



# The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal: The Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque

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The Temple of the Inscriptions of Palenque is one of the most famous structures of the ancient Maya world. It has received the attention of countless scholars for more than two centuries. The long hieroglyphic text that covers three large tablets placed inside between the temple's outer and inner rooms provided the name for this building, and this text remains the longest legible Maya text yet found. Leading to even greater fame, however, were the excavations by Alberto Ruz Lhuillier, who between 1949 and 1952 excavated an incredible tomb, deep below the temple in the heart of the pyramid. The sarcophagus lid that nearly filled the tomb itself has become an icon of Maya art and is famous the world over.

Shortly after this discovery, the revolution in Maya epigraphy generated by Tatiana Proskouriakoff and Yuri Knorosov unlocked the key to these inscriptions, and in the early 1970s Peter Mathews and Linda Schele revealed that the focus of all the Temple of the Inscriptions texts was a lord named Pakal. Although he is still affectionately known as simply Pakal to the thousands of visitors who flock to his tomb and city every year, more recent decipherments have amended this name to K'inich Janaab Pakal.<sup>1</sup> The tourism generated by his tomb and the city he helped create, in fact, support to a great degree the economy of the modern city of Palenque, and a nearby community has even been named Pakalna, "House of Pakal," in his honor.

Born in 603, and dying eighty years later after a reign of 68 years, K'inich Janaab Pakal I was the greatest king of Palenque, a conclusion of both modern scholars and the ancient Maya of Palenque themselves. All of Pakal's successors made copious reference to him in their own texts, two of them even taking his illustrious name as their own. Presented here is an analysis of the texts of his funerary structure, the Temple of the Inscriptions, including both the three tablets of the upper temple as well as the text carved around the edge of his sarcophagus lid.

The readings and discussion that follow, while the author's own, owe much to prior and current work by many different scholars. The author would like to thank the following: Alfonso Escobedo, Nikolai Grube, Stephen Houston, Alfonso Lacadena, Simon Martin, Peter Mathews, Alberto Ruz

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<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this name has long proven difficult to interpret. *K'inich* clearly is a reference to the Sun God, whose full name reads *K'inich Ajaw*, while *Pakal* undoubtedly means "shield." *Janaab*, however, has proven a very stubborn term to epigraphers. The logogram for this word resembles a four-spoke propeller surrounded by a dotted circle. It appears as a floral motif in Maya iconography, and so in the past *janaab* was often simply translated as "flower." Unfortunately, no such word for flower is known in any modern Maya language. David Stuart (2005) has suggested that *janaab* may be the name of a raptorial bird, as the head variant for the logogram **JANAAB** is avian in nature, the "floral" elements actually being color markings around the eye of the bird. Unfortunately, no word resembling *janaab* has been found in any Maya language referring to any kind of bird either. Marc Zender (personal communication 2004) has suggested another possibility, that underspelling may be involved in the word being cued by the phonetic spelling **ja-na-bi**. Underspelling (see Zender 1999 for a full treatment of this subject), which occurs when Maya scribes habitually leave out of the phonetic spellings of words certain syllables featuring weak consonants, is not uncommon in Classic Maya hieroglyphic texts. Unfortunately, if underspelling is involved it is not clear what sounds are missing from the full pronunciation of "*janaab*." There are no words similar to *janaab* that have yet been found that denote either a type of flower or bird. Only if we discover a rare example of a phonetic rendering of this word where a scribe provided a full spelling will we be able to determine whether underspelling is involved. Currently, all known phonetic spellings of the **JANAAB** logogram contain the same three syllables in the exact same order: **ja-na-bi**. *Janaab* thus remains an enigmatic term, one of many mysteries that remain surrounding the life of K'inich Janaab Pakal. For the sake of clarity, this word will be consistently transliterated herein as *Janaab*.

Editor's note: This article was submitted in 2002 and accepted with revisions in 2005. Since that time, the only substantial editorial amendment has been to remove the apostrophes marking the glottalized letter /b/ in, e.g., *Janaab*, in accordance with the revised second edition of *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens* (Martin and Grube in press).

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Lhuillier, Merle Greene Robertson, Linda Schele, David Stuart and Marc Zender. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Joel Skidmore and Marc Zender for editorial assistance and always helpful advice and commentary that have greatly improved the following readings and discussions.

Note: The length of the texts from the Temple of the Inscriptions allowed the ancient Maya scribes to provide much greater detail than found in most other texts. As a result, much esoteric information and complicated syntax are to be found here. Centuries of erosion have obscured much of the original text, and leave a very difficult job for modern epigraphers. With this in mind, it should be stated that the translations and discussion that follow are only provisional, and much will certainly be amended in the future, as further decipherments are made and a deeper understanding of ancient Maya civilization and its writing becomes possible.

## Exterior Decoration on the Temple of the Inscriptions

The Temple of the Inscriptions, as was the norm at Palenque, was extensively decorated both inside and out. However, centuries of abandonment to the ravages of the jungle have left few remnants of what must have originally been a stunning façade. Only stubs remain of the roofcomb, and none of the stucco decoration on it has survived. Stone armatures remain on the façade of the roof itself, indicating that designs likely similar to those seen on the better preserved Temple of the Sun were once present here as well. Following the pattern seen elsewhere at Palenque, it is likely that images of Pakal or of deities would have featured prominently.

While the upper roof decoration of the Temple of the Inscriptions has been completely destroyed, the stucco decoration on some of the piers and below the cornice survived in a better state. Sadly, the outer two piers, which contained long glyphic texts (ninety-three glyphs on pier A and ninety-six glyphs on Pier F), are the most damaged, and only a handful of isolated glyphs survived intact. The eastern pier (Figure 1) began with an Initial Series date, of which survives nothing but the day sign Chuen with an apparent coefficient of 5. Other remaining sections include two partial distance numbers and an isolated glyph referring to a capture. Of note is glyph G6, which as Merle Greene Robertson has observed, appears to be the first part of the common wing-shell death expression (Robertson 1983:29). It is tempting to see this possible death expression on the mortuary pyramid of K'inich Janaab Pakal I as a reference to the death of the great king, and this assumption seems to be borne out, as only thirteen glyph blocks intervene between Glyph G6 and Glyphs I1-J2, the first glyphs on Pier F and the only ones that survive on that pier. Glyphs I1-J2 (Figure 2) are the names and titles of K'inich Kan Bahlam II, the son and successor of K'inich Janaab Pakal. It is

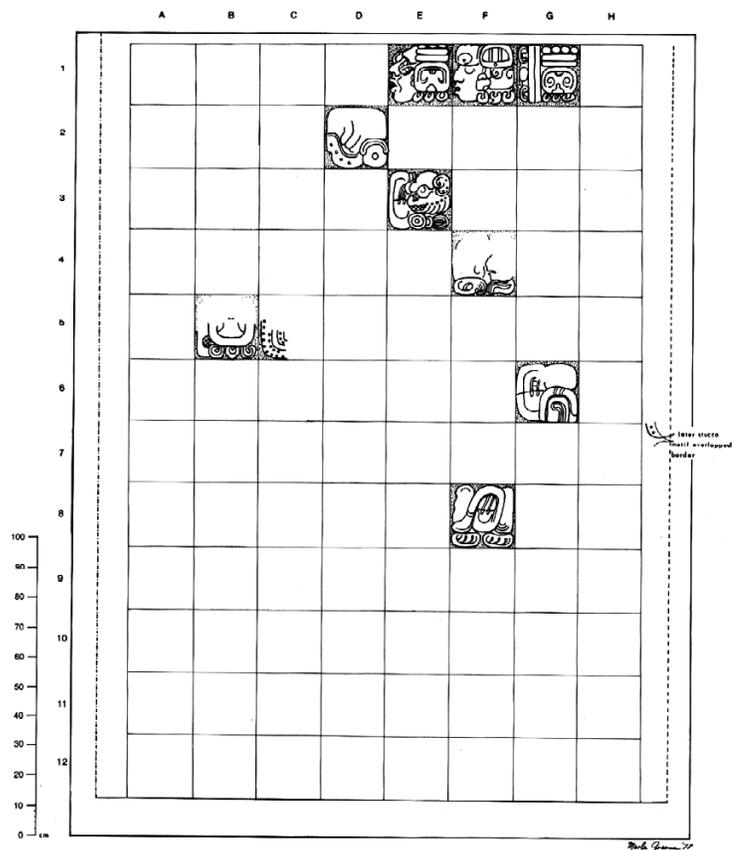


Figure 1. Temple of the Inscriptions, Pier A (drawing by Merle Greene Robertson [1983:Figure 18]).

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clear that it was this son of Pakal who oversaw the final decoration of the Temple of the Inscriptions, and if glyph G6 is indeed a death glyph then we can say that the history that Kan Bahlam recorded on Piers A and F was split between events in the reign of his father, including military victories (on Pier A), and events from his own reign (on Pier F).

It is worth noting that glyph I2 on Pier F gives K'inich Kan Bahlam II the title of tenth king of Palenque. We know of at least twelve named kings of Palenque who preceded him on the throne, and so K'inich Kan Bahlam II's title can only mean that at least three Palenque kings were not included in the list of official kings. Most interestingly, nine Palenque kings are named in the history of the Temple of the Inscriptions texts while ten are named in the Temple of the Cross text. Both include K'inich Kan Bahlam and his father, K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great, and overlap in providing historical information on four other kings. It appears that between the commissioning of the Temple of the Inscriptions and the Temple of the Cross three kings, namely Lady Yohl Ik'nal, Aj Ne Yohl Mat<sup>2</sup> and Muwaan Mat, were dropped from the list of official kings. This interesting case of historical revisionism is too complex to be discussed here in the present work, and an examination of this is currently under preparation by the author. It can be noted here, however, that this rewriting of history by K'inich Kan Bahlam suggests that at least the earlier portions of the Temple of the Inscription main text were designed by K'inich Janaab Pakal I and/or his scribes, as they include these kings later dropped from the official history of the Temple of the Cross. This would provide further evidence that Pakal died during the construction of his mortuary pyramid.

Above the piers and beneath the eaves of the Temple itself was originally placed a long, horizontal hieroglyphic text (Figure 3). When the wooden lintels above the doorways rotted away they took with them the glyphs they bore. Peter Mathews (1993) made the first study of the remaining hieroglyphs and noted that the inscription originally comprised 44 glyphs, of which only six remained in place. These included glyphs C and X of the Secondary Series for the opening Initial Series date (at positions 10 and 11), as well as a Calendar Round date of 1 Ik 10 Tzec (positions 17 and 18) and a Distance Number of 12 tuns, 3 uinals, and 0 kins (at positions 26 and 27). Mathews realized that the Calendar Round was an 819-day position, which corresponds to 9.12.16.2.2 in the Long Count calendar and 18 May 688 in our own western calendar<sup>3</sup>. Given the mechanism of the 819 day count, Mathews noted that this restricted the Initial Series date to the period between 9.12.16.2.3 and 9.12.18.7.0. This range can further be refined, as a number of glyphs from this text were removed by early Spanish

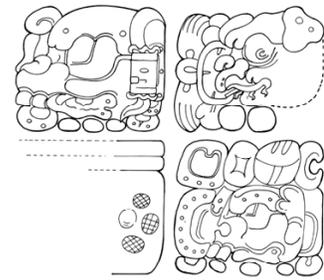


Figure 2. Glyphs I1-J2 of Pier F (drawing by Merle Greene Robertson [1983:Figure 92]).

<sup>2</sup> The transcription of the first part of this king's name is problematic as it is unclear what word is being cued by the syllabic spelling **AJ-ne**. In this paper I transcribe the name as *Aj Ne* although it is quite possible that the name was originally *Ajen* or *Aj Nen* or *Aj Ne'* or even something else quite different.

<sup>3</sup> All western dates are in the Gregorian calendar according to the 585283 GMT correlation.

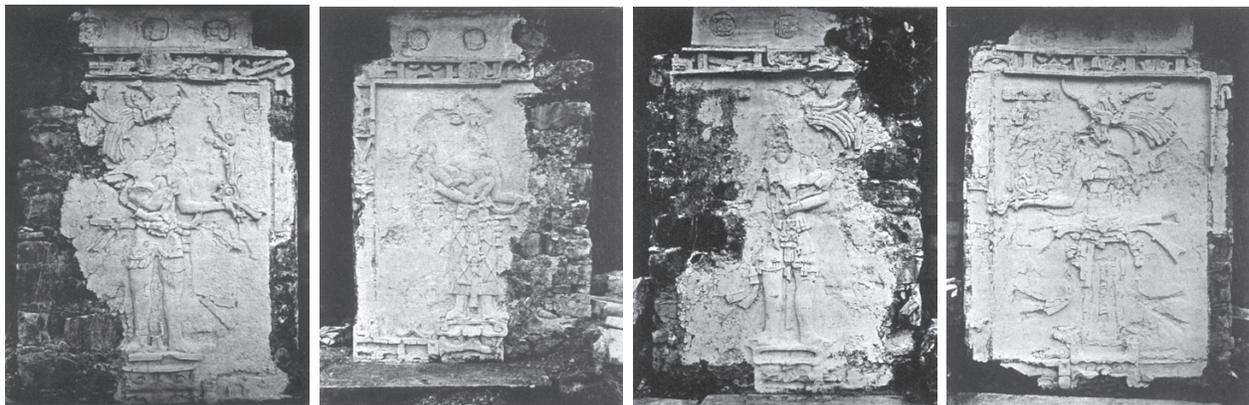


Figure 3. Maudslay's photographs of Piers B-E of the Temple of the Inscriptions, showing the remains of the glyphic cartouches at the top of each pier (after Maudslay 1889-1902:Plates 52-53).

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explorers and found their way to a museum in Madrid. These include the Initial Series Introductory Glyph which features the patron of the month Pax. This means that the Initial Series date has to fall within the twenty day period of the month of Pax, within the seventeenth tun of the tenth baktun. The Initial Series date in the eaves text of the Temple of the Inscriptions is thus a date between 9.12.16.13.12, 3 Eb 0 Pax (14 December 688) and 9.12.16.13.12, 10 Eb 20 Pax (3 January 689)<sup>4</sup>.

It is possible to reveal a second date in the eaves text as the Distance Number (DN) of 12.3.0 must lead back from the IS date.<sup>5</sup> Given the imprecision in the IS date, this earlier date falls between 9.12.4.9.12, 4 Eb 0 Pax (17 December 676) and 9.12.4.10.12, 11 Eb 20 Pax (6 January 677). It can readily be seen that the Calendar Rounds of the two dates are almost identical, the earlier differing only in having a tzolkin coefficient one larger than the later date. This is not likely to be coincidental and raises the question of what events occurred on these dates. Sadly, no glyphs survive to indicate what these events were. However, given the topical matter covered in other eaves texts at Palenque and the fact that the IS date falls a good five years after all other dates in the Temple of the Inscriptions, it is most likely that the IS date is when the final dedication of the temple took place. Schele and Mathews (1998:100) interpreted the two dates as two stages in the construction of the temple, the earlier marking the initiation of construction and the later date marking the final dedication. If true, this would indicate that it took a period of almost exactly twelve years to carry out the construction of the Temple of the Inscriptions. While the lack of most of the glyphs in the eaves text on the temple precludes certainty in this interpretation, it is an eminently reasonable theory and makes perfect sense of the available evidence.

If true, it also tells us that K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great initiated construction on his mortuary pyramid at the age of 73, only a year before he would supersede K'an Joy Chitam I as the longest living king of Palenque. Ten years earlier he had already become the longest reigning ruler of his kingdom, and in the subsequent ten years it appears that he completed the construction of his new palace. In 672, only five years earlier, his wife Lady Tz'akbu Ajaw, had died. In 675 occurred the last event that would be recorded on the Inscriptions tablets prior to Pakal's own death, and this was an apparently war-related arrival (see below). With other major building projects completed and his kingdom secure and prosperous, by 677 Pakal's thoughts must have started focusing on his own mortality. The decision to design and begin construction of his own funerary pyramid, quite remarkable in the ancient Maya world, would have taken advantage of a highly skilled and experienced work force in Palenque and arguably the greatest group of architects ever seen in ancient America.

While a groundbreaking on the Temple of the Inscriptions project in late 677/early 678 would have been perfect timing for the construction crews, time was running out for the king. K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great died in August of 683, and if the above interpretation of the eaves dates of the Temple of the Inscriptions is correct, this was five and a half years into the construction process, approximately halfway through. Pakal's son and successor, K'inich Kan Bahlam II, would spend another five years finishing the construction and decoration of the temple. While there is some evidence for haste in the final carving of the sarcophagus deep within the temple (Robertson 1983:63) no such evidence can be seen in the exterior decoration. For reasons that cannot now be determined, it appears that Kan Bahlam had the tomb decoration hurriedly finished following the death of his father before sealing the tomb and then, at a much less frantic pace, finished the rest of the decoration of the temple.

The only decoration carried out within the temple rooms consisted of the carving of the hieroglyphic tablets that provide the name for this temple. The rest of the decoration took place on the roof and piers of the structure. Six piers frame the five frontal openings into the Temple of the Inscriptions that provide access to the structure from the north (Figure 4). The inner four piers depict standing figures, all facing the central doorway of the temple (Figure 5). Each one stands atop a monster

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<sup>4</sup> This discovery was made in conjunction with Marc Zender. In addition, Linda Schele and Peter Mathews' work on this date (Schele and Mathews 1998) must be acknowledged. Unaware of the Madrid glyphs, they nevertheless recognized the importance of the date in relation to the construction history of the Temple of the Inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> Although there are no remaining glyphs in this text that prove this DN leads back in time, it is a reasonable assumption, for if the DN led forward in time the new date reached would fall in the year 700, long after the work on the Temple of the Inscriptions should have been completed.

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mask depicting supernatural locations. Each figure is portrayed holding an infant that is characterized by having one foot terminate in a serpent. This is none other than *Unen K'awiil*, 'Baby K'awiil,' better known as GII, the youngest of the Palenque Triad of gods.

While these babies have been interpreted as images of K'inich Kan Bahlam II (Robertson 1983:37, Schele and Freidel 1990:236), it is far more likely that these babies portray none other than K'inich Janaab Pakal himself, for on the sarcophagus lid in the tomb below, this king is shown in the same 'infant' pose, and with the smoking axe of K'awiil piercing his forehead. It would appear that in death Pakal was reborn as one of Palenque's patron gods. This identification is further supported by the fact that the famous 'psychoduct' that leads from Pakal's sarcophagus ascends the internal staircase and crosses the floor of the temple before terminating directly in front of Pier C (Robertson 1983:35). The psychoduct provided access for a vision serpent to ferry Pakal's spirit from his tomb to the temple above, and such a vision serpent grows from the foot of the *Unen K'awiil* being held on the piers. The *Unen K'awiil* within the tomb (Pakal portrayed atop his sarcophagus lid) is the same *Unen K'awiil* seen on the piers. The nobles walking into the temple would thus have seen their beloved king being born into the otherworld as their own patron god, *Unen K'awiil*.

Holding the infant *Unen K'awiil*/Pakal are four adult figures. No glyphs survive to name them, but the outer two have name elements in their headdresses that Linda Schele and Peter Mathews read as the names Kan Bahlam and K'uk' Bahlam (Figure 5). K'uk' Bahlam, of course, is the founder of Palenque's Classic Period dynasty. Schele and Mathews considered the Kan Bahlam image (Figure 6) as a depiction of the earlier king of that name, who ruled in the late sixth century.

However, it is also possible that this was an image of Pakal's son, considering that he oversaw these decorations. A single glyph survives in the name and title string of the Kan Bahlam king and this reads *balu'n chan*, "nine/many snakes" (Figure 6). Unfortunately, this is an otherwise unattested name or title and does not aid in revealing the identity of the portrayed lord. Erosion obscures the identities of the figures on the central piers, although enough remains to show that they were dressed as male and female, and quite possibly portrayed Pakal's parents, Lady Sak K'uk' and K'an Mo' Hiix. The male figure on Pier D carries the Palenque Emblem Glyph, and while K'an Mo' Hiix was never an actual

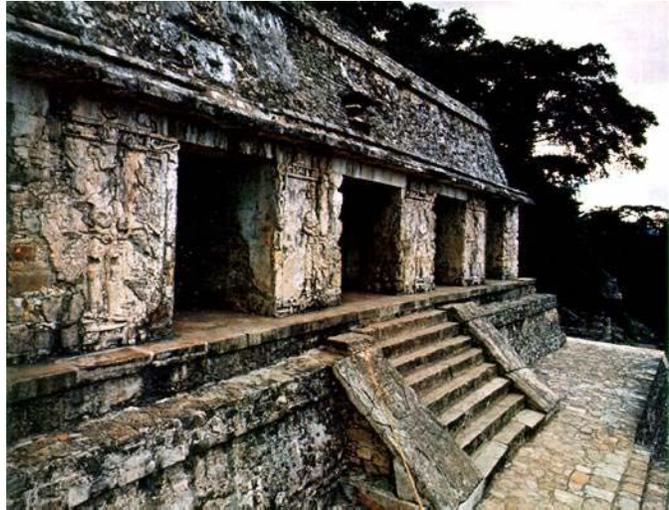


Figure 4. Sculptured stucco piers framing the openings to the Temple of the Inscriptions (photo by Merle Greene Robertson [1983:Figure 7]).

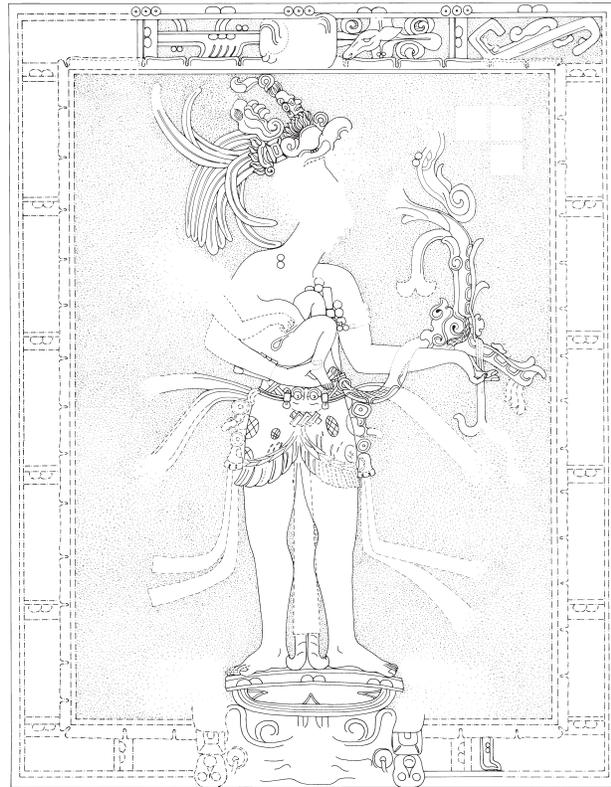


Figure 5. Stucco portrait, possibly of K'uk' Bahlam I, from Pier B of the Temple of the Inscriptions (drawing by Merle Greene Robertson [1983:Figure 21]).

king of Palenque he is given a full Emblem Glyph on the Sarcophagus. All four figures on the piers stand atop zoomorphic glyphs referring to supernatural locations and objects such as the Quadripartite Badge (Pier E), the Seven Black-Yellow Place (Pier D), and blood (Pier C).

Flanking the stairs that led up into the temple atop the pyramid are two panels portraying human figures, thought to be captives, very similar to those of Houses A and C of the Palace.<sup>6</sup> These captives are distinctive for still having fancy headdresses, prominent pectorals and loincloths, and no clear evidence of rope around their limbs. They may, in fact, not be captives at all. In their arms they hold calendar glyphs, presumably tzolkin days. The day signs are completely eroded, but the coefficients remain: 6 on the left panel and 13 on the right. If these figures are indeed captives, the dates likely refer to those on which they were captured. If they are not captives, there is no telling what the dates are meant to signify.

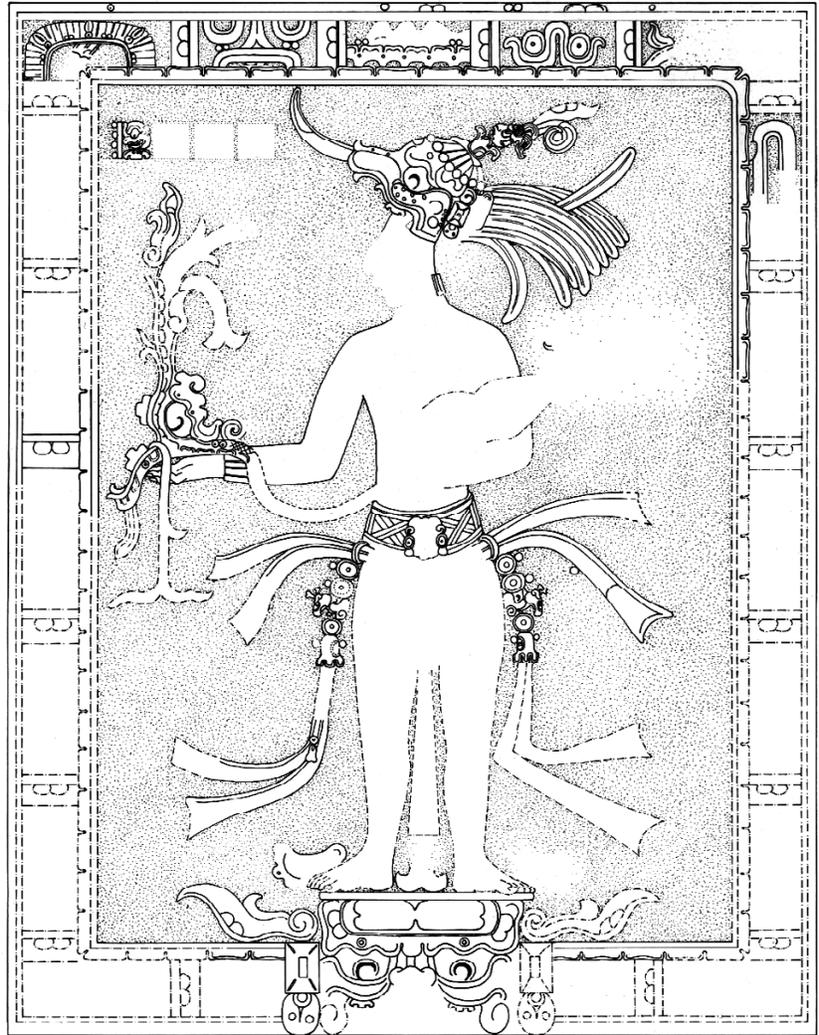


Figure 6. Stucco portrait, possibly of one of the kings named Kan Bahlam, from Pier E of the Temple of the Inscriptions (drawing by Merle Greene Robertson [1983:Figure 78]). Note *balu'n chan* glyph at upper left.

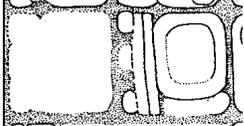
Merle Greene Robertson's laborious investigations of Palenque's stucco sculpture revealed that three basic colors were used to paint the stucco decoration on structural piers (Robertson 1983:51-53). These were red, blue/green, and yellow. Quetzal feathers and jade jewelry were painted blue/green while the flesh of the figures, other elements of costume, and the background were painted in various shades of red and yellow. The hieroglyphic panels of Piers A and F, however, had a specific color scheme. As on all of the piers, the background was painted red. The hieroglyphs were made separately and painted blue/green before being pressed into the fresh and still soft stucco backgrounds. The stucco decoration on the roof would have likely followed a similar pattern, and the temple must have been a sight to behold for the roughly one hundred years it was in use by Pakal's descendants.

<sup>6</sup> Schele and Mathews (1998: 101) first identified these figures on the Inscriptions balustrades as captives, in comparison to similar carvings from the Palace.

## The East Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions

The East Inscriptions Tablet contains a 'Katun History' for Palenque, from Katun 13 Ahau of 9.4.0.0 to the first to be celebrated by K'inich Janaab Pakal I, Katun 1 Ahau of 9.10.0.0. These seven katuns, or almost 140 years, saw momentous changes in the Baakel, or 'Bone,' kingdom, including the move of its capital from its Early Classic home at Tok Tahn to its later home at Lakam Ha' (whose center included the land on which the Temple of the Inscriptions was built), and its subsequent sack at the hands of Palenque's arch-enemy, the Kanal, or 'Snake,' kingdom of Dzibanché/Calakmul. The highlight of the East Tablet is this war event, likely because it was this event and the associated deaths of many prominent members of the ruling family that ultimately allowed K'inich Janaab Pakal I to take the throne of Palenque.

Unfortunately, a number of the stones used in this tablet were of poorer quality, and as a result a sizeable proportion of the glyphs on the East Tablet have been eroded beyond recognition. This makes a reading and interpretation rather difficult. Nevertheless, due to repeated patterns in the arrangement of the text, many completely abraded sections can be reconstructed, if sometimes only in part.

		Passage 1	
		A	B
1		A1-B2: ??? <sup>7</sup>	???
2			
3		A3: 9-PIK <sup>8</sup> B3: 4-WINIKHAAB <sup>10</sup>	<i>balu'n<sup>9</sup> pik</i> <i>chan winik haab</i>
4		A4: mi-HAAB B4: mi-WINIK	<i>mi(h) haab</i> <i>mi(h) winik</i>
5		A5: (mi-K'IN-ni?) B5: 13-AJAW	<i>(mih k'in)</i> <i>uxlaju'n ajaw</i>

<sup>7</sup> The Initial Series Introductory Glyph is often translated as *tzik haab*, 'count (of the) year,' due to the presence of a super-fixed **tzi** sign, postfixed **HAAB** glyph, and bracketing **ka** signs. However, the **ka** signs are arranged on either side of the glyph in a manner that suggests that they are not to be read syllabically. Furthermore, the earliest forms of this glyph completely lack any **ka** signs whatsoever. Given that this same sign, complete with the apparent **tzi** sign, appears in Epi-Olmec texts, which almost certainly were not written in any Mayan language, it is likely that the composition of the sign does not give a clue as to its actual reading in the Classic Mayan language. As such, it is the opinion of the author that the Initial Series Introductory Glyph remains undeciphered.

<sup>8</sup> While a **hi**-knot is regularly attached to the **pi** sign in this glyph for 'Baktun,' suggesting a **pi-hi** *pilh* reading, substitution patterns elsewhere imply that these two signs are fused into a single logogram for **PIK** (Nikolai Grube, Simon Martin, and Marc Zender, presentation at the 2002 Maya Meetings at Austin).

<sup>9</sup> While the number nine is normally transcribed as *bolon*, the form in Yukatek, Marc Zender (personal communication 2001) has noted that during the Classic period this would more likely have read *balan* or *balu'n*, following the Ch'olan language on which the Classic inscriptions were based.

<sup>10</sup> While later in Palenque's history the year sign appears to have been read as **TUUN**, the evidence from the Temple of the Inscriptions suggests that it was still being read as **HAAB** at the end of the seventh century.

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	A	B		
6			A6: (1)8(-YAX-SIHO'M?) B6: ???	<i>waxaklaju'n yax</i> <sup>11</sup> ???
7			A7: ya-k'a-wa B7: u-(PIK)	<i>yak'aw</i> <i>u pik</i>
8			A8: u-K'UH-li B8: ?[CHAAHK <sup>12</sup> ]	<i>u k'uhuul</i> <i>...m Chaahk ('GI')</i>
9			A9: ne-UNENK'AWIIL B9: K'INICH-'GIII' <sup>13</sup> ?	<i>Unen K'awiil ('GII')</i> <i>K'inich ? ('GIII')</i>
10			A10: 3-10-WINIK-ji-ya B10: 13-HAAB-ya(?)	<i>ux (heew) laju'n winikjiiy</i> <i>uxlaju'n haabiyy</i>
11			A11: CHUM[mu]-ni-wa-ya B11: ta-HU'N-na	<i>chumwaniiy</i> <i>ta hu'n</i>
12			A12: a-ku-la B12: MO'-na-bi	<i>Ahku'l</i> <i>Mo' Naahb</i>
	C			
1			C1: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-la	<i>K'uh(ul) Baakel Ajaw</i>

Drawings of the Inscriptions tablets by  
Linda Schele courtesy of David Schele.

<sup>11</sup> The so-called "Color Months" (Yax, Zac, Ch'en and Ceh) have very similar hieroglyphs, consisting of the glyphs for the colors (Yax = blue; Zac = white; Ch'en = black; Ceh = red) atop a 'cauac' sign with a final three-dot sign that in some instances reads **ma**. This composition is thought to read *siho'm*. However, Late Classic eighth century texts from Naj Tunich cave indicate that at least at that time in the southeast Peten this "*siho'm*" part of the name of these months was not pronounced. It is unclear what the practice was in seventh century Palenque, but here I follow the Naj Tunich system and transcribe the Color Month names with an unpronounced "*siho'm*" part.

<sup>12</sup> The Creation Tablet from Palenque's Palace, provides the only instance in which the name of GI of the Palenque Triad is separated into two parts. The first is the head of GI itself, including his heron headdress but minus the shell earflare of the rain god Chaahk. The second glyph is the full head of Chaahk, indicating that the full reading of GI's name is GI-Chaahk. The actual name of GI is still undeciphered, although a number of spellings from Copan and other sites indicate it ended with an *-m* sound.

<sup>13</sup> The name of GIII of the Palenque Triad has long proven difficult to decipher, seeing as there are very few phonetic complements or alternative spellings. While the first sign is clearly **K'INICH**, the latter two signs are more problematic. The first is a youth's head with a dot in his cheek and the hairstyle of the Maize God, inside a circle. That this circle is just decorative can be seen from Yaxchilan Lintel 23, where in this same name, the circle is completely missing. This youth's head normally reads **XIB**, or 'youth.' Whether it reads the same in this god's name is unclear.

The final glyph in the name is a woven shield, which, from its use in, among other contexts, the name of *K'ak'upakal* at Chichen Itza (on the Caracol Stela), likely reads **PAKAL**. However, the name of GIII often has a final **-wa** syllable that is inexplicable with a **PAKAL** reading. A clue to the actual reading of GIII's name may come from the Central Inscriptions Tablet, where the name of *K'inich Ajaw* is substituted. This is the only substitution in the names of any of the gods in the Inscriptions text, and could suggest that *K'inich Ajaw* may be the reading for this glyph. This would explain the optional **K'INICH** prefix and the final **-wa** complement. However, it seems more likely that *K'inich Ajaw* is simply an alternate name for GIII and that his "GIII name" was something slightly different that remains undeciphered.

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**Literal Translation:** “the patron of the month Yax was in place; 9 baktuns; 4 katuns; 0 tuns; 0 uinals; 0 kins; 13 Ahau; 18 Yax; (Period Ending); he gave; the clothing; the gods; GI; GII; GIII; 3 kins; 10 uinals; 13 years after; he was seated; with the headband; Ahku'1; Mo' Naahb; Divine Bone Lord”

**Free Translation:** “On 9.4.0.0.0, 13 Ahau 18 Yax (AD 514), Ahku'1 Mo' Naahb I, King of Palenque, gave vestments to the Palenque Triad of GI, GII, and GIII, thirteen years, ten months, and three days after he had acceded.”

**Discussion:** While a number of glyphs of this first passage are badly eroded, the majority are in fair to good condition and their information can be recovered. This passage is typical of most on the East Inscriptions Tablet, where a Period Ending event is connected to the accession date of the king who celebrated it. In this case, the king is Ahku'1 Mo' Naahb I. Curiously, this long text does not begin with the dynastic founder, U Kokan Chan,<sup>14</sup> as does the history of K'inich Kan Bahlam II on the Tablet of the Cross, or even with the 'historical' founder, K'uk' Bahlam I. Ahku'1 Mo' Naahb I was a very important king of early Palenque, and he is the earliest king who is portrayed, and whose death is mentioned, on the Sarcophagus, deep below inside the Temple of the Inscriptions. It may be relevant that the Lakam Ha' area of Palenque, where the Temple of the Inscriptions, Palace, and Group of the Cross are all located, was not 'dedicated' until 490, according to the Tablet of the Warriors, from Temple XVII (Figure 7). While Ahku'1 Mo' Naahb I was not the officiating ruler, according to the same text he was present, suggesting that this lord had an important role in moving the royal court from its previous home, at Tok Tahn, to Lakam Ha'.<sup>15</sup> Whatever the case, Palenque's scribes decided to begin their history with Ahku'1 Mo' Naahb I.

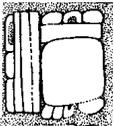
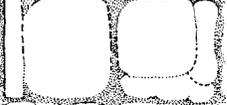
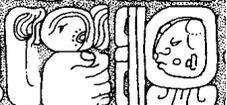
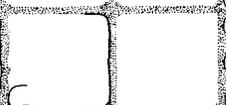
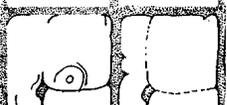
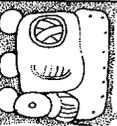
One of the most common patterns discernible in this text is the giving of the vestments (*pik*) to the gods by the supervising ruler on the occasion of the Period Ending. While the East Tablet does not elaborate on what type of clothing and costume was involved, the Central Tablet explains this in some depth.

<sup>14</sup> While the 'thorn' in this name is normally read as K'IX, Marc Zender (personal communication 2001) and Albert Davletshin (2003) have recently suggested KOKAN, a word for 'fish spine' in Yukatek, as the glyph is occasionally complemented by -na (e.g., Palenque Tablet of the 96 Glyphs). While K'uk' Bahlam (ruled 431-435) appears to have been the founder of the Classic dynasty of Palenque, it is clear from a number of references in the Cross Group that U Kokan Chan was conceived of as the nominal 'founder' of the dynasty and first king of the Baakel Kingdom.

<sup>15</sup> The 9.3.0.0.0, 2 Ahau Period Ending (PE) of 495 would have been the first PE after the dedication of Lakam Ha'. While this would have logically been the first PE to be celebrated at Lakam Ha', it is surely relevant that on the Tablet of the Cross a preaccession rite for K'an Joy Chitam I, which occurred on 9.3.1.15.0, 12 Ahau 8 Ceh, is said specifically to have taken place at Tok Tahn, the old capital. This suggests that the move of Palenque's royal court to Lakam Ha' did not immediately follow the new site's dedication, but was a protracted process. 9.4.0.0.0, 13 Ahau 18 Yax may well have been the first major Katun Ending celebrated at Lakam Ha', and could have been the reason why this date begins the history of the Temple of the Inscriptions.



**Figure 7.** The Tablet of the Warriors from Temple XVII (rubbing by Merle Greene Robertson).

		Passage 2	
	C      D		
1		D1: 16-7-(WINIK)-ji-ya	<i>waklaju'n (heew) huk winikjiiy</i>
2		C2: 5-(HAAB-ya) D2: (CHUM-ni-wa-ya)	<i>ho' haabiiy chumwaniiy</i>
3		C3: (ta-HU'N-na) D3: ...	<i>ta hu'n (K'an Joy Chitam)</i>
4		C4: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-wa D4: ???	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw ???</i>
5		C5: u-TUUN-ni-K'AL D5: 11-AJAW	<i>u k'al tuun buluch ajaw</i>
6		C6: 18-(ka-se-wa) D6: u-5-WINIKHAAB	<i>waxaklaju'n kase'w u ho' winikhaab</i>
7		C7: ??? D7: ???	<i>???</i>
8		C8: ??? D8: ???	<i>???</i>
9		C9: ??? D9: ???	<i>???</i>
10		C10: ??? D10: ya-(k'a-wa)	<i>???</i>
11		C11: u-PIK D11: ?[CHAAHK]	<i>u pik ...m Chaahk ('GI')</i>
12		C12: (ne)-K'AWIIL-la D12: K'INICH-?	<i>Unen K'awiil ('GII')</i> <i>K'inich ? ('GIII')</i>
	E		
1		E1: 3-?-ti-K'UH	<i>ux ...t K'uh</i>

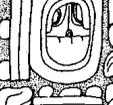
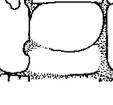
**Literal Translation:** "16 (kins), 7 uinals; 5 tuns after; he was seated; with the headband; K'an Joy

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

Chitam; Divine Bone Lord; ?; his stone presentation/ placement?<sup>16</sup>; 11 Ahau; 18 Tzec; the fifth katun; ?; ?; ?; ?; ?; he gives; the clothing of; GI-Chaahk; Unen K'awiil; GIII; the "Triad" Gods"

**Free Translation:** "Five years, seven months, and sixteen days after K'an Joy Chitam, King of Palenque, had acceded, he placed a stone on 11 Ahau 18 Tzec, the fifth katun. ... he gave vestments to GI-Chaahk, Unen K'awiil, and GIII, the Palenque Triad."

**Discussion:** The king to succeed Ahku'l Mo' Naahb I was K'an Joy Chitam I, one of the longest lived, and longest ruling, kings in Palenque's history. Unfortunately, this part of the inscription is the most badly eroded, and many details of the text are now unrecoverable. Thus, it is hard to be certain where this passage ends and the next begins, and the ending point chosen here is rather arbitrary. There is certainly continuity with the next passage, as both deal with the reign of K'an Joy Chitam I.

	E	F	Passage 3
1			F1: ??? ???
2			E2: ??? F2: ??? ???
3			E3: ??? F3: ??? ???
4			E4: ?-?-? F4: 9-(AJAW) ???
5			E5: 3?-HAAB F5: i?-HAAB?-? ux ? haab i ...
6			E6: CHAAHK F6: 13-AK'AB Chaahk uxlaju'n ak'ab
7			E7: 16-o-O'HL-la F7: u-17-?-? waklaju'n o'hl u huklaju'n ...

**Literal Translation:** "?; ?; ?; ?; ?; ?; 9 Ahau; 3 Uayeb; and then he acceded?; Chaahk; (on) 13 Akbal; 16 Cumku"

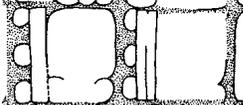
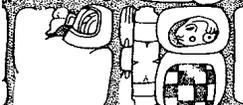
**Free Translation:** "... (two years and seventeen days before) 9 Ahau 3 Uayeb (9.6.0.0.0), on 13 Akbal 16 Cumku (9.5.17.17.3), Chaahk (the rain god) acceded."

<sup>16</sup> The 'Flat-Hand' verb has long proven one of the most difficult of all glyphs to decipher. However, apparent phonetic substitutions and complements suggest a reading of K'AL for the hand. K'al is an attested verb meaning "to tie" or "to bind," but also "to support." However, iconographic depictions of this verb in action regularly show an object being held in the hand, apparently in the act of presentation, and certain verbal affixes this verb takes indicate its use as a positional verb. In addition, this same verb is used in accession and heir designation statements, and to describe the motion of Venus. On Quirigua Stela C, this verb substitutes with the tz'ap "to plant" verb in reference to the placement of the Three Hearthstones of Creation. Considering it most likely that all uses of this verb cue the same verbal root, a not unlikely proposition, a general interpretation of "to present/to place" seems plausible. That said, such a reading cannot as yet be verified linguistically.

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**Discussion:** Passage 3 is one of the more difficult to understand, if for no other reason than that half of the glyphs are completely eroded beyond any legibility. It is far from certain that the beginning of this section of text does not contain the last parts of Passage 2. The final section is somewhat more clear, and can be understood in part. The 9 Ahau Katun Ending of 554 is clearly the anchor date, but the actual event here takes place on 13 Akbal 16 Cumku, two years before this Period Ending. The event is unclear but involves the rain god Chaahk, and in comparison with similar phrases seen elsewhere on the Inscriptions Tablets, can be interpreted as his accession.

The accession of gods to rule over a certain time period is a poorly known but common feature of Postclassic and Colonial Maya histories, such as is seen in the Paris Codex and the books of Chilam Balam. As we shall see, the scribes who designed the Inscriptions Tablets composed their history of Palenque's kingdom by associating the various Period Endings with the kings and gods who ruled at those times, and who were involved with the various ceremonies to initiate and terminate those periods. It is not clear if each city would have had its own gods for these periods, or if the Maya as a whole recognized certain 'gods of time' in common. However, it can be said that none of the gods listed at Palenque, or at other cities such as Copan, where this phenomenon is also in evidence, were local patron gods. Instead, they are from the general pantheon, such as Chaahk the rain god, as seen here, or the maize god, or various poorly understood deities who appear to have been associated with astronomical features, as will be seen below.

		Passage 4	
E	F		
8		E8: 8-(AJAW) F8: 13-(PAAX <sup>17</sup> )	<i>waxak ajaw</i> <i>uxlaju'n paax</i>
9		E9: ??? F9: ?[CHAAHK]	??? <i>...m Chaahk ('GI')</i>
10		E10: ne-UNENK'AWIIL F10: K'INICH-?	<i>Unen K'awiil ('GII')</i> <i>K'inich ? ('GIII')</i>
11		E11: ya-k'a-wa F11: u-PIK?	<i>yak'aw</i> <i>u pik?</i>
12		E12: ?-chi?-? F12: ?-SUUTZ'	??? <i>... Suutz'</i>
	G	H	
1		G1: ??? H1: ???	??? ???
2		G2: ??? H2: ???	??? ???
3		G3: ??? H3: ???	??? ???
4		G4: ???	???

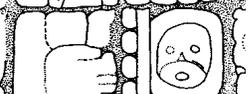
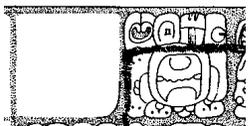
<sup>17</sup> For this reading see Martin (2004:5).

The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Literal Translation:** "8 Ahau; 13 Pax; ?; GI-Chaahk; Unen K'awiil; GIII; he gave; the clothing?; ?; ? Suutz'; ?; ?; ?; ?; ?; ?;"

**Free Translation:** "(On) 8 Ahau 13 Pax (9.6.10.0.0), something happened with the Palenque Triad. He (K'an Joy Chitam) gave clothing? to ... 'Bat'..."

**Discussion:** Passage 4 is also badly eroded in parts. The date appears to be 9.6.10.0.0, 8 Ajaw 13 Pax, the last Period Ending for K'an Joy Chitam, who was 73 years old at the time, and only a year away from his death. There are at least two events in this passage. The first is completely eroded away, but involved the Palenque Triad. The second was a 'giving' event. However, while all the other giving events on the tablet involve the Palenque Triad gods, this one is somewhat peculiar, and includes a being named *Suutz'*, or "Bat." This may be a poorly known patron god, and it can be pointed out that on Tortuguero Monument 6 a patron god of that site, also part of the Baakel Kingdom, was *Yax Suutz'*, or "Blue-Green Bat."

		Passage 5	
G	H		
4		H4: 19-(he-wa)	<i>balunlaju'n heew</i>
5		G5: 12-WINIK-ji-ya H5: 1-HAAB-ya	<i>lajchan winikjiy ju'n haabiyy</i>
6		G6: CHUM[mu]-ni-wa-ya H6: ta-HU'N-na	<i>chumwaniiy ta hu'n</i>
7		G7: ??-li? H7: u-MAM-ma	<i>??? u mam</i>
8		G8: u-TUUN-ni-K'AL H8: 9-AJAW	<i>u k'al tuun balu'n ajaw</i>
9		G9: 18-MUWAAN H9: 13-(TUUN)	<i>waxaklaju'n muwaan uxlaju'n tuun</i>
10		G10: ??-?-? H10: K'AHK'(?)-?-?	<i>??? k'ahk'(?) ...</i>
11		G11: ??? H11: ???	<i>??? ???</i>
12		G12: ??? H12: (a-ku-la ?)	<i>??? (Ahku'l)</i>
I	J		
1		I1: (MO'-na-bi ?) J1: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-wa-la	<i>(Mo' Naahb) K'uh(ul) Baakel Ajaw</i>

The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Literal Translation:** "19 kins; 12 uinals; 1 tun after; he was seated; with the headband; ?; his grandfather; his stone presentation/ placement?; 9 Ahau; 18 Muan; 13 tun; ?; ?; ?; ?; ?; (Ahku'l; Mo' Naahb); Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "One year, twelve months, and nineteen days after (Ahku'l Mo' Naahb II) acceded, he set a stone on 9 Ahau 18 Muan, the thirteen tun Period Ending."

**Discussion:** K'an Joy Chitam I was succeeded by Ahku'l Mo' Naahb II, who is here first referred to by another name, which many have taken to be his child name. However, as the second part of this alternate name is "his grandfather," it may be simply that the scribes were trying to make clear the relationship and differentiate between the two Ahku'l Mo' Naahb rulers. While the later rulers of Palenque would all reuse old royal names from great figures of the past, at the time that these tablets were carved only Ahku'l Mo' Naahb II fit into this category. The glyphs seen here may, in fact, be variants on the *yet k'abaal*, "the namesake of," expression seen elsewhere in the Maya corpus.

Due to the long reign of his predecessor (and probable father), Ahku'l Mo' Naahb II ruled only five years. As he never celebrated a Katun Ending in his short reign, the scribes here recorded his celebration of the 13 Tun Period Ending.

	I	J		Passage 6
2			I2: 8-12-(WINIK)-ji-ya J2: 1-HAAB-ya	<i>waxak (heew) lajchan winikjiiy ju'n haabiyy</i>
3			I3: (CHUM-wa-ni-ya) J3: ta-HU'N-na	<i>chumwaniiy ta hu'n</i>
4			I4: (BAHLAM[KAN]-ma) J4: (K'UH)-AJAW-BAAK-la	<i>Kan Bahlam K'uh(ul) Baakel Ajaw</i>
5			I5: (u-TUUN-ni-K'AL) J5: 7-AJAW	<i>u k'al tuun huk ajaw</i>
6			I6: 3-UN-wa J6: ya-k'a-wa	<i>ux uni'w yak'aw</i>
7			I7: u-PIK J7: u-K'UH-li	<i>u pik u k'uhuul</i>
8			I8: (CHUM[mu])-ni-wa-ya J8: (ta)-AJAW-le-wa	<i>chumwaniiy ta ajawle(l)</i>
9			I9: NAL-? J9: (u)-K'UH-li	<i>...nal u k'uhuul</i>

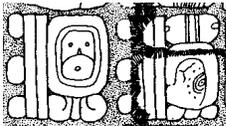
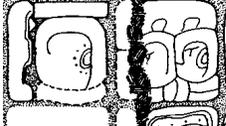
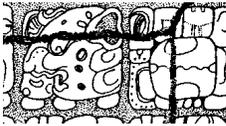
**Literal Translation:** "8 (days), 12 uinals; 1 tun; after he was seated; with the headband; (Kan Bahlam); Divine Bone Lord; his stone presentation/ placement; 7 Ahau; 3 Kankin; he gave; the vestments of; his gods; was seated; in rulership; ...nal; his god"

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Free Translation:** "One year, twelve months, and eight days after Kan Bahlam, King of Palenque, acceded, he set a stone on (9.7.0.0.0) 7 Ahau, 3 Kankin and gave clothing to the gods. The god, ...*nal*, acceded as ruler."

**Discussion:** Following Ahku'l Mo' Naahb II as ruler of Palenque was Kan Bahlam I. Given that the Tablet of the Cross records Kan Bahlam's birth as having taken place less than two years after that of Ahku'l Mo' Naahb II, it is most likely that these two kings were siblings, as apparently were Butz'aj Sak Chi'k and Ahku'l Mo' Naahb I, and certainly K'inich Kan Bahlam II and K'inich K'an Joy Chitam II. The 9.7.0.0.0 Period Ending is also the first mentioned on the Sarcophagus text. Kan Bahlam I appears to have been a revered ancestral king of Palenque's Late Classic dynasty, although we know next to nothing about his reign.

Following the short Period Ending information we see the accession of another god, similar to that of Chaahk in Passage 4. Unfortunately, the deity's name here is eroded, but seems to consist of a zoomorphic head superfixed by the corn sign, NAL.

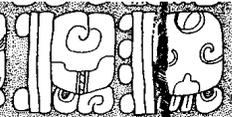
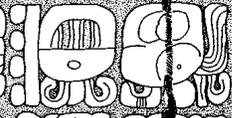
		Passage 7	
I	J		
10		I10: 13-AJAW J10: 18-CHAK-SIHO'M-ma	<i>uxlaju'n ajaw</i> <i>waxaklaju'n chak</i>
11		I11: u-5-TUUN-ni J11: u-PIK	<i>u ho' tuun</i> <i>u pik</i>
12		I12: ??? J12: ?-u-K'UH-li	??? <i>... u k'uhuul</i>
	K	L	
1		K1: ka-BAHLAM[KAN]-ma L1: K'AWIIL(?)-K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-wa-la	<i>Kan Bahlam</i> <i>K'uh(ul) Baakel Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "13 Ahau; 18 Sip; the fifth tun; ... the clothing?; ?; ... the gods of; Kan Bahlam; Idol(?); Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "13 Ahau 18 Sip, the fifth tun, Kan Bahlam I, King of Palenque, did ? for the gods."

**Discussion:** This short passage continues with a second Period Ending of Kan Bahlam I. Kan Bahlam I was a very important ruler, being only the second portrayed on the Sarcophagus, and his namesake's history on the Tablet of the Cross ends with his accession. It appears that K'inich Kan Bahlam II considered him to be the last 'legitimate' ruler before K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great, as he completely ignored the following three rulers in his own accounts. On the Sarcophagus, Kan Bahlam is the only one of the early rulers to be accorded the honorific title of *k'inich*. While Kan Bahlam I ruled only ten years, he was the last ruler prior to a series of devastating attacks from the east, and his reign may have been remembered as the last of the 'good old days.'

The first sign in the Emblem Glyph of Kan Bahlam here is somewhat curious, having a mirror with a suffix of *la*, suggesting *K'awiil*. Such a construction, though, would be most unusual, and may just be a graphic variant of *k'uhuul*, and not meant to be read separately. Alternatively, the eroded glyph may have been drawn with some erroneous details.

		Passage 8	
		K	L
2		K2: 12-he-wa L2: 14-WINIK-ji-ya	<i>lajchan heew chanlaju'n winikjiiy</i>
3		K3: 9-HAAB-ya L3: CHUM[mu]-wa-ni-ya	<i>balu'n haabiiy chumwaniiy</i>
4		K4: ta-HU'N-na L4: IX[O'HL]-NAL-IK'-la	<i>ta hu'n Ix (Y)o'hl Ik'nal</i>
5		K5: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK L5: u-TUUN-ni-K'AL	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw u k'al tuun</i>
6		K6: 5-AJAW L6: 3-IK'-SIHO'M-ma	<i>ho' ajaw ux ik'</i>
7		K7: ya-k'a-wa L7: u-PIK	<i>yak'aw u pik</i>
8		K8: u-K'UH-li L8: IX[O'HL]-NAL-IK'-la	<i>u k'uhuul Ix (Y)o'hl Ik'nal</i>
9		K9: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** “12 kins; 14 uinal; 9 tuns after; she was seated: with the headband; Lady Yo’hl Ik’nal; Divine Bone Lord; her stone presentation/placement; (on) 5 Ahau; 3 Ch’en; she gave; the clothing (to); her gods; Lady Yo’hl Ik’nal; Divine Bone Lord”

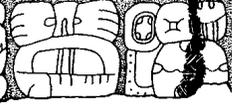
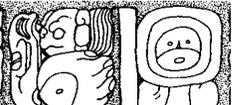
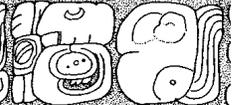
**Free Translation:** “Nine years, fourteen months, and twelve days after Lady Yo’hl Ik’nal, Ruling Queen of Palenque, was crowned, she set a stone on (9.8.0.0.0) 5 Ahau 3 Ch’en. Lady Yo’hl Ik’nal, Ruling Queen of Palenque, gave clothing to her gods.”

**Discussion:** Kan Bahlam I was succeeded by one of the few women to rule in her own right, Lady Yo’hl Ik’nal. As with Maria Theresa of Austria, her reign was characterized by invasions and attacks by foreign powers, perhaps drawn to test Palenque during a period of perceived weakness. A difficult passage on Palenque’s House C Stairway records an ‘axing’ of Lakam Ha’ that may have taken place in April of 599,<sup>18</sup> in the middle of Lady Yo’hl Ik’nal’s reign. Lintel 4 of Bonampak records the defeat of her armed forces four years later, and the K’an Tok Panel records her supervision of the accession into office of a vassal only months later at a site named Ki’us. This suggest that Lakam Ha’ may have been temporarily abandoned by the royal court in the wake of a series of attacks from the east.

<sup>18</sup> This date has long been problematic due to erosion and the unique ‘spelling’ of certain hieroglyphs. An alternative date for the event, placing the attack on Palenque in the year 654, briefly came back into vogue amongst epigraphers, but was ultimately dismissed in favor of 599 (see Skidmore [2007:44-48] for a discussion of the dating controversy).

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

While our picture of Lady Yo'hl Ik'nal's reign is characterized by military defeats, her memory was obviously held in great esteem by her probable grandson (or great-grandson), K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great. Apart from his own parents, she is the only person to be depicted twice on the Sarcophagus.

		Passage 9	
	K      L		
9		K9: 10-8-WINIK-ji-ya L9: 10-8-WINIK-ji-ya	<i>laju'n (heew) waxak winikjiy</i>
10		K10: 1-HAAB L10: CHUM[mu]-wa-ni-ya	<i>ju'n haab(iiy) chumwaniiy</i>
11		K11: ta-AJAW-le L11: AJ-ne-O'HL-la	<i>ta ajawle(l) Aj Ne (Y)o'hl</i>
12		K12: ma-ta L12: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>Mat K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>
	M      N		
1		M1: u-TUUN-ni-K'AL N1: 5-AJAW	<i>u k'al tuun ho' ajaw</i>
2		M2: 18-ka-se-wa N2: 13-TUUN-ni	<i>waxaklaju'n kase'w uxlaju'n tuun</i>
3		M3: ma-cha-ja N3: CHUM[mu]((TUUN))-ni	<i>machaj chumtuun</i>
4		M4: yi-li-a-ji N4: AJ-ne-O'HL-la	<i>yilaaj Aj Ne (Y)o'hl</i>
5		M5: ma-ta N5: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>Mat K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "10 (kins), 8 uinals; 1 tun; after he was seated; in kingship; Aj Ne Yo'hl; Mat; Divine Bone Lord; his stone presentation/ placement; 5 Ahau; 18 Tzec; 13 tun; not; a stone seating; he witnessed it; Aj Ne Yo'hl; Mat; Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "One year, eight months, and ten days after the accession of Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat, King of Palenque, he set the stone on (9.8.13.0.0) 5 Ahau 18 Tzec, the thirteen tun Period Ending. It was not a Period Ending? It was witnessed by Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat, King of Palenque."

**Discussion:** In the midst of these attacks from the east, Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat came to the throne of Palenque. His relationship to the other rulers at this time is unclear, and he has been variously described as the elder brother, uncle, or even great-uncle of K'inich Janaab Pakal I. Although this event, the 13 Tun Period Ending, is described as not being a 'stone seating,' Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat is said to have "presented"

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

a stone. The negative in this phrase may have something to do with the troubled times in which Palenque now found itself.

	M	N		Passage 10
6			M6: 14-he-wa N6: 6-WINIK-ji-ya	<i>chanlaju'n heew wak winikjiiy</i>
7			M7: 13-CHAN-AJAW N7: 18-ma-ka	<i>chan uxlaju'n ajaw waxaklaju'n mak</i>
8			M8: ch'a-ka-ja N8: LAKAM-HA'	<i>ch'akaj Lakam Ha'</i>
9			M9: 4-HIIX N9: 7-IK'-AT	<i>chan hiix huk ik'at</i>
10			M10: u-ji[KAB] N10: u-K'AY <sup>19</sup> ?-KAN	<i>u kabjiiy U K'ay? Kan</i>
11			M11: K'UH-ka-AJAW-KAN	<i>K'uh(ul) Kan(al) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** “14 kins; 6 uinals; after 13 Ahau; 18 Mac; was axed; Lakam Ha’; (on) 4 Ix; 7 Uo; it was governed by; U K’ay? Kan; Divine Snake Lord”

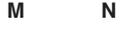
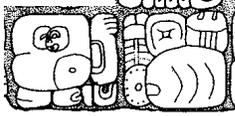
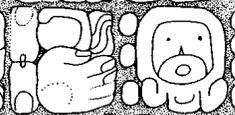
**Free Translation:** “Six months and fourteen days after 13 Ahau 18 Mac, Palenque was sacked on 4 Ix 7 Uo, under the supervision of U K’ay Kan, King of Dzibanche/Calakmul.”

**Discussion:** This event can be described as the central event of the East Inscriptions Tablet, and it is the only passage in which no Palenque lord is mentioned. U K’ay Kan (a.k.a. Scroll Serpent; the original Mayan name appears to mean “Song of the Snake”), one of the great Dzibanche/Calakmul<sup>20</sup> kings, sent his forces hundreds of miles to the west to subdue and devastate the Bone Kingdom of Palenque. The ultimate crown of thorns for Palenque’s royal family, two of the kingdom’s leading princes died in the following year, including the king, Aj Ne Yo’hl Mat. With the probable elimination of the male line, the stage was set for the accession of K’inich Janaab Pakal the Great.

Passage 10 is also notable for its recognition of the one-eighth katun Period Ending. 9.8.17.9.0, 13 Ahau 18 Mac is the first recorded Period Ending of this sort, which were especially prominent in the eighth century at Tonina, to the south of Palenque. Here the date is used as a ‘base date,’ from which the actual date of the attack on Palenque could be easily determined.

<sup>19</sup> The reading of K’AY for the ‘scroll’ in Scroll Serpent’s name follows a suggestion of Stephen Houston for the ‘speech scroll’ sign.

<sup>20</sup> While the capital of the Snake Kingdom was located at Calakmul in the Late Classic period, there is no evidence that this was the case in the Early Classic period, when Dzibanche appears to have been the main center of the Snake kings. In fact, as Simon Martin and Nikolai Grube have noted (Martin and Grube 2000:106), there seems to have been a reorganization of the Snake kingdom around 620-630, when Calakmul appears to have become the new home of the royal court of the Snake kingdom.

		M	N		
				<b>Passage 11</b>	
11				N11: 2-10-WINIK-ji-ya	<i>cha' (heew) laju'n winikjiiy</i>
12				M12: CHUM[mu]-wa-ji-ya N12: ta-AJAW-le	<i>chumwajiiy(?) ta ajawle(l)</i>
		O	P		
1				O1: ?-MAT[MUWAAN] P1: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>... Muwaan Mat K'uh(ul) Baak Ajaw</i>
2				O2: u-TUUN-ni-K'AL P2: 3-AJAW	<i>u k'al tuun ux ajaw</i>
3				O3: 3-SUUTZ' P3: u-9-WINIKHAAB	<i>ux suutz' u balu'n winikhaab</i>
4				O4: ya-k'a-wa-u-PIK P4: u-K'UH-li	<i>yak'aw u pik u k'uhuul</i>
5				O5: ?-MAT[MUWAAN] P5: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>... Muwaan Mat K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "2 (days), 10 uinals after; (s)he was seated; in kingship; Muwaan Mat; Divine Bone Lord; his/her stone presentation/placement?; (on) 3 Ahau; 3 Zodz; the ninth katun; (s)he gave; the clothing (to); the gods; Muwaan Mat; Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "Ten months and two days after the accession of Muwaan Mat, King of Palenque, (s)he placed the stone on 9.9.0.0.0, 3 Ahau 3 Zodz. Muwaan Mat, King of Palenque, gave clothing to the gods."

**Discussion:** The person to succeed Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat, just after the terrible sack of the city by U K'ay Kan, bears the name of a Palenque deity, which can be read, in part, as Muwaan Mat, or "Hawk-Cormorant." No character in Palenque's history has been more disputed than Muwaan Mat, who has been variously described as male or female, a queen, a king, and even a god. One argument has been that, as Muwaan Mat is elsewhere seen as the parent of the Palenque Triad (information from the Cross Group Tablets), following the terrible events of Katun 3 Ahau, this god returned to rule over the city at such a critical juncture in its history. However, the texts give Muwaan Mat the same titles as other 'historical' rulers, and it seems that behind the name of this god was hidden a real, historical person. The situation is reminiscent of Lady Unen Bahlam, an early queen of Tikal, who was named after a local patron god (Unen Bahlam) but was certainly a person of flesh and blood.

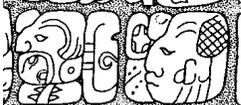
As such, the discussion on the identity of Muwaan Mat revolves around who may have been the 'person behind the mask,' so to speak. One of the most popular ideas has been that Muwaan Mat is actually K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great's mother, Lady Sak K'uk' (see Schele and Freidel 1990 for an extensive discussion of this possibility). Certainly, on the text of the Sarcophagus Lid the place of Muwaan Mat is occupied by Sak K'uk', who is even said to have celebrated the 1 Ahau Period Ending of 633, normally the prerogative of only the high king himself. In addition, on the Oval Palace Tablet,

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

it is only Lady Sak K'uk' who is shown presenting the crown to K'inich Janaab Pakal, suggesting that it was through her that Pakal claimed the throne.

However, there are others who argue that Muwaan Mat may, in fact, be a male deity (the local version of the Maize God), and as such it is more likely that a male ruler is indicated. It must be said, though, that a good number of women took the names of male gods, Lady Unen Bahlam being the most obvious. In addition, it is known that in Maya dance pageants women could portray male deities. Furthermore, Lady Sak K'uk's name appears a number of times lacking any female prefixes, suggesting that she held a position which transcended gender.

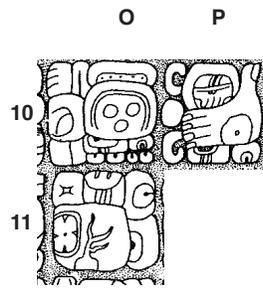
Ultimately, it must be said that there is no hard evidence for the identity of Muwaan Mat, although Lady Sak K'uk' remains the best bet, at least in the mind of this author. Interestingly, while most scholars have supposed that she was descended from the old royal line in some manner, there is also no hard evidence for this either. However, without royal blood flowing through her veins, it is hard to conceive of how a woman, no matter how strong-willed, could have compelled the population of Palenque to accept her and her adolescent son as sovereign. In the end, as with any situation where concrete facts are hard to come by, speculation is rampant, and debate will surely continue over the significance of Muwaan Mat and the possible reign of Lady Sak K'uk' at Palenque.

O P			
		Passage 12a	
6		O6: 9-PIK P6: 9-WINIKHAAB	<i>balu'n pik</i> <i>balu'n winikhaab</i>
7		O7: ti[i]-pa-ti P7: 9-?	<i>ti' pat</i> <i>Balu'n ...</i>
8		O8: sa-ta-yi P8: K'UH-IXIK	<i>sataay</i> <i>k'uh(ul) ixik</i>
9		O9: sa-ta-yi P9: AJAW-wa	<i>sataay</i> <i>ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "9 baktun; 9 katun; at the back of; *Balu'n ...*; lost was the queen; lost was the lord"

**Free Translation:** "9.9.(0.0.0), at the end of the reign of the god *Balu'n ...*, the king and queen were lost."

**Discussion:** This most interesting passage gives us the emic view of the catastrophe which befell the royal family of Palenque in Katun 3 Ajaw (AD 593-613). The text laments the loss of both the king and queen (or noble lords and ladies in general; the plural in Classic Maya texts is often not explicit), and could refer to the elimination of the old royal family (perhaps specifically Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat and his wife), and the reason why K'inich Janaab Pakal, apparently from a cadet line of the royal family, came to take the throne of Palenque. Interestingly, the *Balu'n ...* deity, who was likely the god who ruled over this period, was not mentioned at his accession, around the 5 Ahau Katun Ending of 593, during the reign of Lady Yo'hl Ik'nal, perhaps because it was during his reign that the catastrophe fell on the kingdom.



Passage 12b

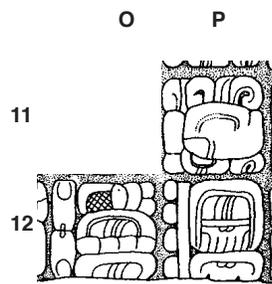
O10: **ma-u-na-wa-ji** *ma u nawaaaj*  
 P10: **1-YAL[CHAN]-wa** *Ju'n Yalaw Chan (?)*

O11: **AJAW-TAAK-wa** *ajawtaak*

**Literal Translation:** "He was not presented; One ??? ... Sky; Lords"

**Free Translation:** "The god(s) *Ju'n Yalaw Chan* Lords were not presented publicly."

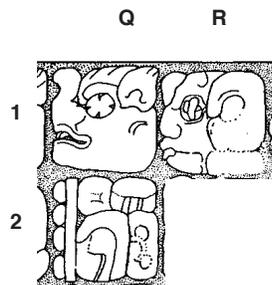
**Discussion:** Here we see the god of the time period, *Ju'n Yalaw Chan Ajawtaak*, and he is said to *not* have been presented in public,<sup>21</sup> an allusion probably to his accession. Either the city was in no state to celebrate this Period Ending or Muwaan Mat did not carry through on his/her duties as king, to inaugurate the new lord of time. The deity named here is seen elsewhere, including the Dresden Codex, where he appears to represent a celestial being, possibly Venus. The *ajawtaak* word that ends his name, meaning literally "lords (in plural)," suggests multiple individuals. However, from other texts it seems clear that only a single being is indicated. There are further examples of such a phenomenon in Classic Maya texts, where a clear use of the ancient plural can only refer to a single individual. The situation may be similar to European royalty using the first person plural in reference to themselves (e.g., We the Queen...).



Passage 12c

P11: **ma-ya-k'a-wa** *ma yak'aw*

O12: **u-tu-ta-li** *u tutaal*  
 P12: **9-CHAN-na** *Balu'n Chan*



Q1: **YOON(?)** *Yoon?*  
 R1: **WAKLAJU'N-YOON(?)** *Waklaju'n Yoon?*

Q2: **9-AJAW-TZ'AK-bu** *Balu'n Tz'akbu Ajaw*

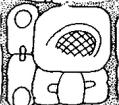
<sup>21</sup> While the *nawaj* verb has previously been read as coming from the root *naw*, "to decorate," this is unlikely, for as Marc Zender has noted (personal communication 2005), the original proposal of this reading failed to take into account that Moran's spelling of the Cholti' word <nau> "to adorn" is actually spelling the word *nab*, "to paint, to adorn." David Stuart has noted that the actual root of the verb in question may be *na'*, "to know (someone)," with the sense of a public presentation. Public presentation would makes sense of this verb's use to describe the fate of captives, presented before the king of their captors.

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Literal Translation:** "(s)he did not give; the *tutaal* to; Nine Sky; Noble?; Sixteen Noble?; Nine (Many) Succession(s) Lord"

**Free Translation:** "(Muwaan Mat) did not give *tutaal* to Balu'n Chan Yoon?, Waxaklaju'n Yoon?, and Balu'n Tz'akbu Ajaw."

**Discussion:** Another ritual not carried out was the giving of *tutaal*, an unknown object or substance, to the gods "Nine Sky Noble, Sixteen Noble, and Nine/Many Successions Lord." The first two are very poorly known deities, while the last seems associated with royal ancestors and is a title of K'awiil. It is likely that all three deities have such associations, and in Maya thought, to not propitiate the spirits of your ancestors is to invite disaster. This was a very troubled time for Palenque, indeed.

	Q	R		Passage 12d
2			R2: u-pa-ti	<i>u paat</i>
3			Q3: UX-AJAW R3: WINIK HAAB	<i>ux ajaw winik haab</i>
4			Q4: ma-a R4: ya-k'a-wa	<i>ma' yak'aw</i>
5			Q5: u-tu-ta-li R5: NAL-?	<i>u tutaal ...nal</i>
6			Q6: IX/IXIIM R6: ?-MAT[MUWAAN]	<i>Ix/Ixiim ... Muwaan Mat</i>

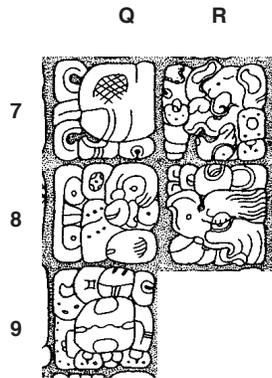
**Literal Translation:** "at the back of; 3 Ahau; Katun; (s)he did not; give; the *tutaal*; (Maize God); 'Hawk-Cormorant'"

**Free Translation:** "At the end of Katun 3 Ahau, Muwaan Mat did not give the *tutaal*."

**Discussion:** Here we see a reiteration of the previous information, and K'inich Janaab Pakal must have truly wanted to stress what an awful Period Ending for Palenque the end of Katun 3 Ahau really was. Interestingly, here as on the Cross Tablet, Muwaan Mat bears the name of the Maize God. Previously it was thought that the Maize God's head seen here, reading IXIIM, was actually the honorific female prefix IX/IXIK, part of the reason for seeing Muwaan Mat as the 'mother of the Palenque Triad.'

In fact, there is more to recommend the old idea than currently thought. In the Dresden Codex on folio 19c is a deity in a group of goddesses with a clear female breast. She is named with the same glyph as the Maize God (with no female markers being present in the text), and it would seem that the Maize Deity (as is perhaps more correct) was in fact a dual-sexed being. This is actually a very apt description of maize, which includes both male and female reproductive systems on each individual plant. As Karen Bassie has long pointed out, maize is essentially female in Maya thought, and thus the overlap, and resultant confusion for epigraphers, between the female prefix and the Maize Deity's name is understandable.

The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal



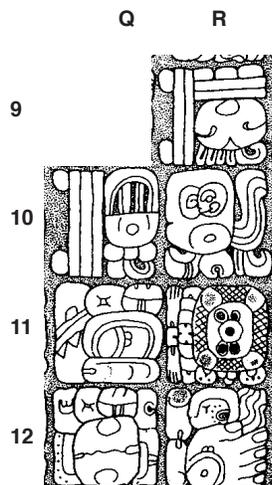
Passage 12e

Q7: ya-k'a-wa	<i>yak'aw</i>
R7: u-PIK	<i>u pik</i>
Q8: u-K'UH-li	<i>u k'uhuul</i>
R8: ?-MAT[MUWAAN]	<i>... Muwaan Mat</i>
Q9: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-wa-la	<i>K'uh(ul) Baakel Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "(s)he gives; the clothing; (to) the gods; 'Hawk-Cormorant'; Divine Bone Lord"

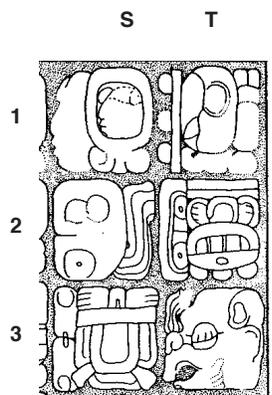
**Free Translation:** "Muwaan Mat, King of Palenque, gave clothing to the gods."

**Discussion:** It is most interesting that, in spite of nothing else in a normal Period Ending ceremony having been carried out, Muwaan Mat did manage to clothe the gods. These are obviously not the three mentioned in the previous section, but an allusion to the Palenque Triad.



Passage 13a

R9: 12-13-WINIK-ji-ya	<i>lajchan (heew) huxlaju'n winikjiiy</i>
Q10: 17-HAAB-ya	<i>huklaju'n haabiiy</i>
R10: CHUM[mu]-wa-ni-ya	<i>chumwaniiy</i>
Q11: ta-AJAW-le	<i>ta ajawle(l)</i>
R11: K'INICH-PAKAL[JANAAB]-la	<i>K'inich Janaab Pakal</i>
Q12: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-wa	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>
R12: u-TUUN-ni-K'AL	<i>u k'al tuun</i>



S1: JU'N-AJAW	<i>ju'n ajaw</i>
T1: 8-a[K'AN]-si-ya	<i>waxak k'anasiiy</i>
S2: CHUM[mu]-([TUUN])-ni	<i>chumtuun</i>
T2: u-10-WINIKHAAB	<i>u laju'n winikhaab</i>
S3: u-LAM-([TAHN])	<i>u tahn lam</i>
T3: PIK	<i>pik</i>

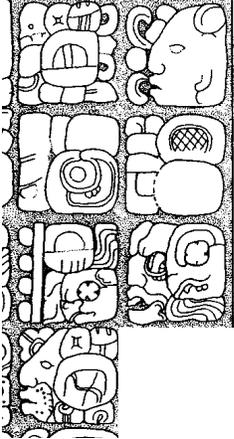
**Literal Translation:** "12 (kins), 13 uinals; and 17 tuns; after he was seated; in lordship; K'inich Janaab Pakal; Divine Bone Lord; his stone presentation/ placement?; (on) 1 Ahau; 8 Kayab; (the) stone seating;

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

the tenth katun; in the middle of the sinking; (of the) baktun”

**Free Translation:** “Seventeen years, thirteen months, and twelve days after the accession of K'inich Janaab Pakal, King of Palenque, he presented a stone on the 1 Ahau 8 Kayab Period Ending, the tenth katun, which was the end of half a baktun.”

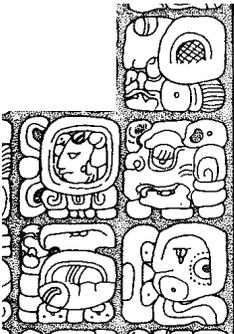
**Discussion:** With the Katun 1 Ahau of 9.10.0.0 we enter into the reign of K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great, who commissioned this history. Interestingly, on the Sarcophagus lid text this Period Ending is attributed to his mother, Lady Sak K'uk'. Apparently she functioned as a regent long into the reign of her son, who by this time was twenty-nine years of age.

	S	T		
			<b>Passage 13b</b>	
4			S4: a-AJAW-?-ya-?	<i>ajaw...</i>
			T4: 1-AJAW?	<i>Ju'n Ajaw</i>
5			S5: a(?)?-ja	<i>a...j</i>
			T5: tu-pa-ja(?)	<i>tupaj</i>
6			S6: 9-CHAN-na?-yo-YOON(?)	<i>Balu'n Chaan Yoon(?)</i>
			T6: WAKLAJU'N-YOON(?)	<i>Waklaju'n Yoon(?)</i>
7			S7: BALU'N-AJAW-TZ'AK-wa	<i>Balu'n Tz'ak(bu) Ajaw</i>

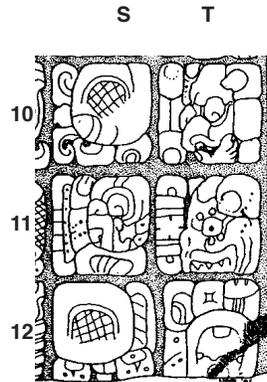
**Literal Translation:** “became? Lord; 1 Ajaw; ???; the earflare??; Nine Sky Noble?; Sixteen Noble?; Nine (Many) Succession(s) Lord”

**Free Translation:** “Ju'n Ajaw became the lord (of the time). ??? is the earflare (of?) Balu'n Chan Yoon?, Waklaju'n Yoon?, and Balu'n Tz'akbu Ajaw.”

**Discussion:** This passage talks about the accession of a new lord of time whose name is identical with the tzolkin position of this Period Ending, *Ju'n Ajaw*, “1 Ahau.” The following two Period Endings, discussed on the Central Inscriptions Tablet, also follow this pattern. Interestingly, while katuns were named after the Ahau date on which they ended, this information suggests that the gods of the katun, once their katun had ended, were thought to accede. That is, while 1 Ahau was the katun from 9.9.0.0.1 to 9.10.0.0.0, it became lord of the following Katun 12 Ahau. This sense of overlapping lords of time is reflected in Landa's description of New Year's ceremonies of sixteenth century Yucatan and suggests a very deep history for this notion.

	S	T		
			<b>Passage 13c</b>	
7			T7: u-pa-ti	<i>u paat</i>
8			S8: 1-AJAW-la	<i>Ju'n Ajaw ...l</i>
			T8: WINIKHAAB	<i>winikhaab</i>
9			S9: u-NAH-ta-la	<i>u nahtal</i>
			T9: u-CHUM[TUUN]-ni	<i>u chumtuun</i>

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal



S10: ya-k'a-wa  
T10: u-PIK

*yak'aw*  
*u pik*

S11: u-K'UH-il  
T11: K'INICH-JANAAB

*u k'uhuul*  
*K'inich Janaab*

S12: pa-ka-la  
T12: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK

*Pakal*  
*K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw*

**Literal Translation:** “the back of; 1 Ahau-ish; Katun; his first; seating of the stone; he gave; the vestment(s); (to) his gods; K'inich Janaab; Pakal; Divine Bone Lord”

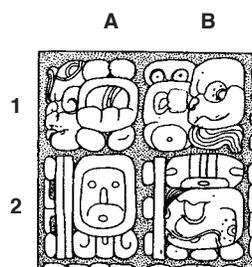
**Free Translation:** “At the end of Katun 1 Ahau, K'inich Janaab Pakal, King of Palenque, gave vestments to his gods on the occasion of his first Period Ending.”

**Discussion:** K'inich Janaab Pakal's first Katun Ending contains the shortest description, with little more information than the accession of the appropriate time deity and a record that the clothing of the gods was given out. This may have been because Lady Sak K'uk' was in charge of much of the festivities (it is she who is connected with this Period Ending on the Sarcophagus Lid), but perhaps more likely, simply because Palenque was still recovering at this time and could not support as grand a celebration as for the following Katun Endings.

## The Central Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions

The Central Tablet was placed inside the central, inner room of the Temple of the Inscriptions, the very room where the stairway down to the tomb was found. It is quite possible that originally a cult statue of K'inich Janaab Pakal was placed inside this, the 'shrine room' of the temple. If so, there is no indication remaining, and the text of the Central Tablet makes no allusions to this, being merely a continuation of the text from the two outer panels. The theme of the Central Tablet, however, is unique.

The Central Tablet continues the pattern of the East Tablet in discussing the successive Katun Ending celebrations, but provides much more detail. However, it does not connect these to the accession of the king in whose reign the Katun Ending fell, as the reigning king was K'inich Janaab Pakal I, whose accession was already discussed in relation to his first Katun Ending of 633. The Central Tablet provides invaluable information as to ritual vestments of the gods. The two last Katun Endings of Pakal's reign seen here receive the greatest amount of discussion, and it may be no coincidence that it was precisely during this period that Palenque recovered its fortunes. Apparently, with increased prosperity came an increase in the ability to clothe and fete the gods.



### Passage 1a

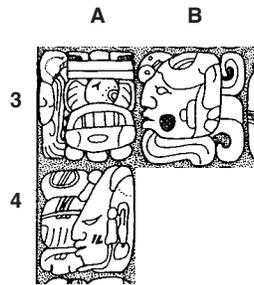
A1: u-2-ta-la  
B2: u-CHUM[mu]-TUUN-ni

*u cha' tal*  
*u chumtuun*

A2: 12-AJAW  
B2: 8-CHAK-SIHO'M?-ma

*lajchan ajaw*  
*waxak chak*

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal



A3: u-11-WINIKHAAB  
B3: AJAW-ni-ya

*ubuluch winikhaab*  
*ajawniiy*

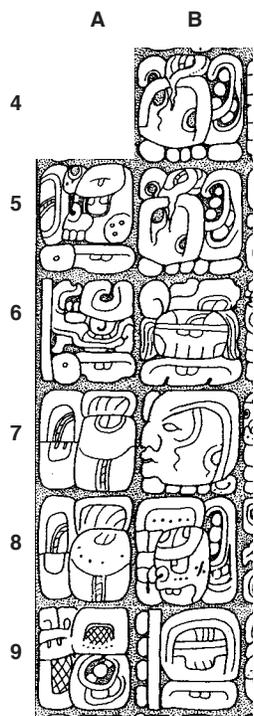
A4: ?-CHAN-na-IXIIM

? *Chan Ixiim*

**Literal Translation:** “the second, stone seating; (on) 12 Ahau; 8 Ceh; the eleventh katun; became lord; ? Sky Maize God (god of the number twelve)”

**Free Translation:** “Twelve became lord of the time period on 12 Ahau 8 Ceh, the eleventh katun, which was the second Period Ending (of K'inich Janaab Pakal).”

**Discussion:** Specifically said to have been his “second stone seating,” the 9.11.0.0.0, 12 Ahau 8 Ceh Period Ending of 652 is arguably the most important Period Ending in Palenque’s history. It is certainly the most often mentioned, and in later texts serves often as a base date, as on the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, or as an anchor date, as on the Palace Tablet. It would appear that this date marks a great change in the reign of K'inich Janaab Pakal I, from the poorly represented and understood early half, when Palenque appears to have been biding its time and conducting a slow recovery, to the second half, with a veritable torrent of information accompanying a major construction boom. Here we are told that the god who presided over this new era of prosperity for Palenque was a celestial maize deity, the patron god of the number twelve whose head formed the head variant for this number.<sup>22</sup> Given that the Maize God was intimately connected with (re)creation and fertility, his reign at this time seems most appropriate.



### Passage 1b

B4: ?-ja-la

?*laj*

A5: ?-UH-TE'  
B5: ?-ja-la

? *Uh Te'*  
?*laj*

A6: 5-?-TE'  
B6: NAL[CHAN]-na

*Ho' ... Te'*  
*chanal*

A7: i-ka-tzi  
B7: KAB-la

*ikaatz*  
*kabal*

A8: i-ka-tzi  
B8: u-ha-ja

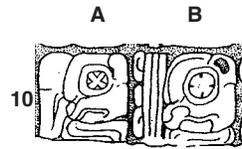
*ikaatz*  
*uhaj*

A9: tu-pa-ja  
B9: 9-CHAN-na

*tupaj*  
*Balu'n Chan*

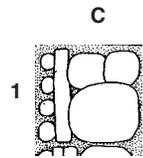
<sup>22</sup> The Mayan word for twelve, *lajchan*, includes the word *chan*, or “sky.” This feature of the language is included in the hieroglyphic script, where the head variant of the number twelve is the head of the youthful Maize God with a sky sign in his forehead or infixed into his cheek. The author is indebted to Marc Zender (personal communication 2000) for this understanding of the glyphic term for the number twelve.

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal



A10: yo-YOON?-ni  
B10: 16-YOON?-ni

Yoon?  
Waklaju'n Yoon



C1: 9-AJAW-(TZ'AK)

Balu'n Tz'ak(bu) Ajaw

**Literal Translation:** "'it sprouts up'; (the) ? Moon/Necklace? Tree; 'it sprouts up'; (the) Five 'Square-Nosed Beastie' Tree; heavenly; bundle; earthly; bundle; necklace(s); earflare(s); Nine Sky; Noble?; Sixteen Noble?; Nine (Many) Succession(s) Lord"

**Free Translation:** "The Shiny Necklace Tree, the Five Square-Nosed Beastie Tree sprouted from the earth; (there are) heavenly and earthly bundles, (there are) necklaces and earflares, Balu'n Chan Yoon?, Waklaju'n Yoon, Balu'n Tz'akbu Ajaw."

**Discussion:** This fascinating passage describes the 'sprouting' of the 'World Tree,' using two separate names. The first name, the "Shiny Necklace Tree," is an excellent label for the version of the World Tree found as the central emblem on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross, where the Foliated Cross itself is shown sporting a very large and prominent necklace. Most interestingly, the glyph naming the second tree in this passage from the Central Inscriptions Tablet also appears not only on the Foliated Cross Tablet, where it seems to name the tree itself, but also on the Cross Tablet. This second name refers to five "Square-Nosed Beasties," and it is surely no coincidence that the ends of the branches of the tree on the Tablet of the Cross terminate in Square-Nosed Beasties. Even more telling is the image of the World Tree rising behind Pakal on the Sarcophagus Lid itself. Here there are three Square-Nosed Beasties in evidence, two on the branches and a third rising from the top of the tree. It is likely that the five Square-Nosed Beasties referred to in the name of the tree refer to the ends of the branches, one pointing to each cardinal direction and a fifth pointing straight up to the heavens. This passage from the Central Inscriptions Tablet thus provides a vivid and striking description of the rising of the World Tree on the occasion of the Katun Ending.

Emerging with the World Tree are a number of other items, including two sacred bundles, labeled the "heavenly" and "earthly" bundles.<sup>23</sup> Given that many Maya jades are inscribed with the word for bundle, and given the terms that follow on the Central Inscriptions Tablet, the bundles being referred to here are likely 'treasure' bundles, full of jade jewels. Following the reference to the earthly and celestial bundles we read of "necklace(s)," *uhaj*, and "earflare(s)," *tupaj*. As we shall shortly see, the gods are given these adornments on the occasion of this Period Ending. It is quite possible that this jewelry is actually depicted on the World Trees of the Cross Group. We have already seen that the Foliated Cross wears a very prominent necklace. It can also be pointed out that, on the Tablet of the Cross, on the ends and head of the cross appear three very large earflares, two that sprout Square-Nosed Beasties from their center. Effigy earflares of this size are known from archaeological examples, such as the famous Terminal Preclassic Pomona Earflare of Belize, and the Tortuguero Earflare of the Classic Period from Tabasco. The reference to earflares in the second half of the Central Tablet may, in fact, refer to large examples such as this rather than actual 'wearable' ones.

The picture conjured up by this passage is of the sprouting of a highly decorated World Tree, complete with jewelry, sacred bundles, and gods. One is quickly reminded of the modern Maya practice of elaborately decorating their crosses with the best native costume. The fertility and richness inherent in the rising of this World Tree is probably meant to be analogous to Palenque's own renaissance

<sup>23</sup> For a fuller discussion of *ikaatz* bundles, see David Stuart's "Jade and Chocolate: Bundles of Wealth in Classic Maya Economics and Ritual" (Stuart 2006).

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

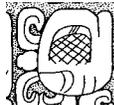
under K'inich Janaab Pakal at the end of the eleventh katun.

	C	D		
				<b>Passage 1c</b>
1			D1: u?-pa?-ti	<i>u paat?</i>
2			C2: 12-AJAW-la D2: WINIKHAAB	<i>Lajchan ajawal Winikhaab</i>
3			C3: yi-li?-a-ji D3: WINIKHAAB-ch'a-ho-ma	<i>yilaaj winikhaab ch'aho'm</i>
4			C4: K'INICH-PAKAL[JANAAB] D4: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>K'inich Janaab Pakal K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "at the back of; 12 Ahau-ish; Katun; he witnesses it; Twenty-Year Incenser; K'inich Janaab Pakal; Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal, the King of Palenque and Twenty-Year Incenser, witnessed the end of Katun 12 Ahau."

**Discussion:** This passage merely notes that all of this occurred at the end of Katun 12 Ahau, and was witnessed by the king, K'inich Janaab Pakal. It is interesting to see here that, almost a thousand years before the books of Chilam Balam were finally composed, already each katun was specifically named after its final day.

	C	D		
				<b>Passage 1d</b>
5			C5: ya-k'a-wa D5: ?-la	<i>yak'aw ...l</i>
6			C6: u-KO'HAW-wa D6: 1-WINIK-ki	<i>u ko'haw ju'n winik</i>
7			C7: u-PIK D7: ?[CHAAHK]	<i>u pik ...m Chaahk (GI)</i>

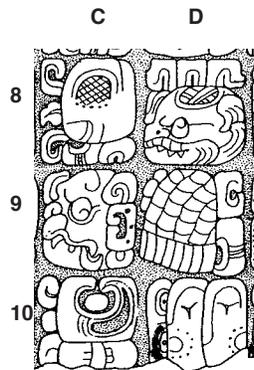
**Literal Translation:** "he (K'inich Janaab Pakal) gave; 'Quadripartite Badge'; the helmet of...; 21; his dresses; 'GI-Chaahk'"

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal gave the Quadripartite Badge headdress and twenty-one dresses to GI-Chaahk."

**Discussion:** This is the first of many similar passages on the Central Tablet, outlining the clothing and jewelry given by Pakal to the gods. Here a helmet or crown is given to GI-Chaahk, namely the Quadripartite Badge, a common mythological motif consisting of a sacrificial bowl filled with a shell, a stingray spine, and a tied cloth decoration associated with underworld deities and conjuring (Robertson 1974). GI is often shown wearing this very bowl on his head, and it is a badge especially

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

associated with him. Apparently “twenty-one dresses” were also given. While this may seem excessive costume for even a god in the tropics of Central America, it can be noted that Maya of the Guatemalan highlands still swathe their saints in multiple layers of clothing. A similar practice may be referred to here.



### Passage 1e

C8: ya-k'a-wa  
D8: tzi?-?

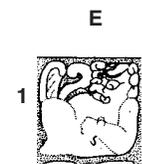
*yak'aw*  
*Tzi?...*

C9: CHAAHK  
D9: KO'HAW-wa

*Chaahk*  
*(u) ko'haw*

C10: 1-WINIK-ki  
D10: u-PIK

*ju'n winik*  
*u pik*



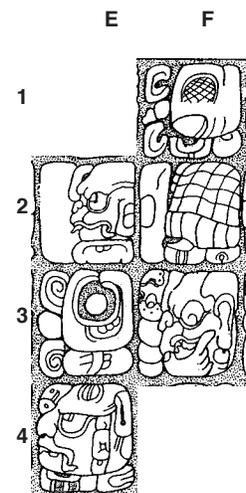
E1: ne-UNENK'AWIIL

*Unen K'awiil (GII)*

**Literal Translation:** “He (K'inich Janaab Pakal) gave; the ???; Chaahk; the helmet of ...; 21; the dresses of; Unen K'awiil (GII)”

**Free Translation:** “K'inich Janaab Pakal gave the ??? Chaahk helmet and twenty-one dresses to Unen K'awiil.”

**Discussion:** Unen K'awiil was also given twenty-one dresses, as well as a helmet/crown named as a specific variant of the rain god Chaahk. This passage thus strongly supports the close association of Chaahk, God B, with K'awiil, God K, as has been proposed for well nigh a century based to a large part on their close visual similarities.



### Passage 1f

F1: ya-k'a-wa

*yak'aw*

E2: SAK?-HU'N-na  
F2: u-KO'HAW-wa

*Sak? Hu'n*  
*u ko'haw*

E3: 1-WINIK-ki  
F3: u-PIK

*ju'n winik*  
*u pik*

E4: K'INICH[AJAW]-wa

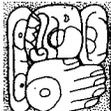
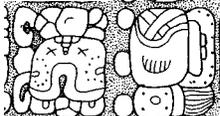
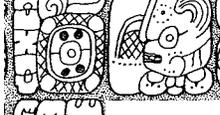
*K'inich Ajaw (GIII)*

**Literal Translation:** “he (K'inich Janaab Pakal) gave; the White? Headband; the helmet of...; 21; the dresses of; Sunny? Lord (GIII)”

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal gave the *Sak? Hu'n* helmet and twenty-one dresses to K'inich Ajaw (GIII)."

**Discussion:** Here GIII receives twenty-one dresses, like his 'brother' gods, and his headdress includes the word for 'crown,' *hu'n*. This is appropriate, as it is GIII who is associated with kingship and the Sun God, whose name is literally "Sun King." Interestingly, this passage provides the only substitution in the name of one of the Palenque Triad, exchanging GIII's normal logogram for that of the Sun God, K'inich Ajaw. This suggests that not only was the Sun God an aspect of GIII (and vice-versa), but that these two forms of the deity were very closely related indeed.

E	F	Passage 1g	
4		F4: u-hu-na-K'AL?	<i>u k'al hu'n</i>
5		E5: ya-?-chu?-la F5: 3-?-K'UH-ti?	<i>ya...chul?</i> <i>ux ...t k'uh</i>
6		E6: ?[CHAAHK] F6: ne-UNENK'AWIIL	<i>...m Chaahk (GI)</i> <i>Unen K'awiil (GII)</i>
7		E7: K'INICH-K'INICHAJAWPAKAL? F7: u-1-TAHN-na	<i>K'inich Ajaw Pakal? (GIII)</i> <i>u ju'n tahn</i>
8		E8: K'INICH-PAKAL[JANAAB] F8: pa-ka-la	<i>K'inich Janaab</i> <i>Pakal</i>
9		E9: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "it is his headband presentation?; (on) the stone altar; (of) the 'Triad' gods; GI; Unen K'awiil (GII); K'inich Ajaw Pakal? (GIII); the cared for ones of; K'inich Janaab; Pakal; Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal, King of Palenque, offered the crown on the stone altar to his loved ones, the Palenque Triad."

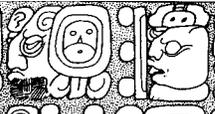
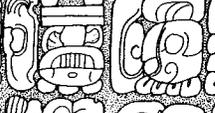
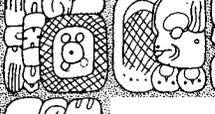
**Discussion:** This curious passage may hold fascinating clues as to the relationship between Maya kings and their gods. K'inich Janaab Pakal is said to have 'presented' the crown on an object, interpreted as an altar, belonging to the Triad Gods. The phrase used here employs the same verb normally found in accession statements for kings, and it may be argued that here Pakal is offering his gods the crown to rule over Palenque. Perhaps the 'altar' referred to here was a platform within the shrine of the god on which Pakal placed the clothing and jewelry which he presented on this occasion.

One may also note that in this passage there is a certain amount of redundancy in the spelling of the king's name. Glyph E8 contains a full spelling of his name, with a prefixed K'INICH logogram and the JANAAB 'flower' set inside the center of the normal PAKAL logogram.<sup>24</sup> Immediately

<sup>24</sup> The NAL-like superfix is somewhat inexplicable here. This may signal that *-nal* is part of the full rendering of the "janaab" word.

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

following in Glyph F8, however, is a full phonetic spelling of *pakal*. There are further examples of this phenomenon in the Inscriptions texts, and it is part of a trend identified by Marc Zender (1999) where certain combinations of glyphs become fused and conceived of as merely variants of one, necessitating additional complementation that, to the modern observer, seems superfluous and redundant.

		Passage 2a	
E	F		
9		F9: u-3-ta-la	<i>u (h)uxtal</i>
10		E10: u-CHUM[mu]-TUUN-(ni) F10: tu?-AJAW-?	<i>u chumtuun tu ... ajaw</i>
	G	H	
1		G1: LAJU'N-AJAW H1: 8-YAX-K'IN-ni	<i>laju'n ajaw waxak yaxk'in</i>
2		G2: u-12-WINIKHAAB H2: yi-li?-a-ji	<i>u lajchan winikhaab yilaaj</i>
3		G3: K'INICH-PAKAL?[JANAAB] H3: pa-ka-la	<i>K'inich Janaab Pakal</i>
4		G4: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** “the third; stone seating; ...lord; 12 Ahau; 8 Yaxkin; the twelfth katun; he witnessed it; K'inich Janaab; Pakal; Divine Bone Lord”

**Free Translation:** “K'inich Janaab Pakal, the King of Palenque, witnessed his third Katun Ending on 9.12.0.0.0 12 Ahau 8 Yaxkin.”

**Discussion:** This passage relates that K'inich Janaab Pakal witnessed his third Katun Ending on 9.12.0.0.0, 10 Ahau 8 Yaxkin. As with the previous passage, the *pakal* part of his name appears to be included in the first glyph, with a full phonetic spelling following.

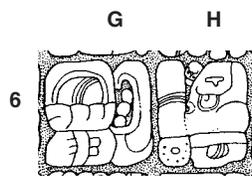
		Passage 2b	
	G	H	
4		H4: AJAW-ni-ya	<i>ajawniiy</i>
5		G5: ?-AJAW[LAJU'N]-wa H5: CHAM-la-HAAB	<i>? Laju'n Ajaw chamal haab</i>

**Literal Translation:** “he became lord; Shiny Ten Lord; deathly year”

The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Free Translation:** "Laju'n Ajaw became lord and it was a time of death."

**Discussion:** The previous Katun 12 Ahau ended with the accession of a celestial Maize God, and Katun 10 Ahau here is said to have witnessed the accession of a god whose name features the words *laju'n ajaw*, or "10 Ajaw." This most likely refers to the Katun Ending itself, which fell on the day 10 Ahau. Laju'n Ajaw is clearly a death god, as the head variant of the number ten is a skull. As in the codices, the reign of such an underworld god had distinctly unfavorable results. Here his tidings are *chamal haab*, or "deathly year(s)." In fact, Folio 72a of the Dresden Codex also refers to a *chamal haab*. It may be no coincidence that both Pakal and his wife, and likely one of their sons,<sup>25</sup> died during the following dozen years.



G6: ta-ki-ja  
H6: ?-UH-TE'

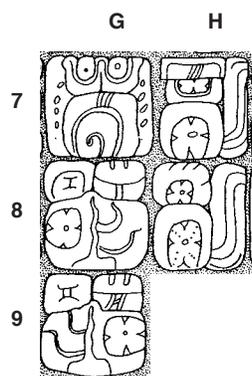
Passage 2c

*takiij*  
*? Uh Te'*

**Literal Translation:** "?; ? Necklace Tree"

**Free Translation:** "Something happened to the Shiny Necklace Tree."

**Discussion:** The meaning of the verbal root seen here, *tak*, is unknown, but could well have a dire meaning. Given the rise of a god of death as ruler of this time period, and the following references to war, this may refer to the death of this World Tree. Marc Zender has noted that the word *taak* in some Maya languages functions as a verb meaning "to dry out." This passage could thus refer to the "withering" of the World Tree.



G7: ?-yi  
H7: EL-K'IN-ni

G8: AJAW-TAAK  
H8: chi-K'IN-ni

G9: AJAW-TAAK

Passage 2d

? ('Star War')  
*elk'in*

*ajawtaak*  
*chik'in*

*ajawtaak*

**Literal Translation:** "there was war against; (the) east; lords; (the) west; lords"

**Free Translation:** "There was war against the east and west lords."

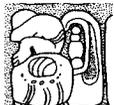
**Discussion:** This passage has long excited the imaginations of scholars, especially archaeo-astronomers. The verb involves a star, and then we see references to east and west, including glyphs that in the Dresden Codex are associated with Venus. However, recent decipherments and a firmer grasp on the ancient script do not support any astronomical interpretation. While the glyph for "star" (actually a glyph apparently referring to any celestial objects other than the sun or moon) does form part of the

<sup>25</sup> This person is Tiwo'l Chan Mat, father of Ahku'l Mo' Naahb III, who, it has been suggested by Karen Bassie and William Ringle, was a third son of K'inich Janaab Pakal I and Lady Tz'akbu Ajaw.

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

verb, we now know that this is actually a verb for war, apparently using a metaphor of a star 'raining' water. The glyphs once thought to refer to Venus are now known to read *ajawtaak*, that is, "lords" in plural form. This glyph is only part of one of the names for Venus, and alone as seen here, has no reference to that planet.

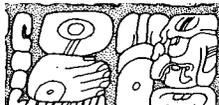
This passage refers to war against "the eastern lords and the western lords," and may be an oblique reference to the wars waged by K'inich Janaab Pakal in the second part of his reign. In 659, almost seven years into Katun 12 Ahau, he captured the kings of Pomona and Santa Elena Balancan (see the West Tablet), and went on to enforce his dominion over these and other petty kingdoms into his own burgeoning realm. These wars greatly expanded Palenque's influence towards the east, while to the west a lord named Bahlam Ajaw, ruling from the site of Tortuguero, had conquered Comalcalco at the end of the previous katun. While this reference to war likely refers in some way to these battles, it is also possible that this is a prediction of events for the forthcoming katun, although the lack of any future markers in the verbal inflection favors the first proposal.

		Passage 2e	
G	H		
9		H9: ?-ba-ja	<i>...baj</i>
10		G10: 9-CHAN-na H10: yo-YOON?-ni	<i>Balu'n Chan Yoon?</i>
I	J		
1		I1: WAKLAJU'N-YOON?-ni J1: 9-AJAW-TZ'AK-bu	<i>Waklaju'n Yoon? Balu'n Tz'akbu Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "?; Nine Sky; Noble?; Sixteen Noble?; Nine (Many) Succession(s) Lord"

**Free Translation:** "Balu'n Chan Yoon?, Waklaju'n Yoon?, and Balu'n Tz'akbu Ajaw did something."

**Discussion:** The three standard Period Ending deities are again mentioned. While they emerged with the World Trees at the end of the last Katun Ending, here they undergo a very different action, one that is still not read but the main logogram of which is an anthropomorphic figure hunched over, with his head in his arms. As with the *Uh* Tree, these gods emerged at the end of the last katun, and here are involved in another verb, that may refer to their 'stepping down' or 'seating.' The glyph in question must first be deciphered before this passage can be adequately understood.

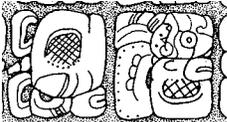
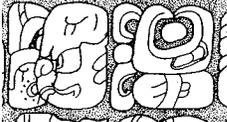
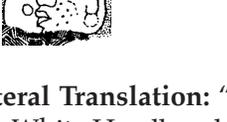
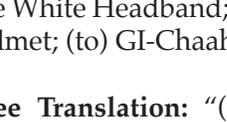
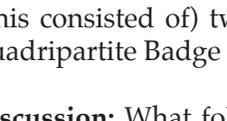
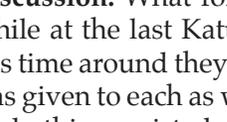
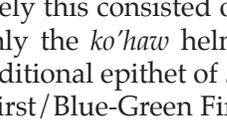
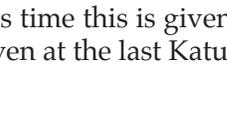
		Passage 2f	
I	J		
2		I2: 2-K'AL?-ji J2: SAK-HU'N-na	<i>cha' k'al?ji(iy) Sak Hu'n</i>
3		I3: ya?-chu?-la J3: u-K'UH-li	<i>ya...chul? u k'uhuul</i>

**Literal Translation:** "second presenting?; of the White Headband; (on) the stone altar; of his gods"

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal presented for the second time the crown to his gods on the stone altar."

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Discussion:** The first glyph here, which must be a verb, is somewhat odd. It includes the Flat Hand (K'AL?), but the sign above the hand is not entirely clear, combining features of both K'AN and PET. This may be misdrawn. The verbal affix is a straight *ji* sign, while the number two is prefixed to the glyph. However, given the glyphs that follow, including the word for crown and the 'stone altar,' one can compare this phrase with that of Passage 1g. Both appear to record the 'presentation' of the royal crown, here identified specifically as the *sak hu'n*, to the gods. These are not identified here in Passage 2f, but in Passage 1g they are specified as the Palenque Triad themselves.

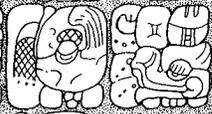
	I	J		Passage 2g
4			I4: <i>ya-k'a-wa</i> J4: <i>u?-K'UH-hu-lu</i>	<i>yak'aw</i> <i>u k'uhul</i>
5			I5: <i>PIK</i> J5: <i>1-WINIK-ki</i>	<i>pik</i> <i>ju'n winik</i>
6			I6: <i>pi-xo-ma</i> J6: <i>u-SAK-hu-na-la</i>	<i>pixo'm</i> <i>u sak hunal</i>
7			I7: <i>u-ha</i> J7: <i>YAX-K'AHK'-K'UH?</i>	<i>u'h</i> <i>Yax K'ahk' K'uh?</i>
8			I8: <i>u-tu-pa</i> J8: <i>K'UH?-?</i>	<i>u tu'p</i> <i>k'uh(ul)? ...l</i>
9			I9: <i>u-KO'HAW-wa</i> J9: <i>?[CHAAHK]</i>	<i>u ko'haw</i> <i>...m Chaahk ('GI')</i>
10			I10: <i>SAK-BALU'N</i>	<i>Sak Balu'n</i>

**Literal Translation:** "he (K'inich Janaab Pakal) gave; the divine; vestments; twenty-one; headwraps; the White Headband; the necklace; First Fire God; the earflares; (the) divine 'Quadripartite Badge'; the helmet; (to) GI-Chaahk; White Nine"

**Free Translation:** "(K'inich Janaab Pakal) gave the divine clothing to GI-Chaahk, Sak Balu'n. (This consisted of) twenty-one headwraps, a Jester God necklace, First Fire God earflares, and the Quadripartite Badge helmet."

**Discussion:** What follows in the next few passages are listings of the gifts of the king to the gods. While at the last Katun Ending each god of the Palenque Triad had received twenty-one "dresses," this time around they each received "divine dresses" and twenty-one "headwraps," *pixo'm*. A necklace was given to each as well, specified in each case as a *sak hunal uh*, or "white headband necklace." Quite likely this consisted of a necklace with the image of the Jester God, *Sak Hunal*, as its central pectoral. Only the *ko'haw* helmet and earflares for each god are individualized. Here GI-Chaahk, with the additional epithet of *Sak Balu'n*, or "White Nine," receives (an) earflare(s) entitled *Yax K'ahk' K'uh?*, or "First/Blue-Green Fire God?." The *ko'haw* for GI-Chaahk is again the Quadripartite Badge, although this time this is given the adjective *k'uhul*, or "divine," apparently an improved version over the one given at the last Katun Ending.

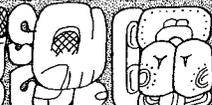
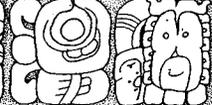
The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

		Passage 2h	
		I	J
10		J10: ya-k'a-wa <span style="float: right;"><i>yak'aw</i></span>	
		K	L
1		K1: WINIKHAAB-ch'a-ho-ma <span style="float: right;"><i>winikhaab ch'aho'm</i></span> L1: JANAAB <span style="float: right;"><i>Janaab</i></span>	
2		K2: pa-ka-la <span style="float: right;"><i>Pakal</i></span> L2: K'UH-AJAW-MAT-la <span style="float: right;"><i>K'uh(ul) Mat(awi)'l Ajaw</i></span>	

**Literal Translation:** "he gives; Twenty Year Incenser; Janaab; Pakal; Divine Matawi'l Lord"

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal, King of Palenque and Twenty Year Incenser, gave (it)."

**Discussion:** Essentially just a continuation of the previous passage, these glyphs simply state that Pakal was the one who gave these gifts to the gods. Unless Glyph L1 originally contained an infixed K'IN sign within the eye of the avian form of the JANAAB glyph, this is the only known example of K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great's name from the Temple of the Inscriptions that does not include the honorific prefix *k'inich*. This is also the first example in the Temple of the Inscriptions text where the royal title does not use the *Baakel*, or 'Bone,' Emblem Glyph, but the second Emblem Glyph of Palenque, whose main sign is *Matawi'l*, the otherworld home of Palenque's patron gods, and possibly the mythological place of origin for its people as well.

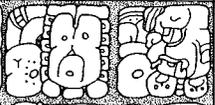
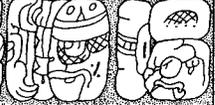
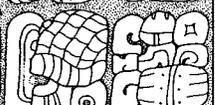
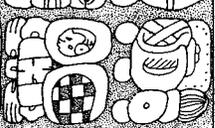
		Passage 2i	
		K	L
3		K3: ya-k'a-wa <span style="float: right;"><i>yak'aw</i></span> L3: u-PIK[K'UH] <span style="float: right;"><i>u k'uh(ul) pik</i></span>	
4		K4: 1-WINIK-ki <span style="float: right;"><i>ju'n winik</i></span> L4: pi-xo-ma <span style="float: right;"><i>pixo'm</i></span>	
5		K5: u-SAK-hu-na-la <span style="float: right;"><i>u sak hunal</i></span> L5: u-ha <span style="float: right;"><i>u'h</i></span>	
6		K6: YAX?-K'UH?-?-yi? <span style="float: right;"><i>Yax K'uh ..y?</i></span> L6: CHAN-na ? <span style="float: right;"><i>Chan ?</i></span>	
7		K7: u-tu-pa <span style="float: right;"><i>u tu'p</i></span> L7: YAX (or K'UH)-tzi?-? <span style="float: right;"><i>Yax (or K'uhul) Tzi?...</i></span>	
8		K8: u-KO'HAW-wa <span style="float: right;"><i>u ko'haw</i></span> L8: ch'o-ko <span style="float: right;"><i>ch'ok</i></span>	
9		K9: ne-UNENK'AWIIL <span style="float: right;"><i>Unen K'awiil ('GII')</i></span>	

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Literal Translation:** "he gives; the divine dress; twenty-one; headwraps; the White Headband; necklace; First God ...; Sky ?; the earflares; First/Blue Tzi?...; the helmet; (to) Baby K'awiil (GII)"

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal gave divine clothing to Unen K'awiil. (This consisted of) twenty-one headwraps, the Jester God necklace, the First God ... Sky ? earflares, and the Yax? ??? helmet."

**Discussion:** Paralleling much of Passage 2h, here GII, Unen K'awiil, receives his gifts from Pakal, including the standard "divine" dress(es), twenty-one headwraps and a *sak hunal* necklace. The glyphs naming his earflares are damaged, but appear to include the words for "god" and "sky." His *ko'haw* again includes the signs for *tzi* (probably having a logographic value here and not simply being used as a syllable) and a piscine creature with crossed-bands in his head. Here, however, there is no mention of the god Chaahk, but there is a prefix that looks like the **YAX** sign. However, in comparison with the helmets of the other two gods, this is more likely **K'UH** for *k'uhul*, "divine."

		Passage 2j	
K	L		
9		L9: ya-k'a-wa	<i>yak'aw</i>
10		K10: u-PIK[K'UH] L10: 1-WINIK-ki	<i>u k'uh(ul) pik ju'n winik</i>
	M	N	
1		M1: pi-xo-ma N1: u-SAK-HU'N-la	<i>pixo'm u sak hunal</i>
2		M2: u-ha N2: YAX-pa-TUUN?	<i>uh Yax Patuun?</i>
3		M3: u-tu-pa N3: K'UH?-HU'N-na	<i>u tu'p K'uhu'n?</i>
4		M4: u-KO'HAW-wa N4: ya-AJAW-K'AHK'	<i>u ko'haw yajaw k'ahk'</i>
5		M5: K'INICH-K'INICHAJAWPAKAL? N5: 3-?-K'UH-ti	<i>K'inich Ajaw Pakal? (GIII) ux ...t k'uh</i>

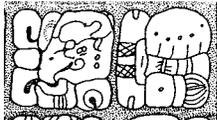
**Literal Translation:** "He gives; the divine dress; twenty-one; headwraps; the White Headband; necklace; First/Blue-Green Fortress?; the earflares; Divine Headband?; the helmet; Lord of Fire; Sun Lord Shield?; the 'Triad' God(s)"

**Free Translation:** "(K'inich Janaab Pakal) gave the divine vestments to the Lord of Fire, K'inich Ajaw (GIII). (This consisted of) twenty-one headwraps, the *Sak Hunal* necklace, the *Yax Patuun?* earflares, and the *K'uhul Hu'n* helmet."

**Discussion:** Finally, it is the turn of GIII to receive his garments and jewelry from the king. In addition to the standard items, GIII received earflares possibly named *Yax Patuun*, meaning "First or Blue-

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

Green Fortress." His helmet is the Jester God, here said to be a *k'uhul*, or "divine" crown.

	M	N		Passage 2k	
6			M6: 1?-wa N6: CHAK-OTOOT-ti		<i>ju'n ...w?</i> <i>Chak Otoot</i>
7			M7: CHAK-nu-ku N7: CHAN-na-YUM?		<i>Chak Nuk</i> <i>Chan Yum?</i>
8			M8: 6?-CHAN-na N8: u-ku-nu-li		<i>Wak ... Chan</i> <i>u kunuul</i>
9			M9: 1-NAL-? N9: ?[CHAAHK]		<i>Ju'n ...nal</i> <i>...m Chaahk (GI)</i>
10			M10: SAK-BALU'N N10: 3-ko-bo		<i>Sak Balu'n</i> <i>ux kob</i>

**Literal Translation:** "One ...?; Red House; Red Skin?; Sky Lord?; Six...Sky; the shrine of; One Knife Place; GI-Chaahk; White Nine; Three ?"

**Free Translation:** "Something happened (dedication of?) the *Chak Yotoot*, the *Chak Nuk Chan ...*, the *Wak Chan Ajaw* shrine of GI-Chaahk-Sak Balu'n."

**Discussion:** The glyph which heads this final passage of the Central Tablet is undeciphered. It is likely a verb of some sort, and contains the verbal suffix *-wa*. Whatever the event, possibly a dedication, it occurred to, or in, a "red" structure. It is referred to as the "Red House," and the "Red Skin? Sky ...," and brings to mind the name of House E of the Palace, being the *Sak Nuk Naah*, or "White Skin House." It can be said that by the 10 Ahau Period Ending of 672, the Palace was nearing completion, with the original House A-D likely having been completed around this time.<sup>26</sup> However, this structure is also said to have been the *Wak Chan Ajaw*,<sup>27</sup> the 'shrine' of GI-Chaahk. This is otherwise known to be the name of the Temple of the Cross. Given that this structure was dedicated but a katun later by K'inich Kan Bahlam II, does this indicate that Pakal initiated construction on that structure? Or did he construct an earlier version of that temple, or a similar shrine elsewhere in the site? At this point, this question remains unanswered.

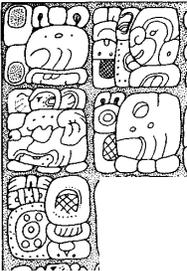
The final glyph of this passage can be read as *ux kob*. *Kob* is a word that is invariably translated in Mayan dictionaries as "*chingar*," and some scholars have attempted to extract from this an original meaning of "to procreate." However, there are many problems with such an interpretation, and it is most likely that the Classic meaning of *kob* has not yet been discovered. Almost certainly the *ux kob* glyph at the end of the Central Tablet leads directly into the beginning of the West Tablet, where Pakal is credited with the *ju'ntahn* or "caretaking" of his gods. *Kob* is a verb often seen used in reference to repetitions of earlier events (see the Tablet of the 96 glyphs and the Temple XVIII jambs for just two obvious examples), and here it likely refers to the fact that the 10 Ahau Katun Ending was the third time (the third Katun Ending) Pakal had taken care of the rituals for the gods of Palenque.

<sup>26</sup> It appears that K'inich K'an Joy Chitam II built House A-D sometime in the early eighth century. However, all of the other major structures in the Palace, excepting the much later Tower, were built in the reign of K'inich Janaab Pakal I, and it seems highly unlikely that Pakal did not construct a building in the place where House A-D was eventually built. There are indeed indications that an original House A-D was constructed by Pakal, which will be presented by the author in a future forum.

<sup>27</sup> While this structure is regularly named *Wakah Chan* in previous literature, it appears that the doubled 'ben' signs are merely a variant of AJAW, and not a syllabic *ah*.

## The West Tablet of the Temple of the Inscriptions

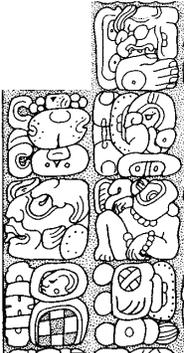
The West Tablet of the Inscriptions contains a fair bit more information than either of the other tablets, a feat accomplished by cramming more and more signs and glyphs into each glyph block. The text begins with declarations of how happy the gods were, and will be, on various Period Endings, from the reign of K'inich Janaab Pakal I to ones in the distant future. This progresses to a discussion of the anniversary of Pakal's accession that will fall in the year 4772, only eight days after the end of the first pictun since Creation. This date is connected with another famous accession, that of the 'Square-Nosed Beastie,' which occurred over a million years ago. A mysterious event occupies the central position of the tablet, with a Calendar Round date that cannot be fit with any certainty into the Long Count. The final third of the tablet is devoted to the memorable events of the latter half of Pakal's reign, including a long detail of captives which he took on the occasion of his greatest military victory, over Palenque's eastern neighbor, Santa Elena Balancan, in 659. Another event in 675 is compared to the heart sacrifice of a death god by GI in the mythological past. The final two double-columns of glyphs refer to the deaths of Pakal and his wife, who predeceased him by ten years. Finally, K'inich Kan Bahlam II, their son, recorded his accession and the fact that it was he who finished the decoration of the Temple of the Inscriptions.

	A	B	
			<b>Passage 1a</b>
1			A1: <b>u-1-TAHN-na</b> B1: <b>tu-K'UH-li</b> <i>u ju'n tahn</i> <i>tu k'uhuul</i>
2			A2: <b>WINIKHAAB</b> B2: <b>ch'a-ho-ma</b> <i>winikhaab</i> <i>ch'aho'm</i>
3			A3: <b>K'INICH-JANAAB-pa-ka-la</b> <i>K'inich Janaab Pakal</i>

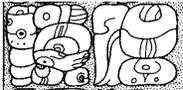
**Literal Translation:** "the caring; for the god(s) of; 20 year; Incenser; K'inich Janaab Pakal"

**Free Translation:** "It was the caring for the god(s) of the Katun *Ch'aho'm*, K'inich Janaab Pakal."

**Discussion:** This passage continues from the Central Tablet, which ended with a description of a "Red House," apparently dedicated on the 9.12.0.0.0, 10 Ahau 8 Yaxkin Period Ending. This action to the house is said to have been the third occasion (the reference to the third is in the last glyph of the Central Tablet) of Pakal's "caring for his god(s)."

	A	B	
			<b>Passage 1b</b>
3			B3: <b>u-HU'N-K'AL</b> <i>u k'al hu'n</i>
4			A4: <b>ya-?-?-la</b> B4: <b>u-K'UH-li</b> <i>ya...(?)</i> <i>u k'uhuul</i>
5			A5: <b>?[CHAAHK]</b> B5: <b>ne-UNENK'AWIIL</b> <i>...m Chaahk (GI)</i> <i>Unen K'awiil (GII)</i>
6			A6: <b>K'INICH-"GIII"</b> B6: <b>3-?-K'UH-ti</b> <i>K'inich "GIII"</i> <i>ux ...t k'uh</i>

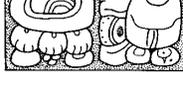
The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

	A	B		
7		A7: u-ti-mi-wa B7: yo-O'HL-la		<i>u timi'w</i> <i>yo'hl</i>
8		A8: u-K'UH-li		<i>u k'uhuul</i>

**Literal Translation:** “he presents? the headband; (on) the stone altar; of his gods; GI-Chaahk; Baby K'awiil (GII); Sun Lord Shield (GIII); the ‘Triad’ Gods; he appeased / satisfied; the hearts of; his gods”

**Free Translation:** “(K'inich Janaab Pakal) offered the crown on the stone altar to his gods, GI, GII, and GIII, the ‘Palenque Triad.’ He pleased the hearts of his gods.”

**Discussion:** This is a repeat of the statement from the Central Tablet that, as with the previous Katun Ending, Pakal offered the crown to his gods. Here this act is said to have “pleased the hearts of his gods.” This is the first of a series of similar phrases on the West Inscriptions Tablet, which have been deciphered by Marc Zender, Barbara MacLeod and David Stuart (personal communications, 2001, 2002; Zender 2004:202). They offer a fascinating insight into the emic view of the purpose of ancient Maya rituals.

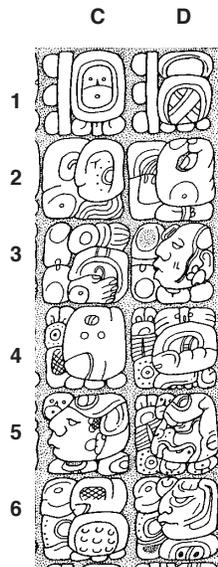
	A	B		Passage 2
8		B8: 10-AJAW		<i>laju'n ajaw</i>
9		A9: 8-YAX-K'IN B9: CHUM[mu][TUUN]-ni		<i>waxak yaxk'in</i> <i>chumtuun</i>
10		A10: i-chi B10: na-i-ki		<i>ich</i> <i>na'ik</i>
11		A11: u B11: ti-mi		<i>u</i> <i>tim</i>
12		A12: je-la B12: a-O'HL-la		<i>je'l</i> <i>a (w)o'hl</i>

**Literal Translation:** “10 Ahau; 8 Yaxkin; (a) stone seating; may it have *ich*-ed; the appeasement/satisfaction of; your heart”

**Free Translation:** “That it ???, the pleasing of your heart on the (9.12.0.0.0) 10 Ajaw 8 Yaxk'in Period Ending.”

**Discussion:** In a somewhat different phrasing, we see the same expression of ‘heart-pleasing,’ but here directed to the second person, perhaps an address to K'inich Janaab Pakal himself (for reasons seen below). *Ichnaik* here appears as an unknown verb of an optative / subjunctive nature while *u timje'l* is a possessed passive noun, “the pleasing of” (Marc Zender, personal communication 2004).

There is some uncertainty regarding the divisions between passages here. The date seen at the beginning here could, in fact, belong to the previous passage, as likewise could be the case with the following passages. Until the *ichik* and *ichnaik* phrases are deciphered this will remain problematic.



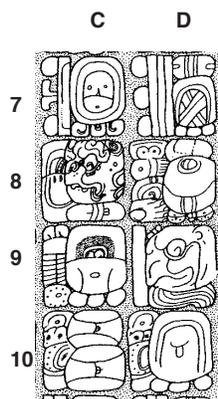
Passage 3

C1: 8-AJAW	<i>waxak ajaw</i>
D1: 8-IK'-AT	<i>waxak ik'at</i>
C2: CHUM[mu]-TUUN-ni	<i>chumtuun</i>
D2: i-chi-ki	<i>ichik</i>
C3: u-ti-mi	<i>u tim</i>
D3: a(?) -O'HL-la(?)	<i>a (w)o'hl</i>
C4: ch'a-ho-ma	<i>ch'aho'm</i>
D4: ta-ma-ta-wi	<i>ta Matawi('l)</i>
C5: AJAW-wa	<i>Ajaw</i>
D5: ta-BAAK[AJAW]-la	<i>ta Baake'l Ajaw</i>
C6: a-k'a-no-ma	<i>a(h)k'no'm</i>
D6: a-ja?-li	<i>ajaal?</i>

**Literal Translation:** "8 Ahau; 8 Uo; (a) stone-seating; that it *ich*; the appeasment of; your? heart; Incenser; to the Matawi'l; Lord; to the Bone Lord; the Giver/it will be given;?"

**Free Translation:** "That it ???, the pleasing of your heart as King of Palenque, Incenser, Giver (or it will be given ...), and ?, on the (9.13.0.0.0) 8 Ahau 8 Uo Period Ending."

**Discussion:** Here we jump ahead in time to the next Period Ending after the death of K'inich Janaab Pakal I, which was celebrated by his elder son, K'inich Kan Bahlam II. If these passages are truly directed at Pakal, as seems likely given the titles seen here and the second person address, then it is likely that this entire tablet was carved, and perhaps even designed, after his death. Again, until the *ichik* phrases are deciphered, the interpretation of these passages will prove problematic. The final two glyphs in this passage are also difficult to decipher. C6 reads *ahkn'o'm*, and is either an agentive or future construction of the verb *ahk'*, "to give." D6 is certainly related to C6 but given the unclear nature of the second element in the glyph and the uncertain reading of C6, cannot be read with certainty.



Passage 4

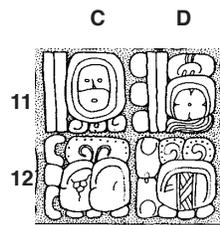
C7: 7-AJAW	<i>huk ajaw</i>
D7: 18-CHAK-AT	<i>waxaklaju'n chakat</i>
C8: i-chi-ki	<i>ichik</i>
D8: u-ti-mi-a-O'HL-la	<i>u tim a (w)o'hl</i>
C9: ta-te?-ma	<i>ta te'm?</i>
D9: 5?-ni	<i>ho' ...n</i>
C10: a-po-po	<i>a pop</i>
D10: a-TZ'AM-ma	<i>a tz'am</i>

**Literal Translation:** "7 Ahau; 18 Zip; may it *ich*; the pleasing of your heart; on the throne?; five ...?; your mat; your seat"

**Free Translation:** "(On 10.0.0.0.0) 7 Ahau 18 Zip, may it ???, the pleasing of your heart ... your mat, your throne."

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Discussion:** This is the most troublesome of the *tim-o'hl* passages. Just as the last passage included after the *utim awo'hl* statement a prepositional phrase, here we have a glyph fronted by the Maya preposition **ta**. Unfortunately, the following sign is not clear, and though this could be a **te**, leading to a reading of *te'm*, or "throne," this is not certain. The clause concludes with two glyphs fronted by the sign 'a, "your." The first reads *pop*, a word for a *petate* mat or cushion, and the second reads *tz'am*, or "seat/throne."



C11: 10-AJAW  
D11: 13-YAX-K'IN-ni  
C12: 1-?  
D12: u-to-ma

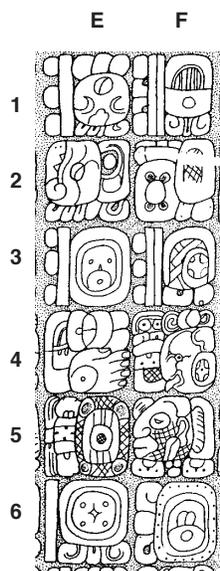
### Passage 5a

*laju'n ajaw*  
*uxlaju'n yaxk'in*  
*ju'n ...*  
*u(h)to'm*

**Literal Translation:** "10 Ahau; 13 Yaxkin; 1 'pictun'; it will happen"

**Free Translation:** "(On) 1.0.0.0.0, 10 Ahau 13 Yaxkin, it will happen..."

**Discussion:** Here is where the problem in determining which dates refer to which passages really comes to the fore. This date could pertain to the last passage; in this position it merely provides the one pictun period glyph. The *uhto'm* future event marker presumably leads into the next passage, but what follows is a reiteration of the Distance Numbers involved in K'inich Janaab Pakal's life and reign. This Period Ending date here will not occur until 4772, proving in itself that a favorite idea of certain New Age scholars, that the Classic Maya predicted the end of the world in 2012, is nothing but modern fantasy.



E1: 8-3-WINIK-ji-ya  
F1: 12-HAAB-ya  
E2: SIY-ji-ya  
F2: K'INICH-JANAAB-pa-ka-la  
E3: 8-AJAW  
F3: 13-JAL[K'AN]-wa  
E4: i-HU'N-K'AL(?)  
F4: u-tu-hi-BAAH  
E5: K'INICH-PAKAL[JANAAB]  
F5: pa-ka-la  
E6: 5-LAMAT  
F6: 1-mo[lo]

### Passage 5b

*waxak (heew), ux winikjiiy*  
*lajchan haabiyy*  
*siyjiiy*  
*K'inich Janaab Pakal*  
*waxak ajaw*  
*uxlaju'n k'anjalaw*  
*i k'alhu'n*  
*tu' baah*  
*K'inich Janaab*  
*Pakal*  
*ho' lamat*  
*ju'n mol*

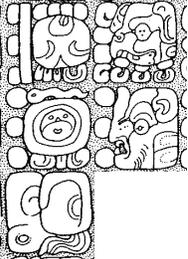
**Literal Translation:** "8 (kins), 3 uinals; 12 tuns; after he was born; Kinich Janaab Pakal; (on) 8 Ahau; 13 Pop; and then the headband was presented?; to him; K'inich Janaab Pakal; (on) 5 Lamat; 1 Mol"

**Free Translation:** "Twelve years, three months, and eight days after K'inich Janaab Pakal was born on 8 Ajaw 13 Pop, he was crowned on 5 Lamat 1 Mol."

**Discussion:** This passage provides the calendric skeleton to the most important dates in K'inich Janaab

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

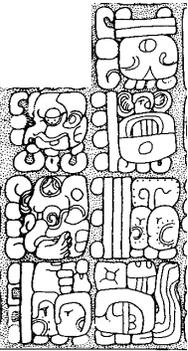
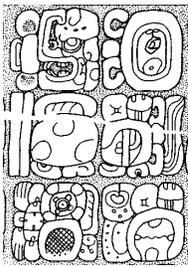
Pakal's reign: his birth and accession. The distance number in glyph block E1 is recorded in error, as it has 3 uinals when 9 is the correct number. This is only one example of calendric mistakes being literally carved in stone at Palenque.

		Passage 5c	
	E      F		
7		E7: 8-4-WINIK-ji-ya	<i>waxak (heew), chan winikjiiy</i>
		F7: 2-HAAB-ji(?)	<i>cha' haabji(iy)</i>
8		E8: 3-CHAN-AJAW	<i>chan ux ajaw</i>
		F8: 3-SUUTZ'	<i>ux suutz'</i>
9		E9: CHUM[mu]-TUUN-ni	<i>chumtuun</i>

**Literal Translation:** "8 (kins), 4 uinals; 2 tuns; after 3 Ahau; 3 Zodz; stone-seating"

**Free Translation:** "Two years, four months, eight days after the 3 Ahau 3 Zodz Period Ending."

**Discussion:** This passage merely continues the previous one, tying in the date of K'inich Janaab Pakal's accession to the Long Count calendar. He acceded just over two years after the 9.9.0.0.0, 3 Ahau 3 Zodz Period Ending.

		Passage 5d	
	E      F		
9		F9: 1-12-WINIK-ji-ya	<i>ju'n (heew), lajchan winikjiiy</i>
		E10: 2-HAAB-ya	<i>cha' haabiiy</i>
10		F10: 9-WINIKHAAB-ya	<i>balu'n winikhaabiiy</i>
		E11: 2-PIK	<i>cha' pik(iiy)</i>
11		F11: 18-?-PIK	<i>waxaklaju'n ...pik(iiy)</i>
		E12: 7-TZUTZ-PIK	<i>huk tzutzpik(iiy)</i>
12		F12: AJAW-ni	<i>ajawni(iy)</i>
	G      H		
1		G1: mi-?	<i>Mi...</i>
		H1: 1-chi	<i>ju'n chij</i>
2		G2: 10-ka-se-wa	<i>laju'n kase'w</i>
		H2: AJAW-wa-ya-ni	<i>ajawniiy</i>
3		G3: K'INICH-JANAAB-pa-ka-la	<i>K'inich Janaab Pakal</i>
		H3: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "1 (kin), 12 uinals; 2 tuns; 9 katuns; 2 baktuns; 18 pictuns; 7 calabtuns; after he had become king; 'Zip Monster'; (on) 1 Manik; 10 Tzec; he became king; K'inich Janaab Pakal; Divine Bone Lord"

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal, King of Palenque, acceded 455,393,641 days (1,247,652 years<sup>28</sup>) after the 'Zip Monster' acceded."

**Discussion:** K'inich Janaab Pakal I went to great lengths in this part of the West Tablet to situate his accession in the great scheme of time. Here his accession is compared to that of the 'Zip Monster,' or 'Square-nosed Beastie.' The latter's accession took place one-and-a-quarter million years before Pakal's. The Maya scribes, delighting in their command of enormous sums, provided this distance number exactly, there being precisely 455,393,641 days between these two accessions. This is not the only reference to the accession of the 'Zip Monster.' On Naranjo Altar 1 his accession is also recorded, but with a completely different date, 10 Oc 18 Kayab. This could reflect variable theologies (at least where dating the actions of the gods is concerned), or we could be looking at a situation akin to that of GI-Chaahk at Palenque, who seems to have led multiple and sequent lives.

G      H		Passage 5e	
4		G4: 8-5-WINIK-ji-ya H4: 10-HAAB-ya	<i>waxak (heew), ho' winikjiiy laju'n haabiyy</i>
5		G5: 11-WINIKHAAB H5: 10-PIK-ta	<i>buluch winikhaab(iiy) laju'n pik (la)t</i>
6		G6: u-to-ma H6: 5-LAMAT	<i>u(h)to'm ho' lamat</i>
7		G7: 1-mo[lo]	<i>ju'n mol</i>

**Literal Translation:** "8 (kins), 5 uinals; 10 tuns; 11 katuns; 10 baktuns later; it will happen; (on) 5 Lamat; 1 Mol"

**Free Translation:** "4,172 years and 128 days later, it will happen, 5 Lamat 1 Mol."

**Discussion:** This passage gives a Distance Number of 4,172 and a third years, from the implied birth of K'inich Janaab Pakal I, until the date of (1.0.0.0.8) 5 Lamat 1 Mol, which happened to be the eightieth Calendar Round anniversary of the date of his accession. The reason for basing the Distance Number off of Pakal's birth lies in the fact that the Maya saw a deep connection between events occurring on the same date in cyclical calendars. This is a common practice amongst all of the world's populations, and resounds in events as varied as the Passion plays on Easter and the renewing of wedding vows on a silver wedding anniversary. For the Maya, and all Mesoamerican groups for that matter, these repeated events were not mere commemoration or celebration, but a re-enactment. Events of the past left their mark on the calendar, and when their days returned again in the future, lent their weight to the present, and could positively or negatively affect the actions on those days. This belief is most in evidence in the Colonial Maya chronicles of Yucatan, the Books of Chilam Balam, and had much to do with the actions involved in the downfall of the Itza in 1697.<sup>29</sup>

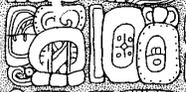
This knowledge allows us to better understand this passage. Just as earlier in Passage 5b we saw a Distance Number lead from the birth of Pakal to his accession, here we have a Distance Number from his birth to the anniversary of his accession in 4772. However, in Maya belief, not only was this the anniversary of K'inich Janaab Pakal, but it was probably also conceived in some manner that he would become king again. One recalls that the East and Central Tablets recorded the accessions of

<sup>28</sup> This is the 'Maya year' of exactly 365 days. In solar years this amounts to 1,246,826 years and 270 days (Schele and Mathews 1998:106).

<sup>29</sup> This belief influenced Spanish actions and thoughts as much as it did the Maya, as the former tried to use the Itza belief in the cataclysmic portents of Katun 8 Ahau, set to start in 1697, to persuade them to surrender peacefully.

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

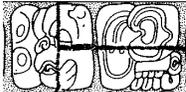
various gods of time on or shortly before or after the major Katun Endings. The Palenque scribes may well have intended the reader to know that in 4772 their king, K'inich Janaab Pakal, would reign again. And, if our understanding of the time gods is correct, that they are universal time gods who reign over the entire Maya world, Pakal would become god of time and the world itself in 4772. If this interpretation holds, it goes a long way to understanding the importance of this date to Pakal and his descendants.

		Passage 5f	
		G	H
7		H7: 1-?-PIK-ta-la	<i>ju'n ...pik lat</i>
8		G8: 8-HEEW?-wa? H8: CHAN-CHUM[TUUN]-ni	<i>waxak heew chan chumtuun</i>
9		G9: 10-AJAW H9: 13-YAX-K'IN-ni	<i>laju'n ajaw uxlaju'n yaxk'in</i>
10		G10: i-u-to-ma H10: 5-LAMAT-1-mo[lo]	<i>i u(h)to'm ho' amat, ju'n mol</i>

**Literal Translation:** "1 pictun later; 8 kins; after the stone-seating; (of) 10 Ahau; 13 Yaxkin; and it will happen; 5 Lamat, 1 Mol"

**Free Translation:** "One pictun later: The day 5 Lamat 1 Mol will occur eight days after the 10 Ahau 13 Yaxkin Period Ending."

**Discussion:** This passage merely reiterates that the day 5 Lamat 1 Mol will reoccur eight days after the one pictun Period Ending of 10 Ahau 13 Yaxkin. The Calendar Round of this future Period Ending is almost exactly the same Calendar Round as the last Katun Ending of Pakal's reign, 9.12.0.0.0, 10 Ahau 8 Yaxkin. The similarity in these dates would have also pleased Palenque's scribes, and undoubtedly the king himself.

		Passage 6a	
		G	H
11		G11: 4-chi H11: 10-CHAK-AT	<i>chan chij laju'n chakat</i>
12		G12: 1-? H12: ?-CHAN?	<i>Ju'n ... ? ... chan?</i>
		I	J
1		I1: ?-PIK? J1: i-IL?-a(?) -ji-ya	<i>? pik? ilajiyy??</i>

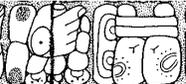
**Literal Translation:** "4 Manik; 10 Zip; One ?; ? Sky?; the dress?; witnessed"

**Free Translation:** "4 Manik 10 Zip, there was/is to be an event. He witnessed it."

**Discussion:** This date is not connected by a Distance Number to any Long Count reference, and so cannot be placed within linear time. The day 4 Manik falls just one day before 5 Lamat, the date of Pakal's accession, but there is no obvious connection between the haab dates that would allow us

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

to say more on this matter. It is not known if this event is another one to occur in the future, or one that fell within the reign of K'inich Janaab Pakal I. There appears to be no recognizable verb here; immediately following the date are the names of two poorly known deities. The first forms part of the name of the Maya version of the Feathered Serpent, whose glyphic name reads *Yax Chit Ju'n ... Naah Kan*. Here, however, only the *Ju'n ...* part can be seen, with a probable avian form of the sky glyph **CHAN** at the end, and it is not known if this changes the identity of the creature. In fact, the feathers in the mouth of this creature could be a clue that the word *murwaan*, or "hawk," is also included in this deity name. If this passage truly ends with an *ilaj* verb, meaning "to witness," it is likely that Passage 6a leads straight into Passage 6b.

I	J	Passage 6b	
2		I2: u-TZUTZ-ma-la J2: u-12-PIK	<i>u tzutzmal</i> <i>u lajchan pik</i>
3		I3: u-ti-ya J3: HA'-NAL-OOK	<i>u(h)tiiy</i> <i>Ha' Ooknal</i>
4		I4: i-yi?-li-a-ji J4: YAX-CHIT-mi	<i>i yilaaj(?)</i> <i>Yax Chitim?</i>
5		I5: K'INICH-PAKAL[JANAAB] J5: pa-ka-la	<i>K'inich Janaab</i> <i>Pakal</i>
6		I6: K'UH-AJAW-MAT J6: u-?-?-ji	<i>K'uh(ul) Mat(atwi'l) Ajaw</i> <i>u ...j</i>
7		I7: 4-ti-?-li? J7: u-?-TUUN-ni-li	<i>chan ti...l?</i> <i>u ... tuunil</i>
8		I8: 4-u-?-na? J8: CHAN-na	<i>chan u ...n?</i> <i>chan</i>
9		I9: 4-?-LAKAM? J9: ya-AK'-wa	<i>chan ...lakam?</i> <i>yak'aw</i>
10		I10: u-tu-ta-li J10: CHAN-na-K'UH	<i>u tutaal</i> <i>Chan(al) K'uh</i>
11		I11: KAB-la-K'UH	<i>Kabal K'uh</i>

**Literal Translation:** "it is the completion of; the twelfth baktun; it takes place (at); Water Dog Place; and he sees it; *Yax Chitim?*; K'inich Janaab; Pakal; Divine Matwi'l Lord; ???; 4 ???; the ??? stone thing; 4 ???; sky; 4 ??? big?; he gives it; the *tutaal* of; Sky God; Earth God"

**Free Translation:** "The twelfth baktun will end at *Ha' Ooknal* and will be witnessed by K'inich Janaab Pakal, King of Palenque. ??? ??? ???, he will give *tutaal* to the Sky God and the Earth God."

**Discussion:** This is a very difficult passage. It appears to reference the end of the twelfth baktun, which occurred a thousand years after K'inich Janaab Pakal was born. Obviously of ritualistic importance, there are a number of references to the number four and the word for "sky," suggesting possible connections to the difficult passages of Copan Stela A, and finally Pakal is said to give *tutaal* to the gods of heaven and earth. This passage is not well understood at all, and even the date is extremely uncertain. The translations have been rendered into the future tense only based on a presumed future date of the event.

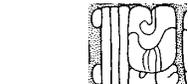
Passage 6c

	I    J		
11		J11: 14-PIK-ya	<i>chanlaju'n pikiiy</i>
12		I12: i-?-? J12: ?-?	<i>i ... ...</i>
	K    L		
1		K1: i-yi?-li-a-ji L1: k'o-?-?	<i>i yilaaj? k'o...</i>
2		K2: ?-WAY?-HAAB L2: to?-li-?	<i>... way?haab tool?...</i>
3		K3: AJ-CH'AB[AK'AB]-li L3: 9-AJAW-TZ'AK	<i>aj ch'ab ak'baal Balu'n Tz'ak(bu) Ajaw</i>
4		K4: yu-ti-bi L4: ?-na?-na	<i>yutib ...n, ...n</i>
5		K5: yu-ti-bi L5: K'INICH-PAKAL[JANAAB]	<i>yutib K'inich Janaab Pakal</i>
6		K6: yu-ti-bi L6: ?-?-?-li	<i>yutib ...l</i>
7		K7: 9-AJAW-TZ'AK-wa	<i>Balu'n Tz'ak(bu) Ajaw</i>

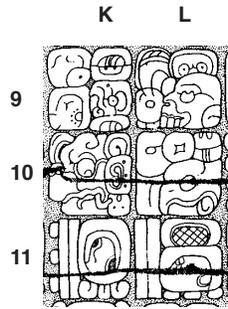
**Literal Translation:** "14 bundles; ???; ???; and he witnesses it; ???; ???; ???; your creation (your darkness; Many Successions Lord; the *utib* of ...; ???; the *utib* of ...; K'inich Janaab Pakal; the *utib* of ...; ???; Many Successions Lord"

**Free Translation:** "Fourteen bundles? ... it was witnessed by ... your creation and darkness, Balu'n Tz'akbu Ajaw. It is the *utib* of ???, and of K'inich Janaab Pakal, and ??? Balu'n Tz'akbu Ajaw."

**Discussion:** This is another very difficult passage. The fourteen bundles have a **-ya** suffix, that could be a Distance Number of fourteen baktuns, although this is far from clear. A witnessing of this event is mentioned, and a second person address to "your creation and darkness," a common phrase in Classic (and later) texts, is found in a reference to the supernatural powers of lords. Then we have a number of apparently possessed *utibs* or unpossessed *yutibs*. What a *yutib* or *utib* may be is not clear from the text. The very difficult Passage 6 likely ends the first half of the West Tablet of the Inscriptions, which deals with ritual references to Pakal and his reign.

	K    L		
7		L7: 17-he-wa	<i>huklaju'n heew</i>
8		K8: 16-WINIK-ji-ya L8: 6-HAAB-ya-CHAN-12-AJAW	<i>waklaju'n winikjiy wak haabiyy chan lajchan ajaw</i>

The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal



K9: CHUM[mu]-TUUN-i-hu-li  
L9: nu-u-JOL

*chumtuun i huli*  
*Nu('n) u Jol*

K10: CHAAHK  
L10: wa-AJAW-WAK'AAB

*Chaahk*  
*Wak'aab Ajaw*

K11: 13-KABAN  
L11: 10-IK'-SIHO'M?-ma

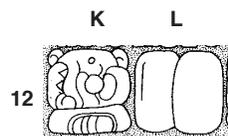
*uxlaju'n kaban*  
*laju'n ik'*

**Literal Translation:** "17 kins; 16 uinal; 6 tuns after 12 Ahau; stone-seating and then he arrived; ??? Nu'n u Jol Chaahk; *Wak'aab* Lord; (on) 13 Caban; 10 Chen"

**Free Translation:** "Six years, sixteen months, and seventeen days after the 12 Ahau Period Ending, Nu'n u Jol Chaahk, Lord of Santa Elena, arrived on 13 Caban 10 Chen."

**Discussion:** With Passage 7 we can finally be assured that we have moved back into historical time. The Distance Number here connects the date of this event, 13 Caban 10 Chen, with the 9.11.0.0.0, 12 Ahau 8 Ceh Period Ending of 652. This event, given the amount of space devoted to it, must have been the highlight of the reign of K'inich Janaab Pakal I, and the 'prequel' to this event can be found outlined in (eroded) detail on the House C Stairs of the Palace. Here on the West Inscriptions Tablet we are told that a lord named Nu'n u Jol Chaahk arrived. For many years scholars believed this was the contemporary king of Tikal, who bore this name, and who was driven out of his capital following an attack by Calakmul in 657. However, recently it has become clear that this is not the king of Tikal arriving into refuge at the city of a valued ally, but the arrival of an enemy king following his capture<sup>30</sup> (which is related on the Hieroglyphic Stairway).

In fact, as David Stuart first cogently noted, the Emblem Glyph seen here is not that of Tikal, but that of the enigmatic *Wa-Bird* site (the full ancient name of which appears to have been *Wak'aab*). Recent studies by Stuart and Nikolai Grube have identified this Emblem Glyph being used locally by lords at the site of Santa Elena Balancan, on the west bank of the San Pedro Martir River, directly east of Palenque. The House C Hieroglyphic Stairway records a series of captures made six days earlier, including a lord of Pomona, a site located halfway between Palenque and Santa Elena, indicating that this was the occasion of a major battle between Palenque and its eastern neighbors. With this new information regarding this event we can now better understand its importance to K'inich Janaab Pakal I. In one fell swoop he had managed to expand his realm to the banks of the San Pedro River, the greatest route into the Central Peten. 13 Caban 10 Chen was a great military triumph, when Pakal's eastern enemies were hauled into the city, an event that must have been recalled proudly by generations of Palencanos.



K12: hu-li  
L12: (LAKAM?-HA?)

*huli*  
*Lakam Ha'*

Passage 7b

<sup>30</sup> That an arrival of a foreign lord can actually mean the arrival of a captive at the royal court of his captors is something demonstrated quite nicely by vase K8176 (in Justin Kerr's MayaVase database at [www.famsi.org](http://www.famsi.org)), which portrays a king of the Ik' polity of Central Peten seated on his throne with a captive and four of his vassals seated and kneeling on the floor below him. A small hieroglyphic text in front of the captive's face states *huli ma' ch'ab ma' ak'ab X*, or "he arrives the powerless X" where X is the captive's name. From this it can be seen that such arrivals must have been similar to the triumphs of ancient Rome, when victories in battle were celebrated by parading not only the victors but also their captives.

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

	M	N		
1			M1: NAL-yi[chi]-la N1: u-YAX-(CHIT)-mi	<i>yichnal</i> <i>u Yax Chit Mi(y)?</i>
2			M2: K'INICH-JANAAB N2: pa-ka-la	<i>K'inich Janaab</i> <i>Pakal</i>
3			M3: K'UH-AJAW-(MAT)	<i>K'uh(ul) Mat(awi'l) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "he arrived; (at) Big Water; into the presence of; the First/Blue Father?? *Miy*; K'inich Janaab; Pakal; Divine Matawi'l Lord"

**Free Translation:** "(Nu'n u Jol Chaahk) arrived at Palenque into the presence of K'inich Janaab Pakal, King of Palenque."

**Discussion:** Passage 7b forms a couplet with the previous one, and here we are told that Nu'n u Jol Chaahk arrived at Palenque. As he arrived "into the presence of K'inich Janaab Pakal," it would appear that, in fact, the king did not participate directly in the battle to capture this king of Wak'aab, but stayed in his capital awaiting the arrival of his war captains with their booty of tribute and captives. Pakal was already fifty-six years old by this time and so his non-participation in the actual battles in the east is perhaps understandable.

	M	N		Passage 7c
3			N3: i?-hu-li	<i>i huli</i>
4			M4: 9?-PIK? N4: K'UH-AJAW-wa	<i>Balu'n ...pik?</i> <i>K'uh(ul) Ajaw</i>
5			M5: ?-CHAN? N5: K'AWIIL	<i>... Chan?</i> <i>K'awiil</i>
6			M6: YAX?-KAB N6: YAX-sa	<i>Yax ...Kab?</i> <i>Yax Sa(jal?)</i>
7			M7: YAX?-?-ji N7: 2-YAX?-?-TE'	<i>Yax ...j</i> <i>Cha' Yax ... Te'</i>
8			M8: hu?-li-u-K'UH-li N8: YAX-HA'-CHAAHK	<i>huli? u k'uhuul</i> <i>Yax Ha'(al?) Chaahk</i>
9			M9: ba-AJAW-TUUN N9: yi-ta-ji	<i>Batuun Ajaw</i> <i>yitaaj</i>
10			M10: 4-YAX?-JOL/CHAM-K'UH N10: u?-ka-ba-AJAW-wa	<i>Chan Yax? Jol/Cham? K'uh</i> <i>u Kab Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "and? arrived; ???; Divine Lord; ? Sky; K'awiil; First/Blue ... Earth; First/Blue ?; First/Blue ?; 2 First/Blue ? Tree; arrived? the gods (of); First/Blue Water Rain God; *Batuun?* Lord; the companion of; 4 First/Blue Skull/Death God; The Earth Lord"

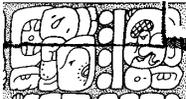
**Free Translation:** "(And with Nu'n u Jol Chaahk) arrived (names of lords or gods), the gods (of?) Yax

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

Ha'(al) Chaahk, Lord of Batuun, the companion of (name), *U Kab* Lord'.

**Discussion:** This is a long list of other individuals who arrived into Palenque along with Nu'n u Jol Chaahk. These may be other lords, or perhaps patron gods from the captured cities. The passage concludes by describing something (perhaps an arrival) involving the god(s) of a lord, or a god, named Yax Ha'al Chaahk. His Emblem Glyph appears to read *Batuun*, also found on an unprovenienced shell, and he is said to have been the companion of, or accompanied by, another figure also of *ajaw* status. Erosion precludes certainty in many of these readings.

Yax Ha'al Chaahk is an interesting deity as he was a patron god of both Calakmul and Piedras Negras, both major enemies of Palenque. In addition, Yax Ha'al Chaahk is a god regularly associated with warfare. Copan's Hieroglyphic Stairway, the only text known from the ancient Maya world longer than Palenque's Temple of the Inscriptions text, states that on the day that Copan's king Waxaklaju'n u Baah K'awiil ("18 Rabbit") died in battle, Yax Ha'al Chaahk was born. From texts at Quirigua we know that Waxaklaju'n u Baah K'awiil was decapitated, and it is probably no coincidence that the many images of Yax Ha'al Chaahk seen on Codex-style vases portray this rain god with an axe, in the process of sacrificing the Baby Jaguar god. Yax Ha'al Chaahk appears to have been a god of sacrifice, particularly decapitation sacrifice by axing, and perhaps also a god of warfare by extension. This may well be important to understanding the mention of Yax Ha'al Chaahk here on the West Tablet of the Inscriptions, although we cannot forget that it is still possible that this name on this tablet refers to a human lord and not the god of the same name.

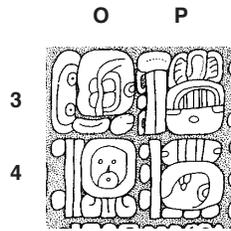
		Passage 7d	
	M      N		
11		M11: u-WE'-ji-ya N11: 3-?-ti-K'UH	<i>u we'jiy</i> <i>ux ...t k'uh</i>
12		M12: ne?-K'AWIIL N12: ti	<i>(U)ne(n)? K'awiil</i> <i>Ti</i>
	O      P		
1		O1: K'AN-WAY?-a-ku P1: 9-OOK-K'UH-TE'	<i>K'an Way? Ahk</i> <i>Balu'n Ookte' K'uh</i>
2		O2: K'INICH-NAL-PAKAL[JANAAB] P2: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-la-wa	<i>K'inich Janaab Pakal</i> <i>K'uh(ul) Baakel Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "he/they ate them; the 'Triad Gods'; ? K'awiil; ???; Yellow Dream? Turtle; Nine Pillars God; K'inich Janaab Pakal; Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal and his 'Triad Gods' ate (Nu'n u Jol Chaahk and) them."

**Discussion:** After the great 'triumph' of K'inich Janaab Pakal came a grand and gruesome banquet, at which Nu'n u Jol Chaahk was not only the 'guest of honor,' but also the main course. A similar grisly text referring to gods eating captives can be found on Yaxchilan Lintel 35. These texts affirm that ritual cannibalism was indeed a part of Classic Maya society. This passage directly compares K'inich Janaab Pakal to the gods. Pakal was especially associated with Balu'n Yookte' K'uh, whose name glyph is found immediately in front of the king's both here and on the House C Stairs.

The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal



Passage 7e

O3: u-TZ'AK?-wa  
P3: u-11-WINIKHAAB

*u tz'akaw?  
u buluch winikhaab*

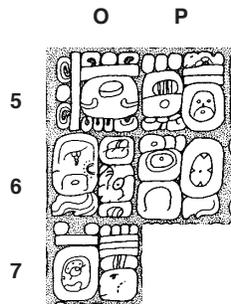
O4: 12-AJAW  
P4: 8-CHAK-SIHO'M?-ma

*lajchan ajaw  
waxak chak*

**Literal Translation:** "It succeeded; the eleventh katun; 12 Ahau; 8 Ceh"

**Free Translation:** "The eleventh katun (12 Ahau 8 Ceh) ended."

**Discussion:** For some unknown reason, at the end of this passage we have a reiteration of the end of the eleventh katun, which had occurred almost seven years earlier. Why this passage is found apparently out of sequence is not understood.



Passage 8a

O5: 6-6-WINIK-ji-ya  
P5: 3-HAAB-ya-CHAN-10-AJAW

*wak (heew), wak winikjiy  
ux haabiiy chan laju'n ajaw*

O6: CHUM[TUUN]-ni-i-hu-li  
P6: SAK?-ja?-?-K'IN-ni

*chumtuun i huli  
Sak Ja... K'in?*

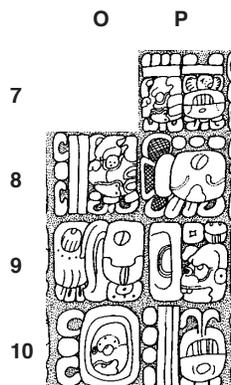
O7: 7-CHAMI-19-CHAK-SIHO'M

*huk chami balunlaju'n chak*

**Literal Translation:** "6 (kins), 6 uinals; 3 tuns after 10 Ahau; stone-seating and then he arrived; ??? Sun; (on) 7 Cimi 19 Ceh"

**Free Translation:** "Three years, six months, and six days after the 10 Ajaw Period Ending, and then... K'in arrived, on 7 Cimi 19 Ceh."

**Discussion:** This passage parallels Passage 7a, with another arrival being dated by a Distance Number leading forward from the previous Katun Ending. Unfortunately, the scribe appears to have been running out of space and began to cram more glyphs into a smaller space. Thus, although erosion is slight on the West Tablet, many critical details have easily disappeared through the years. If this passage is truly parallel to 7a, the figure named as ... K'in should be a captive, and his arrival at Palenque likely was followed by his sacrificial death.



Passage 8b

P7: 9-PIK-ya-7-WINIKHAAB-ya

*balu'n pikiiy huk winikhaabiiy*

O8: 11-HAAB-ya  
P8: mi-3-WINIK-ji-ya

*buluch haabiiy  
mi(h heew) ux winikjiy*

O9: ?-ji-yo-O'HL-la  
P9: ?-AJAW-CHAMI

*...j yo'hl  
? Chami Ajaw*

O10: 1-CHAMI  
P10: 19-PAAX

*ju'n chami  
balunlaju'n paax*

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Literal Translation:** "9 baktuns, 7 katuns; 11 tuns; 0 (kins), and 3 uinals; after ... the heart of; Lord Death Lord; (on) 1 Cimi; 19 Pax"

**Free Translation:** "1,350,420 days (3699 years and 285 days) after the heart of the death god was 'extracted' on 1 Cimi 19 Pax."

**Discussion:** Rather than immediately discussing the importance of this person, ... K'in, the text goes far back into mythological time, to an undeciphered event that occurred to the heart of a death god on the day 1 Cimi 19 Pax. As Marc Zender has noted, the two dates in this passage, 1 Cimi ("1 Death") and 7 Cimi ("7 Death") are the names of the death gods in the Popol Vuh.

O P		Passage 8c	
11		O11: ya-YAL-ji-ya P11: tu-u-k'a[ba]	<i>yaljiiy</i> <i>tu' k'ab</i>
12		O12: ?[CHAAHK] P12: ta-?-K'AHK'-NAAHB	<i>...m Chaahk (GI)</i> <i>ta ... k'ahk'naahb</i>

**Literal Translation:** "he threw it; from his hand; GI; into the middle of the ocean"

**Free Translation:** "GI-Chaahk threw it (the heart of the death god) from his hand into the middle of the ocean."

**Discussion:** This passage states that something was thrown into the very middle of the ocean, by the hand of GI himself. The thing that was thrown, as indicated by the verbal affixes, can be found in Passage 8b, and this was the heart of a death god. This interpretation allows us to speculate that the verb in 8b is one referring to an event that must lead to GI having the heart in his hand; and thus we may suggest that the glyph in O9a in fact refers to heart extraction or sacrifice.<sup>31</sup>

Q R		Passage 8d	
1		Q1: u-?-a-?-?-? R1: 7-CHAMI-19-CHAK-SIHO'M?-ma	<i>u ...a, ...</i> <i>huk chami, balunlaju'n chak</i>
2		Q2: u-k'o?-?-WINIKHAAB-ch'a-ho-ma R2: K'INICH-JANAAB-pa-ka-la	<i>u k'o...?, winikhaab ch'aho'm</i> <i>K'inich Janaab Pakal</i>

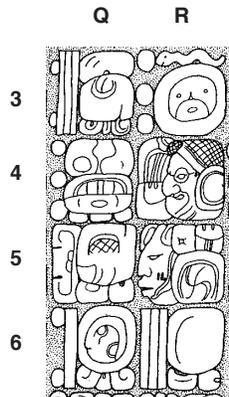
**Literal Translation:** "?; 7 Cimi, 19 Ceh; ? 20 Year Incenser; Sunny? Flower? Shield"

**Free Translation:** "On 7 Cimi, 19 Ceh the Katun Incenser, K'inich Janaab Pakal, (did the same?)."

**Discussion:** The final glyphs in this passage return to historic time and connect the heart sacrifice of the death god by GI with the actions of the king, K'inich Janaab Pakal, on the same day as the arrival of ... K'in. Most likely, these glyphs state that Pakal was carrying out the same action, and it is likely that ... K'in met his death on the sacrificial block on the very day he entered Palenque. Pakal's actions identified him in the guise of GI, who had conquered the death god, and, by extension, death itself. In fact, the king's own death was less than ten years away.

<sup>31</sup> Marc Zender arrived at this same conclusion independently (personal communication 2002).

The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal



Passage 9a

Q3: 17-ni-ji-ya  
R3: 3-CHAN-AJAW

*huklaju'nijiiy*  
*chan ux ajaw*

Q4: 3-WAY?-HAAB  
R4: i-T'AB?

*ux way?haab*  
*i t'ab(aay)?*

Q5: na-k'a-la?  
R5: IX-AJAW-TZ'AK

*nak'al*  
*Ix Tz'ak(bu) Ajaw*

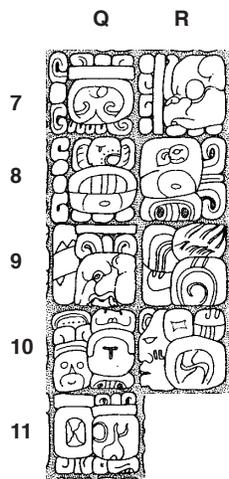
Q6: 7-KABAN  
R6: 15-(JAL[K'AN])-wa

*huk kaban*  
*holaju'n k'anjawatw*

**Literal Translation:** "17 kins; after 3 Ahau; 3 Uayeb; and was dedicated; the coming close; of Lady Tz'akbu Ajaw; (on) 7 Caban; 15 Pop"

**Free Translation:** "17 days after the 3 Ahau 3 Uayeb (Period Ending), Lady Tz'akbu Ajaw was married on 7 Caban 15 Pop."

**Discussion:** These later passages were certainly commissioned by K'inich Kan Bahlam II after his father's death, and in the final two double-columns of the West Tablet he recorded the deaths of his mother and father. Here the marriage of his mother to his father is recorded. As with the other passages on this tablet, the actual date of the event is tied into the Long Count calendar by use of a Distance Number to the nearest Period Ending, in this case the 9.9.13.0.0, 3 Ahau 3 Uayeb Period Ending of 626.



Passage 9b

Q7: 1-6-WINIK-ji-ya  
R7: 7-HAAB

*ju'n (heew), wak winikjiiy*  
*huk haab(iiy)*

Q8: 2-WINIKHAAB  
R8: CHUM[mu]-li-ya

*cha' winikhaab(iiy)*  
*chumliiy*

Q9: ta-5-ya-ji  
R9: i-K'A'-yi

*ta ho'yaaaj?*  
*i k'a'aay*

Q10: u-SAK[?]-IK'-li  
R10: IX-AJAW-TZ'AK

*u ...k sak ik'aal*  
*Ix Tz'ak(bu) Ajaw*

Q11: 5-ETZ'NAB-6-UN-wi

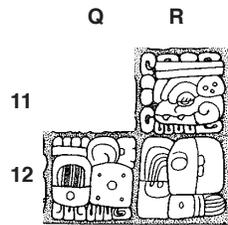
*ho' etz'nab, wak uniw*

**Literal Translation:** "1 (kin), 6 uinals; 7 tuns; 2 katuns; after she was seated; as queen; and then it flew away(?); her flower-white breath; Lady Tz'akbu Ajaw (on) 5 Edznab 6 Kankin"

**Free Translation:** "Forty-seven years after she became queen, Lady Tz'akbu Ajaw passed away on 5 Edznab 6 Kankin."

**Discussion:** This passage informs us that Lady Tz'akbu Ajaw was married for 47 years before she died on 9.12.0.6.18, 5 Edznab 6 Kankin. The text provides a Distance Number from the event of Passage 9a, but here the event is described not as a marriage, but as the 'seating as queen' of Lady Tz'akbu Ajaw. Evidently, marriage to the king automatically elevated this princess to the level of queen.

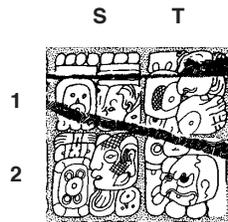
The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal



Passage 10

11 R11: 2-11-WINIK-ji-ya  
 12 Q12: 9-HAAB-OCH-bi-ji-ya  
 R12: i-u-ti

*cha' (heew), buluch winikjiiy*  
*balu'n haab(iiy), ochbijiiy*  
*i uut*



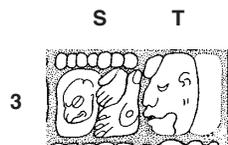
1 S1: 9-AJAW-18-SUUTZ'  
 T1: u-WI'-TUUN-ni-K'AL?  
 2 S2: K'INICH-JANAAB-pa-ka-la  
 T2: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-la?-wa?

*balu'n ajaw, waxaklaju'n suutz'*  
*u wi' k'altuun?*  
*K'inich Janaab Pakal*  
*K'uh(ul) Baakel Ajaw*

**Literal Translation:** "2 (kins), 11 uinal; 9 tuns; and then it happened; 9 Ahau 18 Zodz; the last stone-placement of; K'inich Janaab Pakal; Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "Nine and a half years later it occurred, the 9 Ahau 18 Zodz Period Ending, the last stone presentation? of K'inich Janaab Pakal, King of Palenque."

**Discussion:** This short passage ties in the death of Lady Tz'akbu Ajaw to a Period Ending, and provides the additional information that this was the last Period Ending of her husband, K'inich Janaab Pakal. By the time this date rolled around, Pakal was seventy-nine years of age and had been a widower for the last nine. One of his sons had passed away only a few years earlier, leaving a young grandson, the future Ahku'l Mo' Naahb III. A portrait from this period may once have graced the inner room of Temple XVIII, commissioned by this later king.



Passage 11

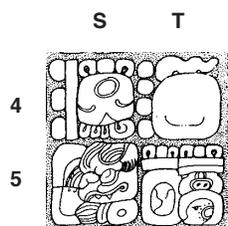
3 S3: 4-OK-3-K'AM[?]  
 T3: LAJU'N?[AJAW?]-wa??

*chan ok, ux k'am? ...*  
*Laju'n ...?*

**Literal Translation:** "4 Oc, third grasping?; 10 Ajaw"

**Free Translation:** "(On) 4 Oc was the third accession? of Laju'n ... (?)."

**Discussion:** This passage is badly eroded, and the date is given only in the tzolkin calendar, unless the strange glyph following it at S3b is actually a variant of the month Chen (the coefficient would be right for this interpretation). A death god's head follows in this terse passage. This could be another accession of a death god, and it is interesting to note that this event fell only twenty-eight days before the death of K'inich Janaab Pakal. It has been suggested that Pakal may have fallen fatally ill on this day, although this is mere speculation. Whatever the event, it was clearly important enough to have warranted space in the crowded right side of the West Inscriptions Tablet.

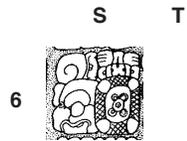


Passage 12a

4 S4: 8-1-WINIK-ji-ya  
 T4: 4-CHAN-(OK)  
 5 S5: i-u-ti  
 T5: 6-ETZ'NAB-11-YAX-SIHO'M?

*waxak (heew), ju'n winikjiiy*  
*chan chan ok*  
*i u(h)ti*  
*wak etz'nab, buluch yax*

The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

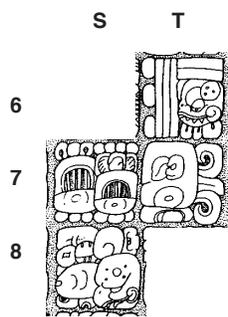


S6: OCH-bi-K'INICH-PAKAL[JANAAB] och bi(h-aj) K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Literal Translation:** "8 (kins), 1 uinal; after 4 Oc; and then it happened; (on) 6 Edznab 11 Yax; he was interred?, K'inich Janaab Pakal"

**Free Translation:** "Twenty-eight days after 4 Oc, and then it happened that on 6 Edznab 11 Yax, K'inich Janaab Pakal passed away."

**Discussion:** This passage tells us the date of the death of the great king, which is also recorded on the Palace Tablet, and on the Sarcophagus Lid, deep below the Temple of the Inscriptions pyramid.



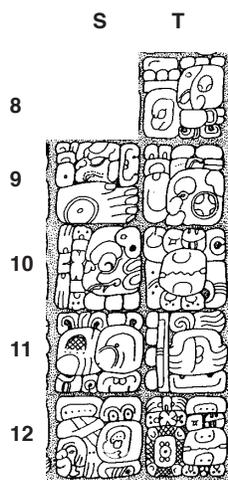
Passage 12b

T6: 18-10-WINIK-ji-ya waxaklaju'n (heew), laju'n winikjiiy  
 S7: 1-HAAB-4-WINIKHAAB ju'n haab(iiy), chan winikhaab(iiy)  
 T7: CHUM[mu]-li-ya chumliiy  
 S8: ta-AJAW-le-wa-OCH-bi ta ajawle(l), och bih

**Literal Translation:** "18 (kins), 10 uinals; 1 tun, 4 katuns; after he was seated; and then he died"

**Free Translation:** "Eighty-one years and 173 days<sup>32</sup> (29,738 days) after his \*birth, he (K'inich Janaab Pakal) died."

**Discussion:** This passage, in error, gives a Distance Number of 81 years between the accession and death of K'inich Janaab Pakal. In fact, this Distance Number reaches from his birth. While we consider this to be a mistake, it may have been deliberate, to imply that Pakal was ruler since birth.



Passage 12c

T8: ta?-8-OK-3-a[K'AN]-si-ya ta waxak ok, ux k'anasiiy  
 S9: SAK-HU'N-na-K'AL? k'al sak hu'n  
 T9: tu-u?-hi-BAAH tu' baah  
 S10: K'INICH-KAN[BAHLAM]-ma K'inich Kan Bahlam  
 T10: K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-la-wa K'uh(ul) Baakel Ajaw  
 S11: ya-k'a-wa-1-TAHN-na yak'aw ju'n tahn  
 T11: 9-EHT?-NAAH Balu'n Eht Naah  
 S12: u-K'ABA-u-MUK-li u k'aba u mukil  
 T12: K'INICH-PAKAL[JANAAB]- K'inich Janaab Pakal,  
 K'UH-AJAW-BAAK-la K'uh(ul) Baakel Ajaw

<sup>32</sup> This is in Maya years of exactly 365 days. In the solar calendar this is 80 years and 154 days.

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Literal Translation:** "on? 8 Oc, 3 Kayab; white headband presentation?; to him; K'inich Kan Bahlam; Divine Bone Lord; he gave caring?; (to the) Nine Image? House; is the name of his tomb; K'inich Janaab Pakal, Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "On 8 Oc 3 Kayab, K'inich Kan Bahlam was crowned. He took care of (the final decoration of) the *Balu'n Eht?* House, the name of the tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal, King of Palenque."

**Discussion:** The final passage of the West Inscriptions Tablet records the accession of K'inich Kan Bahlam II, the king who oversaw the final decoration of the Temple of the Inscriptions. One hundred and thirty-two days after his father's death, the forty-eight-year-old prince acceded as king of Palenque. To proclaim his filial piety, the new king included in the final glyph blocks, that he "gave caring to the tomb of" his father. The final touches to this great structure would have been carried out while the new king was already beginning his great memorial, the Cross Group.

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great: The Sarcophagus

Arguably the most famous discovery in Maya archaeology, the tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal was opened by Alberto Ruz Lhuillier on June 13, 1952. Since that momentous day fifty years ago, the elaborately carved sarcophagus in which the body of the king himself had lain for more than twelve centuries has been the focus of many studies, and was a major key in unraveling the ancient history of Palenque's royal dynasty. The iconography on the surface of the sarcophagus lid itself will not be discussed at any length here, as it has been examined by countless scholars over the previous half-century. In short, the sarcophagus lid portrays Pakal ascending out of the maws of the underworld, being borne up by a skeletal version of the Quadripartite Badge, which itself appears to be a representation of a flaming cache vessel, with a shell, stingray spine, and bundled cloth inside (Figure 8, next page). Behind the king, who is portrayed as the deity Unen K'awiil ("Baby God K") in the position of being born into the underworld, rises the World Tree, surrounded by the ether of the flowery underworld, indicated by the many jewel-like emblems of *k'ulel*.

Framing the upper surface of the sarcophagus lid is a long sky-band, with the heads of three figures above and below the main scene. Each of these figures carries a short, identifying hieroglyphic text. The figure on the left in the upper frame is named as *Yuk Sajal* and again on the left in the lower as *Yuk Mak'aba(j)te'*. He is portrayed with a fleshy face and cloth headwrap. A descendant of his is likely shown on the new carved platform from Temple XIX, named as *Yax Sajal Mak'abajte'* (second figure to the right of the king on the front face of that monument). From this information one may gather that members of the Mak'abajte' family or lineage served the kings of Palenque as *sajals* through many if not all of the reigns of the Late Classic period.

The figure in the center of both the upper and lower frames is named as *Chak Chan*, a figure also known from a stone incensario fragment that fell into the aqueduct, likely from the Cross Group area to the east. Chak Chan is given the *ajk'uhu'n* title, which appears to designate a priestly, scribal, or courtier position. The figure to the upper and lower right also carries this title, and is named as "Jewel Bird" (??? *Muut*). These three figures would appear to have been high-ranking nobles in the court of K'inich Janaab Pakal, and were given prominent mention in the king's tomb, both here on the lid and on the supports for the sarcophagus itself. One must imagine that these three were both the king's closest aides and possibly his friends.

The hieroglyphic text running around the edges of the lid are discussed here, and refer to the deaths of K'inich Janaab Pakal, his parents, and the preceding lords of Palenque. The reading order seen here follows the original block designations by Ruz, beginning with the south side, which corresponds to the lower side of the sarcophagus lid face, and is the first side seen when entering the tomb.

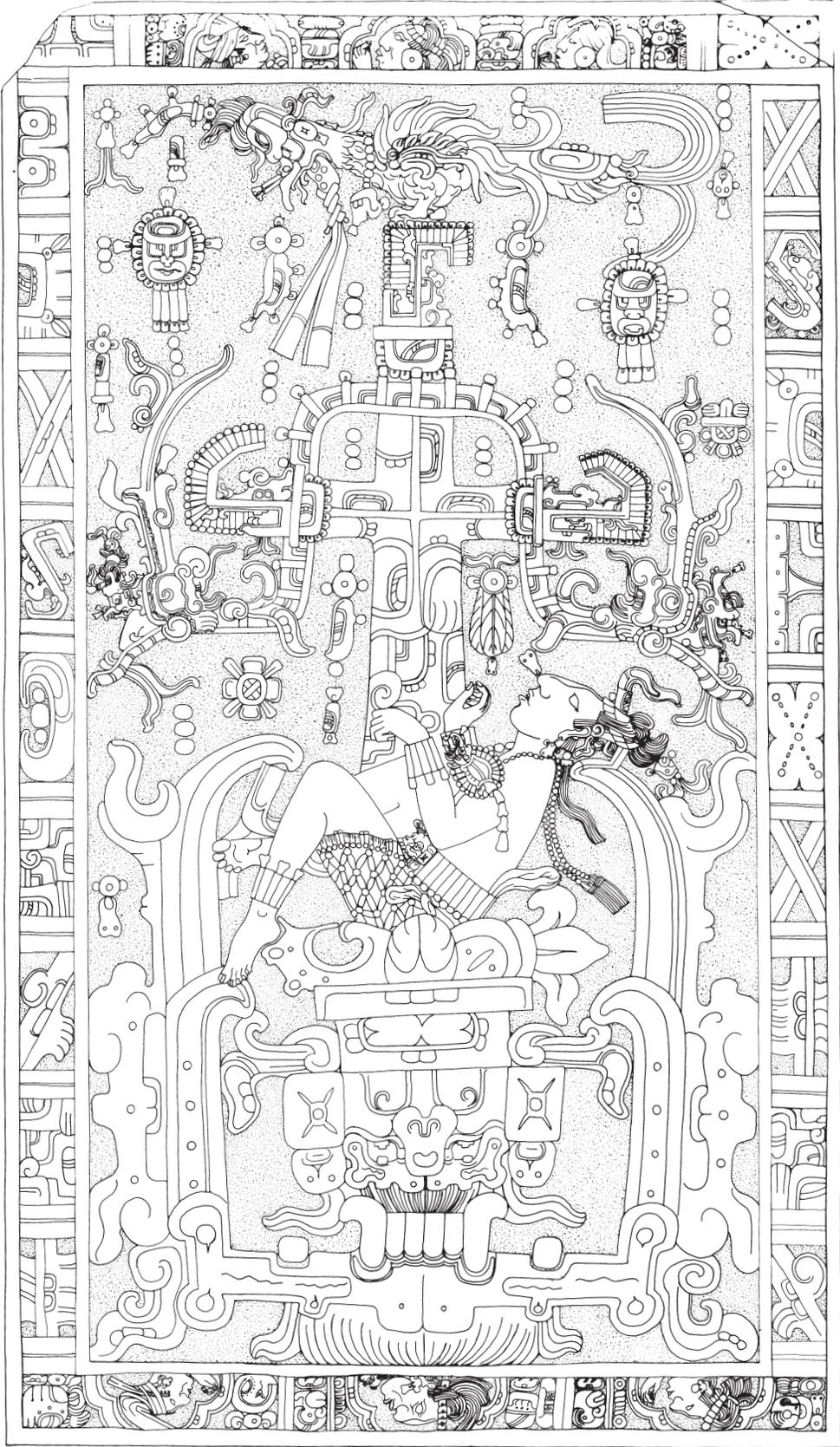
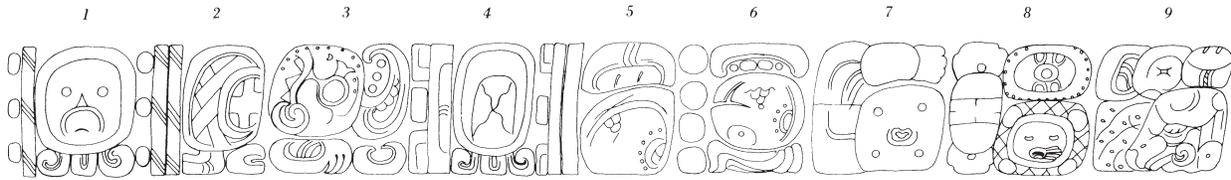


Figure 8. Sarcophagus lid (drawing by Merle Greene Robertson [1983:Figure 99]).

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal



Drawings of the Sarcophagus Lid glyphs by Merle Greene Robertson (1983:Figure 170).

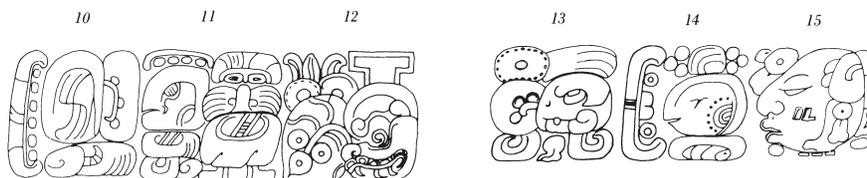
### Passage 1

1. 8-AJAW	<i>waxak ajaw</i>
2. 13-JAL[K'AN]-wa	<i>uxlaju'n k'anjalaw</i>
3. SIY-ji-ya	<i>siyjiiy</i>
4. 6-ETZ'NAB	<i>wak etz'nab</i>
5. 11-YAX-SIHO'M?	<i>buluch yax</i>
6. 4-u-CHUM[TUUN]-ni	<i>chan u chumtuun</i>
7. i-OCH-bi	<i>i och bih(aj)</i>
8. K'INICH-JANAAB?-PAKAL	<i>K'inich Janaab Pakal</i>
9. K'UH-AJAW	<i>K'uh(ul) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "8 Ahau; 13 Pop; was born; 6 Edznab; 11 Yax; four were his stone seatings; and then he died; K'inich Janaab Pakal; Divine Lord"

**Free Translation:** "K'inich Janaab Pakal was born on 8 Ahau 13 Pop and died on 6 Edznab 11 Yax, after four Period Endings."

**Discussion:** This passage presents, in as succinct a manner as possible, the life of K'inich Janaab Pakal. He was born on 8 Ahau 13 Pop, and died on 6 Edznab 11 Yax, after having witnessed four Katun Endings.



### Passage 2a

10. u-TZ'AK-bu-ji	<i>u tz'akbuuj</i>
11. u-KAB-ji-ya-u-ma	<i>u kabjiiy u ma(m)</i>
12. tz'a-?-?-NAAH-KAN	<i>tz'a...Naah Kan</i>
13. PAT-bu-ya	<i>patbu'y</i>
14. u-KUCH(?)-TUN-li	<i>u kuch(?)tuunil</i>
15. IXIIM	<i>Ixiim</i>

**Literal Translation:** "it was changed/continued; he/they oversaw it, the grandfather(s); ??? House Snake; it was made; the carrying stone thing; of the Maize God"

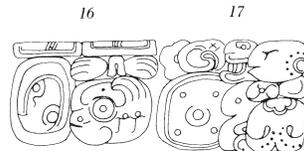
**Free Translation:** "The Vision Serpent and the ancestors oversaw the succession and the building of the sarcophagus of the Maize God."

**Discussion:** The opening phrase of this passage includes an *u tz'akbu u kabjiiy* statement that on Tikal

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

Stela 31 and a number of other monuments is used to signify a change in time and ruler. Here, the meaning is less clear. It is followed by the name of one of the Vision Serpents that on cache vessels from the Tikal region of the Central Peten are depicted belching forth the apotheosized head of ancestral kings (see Schele and Mathews 1998:131).

The second part of this passage refers to the making of the *kuch(?)tuunil* of the Maize God. *Kuch(?)tuunil* is elsewhere known to be a term for stone effigy-incensarios and cult statues, and appears to literally mean "portable stone (sculpture)." Here it may refer to the Sarcophagus Lid itself. Interestingly, Pakal appears to have been dressed as the Maize God in the sarcophagus (Schele and Mathews 1998:127), thus confirming this passage of the Sarcophagus Lid text.



### Passage 3a

16. 5-KAB-5-ma-ka

*ho' kab ho' mak*

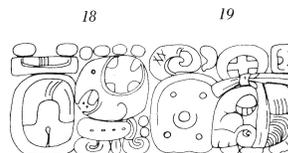
17. OCH-bi-a-ku-MO'-NAAHB

*och bih(aj) Ahku'l Mo' Naahb*

**Literal Translation:** 5 Caban; 5 Mac; he died Ahku'l Mo' Naahb"

**Free Translation:** "Ahku'l Mo' Naahb I died on 5 Caban 5 Mac."

**Discussion:** As above on the Inscriptions Tablets, Ahku'l Mo' Naahb I begins the account of Palenque history, which here concentrates on the deaths of the kings, in keeping with the mortuary theme of the Sarcophagus room.



### Passage 3b

18. 7-"CIB"-4-a[K'AN]-si-ya

*huk "cib" chan k'anasiyy*

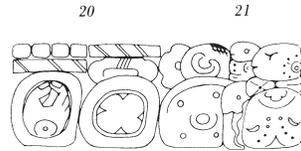
19. OCH-bi-K'AN-na-JOY[CHITAM]-ma

*och bih(aj) K'an Joy Chitam*

**Literal Translation:** "7 Cib 4 Kayab; he died, K'an Joy Chitam"

**Free Translation:** "K'an Joy Chitam I died on 7 Cib 4 Kayab."

**Discussion:** K'an Joy Chitam I was one of the longest reigning kings of Palenque, and was presumably the son of Ahku'l Mo' Naahb I and father of Ahku'l Mo' Naahb II and Kan Bahlam I.



Passage 3c

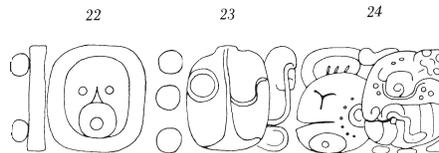
20. 9-"MANIK"-5-YAX-K'IN  
21. OCH-bi-a-ku-MO'-NAAHB

*balu'n "manik" ho' yaxk'in  
och bih(aj) Ahku'l Mo' Naahb*

**Literal Translation:** "9 Manik 5 Yaxkin; he died, Ahku'l Mo' Naahb"

**Free Translation:** "Ahku'l Mo' Naahb II died on 9 Manik 5 Yaxkin."

**Discussion:** Ahku'l Mo' Naahb II died after a short reign of only five years. He does not appear to have been a direct ancestor of K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great, and was not depicted on the sides of the Sarcophagus.



Passage 3d

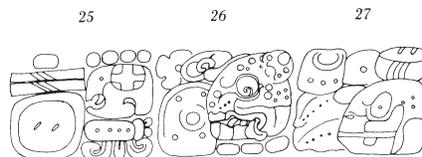
22. 7-AJAW  
23. 3-UUN-wi  
24. u-CHUM[TUUN]-BAHLAM[KAN]-ma

*huk ajaw  
ux uuniw  
u chumtuun Kan Bahlam*

**Literal Translation:** "7 Ahau; 3 Kankin; the Stone Seating of Kan Bahlam"

**Free Translation:** "Kan Bahlam celebrated the 7 Ahau 3 Kankin Period Ending."

**Discussion:** Halfway along the text of the east edge of the Sarcophagus Lid, this passage breaks the sequence of death dates and provides a concrete link between all of these Calendar Round dates and the Long Count. 7 Ahau 3 Kankin is 9.7.0.0.0 in the Long Count calendar, and corresponds to 5 December, AD 573 in the Julian Calendar.



Passage 3e

25. 11-"CHICCHAN"-4-a[K'AN]-si-ya  
26. OCH-bi-BAHLAM[KAN]-ma  
27. K'UH-AJAW-BAAK

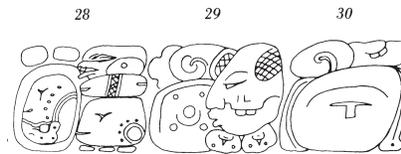
*buluch "chicchan" chan k'anasiy  
och bih(aj) Kan Bahlam  
K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw*

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Literal Translation:** "11 Chicchan 4 Kayab; he died, Kan Bahlam; Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "Kan Bahlam I, King of Palenque, died on 11 Chicchan 4 Kayab."

**Discussion:** Kan Bahlam is the first king in the Sarcophagus Lid text to be accorded the Palenque Emblem Glyph. His image on the side of the Sarcophagus calls him K'inich Kan Bahlam, the first of many Palenque king's to bear the honorific prefix of *k'inich*, and the only one before K'inich Janaab Pakal the Great. This may, in fact, be an anachronism, and may have been added at the behest of his namesake, K'inich Kan Bahlam II, who appears to have overseen the final carving of these images.



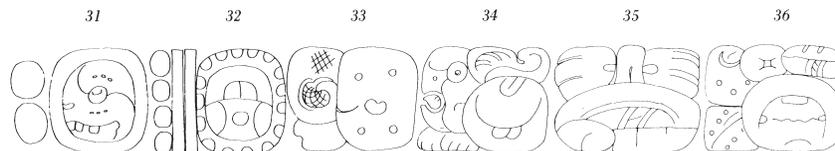
### Passage 3f

28. 2-EB-TI'-CHAK-SIHO'M?-ma	<i>cha' eb ti' chak siho'm</i>
29. OCH-bi-IX[O'HL]-la	<i>och bih(aj) Ix (Y)o'hl</i>
30. NAL-IK'	<i>Ik'nal</i>

**Literal Translation:** "2 Eb End of Ceh; she died, Lady Yo'hl; Ik'nal"

**Free Translation:** "Lady Yo'hl Ik'nal died on 2 Eb 20 Ceh."

**Discussion:** Lady Yo'hl Ik'nal is the only person apart from Pakal's parents to be given two images on the Sarcophagus sides, and appears to have been a greatly honored ancestress of Palenque's Late Classic dynasty. Her relationship with her predecessor and successors is not entirely clear. It is thought that she was a daughter of Kan Bahlam, although she could have alternatively been his wife. Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat, her immediate successor, was likely her son or grandson. The enigmatic Janaab Pakal, probably K'inich Janaab Pakal I's grandfather, may have been her spouse or son.



### Passage 3g

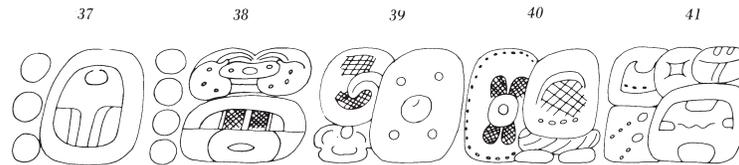
31. 2-"CIMI"	<i>cha' cham?</i>
32. 14-mo[lo]	<i>chanlaju'n mol</i>
33. OCH-bi	<i>och bih(aj)</i>
34. a-ne-O'HL	<i>A(j) Ne (Y)o'hl</i>
35. ma-ta	<i>Mat</i>
36. K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "2 Cimi; 14 Mol; he died; Aj Ne Yo'hl; Mat; Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat, King of Palenque, died on 2 Cimi 14 Mol."

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

**Discussion:** Whether simply because this passage crossed the north end of the Sarcophagus, thus providing more space, or because he was an especially revered predecessor, Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat's text passage in this inscription spreads over six entire glyph blocks, three times as long as most of the preceding passages. Interestingly, Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat does not appear to have been in the direct line leading to K'inich Janaab Pakal I, and is not portrayed around the edges of the Sarcophagus itself. Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat, however, was king when Palenque was 'axed' by U K'ay Chan of Dzibanche/Calakmul in 611, and likely died as a result of these wars.



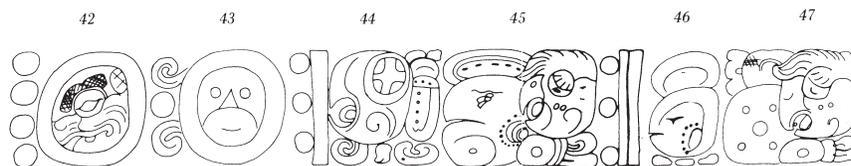
Passage 3h

37. 3-CHUWE'N	<i>ux chuwe'n</i>
38. 4-WAY?-HAAB	<i>chan way?haab</i>
39. OCH-bi	<i>och bih(aj)</i>
40. JANAAB-pa-ka-la	<i>Janaab Pakal</i>
41. K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** "3 Chuen; 4 Uayeb; he died; Janaab Pakal; Divine Bone Lord"

**Free Translation:** "Janaab Pakal, Lord of Palenque, died on 3 Chuen 4 Uayeb."

**Discussion:** Janaab Pakal is not known to have acceded as a king of Palenque, yet here is given a full Palenque Emblem Glyph. A text from Group 4 records his overseeing of sublord accessions in the early seventh century, and it has been proposed that he was a non-ruling brother of Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat, and grandfather of his famous namesake. If so he would have indeed been entitled to the Palenque Emblem Glyph. He died only a few months before Aj Ne Yo'hl Mat, but the reference to his death is out of order on the Sarcophagus Lid edge. The precise reason for this is still debated, but could have been done to associate Janaab Pakal with Pakal's parents, whose deaths are all described together on the west edge of the lid.



Passage 3i

42. 4-CHAKCHAN	<i>chan chakchan</i>
43. 1-AJAW	<i>ju'n ajaw</i>
44. 8-a[K'AN]-si-ya	<i>waxak k'anasiiy</i>
45. u-CHUM[TUUN]-K'UK'-SAK	<i>u chumtuun Sak K'uk'</i>
46. 13-YAX-SIHO'M-ma	<i>uxlaju'n yax</i>
47. OCH-bi-K'UK'-SAK	<i>och bih(aj) Sak K'uk'</i>

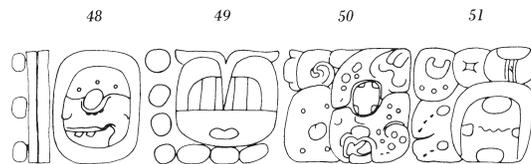
**Literal Translation:** "4 Chicchan; 1 Ahau; 8 Kayab; the Stone Seating of Sak K'uk'; 13 Yax; she died, Sak K'uk'"

**Free Translation:** "After her 1 Ahau 8 Kayab Period Ending, Lady Sak K'uk' died on 4 Chicchan 13

## The Tomb of K'inich Janaab Pakal

Yax.”

**Discussion:** Lady Sak K'uk', the mother of K'inich Janaab Pakal, died on the day 4 Chicchan 13 Yax, and in between the two parts of this Calendar Round date is given a short note that she celebrated the 9.10.0.0, 1 Ahau 8 Kayab Period Ending of 633. On the East Inscriptions Tablet, this Period Ending is attributed to K'inich Janaab Pakal. This provides crucial evidence that not only was Lady Sak K'uk' considered a legitimate ruler of Palenque, but that her reign was considered to have continued alongside that of her son for many years.



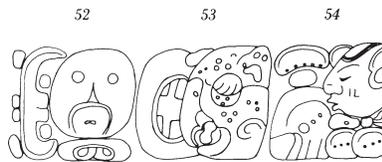
### Passage 3j

48. 13-CHAMI	<i>uxlaju'n chami</i>
49. 4-PAAX	<i>chan paax</i>
50. OCH-bi-MO'[HIIX][K'AN]	<i>och bih(aj) K'an Mo' Hiix</i>
51. K'UH-AJAW-BAAK	<i>K'uh(ul) Baak(el) Ajaw</i>

**Literal Translation:** “13 Cimi; 4 Pax; he died, K'an Mo' Hiix; Divine Bone Lord”

**Free Translation:** “K'an Mo' Hiix, Lord of Palenque, died on 13 Cimi 4 Pax.”

**Discussion:** K'an Mo' Hiix, the father of K'inich Janaab Pakal, died only two years after his wife, Lady Sak K'uk'. Interestingly, here K'an Mo' Hiix is given a full Palenque Emblem Glyph, supporting the contention that he held enough power in the kingdom to be accorded this title normally reserved for the high king himself. The caption texts that accompany his images on the Sarcophagus sides give him another Emblem Glyph, *Ch'ooj Ajaw*, and suggest that he was not native to Palenque itself.



### Passage 2b

52. u?-li	<i>u ...kil</i>
53. K'AN-MO'[HIIX]	<i>K'an Mo' Hiix</i>
54. U-1-TAHN-IX-SAK-k'u	<i>u ju'n tahn Ix Sak K'u(k')</i>

**Literal Translation:** “the son of; K'an Mo' Hiix; the son of Lady Sak K'uk'”

**Free Translation:** “(K'inich Janaab Pakal) was the son of K'an Mo' Hiix and Lady Sak K'uk'.”

**Discussion:** This passage, which gives a parentage statement for K'inich Janaab Pakal without explicitly naming him, likely continues from Passage 2, with the preceding list of royal deaths a lengthy aside. These deaths are thus explicitly linked to that of Pakal, and connect him to his royal ancestors.

## Conclusion

K'inich Janaab Pakal I remains in his sarcophagus to this day, surrounded by a forest of resurrected ancestors. Originally these images and texts were carved to accompany Pakal in death, and only a select group of nobles would have ever seen and read the inscriptions that have made this temple famous. Today, thanks to the work of many archaeologists and epigraphers over the years, these texts continue to reveal more of their secrets. While there is still much unknown, we can now begin to appreciate these texts and images as a unified program, one that to the ancient Maya assisted in the rebirth of their revered king. In a sense, it has worked, as today Pakal has been recovered for history, and due to his spectacular tomb and its texts he is the best known king of the ancient Maya.

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