. These objects and new information about them are as follows:

1. God K appears only in the Tablet of the Sun where he is held by Chan-Bahlum (Fig. 6c). Robicsek (n.d.) has made an extensive study of God K which has proven to my satisfaction that the object penetrating his forehead mirror may be in various appearances, a smoking cigar, a pine torch or a stone celt. Lounsbury (personal communication) has associated God K with *Tohil* of the *Popol Vuh* and has found linguistic evidence from Tzotzil that the word for pine torch, *tah* or *toh*, was also the word for the black stone from which mirrors were made. If the association of God K with *Tohil* holds, then his functions as a deity of lineages and rulers will be reinforced.
2. The Jester God is very similar to God K, but he does not have any object penetrating his forehead mirror (Fig. 6b). I suspect that he is the functional opposite of God K in a polarity that contrasts the obscure (smoking) mirror with the clear mirror. In his appearance in the Tablet of the Foliated Cross, the Jester God exhibits the triangular teeth and fish barbel that marks GI of the Palenque Triad. God K appears throughout Maya history in close association with GIII, the Jaguar God of the Underworld. I suspect that the four gods represent opposite pairs with GI and the Jester God contrasted to GIII and God K. Michael Coe (1977 and 1978) has identified the Jester God as one of the headdress markers of the Hero Twins on pottery. The Jester God does not appear as an effigy figure in the tri-figure panels; instead, he is attached to the front of the drummajor headdress (Fig. 6a).
3. The flint-shield god appears in all of the accession programs with the exception of the Oval Palace Tablet. The upper deity head of the motif is marked by *cauac* signs (Fig. 6d). The stone spear heads of the Tablet of the Sun and the axe head of the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet as well as many other examples of stone implements are marked with the distinctive features of *cauac* (T528). The *cauac* glyph appears in period ending phrases as the glyph for *tun* (360 day year), a term homophonous with *tun*, stone. The *cauac* markings and the eccentric contour of the zoomorphic head identify it as deified eccentric flint.

The same flint deity without the shield motif appears on Altar 7 at Tikal where it rests along with sacrificial paper in an everted-rimmed plate (Fig. 7h). The appearance of the flint deity with these objects associates the flint/shield motif at Palenque with the blood-letting and vision scenes at Yaxchilan (Fig. 7b-d). It should be noted that the shield motif appears as an important glyph in the

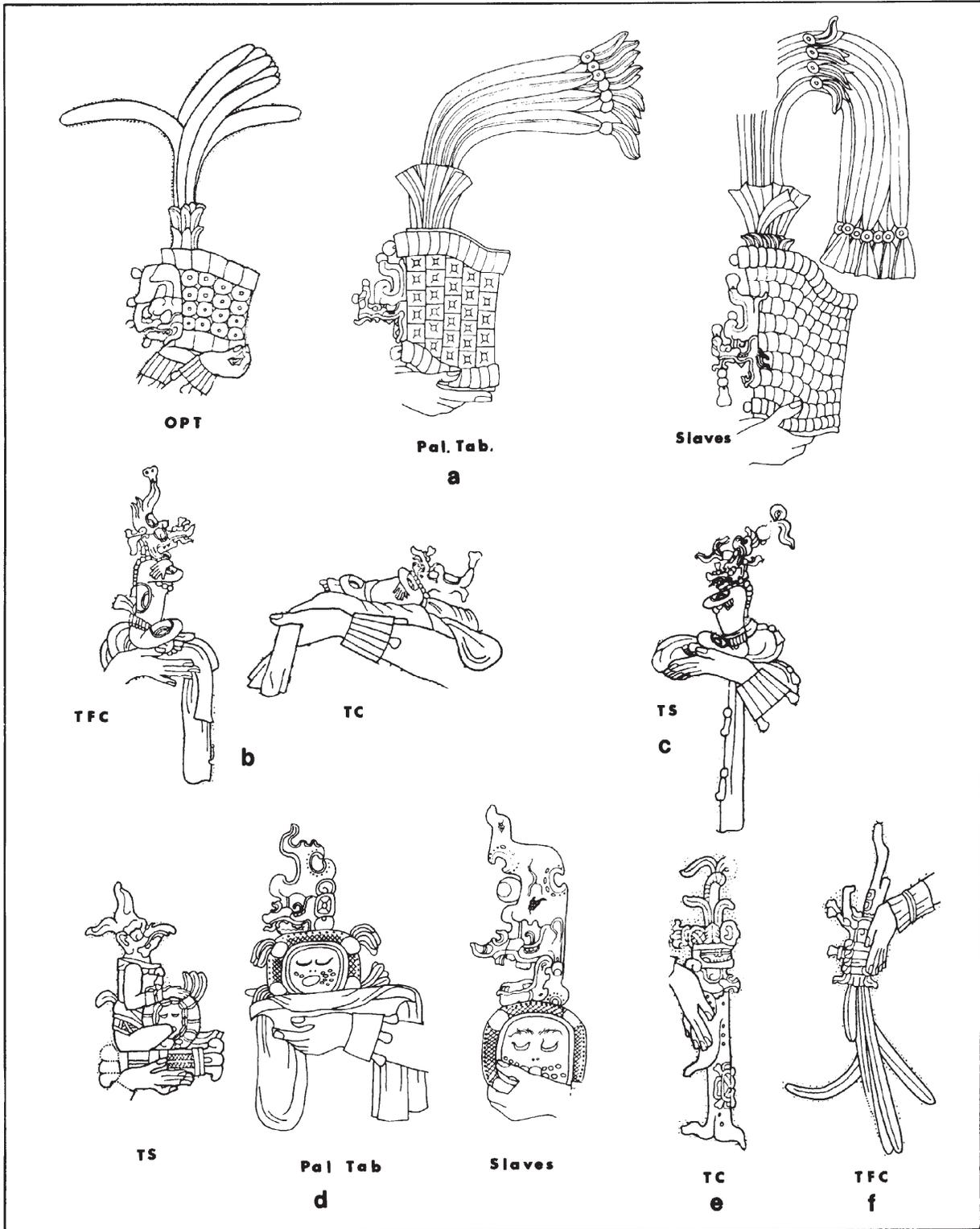


Fig. 6 Objects held in accession scenes: (a) Drummajor Headdress; (b) Jester God; (c) God K; (d) Eccentric Flint-Shield God; (e) Scepter of the Quadripartite Monster; (f) Personified Bloodletter.

- expressions at Yaxchilan which record the bloodletting events.
4. The drummajor headdress is presented three times: twice by males and once by a female (Fig. 6a). It is always presented from the right of the protagonist. It is worn by rulers and future rulers at Yaxchilan, but it is never worn in the scenes at Palenque.
 5. The quadripartite god which appears in front of the base of the “cross” motifs on the Tablet of the Cross and Sarcophagus Lid, is held in upright position by Pacal on the Tablet of the Cross (Fig. 6e). T561a sky is infixed into the forehead rather than *kin*, the normal sign. Chan-Bahlum stands in the place of Pacal on the west sanctuary jamb panel and holds the same deity in inverted position. Greene Robertson (1974) has identified the deity as one associated with rulers; I believe it to represent the concept of the cyclic sun (Schele 1976).
 6. The deified blood-letter is held by Pacal in the Tablet of the Foliated Cross (Fig. 6f). This instrument appears as a prominent part of Classic Maya royal regalia and appears not only in blood-letting scenes, but in the “vision” scenes on the lintels of Yaxchilan. Joralemon (1974) and Furst (1976) have commented extensively on the identification and ceremonial use of the deified blood-letter.

Gestures: The gestures of the participants of the tri-figure scenes and related monuments vary according to the program of the tablet. In the Group of the Cross, both figures stand in symmetrical postures and extend their hands toward the central motif. In scenes with seated figures both flanking figures sit in cross-legged position and extend their hands toward the central figure. The protagonist sits front-view and the flanking figures in profile. The backs of the flanking figures are rigidly straight while the central figure always leans and looks toward the figure on his right. In all cases, the right arm of the protagonist is lowered toward his lap while the left arm is held across his body. The leaning posture and hand positions of the ruler appear to have been ritually controlled and designed to establish contact between the attendant figures and the protagonist.

The Dumbarton Oaks Tablet does not exhibit any of the gestures found in the other scenes; however, this tablet does not present an accession ritual. The text identifies the ceremony as one associated with an anniversary celebration and death.

THE OVAL PALACE TABLET (Fig. 8)

Location: Mounted on the interior wall of the west gallery of House E in the Palace.

Dedication Date: Unknown, no dates are included in the tablet. However, Maudslay observed that House E is the earliest building in the upper part of the Palace. The subterranean galleries, which appear to be contemporary to House E, are dated ceramically and by the Tableritos as 9.11.0.0.0 ± 5 tuns. The Oval Palace Tablet very probably dates from this same period.

Description: A female figure is seated on the left side of the panel. She is seated on the groundline of the tablet, which is diagonally slanted because of the oval shape of the panel. She holds a drummajor headdress in an extended position. A male sits on the right side of the panel seated on a bicephalic feline throne. He sits in profile position with shoulders twisted toward the viewer and gazes at the female.

The Text: The text is composed of 7 glyphs arranged into two groups of 4 and 3 glyphs respectively. Each subtext is adjacent to one of the figures (Fig. 9a). The first glyph (T4:713a var. 1011) is an event compound. T713a is a hand which appears in the T713a/757 “accession” expression. Its orientation is rotated 90° in this text, but its function appears to be the same as in the accession expression. T1011 is GI of the Palenque Triad. The event may be characterized as “Gling” and very probably describes the accession of one of the named participants.

The three glyphs adjacent to the female head are *Zac*, *Lady/Kuk* and a title (T1001) which 10

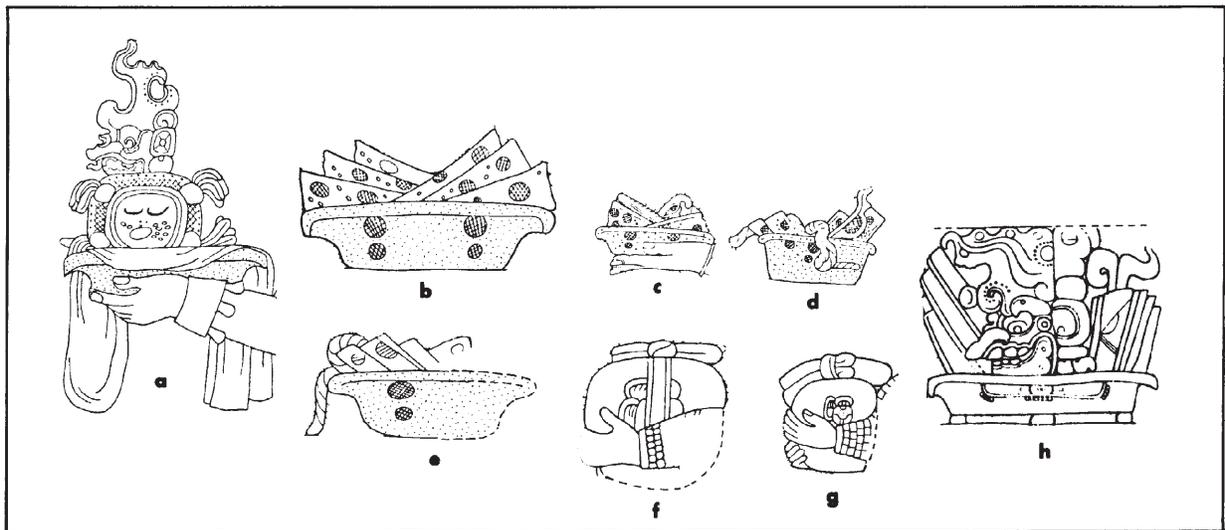


Fig. 7 Bowls and bundles: (a) Palenque, Palace Tablet; (b) Yaxchilan, Lintel 15; (c and d) Yaxchilan, Lintel 25; (e) Yaxchilan, Lintel 17; (f) Yaxchilan, Lintel 5; (g) Yaxchilan, Lintel 1; (h) Tikal, Altar 7.

appears to be assumed by females through marriage (Figs. 8 and 9a). The glyphs of the personal name (B1-C1) are transposed with the color sign (*zac*) preceding the female prefix (T1000a) rather than the quetzal head (T744a-*kuk*), but there is little doubt that this is the same female named on the sarcophagus edge (42-47) and portrayed at North 1 and South 2 on the Sarcophagus sides (Fig. 9c, e, f). At 54, her name appears in the phrase “her child (the child of the female) Lady *Zac-Kuk*” (Fig. 9b). The person who is her child is not named, but it is clear from the context of the monument that the child intended to be named in this phrase is the protagonist of the monument, *Pacal*. The three glyphs adjacent to the male figure on the Oval Palace Tablet contain the name glyph of *Pacal* at D2 and the Palenque Emblem glyph at D3 (Figs. 8 and 9a).

The syntax of this text is very unusual. The event glyph is followed by two name phrases. In other contexts, it would be possible to assume that either a compound subject is named or a verb, object and subject (the most usual syntactical order) is recorded. However, here the event is accession and the subject of the event is *Pacal*. If the syntax of the statement is verb-object-subject, the text reads “was inaugurated/Lady *Zac-kuk*/(by)*Pacal*.” In more understandable English order this statement would be paraphrased, “He (*Pacal*) inaugurated Lady *Zac-Kuk*.” This order makes little sense because *Pacal* is the younger of the two persons, the son of the female, and the pictorial event shows an action by the female toward the male. It, therefore, seems likely that the order of the statement was changed to verb-subject-object in order to keep the nominal phrase adjacent to the appropriate figures. In this proposed order, the text reads verb (GIing or was inaugurated) subject (Lady *Zac-Kuk*)-object (*Pacal*). In English order, it would read “She (Lady *Zac-Kuk*) inaugurated him (*Pacal*)”.

The unusual syntax of this accession statement is marked in several ways. The GI event glyph is known only from this tablet, but I suspect it is related to the T713a/757 accession expression used prominently at Palenque. In no other accession statement from Palenque does the person acceding appear as the object of an action conducted by another person. In all other cases, the protagonist is named as the subject of an event and the verb appears to have been intransitive. However, in other cases at Palenque the generation prior to the acceding protagonist was deceased (as recorded either explicitly or by assumption). *Pacal*’s accession date was 9.9.2.4.8 5 *Lamat* 1 *Mol*; Lady *Zac-Kuk*’s death date was 9.10.7.13.5 4 *Chicchan* 13 *Yax*. She survived his accession by 25 years and therefore very probably took part in the ceremony; her physical presence is reflected by the unusual syntax of the Oval Palace Tablet.

Based on information provided by me, Merle Greene Robertson (1976:77) discussed the

possibility that Pacal married (at least ceremonially) the woman shown on the Oval Palace Tablet, who is recorded as his mother on the Sarcophagus Sides. Her suggestion was based on my identification of T1001 (C2) as a glyph denoting “female spouse”. Since 1976, Peter Mathews, Floyd Lounsbury and I have conducted a detailed study of kinship glyphs in the Classic inscriptions and, as a result, my opinion about the function of T1001 has changed. I believe it to be a title which women assumed through marriage; however, from an examination of name phrases for women at Palenque and Yaxchilan, it is apparent that T1001 functions as a title rather than as a relationship glyph. In other words, the title appears to have been obtained through marriage, but it may occur in female name phrases when no male is present or in contexts dated after the death of the husband. Therefore, I propose as a working hypothesis that T1001 is a title, like “doña”, which designates a woman of importance who was married, but its presence between male and female names does not specify that the named woman was married to the male who happens to appear in the same text, but only that she was married. The implications of the study of the contexts and functions of T1001 make it no longer tenable to suppose that a mother/child marriage is recorded at Palenque.

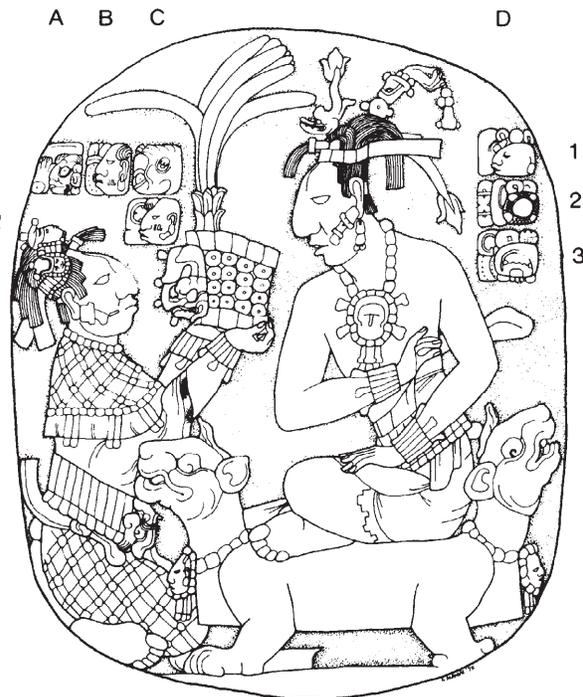


Fig. 8 Oval Palace Tablet.

ICONOGRAPHY

The female: Lady Zac Kuk wears the standard costume of females (Figs. 3, 8). Her hair is cut in a fashion usually worn by men. A loincloth (not normally a part of female attire) can be seen in front of her knee and behind her buttocks. Her head gear consists of a band of cylinders tied at the back of her head; the ends of the binding ribbons can be seen behind her head. Mounted on this band at the sides and fronts are anthropomorphic versions of the Jester God. I suspect they reflect her unusual status as a ruler in her own right. She is handing the drummajor headdress to Pacal. It should be noted that the Oval Palace Tablet is the only monument at Palenque in which a female touches the drummajor headdress.

The male figure: Pacal is shown seated cross-legged on a bicephalic feline throne. The felines are not shown with the pattern of spots characteristic of jaguars, but each head has a foliation motif along the forehead which almost certainly identifies them as water-lily jaguars. This lack of a spotted pelt on these water-lily jaguars may identify them as black jaguars. The two heads face opposite directions and their bodies meet in the center forming the seat of the throne. I think it is to be understood that the throne is oriented on an axis perpendicular to Pacal's body, but the perspective was distorted outward to show both heads (see Tikal, St. 20 for a correct end view of a similar stone). Each jaguar has an *ahau* (T1000f) pectoral hanging from the neck. A ground-line is shown beneath the throne.

Pacal wears the standard accession uniform: variable elements in his dress include a pectoral with an *ik* sign on it. *Ik* is predominantly associated with female figures at Palenque, but it also appears on a male at East 1 on the sarcophagus sides. I have found no completely satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the *ik* sign as a symbol of office. He wears a headband composed of square shapes. A leaf motif is cantilevered from the rear of his head and the personified

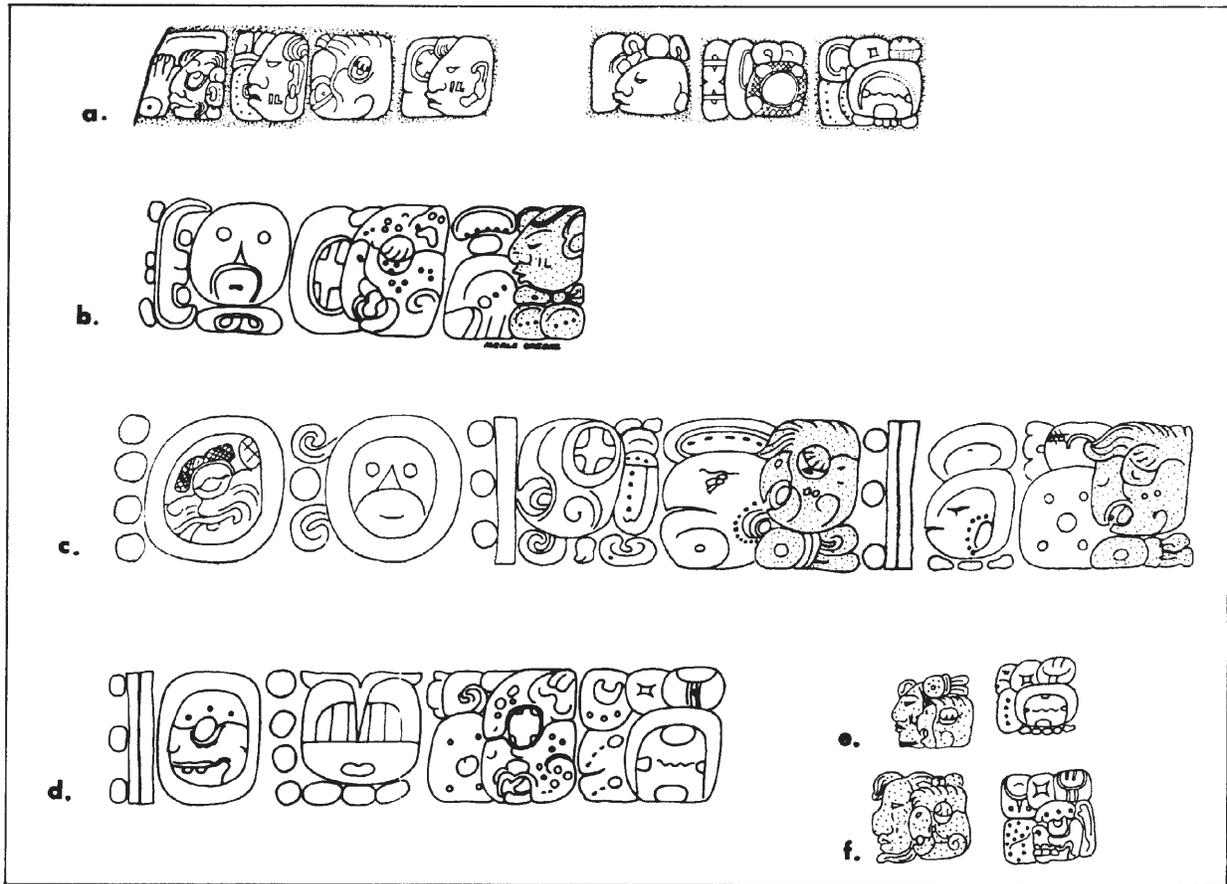


Fig. 9 Texts from (a) Oval Palace Tablet; (b) Sarcophagus edge, 52-53; (c) 42-47; (d) 48-51; (e) Sarcophagus side, North 1; (f) South 2.

version of the leaf motif is mounted over his forehead. The leaf motif is a prominent element on the sarcophagus sides (Schele 1976); it is a symbol of lineage and political succession. A bell/sphere object is attached to the rear of the head. A hand extends from it and holds a jade motif. I have no idea of the meaning of this “hand” motif.

PALACE TABLET (Fig. 10):

Location: The Palace Tablet was found by Alberto Ruz in the center of the northern gallery of the north building (House AD) of the Palace.

Dedication Date: The latest date, which should be on or near the date of dedication, is 9.14.8.14.15 9 Men 3 Yax.

Description: The scene, which occupies a small spatial proportion of the entire tablet, is composed of three figures. A male sits cross-legged in front view in the center of the scene. He leans toward another male figure on the left of the scene. A female is seated on the right side of the scene. Both flanking figures hold objects directed toward the central figure. All three figures sit on thrones.

The Text: The text is one of the longest and most detailed in Palenque. It recounts a number of events leading to the accessions of two rulers:

<u>Long Count</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Protagonist</u>
A1-C18:	9.10.11.17.0 11 Ahau 8 Mac	birth	Kan-Xul II
C18-F14:	9.10.18.17.19 2 Cauac 12 Ceh	unknown	Kan-Xul II
E15-H2:	9.11.0.0.0 12 Ahau 8 Ceh	PE	Pacal
G3-I2:	9.11.13.0.0 12 Ahau 3 Ch'en	unknown	Kan-Xul II
J2-I14:	9.12.11.5.18 3 Etz'nab 11 Yax	death	Pacal
J14-K11:	9.12.11.12.10 8 Oc 3 Kayab	accession	Chan-Bahlum II

L11-K15:	+1 katun			seating	Kan-Xul II
L15-M13:	9.13.10.1.5	6 Chicchan	3 Pop	death	Chan-Bahlum II
M14-P14:	9.13.10.6.8	5 Lamat	6 Xul	accession	Kan-Xul II
O15-R1:	9.9.2.4.8	5 Lamat	1 Mol	accession	Pacal
Q2-Q14:	9.14.8.14.15	9 Men	3 Yax	accession	XOC
Q15-R19:	9.14.8.15.18	6 Etz'nab	6 Zac	????	XOC
<u>Secondary Text:</u>					
S1-S4	9.10.17.6.0	1 Ahau	3 Uayeb	birth	XOC
S5-X1	9.13.14.8.0	8 Ahau	18 Xul	heir-apparency	XOC

The protagonist of the text clearly is Kan-Xul II, who is the subject of the majority of the events recorded. His birth is recorded in the Initial Series date and his accession phrase is the longest and most elaborate phrase in the text. His birth phrase includes a statement of parentage naming him the child of Pacal (C10-D13) and Lady Ahpo-Hel (C14-D17). Chan-Bahlum is recorded as the child of the same parents. Kan-Xul was the second born son and acceded to the throne 103 days after the death of Chan-Bahlum.

A second ruler is also recorded in an accession event which occurred after the inauguration of Kan-Xul. The birth and heir-apparency of this person are recorded in the texts which flank the central figure in the scene. His birth was 5.7.0 after the birth of Kan-Xul and 14.17.14 after Chan-Bahlum's. He is almost certainly in the same generation as these two rulers and I suspect he was a younger brother. The evidence supporting this proposal will be presented later. The presence of the accession, birth and heir-apparency records for this second ruler creates problems in the identification of the central figure on the Palace Tablet.

There appears to be little doubt that Kan-Xul II was ruler during the design and execution of the north end of the Palace including House A, D and AD. His name is prominent on a large stucco text that flanked the Palace Tablet and on at least one of the north piers (Merle Greene Robertson personal communication). Kan-Xul's reign spanned 18.8.7, a period adequate to execute the construction involved. XOC, the ruler recorded in the last column pair of the Palace Tablet ruled for less than 1.7.7. His name does not carry the *Mah K'ina* title and does not appear elsewhere in Palenque's records.

ICONOGRAPHY

The female: The right figure is dressed in the standard female costume. Her long hair hangs to her waist and is tied by material which terminates in the foliation and pad of the water-lily motif. She holds in her extended hands a shallow bowl with everted rim, which Rands (personal communication, 1976) identifies as an early Otolum form. A long narrow cloth is folded in the bowl. The same cloth is carried under the manikins held by Chan-Bahlum in the Group of the Cross. The shield/flint god previously discussed rests in the bowl.

I believe that the object held by the female is an opened bundle like those shown on the Yaxchilan lintels. This proposed identification is based on the following evidence:

1. The *Popol Vuh* and other Highland sources of similar nature record bundles as an object especially associated with the four progenitors of the Quiche and Cakchiquel. The Quiche called the bundle the *Pizom Gagal*. Morley (1950:206) records the contents of the bundle as a stone called the *Chay Abah*.
2. The Interrogation of the Chiefs in the *Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, (Roys, 1967:91) records a bundle as a part of the ritual confirmation of the legitimacy of rulers. The bundle contained "the heart of god" which was a "bead of precious stone". The opened bundle at Palenque show the personified eccentric flint and other effigy gods.
3. Finally, Altar 7 of Tikal (Fig. 7h) shows a personified eccentric flint identical to

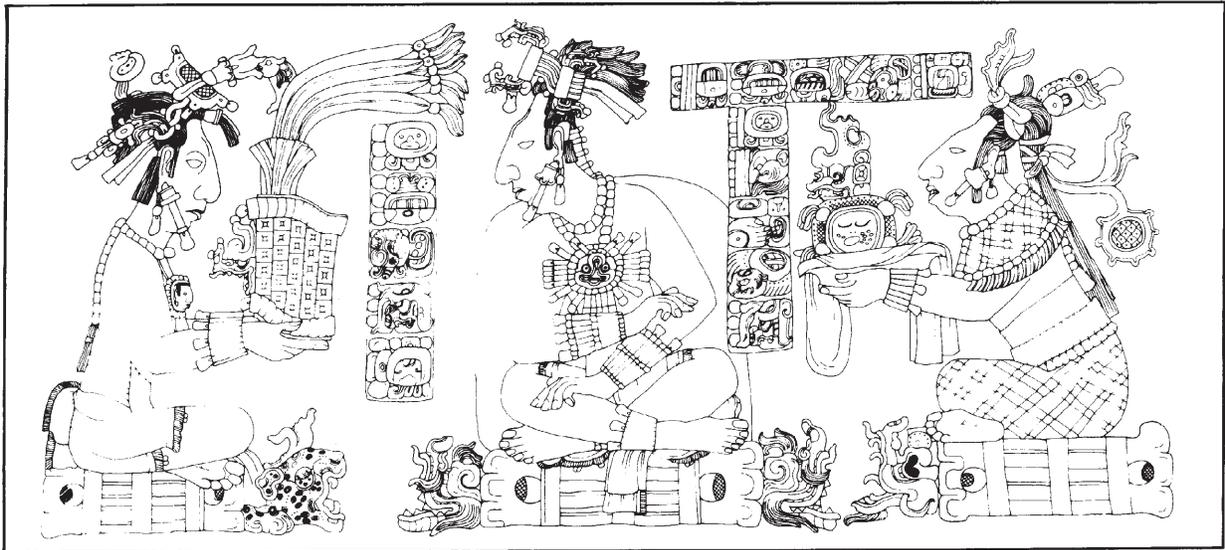


Fig. 10 Palace Tablet, the figures and secondary text.

the one on the Palace Tablet (Fig. 7a). The Tikal version appears without the Palenque shield, but it is a tripod bowl (similar to the one at Palenque) which includes paper motifs [as on the] blood-letting lintels at Yaxchilan (Fig. 7b-e). The Tikal example links the everted rim bowls at Yaxchilan, Palenque and Tikal, the paper from the blood-letting ritual at Tikal and Yaxchilan, and the eccentric flint gods at Tikal and Palenque into an iconographic complex.

4. Finally, the bundle motif is T684, one of the principal glyphs for accession into office. This inaugural glyph is an iconograph derived from the bundle. The Palenque scene shows the bundle after it has been opened to reveal the dynastic relics. The Yaxchilan lintels show the bundle in both closed and opened forms. The bundle is both a ritual object used in accession and blood-letting rites and it became a glyph characterizing the event of accession.

A glyph group is attached to the top of the female's head (Fig. 11). This same glyph group (Tnn:43.580) appears in the name phrase of Kan-Xul's mother (C16). The superfix is a water-lily pad with foliation. The glyphic version of the name at C16 includes the head variant of T43, but the glyphs are the same and identify the female on the left of the main figure (the viewer's night) as Lady *Ahpo-Hel*, the mother of Kan-Xul.

The left figure: If the female to the left of the main figure is the mother of the protagonists, then it is logical to assume the male at the central figure's right is the father, Pacal. The portrait of this male is very similar to other portraits of Pacal. He wears the same skirt worn in the accession scene on the Oval Palace Tablet. He has no belt, but wears cylinder/bead wristlet and bead necklace. A pectoral with a T1000 e-i (*ahau*) head hangs from a leather (?) thong. His hair style is identical to the Oval Palace Tablet, but the objects attached to the twisted headbands are different. Like Lady *Ahpo-Hel*, he wears a water-lily pad seen in profile view. It is wrapped around the front of his hair. A blossom cantilevers from the pad and is nibbled by a fish. A crossed-bands motif rises above his ear. The motif is part of the symbol characteristic of the monster which is at the base of the Cross on the Tablet of the Cross. I believe that it is part of a triple motif which refers to the three levels of the cosmos. The crossed-bands represents the celestial level. Like Lady *Ahpo-Hel*, Pacal is barefooted and sits on a throne.

He gestures toward the central figure and holds the drummajor headdress like that in the Oval Palace Tablet. The shield/flint god held by Lady *Ahpo-Hel* on the Palace Tablet is given to Chan-Bahlum by Pacal in the Tablet of the Sun. The drummajor headdress does not appear as a symbol of office in the Group of the Cross.

The central figure: The central figure is seated front view turning to his right toward Pacal. His body is held in the same position as Pacal in the Oval Palace Tablet. His costuming repeats the standard accession costume. His jewelry is not elaborate, but it is contrasted to that worn by the flanking figures. The cylinder bead wristlets have two levels and the bead necklace two strands. The pectoral is the snarling jaguar worn by Chan-Bahlum on the West Sanctuary Jamb Panel of the Temple of the Cross. The hair queue is bounded by cylinder/disks rather than hanging free.

The hair style is the same as that of Pacal in the Oval Palace Tablet, but the head ornaments are somewhat confused because of the foreshortening involved. The headdress seems to consist of three bands tied at the back of the head by ribbons. At the front and sides of the head is a flat area at the top and bottom of which are attached jawless serpent motifs. The upper serpent is inverted.

To my knowledge, this headdress is unique in Maya art. The difficulty in reading its representation derives from the fact that the serpent from the side panel should have been seen end-on. The artist rotated them 90° in order to have them legible.

The central figure is shown seated in front of a rounded object (Fig. 10). Peter Mathews (personal communication) has proposed that this shape is intended to represent the Oval Palace Tablet. He based this proposal on the fact that the painting on the wall above the Oval Palace Tablet includes accession data on Chaacal and that the Del Rio throne, now known from the Palenque bodega records accession data on Pacal, Chan-Bahlum and Kan-Xul (Fig. 12). It is obvious from the presence of these later records that the Oval Palace Tablet, which is early in style, became the point of focus for all successive accessions after Pacal. Of the rulers who followed Pacal in office, Kan-Xul, Chaacal, Chac-Zutz' and Kuk can be shown to have placed monuments within the courtyard dominated by the Oval Palace Tablet. Of these rulers, Kan-Xul and Chaacal can be shown to have placed monuments into immediate proximity with the Oval Palace Tablet and to have remodeled the adjacent courtyard. House E which houses the Oval Palace Tablet shows evidence of the longest and most continuous history of use and remodeling of all of the building now known at Palenque. It appears that Pacal was viewed as a pivotal point in the dynastic history of Palenque. The spot of his accession monument became a sacred space in which subsequent rulers went through the rites marking them as rulers. The Palace Tablet may refer to this ritual act and to this space by showing the acceding ruler seated before the Oval Palace Tablet.

The Thrones and Identity of the Central Figure: Each of the three figures sits on a throne composed of a stack of flat objects (perhaps mats) tied together by vertical binders (Figs. 10 and 13c, f and m). Each throne terminates in a tri-lobed motif that characterizes the throne held by Pacal in the Tablet of the Sun. In addition each throne has an animal head attached to the ends of the central elements. The throne under the left figure, Pacal, has the head and paw of the water-lily jaguar (Figs. 10 and 13m). This particular jaguar, which should be distinguished from the snarling jaguar of the pectoral motif, is commonly found as a belt attachment on males (c.f. Temple of the Cross, west sanctuary jamb panel and Temple of the Foliated Cross, L. C. north sanctuary jamb panel), and appears to have functioned as a royal symbol, reading in the belt motif "*balam pop*" or "jaguar ruler (throne)".

The throne under the night figure (Lady *Ahpo-Hel*) has a "bearded serpent" head (Figs. 10 and 13f). This is the head used as the terminus of the bicephalic serpent bar, another symbol of royal office. The serpentine nature of the head is imparted by the lack of an eyelid, which characterizes dragon beasties based on lizard or crocodilian models. The serpentine monster is not particularly associated with females, but like the water-lily jaguar, appears to function more as a marker for office holders or members of the royal family. It is interesting to note that Lady *Ahpo-Hel* is recorded in a "seating" event in the Temple of Inscriptions, West panel, Q3-11.

The central figure is seated on a throne which carries a *xoc* fish (Figs. 10 and 13c) which 16

resembles the serpent head in general configuration but it is distinguished from the serpent by a fish barbel located below the nostril, at the rear of the mouth, and at the forehead and by triangular teeth. The presence of the *xoc* fish on this throne creates a number of problems. The same fish is an important part of the name phrase of XOC (Fig. 13a), the person who succeeded Kan-Xul in office. The presence of this part of the name phrase on the throne of the acceding lord would seem to identify him as the central figure. However, the problem is not so simply resolved.

Evidence for identifying the central figure as XOC is as follows:

1. The throne of the central figure carries a *xoc* fish which is part of the name phrase of the ruler XOC.
2. The texts which flank the central figure record the birth and heir-apparancy of XOC. Adjacent texts of this type most often refer to the figures in the scene.
3. Floyd Lounsbury and I carefully compared the profile of the three figures in the Dumbarton Oaks Table (who are clearly identified as Kan-Xul, Pacal and Lady Ahpo-Hel) with the profiles of the three figures in the Palace Tablet. The profiles of Pacal and Lady Ahpo-Hel are clearly of the same person although there are differences in artistic style between the two tablets. However, the two central portraits have different profiles detectable especially in the noses. The difference in the portraits of the central figures on these two panels favors their identification as different persons.

Evidence for identifying the central figure as Kan-Xul is as follows:

Fig. 11 Palace Tablet, detail of the female head and her headdress name gyph in comparison to the parentage statement of Kan-Xul, the protagonist of the Tablet.

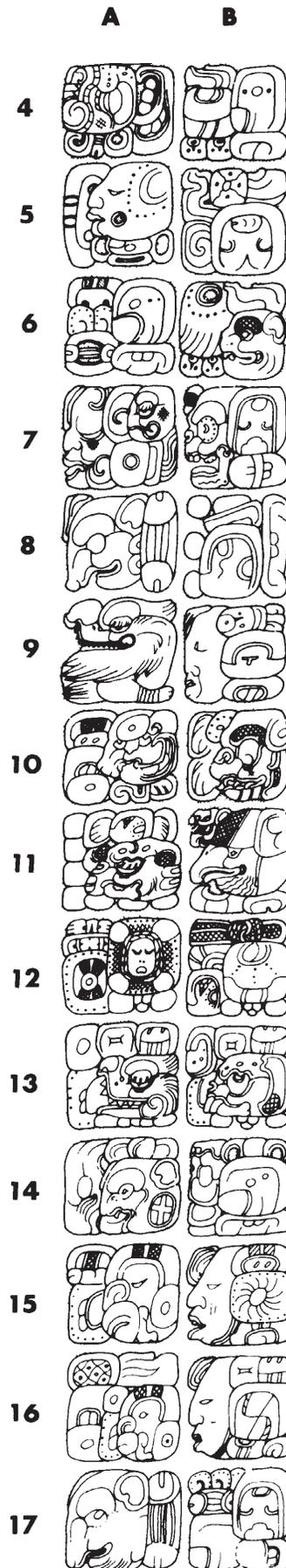
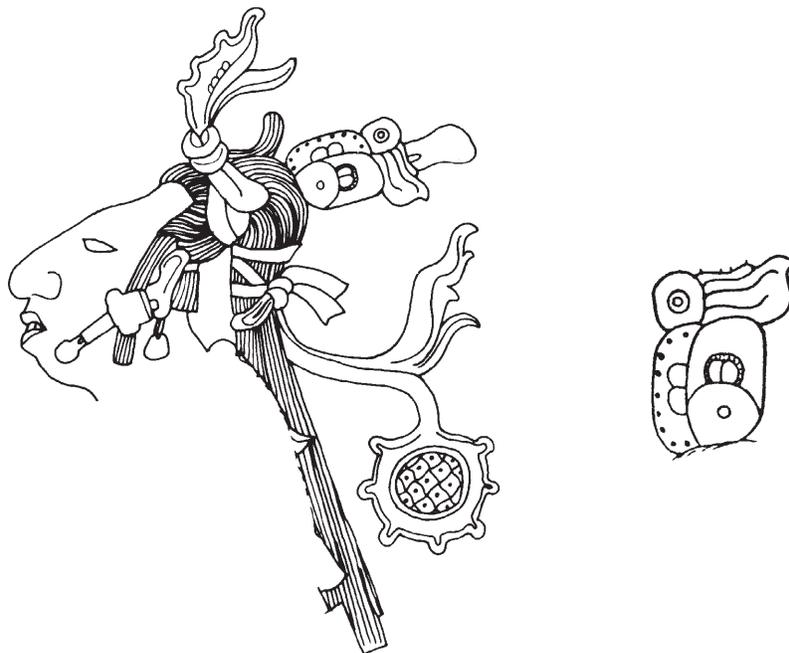




Fig. 12 The Oval Palace Tablet with the Del Rio throne.

1. The heads which mark the two flanking thrones are recognized royal symbols. Furthermore, they represent the major zoomorphic characteristics of two of the three gods of the Palenque Triad; GIII is jaguarian and GII has serpent characteristics. The birth record and iconographic program associated with GIII appear in the Temple of the Sun; those of GII appear in the Temple of the Foliated Cross. The remaining member of the Triad is GI, who carries the fish barbel of the *xoc* fish. Furthermore, while GI does not appear in clear form at Copan and Quirigua, an old anthropomorphic head wearing a *xoc* is often paired with another aged deity who wears a jaguar hat. This *xoc*/jaguar pair appears frequently in titles of rulers and emerges from the bicephalic serpent bar on Stelae P and 2 at Copan. I think that the *xoc* fish on the central throne in the Palace Tablet does not name the protagonist as XOC, but is rather a reference to GI, the third member of the Palenque Triad.
2. The protagonist of the Palace Tablet is Kan-Xul. He is the subject of the majority of the clauses. His accession statement occupies 52 glyph blocks and is repeated three times. His name occurs in other major inscriptions found in the north gallery of the Palace. He was the builder of the north end of the Palace including House A, D and AD and very probably the tower. His reign covered a time span of 18.8.7 or 18 years and 72 days, while XOC's reign was less than 1.4.7 or 1 year 82 days.

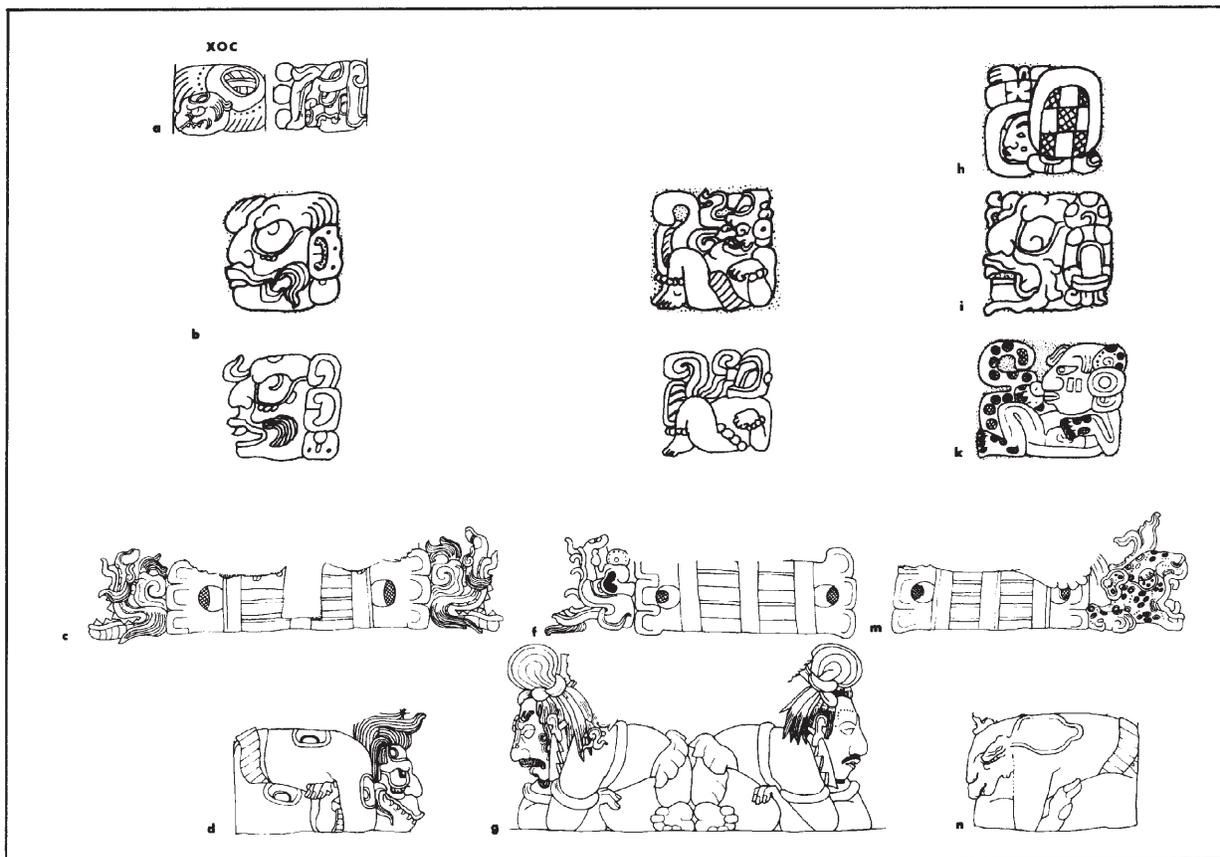


Fig. 13 (a) The name glyphs of XOC; (b) GI of the Palenque Triad; (c) Palace Tablet, central throne; (d) Tablet of the Slaves, left bearer; (e) GII of the Palenque Triad; (f) Palace Tablet, right throne; (g) Tablet of the Slaves, central bearers; (h-i) GIII of the Palenque Triad; (m) Palace Tablet, left throne; (n) Tablet of the Slaves, right bearer.

An 18 year reign is a far more likely period for the effort required for the construction involved in the north end of the Palace. It is unlikely that the entire project was planned and executed in a little more than a year.

3. The organization of XOC's accession record (Fig.14, right) very much resembles that of Chan-Bahlum as it appears in the Temple of Inscriptions, west panel (Fig. 14, left), where it appears that all of the text was completed before Pacal's death except the final two columns which seem to have been reserved to record the death date of Pacal and the accession of Chan-Bahlum. The final four glyph blocks of these columns record a relationship expression (not one of kinship) which relates Chan-Bahlum to Pacal. Exactly the same relationship statement relates XOC to Kan-Xul in the terminal passage of the Palace Tablet. I think that it is probable that the Palace Tablet was commissioned by Kan-Xul; XOC was added to the end of the panel either into a reserved section like the TI west panel or after the death of Kan-Xul but before the completion of the Palace monument. XOC does not appear in any subsequent records of the Palenque dynasty. His name does not carry the *Mah K'ina* title and he appears to have been of minor importance.
4. I suggest that his birth and death records surround the central figure in order to affirm that XOC's claim to the throne was the same as Kan-Xul's—that is, he was the third son of Pacal and Lady Ahpo-Hel. His parentage would then be stated by association rather than by explicit glyphic statement as in the case of Kan-Xul and Chan-Bahlum.

The identity of the central figure cannot be solved with complete security. I believe that the central figure was intended to be Kan-Xul, but I cannot construct evidence that excludes its identification as XOC. In either case, it is important to note that the two flanking figures are

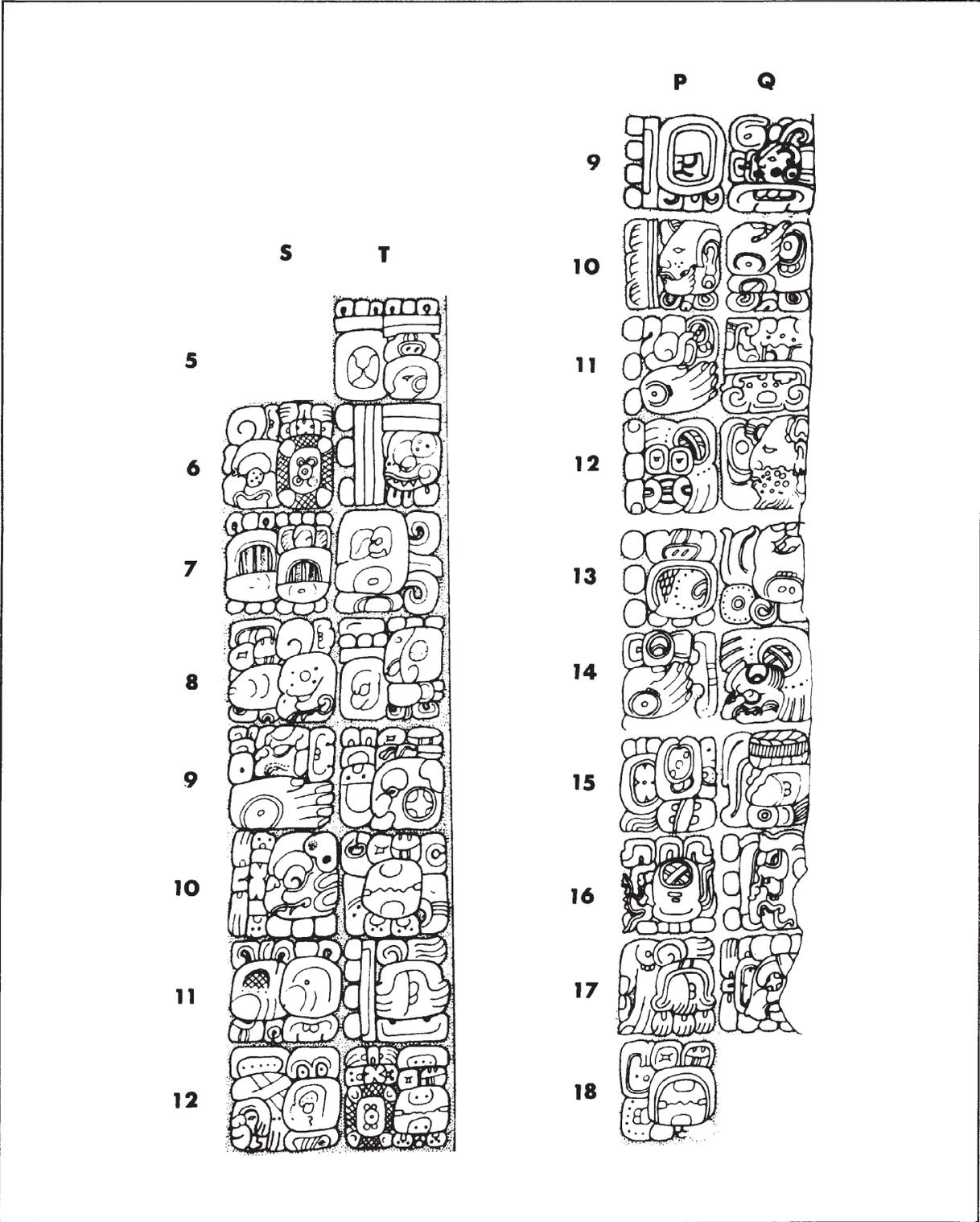


Fig. 14 A comparison of the final clauses of the west panel of the Temple of Inscriptions and the Palace Tablet.

clearly Pacal and Lady Ahpo-Hel. These two people are recorded in the Palace Tablet text as the parents of Kan-Xul and by spatial implication as the parents of XOC. Therefore, on the Palace Tablet and the Oval Palace Tablet, the female figures are identified glyphically as the mother of the acceding ruler. The smaller figure in the Group of the Cross and the male attendant in the Palace Tablet would therefore be Pacal, the other parent of Chan-Bahlum and Kan-Xul. The flanking figures mark the genealogical claim of the incumbent ruler to the throne.

The Water-lily:

Both parents wear a water-lily pad and blossom. A fish nibbles at the blossom in Pacal's headdress. The water-lily/imix monster also appears at Copan (Stela M), Yaxchilan (Lintel 6 and Stela 7), Bonampak (Stela 2), La Amelia (Stela 1), Machaquila (Stelae 3, 4, 7, 8), Ixkun

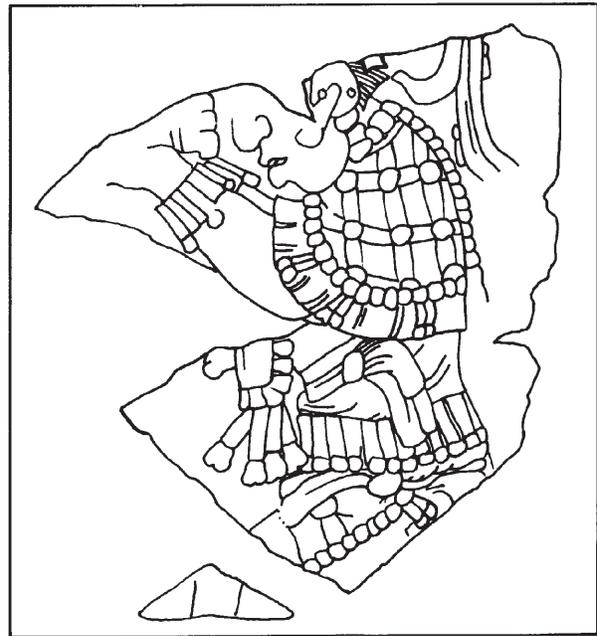


Fig. 15 Bodega Catalog Number 186 (Dumbarton Oaks No. 82).

(Stela 4), La Mar (Stela 2). In most of the above examples, the figure wearing the water-lily monster wears the costume associated with the Jaguar God of the Underworld. On Bonampak Stela 2, an accession monument, the right woman, who is probably the mother of the protagonist, wears the monster. On Quirigua Zoomorph 9 the water-lily pad appears on a *cauac* monster.

The other prominent location for the water-lily motif is the lower register of pictorial scenes. The usage appears at Chichen-Itza in the mural of the Lower Temple of the Jaguars, at Palenque on the outside of the sanctuary of Temple XIV and on Piers c and f of House D. In the Madrid Tablet and its companion (now in the museum at Palenque), figures sit atop an *imix* monster and hold a water-lily pad with attached blossom (Fig. 12). The netting on the figures identifies them as the *bacabs*. Similar figures in Temple 22 at Copan hold up the arc of the heaven. Here the figures hold the arc of the table top which recorded the dynastic history of Palenque.

Thompson (1950: 72-73) associated of the water-lily with the day *Imix*. The word for water-lily in Yacatec is *naab*; this is also the word for the “palm of the hand” and for “ocean”. Puleston (1976) has associated water-lilies with ridge-field canals and early agricultural methods. His analysis explains for the first time the origin of the abundance and crocodilian attributes associated with the water-lily. In experiments with reclaimed ridged-fields, Puleston and his associates found that waterlilies, crocodile and fish are the natural and numerous residents of the irrigation canals. Abundance of food and the water-lily/crocodile/fish complex are dramatically linked through ridged-field agriculture.

The water-lily is a plant that roots in the earth, floats on the water and blossoms in the air; it is a bridge between the three levels of the world. It feeds fish, birds and, according to Thompson (1950:72), man. According to Puleston (1976: 5-6), the water-lily becomes established immediately in the canals surrounding ridged-fields. Its presence marks the appearance of substantial fish populations that not only add to the human food supply, but also provide rich, abundant fertilizer for the ridged-fields. At Chichen Itza, Palenque, and on pottery, the water-lily is repeatedly placed in the lower “earth” register. I suggest that the presence of the water-lily and fish motif in the headdress of the flanking figures of the Palace Tablet marks them as from another plane of existence — i.e., they are marked as supernatural and their acts are carried out after death.

An examination of the three panels (groups) already examined seems to support the 21



Fig. 16 Tablet of the Slaves, the figures.

identification of the flanking figures as “not living”. Pacal is marked in the Group of the Cross by his clothing, by his subordinate position and by his smaller size as different from the living rulers. In the Tablet of the Foliated Cross, he stands on a shell, which is marked glyphically by the phrase, “dead is the divine one”. At the time of Kan-Xul’s accession, Pacal had been dead for 19.0.10 or 18 years, 275 days; Lady *Ahpo-Hel* had been dead for 1.9.17.10 or 29 years, 198 days. The water-lily headdresses mark the parents as supernaturals.

Catalog No. 82 (Bodega No. 186) (Fig. 15):

Location: Found in the Northwest Court of the Palace. The precise location within the court is not known.

Text: None.

Description: This is a small fragment of a larger tablet which appears to have been similar to the Palace Tablet. None of the text or the remaining figures have survived and therefore conclusive identification of the protagonist is not possible. However, the function of the tablet is clear from the remaining fragments.

A female figure is shown seated in profile and facing the left. She would have occupied the right position of a tri-figure group. She wears the same female costume as the women in the previously discussed tablets. The woman’s arms are elevated, and once held a now missing object which can be identified by the tri-fold motif located immediately above the wrists. This motif is the terminus of the throne seen on the Palace Tablet (Fig.10) and in the Temple of the Sun (Fig.

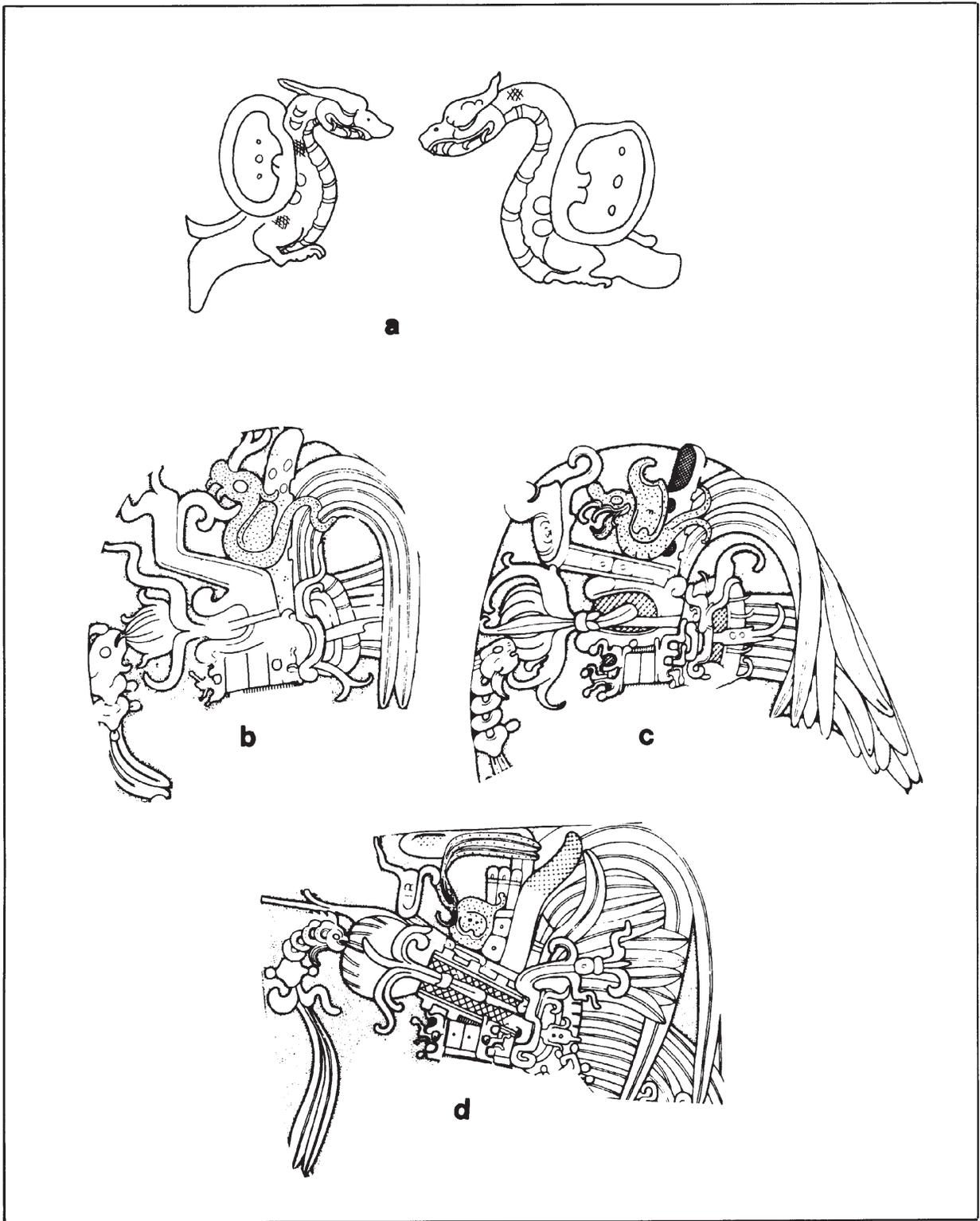


Fig. 17 The Shell-winged Dragons: (a) Palenque, Tablet of the Slaves; (b) Machaquila, Stela 8; (c) Machaquila, Stela 4; (d) Machaquila, Stela 3.

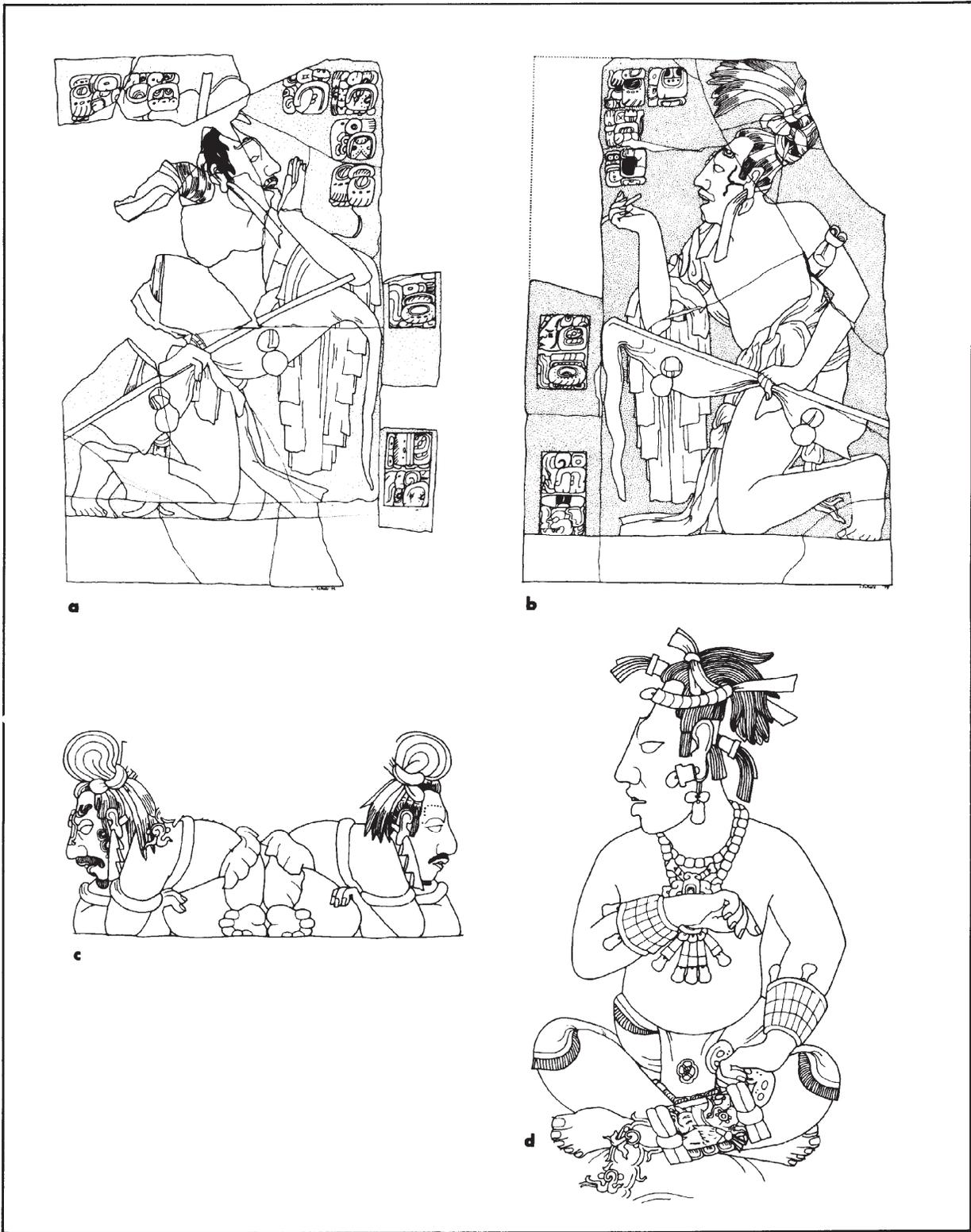


Fig. 18 (a) The Orator; (b) The Scribe; (c) Tablet of the Slaves, the central bearers; (d) Tablet of the Slaves, central figure.

1c) where the shield/flint god sits atop it. Of the five effigies or objects held in accession scenes at Palenque, only the shield/flint god is associated with the throne motif.

Furthermore, in the Palace Tablet and Tablet of the Slaves a female sits on the right and passes the shield/flint god to the central person. This fragment is the surviving part of a tri-figure accession scene. The figure is the right female and she held the shield/flint god object passed by females in two other similar tablets.

Tri-figure or accession tablets have been identified for the Late Classic rulers Pacal, Chan-Bahlum, Kan-Xul and Chac-Zutz' (although the Tablet of the Slaves does not come from the main center). No accession monuments are now known for Chaacal III, Kuk and the ruler(s) from the 30 year gap between Chac-Zutz' and Kuk. Stylistically the fragment belongs to the early Murcielagos complex rather than the late period of Kuk's reign which is characterized by incised tablets. The similarity in scale and technique to the Palace Tablet suggests to me that this fragmentary tablet belongs to the period shortly after the reign of Kan-Xul and therefore probably belongs to Chaacal III.

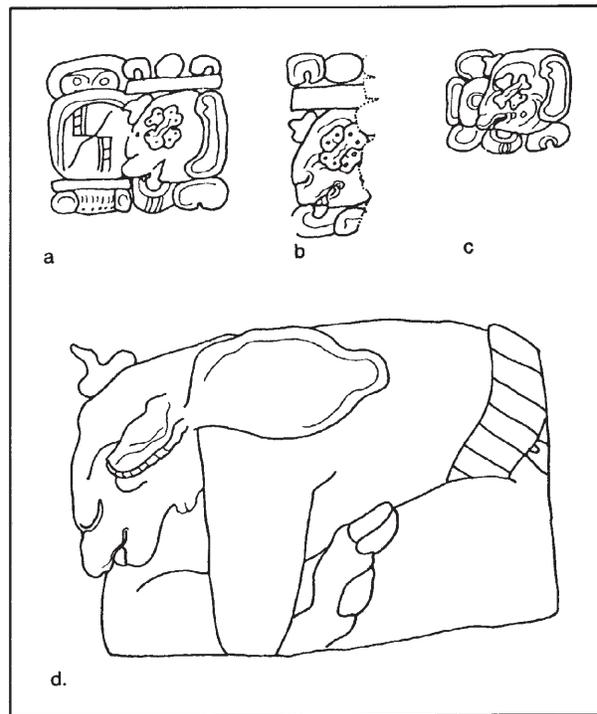


Fig. 19 The deer (T765d) as *kin-sun*.

Tablet of the Slaves (Fig. 16):

Location: Group IV, west of the main center. This group contains a series of large range-type buildings. Rands and Rands (1961) discovered a cemetery-like area in this group with superimposed burials ranging in time from Otolum to Balunte. The group is not designed spatially or architecturally like the public buildings in the center of Palenque, but appears to have functioned as a less impressive, but nevertheless large, private area. Rands (personal communication, 1976) and I have speculated that Group IV may have functioned as a family precinct which included not only contemporary records of the family, but its burial space.

The Text: The contents of this text represent one of the briefest and most concise records of its kind in Palenque. It begins with the calendar round and accession of Pacal, then records, with elapsed katun endings, the accessions of Chan-Bahlum and Kan-Xul. The text then records the birth of the protagonist, but ties this birth by distance number to the accession of Chaacal III rather than that of the protagonist. The accession of Chaacal III is followed by the accession of Chac-Zutz', the protagonist. This unusual linking of the birth of the protagonist to the accession of a predecessor created some confusion in the dynastic list published by Peter Mathews and I (1974). The text continues with a series of events occurring to Chac-Zutz' during his life and concludes with a celebration of the 3 katun (60 tun) anniversary of his birth.

A secondary text of three glyphs each is located adjacent to each flanking figure (Fig. 16). The second and third glyphs are the same in each text, although there is a substitution of signs in the second glyph. The first glyph in each case is different. The text above the drummajor head-dress has a glyph group unmarked as to the gender, while the text next to the female is marked with the T1000a female prefix. In Maya syntax the verb appears in initial position; however, neither initial glyph in the secondary texts is a recognized verb nor do verbal affixes appear in these compounds. Since no such verbal glyphs can be identified in these two texts and since the initial glyph next to the male does not contain a male article while that adjacent to the female is marked

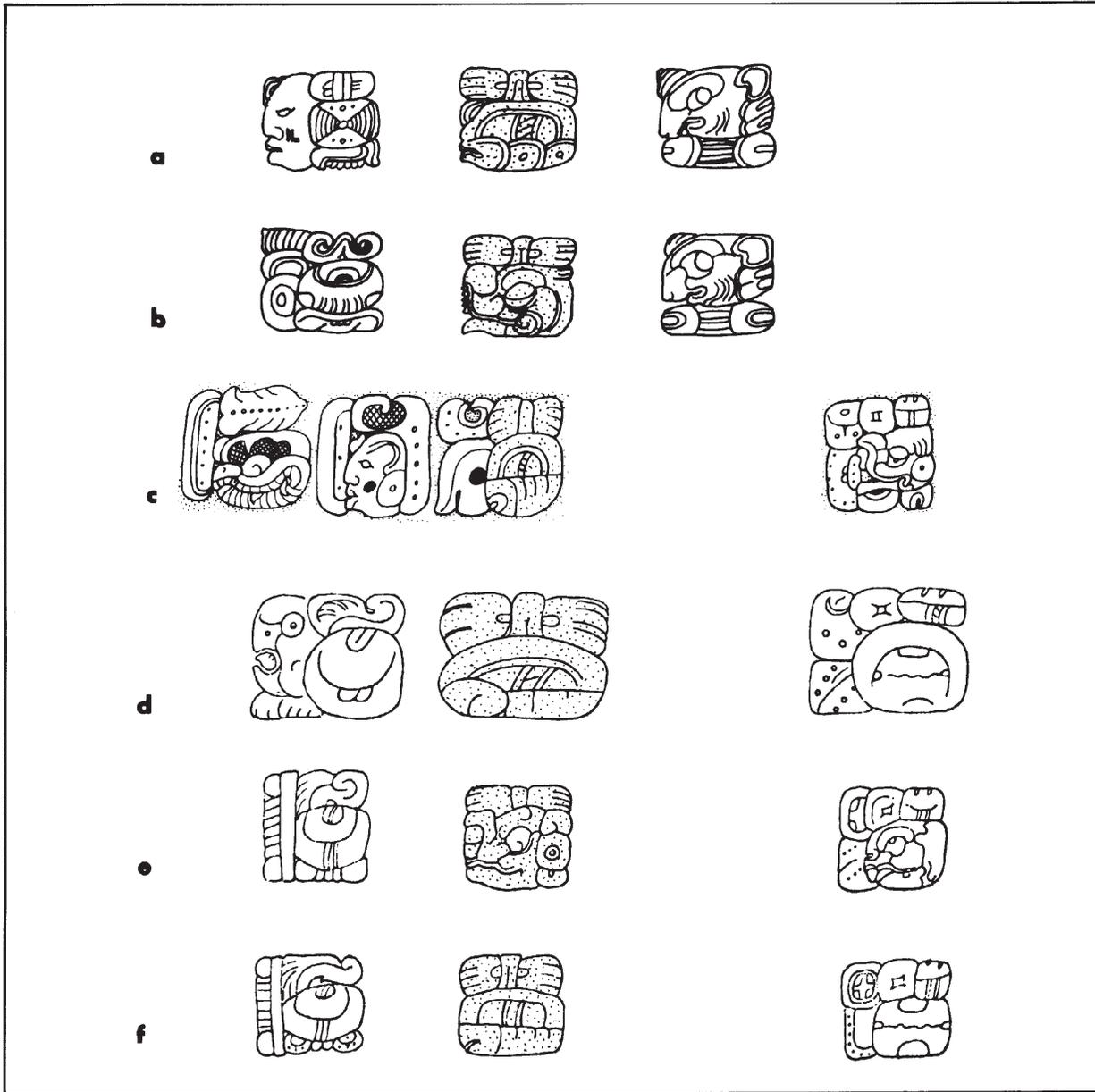


Fig. 20 (a) Tablet of the Slaves, name phrase of the female; (b) Tablet of the Slaves, name phrase of the male; (c) name phrase of U-KIX-CHAN; (d-f) name phrases of Ahc-Kan

by 1000a, it is likely that the two secondary texts function as nominal phrases naming the two flanking figures in the composition.

Anomalies in the Slaves text are important. XOC, the ruler whose birth and heir-apparency are recorded in the secondary texts of the Palace Tablet and whose accession is recorded in the final columns of it, is not mentioned in the Tablet of the Slaves. Chac-Zutz' was born 6.3.10 or 6 years, 40 days before Chaacal III. The younger of the two men acceded to the throne first, but his reign was less than 1 year, 167 days long. However, Chaacal appears in the texts of Temple XXI, Temple XVIII (and was probably responsible for Temple XVIII-A) and Temple III of the North Group. Chaacal is the person appearing on the Tablet of the Orator, while Chac-Zutz' is the Scribe. These tablets were paired on either side on the Tower south stairs. In the text of the Tablet of the Slaves only Pacal's name carries the *Mah K'ina* title. However, in other texts Chaacal's name carries this title, as do the other late Classic rulers; Chac-Zutz' does not. All of the Late Classic royal names, except those of Chac-Zutz' and XOC, are drawn from the ancestral list in the Temples of the Cross and Inscriptions. Some unusual relationship existed between

Chac-Zutz' and Chaacal; and, like XOC, Chac-Zutz' was treated differently than other Late Classic rulers.

Iconography: The left figure is male and wears the same accession costume associated with other males. The female on the right wears a different costume than the women in the previous tablets. The net over-garments do not appear. The *huipile* is simple; it is of the kind that covers the bosom, but not the shoulders. Both flanking figures wear a simple cloth hair band with a water-lily blossom attached to the forehead bow.

A rare motif of the shell-winged dragon perches atop the head of each flanking figure (Fig. 17). The dragon has a reptilian head and body, shell-wings, and bird-feet and tail. It also appears on Machaquila, Stelae 3, 4, 7 and 8, which all date between 9.19.10.0.0 and 10.0.0.0.0, and in the southeast room of House B at Palenque. The shell-winged dragon appears in an astronomical (?) event expression on the Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic stains. In most of these environments, the dragon appears with the *naab* (water-lily) variant of the Imix glyph (T556). On the Machaquila and Palenque monuments, the main head gear represents either the monster or blossom of the water-lily. The shell-winged dragon seems to be a part of the water-lily complex and marks both flanking figures in the Tablet of the Slaves as "supernaturals".

The central figure: The central figure wears the accession uniform, but in this case, it is elaborated by the presence of a small cartouche with a mat sign located on the loincloth. As in the Palace Tablet, an open-mouthed jaguar pectoral hangs from a double-strand necklace and the wristlets are made of plaques rather than cylinders. The head gear has only a jade (shell?) head band, a short rear and front hair-lock, and a hair ribbon.

The central figure holds an incense bag in his right hand; smoke drifts from the bottom of the bag. The full-figure image of the *Pacal* bird appears on the surface of the bag and seems to draw attention to the genealogical origin of the protagonist. Similar bags are held by the incumbent rulers on the accession stelae of Piedras Negras and in period ending scenes throughout the Maya corpus, but at Palenque they are found only with the central figures of House A and on the north sanctuary panel of the Temple of the Sun (Schele, 1976: 25-27).

The central figure sits on a pillow supported by rump-to-rump, kneeling figures. (Figs. 13g and 16). It is from these figures that the tablet derives its name; however, I do not believe that these figures represent slaves. Benson (1976) has shown that the paraphernalia worn by these crouching figures is identical to that of the Tablets of the Scribe, Orator and Temple XXI (Fig. 18). She suggested that the latter three tablets show contemporary Palenque rulers (i.e., Chac-Zutz' and Chaacal III) engaged in blood-letting rites. All three of the protagonists of these tablets are identified by name.

The presence of the blood-letting ritual under the central figure is a reference to the program of the Temple of the Foliated Cross. If the three offices of the Group of the Cross were permanently incorporated into Palenque accession iconography, then the figures under the two flanking figures should refer to the other two offices. A brocket deer is under the female figure (Figs. 13n and 16). I have shown that this particular deer (Fig. 19) appears in Distance Numbers as the sign of *kin*, 'day' and 'sun' (Schele 1977: 52-53 and Fig. 4.8). The deer is a reference to the sun which may also be personified as the Jaguar God of the Underworld Sun or GIII, the deity of the Temple of the Sun.

The figure crouched under the left male by elimination should refer to the third of the three offices or to the Temple of the Cross where the patron deity is GI of the Palenque Triad. Here the crouching figure has a human body with god (mirror) markings and an anthropomorphic deity head (Figs. 13d and 16). The face is marked by the roman nose, the square eye, the long hair and mirror forehead characteristics of both GI and the Sungod. The lips of the face have human features, but they are distended and serpent teeth emerge from under the upper lip. A fish barbel, which is diagnostic of the anthropomorphic variant of GIII, arcs behind the mouth. This crouching figure is GI of the Palenque Triad. All three offices from the Group of the Cross are

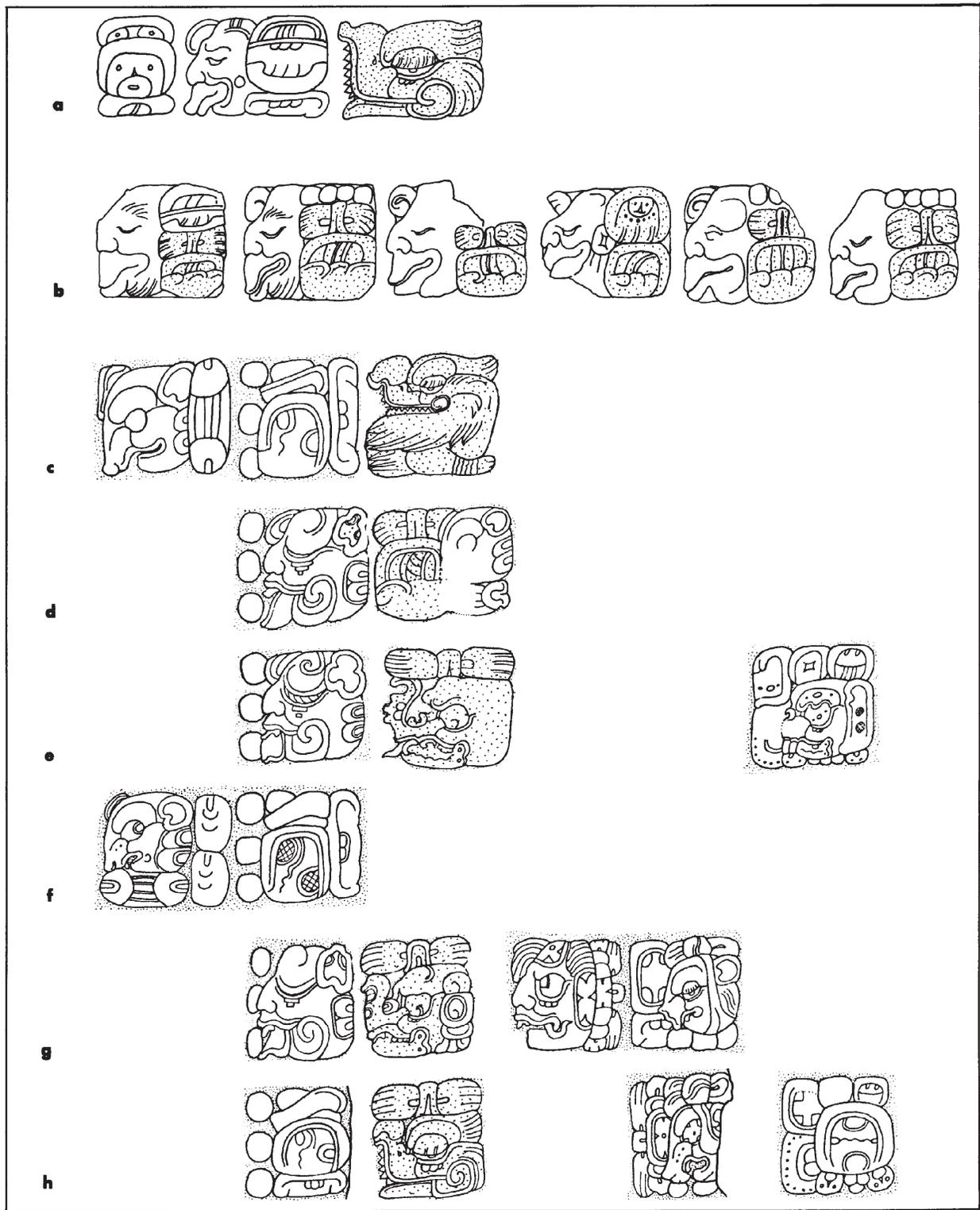


Fig. 21 (a) Temple XVIII jamb panels, name phrase of Chaacal's father; (b) Temple XVIII stucco glyphs, name glyphs of Chaacal's father; (c-h) comparative analysis of the name phases of Kan-Xul from the Palace Tablet.

represented in abbreviated form in both the Tablet of the Slaves and the Palace Tablet as follows (Fig. 13):

1. The Temple of the Cross — patron, GI.
Slaves: GI is the bearer of the right figure.
Palace Tablet: the throne of the central figure is marked by the *xoc* fish which shares diagnostic characteristics with GI and is his zoomorphic form.
2. The Temple of the Foliated Cross — patron, GII (God K): rite, self-inflicted blood-letting.
Slaves: The central figure is seated on two persons wearing the ritual uniform of the bloodletting rite.
Palace Tablet: The right figure sits on a throne marked by a serpent head; God K appears with a serpent foot and carries serpent markings.
3. Temple of the Sun — patron, GIII or the Jaguar God of the Underworld Sun.
Slaves: the right figure sits on a brocket deer, which is the sign of ‘day’ and ‘sun’ used in zoomorphic Distance Numbers.
Palace Tablet: the left figure sits on a throne marked by the water-lily Jaguar. The patron of the Temple of the Sun is characterized in both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms by jaguarian features.

Identification of the figures: The central figure is Chac-Zutz’, the protagonist of the text above the scene. The identification of the central figure as Chac-Zutz’ is supported by a comparison of his profile and rather chubby body to the figure of the Scribe (Figs. 18b and d), which is glyphically identified as Chac-Zutz’.

The identification of the flanking figures is far more difficult to ascertain. A short text of three glyphs is located near each of the figures (Fig. 16). In both texts, the second and third glyphs are the same and are known to be title glyphs in other names in Palenque (Figs. 20 and 21). The second glyph is T74:565a or 793a (Figs. 20a and b). T565 and T793a freely interchange in this title when it appears in Kan-Xul’s name and must, therefore, be either phonetically or semantically equivalent. The T74:565a glyph also appears in the Group of the Cross as part of or a replacement for the names of Triad. Since it can stand for the personal names of deities, it should record some characteristic, such as divinity, that is applicable to gods and rulers. It appears also in the title glyph of *U-Kix-Chan* (TC:F13-16; see Fig. 20c), *Ac-Kan* (TI east, L11-L12, N4-N5; TI Sarc., 34-36; see Fig. 20 d-f), and Kan Xul II (Pal. Tab., C8-C9, F8-F9, H12-H13, O8-P9, and R6-R7; see Fig. 21 c-h).

The third glyph is the ‘rodent-bone’ title (Fig. 20 a-b) which appears in the name compound of GII (God K) of the Palenque Triad and in the name phrases of Chan-Bahlum and Kan-Xul II. The first glyph in each text is different, but the glyph next to the woman is prefixed by the female head (T1000a) which identifies it as a female name. This name glyph appears on the doorjamb panels and in the stucco glyphs of Temple XVIII. The identification of the flanking figures as parents on all the other similar tablets in Palenque indicates that this woman is the mother of Chac-Zutz’. The repeated appearance of the same name in the texts from Temple XVIII suggests that Chaacal and Chac-Zutz’ were children of the same woman.

The first glyph in the text next to the male includes T59 *ti*, an unknown grapheme over a T561a:23 *caan* glyph (Fig. 20b). This name is not known from any other inscription at Palenque; however, Chaacal’s father is clearly identified in the Temple XVIII glyphs as T231.74:IV or 561a:565 or 793a (Fig. 21a). The latter part of the name is the same glyph as the title at J1 and L2, but since the glyph appears in the name phrases of several different rulers, it appears to function as a title rather than as a personal name. The first part of the name is a long-lipped head that resembles the GI head below the left figure. The third part of the name is either the numeral four (pronounced *can*) on the sky glyph (pronounced *caan*) (Fig. 21b). The substitution of the two signs is phonetic. The *caan* sky sign appears in the name of the left figure, but I know of no

evidence to associate the remaining two glyphs with the long-lipped head. Mathews and I suspect that either on both of the names of the fathers of Chaacal and Chac-Zutz' may be alternative names for Kan-Xul since both names contain glyphs that are prominent part of Kan-Xul's name phrase. However, until another geneological record from Palenque is found, we must assume that the fathers of Chaacal and Chac-Zutz' were not the same man.

DUMBARTON OAKS TABLET (Fig. 22)

Provenience: Unknown

The Text: The text begins with a Distance Number 4.7.0 which is counted from 9.11.0.0.0 12 Ahau 8 Ceh to 9.11.4.7.0 8 Ahau 8 Cumhu. The event for the latter date is recorded at A5 as the same event as that which occurred on 5 Eb 5 Kayab in the Group of the Cross. The glyph at B5 includes T89, the contraction of the locative *ti*, and the possessive pronoun *u*. The main sign is the jaguar-spotted ahau (T539). The subject of the event is named at C1 as GI of the Palenque Triad. D1 is *u cab*; it appears to function as some kind of relationship glyph since the *Pacal* name glyph and the Emblem Glyph follow it. The event glyph at A5 is associated with a particular kind of event which celebrated the solar anniversary of major dynastic events. Two events of this kind have been identified — that of 5 Eb 5 Kayab which is the 8th anniversary (plus 2 days) of Chan-Bahlum's accession and a series of three events which began on 2 Cib 14 Mol. The second set of events celebrates the 75th (plus 13 to 16 days) anniversary of Pacal's accession. In both of the above cases, all or a part of the Palenque Triad are the actors in the event and they are recorded in relationship to the current ruler. The date on the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet is the 92nd (plus 24 days) anniversary of the death of Kan-Xul I, the ruler for whom the protagonist of this tablet was named.

A second clause begins at C3. The event glyph is located at C3; the two following glyphs include the T89 *tu* prefix suggesting that they represent indirect objects. The name phrase of the subject of this event begins at D4 with a God C compound, which at Palenque functions as a nominal introducing glyph. E1-II are the name phrase of Kan-Xul II, the protagonist of the tablet. This phrase is followed by the Calendar Round 9 Manik 5 Muan which has generally been placed in the Long Count at 9.11.18.7.7 or 9.14.11.2.7. The later position is more likely because of the death glyph at C5 (this same glyph is used in the Palace Tablet to record Chan-Bahlum's death). It cannot function as a verb in this position because it follows the nominal introducing glyph at D4. It must serve, therefore, as an adjective describing Kan-Xul as 'dead'. 9.14.11.2.7 is after the accession dates of two rulers (XOC and Chaacal III) who succeeded Kan-Xul to the throne. The Calendar Round at J1-K1 is followed by two glyphs, the second of which is GI. The glyph immediately after the date should record the event. I suspect this clause is a completed re-expression of the event at C3-C4. The subject of this event is GI; Kan-Xul is shown dancing in the costume of GI.



Fig. 22 The Dumbarton Oaks Tablet. Permission of Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Pre-Columbian Studies, Trustees of Harvard University.

The glyphs near the left figure name her as Lady Ahpo-Hel, who is recorded in the Palace 30

Tablet as Kan-Xul's mother. The glyphs over the right figure name him as Pacal, Kan-Xul's father.

Iconography: Coe (1973:98-99) commented extensively on the similarity of the central figure to other full-figured examples of GI. Little additional commentary needs to be added here, except perhaps to review the GI attributes in the clothing. The undergarment and anklets worn by the figure are typical of all male figures previously discussed; however, the wristlets include a disk and bead attached on at least three and perhaps four sides of the wristlet. The figure wears a heavy belt and pectoral with the knot-motifs characteristic of GI and GIII. He carries a pot marked with the glyph '6 Akbal' in his right hand and a serpent handled axe in the left; a snake is carried in the right hand along with the handle of the pot. He wears the shell ear piece and conch-shell head gear typical of GI.

The flanking figures wear interesting clothing. Both wear the high waisted undergarment, but now each skirt is decorated with embroidered borders. The woman wears a cape which has the Jester God at the front and another deity at the shoulder. Pacal wears a bead necklace and a bar pectoral hangs from a thick strap. Lady Ahpo-Hel holds God K on her lap, while Pacal holds the personified form of the tree shown on the sarcophagus sides. His ear piece is the leaf motif related to the ancestor tree complex (Schele 1976 and n.d.b).

Both figures wear the same kind of headdress. Shortened and long feathers hang from the rear, along with the ends of the ribbons from the head band. The main element of the headdress is a jawless, skeletal zoomorphic head. Both heads have the serrated eyebrow and gathered hair characteristic of GI and GII (Schele, n.d.a); however, neither head has sufficient distinctive features to identify it. The monster in Pacal's headdress has a muzzle which is transformed into a deer hoof. It carries '6 Muluc' and a 'smoke' sign atop the head. The monster in Lady Ahpo-Hel's headdress is marked by the numeral 6 and the glyph which appears as the patron of the month *Ceh*. The same glyph is a quarter katun marker (Riese, 1971:140-143).

I believe that the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet records a supernatural event in which Kan-Xul dances as GI after his death. The first event of the text celebrates the 92nd solar year (with leap-days intercalculated) of the death of his namesake. In the Group of the Cross when two other anniversary events of the same kind are recorded, the members of the Palenque Triad, individually and as a group, are recorded as the actors. Here Kan-Xul's name phrase is marked by the presence of a death glyph.

Kan-Xul is flanked by his parents, but the positions normally expected are reversed; the mother is on his right, the father on his left. Kan-Xul stands on the ground and his parents sit on it. All three figures wear elaborate head gear. The deities held by his parents are not normally associated with accession scenes; God K appears only once in accession scenes at Palenque; he is held by Chan-Bahlum in the Tablet of the Sun. All of the above details are not within the accession complex identified for the other tri-figure panels and the Group of the Cross at Palenque. The Dumbarton Oaks Tablet celebrates a different kind of event; the difference is marked by the alteration of important details in the iconographic program of the scene.

Summary: The Oval Palace Tablet is the earliest surviving accession text from Palenque and seems to have been the model for most of the later tablets. The tablet presents the incumbent ruler, shown dressed in minimal costume and prepared to receive the objects and possibly the costuming which mark him as a ruler. The drummajor headdress which marks his office is passed to him by his mother, lady Zac-Kuk.

Chan-Bahlum, the first-born son of Pacal, elaborated greatly on the theme of the Oval Palace Tablet. He apparently chose as his model the iconographic program of the Temple of Inscriptions tomb (Schele 1974). He appears with his father; they flank a complex of symbols related to the three offices of Palenque throne and to the three gods of the Palenque Triad. Pacal had been dead 132 days at the time of the accession and is carefully marked as 'non-living'. He passes symbols of each office to his acceding son.

Kan-Xul, the second born son of Pacal, returned to the model of the Oval Palace Tablet. He placed his parents, Pacal and Lady Ahpo-Hel, on either side of him. They give him the drummajor headdress and the dynastic shield. The iconography of the Group of the Cross appears in very abbreviated reference on the throne ends. Pacal sits atop a jaguar/GIII throne; Kan-Xul on a *xoc*/GI throne; and, Lady Ahpo-Hel on a serpent/GII throne.

Chac-Zutz' followed the precedent set by Kan-Xul. His tablet presents his parents offering him the symbols of office. The three tablets of the Cross again appear in abbreviated reference under the figures: GI is under the left figure; the persons under the central figure wear the costume of blood-letting, a reference to GII and the TFC; and the right figure sits on a brocket deer, which is another way of personifying the sun normally represented by the Jaguar God of the Underworld Sun.

The Dumbarton Oaks Tablet employs the same general kind of composition, but since the subject seems to have been death rather than accession, the details of the iconographic program were carefully varied from the accession program.

The intent of the tri-figure panels and the Group of the Cross at Palenque is clear; all of the tablets document dramatically the genealogical claim of the rulers of Palenque to the throne. If the parents were alive at the time of the accession, they are shown giving the acceding ruler his symbols of office. However, even if the parents of the ruler were dead, they are still shown in the same manner as a living parent, but they are carefully marked as being in a 'supernatural' state. The passage of royal symbols to the son by dead parents may not have been intended solely as an allegory. I suspect the Maya considered the recorded events to have been a very real documentation of genealogical continuity.

It seems to have been of primary importance that the act of the passing of royal symbols from parent (deceased or living) to the incumbent ruler be documented. The artists at Palenque could have chosen any instant in the mythical or real ceremony as the focus of pictorial documentation. In all accession scenes, the parent(s) are frozen in the act of giving the royal objects to the child; the act is not shown after completion. The choice of the instant just prior to the physical passage of objects seems designed deliberately to reinforce the concept that the acceding ruler was legitimized through genealogical claim and that the rites necessary for his confirmation as ruler could and were completed even by those who were dead. This supernatural confirmation was the point of the tri-figure scenes and the just-to-be-completed passage of dynastic power from parent to child was the instant frozen in time by the Palenque artists.

The predominant concentration on genealogical documentation at Palenque is worth special comment. I now believe that genealogical continuity was the strongest imperative controlling monumental art (including architectural placement, the content of inscriptions and iconography) at Palenque and throughout the Maya Classic period. The flanking figures on either side of Stela 31 at Tikal are identified glyphically as Curl-Snout, the previous ruler of the site. The protagonist of the monument is recorded as the "child of the man Curl-Snout" in the first clause of the inscription. Although the detail of the headdresses are different, the two figures on the sides of Stela 31 are arranged to produce the effect of seeing the same person from left or right sides. I suggest that Stelae 23 and 25 at Tikal record the parents of the protagonist on the sides on each monument. Andrea Stone has pointed out to me the inclusion of tri-figure scenes on several Early Classic stelae of Caracol. Documentation of parentage appears consistently in Maya records as early as Stela 31 (9.0.10.0.0) at Tikal. I believe Stela 31 is the earliest surviving example of the tri-figure composition that records portraits, not only of the protagonist, but of his parents.

Proskouriakoff (1961) pointed out the presence of male and female figures in the upper registers of the stelae of Yaxchilan. She observed that on Stela 11 these figures are identified glyphically as the former ruler and his consort and she suggested that they "are best regarded as ancestral portraits, documenting the royal descent of the incumbent (ruler) or his right to the succession" (1961:89). These persons portrayed in these upper registers have been identified

glyphically as the parents of the protagonists of the stela (Schele, Mathews and Lounsbury, n.d.). Proskouriakoff noticed the frequent, but not exclusive association of the male with a *kin* cartouche and the female with a lunar cartouche. The upper registers also contain detailed references to sky-bands, to the Jaguar God of the Underworld Sun (GIII) and perhaps to GI. Although the iconographic program concerning genealogical descent is presented in the upper (celestial??) register of Yaxchilan monuments, it seems clear that the intent was to document royal genealogy and to reflect the elevated state of deceased parents (and supposedly of deceased members of the royal line). The tri-figural panel at Palenque and the period-ending and accession stelae at Yaxchilan use different iconographic programs to document dramatically the same kind of genealogical descent and supernatural behavior of deceased parents. I suspect that the Classic Maya believed that dead ancestors could influence events in the world of the living.

Genealogical continuity is an important concern in the *Popol Vuh*; Edmonson (personal communication, 1978) informs me that it plays an important part in Yucatec records. I suspect that, like the progenitors of the Quiche, dead kings at Palenque were considered to be supernaturals of some potency. They were remembered and honored; I suspect that much of the ritual life during the Classic period was involved in ancestral rites. Certainly the blood-letting rite was primarily concerned with ancestral rites. The documentation in glyphic texts and in pictorial forms of genealogical descent are a major part of Classic monumental information. The reading of pictorial data did not require specialized literacy; and, since the great majority of glyphs used on public monuments are iconic or pictographic in nature, I suspect that the reading of public glyphic information required only minimal literacy.

The genealogical records available to us of course are biased and edited. We see only the winners, but I believe that detailed genealogical records were kept in codex form. The genealogical records were probably very similar to those surviving records of the Mixtecs where more than one viewpoint of history has survived. There is growing evidence for extensive intermarriage between Classic centers. Emblem glyphs were often specialized for women by the replacement of the 'water group' affix by T1000a. By assuming that T1000a.168:(main sign) names a female royal person of a particular site, the number of documented intersite marriages rises dramatically. The genealogy of the mother seems to have been as important as that of the father, but since most rulers were male, we have few surviving genealogical records for the mothers of rulers. I do not doubt that the records of the genealogy of both mother and father were meticulously recorded and consulted in codex form. The frequency and large proportion of pictorial and glyphic documentation of genealogy on Classic monuments (where space available for information transfer was radically limited) suggests that genealogy and ancestor 'worship' were major concerns of Classic Maya royalty and culture in general.

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