

*Accession Iconography of Chan-Bahlum in the Group of the Cross at Palenque**

LINDA SCHELE

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH ALABAMA

INTRODUCTION:

During the summer of 1974 the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia requested Peter Mathews and me to catalog the contents of the bodega at Palenque. The bodega contains an enormous number of objects, some of which are of vital importance to the study of iconography, especially in the context of the dynastic information uncovered at the Primera Mesa Redonda (1974). This paper will center on an interpretation of the iconography of the Group of the Cross based on the use of the previously unknown sanctuary jamb panels from the Temple of the Foliated Cross (TFC) and fragments of one of the Waldeck panels from the Temple of the Sun (TS). While we found in the bodega only three quarters of the north Waldeck panel as published by Maudslay, the fragments do provide confirmation of the remarkable accuracy of Waldeck's drawings.

The addition of the three new panels and Waldeck's drawing of the fourth, completes the set of figural panels in the Group of the Cross. With the availability of all of the pictorial units, it is now possible to study in full the actions portrayed in the Group of the Cross and hopefully to begin to understand the mythological and conceptual context of the action.

It is my belief that the Group of the Cross together with the Temple of Inscriptions and the north building of the Palace provide the most detailed and complete record now known of the religious and secular ceremonies involved with the ritual of accession and rulership. Rands suggested at the Segunda Mesa Redonda (December 1974) that the rich elaboration of detail in figural and inscriptional data at Palenque may have resulted from architectural innovations in vaulting which occurred between 9.10.0.0 and 9.13.0.0 during the reign of

Lord Shield-Pacal. The vaulting system allowed greater interior volumes of space to be incorporated and as a result higher levels of light. The outer bearing walls were pierced by doorways and reduced to functional piers. The sculptural display area became the outer piers, roof frieze, roofcomb and the wall-mounted panel. The added reinforcement of wall mounting allowed the expansion of surface area available for figural and inscriptional data, while the sanctuary of the temple provided added protection against erosion. The greatly expanded area of the Palencano format allowed the iconographic data usually draped on the figure at other sites to be detached and isolated in a zone separate from the figures. With the figure freed of its function as a support for iconographic data, it could receive elaboration in terms of portraiture and in terms of its beauty as human form. Furthermore, the Palencano scribe had at his disposal a much greater area for elaboration of his written information. With the exception of the Copan Hieroglyphic Stairway, the longest known monumental inscriptions are located at Palenque. The texts include not only contemporary historical data, but extensive records of ancestral history and the kind of mythological justification of dynasty rights seen in the codices of Central Mexico.

The material to be presented here is lengthy and complex. I do not pretend to answer all of the questions posed by the Group of the Cross. Rather I hope to present patterns, ideas, and possibilities about the meanings of the Group of the Cross which will be used, extended and changed by others who will build on this study. Many of these ideas have resulted from energetic exchange carried on during the past year with the members of the Primera Mesa Redonda and other scholars. I

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wish to thank them for their contributions and stimulus.¹

It is appropriate to begin the discussion of the Group of the Cross by reviewing the information presented in past publications and accumulated during the past year.

At the Primera Mesa Redonda (Schele, 1974) I pointed out that the iconographic complex of each temple of the Cross group is a restatement of one of the three major sculptural areas of the Inscriptions Tomb. The Temple of the Cross (TC) corresponds to the Tomb lid, the Temple of the Foliated Cross (TFC) to the sarcophagus sides, and the Temple of the Sun (TS) to the Tomb stuccos. I suggested that the three iconographic themes were celebrating two different events from the three repeated viewpoints. I suggested and have confirmed that the principle event of the TI Tomb was the death on 9.12.11.5.18 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax of Lord Shield-Pacal, the first major ruler of Palenque. The event of the Group of the Cross is the accession of Pacal's successor, Lord Chan-Bahlum on 9.12.11.12.10 8 Oc 3 Kayab. (Mathews and Schele, 1974).

THE PALENQUE TRIAD:

Berlin identified a glyphic triad of gods (GI, GII, GIII) which appears significantly in the inscriptions of the Group of the Cross and the TI (Fig. 1). In 1965 Kelly pointed out the association of GI with the TC and the date 1.18.5.3.2 9 Ik 15 Ceh, GII with the TFC and the date 1.18.5.4.0 1 Ahau 13 Mac, and GIII with the Temple of the Sun and the date 1.18.5.3.6 13 Cimi 19 Ceh.

He identified GI as Kukulcan, GII as Bolon Dzacab, and GIII as the death god, 13 Death. During the summer, 1974, Kelly suggested a reading for GIII (per. comm). Lounsbury 1974b has given the T74.184 affix of GIII the tentative reading of *Ma-Kin na*. Lounsbury suggests *Mah K'inah* is a compound combining the symbolic meaning of the sun with either a kinship term of respect for seniors, chiefs and lineage ancestors or a term for magnificence (Lounsbury, 1974b). The particular use of the affix at Palenque and other sites confirms beyond a doubt its use as a special title for rulers.

Kelley accepts the *Mah K'inah* reading and proposes the affix of GIII be roughly read a "Lord." According to Kelley the second element, the head of a young man in a cartouche, may be read as *xib*, the word for young man in many Maya languages. The third element is a check-board shield. Kelley noticed that Mediz Bolio gives *Tacun* as both 'escudar' and 'escondido' and for 'escon-

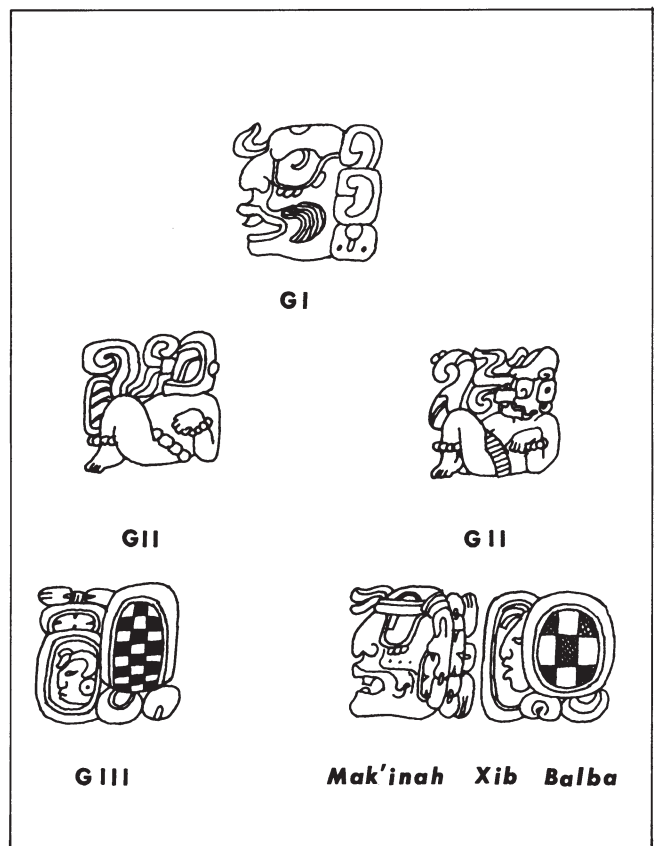


Fig. 1 The Palenque Triad.

derse' gives *Taacunba* (literally "shield oneself") and *balba*. The Motul gives *balba* as "guardarse de mal y esconderse." Combining the three elements, Kelley reads GIII as *Mah K'inah Xib Balba* or "Lord of Xibalba." (Fig. 1).

Lounsbury has added further speculation of immense importance to the interpretation of GIII. He called my attention to Pl. 45 in Coe's *Maya Scribe and His World*. Coe in his commentary points out the exact correspondence of the left dancer to the central figure in the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet, whom I tentatively identify as Lord Hok, the third ruler of Palenque. Coe further shows that the head of the Pl. 45 dancer has the shell ear plug and fish barb of GI. Thus, GI is positively iden-

¹ This paper has resulted from a free exchange of data and ideas between the participants of the Primera Mesa Redonda. I wish to thank and to credit those people who have shared their ideas with me. Merle Greene Robertson and I have worked together four years at Palenque spending many long hours working out many of the ideas presented here. She is the first Mayanist to help me and she is the energy and soul of the Palenque conferences. Moises Morales, a resident of Palenque, has shared many of those hours with us. He provided a haven for work and for the conferences. He was the first person to propose and support the concept of Palenque as a site particularly related to death and the Underworld. He has provided invaluable information gleaned from 15 years of study of the site and the local Chol Maya. Floyd Lounsbury and I have carried on extensive communication on iconography and hieroglyphics. He has contributed immeasurably to my understanding of the texts of Palenque. Peter Mathews and I worked out the dynastic history of Palenque. During the summer, 1974, we spent long hours in the sun cataloging the bodega at Palenque, and in the process we had endless discussions on the texts of Palenque. To Robert Rands I owe my understanding of the ceramic and economic history of the city. He has spent months answering my questions and exchanging data and ideas. David Joralemon, David Kelley, and Michael Coe have argued iconography with me. Finally, Elizabeth Benson and Gillett Griffin have provided opportunities for us to come together and exchange our ideas as well as making their own invaluable contributions. Although none of the above people would agree totally with all that is said in this paper, I owe part of it to all of them.

tified as the left figure in Pl. 45 and as the central figure in the D.O. Tablet.

Lounsbury is particularly interested in the jaguar-like figure lying prone on the cauac monster. He pointed out to me the jaguar tail, paws, and ears of the figure and their combination with the tau-shaped tooth, a sign of the sun. The face does not have the cruller typical of the Underworld Jaguar God of No. 7, but it is suspiciously like the shield element of the TS. I emphasize the anthropomorphic nose and the gathered hair, both characteristics of the Underworld Jaguar God. Furthermore, I believe the effigy god hanging behind Chan-Bahlum in the TC west jamb panel may be a different version of the same god. It has the same hair as the TS shield god, but the facial characteristics are fully those of the jaguar. There are several stucco masks from the bodega which have both jaguar "ix" markings and sun-god characteristics.

The combination of jaguar and sun characteristics led Lounsbury to consider the name of *Balamkin* for the Pl. 45 figure. Following Thompson (1950:234) he points out that one very probable reading for Xbalanque of the *Popol Vuh* is "jaguar-sun." One of the stories of the *Popol Vuh* relates the triumph of the Hero Twins over the Lords of Xibalba by fooling the Lords into allowing themselves to be cut apart. The Twins sacrificed each other and brought themselves back to life. In envy the Lords of Xibalba requested that the same thing be done to them, but they were not brought back to life. Lounsbury suggests the Pl. 45 scene is related to this story and represents the mutual sacrifice of the brothers. According to the *Popol Vuh*, Xbalanque became the sun after the defeat of the Lords of Xibalba.

Kelley's reading of GIII as "Lord of Xibalba" relates very closely to Lounsbury's identification of the Pl. 45 figure as the Underworld Jaguar Sun and perhaps as Xbalanque. I point out that the Pl. 45 figure reappears in Pl. 49 (Coe, 1973) where he has the same gathered hair, Ahau-foliated topknot, jaguar markings, tau-tooth and jaguar ear as Pl. 45. Both his head and glyph R10 seem to have the cruller typical of the Underworld Jaguar God of No. 7.

Thompson (1950:134) suggested that the "Jaguar is the god of the underworld, and appears to be merged with the night sun ... He is the Maya equivalent of Tepeyollotl." The Jaguar God is the most common god portrayed as the principal motif on the flanged incensarios of Palenque, which appear to be strongly linked with the iconography of the TS. Often the Jaguar God appears in anthropomorphic form, sometimes as an old man, and more frequently as a young man. The incensario from the TFC published in *Before Cortex* (Easby 1970: fig. 176) shows the young man variant with a scalloped beard. The beard element reappears in other incensarios with the old man and jaguar variants of the cylinder god. In the full-figure glyphs of Quirigua Stele D, the kin figure of glyph block 5 is the Underworld Jaguar God of the Palenque incensario complex and the TS shield. He is shown as a jaguar rather than as a man

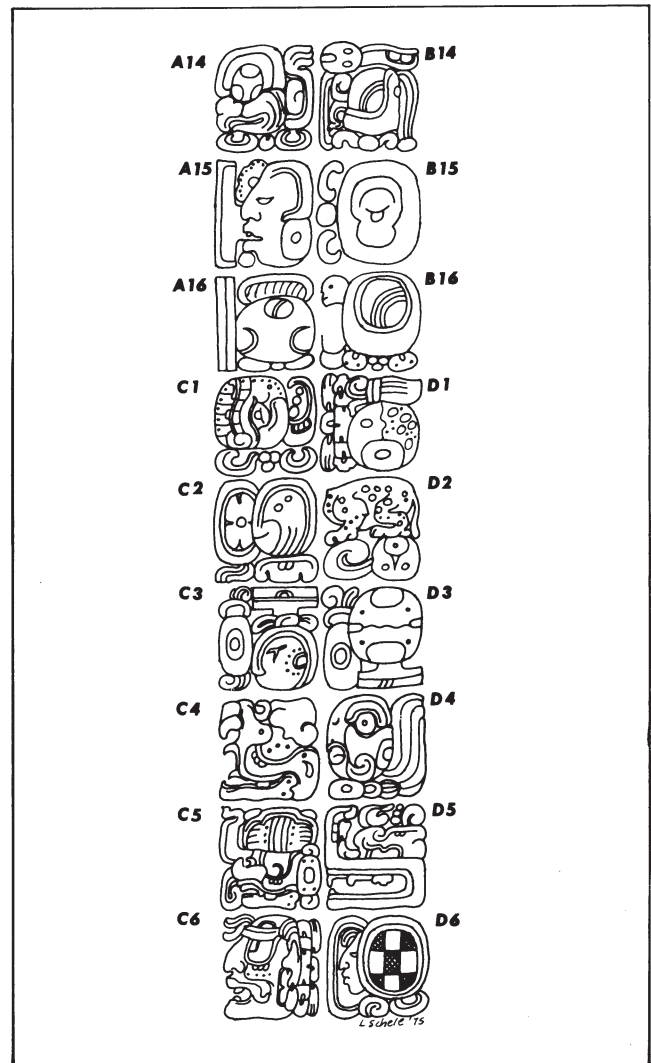


Fig. 2 Tablet of the Sun, 819 Day Count Text.

and he wears the scalloped beard. His use as the full-figure variant for the *kin* supports the identification of the Underworld Jaguar God of No. 7 as the Underworld Sun.

Kelley (personal communication) has pointed out the headless jaguar at D2 in the TS (Fig. 2). The glyph is within a passage which seems to be the 819 augury for the birth of Chan-Bahlum. The glyph at D1 is one of Chan-Bahlum's most consistent titles; it may be read as *Ahau Balam* or "lord jaguar." Chan-Bahlum is the only post-Pacal Palenque ruler to carry a jaguar variant name. The jaguar-spotted ahau is a title exclusively associated with his name. I believe the title and perhaps the headless jaguar are specifically related to the TS jaguar shield motif and to the figures of Pl. 45 and 49.

Kelley has previously shown (1965) the relationship of GIII to war, death, and especially to TS iconography. The occurrence of the Underworld Jaguar God shield as the principal element in the TS panel, the presence of firmly identified underworld gods in the composition

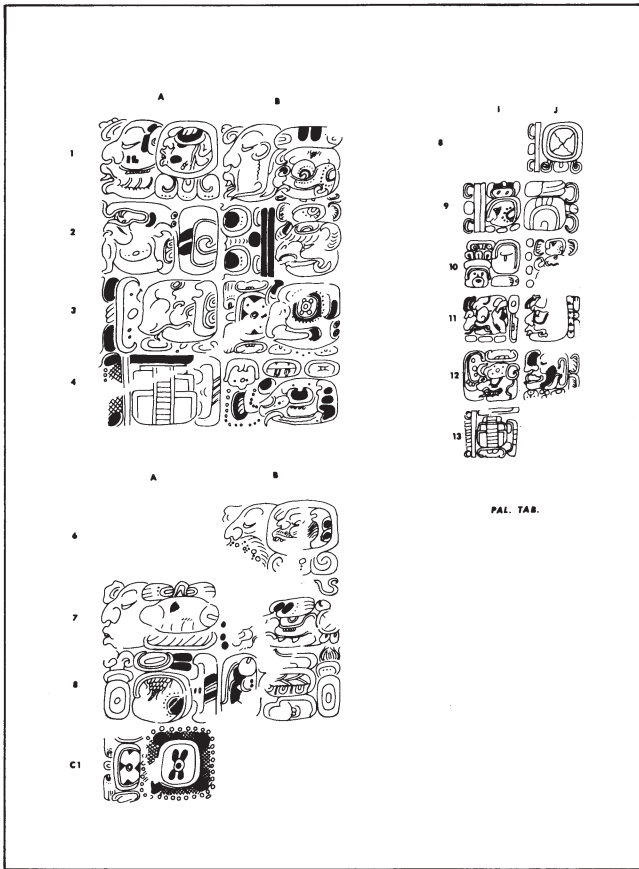


Fig. 3 "Pyramid" Texts, from the Palace Tablet and the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs.

(Kelley: 1968 and Coe: 1974), the reading of GIII as "Lord of Xibalba," and the occurrence of titles and glyph groups associated with the jaguar provide strong evidence for the identification of GIII as the Jaguar God of the Underworld. Lounsbury's and Thompson's arguments are strongly indicative of an identification of GIII and the Jaguar Sun of the Underworld as Xbalanque of the *Popol Vuh*.

Kelley based his identification of GI as Kukulcan on the reading of the name at F13 in the TC as "feather serpent." Joralemon at this conference (1974) presented evidence that the element which Kelley reads as "feather" or *kuk* is in fact a sting-ray spine and blood-letter. A first inference is that Kelley's argument is badly damaged, but in the process of investigating other dic-

tionary entries, Jeffrey Miller and I found evidence supporting Kelley's reading. The Motul has the following entry for thorn:

kiix espinas

kijxil cosa espinosa

The Vienna Dictionary gives the word *Kiix* for "espina." In Quiche the work *kiix* means "feather." It seems that the long standing confusion over the identification of the central element of the quadripartite badge may be a product of a fusion in the Maya mind of the concepts of blood, feather, leaf, and thorn. Kelley's *kuk-chan* (*kukulcan*) may have been read as *kiix-chan* without change of meaning.

Kelley identified GII as Ah Bolon Dzacab and followed Thompson in accepting him as a god of agriculture. The 'flare' god does not appear in the pictorial elements of the TFC. He appears at Palenque and at others sites predominantly associated with the dragon² bar and rulers. Except for the TFC, he does not behave as an agricultural god. The word *dzacab* is entered in the Motul as "generacion." Thompson has interpreted Ah Bolon Dzacab as "nine or many generations" (1970: 226). The concept of generations of gods or men does not fit the agricultural image of TFC, but it does fit associated imagery of ancestry from the TI sarcophagus sides. I believe that GII was the god of lineages and ancestry, especially royal ancestry.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE FIGURES:

In all three temples a short and a tall figure stand flanking a central image. Kubler (1972) first identified the larger figure as "Snake Jaguar" and suggested he was ruler between Berlin's Subjects A and B. Last year Mathews and I confirmed Kubler's identification of the figure and presented evidence that this personage, whom we called Chan-Bahlum, succeeded Subject A or Lord Shield Pacal.

Kubler dubbed the short figure "He of the Pyramid" or "Pyramid-Maker" and suggested he was an emissary from the highlands and perhaps Teotihuacan. Kubler's identification of the "pyramid glyph" compound as an important identifying element is correct, but the behavior of the pyramid glyph is very specific at Palenque. It occurs at I1 in the TC, at E2 in the TS, at A4 in the Tablets of the 96 Glyphs, and at I14 in the Palace Tablet. Only in the TS text does the pyramid glyph occur without a specific name associated with it. In all other instances, the nearest name mentioned is "Lord

² David Joralemon has carried on a year-long argument over the identification of serpents as snakes or composite beasts with saurian, serpentine, and infrequently fish characteristics. He has provided enough examples to convince me that we are dealing with a composite beastie which can change characteristics according to context. In this paper, I will use the word "dragon" to designate the beastie.

³ Lounsbury (personal communication) reads T238 or 181.23:585a or 1043 as *ah nabe*. The T238 and T.181 affix (parrot head) is read as *ah* based on Landa. The T585a and its head variant T1043 reading as *be* is again based on Landa and the assumption that the second *b* is an abstract variant of the first which is a footprint on a road and thus *be*, road. I have seen slides of a pot in which a footprint appears in place of the five dots in a winged quincunx compound from Coe's Primary Standard Text (1974). The substitution of the footprint for the quincunx seems to confirm the reading as *be*. Finally Lounsbury has suggested a reading of *na* for T23. In Quiche the word for "first" is *nabe*. Using this Quiche entry as a base Lounsbury suggests a reading of *ah nabe* as "he the first" or "prince." The *nabe* reading of T238.23:585a seems to be supported by the analysis of it and a companion title, *u cab* (second) in the context of the dynastic titles of Palenque. All older members of a sibling pair have the *nabe* title while the younger have *u cab*, unless the younger acceded before the elder in which case the titles are reversed.

Shield-Pacal.” The glyph appears in the Palace Tablet passage recording the death of Pacal as follows (Fig. 3):

- J9-I10 (9.12.11.5.18) 5 Etz'nab 11 Yax
- J10-I11 winged shell/Ahau IK death group (Proskouriakoff, 1963: 163)
- J11-I12 4 Batab Katuns (Miller, 1974)
- J12 *Makina*
- I13 *ah na be* (Ah Nabe) (the first)³
- J13 Pacal (phonetic variant of the name)
- I14 'pyramid' group

The position of the pyramid glyph group at the end of the phase suggests a function of title such as “He of the Pyramid” referring one assumes to the Temple of Inscriptions, the burial monument for Pacal.

In the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs the pyramid glyph group appears between Pacal’s name and the emblem glyph in a phase marking the end of 11 katuns (Fig. 3). The phrase immediately after confirms the pyramid glyph as a referent to an architectural structure. The phrase runs from A5 to D1; the glyph identified by Knorozov as *tich-otoch* appears at B8 immediately before Pacal’s name (C1). Knorozov proposed the widely accepted reading of “temple” for the T115.614:601 compound. The glyph for house or temple appears to substitute for the pyramid glyph in a parallel phrase.

Peter Mathews (personal communication) has suggested a particularly interesting reading for the above compounds. The first element is Landa’s *ah* or ‘senor’, the superfix appears to be five and the postfix is unknown. Mathews suggests a reading of “He of the Five Pyramids.” I have been able to firmly associate five major temples with Pacal’s reign (Schele, 1974).

A look at the texts accompanying the small figure in the Group of the Cross again associates the pyramid glyph with Pacal (Fig. 4). In the TC, the text opens with the date 9.10.8.9.3 9 Akbal 6 Xul followed by the pyramid glyph group and an undeciphered glyph group including a cross-section shell. K1 and 2 are undeciphered, but K3 and 4a are recognized titles for Pacal (Mathews and Schele, 1974); K4b is ‘Lord Shield’. Pacal’s name is followed by a T713 variant and the text concludes with the name Lady Ahpo Hel.

The text from the TFC does not include the pyramid glyph group. The passage concludes at G9 with another T713 variant and at H1 with the Ahau title for Pacal, which is followed by 5 katuns. (Pacal lived for 4.1.10.18 or well into his fifth katun.) J1 is the “Lord Smoke-Pacal” variant of Pacal’s name. The same variant appears in the Hieroglyphic Stairways of House C. The passage terminates with the bird-variant emblem glyph.

The TS text again begins with the 9.10.8.9.3 9 Akbal 6 Xul date, followed immediately by a pyramid glyph group. While the pyramid glyph group is not directly associated with Pacal’s name in this text, every other appearance of the pyramid glyph group in Palenque occurs exclusively with Pacal’s name. The text directly over the small figure in the TS does not include Pacal’s name, but the secondary text between the crossed

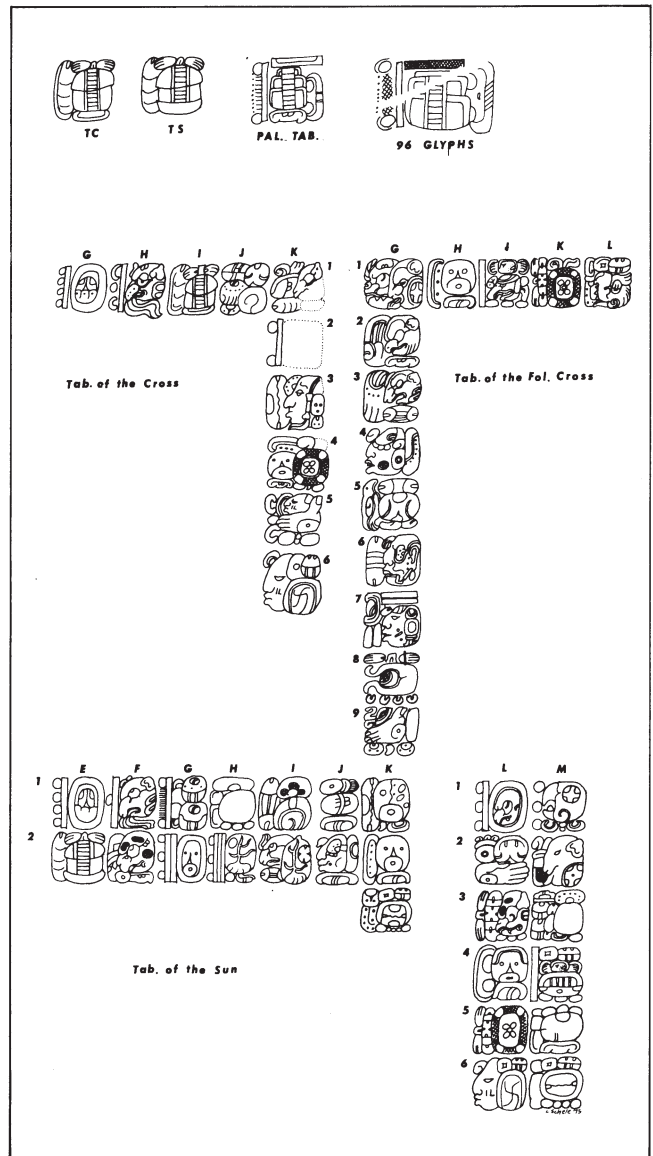


Fig. 4 “Pyramid” Texts, from the Group of the Cross.

spears does include the Ahau title at L4, 5 *Ahpo* or royal katuns at M4, “Lord Shield” at L5, an undeciphered compound at M5, “Lady Ahpo Hel” at L6, and the bone variant emblem glyph at M6. Pacal is then identified in one of the TS secondary texts.

Pacal’s name does not appear anywhere else on the sanctuary tablets in the three temples. The facts that his name is exclusively associated with the small figure and that the small figure is consistently named as Pacal provide firm evidence of his identification as Lord Shield-Pacal, Chan-Bahlum’s predecessor and probably his father.

The hierarchical difference in size between the two figures has led us in the past to assume that the Pacal figure was of less importance than the Chan-Bahlum figure. I now think there is a different explanation. Since the date of the action of the three tablets is now known to

be 9.12.10.12.11 8 Oc 3 Kayab, we may assume that Pacal had been dead for at least 132 days. I think the scale and the strange clothing are indicators of the fact that Pacal is acting after death.

In the TC Pacal stands atop a skeletal god head with a reversed IX affix and a double scroll edged with jade beads. The TC god is identical to the glyph group suspended to the right of the central shield in the TS. Kelley (1965) suggested the two glyphs groups suspended in the negatives areas adjacent to the TS central shield are the name glyphs of the two Underworld gods who support the central image. If he is correct, the TC glyph is a name for god M, a death god associated with the Underworld, and Pacal is shown to be standing on a death god in the TC.

In the TFC Pacal stands on a shell with a god holding corn leaves wrapped around a Maya head. Kelley (1965) suggested the god is emerging from the shell and the inscription of the shell should be read as "emergence." Moises Morales (personal communication) suggested that instead of emerging, the god is withdrawing. The head nestled in the corn leaves below is deliberately contrasted to two heads in the arms of the TFC cross which have bone signs attached to the noses. Morales suggested that the breath sign was used to show the heads of the cross in life, and the absence of the bone sign on the head below indicates death. The god is not emerging, he is withdrawing with the corn and the Maya into the Underworld after death. Pacal is standing on a shell, accepted as a sign of death and used in Proskouriakoff's death glyph group (1963: 163). I do not think Pacal's placement on the shell was accidental or the results of compositional imperatives; rather, it is to indicate that at the moment of the action in the main tablet (9.12.11.12.10 8 Oc 3 Kayab), Pacal is dead.

Pacal's state of death is confirmed by the affixes in the pyramid title in the Cross Group occurrences. The affix which initiates the compound is T188 or Landa's "le" (Fig. 5). In March, 1974, David Kelley was investigating the leaf affix at 12a (TI Sarco.) which introduces the ancestor list of the Tomb lid. The same element appears as an ear plug on Pier d of House D and in the DO Tablet. With access to the bodega material, we now have fragments of the same element associated with every major temple in Palenque. Kelley found the following glosses in Quiche (Edmonson, 1965):

le leaf, feather or tremble
le generation, rank, age group, order
leel series of generations, a row of people seated in order

The Motul defines *le* as:

le hoja de arbol, de yerba, o mala
lel mostrarse galens y polida para que afecion se la afecion
lel semen viri aut femine metaphoric

The Pio Perez has the following entries:

le hoja
leel semen

The presence of the *le* in the pyramid compound suggests a reading of ancestor. When the *le* pyramid compound of the Cross Group is contrasted to the pyramid compound from the 96 Glyph and Palace Tablet, the presence of *le* is best interpreted as indicating Pacal as ancestor to Chan-Bahlum and perhaps to Palenque's dynasty.

Pacal wears anklets and wristlets composed of paper or cloth held in place by tied rope. In Palenque's pictorial vocabulary only dieties wear the cloth wristlets of this type. The portraits of Pacal in the Cross Group tablets are the only instances where a known historical personage is shown to be wearing this kind of wristlet. Their presence suggests that Pacal has been through some kind of transformation which entitles him to wear the signs of divinity. Finally, Pacal is always pictured in the west or south, the directions of death. The two figures of the Cross Tablets can be firmly identified as Pacal after death and Chan-Bahlum, his successor.

THE EVENT:

The next major question concerns the specific action which is described by the tablets. To understand the action we must use both the interior sanctuary tablet and the two exterior jambs of each temple. The three tablets together form a sequential action which is initiated both in time and space on the interior tablet and concluded on the exterior jambs. The clearest statement of the action is on the TC (Fig. 6). On the sanctuary tablet, Chan-Bahlum stands on the right dressed in simple clothing. He holds in his hand the "jester" god which I identified at the Primera Mesa Redonda (1974) as one of the two principal gods of rulership at Palenque. Pacal stands on the left and in the west holding in his hand a scepter god which is the same god as the rear head of the celestial monster of House E and at the base of the central cross.

When we move to the exterior jamb Chan-Bahlum appears in the west and on the left of the door. He has literally assumed the position of Pacal and is holding the scepter which is held by Pacal on the interior. Chan-Bahlum is now dressed in the uniform I identified as that of rulership at Palenque (1974). He offers the scepter of office to God L who stands in the east. Coe (1974) identified God L as one of the most important of the Underworld gods. The entire sequence of action presents the dead ruler transferring, on the day of accession, the power of office (as represented by the scepter) to the ruler who is assuming the office. The action is completed by the new ruler literally standing in the place of the dead ruler and performing the act commensurate with the office.

In both the TFC and TS, the interior tablet shows Pacal standing on the side of subordinate direction holding an object in his hands. On the exterior panels, Chan-Bahlum stands on both sides of the door holding the same object or engaged in ceremonies involving the central image of the main tablet. The sequence of exchange from interior to exterior represents the transfer of power from deceased to living ruler. It may also

represent Chan-Bahlum's justification for his possession of throne by explicitly showing his receipt of power from his great parent. In the Group of the Cross we have a literal representation of the passage of power at accession, of the mechanics of passage, and of the nature of the three offices which compose the full power and responsibility of the ruler. In the inscriptions we have a detailed and explicit statement of the nature of rulership and of its mythological defense and origins. I believe we may even have clear evidence of the special function and character of Palenque as a Maya site.

THE DIVINITY OF THE RULER:

Before proceeding into a detailed analysis of each temple, I want to discuss the nature of the person of the ruler of Palenque and of the terms in which he was defined as a political and religious figure. Before this conference Merle Robertson and I independently arrived at the conclusion that the ruler of Palenque was considered to be a living divinity. Merle Robertson's conclusion resulted from a study of the genetic history of the rulers in relationship to the iconography of God K as he appears in the city. My conclusion resulted in the study of the TI iconography in relationship to the Group of the Cross.

While I was working with Merle on the stucco of Palenque in 1973, she noticed that the baby on Piers b

and c of the TI had six toes. We also noticed that the central figure of pier d, House A of the Palace had six fingers. I identified the baby on the TI piers as Chan-Bahlum for reasons as follows. His name glyph appears on pier f, out of context, but by its presence we were able to ascertain that Chan-Bahlum was involved in some way in the subject matter of the piers. In 1974 Peter Mathews pointed out to me that the calendar round date 1 Ik 10 Zec found on the eave of pier c appears in the Temple of the Sun, A14-D6. The TS passage is an 819 day count augury for the birth of Chan-Bahlum. The appearance of the 1 Ik 10 Zec date, a calendar round that does not relate to any recorded date for Pacal, over a pier that records the presentation of an infant strongly suggests that the infant is Chan-Bahlum.

In the summer of 1974, we found in the bodega fragments of the north jamb panel of the TS; the figure is identified by name glyph as Chan-Bahlum and he has *six* toes. The baby is thus identified as the historical figure, Chan-Bahlum. Merle Robertson at the XLI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas in 1974 and again at this conference, provided proof that one of the infant's legs is in fact altered into a serpent's body and head. The serpent-footed god is God K. She believes, and I concur, that if the heads of the infants were intact, they would be complete with smokecurls and cigar. (Coe has provided evidence to me in personal communication that the object in the head of God K is a smoking cigar.) At Palenque, we have the presentation of Chan-Bahlum in infancy not only as the child of human parents (Lord Shield Pacal and Lady Ahpo Hel), but as a living incarnation at birth of God K.

The divinity of the Palenque rulers is specifically stated in one other location — on the sarcophagus lid of the TI. Pacal is shown falling in death into the maw of the Underworld. He is attired in the expected Palenque tradition except for the cigar penetrating his forehead and the ahau-foliation topknot. The cigar is clearly and carefully shown to be penetrating an otherwise normal forehead. It was important to differentiate the actual cigar penetration from those instances where a lord wears a headdress or other attributes of divinity. The Palencanos wanted to specify that at death Pacal was a divine being. Thus, at birth (TI piers) and at death (TI sarc. lid) the ruler of Palenque is shown to be a living incarnation of God K. The person of the Palenque ruler was defined as a living divinity on earth.

THE TEMPLE OF THE CROSS

The Temple of the Cross (TC) lies in the northern position of the Group. It is the dominant temple in size, height, and position. The iconography of the inner sanctuary corresponds to that of the sarcophagus lid, which like the TC occupies the dominant perceptual position in its space. The detailed iconography and the correspondences between the TC and TI tomb lid were discussed in detail in the Proceeding of the Primera Mesa Redonda (Schele, 1974).

The chief motif of the TI tomb lid and TC sculptures is

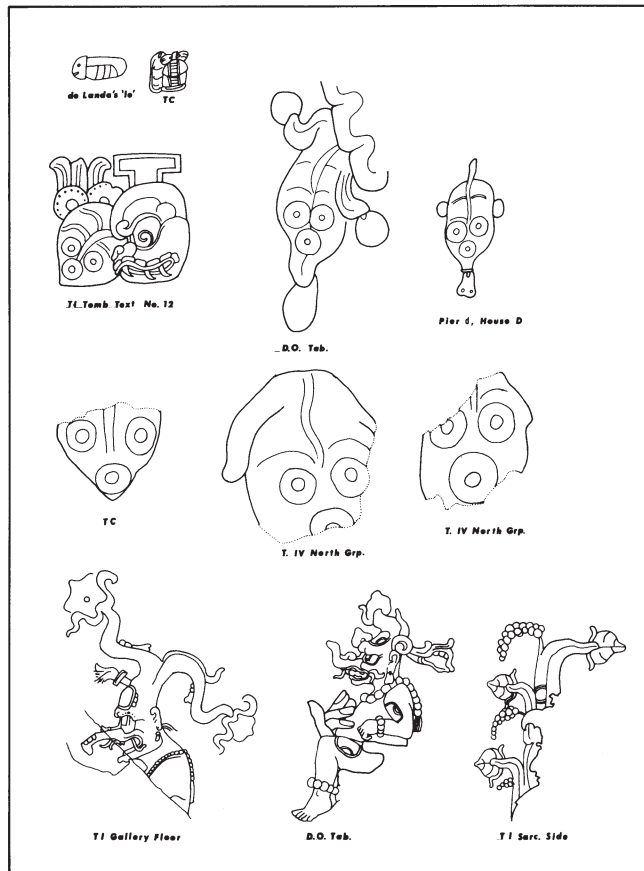


Fig. 5 Le-leaf glyphs and motifs from Palenque.

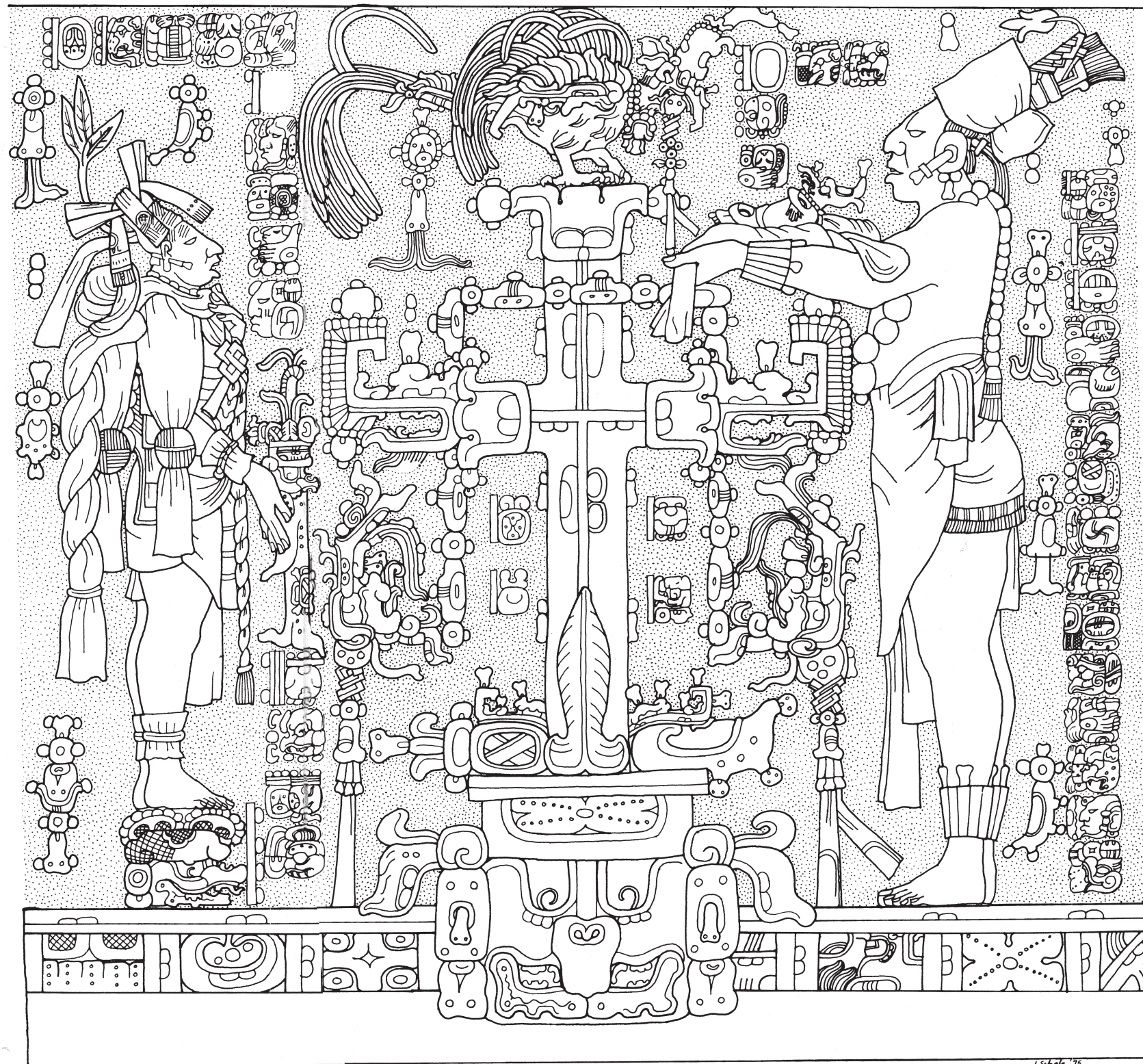
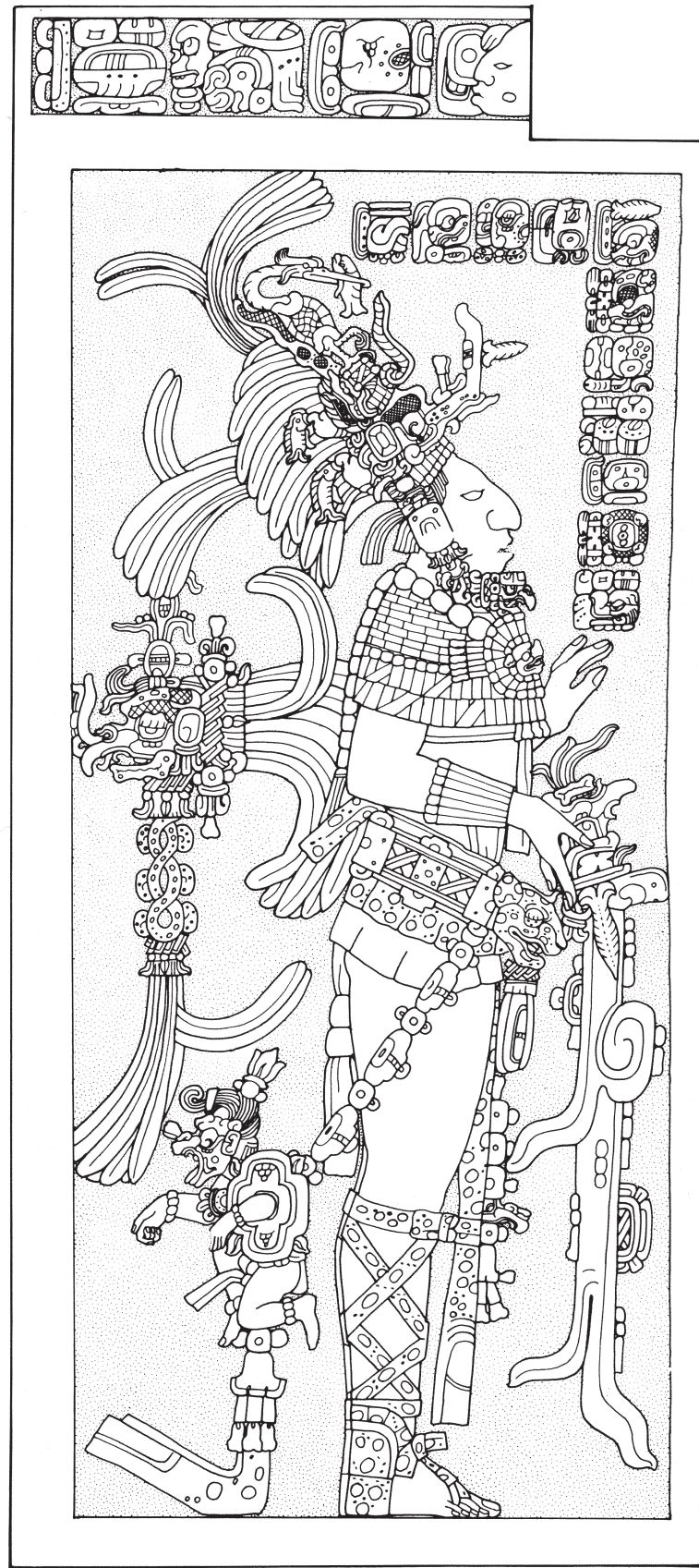


Fig. 6 Tablet of the Cross and Sanctuary Jamb.

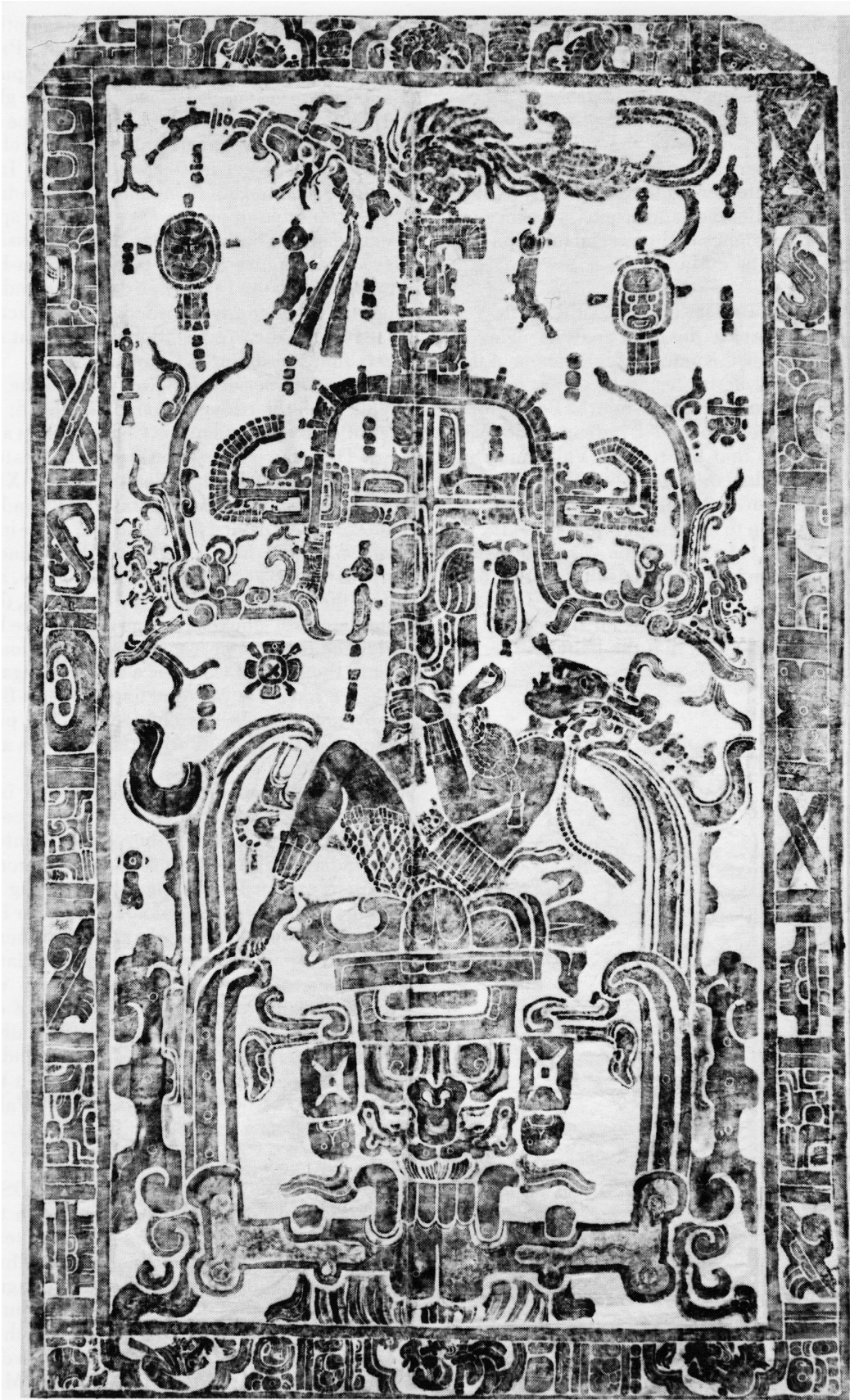


Fig. 7 Temple of Inscriptions, Sarcophagus lid (Merle Greene rubbing).

composed of a cross of “dragons” arranged in three distinct and contrasted levels (Fig. 6). The dragons which compose the middle level are parts of a bicephalic bar which is used throughout the Maya area as a sign of rulership. The dragons are fleshed. On the TI tomb lid (Fig. 7) the two gods of rulership (God K and the Jester God) emerge from the open mouths. The dragons which form the jaws below are deliberately contrasted to the middle dragons. The lower dragons are point for point exactly the same anatomically as the middle dragons, but they are skeletal while the middle ones are fleshed. A contrast and association between the same creature in a state of life and death are deliberately structured between the middle and lower level of the tomb lid (Fig. 8).

The third and upper level of the cross is completed by another version of the dragon, which has a squared muzzle with jade around the interior of the mouth. The jade most certainly places the value of ‘precious’ and importance on this version of the dragon. Since the lower level is obviously contrasting ‘death’ with the fleshed life of the middle level, the upper level by presenting jeweled preciousness must indicate the most important level of all — the heavens. Thompson makes the following observations:

... our world ... was regarded as a flat square block with skies above and underworld beneath.

At the four points of the compass or at the angles between stood the four Bacabs, who, with upraised hands, supported the skies ...

There were thirteen ‘layers’ of heaven and nine of the underworld. Although the Maya spoke of the thirteen *taz* (‘layers’) of the heavens, *taz* covering such things as blankets spread out one above the other, in fact, the thirteen celestial layers were arranged as six steps ascending from the eastern horizon to the seventh, the zenith, whence six more steps led down from the western horizon. Similarly, four more steps led down from the western horizon to the nadir of the underworld, whence four more steps ascended to the eastern horizon ... The sun followed this sort of stepped rhomboid on his daily journey across the sky and his nightly traverse of the underworld to return to the point of departure each dawn ...

Countering this severely geometric structure, a giant ceiba tree, the sacred tree of the Maya, the *yaxche*, ‘first’ or ‘green’ tree, stands in the exact center of the earth. Its roots penetrate the underworld; its trunk and branches pierce the various layers of the skies. Some Maya groups hold that by its roots their ancestors ascended into the world, and by its trunk and branches the dead climb to the highest sky (Thompson, 1970:195).

The cross motifs of the TI tomb lid and the TC seem to be exact images of the central tree described by Thompson. The upper jeweled dragons are engaged to a shaft which rises behind the “monster” at the base of the composition. The bicephalic dragon bar at the middle level is draped around the shaft of the cross, but is

shown to be clearly distinct from it. On the TI lid the shaft of the cross is shown to be rising from within the dragons of the lower level. On the TC the shaft is shown to be rising from behind and separately from the lower quadripartite god, but the god is shown to be below and above the groundline. The cross when detached from the other parts bears resemblance to the shape of a tree, especially to a ceiba with its foliage concentrated at the top of a tall trunk. Moises Morales (personal communication) suggested that it is feasible to consider the cross to be in the foreground and the negative spaces to be in the far background. We thus can say that the cross stretches from the Underworld through the Middle World to the Heavens.

The three levels exist in a fixed relationship, but the Maya took great care to show that at least the ruler was not fixed in place or time. In the Inscriptions in the temple above, Pacal had his birth and accession recorded in TI 3, E1-F6; in the following passage he subtracts 7.18.2.9.2.12.1 from (1.13.0.9.9.2.4.8) 5 Lamat 1 Mol and arrives at (1.5.2.6.19.19.10.7) 1 Manik 10 Zec. In the next passage G1-H10 he adds 10.11.10.5.8 to (9.8.9.13.0) 8 Ahau 13 Pop, to arrive at (1.0.0.0.0.8) 5 Lamat 1 Mol, and then goes back to 1.0.0.0.0.0 10 Ahau 13 Yaxkin (Teeple 1929: 81-83). We now know that the two key dates 5 Lamat 1 Mol and 8 Ahau 13 Pop are the accession and birth of Pacal respectively. Whether or not the enormous distance numbers have secondary astronomical meanings, Pacal is certainly projecting his greatness and memory into the distant future and past far beyond his life time. In one calculation he projects his name forward 4230 tuns and in the other 4,018,799 tuns into the past.

The same kind of spatial transition is shown on the TI lid (Fig. 7). Pacal is shown frozen into a position that locks him into a state of transition between the Middle and Underworlds. The choice of the moment of maximum transition could not have been accidental. The event in celebration is amply recorded and is without doubt his death. By choosing the moment of falling the Maya emphasize both the event of death and its consequences. They clearly present it as a moment of change and transition in which the ruler is transformed into a god and from one level of existence (through) to others. God K emerges from the left hand dragon head in the middle world and Pacal, as he falls in death into the Underworld, is God K.

Another pair of contrasted elements completes the argument. Pacal falls atop a skeletal monster. We know that the monster is the rear head of the celestial monster, but his exact identity is unresolved. The front head of the celestial monster is usually identified by ‘crossed bands’ or by the Venus or star sign. The rear head always has the *kin* sign infixed in his forehead and a badge composed of multiple parts attached to his head.

The identification of the rear monster is critical to the understanding of the iconography of the TC and TI lid. While I cannot prove beyond doubt who he is, I believe the following list of his attributes strongly points to an identification as the sun.

1. The badge on his forehead is composed of three distinct parts:
 - a. the cross section shell, a sign of the Underworld;
 - b. the crossed bands, a sign which is generally accepted as a symbol of the heavens. (Lounsbury suggests that it is the zenith of the sun crossing the Milky Way [personal communication]).
 - c. stingray spine. Joralemon presented a paper at this conference suggesting that the central element is a stingray spine and blood letter. Linguistically, the word for thorn in Maya is tied to a complex of words that includes the concepts of blood, leaf, semen, and ancestry. I will extend this argument later in the paper.

Taken as a whole, the badge presents symbols involving the Underworld, the Heavens, and I believe the Middle World. The god who is identified by this badge must participate in all three levels.

2. On the TI tomb lid the monster is shown between the gaping jaws of the skeletal dragons. On the TC he is shown straddling the ground line of celestial signs (Fig. 6). On the left the signs are *akbal* (darkness), moon, and Venus or star; on the right, they are sky, sun, *kin*, and sky. The monster has the capability of entering into the jaws of the Underworld, and he can be in transition between night and day.
3. In the TC and TI tomb lid the monster is shown to have eyes that are fleshed (shown by the eye spiral) and yet jaws that are skeletal. In the TC he is fleshed above the groundline and skeletal below it. He must therefore be a creature that moves from the states of life to death and perhaps vice versa.
4. When the monster on the TC and TI sculptures is contrasted to the monster at the base of the TFC cross motif, it becomes apparent that the TC monster is isolated from the shaft of the cross, while the TFC cross grows from the head of the base monster. Thus, the TC monster has an identity distinct from cross, but it is in some way identified with it.
5. In the TI lid Pacal is shown in a state of movement that may be falling or rising or both. He moves in connection with the monster. The iconography of the TI lid clearly shows that the movement participates in the heavenly, worldly, and underworldly levels of existence.

Thus taken altogether we must have an identification of a creature that is of the Heavens, the Earth, and the Underworld; he must be able to move between all three levels; he must change from night to day and from fleshed to skeletal states; and finally, his movement must in some way relate to the concept of the cross. The infix in the forehead of the monster is *kin* or sun. The sun answers all of the conditions required for the identification. Other things besides the sun move cyclically from the heavens to the earth and to the Underworld, but I do not think the *kin* sign would have been used as an

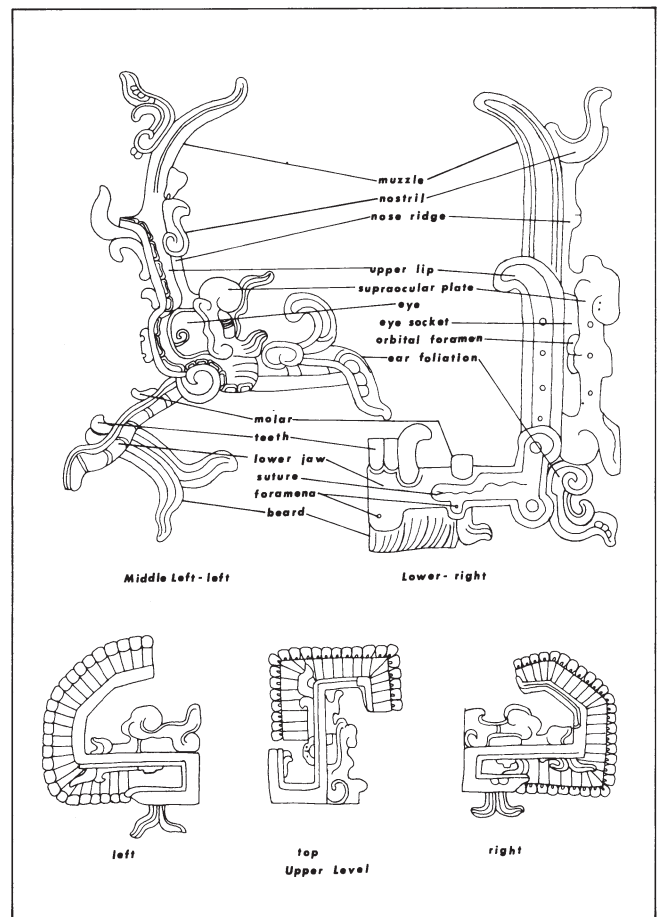


Fig. 8 Dragons from the Temple of Inscriptions, Sarcophagus lid.

identification sign except for a sun monster.

The quadripartite god is presented at Palenque in very special circumstances. In the two explicatory examples (the TC and TI tomb lid) he is carefully shown to be at the precise point of transition from day to night, from the middle world into the maw of the Underworld, and from flesh to skeleton. The moment in the daily cycle of the sun corresponding to these conditions is sunset; the moment of the yearly cycle is the winter solstice. I have twice verified that from the Tower the winter solstice sun appears to sink into the top of the Temple of Inscriptions at sunset. In addition, David Joralemon and I have verified that only at or around winter solstice does light shine onto the interior of the Temple of the Cross. The last rays of light on winter solstice sunset fall on the east panel of the inner sanctuary. God L stands smoking his cigar on the east panel of the inner sanctuary. Coe identifies him as one of the chief gods of the Underworld.

Another monster head emerges from behind Pacal on the TI tomb lid. Merle Robertson (1974) has made an exhaustive study concerning the identity of this god. She points out the tau-shaped tooth and other attributes which identify it as the sun. It is set in direct contrast to

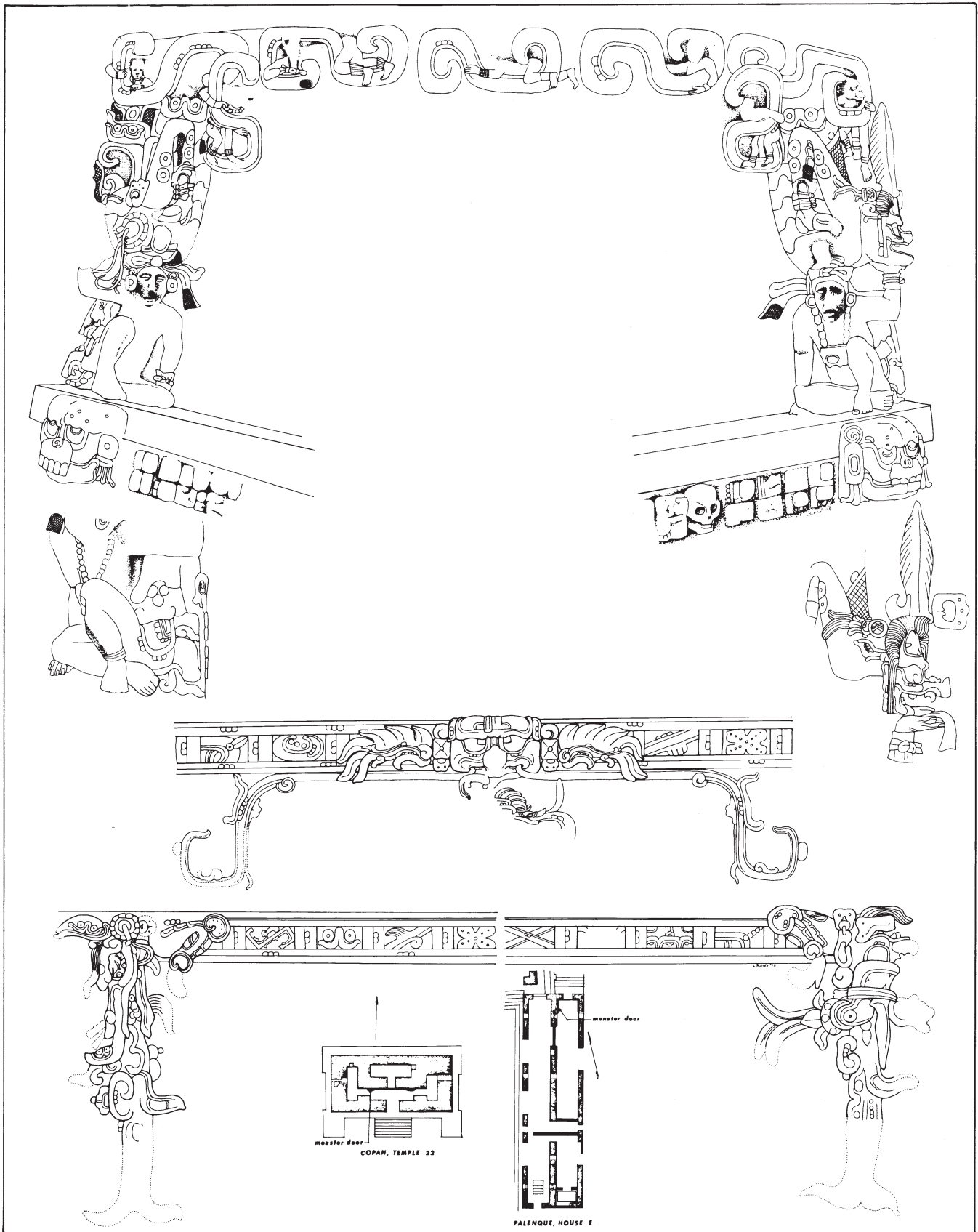


Fig. 9 Bicephalic doors from Copan, Temple 22 and Palenque, Palace House E.

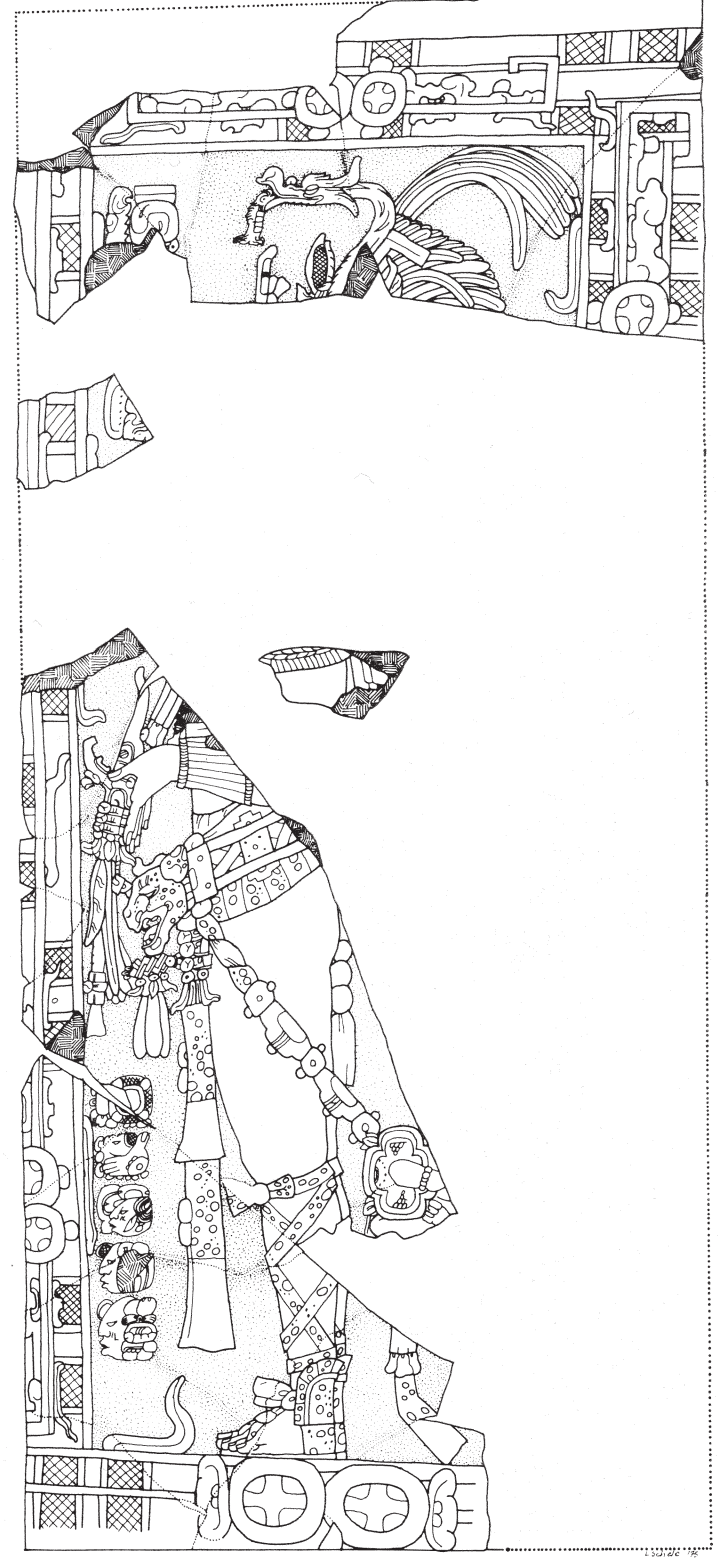
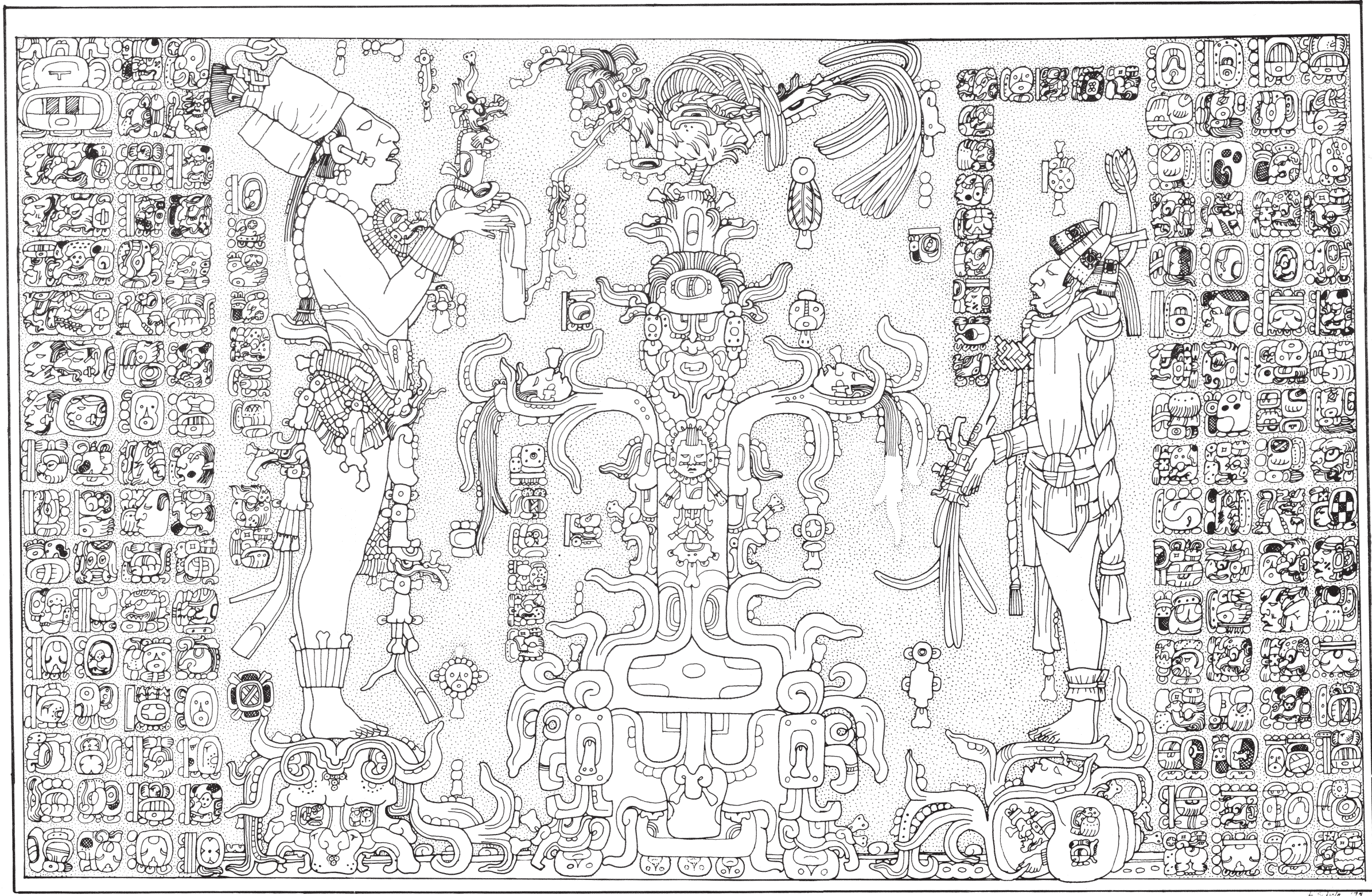
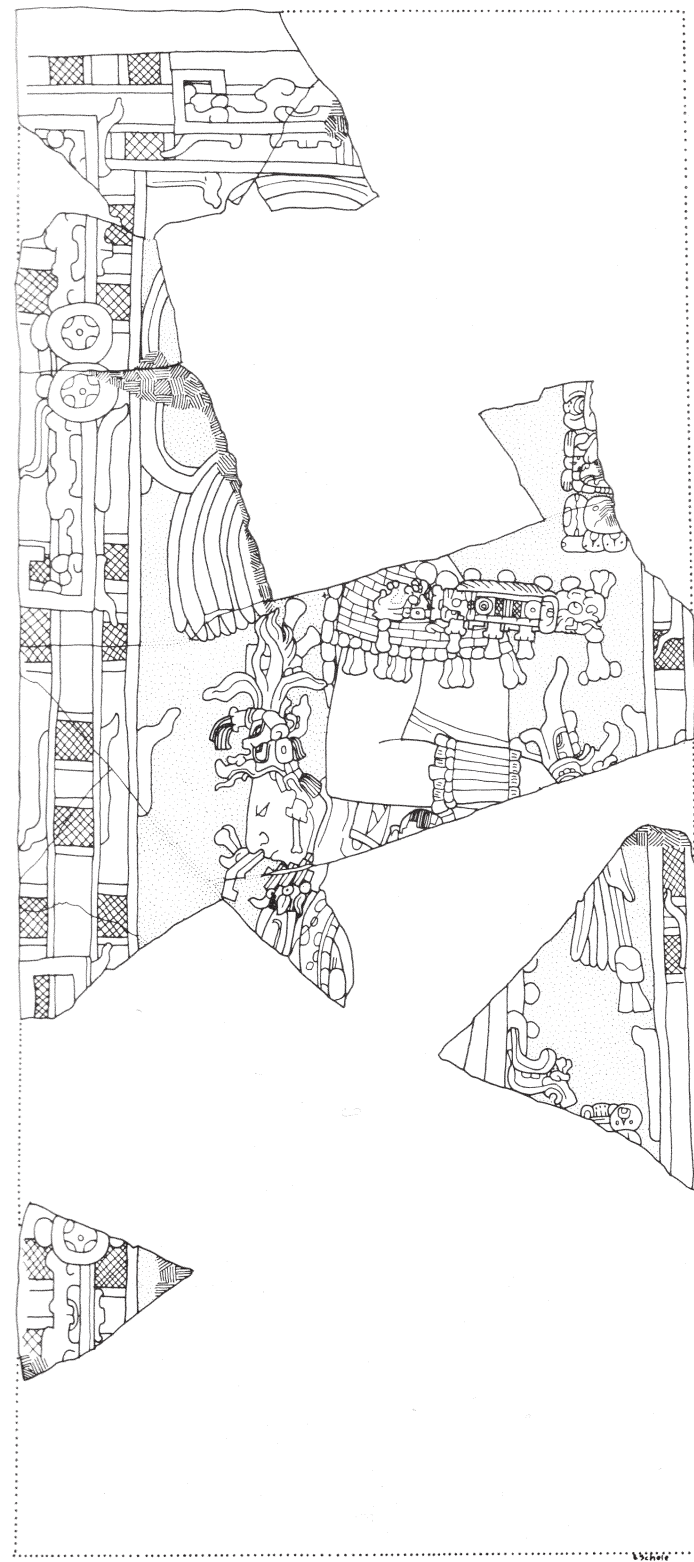


Fig. 10 Temple of the Foliated Cross and the Sanctuary Jamb Panels.

the head below Pacal. Both are the sun; one is fleshed, the other is in a transitional state between flesh and skeleton. One is shown to be 'falling' by its association with the 'falling' state of Pacal and the other is shown to be stationary or emerging from behind Pacal. Kelley (personal communication) believes the upper sun represents the sun immediately before sunset. I believe it represents a point on the other side of the circle — the rising sun. It may be either moment. It is shown engraved on, but not distorting the form of the cross formed by the jeweled dragons, which seem to represent the Heavens. The contrast of the fleshed and skeletal variants of the sun reinforce the concept of death as a transition from one level of the world to another. The transition involves both temporal and spatial change as critically important elements.

I have discussed the interpretation of the three temples of the Cross Group as demonstrations of the passage of power and office from the dead ruler to the living successor. The power of the TC is represented by the scepter held by Pacal on the left of the main tablet (Fig. 6). The same scepter is held in a similar position by Chan-Bahlum on the outer west jamb panel. The scepter is the sun monster pictured at the base of the Cross. Water pours from the scepter in both cases. In the main tablet, Pacal holds the scepter upright; it has an infixed 'sky' sign in the forehead. In the jamb panel, Chan-Bahlum holds the scepter inverted (pointed at the Underworld) with an infixed *kin* sign. Chan-Bahlum has assumed Pacal's position and holds the object associated with his predecessor on the interior; the object is the same sungod that hovers between night and day on the TC and that falls with the dead Pacal into the jaws of the Underworld on the TI lid.

A contrast between the bicephalic doorways in Temple 22, Copan and House E, Palenque, provides evidence as to the office transferred in the TC. Marcus (1973) has recently proposed a quadripartite organization for the classic Maya with Copan as the eastern capitol and Palenque as the western. With the contrast between east and west in mind, a comparison of the Copan and Palenque doorways follows. Both doorways are surmounted by a celestial monster with infixed Venus signs on the front head and *kin* signs on the rear head. Both doors form a passage way that can be used by living people. To my knowledge only these two doors and a second Palenque door in House E are physical objects which exist in the physical world and can be used by people. All other representations of the celestial monster as a doorway are pictorial abstractions.

In Copan, the doorway is placed in the interior chamber of Temple 22. A closed space is on the northern side of the door, which opens into a southern space. The exterior facade of Temple 22 was treated as an enormous monster mouth so that a person literally emerged from the open maw of the monster. In Palenque, the celestial monster surmounts the northern door of House E opening into the Northeast Courtyard of the Palace. It has a closed space on the southern side and an open one to the

north. While the spatial pattern reverses in the two doors, both are on the southern side of the door jamb with the front head in the west and the rear head in the east. No glyphic inscriptions survive with the Palenque door, but the Copan door has an inscription below the door sill.

The body of the Copan monster is composed of S-curves (Fig. 9). At the Primera Mesa Redonda, Lounsbury suggested that the S-curves may represent the annual path of the sun which in the Tropics travels half the year in a clockwise direction and the other half counterclockwise forming an S-curve. I agree with Lounsbury and follow his suggestion that the Copan monster represents the passage of the sun through the day sky in a yearly cycle.

The monster is supported by two squatting figures. Each wears a knotted head band of knitted material. Thompson (1972) identified the figures as the Bacabs. Joraleman (personal communication) is suspicious of the identification because the knitted headbands usually identify the Pauatuns, who are Underworld figures. I agree with Thompson's identification because two figures are squatting on a groundline below which are two skulls. The definite lineal separation of the figures in the plane above the line and the skulls below suggest a deliberate attempt to distinguish between level of Earthly and Underworldly existence. The figures are in the position between the arc of the heavens and the ground line. The Bacabs were gods who supported the arc of the heavens. Joraleman at the Primera Mesa Redonda suggested that the Pauatuns served the same purpose in the Underworld and separated earth from the Underworld. If he is right, the figures of the Copan door cannot be the Pauatuns; they are deliberately isolated into the level of the middle world and separated from the Underworld.

At Palenque, the body of the monster is composed of the sky band (Fig. 9). The sky band, if it represents planets and stars, is associated with phenomena of the night sky. In addition, water falls from each of the Palenque heads. The serpent-bird is perched in the middle of the Palenque body. Its head is that of the screech owl which Bardawil at this conference identified as the Underworld aspect of the "serpent-bird."

The monster door is located in the northeast corner of House E. In the southwest corner another monster frames a passage into the subterranean galleries of the Palace. At this conference, Peter Furst and Robert Rands discussed the subterranean as possible surrogates for the Underworld which were used for rituals involving Underworld gods. The young god of the west subterranean passageway seems to be emerging from the bottom of the groundline. It has been assumed that the groundline represented the heavens, and the dive was toward the earth. It is equally possible that the line represents the bottom of the earth, and the dive is into the Underworld. If the three subterranean stuccos are involved with Underworld iconography and ritual, their close proximity to the northeast door of House E reinforces its Underworld association.

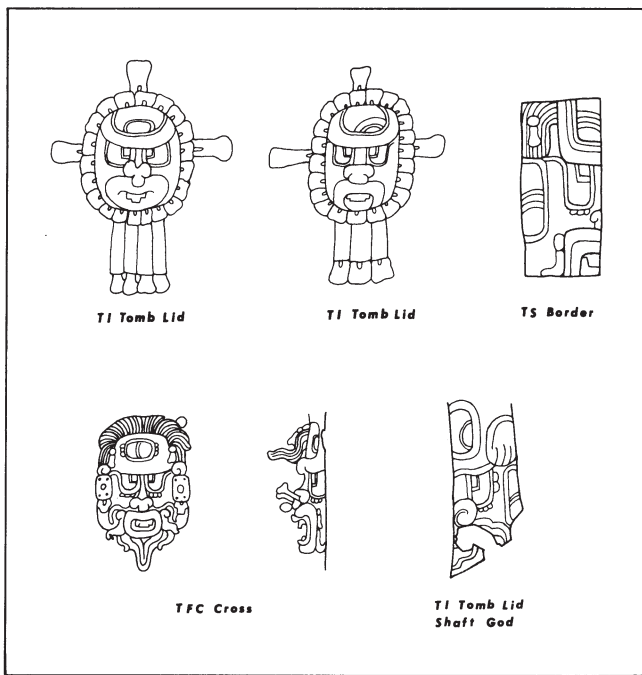


Fig. 11 A Comparison of the Sun God motif from Palenque.

I want to emphasize the fact that these three doors are unique. The celestial monster appears at Piedras Negras and Tikal as well as other sites as enframing elements but not as real architectural phenomena for living people. At Copan, the eastern-most major site, we have the passage of a monster composed of the sun's path through the tropical year. It is supported by two figures who may be the bacabs and who squat on a groundline below which are the skulls of the Underworld. At Palenque, the western-most site, we have the passage of the monster through the night. He is surmounted by the Underworld aspect of the serpent bird. Both heads spew out water. If we put the two doors together, we have a circle describing the Maya universe. Copan describes the day passage of the monster and may have been the gate for the rising sun; it is the eastern-most Maya site. Palenque describes the night passage of the monster and may have been the Maya gate to the Underworld. It is the western-most site where the sun and Venus were seen to enter the Underworld.

The scepter held by Pacal and Chan-Bahlum in the TS is the rear head of the celestial monster (Fig. 6). Both the TI and TC where the rear head appears in prominence are placed for phenomena to occur on and around the winter solstice. Pacal is shown to be falling in death with the same rear head. Is it a coincidence that the winter solstice sun enters the Underworld through his tomb? Finally when Chan-Bahlum receives the scepter from Pacal, he offers it to God L, whom Coe has identified as one of the chief Underworld gods. The last light of the winter solstice sunset falls on God L in the TC.

The scepter is most probably the sun monster. The ceremonies portrayed in the TC must relate to rites

necessary when the sun entered the Underworld, especially at winter solstice. The center area of Palenque, including the subvalley of the Cross Group is planned to view the western and northern skies. Monuments from no other sites present rulers holding a similar object, although the rear god may appear in headdress and in bicephalic serpent bars. Only at Palenque is the scepter held and presented to God L. Only at Palenque and Copan, the other site with numerous representations of the celestial monster, does the monster become real is an architectural definition. The extraordinary importance of the monster at Palenque, the presence of the House E door and the T tomb, the use of the sunhead of the celestial monster as the symbol of the most important office at Palenque suggest that Palenque was considered to be the gate of the Underworld. The rites represented in the TC and TI lid may have had pan-Maya importance.

TEMPLE OF THE FOLIATED CROSS

The Tablet of the Foliated Cross repeats the compositional theme of the TC. Chan-Bahlum stands in the north (left) and Pacal in the south (right) (Fig. 10). I have already commented that I believe Pacal is standing on a symbol for the state of death. Both figures flank another cross motif, but this cross is fundamentally different from that of the TC and TI. The serpent-bird standing atop the cross is carefully differentiated from the TC and TI birds. It has the serpent wing and tail feathers common to the beastie, but the head is shown to be a cormorant bird which is wearing the mask of a longlipped monster. A cross-section shell rises from the forehead and hangs from the neck. The cormorant holds what seems to be a stylized fish in its beak. The base of the cross is composed of a monster that Thompson (1950: 276) identifies as *Ah Uuc-ti-Cab*, "Lord Seven Earth." *Ah Uuc-ti-Cab* was an earth monster, saurian in character, associated with the earth, the underworld, fertility, vegetation, and water. Thompson in the same explanation argues convincingly for the *kan* cross as a water symbol and connected, if not interchangeable, with the cauc sign, the completion symbol, the cross-section shell, the chicchan sign, and the bone element. I believe that the use of these signs was differentiated in Maya iconography, but Thompson's observations certainly help explain the presence of the *kan*-cross infixed into the forehead of the TFC earth monster.

From the head of the earth monster rises the shaft of a cross. Vegetation signs occur in more profusion than is customary with the corn-curl ear element common to the earplugs of monsters. Two gods are attached to the sides of the shaft. Moises Morales first called my attention to the three-dimensional character of the cross. The two side gods are profile views of the upper god. The foliation element atop the upper god is the corn of the side gods seen end-on. The upper god must have its unseen counterpart on the opposite side of the cross. Thus, a head points in each of the four directions.

It is important to identify the god mounted on the TFC cross. He reappears in the Sky Band, in the ground line

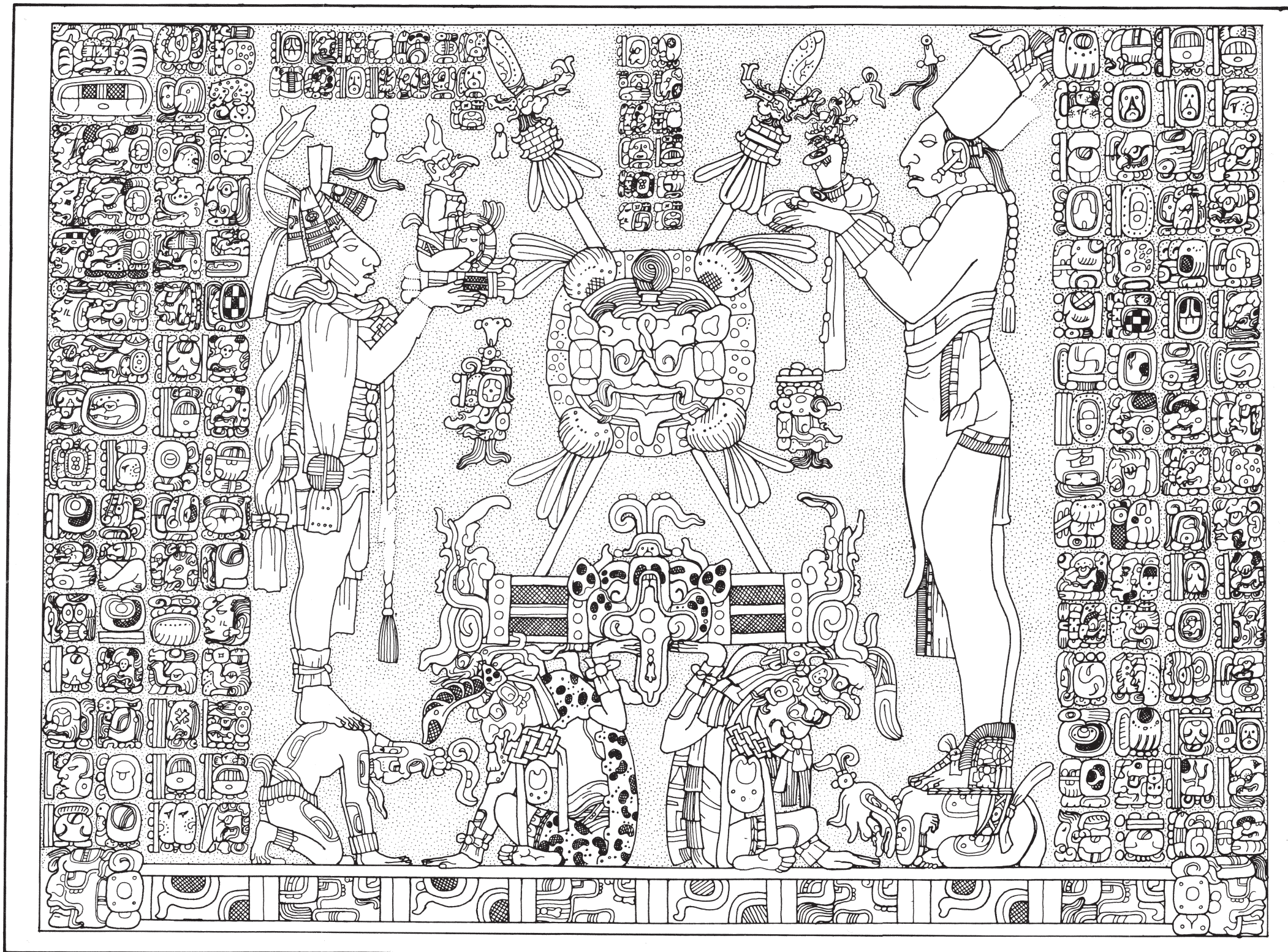


Fig. 12 Tablet of the Sun and the Sanctuary Jamb Panels.

of the TS alternating with the *caban* sign, on the shaft of the TI lid cross, and as jeweled elements on the TI tomb lid. He has the square eye and tau tooth characteristic of the sungod. The strongest elements confirming his identification as the sun are the circumstances in which he appears (Fig. 11). He is one of the signs on the day side of the TC sky band. He reappears engraved on the cross shaft of the TI tomb lid where he is placed in opposition to the skeletal sun monster at the base of the cross. On the upper part of the tomb lid, he closely resembles the ahaq variant of the sun god. In the TS, he appears in the lower band alternating with *caban* earth sign. If he is identified as God C or the North Star, the TS band makes little sense. If, on the other hand, he is the sun, the TS band reads earth-sun, etc. "Earth sun" as a synonym of the night sun fits the iconography of the TS.

Corn erupts from the foreheads of the sungods. The corn representation is complete with tassels, but in place of the corn ear, there is the head of a young Maya. The shell in the lower right corner also has corn being drawn into the shell by an unidentified god. The head in the cross foliation has a 'bone' sign at his nose, but the equivalent head below does not. The comparison was deliberately structured, but until the presentation of this paper at the Segunda Mesa Redonda, I did not understand the comparison except in terms of life and the absence of life. At the conference, Peter Furst told me of the Huichol belief in the bone soul. Many Meso-American peoples believe that bone, as the incorrupti-

ble part of the body, holds the seed of regeneration and life. The comparison then is one of life to death. The heads associated with the cross motif have attached bone signs and life. The bone sign is absent from the head below which is being drawn into the shell, a sign of death and the Underworld.

The final element of the TFC is the Cauac monster under Chan-Bahlum. *Cauac* and its variants in all Maya languages is associated with storm and rain. The corresponding Mexican day, Quiauitl, means "rain." (Thompson, 1950: 87) Joralemon pointed out that the Cauac monster is strongly associated with the Underworld and may represent standing water. The combination of these elements — earth, sun, and water — results in the emergence of corn and the living head of the Maya.

Three years ago Moises Morales suggested an approach to the TFC as a picture of the cycle of life and death through earth, water, and sun. In the time since then evidence has accumulated to support his idea. The *Popol Vuh* describes the successful creation of man by Gucamatz and Tepeu from corn meal. Other Maya myths relate the creation of man from corn and serpent blood. I do not think the TFC is simply an agricultural tablet; the rites involved concern life on a universal scale and include the creation of man and life in general. The rites that were associated with the TFC involved the perpetuation of life at all levels.

The TI sarcophagus sides provide further evidence for interpreting the TFC as the cycle of life and death. The iconography of the TFC and TI sides correspond in subject matter. The tomb sides portray 10 figures emerging from cracks in a groundline identified as earth by repeated *caban* signs (Fig. 14). From behind each figure and from within each niche grows a mythological plant. Each plant bears specific, identifiable edible fruits including chico zapote, avocado, guanavana, and cacao. The figures are each identified by adjacent name glyphs which are repeated in the TC, TI 1, and tomb ancestral texts. Lounsbury (1975) has shown that the tomb-lid text records the deaths of the ancestors up to and including Pacal. The portraits include five male and two female ancestors, some of which were rulers and others were not.

The tree behind each figure has a specific leaf that reappears on the head of the god held by Pacal in the D.O. Tablet, on the god engraved in the floor in the outer gallery of the TI, and in the headdress of the Oval Palace Tablet, of the tomb stuccoes, of the figure on the House D piers, and on many other figures (Fig. 5). The leaf appears at the four corners of the carouches of pier a, Temple of the Sun, with the three circles of the *le* leaf infixed. The TS version merges the TI tomb plant with the *le* leaf and its double meaning of "leaf" and "generations" (ancestry).

The involvement of ancestry in the dynastic rites of Palenque was more than passive. Every ruler beginning with Pacal used a name from the ancestor lists of the TC and TI. The Palace Tablet, the Tablet of the Slaves, and the Jambs of T. 18 show that the ruler used one name or

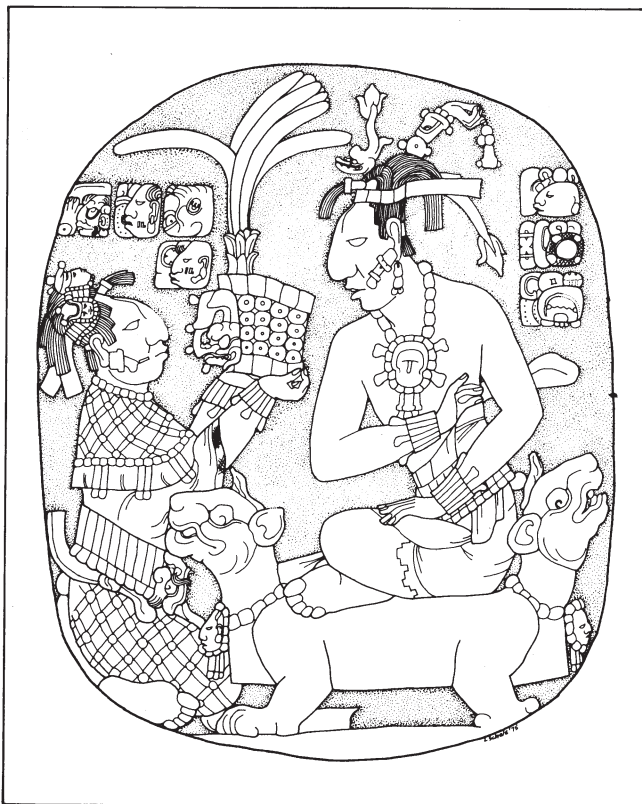


Fig. 13 Oval Palace Tablet.

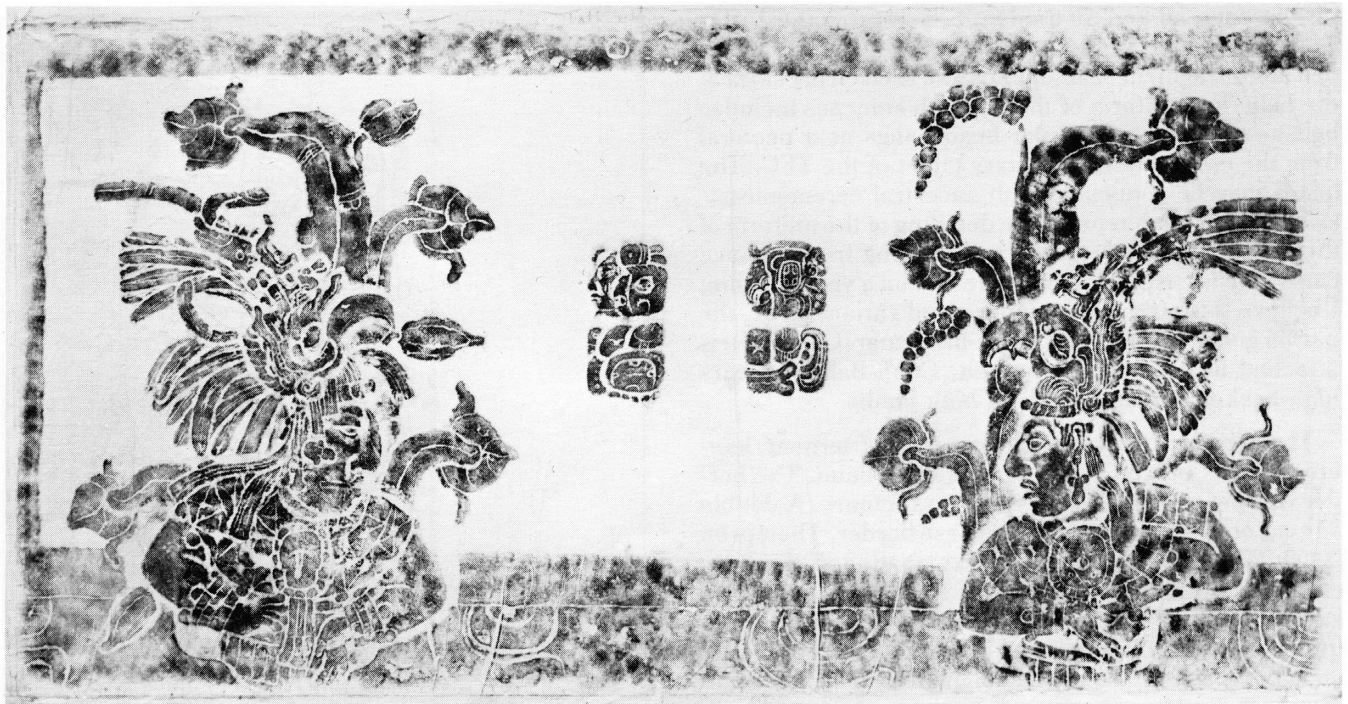


Fig. 14 Temple of Inscriptions, Sarcophagus edge, North side, Lady Zac-Kuk and Bahlum Mo'o. (Merle Greene rubbing).

group of names until the day of accession. At accession he assumed an ancestral name. The pattern of name recall is as follows:

Lord Shield-Pacal	recalls	Pacal I	death:	9. 8.18.14.11
Lord Chan-Bahlum	recalls	Bahlum I	death:	9. 7. 9. 5. 5
Lord Hok	recalls	Kan-Xul (Hok I)	death:	9. 6.11. 0.16
Lord Chaac	recalls	Chaac I or II	death:	9. 4.10. 4.17 or
Lord Kuk		(Cauac-Uinal)		9. 6.16.10. 7
	recalls	Lady Zac	death:	9.10. 7.13. 5
		Kuk		

Only Chac-Zutz' did not recall an ancestral name, but his identity as a ruler different than Lord Chaac is not yet resolved. In all other cases the name glyphs of the post-Pacal rulers were identical with an ancestral name.

As yet we do not know the extent of ancestor worship. Did the reuse of ancestral names also recall personality, inheritance, obligations, etc? The TFC seems to be dedicated to celebrating the cycle of life; the TI to ancestor worship. The iconographic linkage of the tomb sides and the TFC indicates that ancestry and the life cycle of men, corn, and all other vegetation were intimately linked together.

As in the TC, a symbol of office is passed from the dead Pacal to his successor, Chan-Bahlum. David Joralemon (1974) identified the object in Pacal's hand as the perforator god of self-inflicted sacrifice. The god is particularly linked to penis mutilation. The TFC jambs found in the bodega confirm that the perforator is passed to Chan-Bahlum in the exterior of the sanctuary.

The TFC jambs present the transfer of power differently than the TC in which Chan-Bahlum after receiving the scepter offers it to God L. In the TFC, Chan-Bahlum stands with the perforator on both sides of the sanctuary door (Fig. 10). The absence of a god figure in the completion of the transfer of power suggests that the act of perforation is the duty fulfilled by the ruler. It did not involve rites to a particular god other than GII and the gods of the cross motif. The blood sacrifice must be involved in the perpetuation of the cycle of rain, earth, sun, and corn, of human fertility and of ancestor worship.

Blood sacrifice is heavily documented among the Maya. Both Proskouriakoff (1960) and Merle Greene Robertson (1972) have pointed out the sacrificial scenes at Yaxchilan. Royal men and women are shown either preparing for or engaging in ritual mutilation. The perforator god appears in Lintel 25. The sacrificial scene at Bonampak shows the person identified by Thompson as the ruler engaged in tongue mutilation (Ruppert, Thompson, and Proskouriakoff, 1955). The blood-letting ceremony occurs in Room 3 and seems to be connected with the presentation of a child in Room 1. The similarity between the Yaxchilan and Bonampak scenes and the TFC seems to confirm ancestor worship as a major element in blood-letting rites.

The TFC sanctuary jambs portray Chan-Bahlum in a uniform similar to that of the TC jamb, the TI tomb stuccoes, and the House A piers. The south jamb head-dress has the bird of the Palenque emblem glyph replacing the cormorant of the TC jamb. The north jamb includes a bar pectoral composed of a turtle-like crea-

ture at one end and an unidentified beastie and Jester God at the other. A large head hangs from the rear of the belt and a fragment of another can be seen on the sides of the belt. The uniform of the TI tomb stuccoes includes belt heads. Another similar head hangs as a pectoral from the cross on the sanctuary tablet of the TFC. The heads may be connected with ancestral ceremonies.

The south jamb repeats the detailing of the uniform of the TC jamb. A full-figured god hanging from a cauc cartouche is suspended from the belt on a yax-jade line; I believe this effigy is the full-figured variant of GI, the patron god of the TC. The water-lily jaguar (Coe, 1974) is attached to the front of the belt. Chan-Bahlum wears high-backed jaguar sandals in both jambs.

The border of the jambs is composed of serpent, kan-cross motifs infixed into a crosshatched band. The border is repeated on the eaves of the sanctuary. A double *kan-na* or *an* is inserted into the base border. Thompson (1950: 275) gives the following explanation of the kan-cross: "Kan is the Yacatec word for yellow, but it has various homonyms, among which is the root *kan*, 'precious, or highly esteemed or necessary;' *kanan hal* and *kanan cunah* are verbal compounds with the same meanings, and *kan* is also the name of the beads used as money in Yucatan." Thompson goes on to associate the kan-cross with blue and thus with water, jade and preciousness. He links the kan-cross to yax and the chicchan serpent. He points out that the House D piers are en-framed by borders of bone-jade (pier b), completion-jade (pier c), yax-jade (pier d), kan-jade (pier e) and bone-jade (pier f). All of the signs are interconnected, have the significance of preciousness, and have associations with water. The House D piers presents ceremonies of dance or sacrifice, which Kubler (1963) has associated with funerary and underworld rites. The lower border of the TFC sanctuary jambs can be read as *Kanan*; i.e., 'precious, highly esteemed, necessary.'

Kelley identified the patron of the TFC, GII, as *Ah Bolon Dzacab* or *Ah Dzacab* and suggested that he is an agricultural god. Lounsbury (personal communication) essentially agrees, but emphasizes the rain aspects of the god. The iconography of the TFC certainly supports both viewpoints, but Coe and Joralemon do not agree. Coe has suggested to me that *Ah Dzacab* is the Maya version of the Aztec Tezcatlipoca and as such is a god of war and of rulership. The iconography of God K in the majority of his appearances tends to support Coe. He most often appears with the iconography of the TS and its concentration on death and war. If we emphasize the ancestral aspects of the TFC rather than the agricultural ones then the normal appearance of God K fits the iconography. The word *dzacab* is glossed in the Motul as "generations." Thompson (1970) suggested a translation of *Ah Bolon Dzacab* as "He of the Nine Generations." GII then may not be an agricultural god so much as a god of generations, ancestry, and lineages. The iconography and inscriptions of the TS, which includes the only non-inscriptional appearance of God K in the Cross Group, supports that interpretation. If God K is the god

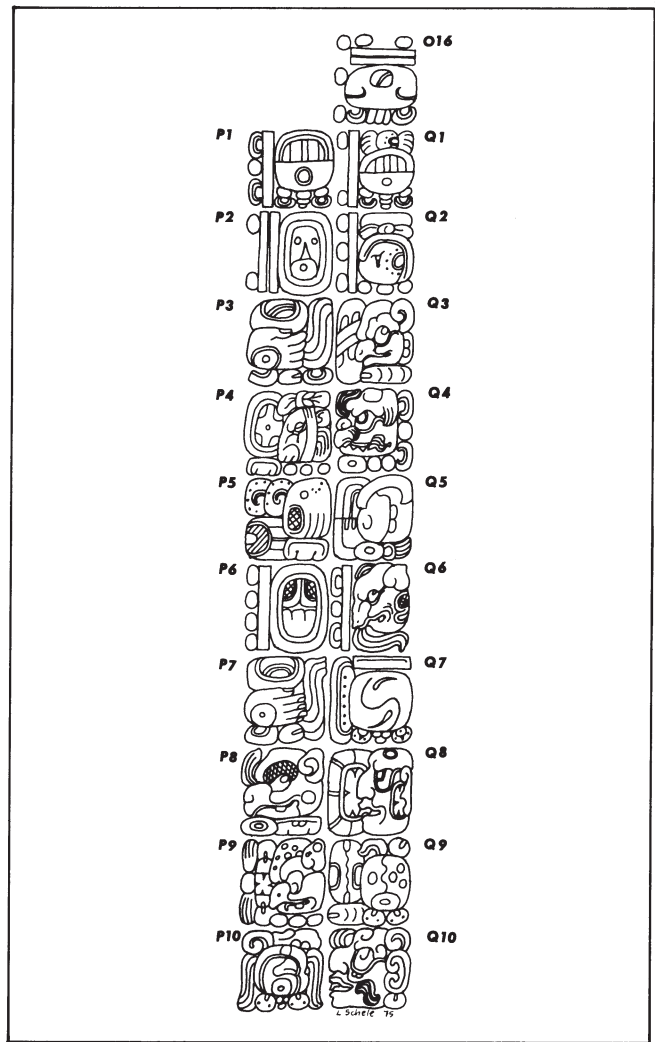


Fig. 15 Tablet of Sun, 9 Akbal 6 Xul text.

of lineages, then the TFC is not emphasizing the cycle of life in the local sense of crops, but in the general sense of life itself.

Joralemon pointed out the similarity of the TFC to a scene in the Borgia Codex which presents Quetzalcoatl fertilizing a tree with blood from his perforated penis. The tree is very similar to the TI tomb side tree and it emerges from the earth monster. Another scene of perforation appears on the Madrid 19. Here five gods are bound together by a rope drawn through perforated penises. The rope is engaged to a central motif mounted by a yax turtle. In Central Mexican mythology of the last Creation Quetzalcoatl brought life to the fragments of ancestral bones by fertilizing them with blood from his penis. TFC iconography presents imagery that seems to show the birth of man from corn, his death as a return to the earth. Certainly, the TFC seems to be related to life at the creation level, and the rite of penis sacrifice and self-inflicted blood-letting is involved with the mythological complex of the creation of man and ancestry as a part of that cycle.

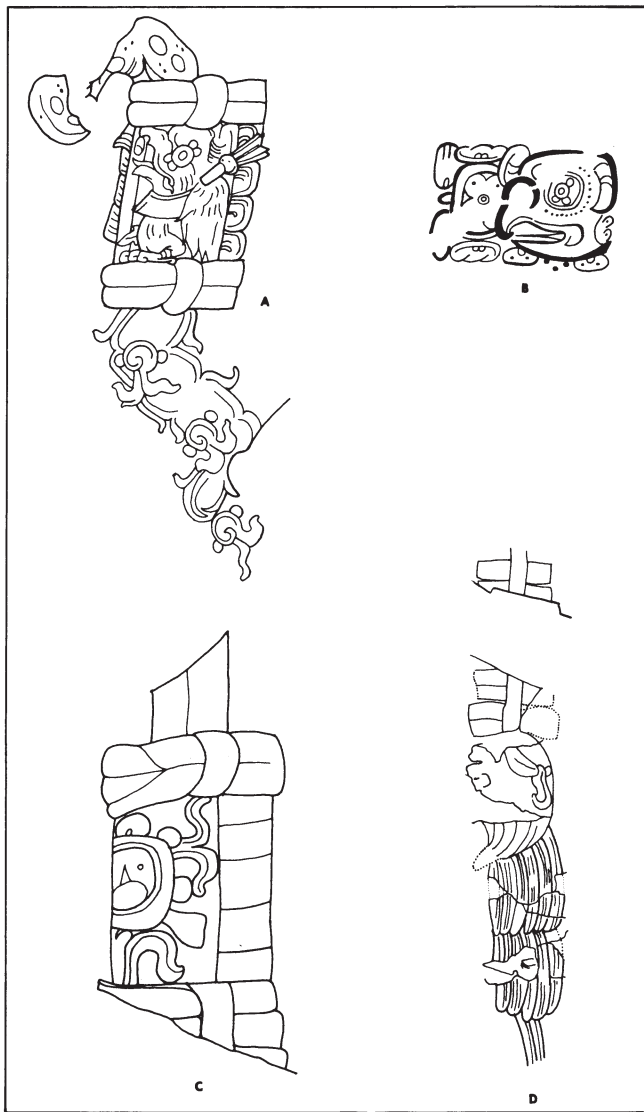


Fig. 16 A Comparison of the Incense Bag Motif from Palenque.

THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN

The TS sanctuary tablet presents Chan-Bahlum on the northern (right) side and Pacal on the southern (left) flanking a shield with the Underworld Jaguar God of No. 7 (Fig. 12). The shield is supported by a rigid serpent bar with a jaguar mounted in the center. The bar is supported by God L and another underworld god, tentatively identified as God M by Kelley (1965). Chan-Bahlum stands on the left holding God K. This is the only appearance of God K as a pictorial element in the Cross Group. Pacal holds the flint god/shield effigy. The shield god appears in the Palace Tablet and the Tablet of the Slaves offered to the acceding ruler by a female. The woman of the Palace Tablet is identified glyphically in her headdress and in the text (B15-B16) as Lady Ahpo Hel, the wife of Lord Shield Pacal. Since Hok, the ruler of the Palace Tablet, and Chan-Bahlum were born only

six years apart, I am assuming that they were brothers. Glyphic evidence indicates they were the sons of Pacal and Lady Ahpo Hel. The woman of the Tablet of the Slaves is identified glyphically as Lady Propeller (T 1000. 518:592:117), who is prominent in the texts of Lord Chaac and Chac-Zutz'.

The Oval Palace Tablet shows a woman identified glyphically as Lady Zac Kuk presenting the drum-major headdress to Pacal, who is identified by name at D2 (Fig. 13). We know from the TI 1 text that the ruler immediately prior to the reign of Pacal was a female, although she is not recognizably named. Pacal's accession tablet shows him receiving the drum-major headdress (an object held by men in all other Palenque sculpture) from a female. In the other accession sculptures based on the model of the Oval Palace Tablet, the ruler directs his attention to a male on his right and who holds the drum-major headdress. A female offers the shield god from his left. Study of the accession motif in these three tablets, lead to three assumptions: (1) the drum-major headdress and the shield god are symbols for the passage of power at accession; 2) the drum-major headdress is normally associated with men and the shield-god with women; and 3) the transfer of power is shown to follow a different pattern with Pacal than with his successors. He receives the male symbol from a female and he gives the female symbol to Chan-Bahlum in the TS.

The last male in the ancestral lists before Pacal is Kan-Bahlum-M'oo (Lounsbury, 1974). His name appears only in the death inscription of the TI tomb and in the secondary text next to Chan-Bahlum in the TFC. His portrait appears twice with Lady Zac Kuk on the tomb sides, but he never held office and his emblem glyph is not a normal Palenque variant (Fig. 14). Pacal receives his drum-major headdress from Lady Zac Kuk, not Kan-Bahlum-M'oo. I believe it is possible that Kan-Bahlum-M'oo was an alien who married into the royal line of Palenque. His son, Pacal, inherited his royal lineage solely through his mother, Lady Zac Kuk, who may be the unidentified female who held the throne before Pacal. As holder of both the female and male lineages through his mother, Pacal gives the shield god to Chan-Bahlum in the TS. The drum-major headdress, then, may be the symbol of the "seat" of the royal power and the shield god the symbol of the lineage to the throne.

If the power transferred from Pacal to Chan-Bahlum is royal lineage, the text should explain the action. The date always associated with the secondary texts near Pacal is the calendar round, (9.10.8.9.3) 9 Akbal 6 Xul. The only explanation of the 9 Akbal 6 Xul date occurs in the TS main text (Fig. 15). Beginning at O16 with a distance number counting back to 9.3.1.15.0 12 Ahau 8 Ceh. An event (P3) occurred to the ancestor Kan-Xul (P4) on 12 Ahau 8 Ceh. The very same event (P7) occurred to Chan-Bahlum on 9 Akbal 6 Xul. When the event occurred, Kan-Xul was 6 years and 232 days old and Chan-Bahlum was 6 years, 57 days old. Since the event is the same for both persons, one ancestral and one

historical, and since the action portrayed in the pictures of the Cross Group is the transfer of rulership, I suggest the event occurring on 9 Akbal 6 Xul was the initiation of the power transfer.⁴ It may have been the designation of the heir apparent to the throne. The transfer of power seems to have been completed on 8 Oc 3 Kayab, the date of Chan-Bahlum's accession.

Chan-Bahlum stands on the right of the TS Tablet holding God K in his only appearance in the iconography of the Cross Group. In the TC and TFC Chan-Bahlum holds the Jester God, a deity which normally appears attached to the drum-major headdress. In the TS God K assumes the position of the Jester God. God K, *Ah Dzacab*, is the god of generations and lineages. He appears on the TI tomb lid and piers as the god incarnated by Pacal and Chan-Bahlum. He is particularly a dynastic god. God K and the 'shield' god are specifically associated with lineage ancestry and with the divinity of the ruler. The text of the TS principally is concerned with the 819 day count birth augury of Chan-Bahlum and the rite which occurred to him at 6 years old. The power and office presented in the TS then must be concerned with the lineal descent of the ruler, with his divinity, and with the rites necessary to delineate his historic right to the 'seat' of Palenque. The fact that the shield god is handled by women in every other case in Palenque, certainly indicates that kinship and the descent of the throne was to a great extent dependent on the female line. The fact that the same shield as a glyphic element appears only with Pacal's name indicates that the line of descent was drawn specifically from the person of Pacal.

Kelley (1965) has shown the iconographic association of the central shield and other elements in the TS to the underworld, death and war. The central shield is the Underworld Jaguar of Number 7 and may very well be Xbalanque or Balankin of the *Popol Vuh* (Thompson, 1970: 234 and Lounsbury: personal communication). Crossed serpent spears rest behind the shield. Both the serpent spear and the Jaguar-God Shield or the God K manifiin scepter and the Jaguar-God Shield appear throughout classic Maya iconography. God K is specifically associated with the arm shield imprinted with the Jaguar-God.

The jaguar shield rests on a double-headed dragon bar — a pan-Maya sign of rulership. A variant of the jaguar is mounted in the center of the bar. Coe (1974) identified this jaguar variant with smoke curls emerging from the mouth as an Underworld beastie associated with death gods. The dragon bar and Underworld Jaguar shield are supported by God L and another god tentatively identified by Kelley (1965) as *Ek Chuah*, the black god of merchants. The TC presents the passage of the sun through the three levels of the world and portrays the moment of the sun's entry into the Underworld as the

crucial point in the solar cycle. The TC sanctuary jamb panels show Chan-Bahlum, after having received the scepter of the dying sun from his dead predecessor, offering the sun scepter to God L. The TS shows the dragon bar of rulership supporting the shield of the Underworld Jaguar god and crossed spears. The bar is in turn supported on the backs of two important Underworld gods. The patron of the TS has been read by Kelley as *Mah K'inah Xibalba* or "Lord of the Underworld." This intense Underworld imagery is presented in the temple which asserts the divinity of Chan-Bahlum and the descent of lineage from the dead Pacal to Chan-Bahlum. Certainly the mythology and the office of the ruler of Palenque is dramatically and forcefully involved with the Underworld, with death and life cycles, with ancestry, and with the sun in its Underworld aspects.

On the two sanctuary jamb panels (Fig. 12) Chan-Bahlum stands facing the door, but he holds neither of the god scepters from the main tablet. On the north panel he stands holding a staff in his left hand. It is not possible to ascertain whether the staff was a spear or a God K scepter like those of the piers of House A. An incense bag dangles from his left hand and the right is raised in a gesture. He is wearing a bound pack on his back. The pack reinforces the identification of the right-hand bearer god in main tablet as *Ek Chuah*. The pack is unique in Palenque iconography and appears in the jamb panel on the same side of the main tablet as *Ek Chuah*, the god of merchants.

The cape worn by Chan-Bahlum in the north panel is composed of jade of two different sizes arranged in a stepped-fret pattern. The same pattern reappears in the headdress of the central figures in piers of House A. He wears high-back, strapped sandal of jaguar pelt and he has six toes.

Both the north and south jambs have a stack of gods on the interior side of the panels. I suspect that this repeated god, who reappears in the eaves on the TS sanctuary, is the perforator god. The outside edge of both panels is bordered by a strip containing a Cauac Monster with a spear head emerging from his mouth. The head of the monster terminates in a T713 hand glyph compound. A long-lipped god with 'fire' infixed in his forehead appears in an inverted position in the middle of the strip. Corn foliage with a corn ear emerges from his forehead.

The north panel includes a portion of the eave inscription. Although we found only one fragment of the text in the bodega, it proves the accuracy of Waldeck's drawing so that we may accept his data. The text includes five glyph groups: God C compound/Lord Chan-Bahlum/jaguar spotted Ahau title/kan title group/bird-variant emblem glyph. Both of the titles are consistently associated with Chan-Bahlum (Mathews and Schele, 1974).

⁴ At the Segunda Mesa Redonda Jeff Miller in reading the first draft of this paper began an investigation of the event glyph for the 9 Akbal 6 Xul text. He began his study with the identification of the main element as a mirror as seen in the forehead of God K, variants of the sungod, the Jester God, and other deities. He found the word for mirror is *nen* which is entered as: Motul: *U nen cab, u nen cah* el sacerdote, cacique, gobernador de la tierra o pueblo, que es espejo en que todas se miran. Quiche: *nen* succeed in office.

The uniform, staff, and incense bag of the north jamb are repeated in the piers of House A. As yet we have not confirmed the interpretation of the House A piers, but I suspect they are portraits of the ancestral rulers leading to Hok's reign. The woman on Pier C has been conclusively identified by Merle Robertson (1975) as Lady Zac Kuk. Since the piers seem to be repeating the tri-figure groups of the Palace Tablet and the Tablet of the Slaves, I believe that the central figure of Pier C is Pacal. The figure in Pier D has six fingers; Chan-Bahlum is the only ruler known to have had this deformity. The clothing and iconography of the north jamb of the TS is related to ancestry and very probably to the ruler as the Lord after completion of the transfer of the office from the dead ruler to the new one.

The pouch hanging from the left arm is further evidence for the involvement of ancestry. Chac-Zutz' holds a similar pouch in the Tablet of the Slaves (Fig. 16). Smoke settles from the bottom of the pouch. A bird is pictured on the pouch with the Pacal 'shield' infixed into his eye. Pacal's name appears in the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (B3) and several other instances as a bird with an infixed shield (Mathews and Schele: 1974). The presence of the Pacal bird on the incense sack held by Chac-Zutz' in an accession tablet associates the incense pouches of the House A piers and the North jamb (TS) with ancestor worship as a part of the office of rulership in Palenque. The form of ancestor worship associated with the incense pouch is connected with God K and the 'shield' god as well as the 'smoking' jaguar and the Jaguar Sun. The incense rites of the TS are presented distinctly separate from the ancestor ceremonies of the TFC, which are associated with blood-letting rites, and penis mutilation. The iconographic units are distinct, but interrelated by the strong presence of God K in both temples.

The south sanctuary jamb from the TS is known only from the Waldeck-Maudslay drawing (Fig. 12). Although we found no fragments of the south jamb in the bodega, the comparison of the fragments of the north jamb to the Waldeck drawings has proven the phenomenal accuracy of his work. The text and much of the pictorial detail are not clear, but the drawing provides enough information to prove useful. The contour of the head in the south jamb has the distinction of nasal features peculiar to Chan-Bahlum's portrait.

The border detailing of the south jamb repeats that of the north panel. The figure stands facing the sanctuary doorway. Very little detail remains of his clothing but the distinctive tail element at the rear of the loin cloth can be certainly identified as a jaguar-pelt tail with an ahau-foiliation element at the tip. The same dress element appears on the right figure in pier b, House D, and on God L in the TC east jamb. A god is mounted on the rear of the belt. The identification of the god is difficult, but I believe it is the skeletal sun from the base of the cross in the TC. It has clear water elements falling from the mouth, identical in form and detailing to the scepter gods in the TC tablet and west sanctuary jamb. There is a blank shape above the head of the god. It has no

interior detailing, but the shape includes a tri-leaf area on the left and an upright sign in the center. I think the shape is clearly the outline of the quadripartite badge which always appears with the skeletal sun monster.

Chan-Bahlum wears the high-backed jaguar sandals common to his portraits in all of the jambs. His costume includes the double-knotted loincloth and the headdress typical of the jamb uniform. The contour of the headdress includes the outline of a long-lipped monster with the perforator (central element of the quadripartite badge) as a tooth. The god in the headdress seems to repeat the god in the headdress of the west TC jamb.

The enthroned jaguar held in Cham-Bahlum's hands is a rare element to Palenque's iconography. The throne under the jaguar is identical to the throne under the 'shield' god in the TS tablet and to the thrones under all three figures in the Palace Tablet. The jaguar on the throne is jawless; smoke emerges from his mouth. The jaguar offering immediately recalls Lintel 26 of Yaxchilan in which a woman offers a jaguar head to Shield Jaguar. Proskouriakoff notes the presence of the *toothache*-rite glyph in Lintel 26. The jaguar head offered in the Yaxchilan example is the Water-Lily Jaguar. It is the same beastie as the jaguar of the belt heads in the Group of the Cross, and as the left throne in the Palace Tablet. The jaguar offering of the south TS sanctuary jamb is not the same water-lily jaguar.

In the past I assumed that the jaguar mounted in the center of the serpent bar in the TS Tablet was the front view of the Water-lily Jaguar. In the process of drawing the TS Tablet for this paper, I realized that the TS jaguar cannot be the water-lily jaguar for two reasons. First, open-jawed jaguars are always shown with carefully delineated bone lines in the lower jaws (Fig. 17). In the TS jaguar, the central mouth element, which I had interpreted as the inside of open mouth, emerges from within the mouth. The jaguar is jawless. The mouth element may be a tongue or smoke, but it cannot be the lower jaw. Secondly, there are two curled elements in the sides of the mouth. I did not realize what they were until I looked at the "smoking" jaguars of Pl. 42 in Coe's *Maya Scribe and His World*. The canopy above God L has three beasties mounted on it; two are in profile and one is in front view. Coe believes the central beastie is different than the flanking ones, but all three have smoke elements emerging from the mouths. The front view of the smoke elements in Pl. 42 exactly matches the three elements in the mouth of the TS jaguar. The TS jaguar of the main tablet and of the south jamb is the Smoking Jaguar (Fig. 18).

The Pl. 42 pot has a close relationship to the TS Tablet. In both cases God L plays an important role. In the Pl. 42 pot he sits inside a palace and is attended by five females whom Coe tentatively identifies as the Aztec Cihauteteo, who were women who died in childbirth. They were thought to dwell in the Underworld to the west and to rise at noon each day to the zenith to bear the sun to the horizon and the Underworld. The palace in which the scene occurs is identified by the Smoking Jaguar. God L appears in the TS as one of two Under-

world bearers for the bar. The bar, which terminates in Smoking Dragons, is identified by the Smoking Jaguar. The bar may be meant to represent the throne of the Underworld and its regents, God L and God M. If the dragon bar is also meant to be associated with the “seat” or throne of Palenque, then we must assume at least for the functions define in the TS the “seat” is primarily associated with the Underworld.

Kelley (1968) made a tentative identification of the right god of the TS as God M, who is frequently represented with a merchant’s pack on his back and making war on other gods. Chan-Bahlum stands on the right in the jamb panels wearing the merchant’s pack. Kelley associated God M with Ek Chuah, god of merchants and cacao and with the patron of the month *Uo*. The patron of *Uo* seems to be the god of the central shield in the TS. The left god he identifies as God L and by using the left name glyph adjacent to the shield, he follows Seler in naming the god *Uuc Ekel Ahau* or “Lord of Seven Blacks.” *Uuc Ekel Ahau* is the name of a war god. In the Pl. 42 pot the house of God L is identified by the ‘smoking’ Jaguar. God L and God M carry on their backs a double-headed dragon bar marked as the throne of God L and presumably God M by the ‘smoking’ jaguar. In the left jamb panel Chan-Bahlum stands holding an enthroned ‘smoking’ jaguar. The scepter offered to God L in the TC jamb panels hangs from his back. Rather than assuming the position of the dead Pacal in the TS, Chan-Bahlum is assuming the role of God L and M, both gods of war and the Underworld. The motifs which identify the rites central to the TS iconography are the Underworld jaguar god shield and crossed spears. The shield and spear are used throughout Mesoamerican as symbols of war.

The TS iconography has Underworld and war associations, and it seems to include reference to death and to ancestor worship and the lineal descent of the throne. The text of the main tablet includes the explanation of the 9 Akbal 6 Xul event which occurred to Chan-Bahlum when he was six years old. We may extend the information on the TS ceremonies if we look at the north building from the Palace. The north building is the accession monument for Hok, Chan-Bahlum’s successor. It is divided into the same three iconographic units as the Group of the Cross and TI tomb. House AD, in its northern iconography is equivalent to the northern placement iconography of the TC and TI Tomb lid. The Palace Tablet was mounted in the upper gallery and the north substructure exhibited gigantic heads enframed by the double-headed dragon with god K emerging from the mouths. The celestial monster enframed the entire panel. House A in its eastern position is equivalent to the eastern TFC and to the TI sarcophagus sides. The piers present the tri-figures accession statements of ancestral lords. Pier c presents Pacal and pier d, Chan-Bahlum. House D in its western position is equivalent to the western TS and to the TI tomb stuccoes. It is in the west that we find the clues to the ceremonies of the TS. In piers b and f scenes of decapitation are shown. In pier d

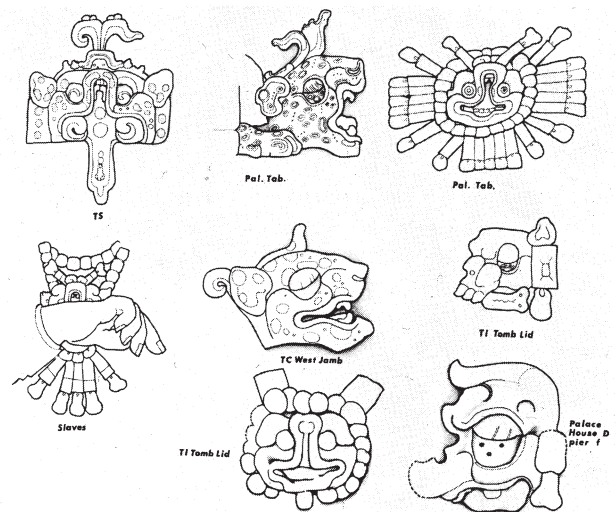


Fig. 17 The Water-lily Jaguar at Palenque.

the phonetic variant of Pacal appears at A5.

Bonampak provides supporting evidence for the decapitation rituals involved with House D and TS iconography. In Room 1 a child is presented to a group of sublords. In Room 2 battle scenes are shown which conclude with the torture and sacrifice of prisoners. In Room 3 elaborate dances are shown, in the midst of which victims are sacrificed. The primary lord is involved in self-inflicted blood-letting. The initial act in the narrative of the Bonampak ritual is the presentation of a child. The narratives continued with battle to attain victims and sacrificial ceremonies which include decapitation. The TS text presents as the main historical event the action which occurred to Chan-Bahlum and Kan-Xul at age 6. The text includes Chan-Bahlum’s 819 day count augury and the tablet shows as the main ceremonial objects, the dynastic Shield God and God K. The outer jambs include the ‘offering’ of the Smoking Jaguar, a god associated with death and sacrificial decapitation. Decapitation scenes are shown in House D. I believe there is little doubt that ritual sacrifice by decapitation was a part of the ceremonies conducted in connection with the TS.

CONCLUSION:

The group of the Cross presents pictorial records of the transfer of power from the dead ruler Pacal to his successor, Chan-Bahlum on the date 9.12.11.12.10 8 Oc 3 Kayab. The transfer of power is shown to occur by representing the dead lord on the interior tablet holding the symbol of power and standing with the new lord next to the detailed pictorial representation of the particular office. The transfer of power is completed by portraying the new lord on the exterior tablets standing in place of the dead ruler, and holding the symbol of power. The divisions of office are discreet, but overlapping in definition and function. They are as follows:

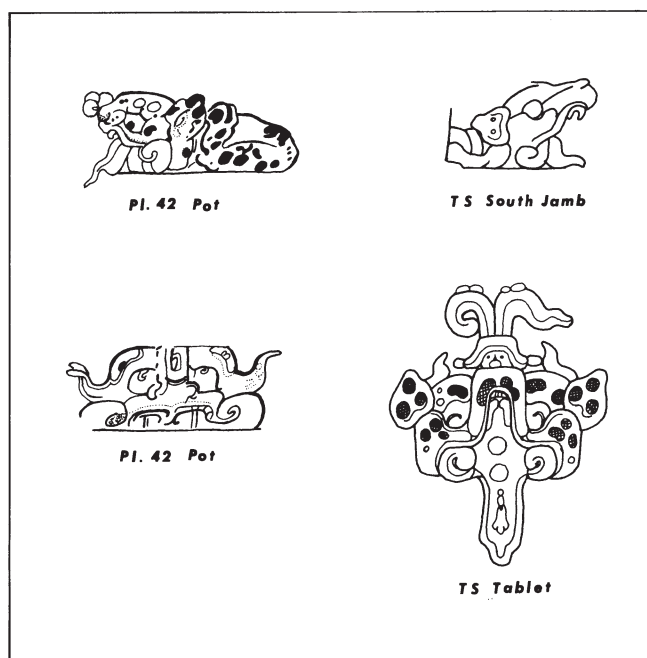


Fig. 18 The Smoking Jaguar from the Tablet of the Sun and the "Codex" vase (Coe, Pl. 42).

1. TEMPLE OF THE CROSS (Fig. 6) presents the passage of the sun through the three levels of the world — the Heavens, the Middle World, and the Underworld. Palenque's ruler seems to have been responsible for ceremonies conducted with the sun as it enters the Underworld. The ceremonies are directed to God L, identified as a major Underworld god. Death is pictured on the TI tomb lid as a "falling" into the Underworld with the dying sun. At the same time the heavenly and earthly levels of existence are shown, and a deliberate spatial change of position is shown to involve all three worlds at death. Death at least for the ruler involves a transformation into or revelation of divinity as God K. The TI and the TC, the only two temples at Palenque which fully depict the sun iconography described above, are both placed for dramatic visual phenomena occurring on the winter solstice. All of these factors lead me to believe that Palenque had a pan-Maya function for ceremonies to and for the western sinking sun, especially at winter solstice. I strongly suspect that Palenque was considered to be the gate to the Underworld for all of the Maya.

GI is the patron of the TC. He appears in full-figured form in Pl. 45 of *The Maya Scribe and His World*. The ruler, Hok, dances in the Dumbarton Oaks Tablet as GI. The flanking figures in the D.O. Tablet are identified as Lady Ahpo Hel, who holds God K, and Pacal, who holds the *le*-leaf god of ancestry. The flanking figures and their associated gods are related to ancestral ceremonies. Lounsbury has tentatively identified GI as Hunahpu. Both Thompson and Lounsbury believe that Hunahpu must be identified as Venus rather than the moon. Kelley has shown that the principal god of the TC, in fact GI,

is 9 Wind or Quetzalcoatl. In many Mesoamerican mythologies, Quetzalcoatl as 9 Wind is identified as the divine ancestor of dynastic lines.

The text of the TC records the births and accessions of all of the ancestral rulers up to Bahlum I, for whom Chan-Bahlum was named. I suggest that GI is Venus, that the TC is recording the divine origin of the Palenque dynasty from Kulkulcan and that the special office of the TC is the ceremonies practiced at the gate of the Underworld for the dead sun and the dead in general. The TC concerns particularly the divine origin of the Palenque dynasty, the individual divinity of the person of the ruler, and his transcendency as a divine being in the Underworld, the Middle World and the Heavens.

2. THE TEMPLE OF THE FOLIATED CROSS (Fig. 10) involves self-inflicted blood letting for rites involving ancestry and the cycle of life. The TFC central image and flanking gods portray the cycle of life and death. The imagery depicts mythology of the origin of man from corn and by penis sacrifice on the part of Quetzalcoatl. The TFC is immediately associated with the TI sarcophagus sides which present portraits of the lineal ancestors of Lord Shield-Pacal. These ancestors include personages who held the throne and others who did not, so that we may assume that lineal ancestry was as important as rulership for determining the importance of ancestral figures. The sarcophagus sides extend the vegetation of iconographic importance to include not only the corn of the TFC, but cacao, avocado, zapote and other edible fruits.

The instrument of office transferred from Pacal to Chan-Bahlum in the TFC is the perforator god, an object especially associated with penis mutilation. The rites celebrating the office of the TFC required the ruler to offer his blood. We do not know the frequency of the blood offering, but the lintels of Yaxchilan, the paintings of Bonampak, and colonial sources indicate that the blood letting was important, periodic, and probably frequent. The perforator god appears in many Maya sites as altar gods and as accouterments in royal dress.

The patron god of the TFC is GII, who has been identified by Kelley as God K and *Bolon Dzacab*. *Bolon Dzacab* is associated with generations and was probably the god of ancestry and royal lineages. His presence as the patron of the TFC certainly associates him with ancestry and the cycle of life and death. He is the god especially invoked for rulership and is shown emerging from the mouth of the dragon bar more frequently than any other god. He is also the god of the manikin scepter. The sculptures of the TI piers and tomb lid show beyond doubt that at least at Palenque, the ruler was believed to be a divine mortal incarnation of God K.

3. THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN (Fig. 12) involves a shield of the Underworld Jaguar of night, darkness, and the Underworld sun, crossed serpent spears, a dragon bar identified as the throne of the Underworld by the "Smoking Jaguar," and two principal dieties of the Underworld, God L and God M. The iconography overlaps

that of the TC in the presence of God L and the skeletal sun god from the celestial monster. The imagery is strongly involved in war, rites of captives and decapitation, and with lineage rites for the dynasty.

The transfer of power in the TS follows a different pattern from the TC and TFC. On the main tablet, Pacal holds the Shield God symbol of the Palenque dynasty and Chan-Bahlum holds God K, the god of lineages and royal divinity. Neither object held by the interior lords is transferred to the jamb panels; rather, Chan-Bahlum appears to be assuming the roles of the two Underworld gods in the main tablet. On the right he wears a merchant pack of God M and on the left he holds an enthroned "Smoking Jaguar" of God L and wears the skeletal sun scepter god given to God L in the TC. Both God L and M have been associated with war and death. The central shield presents the Underworld Jaguar God thought to be the god of darkness, of the night sky, of caves, and the Underworld. He is often associated with war and in the majority of the monumental appearances of the Underworld Jaguar shield he appears with war apparel and with captive scenes.

The association of the TS with House D in iconography and in its western position indicates that the ritual scenes shown on the House D piers are involved in the mythological complex of the TS. Those scenes include dances associated with funerary iconography and two scenes of decapitation. The TS is associated with war gods and by comparing its iconography to similar presentations at Yaxchilan, Bonampak, and many other Maya sites, we can assume that the decapitation involved particularly victims captured in war. The specific secular and sacred office presented in the TS is probably that of military leader.

Nevertheless, while we can definitely associate the TS with war, decapitation ceremonies, and captive taking, the text and gods of the TS tablet point to other associations which seem at least in the case of Chan-Bahlum to be more important. The text specifically relates an event which occurred to Chan-Bahlum and to an ancestor when each was six years old. The date of the event (9 Akbal 6 Xul) is one of two critical events repeated in the secondary texts of all of the Cross Group Temples. Since one of the critical events is the accession of Chan-Bahlum I suggest that the 9 Akbal 6 Xul event was the designation of Chan-Bahlum as heir-apparent. The effigy god held by Pacal is the dynasty god, and the god held by Chan-Bahlum is the god of royal divinity. Both the event and gods point to ancestry and dynastic events as the major subject of the TS iconography. It seems very likely that the main rite to celebrate the ancestry and dynastic heritage of the TS was war and the sacrifice of captive victims.

The patron god of the TS has been identified as *Mah K'inah Xibalba* or "Lord of the Underworld." There is very little doubt that the particular lord referred to is the Underworld Jaguar God and perhaps as Lounsbury suggests the Underworld Jaguar Sun, *Xbalanke-Balamkin* of the *Popol Vuh*. In the 819 count birth augury for

Chan-Bahlum, he is recorded as "Mah K'inah Balam Ahau" or "Lord Jaguar" or "Lord Jaguar Sun." The Jaguar-Ahau title appears consistently with Chan-Bahlum's name, but with no other lord of Palenque. He is the only jaguar-named lord in post-Pacal Palenque history. It has been shown that the Palenque rulers were accepted as mortal incarnations of God K. The TS indicates that they were linked in more than a casual way to the Jaguar God of the Underworld, God L and God M.

The associations of the rulers as portrayers in flesh of GI (D.O. Tablet) identified as Kukulcan, Venus and perhaps Hunahpu, and GIII identified as "Lord of the Underworld" and *Xbalanke* or *Balamkin*, supports Coe's speculations that the *Popol Vuh* legends of the Heros Twins played a vital part of Classic Maya mythology. It may be that the rulers in some way were thought to be incarnations of the Hero Twins who in endless cycles repeated the great feats of legends, especially the defeat of the Death Gods of the Underworld.

The three complexes of iconography in the Cross Group, the TI, and the north building of the Palace are related to Maya iconography in other sites. In reviewing sculpture from other sites while writing this paper, I found that a great number of Maya sculptures fall into three categories which are related to the three thematic complexes discussed in this paper. Stela H and I, Temple 22, Altar 0 at Copan, Lintel 3, Temple IV at Tikal and the lintels with the ascension motif at Piedras Negras relate to the TC theme. I strongly suspect that the 'bountiful-god' motif at Yaxchilan also relates to the TC. The detail of the local variant on the theme may change from region to region, i.e., Copan is related to eastern not western motifs, but in general the content in terms of mythology and function are the same.

The blood-letting and bundle lintels of Yaxchilan must certainly relate to the ancestry and sacrificial theme of the TFC. In all instances the blood-letting seems to be self-inflicted or voluntary and the participants are the rulers and royal persons. Stela B, Stela D, Stela F and its altar, Stela J, at Copan, Zoömorph P at Quirigua, Stele 2 and the blood-letting scenes of Room 3 at Bonampak relate to the TFC theme.

The TS theme of God K and the Underworld Jaguar-sungod seems to have the widest distribution. Any stela with the God K scepter, shaft, or spear with the Jaguar-Sun shield seems to relate to the TS iconography. Captives and ritual sacrifices of captives are most often associated with the TS theme. Stela N at Copan, most of the Stelae at Quirigua, Stela 1 and the painting of Bonampak as well as the lintels, Lintel 3, Temple I and Lintel 2, Temple IV at Tikal all are associated with the TS iconography. (See appendix 1)

The last question to be addressed in this paper concerns the reasons why the three great themes of Maya rulership received such detailed description at Palenque and not at heartland sites. The answer relates to the historical fact of Palenque's origin and development. Before 9.9.0.0.0. Palenque was a minor site with a small

population, no monumental sculpture, and very little monumental architecture. Within the 90-year combined reign of Pacal (9.9.2.4.8 ro 9.12.11.5.18) and Chan-Bahlum (9.12.11.12.10 to 9.13.10.1.5), Palenque grew into a Late Classic site of major importance. The early rulers of Palenque built the site and brought it out of obscurity without major contact with the heartland sites such as Tikal, which had traditions firmly established in the Early Classic period. There is no evidence that the Palenque dynasty is tied to extra-regional dynasties.

It is not difficult to imagine the leaders of a hitherto provincial and unknown site in the context of a sudden rise to prominence going to great lengths to justify and legitimize their dynasty. Pacal and his sons, Chan-Bahlum and Hok, seem to have done that by taking the great themes of historic Maya mythology and presenting them with monumental elaboration never seen before by the Maya and rarely equalled again. They showed themselves as divine descendents of Kukulcan and perhaps as living manifestations of the Hero Twins, Hunahpu and Xbalanke, who by cunning, power, and self-sacrifice protect their people from the devastation of the

Death Gods of the Underworld. As incarnations of Kukulcan and the Hero Twins, the rulers may have been responsible for the renewal of the blood sacrifice necessary for life and the feats that held the Gods of Death at bay. As living incarnations of God K, the rulers of Palenque based their power in the divinely established order of the Universe. They were not subject to permanent death but were perpetuated by ascension and transformation at the moment of physical death. The transfer of power from one ruler to the next was shown precisely to be a supernatural act in which the new ruler literally assumed the place and power of his predecessor. The descent of royal power was heavily dependent on blood lines. Each ruler chose to name himself after an ancestor recorded in the lists of divine ancestors. Each ruler clearly pictured and recorded how he lineally received his power. The concentration on ancestry and lineal descent indicates a necessity to proclaim direct blood connections to the divine line and the limit of divinity to the person and perhaps family of the ruler. Power and, one must assume, faith in that power seems to have been absolute; it was, after all, divine power.

APPENDIX 1:

Monuments related to the Iconography of the Temple of the Cross:

Copan	Stela H Stela I Altar 41 Altar 0
Dos Pilas	Stela 16
Naranjo	Stela 22
Piedras Negras	Stela 6 Stela 11 Stela 14 Stela 25 Stela 33 Stela 40
Seibal	Stela 9 Stela 10
Tikal	Stela 1 Stela 2 Stela 28 Lintel 3 of Temple IV
Yaxchilan	Stela 1 Stela 4 Stela 6 Stela 7

Monuments related to the Iconography of the Temple of the Foliated Cross:

Bonampak	Stela 2 Room 3, Temple of the Paintings
Copan	Stela A (perforator god pouch on belt) Stela B (perforator god pouch on belt) Stela D (perforator god on loin clothe, Kan god on north base)
Palenque	House A, Palace Tablet of the Orator Tablet of the Scribe Alfardas from Temple XXI
Tamarindito	Stela 2 (perforator god on spear and ankles)
Tikal	Stela 16 (??) Stela 22 (??)
Yaxchilan	Lintel 1 (bundle motif) Lintel 5 (bundle motif) Lintel 7 (bundle motif) Lintel 13 Lintel 14 Lintel 15 Lintel 17 Lintel 24 Lintel 25 Lintel 53 (bundle motif)

Monuments related to the Iconography of the Temple of the Sun:

La Amelia	Stela 1 Stela 2
Aguateca	Stela 1 Stela 3 Stela 6 Stela 7
Bonampak	Stela 1 Stela 3 Lintels 1, 2, and 3
Bonampak Area Stela	
Copan	Stela N
El Cayo	Wall Panel II
Calakmul	Stela 28 Stela 65
Cankuen	Stela 1 Stela 2
Dos Pilas	Stela 1 Stela 2 Stela 17
Dzibalchaltun	Stela 19
Itsmite	Stela 1 Stela 4 Stela 6
Lancanja	Stela 1
Machiquila	Stela 3 Stela 4 Stela 7
Ixtutz	Stela 2 Stela 3
Naranjo	Stela 2 Stela 11 Stela 13 Stela 19

Palenque

Piedras Negras

Quirigua

Seibal

Tamarindito

Tzendales

Tikal

Yaxchilan

Temple XIV Tablet
House D piers, Palace
TI Tomb stuccoes

Stela 2 Stela 5 Stela 7 Stela 8 Stela 9 Stela 10 Stela 12 Stela 13 Stela 35 Wall Stone 2 Lintel 4 Misc. Stone 16
Stela A Stela D Stela E Stela F Stela I Stela K Zoömorph P
Stela 1 Stela 8 Stela 12
Stela 3
Stela 1
Stela 5 Stela 31 Lintel 3, Temple I Lintel 2, Temple IV
Lintel 6 Lintel 8 Lintel 16 Lintel 42 Lintel 45 Lintel 52 Stela 5 Stela 11, front Stela 18 Stela 9 Stela 20

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