PRIMERA MESA REDONDA DE PALENQUE PART I.

A Conference on the Art, Iconography, and Dynastic History of Palenque

Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico. December 14-22, 1973

MERLE GREENE ROBERTSON, EDITOR

The Robert Louis Stevenson School Pre-Columbian Art Research Pebble Beach, California



PACAL

Probably the greatest ruler of Palenque. He ruled from 9.9.2.4.8 (A.D. 615) to 9.12.11.5.18 (A.D. 683). He ascended the throne at age 12 years 125 days, and died at age 80 years 158 days. He is entombed in the sarcophagus of the Temple of the Inscriptions.

Above is one of several forms of the glyphic expression of his name. It is from the west panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions, column A, row 3.

LEFT GLYPH. Superfix: *Mah K'ina*, a title of honor and respect for lineage heads and rulers. Main sign: An iconic sign for Shield, possibly read as *Pacal*, a Mayan word for shield, or as *Chimal*, another widely used word for shield, which was a borrowing from Nahuatl.

RIGHT GLYPH. Top: a phonetic sign for the syllable pa. Center: a phonetic sign for the syllable ca. Bottom: a phonetic sign for the syllable la or for a final l following a. The three together read Pa-ca-l, a spelling of the Maya word for shield.

His name was probably a double name, with a personal name 'Shield' (either *Pacal* or *Chimal*) and a lineage name 'Shield' (certainly pronounced *Pacal*). The name Pacal is well documented as a lineage name among the Quiché, still in use throughout the sixteenth century. It was probably known and so used among other Mayan peoples also.

The title *Mah K'ina* was also known in the highlands still in colonial times and is documented for that period. It too must have had wide currency. It is of two parts, which could be used separately or as a compound. The first part was current in colonial times as a Cakchiquel title for heads of lineages, and it is still in use today among the Chol for the chief mayordomos of their principal saints.

Floyd G. Lounsbury

Copyright 1974
The Robert Louis Stevenson School, Pebble Beach, Calif.
Library of Congress catalog number 74-83484

The Quadripartite Badge - A Badge of Rulership

MERLE GREENE ROBERTSON

THE ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON SCHOOL

am suggesting that the four-part symbol (fig. 1), the quadripartite symbol, is a badge which designates rulership or kingship, such as a crown worn by rulers, a miter worn by bishops, a badge or emblem used on royal stationery, or as an official seal for use on documents of state. I am suggesting also that it probably proclaims affinities both terrestrial and celestial, and quite possibly even eternal divinity to the ruler entitled to use it, either as personal adornment for clothing, as accouterments designating royal status for himself, his consort, or his royal entourage, or to have it emblazoned upon the buildings of the city or municipality over which he reigns.

Specifically, I am proposing that this badge of rulership came to be proclaimed as a badge of kingship by Pacal¹, the prestigious ruler of Palenque, who reigned over this western site for over 68 years during the 7th century A.D., and who is buried in the Inscriptions Tomb. This ruler is also known by the name of Sunshield as identified by Kubler (1972: 318), and as "WÖXÖC AHAU" (8 Ahau) for his birth-date by Lhuillier Ruz (1973: 218).

The so-called "triadic" symbol composed of a leaflike element, a shell, and crossed bands, is actually a four-part symbol when one considers the flattened-U, the half-cartouche T357 affix with the three-part leaf

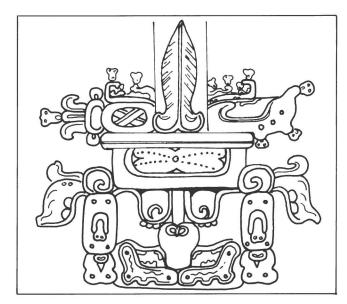


Fig. 1 The Quadripartite Badge, Temple of the Cross. After Maudslay Vol. IV Pl. 76

element attached to it² (fig. 2). By referring to the entire symbol as a quadripartite badge, this distinguishes it from Berlin's (1963) *triad* and *typical glyphs*. As a hieroglyph³ (fig. 3) which appears on the middle panel of

¹Pacal, the most prestigious ruler of Palenque was born at 9.8.9.13.0 8 Ahau 13 Pop; A.D. 603. He ascended to the throne of Palenque on 9.9.2.4.8. A.D. 615, and died on 9.12.11.5.18 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax A.D. 683. (Dynastic dates from Schele and Mathews at this conference, Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque.)

²I had first referred to this as the "Triadic Badge". Coe (at this conference) brought out that Berlin had precedence on the *Triadi* in referring to the repeating series of three god's names, and that references to *Triadic* were confusing. A good deal of discussion ensued. "Tripartite Badge" was agreed upon, but still with much discussion concerning its fourth part. I have subsequently decided that to accurately describe this symbol, I shall refer to it as the "quadripartite badge".

³Berlin's (1963: 90) "triad glyph" (fig. 7. 1a [X1]) has all of the elements of the tripartite badge, along with the kin sign. He believes that it stands for three different cycles which occasionally meet and asks if they could stand for mythical beings or gods. He proposes that these elements may have divine association.

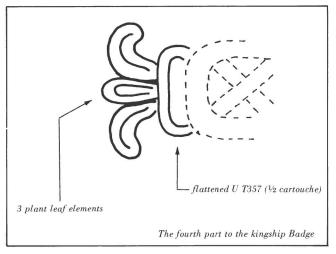


Fig. 2 Flattened-U and three-leaf element.

the Temple of Inscriptions at C5 and J8, the quadripartite badge is shown as a glyph which Berlin (1963: 97) reads as "Hun-abkiu and Colop-u-unick-kin" as does Roys (1943: 73). It is depicted here with the kin sign T546 in the half-cartouche. In almost all instances at Palenque, as well as many of the other sites from other areas, the kin cartouche is found in conjunction with the other four elements.

There are several statements concerning this quadripartite badge which should be made at this time and which shall be developed further on:

- 1. Its religious symbolism includes early, simple attributes of nature worship encompassing the unknown, both below the earth, above the earth, and the dwelling place on the earth itself.
- 2. The most important element in the quadripartite badge is the crossed bands. This is the earliest in time of the elements, and the part which persisted in one form or another throughout the expanse of Mesoamerican civilization. It survived, sometimes alone, and sometimes with substitutions of the *cimi*-sign or cross hachure.
- 3. Early manifestations of the quadripartite badge portray its parts as separate and distinct and in close relationship to each other, while later manifestations sometimes combine elements such as the shell and

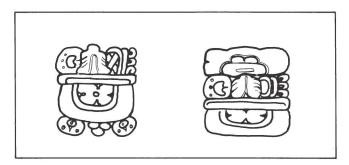


Fig. 3 The triad hieroglyph. Inscriptions Middle Panel D5 and J8.

crossed bands, as Kubler (1969: 44) points out in referring to the shellwork diadems.

There are a number of questions which must be asked and possible answers sought, if we are to accept this proposal for the quadripartite badge.

- 1. If the quadripartite badge is a badge of rulership proclaiming divine ancestral relationship for its wearer, what divine aspects do the individual parts represent?
- 2. Where at Palenque should such an emblem proclaiming divine attributes of Pacal and his descendants be expected to be found?
- 3. Just how extensive is the use of the quadripartite badge in other parts of the Maya area? What are its known earliest appearances? How does Palenque fit into this pattern? Does Palenque seem to be the instigator of the badge, or the instigator of the quadripartite emblem as the badge of rulership? Does it reach its fullest and most extensive portrayal here?

Briefly let me first review what has already been said about this emblem. Maudslay (1889-1902) merely referred to it as a "symbolical ornament". Spinden (1913: 68) described it as "shell, leaf and saltire symbols". Seler (1915) refers to the crossed bands as a fire sign, and the shell as the Mexican Wind God's emblem. Rands (1955: 303) in his monumental treatise Some Manifestations of Water in Mesoamerican Art, speaks of it as "a distinctive triple symbol of shell, 'leaflike' object, and Saint Andrew's Cross" and that it "appears at the skullcap", when referring to the long-nosed head in House E, for which he accords water symbolism also. Fuente (1965: 113-114) also refers to its aquatic attributes in relation to flowers and plant gods. Thompson lists the crossed bands as main grapheme T552, the three dots of the shell, possibly being fire, and the leaf T212, he refers to as either a leaf, flame, feather, serpent segment, or corn leaf symbol. Kubler (1969: 33-46) in his brilliant iconographic study has analyzed the elements and traced their changes in time and space. He describes it as a "burner symbol" pertaining to a most ancient and agricultural ritual the "burner ritual". He (Kubler 1969: 34) points out that there are three positions that this sign takes in Classic Maya figural art. These he lists as "1) as costume and paraphernalia; 2) at the meeting of the underground and the above the earth regions; 3) in animal shapes having heads at both ends".

I believe that since Jorge Acosta has now excavated and restored the Palace north pyramid sub-structure and has revealed the tiers of stucco masks and serpent panels, we can now add a fourth position to Kubler's three — that of a sign, if we consider the huge meterhigh framed quadripartite badge on tier 2 which impresses one by its size as being almost like a display ad. (fig. 4). Moises Morales (personal communication) accords its use on the Sarcaphogus as a symbol of eternity. I have previously (Greene 1972: 372) referred to this badge as the emblem of Itzam Cab, the Earth Monster where it appears in its entirety on the ballcourt markers of Copan, and accords the inseparable blending of the earth and underworld aspects and the celestial features of Itzam Na.

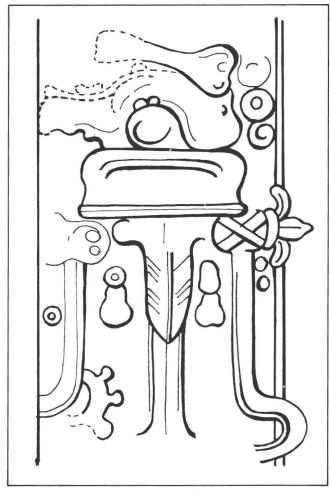


Fig. 4 Palace north sub-structure Tier 4.

I believe that at Palenque it takes on considerably more importance. As the badge of kingship possibly first used as such during the Pacal (Sunshield) dynasty, I agree with Kubler, in that the representation of corn plants and corn leaves are a very important part of the sign. The ritual planting of corn is foremost in the minds of the Maya even today, and this was certainly so in the past. The corn plants, the new leaves, are the sign of rebirth — the answered prayer for immortality.

In reviewing early Middle American religious symbolism, we find that from earliest to latest times, and covering the entire Middle American area, there is evidence of the serpent being portrayed in all aspects of art — monumental, sculptural, ceramic, figural, on fresco murals, in codices, and in hieroglyphic texts. Possibly

all of Middle America claimed ancestral kinship to the serpent. Spinden, very early (1913: 32) pointed out the "unique character of Maya art" as coming from the "treatment of the serpent". With totemism being widespread in all ancient Mesoamerican religions, as well as in some today, there is significant evidence of the worship and anthropomorphization of animal gods and the investment in them of powers superior to those endowed upon humans. Such widespread totemistic beliefs in a theocratic political society would lend itself to proclaiming totemic divinity to rulers, and making it provident that they adopt totem emblems proclaiming inheritance through powerful lineages. Proskouriakoff (1963 and 1964) has brilliantly shown that in Late Classic times, especially at Yaxchilan and Piedras Negras, the rulers of Jaguar lineages went to untold ends recording their geneologies and the achievements of themselves and their ancestors. Kubler (1973) is the first to take note of the recording of the powerful lineages at Tikal, and brings out similar manifestations of the Jaguar lineage there as recorded in its paired lintels of Temples I and

The early animistic character of the beliefs of peoples of Middle America included the worship of simple nature gods of the sun, the moon, corn, water, and guardians of the Underworld. Alfonso Villa R. (945) recounts the "more than a year-long" rituals that the *milperos* undertook in the propitiation of the nature gods of wind, water, sun, and guardian of the bush. Even today, most of these same simple gods are venerated by the Lacondon, Chol, Tzotzil and Yucatec Maya. Vogt (1969: 600) states that "deification of important aspects of nature continues as a crucial feature of the religious symbolism: the sun, the moon, rain and maize are all prominent in most contemporary Maya belief systems".

In analyzing the elements which make up this badge, the characteristics of these individual parts should be noted. The shell, with its attributes of the gods of the Underworld (Thompson 1960: 278), appears on headdresses of the earth deity who combines with death, and further shows affiliation with the Jaguar God of the Underworld. The shell, when used as part of the headdress of the Earth Monster, as Thompson (1960: 278) refers to this, "combines symbols of death with a kin sign on his forehead".

The crossed bands, the most significant element of the tripartite, dates as far back as Olmec times. ^{4,5} It apparently was of significance to all Mesoamerican peoples. Its association with water is inferred by its portrayal in headdresses of rain gods of Teotihuacan (Caso 1928: fig. 21). Coe and Smiley⁶ (at this conference)

⁴Jacinto Quirarte (1973: 18) points out that the Olmec La Venta representation of "The crossed-bands element in the mouth of the jaguar is probably a reference to the serpent". He also makes reference to many other crossed band elements such as Izapa Stela 4, at fig. 13e, Kaminaljuyu Stela 11 at fig. 13g, and Bilbao Mon. 42, fig. 12f.

⁵David Joralemon (at this conference) pointed out the Olmec representations of a quadripartite sign that has crossed bands, a U shape or bracket with a circle in the middle of it. He interprets this as having to do with the Underworld or a cave or a passageway going underground. A large corn plant is right over it. Joralemon (1970: 11-31) catalogues crossed bands in his 182 Olmec motifs at 52, 62, 67, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, and also points out crossed bands on a number of celts and other artifacts as well. Crossed bands have been documented in Olmec context extensively by Michael D. Coe (1967), Covarrubias (1957), and others.

pointed out the many instances where the crossed bands seems to function as some kind of sky symbol. Lounsbury⁷ (at this conference) pointed out many instances of the crossed bands in codices.

The plant leaf could only pertain to the significance of corn, of growth, vegetation and renewal of life. In other words it is this element that is of greatest significance in the plea for rebirth, for renewal of life. Rebirth through the corn plant is the central theme on the tablet in the sanctuary of the TFC. The leaf element is not only prominently displayed as the central element in ordered manifestations of the quadripartic badge, but three leaf elements are also present in the flattened-U portion. It is the central leaf element, the "controversial leaf" portion of the badge that transposes itself into our jester god's (God K with the jester-like pointed cap) top hat (fig. 5).

The creation myths all bring out the importance of the sun and moon as being among the first inhabitants of the world. In the *Popol Vuh*, people are associated with

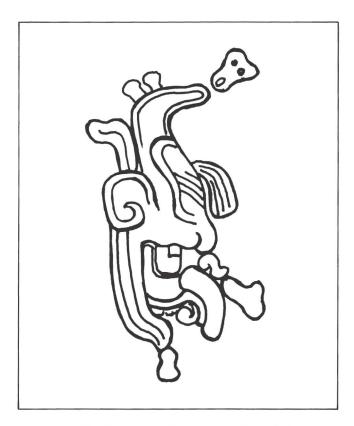


Fig. 5 Jester god's top hat - Tomb Lid.

the first sunrise, and although there is a deity *Tepeu*, *Gucumatz* (Recinos 1950: 81) that precedes the sun, still great importance is given to the sun. The significance of the sun seems to receive an important place in much of the religious thought of ancient Middle America. Berlin (1963: 97) and Roys (1972: 73) tell of how the Yucatecans told the Spaniards that their people once worshipped a supreme deity called *Hunabku* ("only God"), "the only living and true God, the greatest of the people of Yucatan" — and that his name was also "Colop-u-uich-kin, which suggests a sun god" (Roys 1963: 73). Vogt (1969: 600) says that "The sun is often associated with 'God' in areas where Catholic influence is very strong".

The Underworld and surface of the earth were important considerations, the two concepts merging in one in Maya thought (Thompson 1960: 279). The early manifestations of the quadripartite badge portray this converging of the Underworld, the surface of the earth, and the sky or celestial abode. The kingship badge of the TC is probably the finest example. Here the badge is emblazoned in a large and prominent manner, proclaiming the inherited rights of the ruling lineage of Pacal, now under the rule of the house of Chan-Bahlum portraying to the rulership badge. In this instance the badge serves as a helmet for the Earth Monster whose attributes serve the Underworld and the Gods of Death as the Sun God aspect, the 9th Lord of the Night, with sprouting maize foliage (Thompson 1960: 280). On his forehead he wears the flattened-U, which here bears the kin sign of the sun. The Earth Monster takes on important aspects of the Underworld, the earth, and the heavens above, all in one (fig. 1).

Several observations should be noted about the earth monster. 1. We see here the duality aspect so apparent throughout Mesoamerican religion. This is not just one front-view head, but two profile-view heads. The head on the left faces right, and the one on the right, faces left. The combination of the two profiles is also a single front-vew head (fig. 6). It is, as Kubler (972: 322) refers to it — a "three-faced skull". The lower jaws are bones. 2. Each half of the Earth Monster, Lounsbury (this conference) pointed out, must be the head variant of the tun sign. 3. I see this portrayal of the Earth Monster, as well as the one of the Sarcophagus Lid, as the underworld aspect of the Sun God in his portrayal as a stylized monkey face, full front view. The monkey sometimes "substitutes for representation of the sun" (Thompson 1960: 143). If one looks at the snout of the Earth Monster and also looks squarely at the face of a spider monkey, it will be noted that there is a remarka-

⁶Michael Coe and Charles Smiley (at this conference) also brought out that crossed bands seem to function very often as some kind of sky symbol, and that they may represent a crossing of the ecliptic with the milky way.

Floyd Lounsbury (at this conference) pointed out that crossed bands occur in the codices a great deal. In many instances, there is a palace or house, and above it a house glyph, and on the back, always the crossed-bands. This is no ordinary house, but some special house. In the glyphs the crossed bands occur as a fifth direction after the four previous frames take you through the four directions, usually counter-clockwise, but occasionally in clockwise rotation. This invites us to consider this cross bands sign as a fifth direction. There is also a sixth, which could be interpreted as some kind of Underworld sign, and if this is so, then the crossed bands should be an opposite, as right here now.

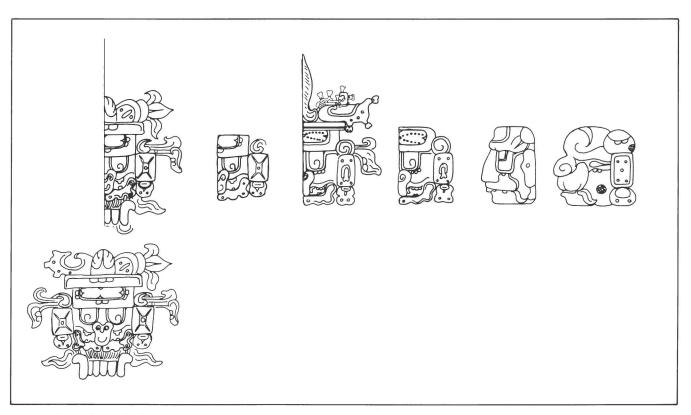


Fig. 7 Sarcophagus Lid quadripartite badge. Fig. 6 (top) The earth monster as a 3-faced skull compared to the Sun God.

ble resemblance between the two. All of this, the two profile heads combining into one front-view head, and also resembling the spider monkey, who sometimes takes on the aspect of the Sun God, is evidence of some very sophisticated iconography for the Maya.

The quadripartite badge appears again in its expanded form on the Sarcophagus Lid of the Inscriptions Tomb (fig. 7 and plate 4). I think that the Inscriptions Tomb is a holy shrine, and as Cohodas (this conference) so aptly phrased it, "a prayer for the rebirth" of a prestigious ruler Lord Pacal, who ascended to the throne of Palenque in 9.9.2.4.8.8 The prayer for rebirth must be at the moment of his falling into the earth from where he will re-emerge in a state of eternal divinity after his journey through the Underworld, a very, very complicated place with a very complicated array of gods, as brought out by Coe (this conference). The Earth Monster receives Pacal in the instant of death or suspension between worlds, and embellished on the head of the earth monster is the quadripartite badge, the most important single sign in the entire tomb, the sign which actually takes over a part of the figure of the lord. What else would encompass and engulf the person of such royal status, important enough to have designated for his

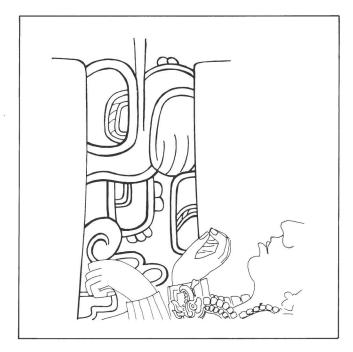


Fig. 8 Profile head of the Sun god - Sarcophagus Lid.

⁸All of the dates in this paper concerning the rule of Pacal and Chan-Bahlum are those determined by Linda Schele and Peter Mathews at this conference.

⁹Michael D. Coe (1973: 12) explains some of the "most extraordinarily detailed information" on the Underworld, and tells of how certain Aztec, and probably Maya as well, "went to the Paradise of the Sun, conceived of as one of the thirteen layers of heaven", and how most commoners and rulers alike, however, had as their destination "the nine-layered Underworld".



Fig. 9 Flare god on the Sarcophagus Lid.

remains, the most splendid of all Maya tombs, than his inherited "badge of Kings", proclaiming his rightful inheritance from possibly even the Sun God.

At the base of the cross which rises directly above the lord's body on the Sarcophagus Lid, is the profile head of the Sun God (fig. 8). This seems the singly most important emphasis of sacred inheritance and ancestral relationship to the Sun God. This is further strengthened by the placement of the kin sign in the forehead of the earth monster, the monkey-sun representation of the earth monster, and the celestial symbols which form the framing border of the Tomb Lid. This same Sun God is in stylized profile on the celestial border of the lid. 10 It seems possible that divine kinship to the Sun God and life eternal was a stage reached at the precise moment in time when the lord was to terminate his journey through the Underworld and emerge in the answer to the prayer for rebirth.

His affinity to the serpent, earliest of Maya totems, is acknowledged by the prominent position this creature takes in relation to the lord, the royal badge, the Earth Monster and the Sun God. Immense serpent jaws frame takes in relation to the lord, the royal badge, the Earth Monster and the Sun God. Immense serpent jaws frame this statement on three sides on the Sarcophagus Lid (plate 4). Another two-headed serpent with wide-opened jaws from which emerges the "flare god" (fig. 9), God K

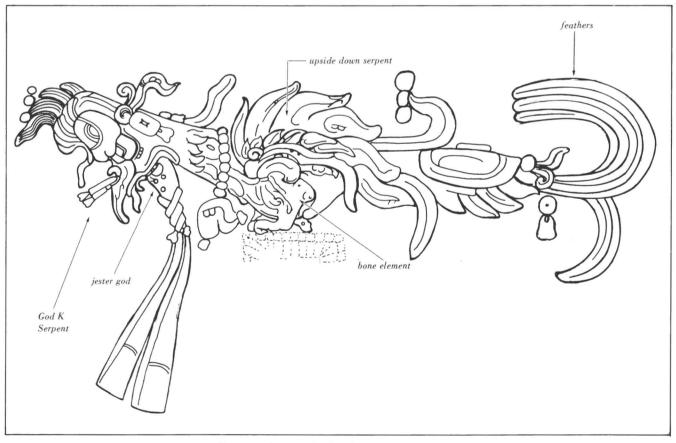


Fig. 10 Serpent-bird - the Sarcophagus Lid.

¹⁰Spinden (1913: 91. fig. 28) also refers to this representation in a sky band as a Sun symbol.

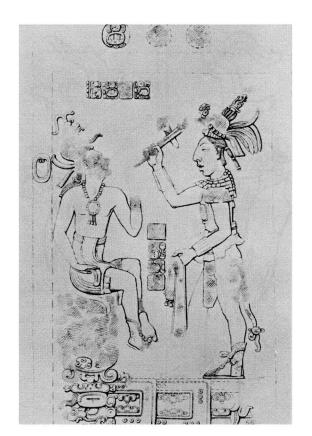




Fig. 11 Funerary sacrifice House D piers b and f.



Fig. 12 Funerary sacrifice House D pier c.

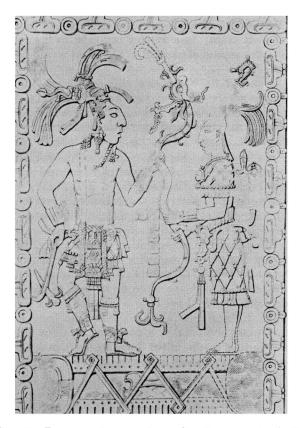


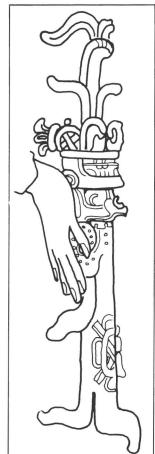
Fig. 13 Funerary dance and sacrifice House D pier d. After Maudsley Vol. IV, Plates 34, 37, 35 and 36.

— the long-nosed god with the double flare protruding from his forehead — on the west and the "jester god" on the east, rises from the young lord's body to the serpent bird (fig. 10) at the top of the cross. The plumed serpent at the top of the cross takes the position of herald of the sun, the link between the Underworld and the dawn — rebirth. Vogt (1969: 600) tells of William Holland's account of the plumed serpent.

At dawn the sun rises in the east preceded by Venus, the morning star, a large plumed serpent called MUKTA CH'ON by Tzotzil. As it was conceived in the prehispanic times, Venus is the precursor and the herald of the sun, and the Tzotzil still identify it with the serpent deity, as it was among all Middle-American Indians.

Pacal is here in the position of being both of the Underworld and the earth. Life-giving breath has been provided him by the hollow stone serpent which rises from the tomb to the top of the temple. His emblem, the rulership badge makes a definite statement. The shell accords him transitional time through the Underworld, the plant leaf accords him time on earth, water and vegetation, and the crossed bands, here interchanged with the *cimi* sign, assign him time in the Underworld. I think that the cimi sign as suggested by Lounsbury (this conference) dictates deliberate opposition to the celestial aspects of the crossed bands. 11 If this is a prayer for rebirth, for eternal life, an ever evolving life-deatheternity sort of concept, then an Underworld journey would here be indicated, just as Coe (1973: 12) brings out when discussing the multitude of Underworld gods and the complexity of death and the Underworld in which these gods reign. As a symbol opposed to the crossed bands, the aspect of eternal evolvement would be represented.

It should be noted that the only other place at Palengue where the cimi sign takes the place of the crossed bands is on pier d House D, where it appears to the rear of the right hand figure, as a remaining portion of the back mask. As the piers on House D concern funerary functions, this substitution seems reasonable. House D of the Palace, facing onto the Inscriptions plaza which certainly must have been a funerary court, iconographically portrays ceremonies pertaining to death, ceremonies probably significant in funerary functions such as ritual sacrifice as portrayed on piers b and f (fig. 11), sacrificial presentation on pier c (fig. 12), and funerary dance and sacrifice as on pier d (fig. 13). Thompson (1960: 172) points out that the sun took on characteristics of death when on its way to the Underworld, and retains these characteristics at the moment of rising. If Pacal then (as portrayed on the Tomb Lid), is at this exact moment in a position of falling into the Underworld of death, but at the same time, in the duality aspect, is suspended between the two worlds, this



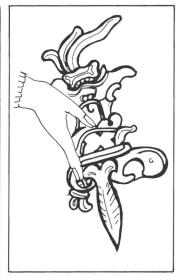


Fig. 15 Held in hand - west jamb TC. After Maudslay Vol. IV Pl. 92.

Fig. 14 Held by Pyramid TC. After Maudslay Vol. IV Pl. 75.

strengthens the assumption that this is a moment of prayer.

The Sarcophagus Lid, in many respects portrays that which is repeated on the TC (plates 1 and 4). Both contain the sky band, the Earth Monster with a *kin* sign in his forehead, the serpent cross, the feathered serpent above the cross, and the quadripartite badge.

Other instances where the kingship badge appears, have been pointed out by Kubler (1969: 37-46). It appears on the scepters where the quadripartite badge serves as a headdress for the long-nosed god. These are found being held downward by the Pyramid person from the north country (identification, Kubler 1972: 318) (fig. 14) on the tablet of the TC, and by the figure on the west jamb at the entrance to the same temple (fig. 15). It is found in the headdress of the long-nosed figures which are in turn, headdresses of the left figure on the stucco pier c House A (fig. 16), and held in the arm of the person on pier c House D (fig. 17), and on the bicephalic head on the east wall of House E (fig. 18), and on the

¹¹Marvin Cohodas (this conference), however feels that the *cimi* sign may not have associations of death, but that *cimi* is probably the so-called God A, related to *cimi* with the God of the south in the opposite direction. He felt that the crossed bands related more to the Underworld in the north and *cimi* the opposite.

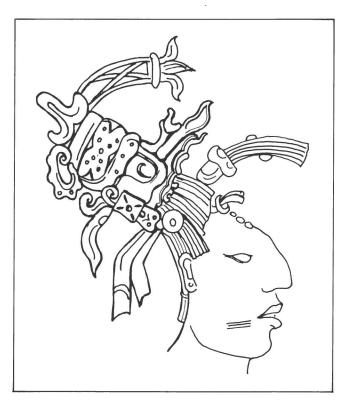


Fig. 16 As headdress - House A pier c.

heraldric emblem on tier 4 of the Palace north substructure (fig. 4).

The badge appears in its three-part form without the flattened-U and plant elements, on the eastern end of the Palace subterranean throne (fig. 19). Here it becomes the rear head of the bicephalic monster. In this instance, the three-part plant element is not present. It is possible that the small space provided by the stone thickness necessitated leaving the element off in order to portray the rear head of the bicephalic monster in appropriate size, and that its absence would be "understood", that is — one would expect the three-plant element to be attached, if not in fact, in understanding. This portrayal of the leadership badge is exactly like all others except for this omission.

Later manifestations of the quadripartite badge at Palenque sometimes find elements displaced, combined, or left out entirely by reason of substitution. Such examples are on the west jamb of the TC sanctuary, displaced in the headdress of a long-nosed head (fig. 20). The leaf appears under the nose of the long-nosed head. The crossed bands are framed as on the tomb wall figures, and the shell appears as the brow of the same head. Displaced quadripartite badges also appear in the framed crossed bands just below the chin of the long-nosed head in the headdress of the figure on pier a and on pier c House C (fig. 21).

An act of transposition takes place when the quadripartite badge makes its appearance on the Dumbarton Oaks Panel 2 (fig. 22), surely from Palenque. Here a shellwork diadem acts as a cartouche for the crossed

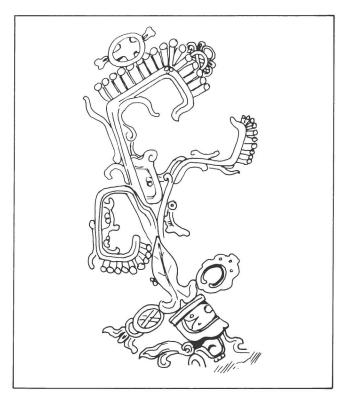


Fig. 17 As hand-held scepter - House D pier c. After Maudslay Vol. IV Pl. 92.

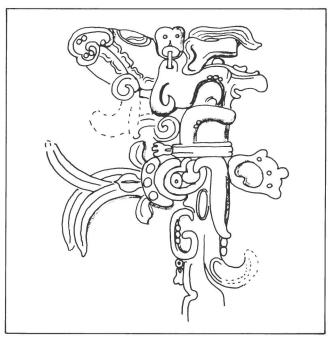


Fig. 18 House C bicephalic monster. After Maudslay Vol. IV Pl. 43.

bands, and the plant elements protrude from the sides of the hair-do. A second shell serves as an earpiece.

Further simplification can be seen in the Intaglio Relief (fig. 23), where the crossed bands appear at the end of a cursive scroll at the front of the headdress and





Fig. 19 Palace throne with bicephalic monster.

again just below this, boldly depicted in an oval cartouche. The brow forms the shell, while plant tendrils entwine the entirety.

On the Creation Relief (fig. 24), similar in style to the Intaglio Relief, crossed bands are in the cartouche of the shellwork headdress, and another is drawn at the top in the same manner as in the former relief.

All of the over-life-size figures on the walls of the Inscriptions Tomb wear the quadripartite badge by substitution on their towering helmets. A plant-shell element forms the conical hat of the little jester-like heads on the tomb wall stuccos and the one on the Lid. The faces on these figures that wear the conical plant-leaf hats are not all alike (fig. 25). Those on Tomb Figures 1, 4, 8, and 9 are of long-nosed gods with those of 8 and 9 being different from the others. Figures 1, 6, 8, and 9 all have the crossed bands below their chins. All of the crossed bands are boxed in. Tomb Figures 1, 6, 7, 8, and 9 themselves all wear boxed in mouth frames of this same type. Quite possibly the other figures did likewise

¹²Donald Robertson (at this conference) threw out the question: Could it have been "Pyramid builder" himself who was the great architect who introduced the new type architecture at Palenque which is so aesthetically appealing but extremely functional as well? He (Robertson 1963: 23) compares the Palenque type elegant temples to European architecture of the eighteen hundreds "where the outer edges of the vault are cut back, in a form resembling the mansard roof of the last century, simultaneously giving an appearance of lightness and reducing the actual weight of the masonry vaults".

¹³The numbering of the stucco figures on the walls of the Inscriptions Tomb follows the pattern of numbering of the Palenque Stucco Project (1973-1974). The first figure seated by the stair on the west has been designated No. 1, the next one on the west wall No. 2, the paired figures on the west wall, Nos. 3 and 4. The figure on the north wall is No. 5. On the eastern wall the paired figures, starting with the one furthest north, are No. 6, and No. 7. The single figure on the east wall, is No. 8, and the seated figure on the east near the entrance is No. 9.

¹⁴Jacinto Quirarte (1973: 17 and 23) shows a drawing of an earplug worn by the figure on Kaminaljuyu Stela 11 (fig. 8j and 12e) which is composed of framed crossed bands with circles in the corners identical to the framed crossed bands worn in the headdresses of the figures on the walls of the Inscriptions Tomb.



Fig. 20 In headdress west jamb TC. After Maudslay Vol. IV Pl. 71.

but it is now impossible to tell. Although there is no remaining evidence as to what was in the belt area of Figures 3 and 5, all others wear crossed bands on their belts, so presumably they did also. All except 5, which cannot be seen, also wear them on their arms, and all can be seen wearing crossed bands on their leggings except 1 and 9 which are not visible. All carry the serpent scepter with a long-nosed head (the "flare god"

Fig. 21 In headdress House C pier c. After Maudslay Vol. IV Pl. 28.

with axe and double flare in the forehead), but most significant of all, each figure holds a sun-shield, which I suspect may be Pacal's personal shield, the Jaguar God of the Underworld on his wrist. Figures 2, 5, 6, 7, and 9 wear it on the left wrist, while figures 1, 3, 4, and 8 wear it on the right wrist (fig. 26).

Again this attests to the eternal aspect of divinity appropriate to Pacal. It is conceivable that it is Pacal who is portrayed 9 times on the walls of the Inscriptions Tomb, in each instance as his alter-ego, each of the 9 Gods of the Underworld, and in each one he is portrayed wearing his rulership badge the quadripartite badge and his personal shield, the "sun-shield". It was Kubler (1969: 22) who first pointed out that the sun-shield might be the personal badge of the ruler buried here.

I have spoken of the substitution of the cimi sign for crossed bands, and I believe that a substitution takes place on Mask 8 (fig. 27) of the Palace House C in the western corridor also. Here the Sun God, now the Earth Monster wears on his forehead, a cartouche which could be a conventionalized shell and cross hatcher — the wavy intersecting lines with dots within them may be a substitution for crossed bands. Above the cartouche, is the flattened-U and the three-part plant element. The left figure on the Palace Tablet (fig. 28 and plate 5) wears a shell-like diadem which is a conventionalized rulership badge, as does the principal figure on the Dumbarton Oaks Panel 2 (fig. 22). On the Palace Tablet (fig. 28) the diadem is held on by a tied bow which loops around the hair in back. The plait of hair then opens into two plant tendrils, between which is a crossed bands element, a flower, a flattened-U, and the three-part plant element.



Fig. 22 Dumbarton Oaks Panel 2.

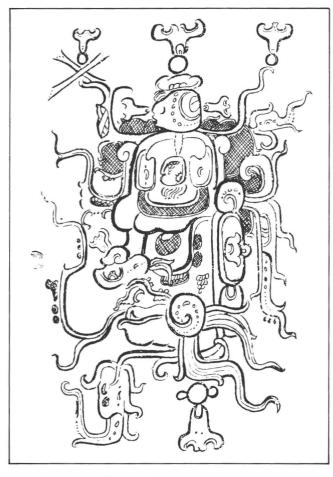


Fig. 23 Intaglio Relief.

Now if the quadripartite badge is the royal emblem displayed by Pacal, where would one expect to find this emblem proclaiming divine ancestral affiliations for the bearer? We would expect it to be in the burial chamber of Pacal — where it is — many times over, but it is not on the piers of his burial monument, the Temple of the Inscriptions. The reason for this must be that, while the Tomb is a prayer for rebirth and eternal divinity, the piers proclaim ancestral relationship to the serpent for the lineage line of Pacal, ruled by the house of Chan-Bahlum¹⁵ after the death of Pacal. All except the two end piers, which are hieroglyphic texts, depict an important personage holding a baby whose affinities to the serpent are being assured. Serpent scales are on the baby's legs, thighs, and under-arm, and one leg of each baby terminates in a serpent body which coils over the arm of the principal figure, where its wide-spread jaws take up a considerable allotment of space on each pier (fig. 29).

In the three closely related temples TC, TFC, and TS, the badge is found four times prominently located in

the TC, twice on the western entrance pier and at the base of the cross on the sanctuary tablet. It is also held by Pyramid builder. In the TS the badge is in the head-dress of the small seated figure on the right who holds up the north end of the serpent bar.

The quadripartite badge does not appear in the TFC, but the ritual taking place here does not involve Pacal's role with Chan-Bahlum in a way in which the rulership badge would be expected to be present. The three Cross group temples as a unit takes care of this.

We would expect to find the rulership badge in the Palace. Here it occurs in Houses A, C, D, and E, and in the subterranean lintels of the north and eastern passages. As a good deal of the stucco has now disappeared from the subterranean vaults, it is difficult to make out the original intention, but the crossed bands are framed as on the Inscriptions Tomb wall. Here they turn the wall where the structure forms the vault. The leaf element turns downward and is realistic in form. *Kin* signs are also in evidence.

Probably the most convincing example of the kingship badge as a royal emblem is its emblazonment in the form of a very large framed sign on tiers 1 and 4 (fig. 4) of the Palace north pyramid sub-structure. The meter-high sign reminds one of a large advertisement on the side of a building. The badge appears upside-down with a long-nosed head which is almost an exact replica of the bicephalic head in House E. Its elements have all four parts, crossed bands, shell with holes, plant leaf, and the flattened-U with three-leaf element. On the panel to the west, adjoining the sign, is a meter-high serpent with wide-open jaws from which emerges the head of huge long-nosed god, the "flare god" (God K), the largest depiction known anywhere (fig. 30).

Lastly it should be noted carefully just where all known occurances of the quadripartite badge are located. Portrayals from Copan are extensive. It could be that Copan's rulers were likewise emblazoning the kingship badge on monuments of that city — note the size of the badge on the headdress of the ruler on Stela H (fig. 31) and Stela I (fig. 32). There may even have been a royal alliance in Late Classic times which included the Pacal lineage at Copan, Quirigua, Tikal, Yaxchilan, Piedras Negras, Bonampak, and even Calakmul. Further study may bear this out. Kubler (1969) has noted many of these sites portraying this badge, namely Tikal, Yaxchilan, Piedras Negras, Machaguila, as well as the Pasion area. The badge appears in one form or another in most Maya areas, but never in such splendor or size as at Palenque. Although the quadripartite badge was used from earliest Classic times — Tikal Stela 29 at 8.12.14.8.15 (Coe, W. 1962: 488), and the Leyden Plate at 8.14.3.1.12 (Morley and Morley 1938: 8), it may be that it was even then, a badge worn by rulers or chiefs, but that it was not until the great Pacal came to rule at

¹⁵Pacal who ruled for over 68 years, died in 9,12.11.5.18 6 Etz'nab 11 Yax (A.D. 683), and was succeeded by Chan-Bahlum on 9.12.11.12.10 8 Oc 3 Kayab (A.D. 684). He ruled for over 18 years until his death in 9.13.10.1.5 6 Chicchan 3 Pop (A.D. 702). (Dates from Schele and Mathews, this conference).

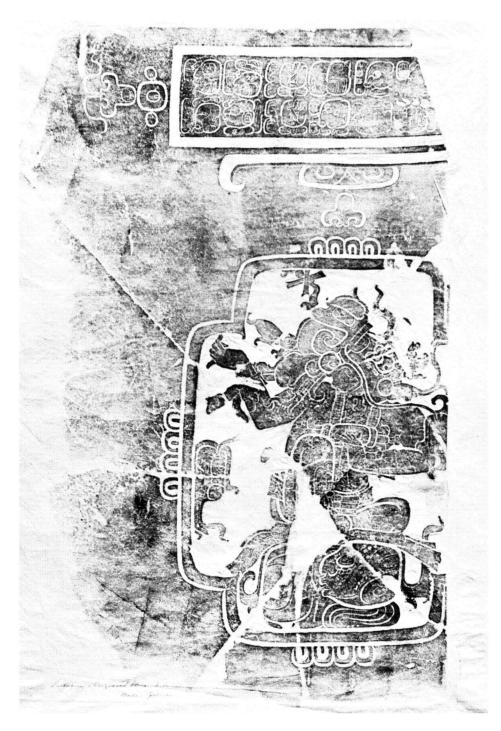


Fig. 24 Creation Relief.

Palenque that its use reached such significance. He may have done just as Bird Jaguar did at Yaxchilan in proclaiming his lineage rights and rights to kingship back into time by inscribing the prior accomplishments of Shield Jaguar on many of the stelae and lintels there. Pacal may have been the first to use the quadripartite badge in such a eminent way — a statement declaring his infallible right to this badge.

Marcus (1973: 912) by extending Barthel's (1968) observation, has proposed a "quadripartite organization" for the Maya with four regional capitals, Copan, the southern capital; Tikal, the eastern; Palenque, the western; and possibly Calakmul, the northern. From 9.9.2.4.8, the accession date of Pacal to the throne of Palenque (Schele and Mathews, 1973), until the seating of Lord Hok in 9.13.10.6.8, Palenque rose to great



Fig. 25 Small head with plant-leaf headdress and shell at side of cheek - Tomb figure 7.



Fig. 26 Sunshield - Tomb figure 2.

heights because of two very great men, Pacal and Chan-Bahlum. It was during this time that Palenque rose, according to Rands (1973) from a minor site to a

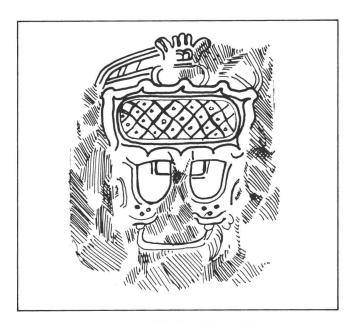


Fig. 27 Mask 8 - House C.

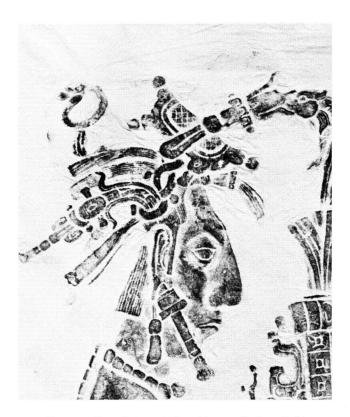


Fig. 28 In left figure's headdress - Palace Tablet.

major western frontier power. It is also at this time that we find the quadripartite badge in great prominence at Copan, and its evidence in many other Maya areas. Palenque would have continued under the influence of the lineage of Pacal at least through the rule of Lord Kuk when at 9.17.13.0.7 we have the last recorded date in his



Fig. 29
Baby – Inscriptions pier c.

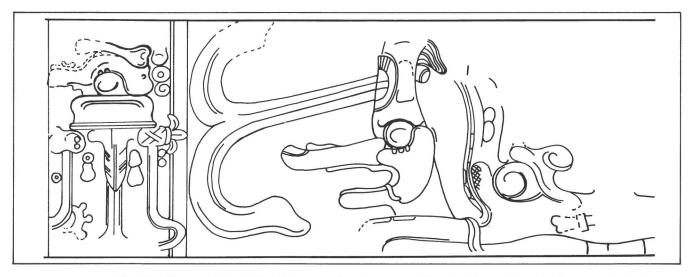


Fig. 30 Flare god (God K) - Palace north sub-structure Tier 1 with quadripartite badge on the left.



Fig. 31 Copan Stela H.

rule. Kubler (1969: 42) brings out that the Calakmul stelae 9 and 28 both wear "triadic" badges with stylistic dates of 9.13.0.0.0 and 9.11.0.0.0. Miller (1974) has come up with the hypothesis that two monuments, one which is in the Cleveland Art Museum that he designates as Stela 1 and the other in the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, Stela 2, were once a pair and are from Calakmul. The woman on Stela 1, has, as Miller (1974) notes "a distinctive iconographic feature", the tripartite badge (my quadripartite badge) in her headdress. This monument bears a date of 9.13.0.0.0. This suggests that either the lineage dynasty of Pacal



Fig. 32 Copan Stela I.

extended itself to include affiliations with all of the other four quadripartite capitals or that the quadripartite badge became so firmly established during his long reign as the badge of rulership that other rulers or chiefs of capitals were likewise displaying the badge prominently on their dress or paraphernalia proclaiming their divine rights as rulers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BARTHEL, THOMAS S.

1968 El complejo "emblema". Estudios de Cultura Maya, vol. VII. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico.

Berlin, Heinrich

1963 The Palenque Triad. Journal de la Société des Américanistes . . . vol. 52. pp. 91-99. Paris.

COE, MICHAEL D.

1973 The Maya Scribe and his World. The Grolier Club. New York.

COE, MICHAEL D. AND ELIZABETH P. BENSON

1966 Three Maya Relief Panels from Dumbarton Oaks.Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology, no.2. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

COE, WILLIAM R.

1962 Summary of Research at Tikal. American Antiquity, vol. 27, no. 4.

DE LA FUENTE, BEATRIZ

1965 La Escultura de Palenque. Instituto de Investigaciones Esteticas. Universidad Autonoma de Mexico, Mexico.

GREENE, MERLE, ROBERT L. RANDS AND JOHN A. GRAHAM

1972 Maya Sculpture from the Southern Lowlands, the Highlands and Pacific Piedmont. Lederer Street & Zeus, Berkeley.

JORALEMON, DAVID P.

1971 A Study of Olmec Iconography. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology, no. 7. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

KUBLER, GEORGE

1969 Studies in Classic Maya Iconography. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences. vol. XVIII. New Haven.

1972 The Paired Attendants of the Temple Tablets at Palenque. Symposium on Maya Art, New Orleans and *Religion en Mesoamerica*, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropologia, XII Mesa Redonda. Mexico.

1973 The Doubled-Portrait Lintels at Tikal. XXIII International Congress of the History of Art. Granada, Spain. Sept. 3-8, 1973.

MAUDSLAY, ALFRED P.

1889-1902 Biologia Centrali-Americana, Archaeology. 4 vols. plates. Dulau & Co. London.

MARCUS, JOYCE

1973 Territorial Organization of the Lowland Classic Maya. Science. vol. 180.

MILLER, JEFFREY H.

1974 Notes on a Probable Stelae Pair from Calakmul, Campeche, Mexico. Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Part I.

MORLEY, SYLVANUS G. AND FRANCES R.

1938 The Age and Provenance of the Leyden Plate. Contributions to American Anthropology and History, no. 24. Carnegie Institution, Washington.

Proskouriakoff, Tatiana

1963 Historical Data in the Inscriptions of Yaxchilan, Part I. Estudios de Cultura Maya. Universidad Autonoma Nacional de Mexico. vol. IV. Mexico.

1964 Historical Data in the Inscriptions of Yaxchilan, Part II. Estudios de Cultura Maya. Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, vol. V. Mexico.

QUIRARTE, JACINTO

1973 Izapan-Style Art. A Study of its Form and Meaning. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art & Archaeology, no. 10. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

RANDS, ROBERT L.

1955 Some Manifestations of Water in Mesoamerican Art. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 157, pp. 265-393. Washington.

1973 A Chronological Framework for Palenque. Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Part I.

RECINOS, ADRIAN

1950 Popol Vuh. English version by Delia Goetz and Sylvanus G. Morley. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

ROBERTSON, DONALD

1963 Pre-Columbian Architecture. Prentice Hall International, New York.

Roys, Ralph L.

1943 The Indian Background of Colonial Yucatan. (1972 edition) University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

RUZ LHUILLIER, ALBERTO

1973 El Templo de las Inscripciones. Coleccion Científica 7, Arqueologia. Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia. Mexico.

Schele, Linda and Peter Mathews

1973 "The Dynastic Hostory of Palenque." Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque. Dec. 14-22.

SELER, EDUARD

1915 Beobachtungen und Studien in den Ruinen von Palenque. Abhandlungen der Koniglichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin.

SPINDEN, HERBERT J.

1913 A Study of Maya Art. *Memoirs*, *Peabody Museum*, Harvard University, vol. 6. Cambridge.

THOMPSON, J. ERIC S.

1960 Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Pub. 589. Washington. (2nd edition 1960: University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.)

VILLA R., ALFONSO

1945 The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo. Carnegie Institution of Washington. Pub. 559.

Vogt, Evon Z.

1969 Zinacantan A Maya Community in the Highlands of Chiapas. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge.