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Introduction to this great Maya city of the Classic (250-950), needed to be broken up into seven areas for better understanding, given the site historical importance and complexity. I-The Ancient City - II-Temple of the Inscriptions - III-Temple of the Skull and Temple of the Red Queen - IV- Of Life and Ancestors - V-Palenque Divine Triad - VI-Temple of the Count, the Ball Court, the North and Murcielago Groups -VII-Water Management. The narrative interface text and photography to allow for a better literary and visual understanding of the subject matter. References in annex and bibliography will help to further learn the history of this remarkable ancient city. Each section address the political and economic structure, architecture, kingship and kinship, beliefs, burials and other relevant topics.

The prominent name Palenque is used throughout over its ancient Maya name Lakam-ha' as more suitable to the narrative.
Maya World Images thanks for their contributions noted American, Mexican and European archaeologists, scholars and institutions of higher learning, as well as outstanding national and foreign publications, without which this presentation would not be possible.
Temple XXI platform face (below): K'inich Janahb' Pakal II (center), Kinich Akal Mo' Nahb' his grand-son (left), and U’Pakal K'inich Janahb' Pakal (right). Museo de Sitio INAH Dr. Alberto Ruz Lhuillier, Palenque, Chiapas

Glyphs: Michael Coe \& Mark Van Stone, 2001:68/1b \& 72


Palenaue-Lakamaha'



Etwin L. Barnhart

The Palenque Mapping Project 1998-2000 by Edwin L. Barnhart, PhD, PARI, FAMSI, INAH, MEC (Annex.1)
The Palenque Mapping Project (PMP) was completed in August of 2000. The PMP recorded a total of 1481 structures and over 16 linear kilometers of terracing. Robertson's 1983 map covered essentially the se area and contained only 329 structures. An area of 543 acres/220 hectares was investigated over the course of 18 months and determined to be over four times more densely settled than previously understood. Data points were taken at every building corner, river's edge and topographic change, over 24,500 points in total. Accuracy was one of the PMP's major goal and as a result the locations of features on the map are correct within $+/-8 \mathrm{in} / 20 \mathrm{~cm}$ of error. The over 1000 newly discovered structures range from small, half meter tall platforms to the largest structure ever found in Palenque, the Escondido Temple. The survey methodology was designed to achieve $100 \%$ coverage of a $0.5 \times 1.15 \mathrm{mi} 2 / 1 \times 3 \mathrm{Km} 2$. Barnhart, PhD Dissertation, 2001:7

## From Tok'than to Lakam-ha'

 K'uk B’ahlam to Ahkal Moh' Nahb' Temple XVII aka Temple of the Warriors INAH Museo de Sitio Dr. Alberto Ruz LhuilierThe archaeological record names Tok'tahn's founder K'uk' B'ahlam, and first head of Palenque's lineage, was born on March 30, 397. He crowned himself first ruler of the dynasty on March 10, 431 (Garza-Cuevas-Bernal, 2012:64).

Tok'than means "Center of the Clouds", it was the first seat of Lakam-ha's dynasty.

The tablet registers the transfer of the R'aakal kingdom seat of power from Tok'tahn, "Cloud Center" to the "Place of Bountiful Waters", Lakam-ha', on August, 25, 490. B’aak translate as "bones"

Transfer of the kingdom government to Lakam-ha' was sanctioned by K'inich B'ut'aj Sak Chi'k, born in 459, and raised to Tok'than throne on July 28, 487. The next in line to the kingdom throne Akhal Mo' Nahb'.Ist, and other dignitaries were present at the ceremony.

That same year was born Kan Joy Chitam Ist, son of Akhal Mo' Nahb.Ist, born on July 5, 465; his accession to the B'aakal's throne took place on June 3, 501. From that date onward, all Lakam-ha' Lords will hold the title of $\boldsymbol{K}^{\boldsymbol{P}} \boldsymbol{u}$ heul B'aalsal Aljaw "Sacred Lord of B'aakal".

Ahkal Mo' Nahb' Ist died on November 29, 524; he was succeeded by his son Kan Joy Chitam Ist, on February 23, 529.

The scene on the tablet depicts the capture of B'olon Yooj Ch'ok Aj-x a noble allied with Tonima, on January 14, 695. The tablet record the conquest of that city in 687 by K'inich Kan Bahlam, the older son of Kinich Janahb' Pakal.II, who ascended the throne on January 7, 684.


Temple XVII aka Temple of the Warriors, and replica of the tablet in its initial location. The original is in the site Museo INAH Alberto Ruz Lhuillier.


Partially altered map from Dr. Edwin L. Barnhart, Dissertation, 2001:7


The location of the site is still debated but archaeological remains point toward the western side of today's site (blue semicircle.L). Of note is the natural plateau on the western side that is level with Lakam-ha' central plaza area (red semi-circle.R). The plaza however, was filled and raised to the height of the plateau on the western side, an hypothetical indication of design and similarity in origin. Further research is needed to ascertain Tok'than location.

## Ix Yohl Ik'nal Ajaw

DoB: Unknown - November 4, 604 K'uhul Ba’akal Ajaw<br>Accession date: December 21, 583

K'inich Kan Bahlam.Ist died on February $1^{\text {st }}, 583$ he was succeeded by Ix Yohl Ik'nal who most probably, was his daughter. The first, and only woman Lord to carry the title of K’uhul B’aakal Ajaw "Sacred Lord of the B'aakal Kingdom". Her birthdate is not recorded.

Pakal's mother Ix Sak K'uk' Ajaw was a regent, not a sacred lord of the realm. The noble Maya woman shown at right is not her, but closely display how a lady of the court may have looked at the time.

Her reign was plagued by hostility within and without. On April 21, 599, Lord "Testigo del Cielo", of the Kan (Kanu'l) dynasty, through a regional proxy, attacked Palenque. The city was burned, and its religious Triad, the patron gods G.I, G.II and G.III were thrown down and desecrated.

The government and the nobility had to flee the city; the dynasty survived in exile. On October 17, 603, Ix Yohl Ik'nal approved "Bird of Prey", a respected member of the priesthood, to the rank of "ajaw nahb'ataw-il" or high priest. The ceremony did not take place in Palenque, but in a town called Us, (still to be located), where the government had taken refuge.

The birth on March 23, 603 of Janahb' Pakal, will be a turning point in the future of the kingdom. He was the son of a lesser noble, K'an Mo' Ix, and of Lady Sak K'uk who, unlike her husband, belonged to the higher segment of Palenque's nobility.

It is possible that Lady Sak K'uk was Janahb' Pakal.I daughter and that himself, was the son of Lady Yohl Ik'nal, who died on November 4, 604. The throne then passed on to Ajen Yohl Mat, Pakal.I brother, that was enthroned on January $1^{\text {st }}, 605$.

During this time Palenque found itself again in conflict with the Kan kingdom and his Lord U K'ay Kan who ordered another assault on Palenque, on April 4, 611. For logistical reasons, the Kan kingdom relied on one of his proxies, Wak'aahb'ha' (Santa Elena, Estado Tabasco), located on the western shore of today's Rio Martir (De la Garza, G. Berbal R., M. Cuevas, G., 2012:77-78).



Palenque, the Temple of the Inscriptions is at center, on its right are the : Temple XIII aka Temple of the Red Queen, Temple XIIA, partially excavated, and Temple XII aka Temple of the Skull. The Palace is the central square with multiple structures; the straight black line behind is the Otolum river aqueduct. The three structures beyond at top are the Cross Group complex with, the Temple of the Cross (L), Temple of the Foliated

Cross (C) and the Temple of the Sun (R). Aerial Photo Courtesy marc4u/Bing.com

Palenque flourished during Maya Classic times (200>900). The city's recorded history however, spans from 226BC to 799AD. Its ancient name is believed to be Tok'than of the B'áak kingdom while Lakam-ha' is a name identified at a later date, that became the seat of the kingdom. The name Palenque is of Spanish origin and translate as "stockade", a wooden palisade or house frame made of wood sticks built for protection. One of the rivers that cross the city, the Otolum, translates in Maya Chol as "fortified houses". Josè Antonio del Rio (1787), translated the name of the river from the Chol language, ottot or otot meaning "house", and tiun or tun for "stone", meaning "stone house", that would designate the ruins, since at that time, beside the church perhaps, there were no other stone buildings. According to Marcos E. Becerra, Otolum is a mistranslation in Spanish of the Chol name ototum.


Seat of the B'aakal kingdom, a political, social and religious center, that dominated a large geographical area of the lowlands of today's State of Chiapas up to the Usumacinta River. The importance of the Early Classic, in the consolidation of its political, economic and religious power, is fundamental in understanding its lasting influence in the region, to the late Terminal Classic. Its inter-regional alliances with neighbors close and far, such as Nututùn, Xupá, Chancalá, and Chinikihá, assured food supply and regional control of key trade routes. Antagonism with Tonina and Tortuguero, together with repeated attempts over the years by the Kan (serpent) kingdom of Calakmul, through proxy states to subjugate it, brought severe hardships to its community. Palenque will ultimately prevail, and follow the course of history to its unavoidable conclusion.


Palenque was, still is, blessed with a tropical environment and an abundance of water and forest products. David Stuart (2008:18) describe the environment of the city better than we ever could. "True rain forest holds almost stupefying abundance - fruiting trees may have been a major source of food. A dense and fast growing realm of mahogany, cedar, the sacred ceiba and other forest giants draped with lianas and starbursts of hundreds of species of orchids among their foliage. An equal abundance of species of animals ranging from spider and howler monkeys, to jaguar, peccary and deer, wild turkeys, scarlet macaws, parrots, eagles and owls. This richness of life in the forest around Palenque stands in direct contrast today with the silent stone world of the ruins themselves".

The Murcielago Group residential complex below. (Group.III in Palenque.VII)


Between the end of the Classic, at the close of the $10^{\text {th }}$ century, and mid- $18^{\text {th }}$ century, Palenque lay "out of sight and out of mind", concealed in the tropical forest that covered the frontier between the Viceroyalty of New Spain in Mexico and the Captaincy General of Guatemala (Steward 2008:35).

The ancient city, discovered by Ramon Ordoñez Aguilar in 1750, was built by the Mayas at the foot of the Sierra de Don Juan in northern Chiapas. It is surrounded by a thick forest overlooking the plain of Tabasco. Sitting on of la a narrow $1.25 \times 0.6 \mathrm{mi} 2 / 2 \times 1 \mathrm{Km} 2$ irregular shelf nd a quarter of the way up the face of a 1310ft/400m high escarpment, the site is at the northern edge of the Chiapas Mountains.

The name Lakam-ha' translate as "Place of Bountiful Waters", probably came from the cluster of small rivers, the Otolum, Picota, Motiepa, Piedras Bolas and Baluntè, as well as numerous springs and streams that come out of the tropical forest covered slopes, cascade through ravines and over great natural stair-steps.

What remains of the urban core of Palenque today occupies an area about $1.4 \mathrm{~m} 2 / 3.5 \mathrm{Km} 2$, and consist of remnants of an estimated 1500 structures, mostly visible as mounds, of which less than $18 \%$ have been explored (Edwin L. Barnhart, PMP 2001: ).

The Palace (R) is the central core of the archaeological complex. It was the seat of power of the B'aakal kingdom and city, the ceremonial, administrative and residential center of the ruler, and members of the city's nobility and court.


## Split in the B'aakal Lineage

On October 19, 612, Muwaan Mat was enthroned as new Lord of the Palenque lineage, an event that marks the return of the dynasty to the city. However attacks by the Kan kingdom proxies against the city resumed shortly thereafter, that forced Muwaan Mat to cancel the important celebration of K'atun 3 Ajaw (May 9, 613), dedicated to the protector gods of the kingdom. They had to flee again; and again the city was burned.

The exiled were in deep disagreement over the conduct of the state. There is little doubt that the renewed hostility of the Kan kingdom was a major factor, together with the fact that Palenque's defense was difficult given its topography, were major factors in the split. Unable to reach an agreement, the nobility broke into two factions.

One moved to the northwest and settled in Tortuguero (Estado de Tabasco), headed by a high member of the sessionists, Ik' Muuy Muwaan.I, with his very young son B'ahlam Ajaw, born on November 26, 612 (Bernal, 2011a:35-36. 2011b).

The other faction headed by Pakal's parents, Ix Sak K'uk and K'an Mo' Hix returned to Palenque to rebuild the dynastic structure of the city-state. Repeated invasions and exiles had no doubt a strong psychological impact on the future Lord of the realm, Janahb' Pakal.

The Tortuguero leaders used the traditional emblem K'uhul B'aaKal Ajaw, "Sacred Lord of the Ba'akal Kingdom" traditionally held by Palenque that now each faction claimed as its own. For over thirty years, B’ahlam Ajaw of Tortuguero, will challenge Palenque for supremacy and the title of Sacred Lord of the B'aakal Kingdom.

B'ahlam Ajaw and Janahb' Pakal.II at that time were in their thirties, and not inclined to good neighborliness in their rise to regional power; deep seated hostility marked their relationship. B'ahlam Ajaw was aggressive in asserting Tortuguero's regional domination. As the record show, he engaged in frequent wars with its neighbors, among which was Ux Te' K'uh, that had close familial ties with Palenque he attacked on June 1, 644 (De la Garza, G. Bernal, M. Cuevas, 2012:80-81).


Pakal's faction returned to Palenque to re-establish the dynastic power in the original and only legitimate capital of the kingdom. The consequence of this split was that both governing dynasties claimed to themselves the title of K'uhul B'aakal Ajaw, Sacred Lord of the Ba'akal Kingdom. With time, this claim to legitimacy
brought perpetual rivalry and repeated violent armed conflicts between the two kingdoms. On July 26, 615, Lady Sak K'uk' and her husband K'an Mo' Ix consecrated their son Janahb' Pakal as Sacred Lord of the Ba'akal Kingdom, he was only 12 years old. Sak K'uk' Ajaw governed the kingdom as regent until power was transferred to her son K'inich Janahb' Pakal.II, on July 26, 615. Ph@GFery


# K'inich Janahb' Pakal.II 

March 3, 603 - August 28, 683

## K'uhul B'aakal Ajaw

Accession date: July 26, 615
On July 26, 615, at the age of 12, Pakal was consecrated Sacred Lord of the B'aakal Kingdom. Since he obviously lacked the maturity and knowledge to govern, his mother, Sak K'uk' Ajaw was named regent, until training and maturity allowed for transfer of power to her son. Was Sak K'uk' the daughter of Janahb' Pakal.Ist who himself would have been the son of Yohl Ik'nal? (Bernal, Garza, Cuevas, 2012:82-93).

His father, K'an Mo' Hix may have held a lower position within the kingdom's government because, unlike his wife, was not a member of the nobility, and probably not from Palenque.

What was the necessity to have the son elevated to the highest position in the realm at such an early age? Was it because of constant attacks against Lakam-ha' by neighboring kingdoms, and losses sustained by the nobility? Or was it Tortuguero's claim of being the sole legitimate heir and guardian of the B'aakal Kingdom that required Palenque to re-affirm its legitimacy through a crown? This may have been a major factor in the absence of a legitimate candidate for the throne. It could then explain the fact that she was the highest rightful regent at that time; since her husband was not related to the high nobility; she could not wear the crown.

On March 19, 626 a major event occurred for the local dynasty, the arrival at Lakam-ha' of Ix Tz'ak-bu Ajaw for her wedding with Pakal who, four days later, will turn 23; she may then have been in her mid-teens.

A text in the Temple of the Sun, mentions that she came from Ux Te' K'uh, a city located northwest of Palenque, midway to Tortuguero; its location has not yet been archaeologically ascertained (Bernal, 2005:77-78).

On May 20, 635 after nearly nine years, Pakal's wife Ix Tza'k-bu Ajaw gave birth to their first son, and heir, Kan Bahlam.

On September 9, 640 Pakal mother, Ix Sak K'uk' Ajaw died and was buried in the Templo Olvidado. She was followed two years later, on December 29, 642, by her husband K'an Mo' Hix, who was buried next to her.

Ph. Maya, 1998 >>>


The Temple of the Inscriptions is Palenque emblematic and unique monument in the Americas. The iconic memorial to K'inich Janahb' Pakal.II will be the focus of the next presentation in Palenque.II.


Central Palenque: the Palace, and the North and South Groups
PMP Map, Edwin L. Barnhardt, PhD, 2001:14


The Palace and the Otolum river aqueduct, that may have been covered, one of the five main rivers that, together with numerous streams and springs, made Palenque a livable place for a large population. The rich well drained soil of the mountain slope and the many plazas, allowed gardens of various fruit tree species to flourish, as well as medicinal and ornamental plants. The soil of the northern plain, at the foot of the mountain range flooded in wet season, allowed for large staple crops, such as corn, squash, beans and other edibles. Chinampas, raised terraces consolidated with mud, may have been built to allow for yearround crops, control flooding and take advantage of the swampy grounds at the foot of the mountain range, saturated with water. Palencanos were experts in water management (Palenque.VI).


1481 structures have been recorded over the $0.9 \mathrm{mi} 2 / 2.2 \mathrm{Km} 2$ of the core urban area, making Palenque only second to Copan, Honduras, in structure density, and the second highest recorded for a Classic Maya city. Given the city's high building density, its population, based on the core $0.9 \mathrm{mi} 2 / 2.2 \mathrm{Km2}$, would have been conservatively $730>1115 \mathrm{mi} 2 / 1885>2827 \mathrm{Km} 2$ on average. (Sharer, 1994, Rice+Culbert, 1990b, Barnhardt, 2001:73-76). Further field investigation of perishable and undetected mounds and low structures will no doubt increase above population density of the peripheral areas.


The Escondido Group southeast of the Arroyo Diablo, the platform and its structures is much larger than the Palace. Dr. Edwin Barnhardt and his team discovered the Group when working on the PMP Project (Annex.1). Much will need to be cleared to get a better picture of the complex large size, identify and clear the structures within. Will new discoveries alter our knowledge of this great Classic metropolis?, we certainly hope so.

PMP Map, Edwin L. Barnhardt, PhD, 2001:45


On August 10, 720, K'inich Kan Joy Chitam dedicated House.A-D on the Palace North side. Shown on the last glyphs, he ordered the Palace Tablet placed in the North gallery of the House, to describe his enthronement. The text of the Tablet refers to Kan Joy Chitam's birth in 644 and first mahiij, bloodletting offering ceremony to the Triadic gods, in 651 when he was 11 years old. The end of the K'atun 12 Ajaw, by Pakal, and his participation is also referred to, at which time he received the "serpent rope" symbolic implement to communicate with the ancestors. Another bloodletting ceremony then took place at that time in the presence of the Triadic gods. Is also registered Pakal's death in 683, and the swearing in of his brother K'inich Kan Bahlam in 684, and himself named heir to the throne or b'aah ch'ok. His brother death in 702 is registered together with his accession to the throne that same year. The top of the Tablet shows him receiving, from his long dead parents, the sak h'un, battle headdress from his father (L), and the flint knife and t'ok-pakal, war shield, from his mother Sak K'uk Ajaw' (R) - (Garza, Bernal, Romero 2012:203).

Drawing from Robertson, 1985b:258 in Palenque-Lakamhá, 2012:203 - Ph. Arqueologia Mexicana, 113:68


Is now well established that the Early Classic was a key moment in the importance of Palenque's development, underlined by a dynastic cohesion and subsequent concentration of political, economic and religious power. The first Lord was Ahkal Mo' Nahb' Ist that, together with Kinich But'aj Sak Chi'ik transferred the seat of power from Tok'tan. Ahkal Mo' Nahb' Ist was enthroned on June 3, 501, and became the first K'uhul B'aakal Ajaw, "Sacred Lord of B'aakal". The Palenque dynasty will last up to the collapse of the city at the end of the Terminal Classic, ca. 950. In Palenque early development phase, can be found ceramic remains that indicate repeated contacts with Maya cities to the southwest, such as El Mirador and Nakbè'. Long range trade, identified among others, with the ceramic phase Motiepa, (350-600), show imported urns and plates from the Petén, Guatemala, that were later copied by locals.
Below, the Palace North ceremonial entrance, with its grand staircase and direct access to House.A-D, now collapsed.


A particular aspect of the second phase of the Palace construction, are anthropomorphic stucco masks and tablets on the north, east and west
sides. The masks are human faces facing straight out from the walls, surrounded by K'awiil figures (Annex.5) shown in profile, emerging from serpent maws (G.Moll, 1991). These stucco sculptures are thought to represent ancestors of the governing lineage. The masterfully executed displays, may be a late diffusion of similar masks found on pyramid-temples of the Petén, from the Late Pre-Classic (Cuevas, 2011).


House.A-D northwest face, shows elaborate stucco masks and mythological figures, on the West side of the stairway. The middle one is a stylized K'awiil figures shown sideway, with two allegorical elements; the figures and motifs are related to ancestors veneration (Cuevas, 2011). The East side stairway may have held similar stucco figures; however, none have been uncovered, probably eroded through time.


A noticeable demographic increase took place ca. 431-565, identified in the actual city center, but also on peripheral construction of housing complexes, such as Groups IV, XVI I+II. The monumental construction on government, as well as religious, funerary and residential buildings, including the Ball Court, the first temples of the North Group, and the Cross Group, as well as temples XVIII-A and XX. The Palace show two construction phases during the Early Classic with the oldest platform at $10 \mathrm{ft} / 3 \mathrm{~m}$ high, supporting what are now sub-structures. The North and West sections of the corridor that collapsed, were not restored, the later partially so. The building main entrance was on the North side (at right below), with its ceremonial stairway, and direct access to House.A-D.


## The Palace Galleries

One aspect of the Early Classic construction is the decoration of the galleries in the Houses surrounding the complex. Remnants of fine stucco tablets, medallions and anthropomorphic masks can still be seen, albeit badly damaged.

A standing section of House.A gallery, at right, displayed genealogical representations of an theocratic state. In the medallions along the walls of the remaining part of the corridor, were set stucco heads of lords and ancestors, modeled to stick out from the medallions, looking down on visitors.

On the outside of the roundish frames of medallions were modeled representations of serpents' open mouths from which emerged K'awill, god of lineage (Garcia Moll, 1991). May be seen here the late diffusion of framed masks common in buildings from the late PreClassic , in the Petén area of Guatemala, (Cuevas, 2011).


## Palace House.A

House A piers were beautifully decorated with stucco figures. The main subject is probably K'inich Janahb' Pakal.II, holding a staff with the K'awiil god head. He is flanked by two seated figures, a man and a woman.


They are not captives but probably family members or a couple from the ranking nobility.

Drawing from Ignacio Armendáriz, ca. 1787
 seemingly haphazard structures within the precinct, is partly due to the use of older buildings that were either built over, altered or expanded. As David Stuart (2008:22) rightly point out "Maya architects were strikingly casual when it came to horizontal corner angles". North is at right; the east-west passageways running through the complex is not shown; see Robertson, 1985b/F. 5 bellow.


Aspect of the Palace ca. 720 by Merle Green Robertson (Annex.3) 1985b/Fig. 5 in Fideicomiso, 2012:201/97 - House.A-D is North. There was a passageway between Houses. $\mathbf{A}$ and $\mathbf{J}$ to the East and Houses. $\mathbf{D}$ and $\mathbf{K}$ to the West, running through the complex, north of House.B and between the Tower base and House.C.


The Palace is built on a massive irregular quadrangle, made of a complicated system of vaulted buildings, some forming lengthy halls or galleries, arranged to enclose three courtyards of varying sizes. The whole structure lies on a gigantic platform with monumental staircases on the West, North and East; the West side stairs and part of House D is shown below. Architects, stonemasons, sculptors and painters expertise are shown in the design and engineering skills deployed to bring such a large architectural complex to light. A number of blocked doorways, expanded and modified rooms and corridors, are testimony, over a long period of time, of the Palace's growing number of occupants and visitors, and underlines the government needs.


The earliest known buildings of the Palace are what are now sub-structures and corridors (below), today aptly called los subterraneos "the undergrounds". The low-vaulted chambers were not initially underground but surface structures later covered by Houses.G and $\mathbf{H}$ as the Palace expanded. Their underground function as dark labyrinths is difficult to ascertain, especially with stucco sculptures around doorways that indicate regular visits and functions. Stuart rightly points out the fact that "Underworld themes, such as the maize god being resurrected from water, and the sun passing through the body of the earth alligator on its way to sunrise" underlines that, "These lower galleries may therefore have constituted an artificial netherworld, integrated into the ritual landscape of the larger Palace" (Stuart 2008:155). A logical and coherent explanation for the subterraneos.


# But where did the nobility and administrators working in the Palace live? Tropical climate, heat and humidity, rainy seasons with heavy downpours, did not make 

 the complex adequate for comfortable and healthy living. The best place where a residential complex would meet decent living expectations is the Otolum Group, located a short distance east of the Palace, across the aqueduct, looking over the Otolum river cascades. Beside the location, located behind the Temple of the Cross, was the most appropriate and convenient with close access to fresh water and proximity to both the Palace and the Cross Group complex.

The archaeological record shows that the nobility, like the common folks, were practical and not ostentatious in their personal daily living. Narrow quarters in closed stone structures, in a tropical environment, were not conducive to comfortable living.

As Takeshi Inomata points out, there was no clear division between public and private affairs, government management, daily lives, secular and religious ceremonies and other functions. Living space was merely an extension of the public space.

A reconstructed residential structure is shown below, a type found in most Maya lowlands, similar to Temple XVII at Palenque. The mix of both stone external walls and partitions, all open toward the residential plaza, is a common denominator, since the residential plaza also functioned as an official receiving and display area. High ranking visitors were housed in such structures, as were visiting high priests and artists.

In residential structures, are found working rooms dedicated to making fine ceramics and writing of codices. Very fine weaving, with secular and religious motives, were made by expert ladies from both the nobility, and talented others from lower segments of society (Inomata, 110:30).

The common abode, shown at right was home to common folks, and for personnel dedicated to services that had to live in the immediate vicinity of the nobility's residential areas. It was also used, among others, to store foods and household implements.

Airy structures of thatch and closely spaced wood rods were easily maintained, offered ventilation and spacious practical separate spaces, such as kitchen, sleeping and living areas; similar houses are still in use today. Remains of living quarters are only seen as mounds today, their perishable structures long gone.

Ph. V Takeshi Inomata Archives in Arqueologia Mexicana, 110:31/F.2b



Palenque - The magnificence of the royal city must have struck visitors and ambassadors from other city states with awe; as it may have appeared in this rendering of an early morning by Christopher Evans. In the foreground, bottom left ( $L>R$ ), is the Temple of the Sun, next to it is Temple XIV followed by Temple XV. The quadrangular structure is the Palace. Left of the Palace from bottom up is the Temple of the Inscriptions, followed by Temple XIII aka Temple of the Red Queen, next is Temple XIIIA partially excavated, and last Temple XII aka Temple of the Skull. On the Palace right side up, is Temple XI. (north is at right).
© Christopher Evans/National Geographic Creative.

The Palace tower, unique in all Maya architecture, stands 60ft/18m high over Palenque central area. Pakal ordered that the old structures be destroyed or reused for new buildings. They had been badly damaged through the years, and the successive occupation and burning of the city. In the Court, near Structure G, was identified a small chamber with three of the six toilets found in the complex. The facilities underline the city's health and water management concern for the community's welfare, and one may assume that such concern was not limited to the Palace.


# The Tower Court (below), with House E, the Sak Nuk Naah or "Main White House" inaugurated on November 1st, 654. The throne room is seen through the left 

 were carved to resemble thatch, such as that of common houses. Unlike all other buildings, House E did not carry a roof comb, (Stuart, 2012:156).

The Palace throne room in House E, the Sak Nuk Naah, dedicated in 654 when Kinich Janahb' Pakal.II (603-683), was 49 years old; he was elevated to lordship status when he was 12 years old.
The carved oval limestone tablet is an idealized representation that depicts Pakal's mother Sak K'u'k Ajaw offering the sak h'un' headdress to her son as B'aakal's kingdom new K'uhul Ajaw, or Divine Lord, a headgear also associated with warfare (Stuart, 2012:157). Ajaw literally means "he of the powerful voice".

Pakal's father, K'an Mo' Hix is not represented, probably because he did not belong to the highest noble lineage.
Underneath the oval tablet was the throne depicted by Merle Greene Robertson. Pakal conceived House E to be dedicated to swearing in governors and receiving allegiance of high ranking officers and religious leaders; it was used as such by the following four Palenque Lords. Located in the core of the Palace complex, it was considered the very heart of the city and that of the B'aakal kingdom. An unusual feature is that, unlike all other secular buildings in the city painted ochre-red,
the Sak Nuk Naah, was painted white. The election of white over other color is assuredly symbolic, but of uncertain significance.
(L) Close to scale reproduction of the original from artist Octavio Sanchez Torres (Annex.2) - (R) Schele-Freidel 1990:251


## Oval Tablet and Throne - Drawing from

Merle Greene Robertson's archives (Annex.3)
After Ignacio Armendariz

The scene, as described previously, shows the throne that was set below the Oval Tablet, broken into many pieces stored in the site museum's lab. It was still in its original location and fairly complete however, when drawn by Ignacio Armendariz, ca. 1787.

The double headed jaguar shown on the Tablet is a black one, for the absence of spots normally seen on spotted jaguars. It is not of course, a double headed animal, but a mythological representation of the Sun, at sunrise and sunset.

At sunset the Sun enters the underworld and travels as the Black Sun, to rise again the following morning, repeating its endless cycle as purveyor of life, hence the black jaguar mythic representation associated with the Black Sun of Xibalba.

The jaguar ears are shaped as the Ninfea Blanca flower (Nymphea ampla), from which was extracted an hallucinogen used by secular and religious elites in initiation and invocation rites, to attain spiritual connection with the "Other" world.

Sak K'uk' Ajaw, the mother, present the Lordship headdress, the sak h'un, also referred to as "battle headdress"; a role traditionally held by the father, while the mother would present the flint battle ax and the to'k-pakal the war shield, and be seated at left of her son (right on drawing) (Bernal, Cuevas, de la Garza, 2012:94).

Pakal's father is not present, as he normally should for such a ceremony, probably because he was not of high nobility lineage.

This scene is an idealized historical event, since Sak K'uk' Ajaw died 14 years earlier than the adult Kinich Janahab' Pakal.II shown on the tablet. A pictographic idealization fairly common in Maya and other Mesoamerican cultures, to validate the lineage's right to the throne.

The two front legs of the throne, each depicting male seated figure, show sahals, important officials of the royal court, as deities impersonators, supporting the Lord as an embodiment of the cosmic realm (Stuart+Stuart, 2012:158).

The "T" sign on Pakal's pectoral represent lk, god of wind and human breath, that is, the first and the last.



## Palace Tower and Altar

Palenque sits on hills where about 40 marine fossil types were found in the Maya area, such as shark tooth, sting ray spines, bivalves, corral and petrified fish.

The fourth level of the tower, holds an altar, made of stone and mortar heavily laden with broken sea shells and limestone with embedded marine fossils. The later are found in one of the oldest geological formation in the region, with outcrops dating from the Paleocene, where large number of fossils are found.
The rituals that took place, given the importance of marine shells and marine fossils in building the altar, underline the belief that, in mythical time, life came out from the Primordial Sea. Paleontological remains reinforced the belief of earlier times when gods created earth and the seas, a precedent to creating all life forms on earth.

Aquatic cosmology is found in many cultures past and present, and is grounded in the belief that mankind was born out of the water (Eliade, 1957:130).

The Palace is not the only place where paleontological remains are found. Among others, megalodon teeth were found in the central altar of the Plaza of the Crosses - Structure.5, Tomb.7, Group.B - as well as a smaller specimen in the Temple of the Cross, Ofertory. 2

V - Ph. Octavio Moreno Nuricumbo, Raices in Arqueologia Mexicana, 113:32


The West Court and House C (L) was dedicated to B'olon Yokte', Kawiil and other war gods. The hieroglyphic stairway of the building relates the historic attack of the Kan (serpent) kingdom against Palenque in 599. It also relates Pakal's war of vengeance six decades later against the cities allied with the Kan. It refers to August 7, 659 when were captured Nu'un U Jol Cha'ahk and Ahiin Chan Ahk, lords of Santa Elena and Pomoná respectively, as well as a high ranking lord, possibly from Piedras Negras. The captives, recorded on the Temple of the Inscriptions, arrived on August 13, 659. It is, emphatically described that they were "eaten" by K’awiil's ux-p’uluut k'ub the "god censers" (Palenque IV), meaning they were sacrificed to that deity. One of the censor found in the Temple of the Sun by archaeologist Arnoldo Gonzalez C., may have been dedicated to one of the victims. The Maya believed that god-censers "ate" the victims' souls.


Palace - The West Court as it stands today (L), and yet to be restored in 1905 (R), with William David Plant and Jeanne Jenkins Plant, owners of the Finca San Pedro that included the ruins, standing in the tower third level.- B+W, Karena Shields in Stuart, 2008:85/F25



## Koinich Kan Bahlam.II

May 20, 635 - February 16, 702
K'uhul B'aakal Ajaw
Accession date: January 7, 684
Born on May 20, 635, the first son of K'inich Janahb' Pakal.II and Ix Tz'ak-bu Ajaw, will be followed by two brothers, Kan Joy Chitam on November 2, 644 and Tiwol Chan Mat on March 14, 648. Kan Bahlam stucco mask was found in Temple XIV.

On January 7, 684 Kan Bahlam received the sak'hun' from his father, the head gear worn by K'uhul' B'aakal Ajaw, Sacred Lord of the B'aakal kingdom, and from his mother the flint battle ax and the to'k-pakal, war shield; he was 47 years old.

That same day, his brother Kan Joy Chitam is named b'aah chok, or heir to the throne.

Tonina was always a political and military problem for Lakma-ha' K'inich Kan Bahalam.II defeated and occupied the enemy city on September 9, 687. This victory did not last.

On July 3, 690, he completed the construction and dedication of the mausoleum of his father, the Temple of the Inscriptions.

Kan Bahlam consecrated the Temple of the Cross, the Temple of the Foliated Cross and Temple of the Sun, dedicated to the Triad gods G.I, G.II and G.III respectively, on January 7, 692.

Dedication of a stone censer took place on June 15, 692, to honor Ix Aj Pay K'aba' a woman high priest of the Divine Triad.

The scene on Temple XVII aka Temple of the Warriors' tablet depicts the capture of B'olon Yooj Ch'ok Aj-x a noble allied with Tonina, on 14 January 695. The tablet also record the conquest of that city in 687 by Palenque.

On February 16, 702 K'inich Kan Bahlam.II passed away.
His brother, K'inich Kan Joy Chitam.II becomes Sacred Lord of the B'aakal kingdom on May 30, 702.

In the endless cycle of wars with Tonina, on August 26, 711, K'inich Kan Joy Chitam.II is captured and held prisoner in that city. He was released on November 9, 718.

# Temple XIV next to the Temple of the Sun (L) and Temple XV (R) on its north side. K'inich Kan Joy Chitam was 57 when he was enthroned as B'aakal Lord. Data 

 on his first years are few; we know however, that his first task was building Temple XIV, that was completed in 705 , next to Temple XV, the funerary Temple of his brother K'inich Kan Bahlam. In late the 1960s, INAH Archaeologist Jorge Acosta excavated both temples, and discovered 8 remarkable incense burners, as well as most of the broken parts of the tabular panel now seen in the back of the temple. Material evidence, and later field investigations, testify that both temples wereplaces of frequent rituals, dedicated to the two deified figures on the panel, as well as to K'inich Kan Bahlam in Temple XV.



Temple XIV is dedicated to the memory of his brother, and that of their mother Lady Tz'ak-b'u Ajaw, displayed on the wall tablet, at the back of the temple, the pib'-naah. Khan Bahlam and Tz'ak-b'u Ajaw, are represented at their death in 702 and 672 respectively. He is shown in the traditional position of a ritual dance, while she kneels and offers him a figurine of the god Kawiil (Annex.5). The god first emerge in the Maya record is dated to a very remote mythological past, when the first appearance of the Kawiil was sanctioned by Ixik' Uhn the "Lady of the Moon", 932142 years ago. (De la Garza, Bernal, Cuevas, 2012:189)

Temple XIV - The scene clearly implies that T’zak-bu Ajaw is personified as a manifestation of Ixik' Uhn' the "Lady of the Moon". The text on each side of the figures indicate that k'am Kawiil the "reception of the Kawill" is an act signifying the enthronement of Lords. Receiving the Kawiil or maniqui scepter, is understood as the blessing of the "Lady of the Moon" herself. For the Mayas, in a state of dream, induced ecstasy or after death, time collides, that is the past and future are simultaneous, they literally coexist in the present. There is then no discrepancy in the perception of present day and mythical events, that are seen as taking place, by the living. (De la Garza, 2012)



# Model of the Palace - House.D and its large stairway facing West. All the buildings, except House.E, the "White House" at the southeastern foot 

 of the tower, displayed a roof comb. North is at top left. Museo de Sitio INAH Dr. Alberto Ruz Lhuillier

Floor plan of the Palace by Merle Green Robertson (Annex.3) 1985 Vol.2/Fig.9; in Stuart, 2008:154/47 - North is at Left.



The Palace West side impressive staircase and House.D; on its right was House.K, now collapsed. House.D wraps around the North ceremonial entrance side and becomes House.A-D, on the North side, then continues uninterrupted on the East side as House.A. House.A-D faces the North ceremonial stairway and has largely collapsed. Pakal's son, K'inich Kan Joy Chitam, did extensive work, to some extent modifying the initial floor plan drawn by his father. He dedicated the refurbishment in 720, after his release from Tonina. The mythological stucco figures on House.D piers
(above), are not easy to read due to missing glyphs and parts of the figures, tribute to weather and other damages over the years. It seems however, that the figures represent mythic history from Matwill, the aquatic realm, the place of dynastic origin mentioned time and again in the

Cross Group complex (Stuart, 2008:161)


Palace - House D, Pier C shows the ruler dressed with the reed-mat skirt, and headpiece with the Kawiil god at top. He holds, in the crook of his right arm, a scepter like implement representing a serpent with a mouth of jade, a symbol of the Nocturnal Celestial Dragon, identified by the quadripartite motifs at its base. The tablet is surrounded by nymphea blanca flower signs (water lily).

Drawing by Merle Green Robertson Archives (Annex.3) 1985b/Fig. 162 in Fideicomiso, 2012:206/100


Palace - House D, Pier D shows Pakal receiving a serpent-like implement from a noble woman; both wear the traditional woven reed skirt, symbol of the mat and authority. The "serpent" with the sacred rope that links ancestors and descendants of a lineage through the living. His raised right foot indicate dancing, a tradition associated with rituals during ceremonies when communicating with ancestors and deities. In his right hand he holds a battle axe, instrument associated with Cha'ak, as on the Dumbarton Oaks tablet (Garza, Bernal, Cuevas, 2012:204).


Palace - House D, Pier F shows the Lord in a decapitation ritual. The victim sits on a stool representing the solar god for its quadrangular pupil, the ruler standing on a panel of nimphea, or water lily, surrounding a skull, both symbols of the world below.
From one of the flowers is seen the god of Number 6, associated with decapitation (Garza, Bernal, Cuevas, 2012:208).
Drawing, Merle Green Robertson in Fideicomiso 2012:207/F. 101



An early visitor to the ruins, the French Dèsirè Charnay (1828-1915), found stucco figures covered with a thick coat of calcite and decided to remove it by gently breaking it up. After a few unfortunate failures, he called "sacrilegious", he was able to release figures from the calcite and discovered the unusual technique used by the artists to produce such beautiful works of art. Charnay realized that the technique was quite remarkable, since the artist first modeled the human figure on the supporting wall, without any dress or adornment, in other words: naked. Dress and adornment were then applied as small balls of stucco, as well as thin and wide bands of soft material after the initial figure had fully dried out, such as headdress, belt, necklace, skirt, shoes and other adornment. The technique explains the fact that figures are seen in old photos or drawings with missing part of their decorations, yet part of their body seems unaltered.
(Charnay, 1885:195-196, in Palenque-Lakamha', 2012:45)

House.A partially collapsed ( $\mathbf{L}$ ) and the Palace north side, with the massive ceremonial stairway to the complex (R). Remains of House.A-D are at right. Should House.A-D still be standing, the tower and back of House.D would not be visible. House.A East side large stairway (below), was the main daily entrance to the Palace, in direct line across the aqueduct, to the royal residential grounds located in the upper Otolum cascades area,


Group XVI East of the Otolum aquaduct, is an habitational and administrative complex, that hosted provincial administrators and residences for visitors. The Temple of the Inscriptions is in the background, and the top of the Temple of the Sun is at left. The 2870ft2/2400m2 complex is made up of 6 buildings built over 3 platforms with small patios, oriented east-west, with the main entrance facing north.

Ph. Michael Calderwood, RAICES in Arqueologia Mexicana, 45:20


## Group XVI - Remains

The ax head right, was found, in Structure.1.
Other similar objects were found in other structures in Palenque. Their traditional use, according to Dr. Alberto Ruz Lhuillier, originate from the cultures of the Gulf of Mexico.

A number of ceramics within the complex, are of foreign origin. It indicates that they were carried by visitors from afar for personal use, not for trade.

Foreign ceramic and stone artifacts, confirm Group XVI function as an administrative and visitors' accommodation complex.

Beside the ax, were found parts of the K'an Tok tablet, of the so called Tablero del Bulto, dated about April $1^{\text {st }}, 731$ (Palenque.IV).

The main figure below is that of Akhal Mo'Ts'an Nab' Illrd, center that, with two nobles, carry a ceremonial bundle or $p^{\prime} i k$, with remains of an ancestor, his/her bones together with personal items that had been bodily worn by the deceased (Gonzalez, Bernal, 45:20-25).

Ph.V Michel Zabè/Proyecto Mexico/Coordinaciòn Nacional INAH 2000 in Arqueologia Mexicana, 45:22/F3



# Palace East Court $-L>R$ : Houses.A, B, and C. Two of the five buildings within the Palace complex were built by Pakal, it earned hir 

 the title: "K'inich Janahb'Pakal Aj Ho'Naah K'uhul B'aak'al Ajaw" or "K'inich Janahb' Pakal He of the Five Houses of the Stepped Building", the building referred to is the Palace (G.Bernal R, 2011:110.40).House.C was consecrated to K'awiil, B'olon Yokte' K'uh, Yax Chiht K'uh and other war gods and deities (Bernal, 113:66). Glyph ( R ) found on the 96-Glyphs tablet. Glyph drawn by Linda Schele in Arqueologia Mexicana, 110:43


House.C, East Court - The passage of time left its mark on the building, witness the drawing from the French Desirè Charnay, ca. 1881, when the building shown below was still in a reasonably good state, with the 7 heads and the 6 pillars original stucco figures; it seems that the short roof comb was then still intact. The House seen today (above) did not weather time well, but thanks to Charnay, we can make up the building's missing details. Of the glyphs on the 6 stairs, those on the top 3 remain, while of the roof comb, only the base remain.


East Courtyard, House C., and mostly destroyed House.A-D (right). The six stairs show hieroglyphic inscriptions on the first three, the others lost their glyphs to erosion. The glyphs on the stairs recount the battle and capture of six Lords from Santa Elena and Pomoná in the battle of 659. The captives are displayed on short stelas on both sides of the stairway.



# The Palace West Court - House.C hieroglyphic stairway records Palenque's defeat by Uk'aychan, K'uhul Ajaw of Calakmul on 7 April 611 . The stairs 

 were carved during the reign of K'inich Janahab' Pakal II, long after the event. Palenque's first subjugation by proxies of the Kan kingdom in Calakmul, took place on 23 April 599, during the reign of Ix Yohl Ik'nal Ajaw, The family and the court then escaped to Ux'Te K'u (El Retiro?), The Kan second attempt at subjugation in 611, forced again Pakal and his family to flee; tragedies that profoundly marked the future lord of the realm. It is said that the day of the conquest, the Triad Gods (Palenque.V) were destroyed by the "Great Jaguar", Calakmul militaristic totem. Two glyphs of rulers identify leaders of the conquest, Nuun Ujol Chahk of Santa Elena and Kuch B’alam (?) of Pomoná, both Calakmul proxies.(Stuart, 2008:141-158).


East Court, House.A stairway (R), and limestone slabs on both sides, display captives from Pakal's war of 659. They were allies of the Kan kingdoms of Santa Elena (Tabasco), and Pomoná, ancient Pakbu'ul (Chiapas). There are two sets of 5 carved limestone slabs on each side. The five captives carved on the slabs, complement the stairway across the court ( L ) that depicts the defeat of Palenque in 599, and again in 611. They are sahals of Santa Elena and Pomoná captured during Pakal's revenge raids of 659. Their names were not recorded but, their earspools, necklaces and other adornment underline their high status in their respective cities.


East Court, House A - On both sides the East stairway are two sets of 5 carved limestone slabs. The five captives, are a complement to the western stairway across the court, that depicts the defeat of Palenque in 599 and again in 611. The captives are sahals of Santa Elena and Pomona captured during Pakal's revenge raids of 659. Their names were not recorded but, their earspools, necklaces and other adornment underline a high status in their respective cities. The 4 half naked figures at right, with their left arm folded their hand touching their right shoulder, is a sign of submission and defeat, a common depiction on Maya stone and ceramics. On March 25 and 26, 662 for the inauguration of

House.A, Pakal sacrificed 2 captives. The fifth figure, at extreme left, is not a captive; it seems to be a person of importance. His rich adornments, the medallion on the necklace in particular, is indicative of a high rank individual in Pakal's household. He is looking up the stairway leading into House.A, in the opposite direction to that of the captives.


East Court. Back of House.C (Left) and East side of House D (Right). The glyphs panels at the base of House.C record the capture on August 7, 659 and sacrifice of Nuun U'jol Chaak, Lord of Santa Elena and a number of his Sahalob, 60 years after Palenque's 611 defeat. In 663 are also recorded, at this location, the sacrifice of several ranking warriors of Santa Elena, as well a sahal from Pomoná. The East Court panels are a


Pomoná / Pakbu'ul, is located in the State of Tabasco near the municipality of Tenosique, about 30 miles east of Palenque. Its location near the important trade route, the Usumacinta river, made conflict inevitable with its neighbors to the east, Yaxchilan and especially Piedras Negras, as well as those to the west, such as Palenque. Given its relative military weakness, the city was alternatively subjugated militarily and politically by more powerful kingdoms, notably the powerful Kan to its northeast. Pomoná was instrumental, with other Kan proxies, for the sacking of Palenque, twice. Pomona was defeated after two "star wars" by Ruler. 7 of Piedras Negras in 792 and 794.



Waxaklahun' Ubah' Kan the War Serpent, Nu'Bahlam Chak', the War Jaguar and Kin Bahlam, the Sun Jaguar presided over war and sacrifice for all Maya lords. They were deadly companions for all who had the power to conjure them through blood letting rituals.

The gods powers were essential but dangerous and critical. Battles were fought simultaneously in the field as well as on the supernatural plane. Lords and priests on each side would forcefully apply their respective gods destructive power against each other, by means of powerful talismans and ecstatic vision quests.

Defeat was implicit as the Lord personal spiritual failure to hold the agreement and alliance with the gods, against the rival's own supplications and magic to its own, across the field of battle. The glyph for war is shown above the blade.

As for government authority, war was intimately associated to ancestral lineage, training and discipline of the Lord himself, responsible to feed and nurture the gods to benefit his community.

Lords, their sahalob and allies, had to personally participate and lead their troops in battle. That day, as for any combatant, not only were their lives on the line, their very souls were on the line as well.

For each and every royal political and communal activity, whether dedication of public or religious buildings or other major event, the capture and sacrifice of enemies was required, for their blood to feed the gods.

This was the only way that the proper rituals of sanctification be fulfilled, the gods nourished, and the portals of communication opened between the human and the divine (Freidel, Schele, Parker, 1993:316).
<<< Maya Lord, polychrome ceramic, Classic 550-650 - Sothebys' \# 7321/177



Group IV - Structure. 1 - Tablet of the Slaves show the enthronement of K'inich Ahkal Mos Nahb’.II on 09.14.10.04.02-9 $1 k^{\prime} 5$ K'ayab' $^{\prime}$ (December 30, 721). Sitting on slaves or captives he receives the sak h'un', battle helmet from his father Tiwol Chan Mat (left) seated on the representation of God G.I. Tiwol Chan Mat was not a king, but one of K'inich Janahb' Pakal grandsons. The to'k-pakal or flint battle shield, is presented to him by his mother (right), seated on an anthropomorphized figure of a deer, a representation of the solar god, God.G. Sahal'ob (sahal plural), high vassal Lords or ranking military officers, through valor on the battlefield and capture of towns or cities, were likewise granted the hereditary honor of a battle helmet and flint-shield (Freidel-Schele-Parker, 1993:307). The Tablet was found in the residential complex of the
famous sahal and yajaw' k'ahk', war chief Chak' Suutz'. $^{\prime}$.
Left: close to scale reproduction of the original from artist Octavio Sanchez Torres (Annex.2).
Right: original at Museo de Sitio INAH Dr. Alberto Ruz Lhuilier.


Enlarged Map of the Cross Group
and Temples XIX \& XXI
Partial Map, Edwin Barnhart PMP 2001, in Stuart, 2005:12/F1

Before the late '90s most of the mounds behind the Cross Group, were still buried in the rain forest. The Proyecto Grupo de las Cruces, together with the Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute (PARI) and Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Anthropologia e Historia (INAH), undertook the excavation of Temple XIX and other mounds.

Temple XIX showed to be a major ritual structure and among the city's richest source of hieroglyphic inscriptions. (Stuart, 2005:11).

The temple rectangular footprint, bore sculpted panels on its west and south facades, each with figural scenes and lengthy hieroglyphic text in an incised calligraphic style similar to that on the celebrated Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (Annex.6).

The record of mythical and dynastic events recorded in these texts warrants their addition to the select group of highly important religious and historical documents from Palenque (Stuart, 2005:15).

The inscriptions of Temple XIX and XXI all date to about the same time, having been dedicated twelve to fifteen years into the reign of the fourteenth Palenque king, K'inich Ahkal Mo' Nahb, who assumed the throne on 9.14.10.4.2 9 Ik' 5 K'ayab December 30, 721 (Berlin, 1968; Mathews and Schele, 1974).

Both Temple were dedicated to Palenque's Divine Triad, God.I, God.II and God.III (in Palenque IV).


Temple XIX is a noteworthy structure for its long vaulted construction with two parallel galleries, that was dedicated to the Triad god G.I (in Palenque.IV). A particular it shares with Temple XXI is its only door, facing North towards the Cross Group. The inside arrangement is no less noteworthy with a series of square piers, or support columns, diving de galleries within. The unusual architectural arrangement did not last, and the building collapsed, its heavy roof a contributing factor; it was never rebuilt (Stuart, 2008:226). Both temples also had an uncommon arrangement with masonry platforms used as pedestal or benches. The South face of the platform depicts K'inich Akhal Mo'Nahb (center) leaning toward the high ranking priest Janahb Ajaw, who may have been a Pakal's grandson and cousin of the new Lord, to receive the royal headband. The ceremony took place on January 3, 722, while five other high-ranking members of the royal household witnessed the event. Drawing David Stuart in Stuart+Stuart, 2008:227/F76


K'inich Akhal Mo'Nab.II September 13, 678 - DoD Unknown Lakamha' Ku’hul Ba’akal Ajaw Accession date: December 30, 721

Akhal Mo'Nab birthdate is found in Temple XVIII, but the date of his death (Dod) is uncertain. It seems that no record of it have been found. The date of his enthronement however, is recorded as December 30, 721.

A fine carved slab on one of Temple XIX Pier.4, that "rank as one of the great masterpiece of Maya relief sculpture" (Stuart, 2005:21), shows Akhal Mo'Nahb standing in the center of the panel. Two attendant figures kneel on each side, and are also named with their own captions.

Among the glyphs on the slab, David Stuart identified Akhal Mo'Nab father's name, Tiwol Chan Mat, depicted as the left-hand figure on the Tablet of the Slaves (Wald, 1997), that also appears in the stucco text of Temple XVIII.

The title on the glyph on the tablet signals that Tiwol Chan Mat was not a ruler of Palenque, and both Bassie-Sweet (1991:247-248) and Ringle (1996), present compelling evidence to suggest he a was a third son of K'inich Janahb' Pakal, who never assumed the throne (Stuart, 2005:26).

Following Stuart description, the richly dressed kneeling figure at right holds an incense bag in his left hand, while the Lord left hand rests on the kneeling figure's right hand. His title is that of a lesser Lord of the court, Aj'K'uhul Huun, or "He of the Holly Books" (Coe and Kerr, 1997). His headdress represent the Mat bird (great cormorant), emblem of Palenque's dynasty.

The figure at left is simply dressed in loin cloth. His name appears in four glyphs arranged under his left elbow. Most of the name is fragmentary but the remaining reads the title Yi'Cha'ni Ajaw, meaning the "maternal uncle of the Lord" (Stuart, 1997). Could his name be Chak'Jol Mi?


Temple XXI is also a free standing structure but smaller than Temple XIX with a similar floor plan and an unusual single door facing North towards the Cross Group. INAH archaeologist Arnoldo Gonzalez excavations of the temple in 2001, in the inner room found a masonry platform with a beautifully carved panel (below). The size of the platform, the style of its sculpted face and content of the inscription establishes that Temple XXI was designed in conjunction with Temple XIX, though dedicated two years later (Stuart, 2008:229).
The fine platform face was obviously carved by the same masters that did Temple XIX platform. It depicts K'inich Janahb' Pakal, at center, offering a bloodletter instrument (in Palenque. III) to his grandson K'inich Ahkal Mo'Nahb. The grandson faces away in conversation with a mythical rodentlike creature (L); the same figure is depicted on the left of the panel. Stuart indicates that a similar mythical figure was found with a man identified as U'Pakal K'inich, probably the Lord's younger brother. Both are shown here with their grandfather, who had died, by the time of the panel carving, for nearly a century. Drawing David Stuart in Stuart+Stuart, 2008:229/F77



# U'Pakal K'inich Janahb’ Pakal <br> DoB: Unknown- DoD: Unknown <br> K'uhul Ba’akal Ajaw <br> Accession Date: Unknown 

On the same pier of Temple XIX with Akhal Mo' Nab representation is found, U'Pakal K'inich striking panel; the glyphs spell his name that translates as "The Sun God Shield".

The inscriptions also indicate the title of baah ch'ok meaning "Principal Heir" that indicates that he ruled Palenque possibly with Akhal Mo' Nab, in his late years; but no record at this time, can date his ascent to the throne (741?), Bernal Romero (1992) convincingly showed that U'Pakal K'inich is the name of the Lord who ruled Palenque, after Ahkal Mo' Nahb. As David Stuart rightly point out, "Being the only name in the stucco text, we must conclude that the portrait on the stucco pier is U'Pakal K'inich as the heir apparent shown, before assuming the throne" (Stuart, 2005:41).

The archaeological record tell us that Ahkal Mo'Nahb inherited the throne from his brother U'Pakal, who ruled in 742. The eighth sentence on the K'an Tok Tablet states that on January 25 of that year he named a nahb'at or high priest, to a religious charge. This record, as well as a fragment of a tablet found in the Palace, shows him with an Itzamana's diadem, during his participation of a ritual with K'inich Kan Joy Chitam, on June 14, 709, the only material reference available.

The Lord is also portrayed on Temple XXI platform where he is given the elaborate name U’Pakal K'inich Janahb' Pakal, clearly indicating the direct link with his grand-father, K'inich Janahb' Pakal II.

We do not know his date of birth, that of his death nor his accession date. We know however, from an inscription at Pomoná celebrating a major event presided by the local Lord, K'inich Ho'Hix B'ahlam, that Kimich Kam B'ahlam.II, Sacred Lord of the Ba'akal Kingdom (Palenque), was present on that day, May 5, 751. U'Pakal would then after that date, have left the scene under unknown particulars. It is possible that K'an B'ahlam.II may have been U'Pakal's grandson (Garza, Bernal Cuevas, 2012:247-249).

Of interest is that the Pomoná inscription is the only reference found on K'inich K'uk B'ahlam II the last recorded Lord of Palenque, that may have ascended the throne on March 4, 764. His name is homonymous to Kink ${ }^{6}$


The Templo Olvidado in the Olvidado and Piedras Bolas Group PMP Map 2.13, Dr. Edwin L. Barhnart, 2001:35
The Temple is a two vaults structure built among a group of smaller ones, on a steep slope, 1970ft/600m from central Palenque. The Olvidado Group is not residential, structures are too imposing to have functioned as private quarters. There are no patios or courtyards typically associated with residential activities in the Group (Barnhart, 2001:38-39).


Legend

## Olvidado and The Piedras Bolas Group <br> Palenque chiapas, Mexico

 identified on remains of stucco medallions set on the outside of the main entrance to the Temple. Their respective emblem glyphs are shown here, Ix Sak K'uk at right and K'an Mo Ix', at left. Why were they buried a this location, away from the city
central precinct, given their prominence? Gyphs, Fideicomiso Historia de las Americas - Genealogia, 2012


Templo Olvidado, is one of the earliest standing building at Palenque, dedicated to Pakal's parents in 647. The stucco fragments date the building shortly after Pakal's father K'an Mo'Hix death in 642; his mother Sak K'uk' had died in 640. It is possible that the reason for the Temple location rest on the fact that the father was not of noble lineage. At this location he was among the residential complex of the "ajawo'ob" or nobles of lesser rank (Bernal y Venegas, 2005). In Sak K'uk' grave was
found the small jadeite mask ceremonial belt adornment with three jadeite celt (hatchets), at right. Ceremonial belt adornment were reserved to members of the high nobility; the celts' noise while the person was moving, would warn others

of the presence of a high ranking noble. Ceremonial mask Ph. Jorge Perez de Lara, RAICES / INAH


Temple of the Jaguar - 1822 Drawing (R) by Jean-Frèdèric Waldeck called "Beau relief". Today only the lower part of the bench remains, set against the western wall of the upper room. The Temple name refers to Waldeck's drawing of the two jaguar heads on each side of the bench. The figure shown sitting on top of the bench has not been identified. The temple was not dedicated to "jaguars" but to a god or lord we have no record of. The style of relief however, point to a time frame within the Middle Classic, 650-700. The two level structure now mostly collapsed,
show two rooms, the upper one, where the bench is located, was the heart of the shrine.
Drawing, Waldeck 1830s in Stuart, 2008:59



Temple of the Count is named for the French cartographer and explorer, Jean-Frèdèric Maximilien de Waldeck (1766?-1875), self titled "Count" Waldeck lived atop the pyramid from about May 1832 to July 1833, hence the nickname of the Temple. Stucco fragments indicate that it "could" be Akhal Mo' Nahb.I resting place, but Temple XI also held similar fragmentary information. The temple is well preserved and is expected to be thoroughly investigated; it then might reveal interesting aspects of the people and life at Palenque.


Temple X, northwest of the Palace, at the southwest corner of the Temple of the Count, and the North Group. Palenque site Director, Arnoldo Gonzalez Cruz in the 1990s, directed multiple consolidations in the central area, among which is Temple X, partially restored. Little is yet known about this Temple that may have been erected under K'inich K'uk' Balam.II the "Great Sun Quetzal Jaguar" in 780(?). He is better known in the history of Palenque for the impressive Tablet of the 96 Glyphs (Annex.6), found face down at the foot of the stairway to the Tower.

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Calakmul, Palenque's Enduring Enemy
Time and again, often through proxies, Yuknoom Yich'aak K'ahk, or Fire Paw aka Jaguar Claw, 649-695, K'uhul Kan Ajaw, Lord of the Kan (serpent) kingdom of Calakmul (Estado Campeche), tried to conquer Palenque. Jaguar Claw, succeeded Yuknoom the Great who consolidated the Kan kingdom through political alliances with city-states of central Petén, in particular with Dos Pilas, and others in the Usumacinta river valley. Time and again, often through proxies, Calakmul attempted to bring Palenque under its authority. Twice the city was burned, the temples destroyed and people exiled, but Palenque rose from its ashes to become the great Maya city of the Middle and Late Classic.
What drove Calakmul's antagonism? Palenque was not a threat militarily nor did it control trade routes that would have motivated such hostility.


The answer was essentially political since, even though both were great Maya cities, Palenque's relationship with Teotihuacan, on the central plateau of Mexico, may have been a factor. Palenque has a long history of interaction with other Mesoamerican polities, supported by ceramic remains from the Petén and central Mexico. Simply put, Calakmul may have seen Palenque as more "Mexican" than Maya, hence the lasting antagonism and wars through proxies that spanned generations. Is there grounds of a perceived "Mexicanization" by Calakmul as a political encroachment on what it considered its exclusive field of influence? The North Group in Temple.V lower terrace (in Palenque.V), do show a Teotihuacan warrior with the typical goggled eyes, representative of the god Tlaloc (below), a material evidence of the relationship between the two cities. At this time however, we do not know the extent nor depth of that relationship. Calakmul, beside Tortuguero, was not the only kingdom hostile to Palenque. Far to the southwest and closer to the city, Tonina never ceased to clash with Lakam-ha'.


Tonima is the $\boldsymbol{P o p \boldsymbol { p o } ^ { \circ }}$ kingdom of Classic times, located deep in the fertile Ocosingo valley in southwestern Chiapas, about 120 miles from Palenque. For 20 years Popo' fought the kingdom of the "great waters" and captured a number of small city states and high ranking officials allied with Palenque. In 687 a number of disastrous events culminated in the capture of Tonina's living god, the Lord of the Spirits. The great shaman was captured by the warriors of the "great waters', Palenque, that in one decisive blow removed a thorn in its flank.

It will however be only a temporary reprieve.


The people backlash to this defeat was the rejection of Teotihuacam's deities the kingdom had venerated for generations. Tlaloe in particular, god of rain, lightning and thunder associated with war, was blamed for the defeat and collapse of the kingdom's Mountain Lord. Calakmul was not entirely mistaken to fear Mexican encroachment in its westernmost sphere of influence, nor was it adverse to Palenque defeating Tonina, indirectly slowing Teotihuacan's dominance. Tonina will rise and expand again during the reign of K'inich Baak Nal Chaak, 652-707, " $k$ 'uhul po'ajaw, "Divine Lord of Po'", and will resume unrelenting antagonism and armed conflict with Palenque.


On June 14, 709, K'inich Kan Joy Chitam attended a ceremony with his nefew U'Pakal K'inich. A few months after this event, on August 26, 711, war broke out, initiated by Tonina's ruler K'inich B'aakal Chaak, (below). Palenque's K'inich Kan Joy Chitam, Ajaw-Lord of the B'aakal kingdom was captured and held prisoner, as shown on Structure. 122 at Tonina, the ancient kingdom of Popo'. He is shown as a captive; paper was substituted for his jade earspools as a sign of disdain and scorn of the vanquished by the victor. He is identified by glyphs on his right thigh. We do not know how or where the battle took place, within and/or beyond Lakamhá.
Kan Joy Chitam was not sacrificed, as was customary, and was released seven years after his capture. The negotiations that led to his release and the terms of his freedom are not known either. He returned to the seat of the B'aakal kingdom on November 9, 718. Construction and restoration of buildings were again at the center of the government attention. On August 10, 720 K’an Joy Chitam consecrated House.A-D of the Palace. (Garza. Bernal, Cuevas, 2012:198) - Glyph from The Linda Schele Drawings Collection, 20002 in The Ancient Maya, 2006:Fig.8.47


Early in the $9^{\text {th }}$ century, building construction stopped in the City, and its population left to other towns and cities. By 850 emigration in number and
speed reached unheard of proportions. The last recorded Lord of Palenque, K'inich K'uk Bahlam II - "great sun quetzal jaguar", Pakal's greatgrandson, reigned for about 20 years. One can assume that by late mid-9th century, Palenque lengthy history falls silent for good (Stuart, 2008:232). Of the "Four Trees of the Sky", Palenque fell first. The other Trees, Copán, Calakmul and Tikal also fell toward the end of that century. Calakmul and

Tikal kept their cohesion for a while longer but also fell between 889 and 900 . At that time practically all great western Maya cities were abandoned, with a notable exception: Toniná, with its last sculpted monument, Stelae.101, in 909 (De la Garza, Bernal, Cuevas, 2012:258).






Annex-1 Edwin L. Barnhart, Ph.D Maya Exploration Center - Austin, TX www.mayaexploration.org

Dr. Edwin L. Barhart has over two decades of experience in Mesoamerica as an archaeologist, an explorer and an instructor. He is a Fellow of the Explorers Club, has published many papers and appeared in over a dozen documentaries about ancient Maya civilization. His involvement in Maya studies began in 1990 as an archaeological intern in the ruins of Copan, Honduras. In January of 1996 he was invited to return to Copan and help the University of Pennsylvania excavate the early acropolis and the tom of the city's lineage founder.

From 1992-1994 he has been studying art, iconography and epigraphy under the late Dr. Linda Schele at the University of Texas at Austin. During that same time he worked across the State of Texas as a contract archaeologist.

Dr. Barnhart received his Masters Degree in May of 1996 and began teaching Anthropology classes at Southwest Texas State University the following September. He taught Archaeology and Anthropology classes at SWTS until 1998, when he was invited by the Mexican government to direct the Palenque Mapping Project.

The Project was a three-year effort; to survey and map the unknown sections of Palenque's ruins. Over 1100 new structures were documented, bringing the site total to almost 1500. The resultant map (photo left, and maps of this lecture), have been celebrated as one of the most detailed and accurate ever made of a Maya ruin.

He received his Ph.D from the University of Texas at Austin in 2001, with his dissertation entitled the Palenque Mapping Project: Settlement Patterns and Urbanism in an Ancient Maya City. His maps of the site, are keys to understand this great ancient city.

In 2003 Dr. Barnhart founded the Maya Exploration Center and has organized and lead over 100 study programs abroad. He has appeared on the History Channel, Discovery and Japanese Public Television. In 2012 he completed a 24 lectures video series for The Great Courses entitled "Lost Worlds of South America", and in 2014 recorded a 48 lecture series called "Maya to Aztec: Ancient Mesoamerica Revealed"; he is now working on his third lecture of the North American Indian cultures.

## Annex-2

Octabio Sanchez Torres is a consummate artist who, from 1977 to 1979, with the help of Merle Green Robertson (Annex.3), and her precise copies of stelae and wall tablets, was able to reproduce those of the Group of the Cross with great accuracy. The difference with the originals are their size that, by law, must either be smaller or larger, to ensure they are not exact duplicate of originals, and may be seen at the Maya Tulipanes Hotel in Palenque.
The material used is a mix of marble, finely crushed limestone and white cement. In line with the original design, the flat unworked slab is first carved along the vertical and horizontal lines of the pattern of glyphs and figures, to a depth of a few centimeters. Actual carving of glyphs and figures then take place, a painstaking work that took many weeks, carefully following the paper designs supplied by archaeologists, and Merle's assistance when in doubt.
Between carving sessions, the slab was covered with a wet blanket, since it could not be left to harden or carving would no longer be possible. Once completed, after about 3 months for the tablet of the Temple of the Sun below, the tablet received a coat of extremely fine original mix, then left to dry and harden for about 2 months. Since the late 1970s, no more work of such complexity and difficulty has ever been done. Thank you Octavio.


## Annex-3

## Merle Green Robertson, Ph.D, 1913-2011

Stelae at Dos Pilas, Guatemala, 1971 >>
Ph. Archive Merle Greene Robertson ,in Arqueologia Mexicana 45:62
A born talented artist, master of water color, writer and photographer, she left us an outstanding legacy of Maya carvings on stelae and monuments.

She developed on her own, the remarkable rubbing technique on rice paper to duplicate monumental carvings from more than 100 archaeological sites in Mesoamerica. During her career spanning four decades, she made over 4000 rubbings on 2000 monuments.

In many cases, the details of the carvings we have today were preserved thanks to her work. A number have been lost to looters, or slowly erased by the environment. Without her rubbings, we would have a harder time understanding Maya history.

Her technique was borrowed from the ancient Chinese, that she further developed and refined with two methods of ink on rice paper. The selection for each method, type of ink and paper, was subject to the type of reproduction and the dry or humid environment.

She is better known for her work at Palenque, a site she truly loved. She was, with other mayanists, the driver of the renowned Palenque Roundtable, that brings together every other year, professionals and scholars from around the world at the ancient city.

Born in the small town of Miles City, Montana in 1913, she earned her Masters Degree in Fine Arts at the University of Guanajuato, where she studied painting, photography and mural painting. Before setting her sight on Palenque, she worked on the Tikal Project with the University of Pennsylvania.


A n n ex. 4 - Palenque regional map. From Drazen Tomic after David Stuart, 2008:19.


## Annex-5

## God.II - Unen-K’awiil

Lintel. 58 - Yaxchilan, Chiapas - Late Classic 688-800AD Chel'te Cha'an K'inich Balam holds the maniqui scepter (arrow), while his sahal Great Skull (L), faces him, holding the battle axe in his right hand and the t'ok-pakal, sun shield, in his left; both instrument associated with war.

$$
\text { Glyph, Spinden, P. } 92
$$



Unen-K'awiil is god G.II of the Temple of the Foliated Cross, the infantile aspect of K'awiil. The god is the terrestrial symbol of sprouting corn associated with fecundity of the land, and lightning.

God.II is associated with warfare, together with B'olon Yokte' K'uh, Yax Chiht K'uh and other war gods and deities

God G.II represent above all, through time, the illustrious lordship lineage that govern city states. The Kawiil maniqui, held in a Lord's right hand, is displayed on all representation of inheritance of lordship through noble lineage, on stone or ceramic, but specifically at the time of transmission of power, following a Lord's demise.

God G.I in the Temple of the Cross is a celestial deity with aquatic attributes, such as shark teeth and sting ray spines, in direct relationship with the Primordial Sea. The deity had a powerful association with Sunrise.

God G.III of the Temple of the Sun, symbolizes the underworld. It is related to war represented by the Jaguar Sun at Sunset; the Black Sun of the Underworld.

The three deities, G.II in particular, were worshiped by all Maya communities independently, as well as in conjunction with each other, according to local events, and unseen forces believed to participate in the life of mankind. The deities were called by different names to fit local community relationship with the unseen world.


The 96 -glyphs Tablet, discovered in 1936, recounts Lakamha's dynastic history in the $7^{\text {th }}$ and $8^{\text {th }}$ centuries.
From the last Lord of Palenque, K'inich K'uk B'ahlam II, we do not have much information at this time. The last registered date on the record refers to his celebration of a $\boldsymbol{k}^{\prime}$ atun anniversary ( 20 years cycle), he presided on November 20, 783.
K'uk B'ahlam commissioned restorations in the Palace and the Tower, where he placed the 96 -glyphs Tablet, that may have been inset into the stairway. The fine glyphic text celebrates K'uk B'ahlam first 20 years of government within the historical context of past Lords who followed in Pakal's footsteps. The narrative begins with the Pakal dedication of House.E, located a few feet from the Tower, and continues with the accessions of two subsequent generations of Lords, K'inich Kan Joy Chitam and K'inich Ahkal Mo'Nahb. The text closes with the statement that K'inich Janhb Pakal, at that time dead for a century, "governed over" his great grandson anniversary, as if blessing the occasion (Stuart, 2008:232).
The Tablet was discovered by Miguel Angel Fernandez; it was intact laying face down at the base of the Tower in the courtyard. Workmen thought it was a piece of rock and broke it down for easier removal. When pieces were turned over, people realized their importance; they were then quickly gathered for reconstruction. Fortunately the clean breaks did no seriously damaged the text. Fernandez and his crew further cleared the Tower Court and adjacent structures, and discovered the toilets and water drains that served the Palace. Of note is the fact that the Maya were one of the five cultures on Earth to develop an original written language, together with the Chinese, Harappans, Sumerians and Egyptians.

Photo, J. Perez de Lara in D. Stuart, 2011:270


## A n n e x . 7

 Arqueologia MexicanaArqueologia Mexicana is published bi-monthly in Spanish by Editorial Raices SA de CV - INAH-Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, in Mexico, that also publishes monthly Relatos e Historia de Mexico.

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## Palenque

## Nuevos estudios, nuevos hallazgos



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www.mayatulipanes.com - T. 800.7144710


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